

CHAPTER IX

COINCIDENCES OF PHRASE IN SHAKESPEARE AND BACON

§I. *The Evidential Problem*

OF the three main lines of the Baconian case—the argument from legal phraseology, that from classical allusions, and that from parallelisms of phrase—we have above reviewed the first and second. It remains to deal with the third.

To the majority of unprepared readers this is perhaps the most seductive. Men of general culture, even men of legal training, little acquainted with the literature of the Tudor and early Stuart periods apart from Shakespeare, are apt, on a mere perusal of a list of parallelisms of phrase between Shakespeare and Bacon, to grant inferences of which even a smattering of the necessary literary knowledge might show them the fallacy and the absurdity. The levity with which such readers in many cases accord their assent is one of the most significant aspects of the entire controversy. Inasmuch, however, as they are kept in countenance by a judge of such distinction as the late Lord Penzance, it seems necessary to expose their and his hallucination with an amount of argument and illustration which for an instructed reader would be supererogatory and tedious beyond measure.

Of this line of Baconian argument, Mr. Ignatius Donnelly, of cryptogrammatic fame, appears to be the most generally esteemed exponent. Dr. R. M. Theobald pronounces that Mr. Donnelly's first volume, of which two-fifths are "devoted to Parallelisms," "is the most

masterly and convincing statement of the Baconian case ever published." ¹

It should be mentioned in this connection that both Mr. Donnelly and Dr. Theobald have drawn upon the earlier labours of the assiduous judge Nathaniel Holmes, who, though like them unconcerned to check his presuppositions by a study of Elizabethan literature in general, did most of the pioneer work for the Baconians in collocating passages of Bacon and Shakespeare. Their recent disregard of him is probably due to the fact that he repelled in advance the inference to which they are fatally drawn, that Bacon wrote a great deal more of the Elizabethan drama than Shakespeare. "No writer of the time," he declares, "neither Ben Jonson, nor Marlowe, nor Raleigh, nor Wotton, Donne, or Herbert, whose poetry approaches nearest, perhaps, of any of that age to the Shakespearean vein, can be brought into any doubtful comparison with this author." ² As Dr. Theobald has given Marlowe to Bacon, and others of the faith have given him a great deal more, Holmes becomes suspect of a fatal leaven of orthodoxy. That being so, we may thankfully put aside his laborious treatise, and deal with the accepted demonstrators. And first as to Mr. Donnelly.

N.B.

As Mr. Donnelly is shown in the present chapter to have been grossly and ludicrously ignorant of Elizabethan literature in general, we have at the outset a measure of the knowledge in virtue of which Dr. Theobald confers his panegyric. But as Dr. Theobald is at pains to preface his own contribution to the same thesis with a discussion of the evidential force of the kinds of parallelism in question, it may be well to examine that before coming to concrete matters. Opponents of this method, says Dr. Theobald, are wont to

select *one or two weak or doubtful cases*, and smuggle in the assumption that the whole case rests upon these, and is defeated by their overthrow. Nothing can be more grossly unfair. The evidence

¹ *Shakespeare Studies*, ed. cited, p. 223.

² *The Authorship of Shakespeare*, 3rd ed. 1875, p. 305.

derived from parallels is cumulative, and in such an argument even the strongest instance may be spared, and yet the weakest may possess some value as one of the gossamer threads which contribute to the construction of a cable strong enough to resist *the most violent efforts* to break it. The argument is not like a chain which is only as strong as the weakest link: it is like a faggot, *the mass of which cannot be broken, though every single stick may be brittle*; or like a rope, made by the accumulation of a great number of slender fibres which . . . in their combination *can resist the greatest force*. I do not think the Calculus has yet been invented¹ which will enable us to cast the sum of *an indefinite series of small arguments*. But it must be included in that branch of Inductive Logic which deals with circumstantial evidence,—and it is well known how the detective import of such evidence may be constituted by a collection of facts of which each singly would prove nothing—yet each of which lends some atom of force to the entire mass, and the resultant conclusion may be as well sustained as if it rested on direct documentary evidence; and perhaps even better. For documents may be forged or fictitious [cryptograms, for instance?] and can generally be disputed:—this kind of circumstantial evidence consists of incontrovertible and indestructible facts.²

The hollowness of this pretended rebuttal is plain at two points. To say nothing of the folly of assuming that *any* cable or faggot is unbreakable—a typical case of the logical dangers of metaphor—we have not merely *suppressio veri* but *suggestio falsi*. The opponents of the Baconian argument from parallels do not merely “select one or two weak or doubtful cases.” They have presented hundreds of cases as to which there can be no rational doubt whatever, and of which the full presentment convicts the Baconians of entire ignorance of precisely those facts which are vital to the dispute. Mr. Donnelly claimed to make a case out of “identical expressions, metaphors, opinions, quotations, studies, errors, unusual

¹ In his preface to *The Classical Element in the Shakespeare Plays*, by his cousin Mr. William Theobald, Dr. Theobald affirms that “by the integration of a number of small or doubtful resemblances, a real, finite [*sic*] result is secured, the rules of the mathematical calculus having *strict affinity* with those of the literary one” (p. 8).

² *Shakespeare Studies in Baconian Light*, ed. 1904, p. 224.

words," and so on. When it is shown that the words alleged to be unusual are perfectly common for the period; and that the cited expressions, metaphors, opinions, errors, and quotations are in the same case, Mr. Donnelly's thesis is annihilated.

Upon this issue Dr. Theobald commits his second sophism. His analogy between what he calls "weak" items in a "cumulative" argument and the weakness of rods in a faggot, or fibres in a rope, is pure paralogism. Ropes and fibres are not in this connection rationally to be styled "weak" at all. Unless they are all alike rotten—in which case neither faggot nor rope can possibly be "strong"—each is valid for its own purpose to the extent to which it could be. But Mr. Donnelly's and Dr. Theobald's "weak cases" are pure nullities. They are, in their handling of them, demonstrable untruths. To present coincidences of phrase in Bacon and Shakespeare as *special* to them, when such coincidences are universal, is to bear false, howbeit ignorant, witness. Now, so far from a series of proved falsities being valid items in a "cumulative argument" in support of a general proposition, they have a rapidly progressive force in discrediting that proposition. Even Lord Penzance, I suppose, would upon challenge have admitted this.¹ Dr. Theobald sophistically claims that in a case of circumstantial evidence the charge may be made out "by a collection of *facts* each of which singly would prove nothing, yet each of which lends some atom of force to the entire mass." True! But when a long series of the alleged facts are conclusively shown to be sheer falsehoods, each falsehood has given the jury an increasing right to suspect the remaining alleged facts. If, again, the person charged with having committed a number of peculiar and suspicious actions can show that they are one and

¹ Mr. Donnelly, for his own purposes, used against the editors of the Folio the maxim "False in one thing, false in all." *This* is folly; but compare it with the argument of Dr. Theobald!

all actions daily committed in similar circumstances by all his neighbours, the case against him simply falls.

The only possible plea left open to the Baconians, after the contrary evidence has been led, as hereinafter, is to claim that *not every one* of Mr. Donnelly's borrowed hundreds of alleged parallels has been dealt with. Probably no human being will ever take the trouble of adding to my exposure of a multitude of the literary follies of Mr. Donnelly and Dr. Theobald a similar exposure of all the rest. But when it is once shown that both writers, through sheer ignorance of the literature of which some knowledge was the first requisite to their having any right to an opinion on the question, have in scores of cases asserted "peculiar" coincidence in respect of words and phrases in universal use in the Tudor period, all men save those determined to stick to the Baconian theory at any cost of violation of truth and reason will cease to give it further attention.

The reader will see that in the following confutation there has been no mere picking out of "weak or doubtful cases." Lord Penzance, acting as special pleader, has selected from the mass of Mr. Donnelly's items those which seemed to him the strongest. I have proceeded—with two or three exceptions—upon Lord Penzance's selection. Dr. Theobald, in turn, in his chapter on "Echoes and Correspondences," puts forward eighty heads. Of these I have dealt with forty seriatim, missing none: of the remainder I have selected eighteen, passing over a number that seemed too trivial for discussion.

There is another section of the argument from parallelisms, from the examination of which I am happily dispensed by the notably thorough refutation supplied in Mr. Charles Crawford's essay on "The Bacon-Shakespeare Question."¹ Mr. Crawford, while glancing usefully at the "classical" thesis, and at some of the parallelisms of Dr. Theobald, has specially devoted himself to the

¹ In *Collectanea*, Second Series. Stratford-on-Avon, 1907.

Baconian contention that the multitude of commonplaces collected by Bacon in his *PROMUS OF FORMULARIES AND ELEGANCES*, not intended for publication, were gathered for use by him in the plays. With their fatal facility in error, the Baconians—led in this matter by Mrs. Pott—have maintained that the *PROMUS* entries are *not* reproduced in Bacon's published works, and that they *are* embodied in the Shakespearean plays. With overwhelming force, Mr. Crawford demonstrates (1) that they are abundantly reproduced in Bacon's works; and (2) that in a multitude of instances they and other Baconian passages are closely, sometimes exactly, paralleled in the writings of Ben Jonson. Thus once more we see how the Baconian fallacy thrives on lack of observation and on incomplete induction. I invite the reader who can appreciate exact learning and the vivacious use of it to turn to Mr. Crawford's contribution to the Baconian controversy. Whether the Baconians have noted it, and whether or not they have in general proceeded from it to the conclusion that Bacon wrote Jonson, I cannot tell.

§2. *Lord Penzance and Mr. Donnelly*

That an English Judge, accustomed to the sifting of evidence, should have produced a book undertaking dispassionately to establish the Baconian case after a survey of the debate, was naturally a ground for elation in the Baconian camp. Those readers, however, who have followed our examination of the treatise of Lord Campbell will not be unprepared to discover that another judge has undertaken to prove or pronounce upon a proposition in regard to which he had not even begun to realise the scope of the issue, and has put forth as evidence a quantity of matter of which the very citation is proof positive of vital ignorance on the part of the propounders. It is as if the judge in his own sphere had delivered a judgment in terms of common law without knowing what common law is. Knowing practically nothing of Elizabethan

literature outside Shakespeare and Bacon, he has staked everything on the compilation of Mr. Donnelly, who knew, if possible, less.

Lord Penzance, professing to present a "judicial summing-up" of the debate, has not only attempted no comparative investigation of the parallelisms put forward by Mr. Donnelly: he has not taken note of a single argument adduced against the inference founded upon them. Under the name of "summing up," the (in literature) unlearned judge has presented the merest *ex parte* statement; and to examine it is to realise once for all his lack of qualification for the inquiry he had undertaken. He could see the entire futility of Mr. Donnelly's pretence to have found a "cipher" in the Plays: and he evidently realised the nugatoriness of many of the "parallels" in Mr. Donnelly's list, since he makes a selection from which many of the most insignificant are excluded. He does indeed say ¹ that "to do justice to this branch of our subject you should study the complete compilation to be found in that gentleman's book"; but any reader who will take that trouble will find that the passages omitted are the most worthless of all. And yet how worthless are those actually selected! The first two are these:

SHAKESPEARE.	BACON
It is very <u>cold</u> .	Whereby the <u>cold</u> becomes
It is a nipping and an <u>eager</u>	more <u>eager</u> .
air.	<i>Natural History</i> , § 688.
<i>Hamlet</i> , i, 4.	
Light <u>thickens</u> , and the crow	For the over-moisture of the
Makes wing to the rooky	brain doth <u>thicken</u> the
wood.	spirits visual.
<i>Macbeth</i> , iii, 2.	<i>Id.</i> § 693.

Even an *ex parte* advocate of any literary culture might have been expected to ask, what Mr. Donnelly seems to have been incapable of considering, whether *eager* in this sense is not an established word in medieval and Eliza-

¹ P. 168.

bethan English. A glance into the New English Dictionary would have revealed to Lord Penzance that it is used by Chaucer (as in "egre bataile," "more myghty and more egre medycyne," &c.), by intermediate writers, and by Holland in Shakespeare's day, in both the physical and moral senses in which Shakespeare applies it. Any commentator would have informed him that it is simply the French word *aigre*, in which spelling it appears in 1531 in Elyot's *BOKE OF THE GOVERNOUR*, in the phrase "fierce and aigre" (B. iii, c. 9). With that force it was long a standing term in ordinary English, as in *THE VOCACYON OF JOHAN BALE* (1553):

I was sick again, so eagerly, that no man thought I should have lived.

(Rep. in Harl. Misc. ed. 1808, i, 341);

and in Webbe's *DISCOURSE OF ENGLISH POETRIE* (Arber's rep. p. 32) in the phrase "very sharpe and eger," in 1586. Harington has:

Such eger fight these warriors was betweene,

in his translation of Ariosto's *ORLANDO FURIOSO*, 1591, B. i, st. 62; and Daniel has:

Altar of safeguard whereto affliction flies
From the eager pursuit of severity,

in his *CERTAINE EPISTLES*, 1601-3 (TO SIR THOMAS EGERTON, ll. 65-66); and

Men running with such eager violence,

in his *MUSOPHILUS*, l. 744. Greene has "far more egar rage" (Alleyn MS. of *ORLANDO FURIOSO*, ed. Dyce, p. 107). As well might the word "nipping," if found in any two authors, be cited as a proof of their identity.

In the second instance, what is relied on is the analogy between the use of "thicken" on the one hand in regard to light and on the other in regard to the "spirits visual." But Bacon was using the regular terminology of the physicians of the period, which he seems to have had at his fingers' ends; and the really significant fact is that

Shakespeare not only never uses the expression "visual spirits," but only once (*ROMEO AND JULIET*, iv, 1) uses the much commoner "vital spirit," and seldom even uses "spirits" in the general physiological sense, in which Bacon uses it constantly in the *NATURAL HISTORY*.¹ Shakespeare employs the word hundreds of times in the senses of unembodied being or ghost, energy, "good spirits," courage, &c., almost never in the sense in which Bacon applies it as many hundreds of times.

The parallel is worse than futile for the Baconian's purpose: it points the way of disillusionment to any who will follow. A simple perusal of the *NATURAL HISTORY*, which so few of the rank and file of the Baconians attempt, might alone open one's eyes to the vastness of the error of ascribing that book and the Plays to the same hand. It exhibits a dozen preoccupations of which the Plays show no trace; it is packed full of observations of a kind at which they hardly ever hint; it is inspired by a scientific bias of which they are devoid; and in every page it presents a number of words which they do not contain. It would be quite safe to undertake to produce from Bacon many hundreds of words not found in the Plays, as will be shown in a later chapter.

As regards the coincidences, nine out of ten are as irrelevant as the first above cited. Mr. Donnelly finds evidence of common authorship in the use of expressions that must have been used in every Elizabethan pulpit. The fact that Shakespeare and Bacon speak, one of "troublers of the world's peace," the other of "troublers of the world" was for him an electrifying discovery. Devoid of knowledge of secular Elizabethan and Jacobean literature, he did not even know that "the troubler of Israel" is a phrase in the authorised translation of the Bible, which here follows the Bishops' Bible of 1560. Other Biblical allusions to "troubling Israel" gave the

¹ *E.g.* §§ 22, 23, 30, 60, 66, 75, 98, 114, 294, -6, -7, -9, 301, -3, -4, -6, 312, -13, -14, -15, -16, 354, 601, &c. &c.

expression a universal vogue, as may be seen from a number of old discourses.¹ Shakespeare and Bacon alike employed household words.

In the same way Mr. Donnelly finds evidence of common authorship in the mere use of such related words as "rough-hew" and "rough-hewn," "corrosive" and "corrosion;" such every-day Tudor words as "quality," "fantastical;" such common metaphors as "weeds" and "weed-out" for moral evils and their extirpation; and the metaphorical uses of "sea," "ocean," "garment"—apart from any further coincidence of phrase. If there are three words more universally used than others by way of emphasis and metaphor in Elizabethan literature of every kind, they are "infinite," "swelling," and "sea"; and these are among the words fastened on by Mr. Donnelly as serving to identify Bacon with Shakespeare. The commonest tags and idioms are for him pregnant with mysterious evidential force when he can find them in both authors. The simple collocation "mild and gentle" is eagerly italicised in such a case; the idiom "the top of," which was as common in Elizabeth's day (*e.g.* "the top of judgment" or "of human desires") as "the height of" in the same sense then and to-day, is paraded, without even one case of coincidence in the completion of the phrase. One finds it everywhere in contemporary drama and poetry:

Are we so much below you
That, till you have us, are the tops of nature?
Beaumont and Fletcher, *Wit without Money*, iii, 1.

The top of their felicity.
Painter, *Palace of Pleasure*, tom. ii, nov. 26: Haslewood's rep. p. 393.

In the top of all thy pride.
Lodge, *Wounds of Civil War*, I. 316.

We must ascend to our intention's top.
Chapman, *Byron's Tragedy*, i, 1.

¹ See illustrations hereinafter, p. 430.

The top of his house.

Id. The Widow's Tears, i, 1.

I that whilom was

The top of my house.

Massinger, *The Maid of Honour*, iv, 5.

The top of woman.

Jonson, *The Devil is an Ass*, iv, 1.

His worshipful ambition, and the top of it

The very forked top, too !

Id. Ib. ii, 1.

My worshipful kinsman, and the top of our house.

Id. The Staple of News, ii, 1.

The highest top of honour.

Brandon, *The Vertuous Octavia*, 1598 (Malone Soc. rep. l. 110).

The highest top of their (poets') profession.

Sidney, *Apologie for Poetrie*, Arber's rep. p. 34.

So ignorant was Mr. Donnelly of Elizabethan literature, and so blind was he to the plainest duty in the way of research, that any word with which he was unfamiliar—and they were legion—served him at once as serious evidence when he could find it both in Bacon and in the Plays, and still more when he found it also in Florio's translation of Montaigne. Thus he notes that Shakespeare and Montaigne (*i.e.* Florio : Mr. Donnelly seems to have regarded the translation as an original English work !) “ both used those strange words *gravelled* and *quintessence*,” and again “ that strange word *eternizing*, found both in Bacon and in Shakespeare.” Blundering could no further go. The verb “ eternize,” in various flections, is common in Spenser, Marlowe, Greene, Peele, Nashe, Jonson, Lodge, and Drayton, to say nothing of Heywood and other later dramatists. Instances could be given by the score. “ Quintessence ” was a standing term in alchemy, and is found in Marlowe (I TAMB. v. 2) ; twice in Sir John Davies (NOSCE TEIPSUM, ed. Grosart, i, 40, 43) ; often in Jonson, VOLPONE, ii, 1 ; THE POETASTER, iv, 6 (7) ; THE AL-CHEMIST, i, 1 ; EVERY MAN OUT OF HIS HUMOUR, ii, 1 ; THE DEVIL IS AN ASS, ii, 3 ; THE NEW INN, ii, 21) ; in Fairfax's translation of Tasso's JERUSALEM DELIVERED

(B. x, st. 14); in Greene (A QUIP FOR AN UPSTART COURTIER; Works, ed. Grosart, xi, 217); in Heywood (THE FAIR MAID OF THE EXCHANGE, Pearson's Heywood, ii, 18); twice in one play of Chapman (ALL FOOLS, i, 1; v, near end); again in another (BUSSY D'AMBOIS, iii, 1); and yet again in the HYMNUS IN NOCTEM in THE SHADOW OF NIGHT, and in the epistle dedicatory to his translation of the ILIAD; often in Lilly (MYDAS i, 1; GALLATHEA, ii, 3; ENDIMION, iv, 3; SAPHO AND PHAON, i, 4; LOVE'S METAMORPHOSIS, ii, 2); in King James's translation of Du Bartas' URANIE (Arber's rep. p. 25); at least ten times in six pamphlets by Nashe (Works, ed. McKerrow, i, 135, 194, 280, 351, 373, 381; ii, 10, 149, 265, 311); in the epistle dedicatory to WILLOBIE AND HIS AVISA (1596); in Marston's SATIRES, iv, l. 49; twice in Sidney's ASTROPHEL AND STELLA (28, 77)—everywhere, in short, in Elizabethan and early Stuart literature. We find it in theology—e.g. in Sidney and Golding's translation of De Mornay on the Christian Religion (1587; ed. 1604, p. 89). It was familiar to every playgoer. Massinger puts the word in the mouth of a cook in A NEW WAY TO PAY OLD DEBTS (ii, 2)—a realistic play; and in that of a waiting-maid in THE FATAL DOWRY (ii, middle).

"Gravelled" is so common a vernacular word that it is astonishing to find even Mr. Donnelly surprised by it. Taylor, the Water Poet, avowing his lack of learning, tells that,

Having got from *possum* to *posset*,

I there was gravelled, could no further get.

Taylor's Motto, near end.

It occurs in so well known a book as Ascham's SCHOLEMASTER: "Any labor may be sone gravaled" (Arber's rep. p. 41); and twice in one page of Sidney and Golding's translation of De Mornay on the Christian Religion (1587):

This . . . graveleth Plutarke more than all the rest.

So sore graveled in this consideration.

Ed. 1604, p. 286;

and again :

Utterly amazed and graveled.

Id. p. 269.

In Ford's short tract, HONOR TRIUMPHANT (1606), I find "gravelled" in the second sentence of the epistle dedicatory, "quintessence" twice, in two successive lines of the text (Sh. Soc. rep. p. 15) and "gravel'd" again (p. 25). Turning to Marlowe for "quintessence," I chance upon

Gravelled the pastors of the German church.

Faustus, i, 1.

I will spare the reader further instances.

Before dealing with Mr. Donnelly's other parallels it may be worth while to note the commonness alike of reiteration and real copying of phrase and word in Elizabethan letters, and the varying significance of it. Such echoings serve at times as clues to authorship, some writers being much given to repeating phrases and words of their own. When the repetition is one of non-significant phrase, a mere trick of speech, it may be a very useful clue—a kind of thumb-print. But men have also tics or mannerisms in the way of reiterating saws or commonplaces. On the other hand, many writers certainly echo and imitate others. Bacon did it freely. Has not Mr. Donnelly put to his fellow Baconians the dilemma: "Either Francis Bacon wrote the *Essays of Montaigne*, or Francis Bacon stole many of his noblest thoughts and the whole scheme of his philosophy (!) from Montaigne."¹ So reasons the monomaniac. Scholars deal with such problems rationally, without talking of "stealing." Mr. McKerrow, whose edition of the Works of Nashe is a model at once of accuracy and of erudition, points to, and abundantly illustrates in his notes, Nashe's "habit of almost literal—but unacknowledged—quotation." Nashe, in prose, indulged only a little more freely in the common habit of the poets

¹ Cited by Mrs. Stopes, *The Bacon-Shakespeare Question Answered*, 2nd ed. 1889, p. 218.

and dramatists of the time. Marlowe deliberately copies Spenser in a long and fine passage, and frequently in shorter passages. Greene often echoes Spenser, Marlowe, Lilly, and himself; Peele imitates Marlowe and Spenser and FERREX AND PORREX, but oftener himself; and Shakespeare at times copies Marlowe and others. Chapman in his first play, THE BLIND BEGGAR OF ALEXANDRIA (1596), has Marlowe's line (near end) :

None ever loved but at first sight they loved,

which Shakespeare avowedly quotes in AS YOU LIKE IT (iii, 5). In his BLIND BEGGAR Chapman perceptibly imitates Marlowe, Peele, and Greene; and his line,

Kings in their mercy come most near the Gods,
may be an echo of Peele.

Shakespeare at times imitates without avowal. The passage in 2 HENRY IV (IV, iv) about the labour of the mind wearing its covering

So thin that life looks through and will break out,

copies¹ Daniel's CIVIL WARS (ed. 1595 : DISSENSION. B. iii, st. 116) :

Wearing the wall so thin, that now the mind
Might well look thorough, and his frailty find.

The echo is not exactly an improvement. Nor does Shakespeare improve, in TROILUS AND CRESSIDA (ii, 2), on the "mighty line" of Marlowe, on

The face that launched a thousand ships,

¹ See the Variorum ed. *in loc.* as to Hurd's fallacious assumption that it was Daniel who copied Shakespeare. In several instances Shakespeare echoes Daniel. See above, ch. viii, p. 280, No. 9; and compare Shakespeare's line:

Lest the wise world should look into your moan,

Sonnet 71,

with Daniel's :

Cannot the busy world let me alone,
To bear alone the burthen of my grief,
But they must intermeddle with my moan?
Letter from Octavia to Marcus Antonius, 1599, st. 44.

which he certainly had in mind; as he may have had Sidney's sentence about

a gentle South-west wind which comes creeping over flowery fields and shadowed waters,

Arcadia, p. 2,

“if and when” he wrote, in TWELFTH NIGHT,

the sweet South¹

That breathes upon a bank of violets,

It would certainly seem that the words of Antonio :

The world . . .

A stage where every man must play a part

And mine a sad one,

Merchant, I, i, 78-79,

reproduce Sidney's sentence :

For her, she found the world but a wearisome stage unto her, where she played a part against her will.

Arcadia, ed. 1627, p. 208.

In the Sonnets (94 and 142) Shakespeare copies two lines of the play EDWARD III :

Lilies that fester smell far worse than weeds.

That have profaned their scarlet ornaments.

Even in MACBETH, at the height of his power, he noticeably echoes passages of the second-rate WARNING FOR FAIRE WOMEN (1599). That (ii, 2) has the lines :

Oh, sable night, sit on the eye of heaven,

That it discern not this black deed of darkness.

Be thou my coverture, thick ugly night ;

which he thus twice transmutes :

Come, thick night,

And pall thee in the dunnest smoke of hell,

That my keen knife see not the wound it makes,

Nor heaven peep through the blanket of the dark.

i. 5.

Come, seeling night

Scarf up the tender eye of pitiful day.

iii, 2.

¹ *Sound* in the Folio. It was probably the passage in Sidney that led Pope to substitute “South.” *Sound* does not “steal and give odour.” But perhaps Shakespeare wrote “sough.”

As the *WARNING* was played by his company, it is highly probable that he had acted in it, and that, as in plots, so in diction, he spontaneously evolved upon his reminiscences something more intense and masterlike.¹ So he did when at one stroke he reduced to comparative ineptitude the ambitious line of Marston,

Yet the sanguinolent stain would extant be,
by the thunder-roll of

The multitudinous seas incarnadine.²

To assume that all these "echoes and correspondencies" signify the pervading presence of one writer would be to miss fatuously the whole lesson of literary history. Whether the process be one of betterment, as when the absurdity of "sit on the eye of heaven" is partly rectified by "scarf up the eye of day," or whether it be one of more or less successful reproduction of a remembered music, it is all in the normal way of poetcraft, as Roger

¹ Professor MacCallum (*Shakespeare's Roman Tragedies*, 1912, p. 171) has noted further echoes from the same play in *Julius Cæsar*. The *Warning* has a passage in which a murderer speaks of having given his victim fifteen wounds "which will be fifteen mouths. . . . In every mouth there is a bloody tongue, which will speak." That idea is twice duplicated, with the words italicised, in Antony's speeches, III, i, 259; III, ii, 228. I cannot say that there is any improvement here, as Antony's "dumb mouths do ope their ruby lips to beg the voice" of his tongue. The double repetition of such matter in *Julius Cæsar*, I confess, strengthens my lifelong suspicion (see above, p. 190. that that play proceeds upon or takes up other men's work, Baconians, I suppose, will prefer the inference that Bacon wrote the *Warning for Faire Women*.

² I am assuming that Marston's *Insatiate Countess*, though not published till 1613, was written before *Macbeth*. See *Montaigne and Shakespeare*, pp. 125, 238 sq., 256 sq. The problem, however, is a very difficult one. Marston was certainly an imitator of Shakespeare; but if he wrote his "sanguinolent" line to rival Shakespeare's he failed egregiously. What is clear is that the dramatists of the day discussed each other's diction. See Jonson's *Poetaster*, passim, and Marston's *Scourge of Villanie*, pref. prose.

Ascham noted long before Shakespeare.¹ So did Virgil imitate Homer, and Horace Pindar; so did a hundred later poets imitate Virgil and Horace; so did Spenser imitate Chaucer, who imitated so many; so did Milton the translation of Du Bartas and other poems of Sylvester,² Spenser's *FAERIE QUEENE*, and the verse of the two Fletchers,³ as well as many a passage of the classics; so did Gray jewel his verse with a score of reminiscences; so did Wordsworth borrow from Spenser his line about Triton's wreathed horn;⁴ so did Tennyson, in our age, reproduce alike classical and English phrases in many a poem; and so did Poe echo Mrs. Browning, as she in her turn had echoed Coleridge and as he in turn had echoed Sir John Davies.⁵ To surmise identity of hand in such cases of copying, even among contemporaries, would visibly be the height of folly. Spenser repeated thrice, with variations, his own charming trope:

Upon her eyelids many Graces sate
Under the shadow of her even browes.⁶

This is copied by Drayton (*IDEA*, 4):

Blest star of beauty, on whose eyelids sit
A thousand nymph-like and enamoured Graces.

But no critic would dream of arguing that this last repetition must also be Spenser's own, whether or not he

¹ *The Scholemaster*, B. ii: *Imitation*. Macrobius, of course, had in antiquity made the matter notorious as to Homer and Virgil. Ascham notes how Virgil and Cicero repeat themselves.

² See Dunster's *Commentaries on Milton's early reading, and the Prima Stamina of his Paradise Lost*, 1800.

³ See H. E. Cory's *Spenser, the School of the Fletchers, and Milton*. Univ. of California Press, 1912.

⁴ Spenser, *Colin Clout's Come Home Againe*, l. 245; Wordsworth, Sonnet *The World is too much with us*.

⁵ See Grosart's ed. of Davies, i, p. xcvi. A number of such echoes are noted in an old paper by the author in vol. ii, of *Criticisms*.

⁶ *F. Q.* II, iii, 25. Cp. Sonnet II; *Hymne in Honour of Beautie*, st. 5 from end; and King's Glosse to the *Shepherds Calender*: *June*.

knew that the idea is derived from Musæus. Such a conception of poetic authorship is outside of argument. Yet it would be less absurd than to identify the author of the Shakespeare Plays with Bacon on the score of parallelisms of phrase such as are founded on by Mr. Donnelly. Far closer parallels are to be found between the Shakespeare Plays and those of subsequent dramatists,—for instance, Webster, and Beaumont and Fletcher. Take a handful of Webster's imitations :

I will wear him in my heart's core.

Hamlet, III. 2.

the secret of my prince,

Which I will wear on the inside of my heart.

Duchess of Malfy, iii, 2.

I'll put a girdle round about the earth.

Midsummer Night's Dream, ii, 2.

He that can compass me and knows my drifts,
May say he hath put a girdle 'bout the world.¹

Duchess of Malfy, iii, 1.

'tis the eye of childhood

That fears a painted devil.

Macbeth, ii, 2.

Terrify babes, my lord, with painted devils.

The White Devil (Dyce, p. 22).

He doth bestride the narrow world

Like a Colossus.

Julius Cæsar, i, 2.

The high Colossus that bestrides us all.

Appius and Virginia, iii, 1.

Richer than all his tribe.

Othello, v, 2.

More worth than all her tribe.

Appius and Virginia, iv, 1.

My operant powers their functions leave to do.

Hamlet, iii, 2.

This sight hath stiffen'd all my operant powers.

Appius and Virginia, v, 3.

¹ Mr. Harold Bayley (*The Shakespeare Symphony*, 1906, p. 259) has pointed out that this "girdle" phrase, which occurs twice in Bacon as a name for the Equator, is poetically used by Chapman, Massinger, Shirley, Ford, and Beaumont and Fletcher, as well as by Webster.

'Tis in my memory locked,
And you yourself shall keep the key of it.

Hamlet, i, 3.

You shall close it (a promise of secrecy) up like a treatise of
your own, and yourself shall keep the key of it.

Northward Ho, i, 1.

The Chapman parallels,¹ if less numerous, are no less
noteworthy :

When sorrows come, they come not single spies,
But in battalions.

Hamlet.

Afflictions

Do fall like hailstones, one no sooner drops,
But a whole shower does follow.

Chapman, *Revenge for Honour*, ii, 1.

Spacious in the possession of dirt.

Hamlet.

Rich in dirt.

All Fools, i, 1.

Let the frame of things disjoint, both the worlds suffer.

Macbeth.

The breaking of so great a thing should make
A greater crack. The bound of the world
Should have shaken lions into civil streets.

Julius Cæsar.

Methinks the frame

And shaken points of the whole world should crack.

Chapman, *Bussy D'Ambois*, v, 1.

Why, man, he doth bestride the narrow world
Like a Colossus.

Julius Cæsar.

A Colossus

What (? That) could so lately straddle o'er a province.

The Admiral of France, iv, 1.

A Colossus,

And can stride from one province to another.

Id. ib. ii, 1.

Unskilful statuaries, who suppose,
In forging a Colossus, if they make him

¹ Apart from echoes of phrase, compare D'Olive's account of his following (*Monsieur D'Olive*, v, end) with Falstaff's description of his ragged regiment.

Straddle enough, strut, and look big, and gape,
Their work is goodly.

Id. Bussy D'Ambois, i, 1.

Similarly the visibly Shakespearean line :

The silver livery of advised age,

in 2 HENRY VI (V, ii, 47), is echoed in one of A LARUM FOR LONDON (Simpson's rep. p. 62) :

The silver cognisance of age,

and again in the Court Prologue to Dekker's OLD FORTUNATUS :

Clothed in the livery
Of silver-handed [? headed] age.

Some of these phrases were probably current formulas ; but it can hardly be doubted that some are real echoes ;¹ and similar identities can be noted between Webster and other contemporaries. There is not the slightest ground, however, for any mystification on this score as to plays published by their authors, save where there may be reason to surmise collaboration or re-casting : we are simply dealing with conscious or unconscious imitation. The same verdict holds good of such parallels as these between Shakespeare and Heywood :

I must be cruel only to be kind.

Hamlet.

Blanda. Indeed you are too cruel.

Young Lionel.

Yes, to her,

Only of purpose to be kind to thee.

The English Traveller, i, 2.

Heap Pelion upon Ossa.

Hamlet.

Heap Ossa upon Pelion.

The English Traveller, iv, 3.

Such phrases may have been current tags : Kyd has :

To bear up Peleon or Ossa.

Soliman and Perseda, i, 3 ;

¹ It is not impossible that Shakespeare's "Colossus" is an echo from a previous *Cæsar* which he worked over.

or one pair may be the echo of the other. The resemblance between Hamlet's reproaches to his mother (iii, 4) and those of young Geraldine to Wincott's wife, however, suggests actual reminiscence upon Heywood's part. In any case, no competent critic will suspect identity of authorship, any more than in respect of the parallels between Shakespeare's Plays and those of Beaumont and Fletcher :

There's such divinity doth hedge a king,
That treason can but peep to what it would.

Hamlet.

But there is
Divinity about you [the King] that strikes dead
My rising passions.

Maid's Tragedy, iii, 1.

[That passage in HAMLET, as I have elsewhere noted, seems to echo one in Montaigne's essay OF THE INCOMMODITY OF GREATNESS.¹ It is again echoed in the anonymous play NERO (1624) :

The beams of royal majesty are such
As all eyes with it are amazed and weakened,
But it with nothing. (v, 1.)

The poet may as well be echoing Montaigne as Shakespeare; or he—and Shakespeare before him—may instead have followed Sidney, who before Montaigne wrote of eyes "So incredibly blinded with the over-bright shining of his royalty."² Beaumont and Fletcher suggest only Shakespeare.]

My pulse as thine doth temperately keep time.

Hamlet.

Alas, my lord, your pulse keeps madman's time.

Philaster, iv, 1.

Hast thou no medicine for a mind diseased ?

Macbeth.

¹ See *Montaigne and Shakespeare*, second edition, p. 57.

² *Arcadia*, B. ii, ed. 1627, p. 207. Sidney wrote the bulk of the *Arcadia* in 1580-1; and Montaigne's third book, containing the essay *Of the Incommodity of Greatness*, appeared only in 1588. The idea, of course, goes back to Augustus.

Nature too unkind
That made no medicine for a troubled mind.

Philaster, iii, 1.

Hast thou no medicine to restore my wits
When I have lost 'em ?

Id. ib. near end.

The last two citations may or may not be echoes of Shakespeare : the tag, a medieval commonplace,¹ is older than *MACBETH* in Elizabethan drama.² In the *SPANISH TRAGEDY* (iii, 8) we have :

Ah ! but none of them will purge the heart !
No ! there's no medicine left for my disease.

In Ben Jonson, again, we have a passage which may tell either of conversations between himself and Shakespeare, or of recollection of Hamlet's advice to the players :

That the glass of custom, which is comedy, is so held up to me by the poet, as I can therein view the daily examples of men's lives, and images of truth in their manners. . . .

The Magnetic Lady, ii, 1, end.

Yet it may be that both alike had but echoed a common saw, for in the old interlude *IMPATIENT POVERTY* (1560) we have the line :

It is but a mirror vice to exclude.

Farmer's rep. 1909, p. 35 ;

¹ Gosson has " the surfeit of the soul is hardly cured." *School of Abuse*, Arber's rep. p. 30. And Greene has :

But griefs of mind by salves are not appeased.

James IV.

² So with another ancient saw :

Extreme diseases

Ask extreme remedies.

Chapman, *All Fools*, v, 1.

Diseases desperate grown

By desperate appliance are relieved.

Hamlet, iv, 3.

This had occurred earlier in Lilly (twice) and in Nashe.

and the "mirror" metaphor was in universal use. Another echo almost certainly stands for reminiscence. The lines :

Dear Angelo, you are not every man,
But one whom my *election* hath designed
As the true proper object of my *soul*,

The Case is Altered, i, 2,

cannot fail to recall Hamlet's

Since my dear *soul* was mistress of her choice
And could of men distinguish, her *election*
Hath sealed thee for herself.

Similarly, the speech of Hippolito, the melancholy lover in Dekker's HONEST WHORE (Pt. I, iv, 1), on a skull, is almost certainly an imitation of Hamlet's musings on the skull in the grave-digger's scene. The lines beginning

Perhaps this shrewd pate was mine enemy's,

with the allusion to

His quarrels, and that common fence, his law,

tell of Shakespearean suggestion. It was inevitable, in fact, in an age of sentientous writing, when playwrights moralised like everybody else, that some should echo Shakespeare as he echoed others.¹ But these parallels never set up in a rational reader any perplexity. To every student it is clear that there is no ground, in such cases, for surmising community of authorship. Yet Mr. Donnelly actually builds on the remote resemblance between Shakespeare's

doth *bestride* this narrow world

Like a *Colossus*,

and Bacon's phrase, "For this *giant bestrideth the sea*," when we actually have the closer parallels above noted between Shakespeare's phrase and those of Chapman and Webster; and, again, he brackets Shakespeare's "such

¹ Poets as well as dramatists echoed him. See the echoes in Samuel Nicholson's *Acolastus*, 1600, cited in Ingleby's *Centurie of Prayse*, i, 33.

divinity doth hedge a king'' with a Baconian phrase about "the law which is the *hedge* and fence about the liberty of the subject," when, as we have seen, Beaumont and Fletcher wrote of the "divinity about" the king. If we say on such evidence that Bacon wrote the Skakespeare Plays, we are committed to crediting him with those of Webster and Chapman and Beaumont and Fletcher also. It is plain folly in any of these cases to suppose any identity of authorship whatever. We are simply dealing with current tags.

A very real ground, indeed, for assigning non-Shakespearean authorship to work ascribed to Shakespeare does arise in a number of plays, long recognised by most critics as doubtful or as based upon older work. Thus we can trace the original HAMLET of Kyd here and there, in Shakespeare's play, by such remnants of Kyd's diction as the

I will consent, conceale,

of THE SPANISH TRAGEDY (iv, 1), found in the first quarto (sc. xi. l. 106), and in other phrases preserved in the final text.¹ But the three plays of the HENRY VI group, TITUS ANDRONICUS, and THE TAMING OF THE SHREW are the chief cases in point, apart from the various plays printed with his name, but not included in the Folio, and PERICLES and HENRY VIII, now generally recognised as composite. In regard to the HENRY VI plays and TITUS, but especially the latter, we have such grounds for diagnosing alien authorship as would have been held by the Baconians to be absolutely decisive if they had related to Bacon. The latter play contains a round score of the most marked verbal identities with passages in the signed works of Peele; and a less number of equally marked identities with passages in the signed works of Greene. In Peele's work in particular, the significant passages are not mere proverbs or commonplaces such as any writer might use;

¹ See Sarrazin's *Thomas Kyd und sein Kreis*, 1892, pp. 106-8.

but tricks and peculiarities of style and phrase which tell of one hand. The Baconians have never done anything so useful as to follow clues like these: one and all, they have heedlessly accepted the whole traditional Shakespearean canon, imputing the entire mass to Bacon. Should they chance to collate the Peelean and Greenean passages in *TITUS*, far from hesitating about the validity of their methods, they would in all likelihood proceed in a body to ascribe the entire performance of those poets also to Bacon.

And the imbroglio does not end there. Over and above the problem of actual repetitions of non-Shakespearean diction in the plays recognised as doubtful, we have that of the signal parallelism of style, rhythm, and idea (rather than of phrase) between the chorus-prologues to *HENRY V* and *TROILUS AND CRESSIDA* and those to Acts II and IV of Dekker's *OLD FORTUNATUS* and Act V of Heywood's *FAIR MAID OF THE WEST*. Precisely because the two "Shakespearean" prologues cited are *not* in the style of the plays to which they are attached, or of any other play of Shakespeare, we are moved to suspect the hand of either Dekker or Heywood in them, Dekker's for choice. This is the more reasonable because Dekker at times wrote for the Lord Chamberlain's Company, which was Shakespeare's.¹ We are not here concerned to do more than indicate the problem, and to note the difference between such a real ground for surmising an alien hand in choruses attached to genuine Shakespearean plays, and the visionary grounds given by Mr. Donnelly and his tribe for ascribing those plays in the lump to Bacon. He might quite as plausibly ascribe to Bacon the whole of the later Elizabethan drama.

And this, it will be remembered, several Baconians have

¹ In this connection it is noteworthy that Henslowe has an entry, Jan. 12, 1601-2, of a payment of 10s. to Dekker "for a prologe and a epiloge for the playe of ponesciones pillett"—*i.e.* *Pontius Pilate*.

done, even as Mr. Donnelly ascribes to Bacon Burton's ANATOMY OF MELANCHOLY and Florio's translation of Montaigne's ESSAYS—here diverging from others of the faith who ascribe to Bacon the French original, leaving Florio the credit of the translation. Lord Penzance, it should be observed, withholds these items from his readers, saying nothing of the parallels discovered by Mr. Donnelly between the ESSAYS, Bacon, and the Plays. He could not but apprehend that the obtrusion of the whole Baconian case would make more laughers than converts, and he simply suppresses the more startling details. Still, what he does present may suffice, when critically considered, to satisfy most readers that a judge's judgment on a literary issue may be worth very little.

Mr. Donnelly's remaining parallels may be classed under three heads :

A. Pseudo-Baconian citations from the essay OF DEATH posthumously published as Bacon's in the volume of REMAINES in 1648, but deliberately rejected by Dr. Rawley, who afterwards republished other things from the same volume.

That this essay is not Bacon's was the confident decision of Spedding, in which, probably, all critics now share ¹ who are not of the faith of Mr. Donnelly. That writer presents a series of fourteen parallels between Shakespearean passages and this non-Baconian essay; concerning which he does not once hint that there is any doubt as to its authenticity. Lord Penzance, knowing nothing else about it than Mr. Donnelly had told him, included these fourteen illicit parallels in his selection from Mr. Donnelly. And even these parallels are worthless.

B. A number of more or less trivial parallels of phrase; common to the propaganda of the whole Baconian school; of which samples have been given above. I have

¹ The style is singularly like that of Sir Thomas Browne, as Spedding observed.

“paralleled” only the more plausible. Mr. Donnelly finds significant parallels in the use of such phrases as Shakespeare’s “Shake patiently my great affliction off,” and Bacon’s “The soul having shaken off her flesh”; “He is winding up the watch of his wit” and “To wind down the watch of their life”; “You’re a fair viol” and “this harp of a man’s body”; “fret the string” and “struck upon that string”; “The fingers of the powers above” and “The soul shows what finger hath enforced her”; “feast of death” and “death’s banquet.” Over such “parallels,” and coincidences of phrase such as “infirm of purpose,” “piece of nature,” “base and bloody,” “soft and tender,” &c., which can be found by the hundred as between Bacon and any other Elizabethan writer, I do not propose to spend time. Their value may be gathered from the lists which I shall give below of instances from other writers of words specified by Mr. Donnelly as specially affected by Bacon and Shakespeare. Of more plausible parallels, however, there remain a few which may here be briefly dealt with.

1. Such proverbial phrases or moral maxims as “To thine own self be true” are hardly worth tracing. The speech of Polonius to Laertes contains half a dozen indisputable echoes of phrase from Euphues’ counsel to Philautus in *EUPHUES AND HIS ENGLAND*.¹ The “to thine own self be true” maxim is on a par with the others; and the Baconian claim is equally applicable to Lilly. Daniel has:

I made myself unto myself untrue.

Letter from Octavia to Marcus Antonius, 1599, st. 5;

and

How that deceit is but a caviller,
And true unto itself can never stand.

Musophilus, 1603, ll. 894-5.

¹ Pointed out by Rushton, in *Shakespeare’s Euphuism*, pp. 46, 47.

2. Any one but a Baconian would divine that Shakespeare's

Love

Must creep in service where it cannot go,

This is distinctive

and Bacon's "Love must creep where it cannot go," are simply citations of a proverb. It is given in Hazlitt's ENGLISH PROVERBS :

Love creepeth where it cannot go,

from Rowland's TIS MERRY WHEN GOSSIPS MEET (1602). There is further an old Scotch proverb : "Kindness will creep where it canna gang." It was evidently current long before 1600. Greene in FRIAR BACON (sc. 5 : ed. Dyce, p. 161) has :

why?

Love ought to creep as doth the dial's shade ;

and in MENAPHON (Arber's rep. p. 39) :

Love creepeth on by degrees. . . . Love . . . should enter into the eye, and by long gradations pass into the heart.

The argument from such a quotation for Bacon's authorship of Hamlet would make him author of :

What is love I will you show :

A thing that creeps and cannot go.

Heywood, *Rape of Lucrece*, 1608, ii, 1.

3. Shakespeare has "majestical roof [of heaven] fretted with golden fire," and Bacon suggests that if the deity had been of a human disposition he would have cast the stars in works and orders "like the frets in the roofs of houses." It is not impossible that one of those expressions may really have suggested the other. But if this be made an argument for Bacon's authorship of HAMLET, it entails by parity of reasoning the claim that Bacon wrote the dedication to himself of Chapman's translation of Hesiod's WORKS AND DAYS (1618), which contains the clause : "wherein your Lordship may find more honour than in the fretted roofs of the mighty." Chapman's signed dedication is emphatically in Chapman's style ; but that need not trouble Baconians.

n.

4. Shakespeare's passage (RICHARD III, ii, 3) about men's minds "by a divine instinct" anticipating danger as

The waters swell before a boisterous storm,

is paralleled in Bacon by a phrase comparing commotions in States to "secret swelling of the sea before a tempest." Here again Bacon might very well be reproducing what he had heard in the theatre. But all students are aware that the playwright was simply reproducing a passage of Holinshed :

Before such great things, men's hearts of a secret instinct of nature misgive them, as the sea without wind swelleth of himself some time before a tempest.

Cited in Boswell-Stone's *Shakespeare's Holinshed*, p. 353.

A similar expression occurs in Hall's Chronicle. Bacon may have echoed either the chronicles or the play; or the phrase may have had proverbial currency.

5. The last is obviously the explanation of the metaphor of "shunning a rock," that of a parasite acting as ivy on a tree, and that of a man being "limed" like a bird, which Mr. Donnelly gravely adds to his list of parallels. He does not blench at bracketing, as from the same hand; Shakespeare's

By that sin [ambition] fell the angels,

and Bacon's

The desire of power in excess caused the angels to fall—

a homiletic saying which must have been uttered by thousands of men and preachers many thousands of times in that generation. The fall of Lucifer and his angels through pride is one of the outstanding episodes in both the Coventry and the Chester MYSTERIES; in the old interlude NATURE, by Henry Medwall (c. 1490) it is described in the lines :

For pride and presumption,
Lucifer, which sometime was a glorious angel,
For that his offence had such correction
That both he and eke many a legion
Of his order was cast down to hell.

(Farmer's *Lost Tudor Plays*, p. 123) ;

and similar formulas could be cited from a score of books and sermons.

6. Bacon has the figure: "High treason is not written in ice"; and Shakespeare has: "a figure trench'd in ice, which . . . dissolves to water;" and "their virtues We write in water." This for Mr. Donnelly goes to prove identity of authorship. Then Bacon wrote also Daniel's *MUSOPHILUS* (1601), where we have:

Then where is that proud title of thy name
Written in yce of melting vanity? (ll. 129-130).

7. Wolsey's lines in *HENRY VIII* about venturing on a sea of glory,

Like little wanton boys that swim on bladders,

are bracketed by Mr. Donnelly with a passage in Bacon advising the man "that seeketh victory over himself" to begin cautiously, "and at the first . . . practise with helps, as swimmers do with bladders." There is no coincidence whatever in the sentiment of the two passages, in one of which the use of bladders in swimming is metaphorically put as the taking of a great risk, while in the other it is put as the cautious way of going to work. The every-day allusion to the use of bladders in swimming is the one point the two passages have in common. But a more serious difficulty for the Baconian is the fact that by nearly all critics the speech of Wolsey is recognised as the work of Fletcher, not of Shakespeare. This incidentally raises the question as to how Bacon contrived to collaborate with Fletcher without endangering his "secret." But probably the Baconian solution will be that Bacon wrote Beaumont and Fletcher. N,

Others of Mr. Donnelly's phrase-parallels are dealt with in the next chapter, as reproduced by Dr. Theobald.

C. For the rest, I have thought fit to deal in some detail, and at some cost of time and trouble, with his unspeakable list of citations of mere words, used metaphorically or otherwise, in the Plays and Works, held by

him to be significant of single authorship. No other part of the Baconian propaganda, I suppose, reveals such monumental ignorance of everything that a student of Elizabethan literature might be expected to know. We have seen above how Mr. Donnelly is thrilled by the discovery that both Bacon and Shakespeare use such "strange" words as "quintessence," "eternize," and "gravelled." But there is no limit to his faculty for surprise. He solemnly italicises such words as *mortal*, *ape*, *infinite*, *scour*, *fantastical*; such metaphors as *sea*, *ocean*, *scum*, *dregs*, *cloud*, *wilderness*, and so on, which lie thickly scattered over the whole territory of Tudor literature. The portent of Mr. Donnelly's ignorance in these matters transcends my powers of comment. But inasmuch as uninformed readers are found to be no less impressed by his word-parallels than by his phrase parallels, I have put together one-and-twenty sets of illustrations of the common use in the sixteenth century of words which Mr. Donnelly takes to be so special to the style of Bacon-Shakespeare as to stand for idiosyncrasies of vocabulary. If the enlightened reader's gorge should rise at such demonstrations as that "mortal man" was an expression in universal use, let him remember that if I have tried him much I have spared him more. And he is free to skip. But it may be worth his while to realise what Baconians are capable of putting down as "coincidences":

I. *Ape*.

The ape of form.

O Sleep, thou ape of death.

Shakespeare.

Custom . . . an ape of nature.

Bacon.

COMPARE

Blind chance, the ape of counsel and advice.

Chapman, *All Fools*, i, near end.

Make their native land the land of apes.

Id. *An Humorous Day's Mirth.*

(Shepherd's ed. p. 32.)

In all things his sweet ape.

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

Is he [the devil] not the ambitious ape of God's majestie ?

Nashe, *Christ's Teares over Jerusalem* : Works, ed.
McKerrow, ii, 40.

The painters, being the poets' apes.

Lilly, *Love's Metamorphosis*, ii.

Man is God's ape, and an ape is Zany to a man . . .

So are women men's she-apes.

Dekker, *Seven Deadly Sins of London* ; c. 8 :
Apishness, Arber's rep. p. 36.

They that draw shapes

Are but God's apes.

Id. *The Honest Whore*, iv, 1.

2. Axle-tree.

The axle-tree on which heaven rides.

Shakespeare.

The axle-tree whereupon I have turned.

Bacon, *Letter to Essex*, 1600.

The poles and axle-trees of Heaven, upon which the conversion
is accomplished.

Adv. of Learning, B. ii.

COMPARE

The axle-tree of Heaven.

Marlowe, *2 Tamb.* i, 1.

When heaven shall cease to move on both the poles.

Id. i, 3.

The adverse poles of that straight line

Which measureth the glorious frame of Heaven.

Id. iii, 4.

The axis of the world.

Id. v, 3.

Jointly move upon one axle-tree

Whose terminus is termed the world's wide pole.

Id. *Faustus*, ii, 2.

The axle-tree about which Heaven hath his motion.

Chapman, Ep. Ded. to trans. of *Iliad*.

And may both points of heaven's straight axle-tree
Conjoin in one, before thyself and me.

Chapman, *Bussy D'Ambois*, end.

His [night's] ebon car,

Whose axle-tree was jet enchased with stars.

Peele, *The Order of the Garter*, 23-4.

Fire, fire about the axle-tree of heaven.

Id. Battle of Alcazar, v, prol.

The axel tree of Heav'n.

Heaven's axeltree.

Davies, *Orchestra*, 1596, stt. 36, 64.

3. Bowels.

The bowels of the land.

The bowels of the battle.

The bowels of ungrateful Rome.

The bowels of the deep.

Shakespeare.

The bowels of morality.

Factions erected in the bowels [of the state].

Bacon.

COMPARE

A civil war . . . within the bowels of that estate.

Sidney, *Arcadia*, B. i, ed. 1627, p. 6.

Farewell all learning which is not sprung from the bowels of the Holy Bible.

Lilly, *Euphues: The Anatomy of Wit* (ch. on *Euphues and his Ephæbus*), Arber's rep. p. 156.

Thirty years together suffered she [France] her bowels to be torn out. . . .

Id. c. 7, Arber's rep. p. 47.

The wealthy mines

Found in the bowels of America.

Locrine (before 1595), i, 1.

Ope earth, and take thy miserable son

Into the bowels of thy cursed womb.

Peele, *David and Bethsabe*, 1594, iii, 4.

The bowels of a freezing cloud.

Marlowe, 1 *Tamburlaine*, iv, 2.

And rent [= rend] the bowels of the middle earth.

Greene, "Ditty" in *Perimedes the Blacksmith*, 1588.

The silver streams

That pierce earths bowels.

Peele, *David and Bethsabe*, i, 1.

That have . . . ript old Israel's bowels with your swords.

Id. ib. Ed. Dyce, p. 482.

And rend the bowels of this mighty realm.

Selimus (pub. 1594), l. 1044.

The bowels of this commonwealth.

Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, Cattley's ed. 1841, i, 164.

The bowels of these mysteries.

Chapman, *Hymnus in Cynthiam*.

The bowels of the earth.

Id. Ep. ded. to *Ovid's Banquet of Sense*.

The bowels of the earth.

Stubbes, *Anatomie of Abuses*, Collier's rep. p. 28.

This church, in the bowels whereof . . .

Hooker, *Eccles. Polity*, B. IV, ch. vi, § 1.

The bowels of the earth.

Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, I, i, 39.

The hallowed bowels of the silver Thames.

Jonson, *Every Man out of his Humour*, Epilogue.

Within the bowels of these elements.

Marlowe, *Faustus*, ii, 1.

4. Cloud.

The clouds that lowered upon our houses.

How is it that the cloud still hangs on you ?

Shakespeare.

This cloud hangs over the house.

The cloud of so great a rebellion hanging over his head.

The King . . . willing to leave a cloud upon him.

Bacon.

COMPARE

A fit cloud to cover their abuse.

Gosson, *School of Abuse*, (1579) Arber's rep. p. 41.

A cloud of passionate affection.

Essaies Politick and Morall, by D. T. Gent, 1608,
fol. 4 recto.

The misty cloud that so eclipseth fame.

Greene, verses in *Penelope's Web*, 1587.

The cloud of mortal things.

Chaucer, *Boece*, B. I. Prosa ii.

The cloud of ignorance.

Id. ib.

Those clouds that eclipse her [virtue].

Chapman, Ep. Ded. to trans. of Hesiod.

This black cloud

Of swollen hostility.

A Larum for London, Simpson's rep. p. 62.

With sorrow's cloud eclipsing our delights.

Lilly, *Woman in the Moon*, i, 1.

With sullen sorrows cloud her brain.

Id. ib.

Swelling clouds that overcast my brain.

Id. ib.

Cloudy mists of discontent.

Patient Grissil, v, 2.

Cloud of prejudice, or mist of passionate affection.

Hooker, *Eccles. Polity*, pref. ch. vii, § 1.

5. Dregs.

Dregs of the storm.

Dregs of conscience.

Shakespeare.

Dregs of this age.

Bacon to Queen Elizabeth.

COMPARE

The fresh supply of earthly dregs.

Marlowe, 2 *Tamb.* iii, 2.

The massy dregs of earth.

Id. iv, 2.

I'll be paid dear even for the dregs of my wit.

The Return from Parnassus (1602), sc. 3.

To pay him dear for the very dregs of his wit.

Nashe, *Four Letters Confuted*; Works, ed. McKerrow, i, 287.

The fecis and dragges of the sayd noble doctrines.

Elyot, *The Governour*, B. i. c. 14 (Dent's rep. p. 65).

The world judges such to be . . . peasants and dregs.

Roger Hutchinson, Parker Soc. rep. p. 302.

They who know what quality and value the men are of will think ye draw very near the dregs.

Hooker, *Eccles. Pol.*, pref. ch. iv, § 5.

An infinite rabble of such dirty dotages and filthy dregs.

Bale, *The Image of Both Churches*, ch. vi, § 5.

Wit hath his dregs as well as wine.

Nashe, Ep. ded. to *Christ's Teares over Jerusalem*.

The dregs and dross of mortality.

Id. *Christ's Teares*; Works, ed. McKerrow, ii, 41.

Dregs of men.

Chapman, *De Guiana, Carmen Epicum*.

The very dregs of servitude.

Heywood 1 *Edward IV* ii, 3.

Fond fancy's scum, and dregs of scattered thought.
Sidney, Sonnet in *English Garner*, ed. 1904, p. 135.

The stream

Of vulgar humour, mixt with common'st dregs.
Jonson, *Cynthia's Revels*, Act i, near end.

6. Fantastical.

High fantastical.

A mad fantastical trick.

A fantastical knave.

Fantastical lies.

Shakespeare.

A fantastical spirit.

Fantastical learning.

Bacon.

COMPARE

For as well Poets as Poesie are despised . . . for commonly whoso is studious in the art or shews himself excellent in it, they call him in disdain a *phantasticall*; and a light-headed or phantasticall man (by conversion) they call a Poet . . . ; and whatsoever device be of rare invention they term it phantasticall . . . ; and among men such as be modest and grave, and of little conversation . . . they call him in scorn a Philosopher or Poet, as much as to say as a phantasticall man, very injuriously (God wot). . . .

Puttenham, *Arte of English Poesie*, 1589,
Arber's rep. p. 34.

Fantastical fools.

Elyot, *The Governour*, 1531, B. i, c. 1, Dent's rep. p. 4.

Fantastical apparitions.

More, *Dialogue of Comfort*, Dent's rep. p. 220.

Fantastical dreams.

Nashe, *Anatomie of Absurditie*: Works, ed. McKerrow, i, 11.

Fantastical of her mind.

Lilly, *Mother Bombie*, i, 1.

Fantastical heads.

Gosson, *School of Abuse*, Arber's rep. p. 28.

Fantastical objections and reproofs.

Chapman, Ep. ded. to trans. of *Achilles' Shield*.

Another sort, as fantastical as the rest.

Stubbes, *Anatomie of Abuses*, Collier's rep. p. 52.

Another sort of fantastical fools.

Id. p. 143.

Fantastical preachings.

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

Fantastical devices.

Sidney and Golding's trans. of De Mornay, ed. 1604, p. 339.

Fantastical satirisme.

Nashe, *Christ's Teares over Jerusalem*, Pref. *To the Reader*.

This phantasticall treatise.

Id. Ep. ded. to *The Unfortunate Traveller*.

Dream the most fantastical.

Marston, *The Malcontent*, i, 1.

To be fantastical or scrupulous.

The Weakest goeth to the Wall, iii, 1.

Phantastically attyred.

Dekker, *Seven Deadly Sins*, Arber's rep. p. 35.

Phantastical apishness.

Id. p. 36.

For such fantastical and fruitless jewels.

Chapman, *An Humorous Day's Mirth* (Shepherd's ed. p. 24).

'Tis pretty fantastical.

Id. ib. p. 35.

Too fantastical.

Id. Monsieur D'Olive, iii, 1.

Fantastical opinions.

Beaumont and Fletcher, *Wit without Money*, iv, 1.

A strange fantastical birth.

Id. The Spanish Curate, ii, 1.

New fantastical fevers.

Id. ib.

(Twice within a dozen lines)

The papists in their fantastical religion.

Letters of Bishop Philpot, 1555; Parker Soc. rep. of *Examinations and Writings*, 1842, p. 222.

The dyvel . . . by his fantastical apparitions.

More, *Dialogue of Comfort against Tribulacion*, B. ii, Everyman's Lib. ed. p. 220.

A fantastical body.

Hooper, *Declaration of Christ*: Works, Parker Soc. ed. p. 62; also p. 193, &c.

A fantastical imagination.

Id. ib. p. 70.

7. Infinite.

Conclusions infinite.
 Fellows of infinite tongue.
 Infinite jest.
 Nature's infinite book of secresy.

Shakespeare.

Occasions are infinite.
 Infinite honour,
 Infinite flight of birds.

Bacon.

COMPARE

We have assembled infinites of men.

Heywood, *The Golden Age*, 1611, Pearson's ed. of Works, iii, 36.

With infinite commands.

Id. Fair Maid of the West, iii, 5.

Infinite sorts of people.

Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, I, iv, 6.

Infinite remembrance.

Id. II, ix, 56.

Infinite riches in a little room.

Marlowe, *Jew of Malta*, i, 1.

Knowledge infinite.

Id. I Tamb. ii, 7.

As those are, so shall these be infinite.

Dekker, *Old Fortunatus*, i, 1.

In this small compass lies
 Infinite treasure.

Id. ib. ii, 2.

That infinity of strangers.

Jonson, *The Devil is an Ass*, v, 1.

You are infinitely bound.

Id. ib. iv, 1.

They (fucuses) are infinite.

Id. ib.

Country madams infinite.

Id. A Tale of a Tub, i, 4.

Infinite variety of matter of all kinds.

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

The differences between them grew . . . in a manner infinite.

Id. pref. ch. viii, § 7.

Infinite bodies and infinite movings.

Sidney and Golding's trans. of De Mornay, ed. 1604, p. 1.

And as my duties be most infinite,
So infinite must also be my love

Gascoigne, *Jocasta*, i, 1.

Infinite virtues.

Lilly, *Endimion*, i, 1.

Infinite are my creatures.

Id. ii, 2.

Examples infinite.

Id. iii, 1.

Infinite millions of them [devils].

Nashe, *Terrors of the Night*: Works, ed. McKerrow, i, 349.

It were an infinite thing.

Id. *ib.*

Infinite thanks (twice in a page).

Hutchinson, First Sermon on Lord's Supper, 1560.

Infinite jeopardies.

Id. First Sermon of Oppression.

Sin in gathering head grows infinite.

Knack to Know an Honest Man, l. 757.

An infinite multitude of sheep.

Robinson's trans. of More's *Utopia*, Dent's rep. p. 24.

Infinite controversies in the law.

Id. p. 44.

Infinite are my creatures.

Lilly, *Endimion*, I, ii.

Of ripe years and infinite virtues.

Id. *ib.*

Infinite thanks.

Id. v, 1.

An infinite number of books.

Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, Cattlay's ed. 1841, i,
521. (Pref. on "The Utility of this Story.")

Sects and fraternities of infinite variety.

Id. p. 517.

It were too long, and a thing infinite.

Id. text, p. 10.

An infinite number daily do perish.

Stubbes' *Anatomie of Abuses*, Collier's rep. p. 33.

Neither can this infinite power . . . stand without infinite great dangers.

Jewel, *Controversy with Harding*, Parker Soc. ed. of
Works, p. 371.

These places, and infinite other like.

Id. p. 378.

An infinite number of people.

Trans. of Calvin on Ephesians, fol. 113.

An infinite number of other such.

Holland's trans. of Plutarch's *Moralia*; Dent's ed. p. 32.

We have infinite poets and pipers.

Gosson, *School of Abuse*, 1579, Arber's rep. p. 27.

Pleading infinite causes before the Senate and judges.

Elyot, *The Governour*, B. i, c. 14 (Rep. p. 67).

Reasons and examples, undoubtedly infinite.

Id. i, 3, p. 15.

Infinities of dreadful enemies.

Chapman, *Cæsar and Pompey*, i, 1

An infinite number of thousands of fighting men.

North, *Life of Cæsar* (Skeat's Sh. Plutarch, p. 66).

Bale hath mistaken it, as he hath done infinite things in that book.

Thynne, *Animadversions on Speight*, (1599) in Todd's *Illustrations of Gower and Chaucer*, 1810, p. 23.

Whereof infinite examples might be produced.

Id. p. 50.

Infinite in good wits.

Fenton's trans. of Guicciardini, 1579, p. 2.

Your Majesty's other virtues which God hath made infinite in you.

Id. Ep. ded.

In footmen infinite.

Id. p. 21.

Men infinite in multitudes.

Id. *ib.*

Of infinite report for shape and virtue.

Beaumont and Fletcher, *The Chances*, i, 1.

An infinite of ills.

Id. *Monsieur Thomas*, iii, 1.

Of Albion's glorious isle . . . the pleasures infinite.

Drayton's *Polyolbion*, ll. 1-2.

8. Mortal.

Mortal men.

Bacon.

Mortal men (thrice).

Shakespeare.

COMPARE

- Mortel thinges.
Chaucer, *Trans. of Boethius*, B. ii, prosa 3.
- Mortel folk.
Id. ib. prosa 4.
- Mortel folk.
Id. ib. B. iii, prosa 2.
- Mortel folk.
Id. ib. metrum 6.
- Mortal hand.
Daniel, *Cleopatra*, ii, 268.
- Mortal man.
Id. l. 1406, v, ii.
- Mortal eye.
Id. The Queenes Arcadia, l. 371 (II, i).
- Mortal eyes.
Sidney, *Astrophel and Stella*, 25.
- Mortal men:
More, *Dialogue of Comfort, &c.* B. iii. Dent's rep. p. 354.
- Mortal life.
Ferrex and Porrex, i, 1.
- Mortal wight.
Sackville, *Induction to The Mirroure for Magistrates*, st. 27.
- Mortal men (thrice).
Gascoigne, *Works*, ed. Cunliffe, ii, 21, 43, 261.
- Mortal men.
Peele, *Old Wives' Tale* (Morley's Peele, p. 185).
- Mortal man.
Id. Arraignement of Paris, iv, 1.
- Mortal men.
Dekker, *Old Fortunatus*, v, 2.
- Mortal men.
Id. ib. Epilogue (two successive pages).
- Mortal mankind.
Sidney, *Arcadia*, B. ii, 3rd sent.
- One mortal man.
Elyot, *The Governour*, B. i, c. 3.
- Mortal man.
Hooper, *Christ and His Office*, Parker Soc. rep. p. 25.
- Mortal man.
Id. Answer to Bishop of Winchester, p. 169.
- Mortal men (twice).
Nashe, *Christ's Teares over Jerusalem*; *Works*, ed. McKerrow, ii, 23, 60.

9. Mountain.

A mountain of affection.

Shakespeare.

Mountains of promises.

Bacon.

COMPARE

A great mountain of tribulation.

Sir T. More, *Dialogue of Comfort, &c.*, B. i, c. 2.
Dent's rep. p. 133.

To *promise* mountains and perform molehills.

Greene, *Card of Fancy*: Works, iv, 106.

You *promise* mountains.

Daniel, *Philotas*, l. 1576.

Who shall remove the mountain from my breast.

Chapman, *Bussy D'Ambois*, v, 1.

Have plucked this mountain of disgrace upon me.

Massinger, *The Bondman*, v, 3.

An atom

To the mountain of affliction I pull'd on me.

Id. *The Emperor of the East*, v, 2.

Mountains of vexation.

Id. *Believe as You List*, iv, 2.

Thy *promises*

Of many golden mountains to ensue.

Heywood, *Edward IV*, Pt. I, Pearson's ed. of Works, i, 34.

Increased this molehill

Unto that mountain which my father left me.

Id. *A Woman Killed with Kindness*, iii, 1.

Mountain heaps of milkwhite sacrifice.

Marlowe, *Dido*, i, 1.

This mountain of my shame.

Patient Grissil, ii, 2.

Mounds of mischief.

Sackville, *Complaynt of Buckingham*, st. 11.

Now shall the blood of Servius fall as heavy

As a huge mountain on your tyrant heads.

Heywood, *Rape of Lucrece*, v, 2.

10. Ocean.

An ocean of his tears,

An ocean of salt tears,

Shakespeare.

The ocean of philosophy.

The ocean of history.

Bacon.

COMPARE

Are not our lives with mischief's ocean bounded ?

Brandon, *The Vertuous Octavia*, l. 1821.

An ocean of my tears.

The Spanish Tragedy, ii, 5.

To what sea owe these streams their tribute, but to your
lordship's ocean ?

Chapman, Epist. ded. (to Bacon) of trans. of Hesiod.

In endless ocean of expected joys.

Lilly, *Woman in the Moon*, ii, 1.

Drowned in the ocean of his love.

Field, *A Woman is a Weathercock*, iii, 3.

Within the heart's-blood-ocean.

Porter, *The Two Angry Women of Abington*, i, 1.

Broad bottomless ocean sea-full of evils.

Beggars' Petition, 1538, Harl. Misc. ed. 1808, i, 221.

Our ocean shall these petty brooks devour.

Famous History of Sir Thomas Wyatt, Sc. 1.

Oceans of delight.

Sidney, *Astrophel and Stella*, 69.

Unto the boundless ocean of thy beauty.

Daniel, *Delia*, 1.

The boundless ocean of your worth.

Prologue to *The Maydes Metamorphosis*, 1600.

The ocean of new toils.

Daniel, *Civil Wars*, B. iv, st. 96.

The ocean of all-drowning Sov'rainty.

Id. B. vii, st. 12.

An unknown ocean of absolute power.

Sidney, *Arcadia*, ed. 1627, p. 206.

II. Paint.

A painted devil.

Gilded loam or painted clay.

Painted word.

Shakespeare.

But paintings.

Titular and painted head.

Bacon.

Painted observance.

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

And paint ten thousand images of loam
In gaudy silken colours.

Dekker, *Old Fortunatus*, i, 1.

Beauty is but a painting

This painted idol.

Id. ib.

I could paint o'er my cheeks
With ruddy-coloured smiles.

Id. ib. sc. 2.

Bid him come in and paint some comfort,
For surely there's none lives but painted comfort.

Id. ib.

Spanish Tragedy, iii, 12A.

God affects not any painted shape.

Peele, *David and Bethsabe*, iii, 5.

Paint his countenance with his heart's distress.

Id. ib. iv, 2.

Not painted yet in angels' eyes.

Id. ib.

Painted flowers.

Id. ib., i 3.

Wealth and painted honours.

Webster, *The Duchess of Malfi*, iii, 2.

When in my face the painted thoughts would outwardly
appear.

Surrey, in *Tottel's Miscellany*, Arber's rep. p. 6.

Pish ! these are painted causes.

Field, *A Woman is a Weathercock*, iii, 2.

The very face of woe

Painted in my beclouded stormy face.

Sidney, *Astrophel and Stella*, 45.

My pen . . . shall paint our joy.

Id. 70.

Fit words to paint the . . . face of woe.

Id. 1.

So lively painted forth in all things.

Sidney and Golding's trans. of De Mornay, *Of the Trewnes
of the Christian Religion*, 1587, ed. 1604, p. 1.

He hath so painted out his glory.

Id. p. 5.

This doctrine is not bred of man's braine, though it be painted there after some sort.

Id. p. 63.

It [the existence of God] is so many ways and so lively painted forth in all things.

Id. p. 1.

Pleasant fields . . . so painted.

F. Thynne, *The Debate between Pride and Lowliness* (c. 1570), Sh. Soc. rep. p. 8.

By nature painted thus.

Patient Grissil, iii, 1.

Painting speech.

Chapman, *Cæsar and Pompey*, i, 1.

Death's the best painter.

Dekker, *The Honest Whore*, iv, 1.

Rather living virtues than painted Gods.

Lilly, *Endimion*, iv, 3.

The papists, who make so much of their painted sheath.

Foxe, pref. to *Acts and Monuments*, Cattley's ed. 1841, i, 519 (prolegomena).

Others which sufficiently have painted out to the world the demeanour of these holy votaries.

Id. i, 384 (text).

This painted light.

Chapman, *Hymnus in Noctem*.

When Tellus' herbals painted were.

Id. *The Amorous Contention of Philis and Flora*.

Examples . . . painted before your eyes in enterludes and plays.

Stubbes, *Anatomie of Abuses*, Collier's rep. p. 140.

Every one nowadayes, almost, covet to deck and paint their bodies.

Id. p. 36.

That he be never so gallantly painted or curiously perfumed.

Id. p. 41.

12. Scour.

Scour the English hence.

Shakespeare.

The scouring of some noblemen from her Majesty's presence.

Bacon.

COMPARE

To scour the sea of the pirates.

Sidney, *Arcadia*, B. i, ed. 1867, p. 46.

Scoured and wasted the country where they went.

Nashe, *Pasquill's Return to England*. Works,
Ed. McKerrow, i, 77.

Scoured the narrow seas.

Id. Lenten Stuff. Works, iii, 158.

Scouring along as if he would besiege them
With a new wall of fire.

Heywood, *If you know not me, you know Nobody*,
Pearson's Heywood, i, 340.

Sirra, go you and scour about the hill.

Id. The Foure Prentises of London, Pearson, ii, 190.

Thou, Prince of Wales, and Audley, straight to sea.
Scour to Newhaven.

Edward III. II, ii, 204-5.

Now merrily sail these gallant Greeks to Troy,
And scour the seas.

Peele, *The Tale of Troy* (1589), l. 255.

We see the glistening fishes scour along.

Id. Honour of the Garter, l. 41.

Scour all before them like a scavenger.

Beaumont and Fletcher, *Monsieur Thomas*, iii, 1.

And fearless scours in danger's coasts.

Kyd, trans. of Garnier's *Cornelia*, Act. iv, *Chorus*.

Did scour the plaines in pursuit of the foe.

Id. v, l. 79.

The adverse navy sent to scour the seas.

Id. l. 296.

Out of the troops that scoured the plains.

Massinger, *The Bashful Lover*, iii, 2.
Choice troops of horse

Scour o'er the neighbour plains.

Id. The Duke of Milan, iv, 1.

I scour the street,

And over-tumble every man I meet.

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

Five hundred sail of warlike ships he brings,
Wherewith the frothing Ocean he scours.

Brandon, *The Vertuous Octavia*, 1589 (Malone Soc.
rep. ll. 1806-7).

Scour the marches with your Welshmen's hooks.

Peele, *Edward I*. Ed. Dyce, p. 384.

Now scour the streets and leave not one alive

Selimus, l. 1241.

Who after her as hastily gan scour.

Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, B. I, c. ii, st. 20.

Hoisting up sails . . . we scoured and returned home.

Greene's Metamorphosis, Works, ix, 85.

Leviathan that scours the seas.

Greene and Lodge, *A Looking Glass for London*,

Dyce's *Greene and Peele*, p. 135.

To send and over-scour the earth in part.

Greene, *Friar Bacon*, sc. 15.

And so scours the squadrons orderly.

Chapman, trans. of *Iliad*, iv, 245.

These are they that scour

The field so bravely towards us.

Id. B. V.

13. Sea.

A sea of joys. A sea of air. A sea of care. A sea of glory.
Seas of tears. Sea of blood. Sea of woes. Sea of troubles.

Shakespeare.

A sea of multitude. A sea of air. Vast seas of time. A sea
of quicksilver. A sea of baser metal.

Bacon.

COMPARE

The bittre sea of this lyf.

Chaucer, *Boece*, B. I, Prose iii.

This sea of fortune.

Id. B. I, Metre v.

Here they draw in a sea of matter.

Hooker, Pref. to B. I of *Eccles. Polity*, ch. viii, § 11.

Seas of heinous faults.

Gascoigne, *Jocasta*, 1566, i, 1.

Seas of sweet delight.

Id. i, 2, Chorus.

The overwhelming seas of fortune.

Daniel, *Cleopatra*, l. 140.

A whole sea of examples.

Sidney, *Apologie for Poetrie*, Arber's rep. p. 59.

Seas of care.

Higgins, *Mirroure for Magistrates*, rep. of ed. 1587,
Author's Induction, st. 5.

One turbulent sea of fear.

Heywood, *English Traveller*, ii, 2.

A sea of pleasure and content.

Id. *Wise-Woman of Hodgson*, iv, 1.

You are the powerful moon of my blood's sea.

Dekker, *Witch of Edmonton*, ii, 2.

Is he a prince ? ah no, he is a sea.

Greene, *Selimus*, l. 190.

Yon swelling seas of never-ceasing care.

Id. l. 1761.

A sea of blood.

Fairfax, trans. of Tasso's *Gerusalemme*, x, 50.

Shed seas of blood.

Field, *A Woman is a Weathercock*, iii, 2.

In this life's rough seas tossed.

Id. Chapman's pref. verses.

A sea of sins.

Beaumont and Fletcher, *The Maid's Tragedy*, iii, 1.

The sea of happiness that from me flows to you.

Massinger, *The City Madam*, ii, 2.

This sea of marriage. Call it rather

A whirlpool of afflictions.

Id. ii, 3.

These two arms

Had been his sea.

Beaumont and Fletcher, *The Scornful Lady*, iii, 1.

Against the sea of every lewd assault.

A Knack to know an Honest Man, 1596, l. 705.

Malone Soc. rep.

The sea of bloody tragedy.

Id. l. 47.

To stable and strength the walls of our hearts against the great surges of this tempestuous sea.

More's *Dialogue of Comfort against Tribulation*, 1534. Dent's rep. (with *Utopia*), p. 127.

A sea of blood.

Mucedorus (pr. 1598), Induction, 59.

Sweet seas of golden humour.

Chapman, *The Shadow of Night*.

That dead sea of life.

Jonson, *Underwoods*, 88.

Seas too extreme

Your song hath stirr'd up, to be calmed so soon.

Chapman, *A Justification of "Perseus and Andromeda,"* ad init.

Shed a sea of tears.

Massinger, *Believe as You List*, i, 1.

Embarked myself on a rough sea of danger.

Id. The Emperor of the East, iv, 1.

See how it [law] runs much like a turbulent sea.

Chapman, *Bussy D'Ambois*, ii, 1.

Swells to her full sea.

Id. Byron's Conspiracy, iv, 1.

See that maiden-sea of majesty.

Id. ib.

Your mitigations add but seas to seas.

Id. Revenge for Honour, iii, 1.

Calm his high-going sea.

Id. The Admiral of France, v.

Oh what a second ruthless sea of woes.

Id. Monsieur D'Olive, i, 1.

Our State's rough sea.

Id. ib. ii, 1.

14. Sinews.

Sinews of our plot.

Sinew of our fortune.

Shakespeare.

Intercept his [the King of Spain's], treasure, whereby we shall cut his sinews.

Bacon, Letter to Essex.

Sinews and springs of industry.

Nov. Org. i.

COMPARE

Lycurgus was wont to say that the laws were the sinews of a kingdom.

Greene, *The Royal Exchange* (1589-90): Works, ed. Grosart, vii, 234.

The sinews of his dominions.

Greene, *Menaphon*, 2nd sent.

The sinews of war.

Lilly, *Mydas*, i, 1.

Gold is the glue, sinews, and strength of war.

Peele, *The Battle of Alcazar* (1594), i, 2.

Policy,

The sinews and true strength of chivalry.

Peele, *The Tale of Troy*, ed. 1604, l. 363.

Gold is the strength, the sinews of the world.

Dekker, *Old Fortunatus*, i, 1.

The sinews of the imperial seat.

Marlowe, *2 Tamb.* iii, 1.

A King

Whose welfare is the sinews of his realm.

Heywood, Pt. II of *Fair Maid of the West*, Pearson's
Heywood, ii, 347.

The sinews of our war.

Massinger, *The Bondman*, 1, 3.

The nerves and sinews of your war.

Id. Believe as you List, i, 2.

Familiarity and conference,

That were the sinews of societies.

Nashe, *Summer's Last Will and Testament*; Works,
ed. McKerrow, iii, 271.

Some other sinews there are from which that overplus of
strength in persuasion doth arise.

Hooker, *Eccles. Polity*, Pref. to B. I, ch. viii, 10.

Plato named anger the sinews of the soul.

Holland's trans. of Plutarch's *Moralia* (1603).
Rep. in "Everyman's Lib." p. 21.

The sinews of trafficke and marchandise.

Sidney and Golding's trans. of De Mornay, ed.
1604, p. 102.

Blood, strength, and sinews of my happiness.

Jonson, *Every Man out of his Humour*, i, 1.

15. Sovereign.

The Sovereign'st thing on earth.

Shakespeare.

Sovereign medicines.

Bacon.

COMPARE

The sovereyn cure of all mortal folk.

Chaucer, Trans. of Boethius, B. II, Prose IV.

Sovereyn blisfulnesse.

Id. ib.

Sovereyn good. [Twice.]

Id. ib.

Sovereyn comfort.

Id. B. III, Prose i.

Sovereyn good. [Twelve times.]

Id. B. III, Prose ii.

Beauty soverayne.

Spenser, *F. Q.*, I, vi, 12.

- Sovereign bliss.
Puttenham, *Arte of English Poesie*, Arber's rep.
p. 44.
- Sovereign beauty.
Calisto and Melebea, l. 22.
- The soveraigne bewtie that me bound.
Surrey, in *Tottel's Miscellany*, Arber's rep. p. 24.
- Beauty's sovereign power.
Drayton, *Idea*, 50.
- Sovereign balm.
Dekker, *The Honest Whore*, v, 2.
- Sovereign balm.
Heywood, Pt. II of *King Edward IV.* (Works,
ed. Pearson, i, p. 167).
- Sovereign magic.
Dekker, *Old Fortunatus*, iii, 1.
- Sovereign poets.
Chapman, *Hymnus in Noctem*, 1594.
- Sovereign help.
Piers Plowman, l. 317.
- Sovereign for the soul,
Id. l. 6026.
- Sovereign book,
Id. l. 6033.
- Sovereign good.
Sidney and Golding's trans. of *De Mornay*, ed.
1604, p. 293 ; again p. 301.
- Sovereign welfare.
Id. p. 296 ; twice on p. 297 ; four times on p. 299.
- Sovereign balm.
Heywood, 2 *Edward IV.*, iv, 3.
- The most sovereign and precious weed.
Jonson, *Every Man in his Humour*, iii, 2.
- Sovereign light.
Daniel, *Sonnets after Astrophel*, 3.
- Sovereign grace.
Drayton, *Idea*, son. 43.
- Preparations most sovereign.
Medwall, *Nature* (c. 1490), Farmer's *Lost Tudor
Plays*, 1907, p. 122.
- Sovereign cordial.
Id. ib. p. 125.
- Sovereign knowledge.
Elyot, *The Governour*, B. i, 23.

16. Spice.

This spice of your hypocrisy.

Shakespeare.

A spice of madness.

Bacon.

COMPARE

A spyce of heryse.

Interlude of *Calisto and Melebea*, c. 1530.
Obsequentia, &c. Malone Soc. rep. l. 138.

A spice of idolatry.

Elyot, *The Governour*, i, 19 (Dent's rep. p. 86).

A spice of justice.

Chapman, *Bussy D'Ambois*, ii, 1.

Bites too hotly of the Puritan spice.

Id. ib. iii, 1.

Retain

A spice of his first parents.

Id. ib. v, near end.

A spice of the green sickness.

Jonson, *The Magnetic Lady*, i, 1.

Any spice of rashness, folly, or self-love.

Id. Discoveries.

A spice of idolatry.

Id. Bartholomew Fair, i, 1.

Some spice of religion.

Sidney and Golding's trans. of De Mornay, ed. 1604, p. 9.

A spice of the sciatica.

Chapman, *The Widow's Tears*, ii, 2.

17. Swelling.

The swelling act.

The swelling scene.

Noble swelling spirits.

Shakespeare.

Such a swelling season.

Bacon.

COMPARE

Behold all Persia swelling in the pride of their own power.

Lilly, *Alexander and Campaspe*, iii, 4.

Swelling phrases.

Sidney, *Apologie for Poetrie*, Arber's rep. p. 67.

The proudest outside that most swells with things without him.

Chapman, *The Revenge of Bussy D'Ambois*, i, 1.

- Can that swell me
Beyond my just proportion ?
Massinger, *The Picture*, i, 2.
- Swelling thoughts.
Lodge, *Wounds of Civil War*, 1. 68.
- Swelling tides.
Id. 1. 1054.
- Swells your spleen so high ?
Dekker, *The Honest Whore*, v, 2.
- Those golden piles
Which in rich pride shall swell before thy feet.
Id. *Old Fortunatus*, i, 1.
- As the bright moon swells in her pearlèd sphere.
Id. *ib.* i, 3.
- Swelling thoughts.
Lilly, *Endimion*, v, 2.
- Swelling pride.
Id. v, 3.
- Swelling wrath.
Gascoigne, *Jocasta*, i, 1.
- Swelling hate.
Id. i, 2.
- Swelling pride.
Id. ii, chorus at end.
- Swelling sorrows.
Id. iii, 1.
- Swelling hates.
Id. Epilogue.
- Swelling heart.
Peele, *Battle of Alcazar*, II, iii, 3.
- Swelling pride.
A Larum for London, Simpson's rep. p. 52.
- Swelled with ire.
Fairfax, trans. of Tasso, ii, 19.
- Our swelling mountain.
Lilly, prol. to *Campaspe*.
- Love doth not frowardly, swelleth not . . .
Tyndale's trans. of 1 Cor. xiii, 1525 and 1535.
- Methinks I see his envious heart to swell.
Sackville, *Ferrex and Porrex*, i, 1.
- Swelling pride.
Id. ii, 1.
- Swelling breast.
Id. ii, 2, Chorus.

Swelling pride.

Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, ed. cit., i, 33.

Some wits are swelling and high.

Jonson, *Discoveries : Ingeniorum discrimina*, Not. 1.

With pride so did she swell.

Spenser, *F. Q.*, I, iv, 11.

Swelling seas.

Lilly, *Woman in the Moon*, l. 9.

Swelling thoughts.

Lodge, *Wounds of Civil War*, l. 68.

Their swelling veins.

Chapman, *May-Day*, iv, 2.

Thy titles, and swelling offices.

Id. *The Admiral of France*, i, 1.

Swelling favour.

Id. ib. iv, end.

18. Tide, current.

A *tide* in the affairs of men, which *taken at the flood* . . .

We must *take the current when it serves*.

Shakespeare.

. . . I set down reputation, because of the peremptory *tides and currents* it hath ; which *if they be not taken in their due time*, are seldom recovered.

The *tide* of any opportunities . . . the *periods and tides* of estates.

The *tides and currents* of received errors.

Bacon.

COMPARE

The tide tarrieth no man.

Heywood's Proverbs.

Tide and wind stay no man's pleasure.

Southwell, *St. Peter's Complaint*, 1595.

What avails to strive against the tide.

Higgins, *Mirroure for Magistrates : King Albanact*,
st. 72.

Carried with full tide and wind of their wit.

Ascham, *Scholemaster*, Arber's rep. p. 116.

The current of a man's reputation, being divided into so many rivolets, must needs grow weak.

Dekker, Ep. Ded. to *The Seven Deadly Sins of London*.

The inconstancy of love that . . . had every minute ebbs and tides, sometimes overflowing the banks of Fortune . . . otherwhiles ebbing. . . .

Greene, *Menaphon*, Arber's rep. p. 24.

Honest against the tide of all temptations.

Beaumont and Fletcher, *Valentinian*, i, 1.

Borne by the hasty tide of short leisure.

Sidney, *Arcadia*, ed. 1627, p. 208.

The current of her sway.

Daniel, *Civil Wars*, B. v, st. 70.

And now that current with main fury ran,

Id. st. 89.

Borne with the swelling current of their pride.

Id. B. vi, st. 78.

19. Troubler.

The troubler of the poor world's peace.

Shakespeare.

The troublers of the world.

Bacon.

COMPARE

Achar, the troubler of Israel.

1 Chron. ii, 7.

Lest ye trouble the camp of Israel.

Josh. vi, 18.

Art thou he that troubleth Israel.

1 Kings xviii, 17.

I have not troubled Israel.

Id. v, 18.

That troubler of the public peace.

Bale, *Examination and Death of Cobham*, Parker Soc. ed. of Works, p. 19.

Distroublers of holy Church.

Id. *Examination of Thorpe*, p. 75.

Distroubled the communalty.

Id. ib. p. 84.

They [friars] say that they [good clerks] distrouble the world.

Wiclif, *Treatise against the Friars*, c. 26.

Trouble her that troubles a whole empire.

Heywood, *Rape of Lucrece*, i, 2.

Troubleth our estate.

Marlowe, *Massacre of Paris*, i, 3.

The troublers of the commonwealth.

North, *Life of Cæsar* (Sh. Plutarch, p. 68).

Busied the whole State
Troubled both foes and friends.

Jonson, *Underwoods*, 88.

Troubler of the Christen Church.

Vocacyon of Johan Bale, Harl. Misc. 1808, i, 361.

20. Weed.

We'll weed them all at last.

The caterpillars of the commonwealth
Which I have sworn to weed and pluck away.

Shakespeare.

A man's nature runs either to herbs or weeds: therefore . . .
water the one and destroy the other.

Bacon, Of Nature in Man.

COMPARE

Weeds and briars in me.

Dekker, *Witch of Edmonton*, iii, 2.

Thus do weeds grow up whiles no man regards them.

Nashe, *Pierce Penilesse* (Works, i, 175).

We'll join to weed them out.

Jonson, *Alchemist*, v, 1.

Would yield more fruit than all the idle weeds
That suck up your rain of favour.

Massinger, *The Picture*, iv, 4.

But men themselves, instead of bearing fruits,
Grow rude and foggy, overgrown with weeds,

Chapman, *Byron's Trajedy*, iv, 1.

The greatest worldly hopes . . . ye seek utterly to extirpate
as weeds.

Hooker, Pref. to B. I of *Eccles. Polity*, ch. viii, 3.

I'll follow ye, and ere I die, proclaim ye,
The weeds of Italy, the dross of nature.

Beaumont and Fletcher, *Valentinian*, iv, 4.

Weeds of superstition.

Foxe, one of the prefaces to *Acts and Monuments*,
Cattley's ed. 1841, i, 515.

Pluck up these weeds [rebels].

Fairfax's tr. of Tasso's *Jerusalem*, 1600, B. iv,
st. 16.

21. Wilderness.

A wilderness of sea.

A wilderness of tigers.

A wilderness of monkeys.

Shakespeare.

The greatest wilderness of waters.

Bacon.

COMPARE

A wide wilderness of waters deep.

Spenser, *Muiopotmos*, l. 288.

The errant wilderness of a woman's face.

Chapman, *Bussy D'Ambois*, v, 1.

Ha ! is my house turn'd

To a wilderness.

Massinger, *The Picture*, v, 3.

I must admire thy beauty's wilderness.

Lilly, *Woman in the Moon*, ii, 1.

A wilderness of seas.

Heywood, *Fair Maid of the West*, iv, 4, *end.*

My heart, a wasteful wilderness forsaken.

Barnes, *Parthenophil and Parthenophe*, Son. 99.

It is perhaps unnecessary to add that any other of the tropes cited by Mr. Donnelly as being significantly common to Bacon and Shakespeare may be similarly demonstrated to be part of the common phraseology of their age. One of his words, "shadow," is as universally used in metaphor as any of those above exemplified. Any student can satisfy himself on the point by a little investigation, if he needs satisfying. But I think the matter has been above decided for every rational reader.

CHAPTER X

THE ARGUMENT FROM COINCIDENCES OF PHRASE

ii. DR. R. M. THEOBALD

SO obviously unqualified was Mr. Donnelly for any inquiry involving acquaintance with Tudor and Stuart literature that one turns to any later Baconian attempt of the same kind with the hope of finding some developed caution, some concern for circumspection and research in a task in which he showed so little. And though Dr. Theobald's handling of the "classical" argument has yielded us so little sign of any such development, one still turns to his handling of "coincidences" in the hope of finding something better than the parade of ignorance presented by his predecessor. He has at least some perception of the nature of the logical issue involved; and he has actually sought to save himself from the force of some rebuttals.

The issue is, in a word, Are there such repeated coincidences of expression, whether in idea or in mere turn of phrase, in the Plays and in Bacon's writings, as can justify *prima facie* the hypothesis of identity of authorship? Both kinds of coincidence, we have seen, occur as between Shakespeare and other writers; and there can be nothing surprising in finding some as between him and Bacon, in an age so given to the reiteration of sententious sayings, proverbs, and tropes. But is there any such tissue of coincidences of mere phrase, say, as is found in *TITUS ANDRONICUS* and the works of Peele? It will be found that nothing of the kind is ever produced. Coincidences of *maxim* and *sentiment* there are, such as Mr. Crawford has produced in much larger number from

the writings of Bacon and Jonson. On the Baconian principles, either Bacon wrote Jonson, or Jonson Bacon. Similar occasional identities of sentiment in the Plays and in Bacon prove nothing more than in the case of Jonson. But of any general coincidence of *doctrine* between the plays and Bacon's writings there is and can be no pretence. Bacon, like so many Elizabethan writers, repeats himself many times without misgiving; but of doctrines and theses which so possessed him that he was never tired of reproducing them, there is no trace whatever in the Plays. All that the Baconians can produce is a sorry harvest of verbal parallels, nine-tenths of which can have no evidential significance whatever.

Those which *can* reasonably challenge attention evoke at once the query, How did such coincidences in general come about? The answer is obvious. Other dramatists who echo Shakespeare either were copying previous writers whom he had followed, or had heard or read, or heard quoted, Shakespeare's plays. Such echoes must have taken place, in the ordinary course of things; and when we find duplications of thought in Bacon and Jonson we similarly infer, either verbal communication—which we know took place between them—or the reading or hearing by one of things said or written by the other. If the reader, rather than adopt this kind of explanation, proceeds to surmise that Bacon wrote the works of Jonson—and, as regards similar coincidences with other writers, their works also—he need not further follow this argument, which is not framed for his order of judgment. As we reason in regard to other coincidences, so do we reason in regard to any real coincidences between Bacon and Shakespeare. If Jonson, Chapman, Webster, and Beaumont and Fletcher remembered and echoed Shakespearean sayings, so might Bacon. If an occasional identity of idea and expression be a ground for surmising *his* authorship of the Shakespearean plays, equally must it be a ground for surmising *their* authorship.

To give Dr. Theobald every advantage, I will deal first with what he evidently regards as his very best instance, since he puts it forth with special jubilation in the preface to his cousin's posthumous work on *THE CLASSICAL ELEMENT IN THE SHAKESPEARE PLAYS*. This it is. Shakespeare frequently introduces the idea of reactions and relations between the greater and the less—the greater “hiding” or overshadowing or obscuring or absorbing the other, as in the case of lights, griefs, maladies, or sea and river (*TWO GENTLEMEN*, III, i, 353; *CYMBELINE*, IV, ii, 244; *LEAR*, III, iv, 8; *PERICLES*, II, iii, 41; *MERCHANT*, V, i, 89 sq.). In the last-cited case, Portia remarks to Nerissa (1) that the greater glory dims the less, as a king his substitute, who (2) in the king's presence loses his state as does a river entering the sea. Bacon, in turn, in one passage has :

The greater should draw the less. So we see (1) when two lights meet, the greater doth darken and drown the less, and (2) when a smaller river runs into a greater it loseth both the name and the stream (*Life and Letters*, iii, 98).

Here the force of the coincidence lies mainly in the *collocation* of the two ideas. Either, singly, is quite common:

Let that high swelling river of their fame

Leave humble streams, that feed them yet their name.

Daniel, *Philotas*, 1718-19 (IV, ii).

[Rivers] that have made their graves

And buried both their names and all their gold

Within his [Thames'] greatness to augment his waves.

[Whereafter *he*, the Thames, is] swallowed up in ocean.

Id. *Civil Wars*, 1595, B. ii, st. 7.

Noting that the collocation is exceptional—though obviously likely—we have two hypotheses open. Either both writers copied a previous one—as they may very well have done—or Bacon, writing in the year 1603, recalled some notable lines he had heard at the theatre about 1596-98, or had read in or after 1600. What could be more natural? This is the obvious answer to

Dr. Theobald's challenge : " If any one can explain such a coincidence as this . . . by anything except identical authorship, I should like to know the alternative explanation and the process of reasoning by which it is reached." The process of reasoning is simply that set up by the multitude of similar coincidences in other Elizabethan writers, of which Dr. Theobald has apparently no knowledge. He is in effect denying that one author can ever copy or plagiarise from another.

A friend, he tells us, actually suggested to him that " Bacon may have heard or read the *MERCHANT OF VENICE* "—adding unnecessarily that "*without any conscious plagiarism*, he may have reproduced the imagery of the passage." To this Dr. Theobald replies : " I can confidently appeal to any unbiased reader whether such an explanation as this is not *infinitely more difficult to accept or even conceive* than the Baconian one of common authorship." If this asseveration has regard solely to the phrase " without any conscious plagiarism," it has some excuse ; but that qualification is as needless as it is indecisive. In the Elizabethan age, nobody troubled himself about plagiarism : all men, broadly speaking, practised it freely, though they at times charged others with similar offences. Bacon in his *PROMUS* positively heaped up saws, proverbs, maxims, phrases for use or comparison ; and in his writings he is perpetually quoting, with or without acknowledgment. And if Dr. Theobald means to affirm the inconceivableness or even the improbability of Bacon's hearing or reading and recollecting a passage in a finely poetic play, one can but dismiss his denial as idle. Let us but take a few of the precise coincidences between Bacon and Jonson, pointed out by Mr. Crawford :

If it be well weighed, to say that a man lieth is as much as to say that he is brave towards God, and a coward towards men. For a lie faces God, and shrinks from men.

Essay Of Truth.

I like such tempers well as stand before their mistresses with fear and trembling; and before their maker like impudent mountains.

Every Man out of his Humour, iii, 3.

Here Bacon echoes Montaigne, and Jonson one or other.

Reading maketh a full man.

Essay Of Studies.

An exactness of study, and multiplicity of reading, which maketh a full man.

Jonson's *Discoveries*: iv, *Lectio*.

Here Jonson echoes Bacon, as he does in many other places in the DISCOVERIES, at much greater length; and again in the phrase:

Suffrages in parliament are *numbered*, *not weighed*,

which had been used by Bacon in 1589. In all this there is no mystery: the learned man echoes another, in some respects less learned; and so many of the phrases in the PROMUS are found in the DISCOVERIES that one wonders whether Jonson may not have done some of the collecting for Bacon. But on the Baconian principle Bacon *wrote* the DISCOVERIES, as well as all the Jonsonian plays in which Bacon's favourite stories are used; and, by consequence, all the rest!

Rejecting *that* line of inference, we reject the other. Upon the most obvious reproduction of ideas, no inference of community of authorship is rationally to be founded where (1) the general circumstances are wholly repugnant to the hypothesis, and (2) copying was perfectly probable. Community of authorship *is* rationally to be surmised—of course it must in any case be supported by many other considerations before it can be taken as proved—where in two performances there are found a number of those small coincidences which could arise from unconscious mannerism, but which are not mere cases of universal usage. It is reasonable, for instance, to guess *prima facie* at Peele's authorship of an unsigned play *circa* 1590, which contains the phrase "sandy

) N.

plains," because he used that phrase in season and out of season. But to get a step beyond a guess we should have to test for (1) general resemblances in rhythm, (2) resemblances in style and sentiment, (3) resemblances in versification. That something *might* be proved in this way is recognised by Dr. Theobald when he attempts to reply to Judge Willis's exposure, in *THE BACONIAN MINT*, of his most confidently cited parallels. As we have seen,¹ he attempts to confute Judge Willis by arguing that a phrase might be "curious" even if used by everybody. He goes on to deny that he cited the "curious" phrase "starting-holes" as one "coined at the Baconian Mint."

Not at all [he goes on]: on the contrary, it was not likely to be used by Bacon unless it was already intelligible by more or less frequent usage. It did not certainly belong to the highways of literary resort, and as a somewhat slangy phrase the use of it in common by Bacon and Shakespeare is worth notice; that's all! It is merely an application of one of the laws of speech which I have elsewhere stated (p. 470): "No two writers help themselves in precisely the same way to the current phrases and notions that may be floating in the air at the time. Some individuality is shown even in these points of correspondence."²

Where then is the alleged individuality in the cases under notice? Absolutely no hint is offered on the subject. Bacon, we are shown, uses "starting-holes" twice, but he does it just as everybody else did—else how would the phrase be so intelligible as Dr. Theobald now says it must have been? The plain fact is that Dr. Theobald had *not* been aware of the currency of the phrase, else he would not have cited the occasional use of it by any two writers as a noteworthy "echo" or "coincidence." He does reluctantly admit that Mr. Willis proves him to have been mistaken "in the coupling of the words *gross and palpable*. But in this case," he absurdly goes on, "the Oxford Dictionary is as erring as I am"—as if the Oxford Dictionary claimed to be a

¹ Above p. 272.

² Preface to work cited, ed. 1904.

dictionary of phrases, with all instances of their use! He is disingenuous enough to add that "the learned judge overshoots the mark by giving in *most* of his references . . . not the coupled but the separate words, which of course prove nothing." The learned judge, as we have seen, actually gave *six* instances of the coupled words: the other instances were illustrative of the vogue of the terms. And Dr. Theobald, be it noted, had solemnly affirmed¹ that the phrase "gross and palpable" is "one of Bacon's many contributions to verbal currency. It was a new coin when it issued from his affluent mint. . . . Any one using it in the early part of the seventeenth century *would have felt almost obliged to quote Bacon while employing it.*" A more flagrant example of the method of ignorance it would be hard to find. And it is by the confident application of this method that Dr. Theobald finds Bacon to have written Marlowe as well as Shakespeare.

How it works in detail we shall see in examining Dr. Theobald's presentment of the mass of his case—largely compiled as it is from previous Baconian writers. The series of "echoes and correspondencies" in his twelfth chapter is made up indiscriminately of parallels in idea and parallels in phrase or idiom. Lest I be accused of unfair selection, I deal with half of them *seriatim*, abridging, of necessity, the presentment of some, but giving, I think, the full force of the argument in every case:

I. Comments on "the danger attending too much success in public service."

The main point is that "all immoderate success extinguisheth merit, and stirreth up distaste and envy" (Bacon to Essex, Letter in Spedding's *LIFE*, ii, 129). The idea is fully expressed in a speech of Ventidius, *ANTONY AND CLEOPATRA*, III, i, 11 *sq.*; and less directly in *CORIOLANUS*, I, i, 267 *sq.*

As Dr. Theobald himself partly indicates, this is a

¹ Work cited, p. 264.

standing commonplace, ancient and modern. Following Lewis Theobald, he cites Quintus Curtius, i, I, adding : " It is not unlikely that the poet had this passage in mind when he was writing the drama of ANTONY AND CLEOPATRA." There is no more reason to suppose that the dramatist had read Quintus Curtius than that he had written the letter to Essex. The reflection that distinguished success elicits envy and detraction is one of the most obvious in the whole range of human experience. In this case Dr. Theobald can suggest *no* correspondence of diction between Bacon and Shakespeare. On the other hand, the idea is common in Tudor and Jacobean literature. *E.g.* : Elyot, THE GOVERNOUR, B. iii, ch. 27 ; OF DETRACTION ; Holland's trans. of Plutarch's MORALIA (1603) ; OF ENVY AND HATRED. Compare :

Envy doth aye true honour's deeds despise.

Peele, *Welcome to the Earl of Essex*.

Yet in the House of Fame, and courts of Kings,
Envy will bite, or snarl and bark at least.

Id. *Honour of the Garter*.

Cicero. Great honours are great burdens, but on whom
They are cast with envy, he doth bear two loads.
His cares must still be double to his joys
In any dignity ; where, if he err,
He finds no pardon, and for doing well
A most small praise.

Jonson, *Catiline*, III, i, 1-6.

Sabinus. When men grow fast
Honour'd and loved, there is a trick in state
Which jealous princes never fail to use,
How to decline that growth, with fair pretext . . .
To shift them forth into another air
Where they may purge and lessen, etc.

Id. *Sejanus*, I, i.

[Envious great men] armed with power and Princes' jealousies,
Will put the least conceit of discontent
Into the greatest rank of treacheries,
That no one action shall seem innocent . . .
But this is still the fate of those that are
By nature or their fortunes eminent.
Who, either carried in conceit too far

Do work their own or others' discontent,
Or else are deemèd fit to be suppress.
Not for they are, but that they may be ill.

Daniel, *Tragedy of Philotas*, 1605, Chorus at end of Act II.

Such the rewards of great employments are.
Hate kills in peace, whom Fortune spares in war.

Id. ib. ll. 1738-39 (III, ii).

2. Bacon's amplification of the text in Proverbs : " As dead flies do cause the best ointment to stink, so does a little folly him that is in reputation for wisdom and honour." This is amplified in the DE AUGMENTIS, with express reference to the Bible text ; and variants on the idea occur in Bacon's speech to the judges in 1617 (LIFE, vi, 213) and his Reply to the Speaker in 1620 (LIFE, vii, 178). " It is important to remark how these *singularly subtle and, as thus expounded, original sentiments*, are reproduced in Shakespeare," in the rebuke of Mortimer to Hotspur (I HENRY VI, III, i, 180 sq.), and in Hamlet's " So oft it chances in particular men " speech (HAMLET, I, iv, 17).

Here one of the most often quoted sayings of the Book of Proverbs, familiar in every English household, is claimed as " singularly subtle and original " in its essential and obvious meaning ; and Bacon is credited with Shakespeare's development of the common theme, though Bacon refers to the text and Shakespeare does not ; and though there is *no* coincidence in their diction. As before; we are dealing with applications of a commonplace such as must have been made thousands of times by contemporaries.

3. In one of Bacon's MEDITATIONES SACRÆ, and in his speech at the trial of Lord Sanquhar for murder, there are allusions to the legendary magnanimity of the lion towards a yielding foe ; with a quotation from Ovid, *Corpora magnanimo satis est prostrasse leonem* (TRISTIA, III, v, 33). Shakespeare has the idea in LOVE'S LABOUR'S LOST (IV, i, 90) and in TROILUS AND CRESSIDA (V, iii, 37).

Irrelevant parallels are cited by Dr. Theobald from other plays.

As usual, we are dealing with a standing commonplace. If Dr. Theobald had read Puttenham he would know the story, probably then a household word in England, of Queen Elizabeth's answer to the knight who had been insolent to her before her accession and craved pardon when she was queen: "Do you not know that we are descended of the lion, whose nature is not to harm or prey upon the mouse, or any other such small vermin?"¹ If he had read Greene, he would have found this instance of the saying:

The king of beasts, that harms not yielding ones.

James IV, V, iii, 24,

with the variant, in the same scene:

I, eagle-like, disdain these little fowls,
And look on none but those that dare resist.

If he had read EDWARD III, he would have seen the line, (IV, ii, 33:)

The lion scorns to touch the yielding prey.

If he had consulted Douce's ILLUSTRATIONS OF SHAKESPEARE he might have read that

in THE CHOISE OF CHANGE, CONTAINING THE DIVINITIE, PHILOSOPHIE, AND POETRIE, &c. (1585, 4to), a work evidently constructed on the model of the Welsh triads, we find the following passage:—"three things shew that there is a great clemencie in lions: *they will not hurt them that lie grovelling,*" &c. Bartholomæus [trans. by Batman, 1582, folio] says, "their mercie is known by many and oft ensamples: *for they spare them that lie on the ground.*"²

Perhaps this may convince even Baconians that Dr. Theobald has found a mare's nest. Inasmuch as some Shakespearean critics have ascribed EDWARD III to

¹ *Arte of English Poesie*, 1589, Arber's rep. p. 303.

² Work cited, ed. 1839, p. 190. See the passage given more at length in Seager's *Natural History in Shakespeare's Time*, 1896, p. 183.

Shakespeare; Dr. Theobald and the Baconians will doubtless do as much—meaning Bacon. Some of them, I know, ascribe to Bacon the work of Puttenham. But they can hardly father on Bacon Bartholomew's early encyclopædia, the *DE PROPRIETATIBUS RERUM*, written in the thirteenth century, translated in 1397 by John of Trevisa, and printed in 1495; or *THE CHOISE OF CHANGE*, cited by Douce. And I suppose even Sir Edwin Durning-Lawrence would hardly ascribe to Bacon a poem published in 1557, with the line:

The fierce lyon will hurt no yelden things.

Wyatt, *To his Lady cruel over her yelden Lover*;

to say nothing of Lilly's

Lions spare those that couch to them.

Euphues and his England, Arber's rep. p. 377.

4. Thrice over; Bacon says of Aristotle that after the Ottoman fashion he could not feel secure in his kingdom of philosophy till he had slain his brothers. Shakespeare does not say this of Aristotle; but he makes Henry V on his accession reassure his brothers with the remark that

Not Amurath an Amurath succeeds,
But Harry, Harry.

2 H. IV, v, ii, 46.

Dr. Theobald regretfully admits that Bacon nowhere names Amurath; but stands all the same for his parallel! The historic fact¹ is that in 1596 the eldest son of Amurath III murdered *his* brethren on his accession. But there had been previous episodes of the kind. In Kyd's *SOLIMAN AND PERSEDA* (1592), Amurath, brother of Soliman, kills his brother Haleb, and is then killed by Soliman (i, 5); and in Peele's *BATTLE OF ALCAZAR* (1594), which begins with a dumb-show of the murder of the son, two young brothers, and the uncle of "the Moor" Muly Mahamet, the name Amurath occurs many times. Thus

¹ See note *in loc.* Variorum ed.

the practice and the name were already matters of theatrical as well as general comment. There is not the slightest ground for connecting Bacon's allusion with that in the play as to authorship.

5. Dr. Theobald repeats Mr. Donnelly's citation of the phrase "troublers of the world," noting that it is used with "much the same technical (!) meaning" by Shakespeare. As to this nugatory suggestion *see p. 430 supra*.

6. "In a very early State paper of Bacon's," says Dr. Theobald, "dating about the end of the year 1584; and which was not published in any form till 1651," there occur the phrases "fair enamelling of a terrible danger" and "giving him a bastinado with a little cudgel." Shakespeare speaks of a snake's "enamell'd skin," and makes other allusions to snakes as dangerous things; he also speaks of giving "the bastinado with his tongue," adding: "our ears are cudgell'd." Dr. Theobald infers that "Bacon *had in his mind* the metallic lustre of a deadly snake"; and that the idea of a bastinado with the tongue "kept lasting hold on his mind," inasmuch as Shakespeare twice speaks of words as strokes. Comment seems unnecessary; but it may be noted that the whole thing happens to be a historical mare's nest. The State paper in question is not and could not have been by Bacon, who in 1584 was in no position to offer State counsel to Queen Elizabeth. It figures for historical students as *Lord Burleigh's ADVICE TO QUEEN ELIZABETH* (Harl. Misc. 2nd ed. ii, 277). Did Lord Burleigh then write Shakespeare?

7. Bacon tells the story of "Anaxarchus, who, when questioned under torture, bit out his own tongue, and spat it in the face of the tyrant." Shakespeare, in turn, makes Bolingbroke in *RICHARD II* speak of doing as much, without reference to Anaxarchus or Leæna or any other precedent. Dr. Theobald incidentally reveals that the story is a classic commonplace, being related by Diogenes Lærtius, Pliny, and Valerius Maximus. He

might have added that Plutarch tells it of Zeno. But as "it is not very likely that William Shakespeare had read any of the classic authors" first named, RICHARD II must have been written by Bacon! The actor, Dr. Theobald thinks, might have been equal to the idea "bite my tongue out," but not to the stroke of spitting it out! As usual, Dr. Theobald is unaware that the story is told by Boethius, without name, and was made known to English readers by the translations of Chaucer, Richard (1525) and Colville (1556). As little is he aware that it is told of Zeno, after Plutarch, by Lilly (EUPHUES, Arber's rep. p. 146). If he had but read so familiar an Elizabethan work as THE SPANISH TRAGEDY, he would have been aware that the act in question is made to take place in that play. So that even the Stratfordian actor had necessarily heard of the conception!

7a. In this connection, again resorting to the fountain-head of Mr. Donnelly, Dr. Theobald notes that Bacon and Shakespeare both use "top" metaphorically for *ne plus ultra* or acme of achievement or quality. As we have seen (above, p. 385), everybody else in that day did the same. The "coincidence" is another mare's nest.

8. Bacon speaks of the basilisk and the cockatrice respectively as killing by a glance those who do not see them first. So do fifty other writers of the period: the basilisk is a standing tag of the essayists and the playwrights. Shakespeare speaks of "the fatal balls of murdering basilisks" (H. V, V, ii, 14), with a double reference to "eye-balls and cannon-balls," and several times elsewhere speaks of basilisks and cockatrices as killing by their gaze, and puns about I and *eye*. It does not occur to Dr. Theobald to note that a dozen other authors of the time did the same thing; and that Bacon does not. Shakespeare's pun must for him be Bacon's because Bacon "never could pass by a joke." Thus does Dr. Theobald construct his "cable."

9. Bacon has allusions to the pure fire of the stars, fire in "the heaven," and so forth; while Shakespeare makes Coriolanus swear "by the fires of heaven"; makes Hamlet write; "doubt that the stars are fire"; and makes other characters speak of stars as fires. Dr. Theobald has apparently met with no other allusions to star-fire in Elizabethan literature. Yet they occur in such numbers that we are driven as usual to our conclusion that he limits his reading to the authors he is concerned to identify.

In Peele's *TALE OF TROY*, published in 1589, we have (l. 28) :

Glistening like stars of pure immortal fire.

In Spenser's *HYMNE IN HONOUR OF LOVE*, we find the lines :

Kindled at first from heaven's life-giving fire.

Some sparks remaining of that heavenly fire.

th' immortal flame

Of heavenly light.

The flaming light of that celestial fire—

four instances in two pages. In the next of the "Foure Hymnes"—*AN HYMNE IN HONOUR OF BEAUTIE*—besides various metaphorical allusions to fire, we have a stanza telling how when the soule did pass

Down from the top of purest heavens height

To be embodied here, it then took light

And lively spirits from that fairest star

Which lights the world forth from his fiery car.

Perhaps the stanza in the fourth hymn (*HEAVENLY BEAUTY*) about the further heavens, beyond the visible,—

That need no sun t' illuminate their spheres

But their own native light far passing theirs—

may be deemed irrelevant; but it would very well have served Dr. Theobald's end had he found it in Shakespeare; as would the lines about the divine light :

In sight of whom both Sun and Moon are dark . . .
 That all about him sheddeth glorious light . . .
 . . . that immortal light which there doth shine. . . .

and so on. The same idea appears in Sir John Davies' *ORCHESTRA* (1596) :

Next her [the Moon] the pure, subtile and cleansing Fire
 Is swiftly carried in a circle even.

In Ben Jonson's *POETASTER* (1601) we have :

Ay me, that virtue, whose brave eagle's wings
 With every stroke blow stars in burning heaven . . .

For thine own good, fair Goddess, do not stay.
 Who would engage [= gage] a firmament of fires
 Shining in thee, for me, a falling star ?

Act iv, sc. 6.

The conclusion reached by the true Baconian I presume, will be that Bacon wrote Peele and Spenser and Davies and all the rest. If, however, the open-minded reader will yet a little further extend his reading to the poetical works of Greene, Peele, Spenser, Drayton, Sidney, and Daniel, he will not merely begin to realise the universality of the modes of expression supposed by Dr. Theobald to be specialties of Bacon, but will gather some such knowledge of Elizabethan poetic diction in general as will make partly clear to him the fashion in which the poetic faculty, as seen in Shakespeare, handles the material of the scientific or knowledge-seeking faculty, seen speculatively at work in Bacon.

It is quite likely that Hamlet's line in his quatrain to Ophelia had reference to the debate, conducted by Bacon and other contemporaries, as to whether the stars are fires. He would find in Greene the contrary theory that

The stars from earthly humours gain their light,
 Melicertes' Madrigal, in *Menaphon* ;

and in Marlowe's *FAUSTUS* he would note the question as to whether there was a sphere of fire. He must have heard at the Mermaid *some* mention of the scientific and other speculations of his day. Even actors hear of such

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matters! But to trace his poetic expressions to the speculative physicist who wrote the *NOVUM ORGANUM* is possible only to those who believed the Baconian theory in advance.

10. By parity of reasoning, Bacon wrote Shakespeare because both speak in metaphor of the mobility of quicksilver, as everybody else did, and does now! *E.g.* :

As if our veins ran with quicksilver.

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

Starting from his presupposition, the Baconian consistently proceeds to assign to Bacon the works of Jonson. And so on *ad infinitum*. To Bacon also, on that principle; must be assigned the plays of Webster :

My loose thoughts
Scatter like quicksilver.

The White Devil, iv, 2.

He runs as if he were ballassed with quicksilver.

The Duchess of Malfi, i, 2.

11. Bacon had noted the occult fact that poisons, and likewise "certain conditions of the mind," often "cause swelling." Shakespeare, again, has the phrase :

You shall digest the venom of your spleen
Though it do split you.

Jul. Cæs. IV, iii, 46,

—which Dr. Theobald thinks is meant to imply a process of swelling; and the dramatist further speaks of "high-blown pride," "high-swol'n hearts," the swelling of the ambitious ocean, persons swelling in their pride, and so on. It is most true. But as the reader may have noted above (p. 427), the other dramatists of the time, not to speak of the prose-writers, used the same figure with "damnable iteration." If Dr. Theobald had but read a little in the Elizabethan drama, beginning with *FERREX AND PORREX*, he would have met a score of times with such figures as :

Methinks I see his envious heart to swell.

Ferrex and Porrex, i, 1 (1561).

When growing pride doth fill the swelling breast.

Id. ii, 2, Chorus.

The heat
And furious pangs of his inflamèd head.

Id. iii, 1.

My brother's heart even then repin'd
With swollen disdain against mine equal rule.

Id. iv, 2.

For fight I must, or else my gall will burst.

Lilly, *Woman in the Moon*, ii, 1.

Pandora's love, that almost burst my heart.

Id. *ib.* v, 1.

How my heart swells at these miscreants' words.

Id. *ib.*

O then to sift that humour from her heart.

Id. i, 1.

His heart did earne against his hated foe,
And bowels so with rankling poison swelled,
That scarce the skin the strong contagion held.

Spenser, *Muiopotmos*, ll. 254-6.

Or fraught with envy that their galls do swell.

Id. *Colin Clout's Come Home Again*, l. 760.

That poison foul of bubbling pride doth lie
So in my swelling breast.

Sidney, *Astrophel and Stella*, 27.

Princes, whose high spleens for empery swell.

Dekker, *The Honest Whore*, Pt. I, ii, 3.

Why swells your spleen so high ?

Id. v, 2.

That I could
Contract the soul of universal rage
Into this swelling heart, that it might be
As full of poisonous anger as a dragon's.

Chapman, *Revenge for Honour*, iii, 1.

Thy black tongue doth swell
With venom.

Dekker, *The Honest Whore*, Pt. II, ii, 1.

The state is full of dropsy, and swol'n big
With windy vapours.

Heywood, *Rape of Lucrece*, i, 2.

And if he went back to Langland, he would find :

For whoso hath more than I,
Than angreth me soore,

And thus I live loveless
 Like a luther dog,
 That al my body bolneth [*i.e.* swelleth]
 For bitter of my galle.

Piers Plowman, ll. 2705-10.

Compare finally the Elizabethan prose of Puttenham :

Men would and must needs utter their spleens in all ordinarie matters also, or else it seemed their bowels would burst.

Arte of English Poesie, Arber's rep. p. 68.

12. Bacon repeatedly uses the phrase "bleed inwardly,"—either concretely or metaphorically. So does Shakespeare (2 HENRY IV, IV, iv, 58; TIMON, I, ii, 211).

So do many other writers—with the same bearing in metaphor—speak of the danger of inward bleeding. Mr. Crawford points at once to one of the most popular budgets of such sayings. Lilly in EUPHUES, in one handful of proverbs, has: "the wound that bleedeth inwardly is most dangerous" (Arber's rep. p. 63).

12a. In this connection Dr. Theobald cites, as "still more distinctly" applying the metaphor, Hamlet's phrase (IV, iv, 27) about "the imposthume that inward breaks"; and Bacon in the PROMUS has a note of "The launching [= lancing] of the imposthume by him that intended murder."

These too are pre-Shakespearean commonplaces. As Mr. Bayley and Mr. Crawford point out, the chance of a blow breaking an internal imposthume, and so curing it, is dwelt upon in EUPHUES (Arber's rep. p. 330); and Ben Jonson, in his ENGLISH GRAMMAR, quotes from Sir John Cheke the sentence :

Sedition is an aposteam, which, when it breaketh inwardly, putteth the state in great danger of recovery; and corrupteth the whole commonwealth with the rotten fury that it hath putrified with.

13. Bacon has the phrase "to search the wounds of the realm and not to skin them over," and repeats the idea in similar words in other places. Shakespeare

repeatedly puts the same idea (HAMLET, III; iv, 147; M. FOR M. II, ii, 134); and has other phrases about searching wounds and applying plasters (TITUS, II, iii; 262; AS YOU LIKE IT, II, iv, 44; TEMPEST, II, i, 137; TWO GENTLEMEN, I, ii, 114).

All this is Elizabethan commonplace. *E.g.* :

Such imposthumes as Phantaste is

We must lance these sores
Or all will putrify.

Jonson, *Cynthia's Revels*, v, 3.

I never yet saw hurt so smoothly healed
But that the scars bewrayed the former wound :
Yea, where the salve did soonest close the skin
The sore was oft'ner covered up than cured,
Which festering deep and filled within, at last
With sudden breach grew greater than at first.

Hughes, *The Misfortunes of Arthur*, 1587, III, i, 109-114.

Such sayings are the common stuff of homily.

14. Shakespeare's phrases about sweet things producing sourness or loathing in digestion (M. N. D. II, ii; 137; RICHARD II, I, iii, 236) are paralleled in Bacon. So are they a hundred times elsewhere :

But O ! this sweet success,
Pursu'd with greater harms, turned soon to sour.

Hughes, *Misfortunes of Arthur*, 1587, II, i, 53-54.

Such is the sweet of this ambitious power,
No sooner had, than turned eftsoons to sour.

Id. II, iv, Chorus at end.

Must taste those sowre distates the times do bring
Upon the fulness of a cloy'd Neglect.

Daniel, *Musophilus*, 1602-3, ll. 169-170.

Held back something from that full of sweet
To intersowre unsure delights the more.

Id. Letter from Octavia to Marcus Antonius, 1599,
st. 40.

14a. And so with the derivative metaphor about love and friendship turning to hate (RICHARD II, III, ii, 335; R. AND J.; II, vi, 11; LUCRECE, 867; Sonnet 94).

This also was a standing commonplace :

Fortune. Did not I change long love to sudden hate,
And then rechange their hatred into love ?

Soliman and Perseda, Act i, Induction.

So, being former foes, they waxed friends.

Spenser, Colin Clout's Come Home Again, l. 851.

15. Bacon and Shakespeare frequently apply the terms "sugar" and "sugared" to words and speech.

So do nine Elizabethan belletrists out of ten, and many divines to boot ! See above, p. 278.

15a. But Bacon has the phrase (PROMUS, No. i, 219) : "Sweet for speech in the morning" and the Friar in ROMEO AND JULIET (II, iii, 32) asks :

What early tongue so sweet saluteth me ?

And we are asked to recognise the utterance of a single mind !

15b. But, again, Bacon asserts that "sounds are sweeter as well as greater in the night than in the day" (SYL. SYL. 235) ; and Shakespeare has expressions to that effect (ROMEO AND JULIET, II, ii, 166 ; MERCHANT, V, i, 55). If Dr. Theobald found in Elizabethan literature, by any chance, an allusion to the midnight sweetness of the song of the nightingale, he would doubtless recognise the unmistakable hand of Bacon. The greater audibility of sounds in the night is a fact that perhaps escapes frequent literary comment by reason of a notoriety extending over several millenniums.

16. "Other scientific ideas (!) which Bacon held about sound," says Dr. Theobald, "are clearly reflected in Shakespeare" :

The lower winds in a plain, except they be strong, make no noise ;
but amongst the trees the noise of such winds will be perceived.

Syl. Syl. 115.

You may as well forbid the mountain pines
To wag their high tops, and to make no noise.

Merchant, IV, i, 75.

When the sweet wind did gently kiss the trees
And they did make no noise.

Id. V, i, 1.

These little coincidences are rare delights for the Baconians ; who never ask whether they might not stand for reminiscences by Bacon of phrases heard by him in plays. Unhappily they occur in other writers. "Observe," says Dr. Theobald, "how the little phrase 'make no noise' always refers to the movement of wind in the trees." Yet there are such coincidences elsewhere :

When the least whistling wind begins to sing,
And gently blows her hair about her neck,
Like to a chime of bells it soft doth ring,
And with the pretty noise the wind doth check.

Chester, *Love's Martyr*, 1601. Grosart's ed. p. 10.

Each noise the wind or air doth cause.

Harington's trans. of *Orlando Furioso* (1591), B. i, st. 34.

The use of "noise" for a musical sound is common:
E.g. :

The spouse of fair Eurydice,
That did enchant the waters with his noise.

Lochrine, i, 1.

17. Again, Shakespeare notes, with Bacon, that hearing is more acute by night than by day (M. N. D. III, ii, 177). This occult fact has been already commented on.

18. Shakespeare has a passage on the knots in trees that "by the conflux of meeting sap" divert the tree's growth (TROILUS, I, iii, 7) ; and Bacon has one explaining how knots in trees occur "for that the sap ascendeth unequally" (SYL. SYL. 589). Obviously the theory was a current one ; and Dr. Theobald admits that "the Shakespeare passage shows a slight variation."

19. Bacon in the PROMUS quotes the proverb : "He that pardons his enemy, the amner [almoner] shall have his goods" ; and in the DE AUGMENTIS remarks that "None of the virtues has so many crimes to answer for as clemency" (Antitheta on Cruelty ; VI, iii, No. 18) ; repeating the idea more fully in another place (VIII, ii, No. 14). Again, he writes to Buckingham : "Mercy in such a case, in a King, is true cruelty" (LIFE, vi, 46).

So Shakespeare :

Sparing justice feeds iniquity.

Lucrece, 1686.

Pardon is still the nurse of second woe.

M. for M. II, i, end.

Compare *Richard II*, V, iii, 57-99; *Timon*, III, v, 2; *Romeo*, III, i, last line.

Dr. Theobald admits that "this is not a very profound or original axiom." It is not: it was an ancient commonplace, often found in Elizabethan literature :

He that for every little occasion is moved with compassion . . . is called piteous, which is a sickness of the mind, wherewith at this day the more part of men be diseased.

Elyot, *The Governour*, B. ii, c. 7. (Compare c. 9.)

For most oftentimes the omitting of correction redoubleth a trespass.

Id. B. iii, c. 21.

Wrong, wreakless [= unrevenged] sleeping,
Makes men die honourless; one borne, another
Leaps on our shoulders. We must wreak our wrongs
So as we take not more.

Chapman, *Revenge of Bussy D'Ambois*, iii, 1.

Fathers, to spare these men, were to commit
A greater wickedness than you would revenge.

Johnson, *Catiline*, v, 6.

It had been put in currency for the stage by Hughes :

No worse a vice than lenity in kings.
Remiss indulgence soon undoes a realm.
He teacheth how to sin, that winks at sins,
And bids offend, that suffereth an offence.
The only hope of leave increaseth crimes,
And he that pardoneth one, emboldeneth all
To break the laws. Each patience fostereth wrongs. . . .
Rough rigour looks out right, and still prevails :
Smooth mildness looks too many ways to thrive.
Attonement sield [seldom] defeats, but oft defers
Revenge : beware a reconciled foe.

The Misfortunes of Arthur, 1587, III, i, 62-74.

And we have it in Fairfax's translation of Tasso's
JERUSALEM DELIVERED (1600) :

There must the rule to all disorders sink,
Where pardons more than punishments appear.

B. v, st. 39 ;

and in Daniel's CIVIL WARS :

Compassion here is cruelty, my lord;
Pity will cut our throats.

B. vi, st. 65.

But it should not have been necessary thus to illustrate the vogue of a commonplace sure to be uttered by a thousand lawyers, preachers, and laymen on every occasion of the severe repression of sedition.

20. Bacon, in his HISTORY OF HENRY VII, quotes Chancellor Morton on "the *bastard* and *barren* employment of moneys to usury," and in this connection he repeats the word "bastard" twice. Shakespeare in VENUS AND ADONIS (767) speaks of gold put to use begetting gold, using no term of disparagement; and in the MERCHANT OF VENICE (I, iii) makes Antonio speak of Shylock taking "a *breed* for *barren* money of his friend." Citing an irrelevant passage from TWELFTH NIGHT (III; i, 54), Dr. Theobald pronounces that, "Putting all these things together, Shakespeare's opinion seems to be much the same as Bacon's." The facts are plainly otherwise. Shakespeare puts in Antonio's mouth the standing medieval censure of usury—that it was unnatural, in that it made a barren thing "breed." (Compare: "I cannot abide to have money engender," in Dekker's HONEST WHORE, Pt. II, ii, 1; and the exposition in Kyd's translation of Tasso's THE HOUSEHOLDER'S PHILOSOPHY; Boas' ed. of Works, pp. 279-282.) He does not call it "bastard"—that is Bacon's word. The alleged coincidence turns directly against Dr. Theobald's thesis.

20a. In this connection, Dr. Theobald notes that Bacon in the late essay on Usury puts forward contradictory views on money-lending—that it "doth dull and damp all industries," but that at moderate interest lent money "will encourage and edge industrious and profitable

employments." Shakespeare on the contrary makes Polonius say that "borrowing dulls the edge of husbandry." Again a sharp divergence. Dr. Theobald solves his problem by the pronouncement that "when HAMLET was written, the poet does not seem to have advanced quite so far" as he did when he wrote the essay on Usury! Thus when Shakespeare and Bacon hold contrary opinions, it is to count for nothing against the Baconian theory, which in effect professes to rest upon "echoes and correspondencies"!

21. Shakespeare, in a passage on the possibility of forecasting events from the past, speaks of the "seeds and weak beginnings" of things (2 HENRY IV, iii, 1, 80 sq.). Bacon in turn speaks of "a beginning and seed" (Works, ed. Spedding and Ellis, vii, 4); again of "the seminary and beginnings" of monarchies (LIFE, iii, 324); and yet again of "fair seeds and beginnings" (Works, vii, 47). Any critical reader noting such an extremely likely coincidence of phrase would make some scrutiny before deciding that it stood for identity of authorship. The Baconian never makes such an inquiry. Yet the phrase is obviously a natural one, *likely* to be common. Compare:

X So that they have had their *beginning* of themselves in *seede*, in flower, or in kernell.

Golding's trans. of De Mornay, on *The Trewnesse of the Christian Religion*, 1587, ed. 1604, p. 6.

22. Similarly Dr. Theobald founds on the fact that Shakespeare makes the King in ALL'S WELL (I, ii, 15) utter the million-times repeated platitude about a foreign war being an "exercise" for a nation—a sentiment which Bacon gives out in his own person more than once. Dr. Theobald appears to think that he strengthens his case by first adducing the advice of HENRY IV to his son "to buoy giddy minds with foreign quarrels" (2 HENRY IV. IV, v, 210)—a totally different proposition—and even goes the length of quoting the "somewhat

coarse" language of Parolles (*ALL'S WELL*; II, iii, 296). The claim is beneath discussion. Shakespeare makes one king employ a saying about war which had been uttered by multitudes of men in all time about every foreign war in history; and Bacon does as much on his own account. It is set forth by Daniel in his *CIVIL WARS*, B. v, st. 17. The inference of identity is here outside discussion.

23. Bacon somewhere (Dr. Theobald gives no reference) speaks of indulgence as causing weakness by "expense of spirit"; as does Shakespeare in *Sonnet 129*. In the lack of a reference the point can hardly be discussed; but here again the phrase is in the common way of Elizabethan diction:

Right sacred expense of his time.

Chapman, pref. to trans. of *Iliad*.

The serious expense of an exact gentleman's time.

Id. Epist. ded. to *Seven Books of the Iliads*, 1598.

The worthy expense of my future life.

Id. ib.

Spend their souls in sparks.

Id. Verses *To M. Harriots*, app. to trans. of *Achilles' Shield*.

Spent his vital *spirit*.

Spenser, *Ruins of Time*, l. 382.

A scholar doth disdain to *spend his spirits*

Upon such base employment as hand labours.

Patient Grissil (1599) v. 1.

Foolish inamorates who *spend* their ages, their *spirits*, nay themselves, in the servile and ridiculous employments of their mistresses.

T. Heywood, *Apology for Actors*, Sh. Soc. rep. p. 54.

And speak away my spirit into air.

Jonson, Induction to *Every Man out of his Humour*.

24. Bacon in his speech of Undertakers (*LIFE*, v, 43); speaks of "the fort of affection and the fort of reason," and uses "fort of reason" again in the Discourse on Fortitude which is spoken at the Conference of Pleasure. Shakespeare has "pales and forts of reason" (*Hamlet*, I, iv, 27). Bacon again (last cit.) has "fortitude the marshal of thought, the armour of the will"; while Shakespeare

writes of "the marshal to my will" (M. N. D., II, ii, 120) and "armour of the mind."

It is quite possible that Bacon had heard performances of the plays cited, and echoed them. But the metaphors and phrases in question were common. *E.g.* :

Where virtue keepeth the fort, report and suspicion may assail but never sack.

Greene; *Pandosto* (1588), Hazlitt's Sh. Lib. iv, 42.

Yet first he cast, by treaty and by trains,
Her to persuade that stubborn fort to yield.

Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, B. I, c. vi, st. 3.

What war so cruel, or what siege so sore
As that which strong affections do apply
Against the *fort of reason* evermore.

Id. II, xi, 1.

That fort of chastity.

That impregnable fort of chastity and loyalty.

Chapman, *The Widow's Tears*, i, 1; iii, 1.

Thou hast the goal, the fort [of chastity] is beaten.

Nero (1624), ii, 1.

To summon resignation of life's fort.

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

Most tender fortress of our woes.

Chapman, *Hymnus in Noctem*.

I must confess I yielded up my fort.

Heywood, 1 *Edward IV*, v, 4.

To win the Fort, how oft have I essayed,
Wherein the heart of my fair mistress lies.

W. Percy, *Sonnets to Cælia*, 1594, Son. 10.

Under pretence of friendship, where he hath a fort, as it were, commodiously seated.

Holland, trans. of Plutarch's *Moralia* ("To discern a Flatterer from a Friend") Everyman Lib. selection, p. 38.

"Marshal of the will" and "armour of the mind" are equally common types of figure. The second was made current for all Europe by Boethius, of which there were three English translators. Chaucer has :

Certes I gave thee such armours that, if thou thyself ne haddest first cast them away, they shoulde[n] han defended thee.

B. i, pr. 2.

The idea is common in Tudor *belles lettres* :

Only to think that he was out of these meditations was sufficient armour to defend him from all other torments.

Gascoigne, *Adventures of Master F. J. Cunliffe's*
ed. of Works, i, 422.

But the religious use of the metaphor, starting from such texts as "the armour of righteousness," "the whole armour of God" (2 Cor. vi, 7; Eph. vi, 11, 13), was absolutely universal. E.g. Erasmus' ENCHIRIDION, and Latimer, *passim*.

25. Bacon says in a letter to Villiers (LIFE, v, 260) that the times require a King's attorney "to wear a gauntlet and not a glove"; and Shakespeare has :

A scaly gauntlet now . . . *must glove* this hand.

2 *Henry IV*, i, 1, 145.

The phrase is a typical Tudor commonplace.

26. Bacon "is fond of taper-light"; speaks of events as "lights or tapers" (LIFE, i, 132); and has in his PROMUS (688) the proverbial phrase: "To help the sun with lanterns"—as well as others (686, 687) about digging a well by a river, and a gold ring on a swine's snout. All these ideas are claimed to be "clearly reproduced in Shakespeare," in the passages (1) about smoothing the ice and adding taper-light to that of the sun (JOHN, IV, ii, 9); (2) about adding water to the sea and bringing a faggot to burning Troy (TITUS, III, i, 68); (3) about adding coals to Cancer (TROILUS, II, iii, 205); (4) about the raven chiding blackness (*ib.* 221), and (5) about honey as a sauce to sugar (AS YOU LIKE IT, III, iii, 29); and again in the line "She doth teach the torches to burn bright."

An extremely common type of metaphor and an extremely common form of proverb are here founded on to prove identity of authorship. Upon that principle Bacon wrote the plays of Jonson, who has

Witness thy youth's dear sweets here spent untasted,
Like a fair taper, with his own flame wasted.

Cynthia's Revels, i, 1.

and of Dekker, who wrote :

'Twere impiety then to dim her light,
Because we see such tapers seldom burn.

The Honest Whore, Pt. II, iv, 2.

Whose star-like eyes have power . . . to make night day.

Old Fortunatus, ii, 2.

The tapers of the night [*i.e.* the stars] are already lighted.

Ib. Prologue at Court.

To say nothing of :

When the taper of my heart is lighted.

Barnes, *Parthenophil and Parthenophe* (1593), Son. 24.

It was a common trope long before Bacon. *E.g.* :

A light or torch to show man his filthy and stinking nature.

Hooper, *Declaration of Christ's Office*, 1547. Parker
Soc. rep. p. 89.

As to the phrase about bringing lanterns to the sun, nobody but a Baconian would need to be told that it was in everyday use among common folk. It emerges even in theology :

Man's wisdom giveth as much light unto the word of God, as a little candle giveth unto the bright sun in the mid-day.

Hooper, *Answer to the Bishop of Winchester*, Parker
Soc. vol. p. 169.

They do shewe themselves worthie to be laughed at, as which should take upon them to enlighten the Sunne with a Candle.

Sidney and Golding's trans. of De Mornay *Of the Trewnes
of the Christian Religion*, 1587, ed. 1604, p. 1.

Compare a poet :

To light

A candle to the Sun.

Daniel, pref. poem to *The Queenes Arcadia*, 1605.

27. Bacon in one letter speaks of the solitude " which is the base-court of adversity," in which he has " often remembered " the Spanish proverb, " Love without end has no end " (*LIFE*, vii, 335). Shakespeare in *RICHARD II* puns on the " Base court, where kings grow base " ; and in *CYMBELINE* (IV, ii, 90) says :

I have heard you say

Love's reason's without reason,

“ This,” says Dr. Theobald, “ is evidently a variation on the Spanish proverb.” It is simply another proverb of the same very common cast; and the twofold parallel is a rope of sand.

28. Bacon has the phrases “ no brewer of holy water in Court,” and “ no dealer in holy water ” (LIFE, i, 200 ; iii, 297). “ The same *very curious phrase* occurs in LEAR,” says Dr. Theobald :

O, uncle, court holy water in a dry house is better than rain out o’ door. (III, ii, 10.)

For Dr. Theobald, every obsolete idiom is very curious. Yet he cites the “ Clarendon note ” on the passage to the effect that “ Court holy water ” was a phrase from the French. That is to say, it was a current tag. From the variorum edition Dr. Theobald might have learned that it is so given in Cotgrave’s Dictionary, 1611, and in Florio’s Italian Dictionary, 1598, under the word *Mantellizare*. The “ coincidence ” thus stands for absolutely nothing.

29. Bacon in a speech in Parliament said : “ Let not this Parliament end like a Dutch feast, in salt meats, but like an English feast in sweet meats ” (LIFE, iii, 215). Shakespeare in RICHARD II (I, iii, 67), has :

Lo, as at English feasts, so I regret
The daintiest last to make the end most sweet.

On the face of it, Bacon’s remark was likely to have been made a million times a year in England ! Shakespeare does not mention the Dutch usage ; but, as Dr. Theobald observes, he *might* have added another line in RICHARD II :

(Not like Dutch feasts, that end with salted meat.)

And this is a “ coincidence ” !

30. Bacon writes to Villiers that in regard to his friend he is “ covetous ” only to take away care from him (LIFE, vi, 115). Henry V says he is

not covetous for gold . . .
But if it be a sin to covet honour;
I am the most offending soul alive.

Henry V, IV, iii, 24.

So Bacon evidently wrote Shakespeare! By the same token he wrote Ben Jonson:

We here protest it, and are covetous
Posterity should know it, we are mortal.

Sejanus, i, 2.

31. Inasmuch as Bacon writes that "Fame hath swift wings, specially that which hath black feathers" (*LIFE*, v, 248), and Shakespeare in *Sonnet 70* has:

The ornament of beauty is suspect;
A crow that flies in heaven's sweetest air,

"Bacon is interpreted by Shakespeare." I spare comment.

32. Dr. Theobald claims to find "the same picture" in Bacon's reference to men's holding offices after their powers are decayed and Shakespeare's allusions to (1) a disregarded *old tale* (*WINTER'S TALE*, V, ii, 67; *JOHN IV*, ii, 18; *VENUS AND ADONIS*, 841). There is absolutely no coincidence or parallel whatever.

× 33. For once Dr. Theobald does find a parallel. In *HAMLET* we have the lines (I, ii, 11):

As 'twere with a defeated joy,
With an auspicious and a dropping eye,
With mirth in funeral and with dirge in marriage;

and in *THE WINTER'S TALE* (V, ii, 80):

She hath one eye declined for the loss of her husband; another elevated that the oracle was fulfilled;

while Bacon speaks of Perkin Warbeck (*WORKS*, vi, 192) "beginning to squint one eye upon the crown and another upon the sanctuary"; and of Walpoole in the Squire conspiracy, as "carrying a waking and a waiting eye." As this common employment of a common trope is to prove identity of authorship, let us once more note in part the extent of Bacon's production:

Avert his [Apollo's] fervent eye,
And turn his temperate.

Chapman's trans. of *Iliad* (1598), i, 62-3.

In which time came upon the Stage a woman clothed with a white garment, on her head a pillar, double-faced, the foremost face fair and smiling, the other behind black and lowring.

Gascoigne, *Jocasta*, Dumb Shew before Act V,

As if you stuck one eye into my breast,
And with the other took my whole dimensions.

Jonson, *The Sad Shepherd*, iii.

They have wont to give their hands and their hearts together ; but we think it a finer grace to look asquint, our hands looking one way and our hearts another.

Cornwallis, *Essays*, 1601.

Her face was changeable to every eye ;
One way look'd ill, another graciously.

Chapman, Third Sestiad of *Hero and Leander*, 1598.

As if she had two souls, one for the face,
One for the heart, and that they shifted place.

Id. ib.

His eyes were seats for mercy and for law,
Favour in one, and Justice in the other.

Greene, *A Maiden's Dream*, 1591, st. 9.

34. "Shakespeare's phrase 'out of joint,' which has passed into current speech, so that its singular and original character is forgotten, is used more than once both in Shakespeare and Bacon." So writes Dr. Theobald. I invite the attention of rational readers to the frame of mind of a writer who, knowing practically nothing of pre-Shakespearean literature, affirms that such a phrase as "out of joint" was "original" about the year 1600.

When such a thing can be written, and pass into a second edition, it seems necessary to demonstrate the folly of the assertion. Any one noting that Hamlet uses not only the phrase "out of joint," but "disjoint and out of frame" (i, 2) ; that Macbeth says "let the frame of things disjoint" (iii, 2) ; and that "out of frame" occurs also in LOVE'S LABOUR'S LOST (iii, 1), would realise that "out of joint" and "out of frame" were equivalent phrases in ordinary use—unless indeed the Baconian should decide that Bacon invented both. As Mr. Craw-

ford has pointed out, both are pre-Elizabethan, even in the moral sense :

To thy correccion now haaste and hie,
For thou hast been out of joynt al to longe.

Hoccleve's Works (1415); Furnivall's rep. p. 14.

The londe he bryngeth out of frame,
Agaynst all goddis forbod.

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

Add :

In this worlde that we do name
There is none so farre out of frame.

Idem.

The latter phrase, which Brandes surprisingly describes as a "curiously poetic expression" in HAMLET,¹ occurs in Latimer :

That the King's majesty, when he cometh to age; will see a redress of these things so out of frame.

First Sermon before Edward VI; Dent's rep. p. 86.

Brandes traces it from Shakespeare to Florio's Montaigne. The idea is common in Daniel, who uses this and the figure of "joint" with a frequency which indicates the absolute normality of the metaphor. Compare :

How things at full do soon wex out of frame.

The Civil Wars, 1595, B. i, st. 8.

As if the frame of all disjoynted were.

Id. B. iv, st. 10.

The broken frame of this disjoynted State.

A Panegyricke Congratulatory to the King, 1603, St. 41.

An addition to the frame

Of this great work, squar'd fitly to the same.

Id. St. 43.

Which out of judgment best accommodates
These joynts of rule.

Id. St. 44.

The model of this frame.

Id. St. 45.

[Nothing]

Could once disjoint the couplements whereby
It [the frame] held together in just Symetry.

Id. ib.

¹ *William Shakespeare*, 1898, ii, 17.

And be so clos'd as all the joynts may grow
Together firm in due proportion.

Id. St. 60.

And lay the frame of Order and Content.

Id. St. 61.

This frame of pow'r.

Id. St. 63.

And as for thee, thou huge and mighty frame,
That stands corrupted so with time's despight.

Id. Musophilus, 1602-3, ll. 379-80.

Shall, with a sound incountring shock, disjoynt
The fore-contrived frame.

Id. ib. ll. 870-1.

Such phrases as "out of course," "out of order," "out of form," "out of square," "out of rank," are of course equally common. In the literal sense, "out of joint" was in everyday-use :

When a member that was out of joynt is set in again.

Sidney and Golding's trans. of *De Mornay*, 1587.
Ed. 1604, p. 7.

Doubtless, Apollo's axle-tree is cracked,
Or aged Atlas' shoulder out of joint.

Marlowe and Nashe's *Dido* (1594), iv, 1.

Not that he had put out of joynt, or lamed
His arme, his legge, or any other part.

Harington, trans. of *Orlando Furioso*, 1591, i, 66.

But the metaphor too was in dramatic use :

This resolution, then, hath set his wits in joint again.

Chapman, *The Widow's Tears*, ii, 3.

Dr. Theobald believed that Bacon-Shakespeare invented the very phrase "household words." Such faith, but no other, can conceive either as inventing "out of joint." The idea is in Chaucer before Hoccleve :

That the linage of mankinde . . . be departed and unjoined
from his welle.

Boece, B. V, pr. iii, end.

What discordable cause hath to-rent and unjoined the binding
. . . of things.

Id. B. V, Met. iii, beginning.

The phrase, in short, lies at the roots of English "dis-

course." If it had been argued that the *metaphor* was new in Bacon's day, one could have set down the claim as one more instance of ordinary Baconian assumption. But the idea that the *phrase* was then originated tells of a degree of credulous folly that excludes the very faculty of judgment.

35. After the last-noted item, the reader is not unprepared to learn that Dr. Theobald finds significance in the fact that Bacon sometimes uses the phrase "money in his purse"; that Iago says "Put money in thy purse"; and that the expression repeatedly recurs in Shakespeare. A child might realise that such phrases were likely to be in habitual use; and a reference to Mr. Hart's edition of OTHELLO will give the reader two coeval instances:

No arts and professions are now set-by and in request but such as bring pence into our purses.

Holland's tr. of Pliny, proem. to Bk. xiv.

Get money; still get money, boy, &c.

Jonson, *Every Man In*, ii, 3.

If we turn to a later play of Jonson's, we find three instances of the phrase in one scene:

Has still money in his purse, and will pay all.

He has ever money in his purse.

Thou hast money in thy purse still.

Bartholomew Fair, ii, 1.

Nashe (WORKS, ed. McKerrow, i, 163) has the occult remark that "He that hath no money in his purse" must dine on credit—a scientific truth which may be gathered from Hoccleve in the previous century.

The Baconians will presumably argue that Jonson was lending to the Bohemians of his FAIR a coinage from the "Baconian Mint." We can but speculate as to what they make of the idea when it occurs a hundred and fifty years earlier:

And loke ye ringeweale in your purs,
For ellys your cawse may spede the wurs.

Coventry Mysteries, c. 1450. Sh. Soc. ed. p. 131;

and in the morality MANKIND, dating *circa* 1475 :

What is in thy purse ? thou art a stout fellow.

Farmer's rep. p. 22.

The simple sentiment in question was also put in rhyme by Dame Juliana Berners or another in the fifteenth century, in the epilogue to her treatise on Hunting, with its refrain :

Ever gramercy mine own purse.

It is only the plain necessity of disproving, by chapter and verse, the most childish assumptions on the Baconian side that can keep one in countenance in thus demonstrating that the most elementary notions existed in English literature before the reign of James I.

36. Bacon has the phrase "If time give his Majesty the advantage, what needeth precipitation to extreme remedies ?" (LIFE, v, 379). "Surely," says Dr. Theobald, "this is simply a variation of the more condensed expression of the same maxim :

Advantage is a better soldier than rashness."

Henry V, III, vi, 128.

It is ; and "surely" the same thing must have been said, in similar words, by ten thousand men in every war ! "This *almost technical* use of the word *advantage*," adds Dr. Theobald, "as applied to time, is distinctly Baconian. It is equally Shakespearean"—citing RICHARD III, IV, i, 49 ; CYMBELINE, IV, i, 12 ; VENUS AND ADONIS, 129. It is the normal force of the word in Tudor English in Bacon's day :

Had you come one to one, or made assault
With reasonable advantage.

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

Conditions such as it liketh him to offer them which hath them in the narrow straits of advantage.

Hooker, *Eccles. Polity*, pref. ch. ii, §4.

He should never take her at the like advantage.

Gascoigne, *Adventure of Master F. J.* Works, ed. Cunliffe, i, 435.