Willis

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FURTHER EXAMINATION OF ITS CLAIMS,

BY

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ABOUT four years ago, I published a small volume, entitled "The Baconian Mint: Its Claims Examined" It was intended as an examination of a portion of a work by Mr. Theobald, entitled, "Shakespeare Studies in Baconian Light." The portion of Mr. Theobald's volume, which I undertook to examine, is called "The classic diction of Shakespeare." It should be remembered that when Mr. Theobald uses the word "Shakespeare," he does not mean, thereby, the man who died at Stratford-upon-Avon, in the year 1616. He means by it only the author of the plays in the folio volume, published in 1623. Mr. Theobald believes Lord Bacon to be the author of these plays, and relies, in support of Lord Bacon's claim to their authorship, on what he calls "the classic diction of the plays." He thinks that the author of the folio was constantly making linguistic experiments, and enriched his native language by coining new words, derived chiefly from the Latin. Mr. Theobald further says that such words could not have been coined by a man whose only education was at the Grammar School at Stratford; but that the man who coined these words was none other than Lord Bacon himself. This statement is sought to be justified, by placing before the reader about 230 words found in the folio, which Mr. Theobald says constitute real additions to our language. Then comes the assertion of a "Baconian Mint," from which these new words were issued, and many quotations from the works of Lord Bacon, presenting words such as are said to be coined by the author of the folio.

In my little book I endeavoured to show, and I think, successfully, that the author of the folio did not supply, with a few exceptions, any new words to the English language, and that as for a "Baconian Mint," there is no pretence for it—there is no evidence of Lord Bacon supplying any new words. I also showed, as I think, the extreme recklessness of many of Mr. Theobald's statements.

Since the publication of the "Baconian Mint Examined," I have spent much of my spare time in a further examination of the prose writings in the English language, existing before or at the time of the births of Bacon and Shakespeare, and have found much to confirm my view that the English language was not supplied with any new words by either Lord Bacon, or the author of the folio. I intended to publish the results of my labours and was preparing to do so, when I was informed that Mr. Theobald had published a new preface to his volume, in which he professes to answer my examination. As I think Mr. Theobald's reply calls for a few observations, I propose to combine them with the further examination of the "Baconian Mint," which I now lay before the reader.

The reader should bear in mind that Lord Bacon was born in 1561: Shakespeare in 1564: and that the folio volume was published in the year 1623.

The following passage, taken from Mr. Theobald's book, will introduce the reader to the "Baconian Mint"

> "Most people use the twin adjectives '*gross and palpable*,' without a thought of their origin. It is one of Bacon's many contributions to verbal currency. It was a *new coin* when it issued from his *affluent mint*. It is now available to everyone for verbal traffic. Anyone using it in the early part of the 17th century would have felt almost obliged to quote Bacon while employing it. It is as well to recall our obligations to *him* now that we have reached the 20th century."

Mr. Theobald quotes from the folio:—

"This Palpable, gross play hath well beguiled the heavy gait of night."—(Midsummer Night's Dream.)

"These lies are like their father that begets them,
Gross as a mountain, open, palpable." (I. Hen. IV.)

Mr. Theobald also gives four instances of the use of "gross and palpable" by Lord Bacon. In my "Examination" I showed

that the twin adjectives "gross and palpable" had not issued from the "Baconian Mint," and that the twin adjectives were in common use from *1580 to 1623*. I said I also believed that the words were in common use before Bacon or Shakespeare wrote a line. As a result of subsequent investigation, I find this belief to be correct.

Mr. Theobald, in his new preface, endeavours to disparage my labours by observing that I frequently say "I believe;" "I think." I am accustomed thus to express myself, when writing of things of which I have not an absolute certitude. It would have been well for Mr. Theobald, if he had expressed himself with as much modesty and distrust. I called upon Mr. Theobald to cancel the passage and to let it appear no more.

His statement as to the "Baconian Mint" is easily understood by the general reader, and readily repeated. I hear men, sometimes now, speak of the words "gross and palpable" as having been coined by Lord Bacon. Instead of cancelling the passage, it remains still a portion of Mr. Theobald's work, with some observations in the new preface which conceal the reckless nature of his statements about "gross and palpable." He does not, in his reply, reproduce the passage and say "this is all wrong, and I regret I wrote it." He simply says he was mistaken in the coupling the words *gross and palpable*. He made no mistake in coupling the words "gross and palpable;" they had long been coupled at the time when the folio was published. His mistake, and a reckless one, was in saying that the words "gross and palpable" came from "The Baconian Mint." To relieve himself from the charge of recklessness, he endeavours to unite, with himself in blame, the editors of "The Oxford Dictionary." I mentioned in my "Examination" that the editors of "The Oxford Dictionary" had not given an earlier illustration of "gross and palpable" than the quotation from Shakespeare's "Henry IV." "But in this case," says Mr. Theobald, "The Oxford Dictionary is as erring as I am." Upon this, Mr. Theobald founds the assertion that the editors of "The Oxford Dictionary" share with him whatever censure may be justly due in respect of the passage of which I complained. The editors of "The Oxford Dictionary" do not stand connected with Mr. Theobald in any way, in making the statement that "gross and palpable" came from the "Baconian Mint," and that no writer could use "gross

and palpable" in the early part of the seventeenth century without almost acknowledging his obligation to Bacon. The editors of "The Oxford Dictionary" made no such statement, and are in no way implicated in it—in no way deserving of the censure which Mr. Theobald's statement justly called for. This attempt to shelter himself, by suggesting a common blunder with the editors of the dictionary, is more reckless than the statement quoted from his book.

I expected to find in his new preface, that Mr. Theobald would supply instances of writers acknowledging, that for the use of the words "gross and palpable" they were indebted to Lord Bacon, or writing in such a way as to intimate it. Mr. Theobald does not give any such instance, nor tell us on what ground he made the statement.

To weaken my exposition of his ignorance, Mr. Theobald abstains from reproducing my language, and few of his readers would be likely to see my work. Mr. Theobald says that Mr. Willis overshoots the mark "by giving in most of his references to early use, not the coupled but the separate words, which of course proves nothing." I thought the reader would like to have a reference to authors who used both "gross" and palpable," but not conjointly, and therefore I gave them. Moreover, the use of the words, "gross" and "palpable" separately, led me early in my investigation to the conclusion that the words neither conjointly nor separately could be the coinage of Lord Bacon. The references to the separate use of the words "gross and palpable" were not many, compared with the references I gave to the combined use of the words. In my examination of the "Baconian Mint," I quoted only from twelve authors, and all but three used the words conjointly.

When I had found "gross and palpable" in use in 1581, I did write "*I believe* that in 1580 the combination 'gross and palpable,' was a common form of speech." The results of further study, now to be laid before the reader, will show that my "I believe" was justified.

As I have found, since the publication of my "Examination," the use of "gross and palpable" as early as 1567, when Bacon was six years of age, and Shakespeare three, I here set forth all the instances of the use of "gross and palpable" I have at present met with.

"For they are not all hereticks, M. Harding, that this day espy your *gross and palpable* errors, and mourn to God for reformation." (A defence of the apology of the Church of England by Jewell, bishop of Salisbury, written in 1567, and published in print 1568. Parker Society vol., page 152.)

"Certainly there is none of your errors so *gross and palpable*, but by some of your late councils it hath been confirmed." (Same vol. as above, page 216.)

Cartwright wrote (1572) "The *gross and palpable* error," quoted in 3rd vol. of Whitgift's Works, Parker Society, page 36.

In William Fulke's answer to the Rhemish New Testament, published in 1581, is the following:—

"That the Governors of the Popish Church have taken straighter order for readers than the fathers of the Primitive Church of Christ did. It is not to preserve the word of God from profanation, but to suppress the light of truth which displayeth their *gross and palpable* abuses, both in doctrine and conversation."

In the Epistle Dedicatory of the English edition of Hooper's "Christ and His office," published in 1582, are the following words:—

"This godly and profitable tract by passing through the press of an unskilful printer at Zurich was so infected and corrupted with *gross and palpable* faults." (Chris. Rosdell, author of the espistle, see Hooper's writings, Parker Society, page 8.)

In the "Translation of Calvin's sermons on Deuteronomy," published in 1583, there is a letter to the reader written by "T. W," and in it "T.W" uses this expression:—"In the time of most *gross and palpable* blindness."

In Hooker's "Ecclesiastical Polity," which was not written later than 1590, I find "gross and popular," "*grossly and palpably* offended." Hooker died in the year 1600.

In Henry Smith's sermons the words "gross and palpable" were frequently used separately and sometimes in combination. Henry Smith died in 1591.

I quote from "God's Arrow against Atheists" edition 1611. (The treatise, "God's Arrow, etc.," was published in the life-time of Henry Smith):—

"This council of Arrimine did err and that *grossly* in a

matter of faith; *ergo* it is *palpable* that a General Council may err even in matters of faith."

The words "*gross and palpable*" are found in Bancroft's "Platform of Episcopacy," published in 1594. (See page 187 of the edition of 1663).

In Arthur Dent's "Ruin of Rome," published in 1607, page 99 you can read "But now that Anti-Christ invadeth the church, all is over-spread with *gross and palpable* darkness."

In 1609 Thos. Ingmethorpe printed and published a sermon upon the 2nd chapter of the 1st Epistle of John. In it are found the following words:—

"His fingers must be numb, that cannot feel and grope these forgeries so ocular, so unsavoury, so *gross and palpable*."

Daniel Dyke, Puritan Divine, died in 1614. In his "Treatise on Repentance" appears the following passage:—

"In and after our special falls and sinnes whether *gross and more palpable* or more secret."

Thomas Adams, Divine, preached at St. Paul's Cross in 1612, subsequently becoming preacher at St. Gregory's under the shadow of St. Paul's itself. His sermons were collected and published in 1629, and republished by Nicholls in 3 vols., 1862. In the 1st vol., page 210, in Nicholl's edition, you can read "Imagine the Egyptian's case in that *gross and palpable* darkness, the longest natural night that the Book of God specifies."

In the "Horae Subsecivae," published by Blount in 1620, are found the words "*Gross and palpable* flattery."

In the "Grand Imposter unmasked," published by Henry Burton in 1645, are these words:—

"There are some passages in Laud's prayer so *gross and palpable* as that anyone that hath a spark of God's spirit may discover plainly to be monstrous false." See Hanbury's Memorials, 2nd vol., page 524.

The twin adjectives "*gross and palpable*" can be seen in Nathaniel Culverwell's "Light of Nature," published in 1652.

"Gross, visible, palpable."—(Farindon's Sermons, 3rd vol., 1674).

Bacon's Abridgment, 4th vol., page 34, 1800,—"*Gross and palpable* abuses."

Edinburgh Review, April 1807, page 131,—"A *gross and palpable* misrepresentation."

Same vol., page 126,—"More palpably gross."

Edinburgh Review, Jan. 1855, page 73.—"*Gross and palpable.*"

"There is no part of the Romish system *more palpably and grossly* false."—Sermon by Rev. Samuel Garrett, Oct. 16, 1855.

If anyone will refer to the authorities quoted, he will find there nothing to intimate, that any one of the writers thought that in using "gross and palpable" he was in any way indebted to Lord Bacon.

I cannot find in Cranmer's works the words "gross and palpable" united, but they are found separately in all parts of his works. A few may be given :—

"Gross taking;" "gross error;" "gross understanding;" "not grossly, sensibly and carnally;" "visible and palpable flesh;" "sensible and palpable body."

In Jewell's works, Parker Society, "gross and sensible idolatry," "gross imaginations" are to be found.—Lady Anne Bacon's Translation of Jewell's Apology, 1563-4. It should be borne in mind that this lady was the mother of Lord Bacon.

"Gross absurdities," "gross conceit," "palpable," in Sir Philip Sydney's "Defence of Poesy."

"Gross and twice carnal pomp which reigneth in papacy,"—in "Calvin on John," page 93, translation, 1584.

"Gross and voluntarie blindness,"—page 433 in the same volume.

There is now no pretence for saying that the twin adjectives "Gross and palpable" came from the Baconian Mint, and no excuse for the bold and daring statement that no writer in the 17th century, who used the words "gross and palpable," could do so, without almost acknowledging his indebtedness to Lord Bacon.

On what did Mr. Theobald rely for the statements he made? Can he produce anything to justify them? I do not think he can; and the passage in his book relating to gross and palpable and its Baconian origin ought no longer to remain in print. I have, even lately, heard persons say that the words "gross and palpable" were from the Baconian Mint, and that their presence in the folio shows that Lord Bacon shared to some extent, at least, in the composition of the plays passing under the name of William Shakespeare.

Mr. Theobald would seem in his preface to allege that he meant to say that only the coupling of the words "gross and palpable" was due to the Baconian Mint. This, in my view, is quite an idle suggestion, made to soften his fall. In the quotation from Shakespeare used by Mr. Theobald, the words "gross, palpable," are not combined by the word "and."

In his chapter on the classic diction of Shakespeare, Mr. Theobald set forth 230 words from the folio, as words newly added to the English language, or employed with an unusual meaning. I endeavoured to show, and I think successfully, that nearly all these words were in existence and in common use before the plays were written or published. As my statements could not be shown to be erroneous, Mr. Theobald, in his new preface, at once receded from his position of the words being newly invented, and states that he never intended to say anything of the sort; and that I had blundered egregiously in suggesting such a meaning. He says that he only intended to "give a list of words in which there is a classic sense or a classic aroma, which could not easily arise unless the writer was a good classic scholar." If this is all, what then is the use of the Baconian Mint, and the frequent placing of a word or words of Bacon immediately beneath the words quoted from the folio? I think the sole object of Mr. Theobald in writing the chapter on the classic language of Shakespeare was to support Lord Bacon's claim to the authorship of the plays, and in his book this claim is sought to be justified not only by referring to the language of the folio, but to the nature of the writings themselves. This will be seen from reading the whole chapter, and particularly Mr. Theobald's statements in respect of some of the words. I have some further illustrations of the early use of words, which are undoubtedly alleged by Mr. Theobald to be words newly invented.

Take "Acknown:" "Be not acknown on't," ("Othello" 3rd Act, 3rd scene, page 319). This word, Mr. Theobald says, occurs only once in the plays, and is probably an attempt to bring the Latin word *agnosco* into the language. This is not Classical "Aroma;" this is to present Shakespeare in the act of coining, or inventing a new word. When I stated that "acknown" was, as I believed, in use from the earliest time, I

had not met with the word "acknown" earlier than 1570. Since my "Examination," I have met with its use in the year 1548, in Bale's "First Examination of Ann Askew":—"Such as believe in Christ among the chief rulers of the Jews would not be *acknown* thereof for fear of like violation." Parker Society, vol., page 161.—1548.—Letters of Bradford, Parker Society, page 6—"But be not *acknown* that I have now written you."

1562.—"Norton's Translation of Calvin's Institutes," page 396,—"Men's traditions do deceive under the shew of wisdom; whence have they this colour? Because they are famed of men. Therefore the wit of man doth therein *acknow* his own, and *acknowing* it doth more gladly embrace it."

Page 470 (same vol.)—"That God will not be *acknowen* true in the receiving itself."

1573.—"Acknown," (Calvin's "Job," page 281).

1570.—"Foxe's Book of Martyrs," 8th vol., page 367, line 7,—"and would not be acknowen." (Seeley's edition, 1868).

The word "aknowen" was in use with the same meaning as "acknowen" from very early times. In the "Paston Letters," written in the reign of Henry VI., the reader will find the words "Yet he will not be aknowyn," 2nd vol., page 139, edition 1841.

Mr. Theobald says that his statement, that Shakespeare was attempting to introduce *agnosco* into our language, is not affected by showing that some one else so attempted. My illustrations show that before Shakespeare used the word "acknown," it was in common use, and that no writer, whom we know, was attempting its introduction. When Shakespeare wrote the word "acknown," it was dropping out of the language, after a use of nearly two hundred years.

In sonnet 146, Mr. Theobald says we find "Then, soul, live thou upon thy servant's loss" (*i e* thy body's loss). "And let that pine to aggravate thy store;" in the literal sense "to add to the weight of—increase. This is of course a naturalisation of the Latin word *aggravo-ad, gravis*;—make heavy."

Is this a statement of mere classical diction or of Classical "aroma?" It means nothing, if it does not mean, that Shakespeare used the word "aggravate" first, with the literal meaning of adding to the weight of. I gave some instances of the use of the word "aggravate" in its literal sense, in my "Examination."

Since, I have met with a few other instances of the word "aggravate" being used in its literal sense, and in two of them before Shakespeare or Lord Bacon was born.

"Sleep doth *aggravate* mine eyes." (See Bradford's letter to Travis, 1549, Parker Society, page 30.)

"To aggravate the matter." (Cranmer, 1551. Parker Society vol., page 176.)

"Neither is my miserable state lessened by consideration of thy absence; but exceedingly aggravated," that is increased. (Green's letter to his wife, Collin's edition of Green, page 47).

"To aggravate sin" (Fenton's Bandello, 1567—2nd volume, page 135, Nutt's edition).

"In whom he saw continual cause to aggravate his affection" (Fenton's Bandello, 1567—2nd volume, page 25).

"Cacodaemon." Mr. Theobald intimates that this is from the Greek, and only once used in the folio. Originally this word was Greek, no doubt; but when Shakespeare and Bacon wrote, an English word. Since the "Examination" I have found a much earlier instance of its use than that presented in the "Examination."

"Maketh the image of God the image of *Cacodaemon*." (Hooper's Remains, Parker Society, page 137; first published in 1547.)

Under the word "casual" Mr. Theobald says meaning casualties, corresponding to Bacon's Latin word *causalia*, from *casus*,—what happens, or falls out. Here is another intimation of the Baconian Mint; but the word was in common use as I formerly stated. I have found in Bradford's Martyrology, page 52, "Through many casualties"—1549. "Nothing in all the world happeneth by casualty," (preface to Calvin's "Job," page 2 —1573). "Our house and goods are in danger of losing, as our lives are, by reason of fire, thieves, and other casualties." (Bradford's letters, 1554, Parker Society, page 65.)

Mr. Theobald says that Shakespeare uses the word "*Collect* in the classic sense, which includes mental collection, put or join together logically, make deductions. Then Mr. Theobald gives quotations from Bacon showing a similar use of the word. I have since my "Examination" met with earlier illustrations of the word, with this meaning.

In 1555 Ridley writes:—"Howsoever mine argument is made, you collect it not readily," (page 12, Parker Society, vol.)

"Collected and gathered" from the same vol.—1554. "Wisdom, reason, and collection," (page 182, Parker Society, vol., Bradford).

1574.—"Your collection I cannot as yet allow." (Whitgift's answer to Cartwright, 1st vol., Parker Society edition, page 34).

"Truly I see not how you can collect any such thing out of these words."—(Same vol. as above, page 36).

Mr. Theobald tells us that "collection" has a cognate meaning to the word collect, and that it is used by Seneca in the sense of inference. He might have told us that the word "collection" is used in the sense of inference by numerous writers of the English tongue, at least from the year 1529 and onwards.

1573.—"Your childish collections."—(Whitgift 1st vol., Parker Society, page 46). "Slender collection,"—(page 56, same vol). "Slenderness of M. Harding's collection."—(1564. —Jewell, page 468, Parker Society).

Mr. Theobald says that Shakespeare uses the word "*Contrive*" with unusual audacity, being a Latin word, and used by him in a sense not common in Latin, and utterly anomalous for English. He uses it in the sense of wear away; spend; consume. Bacon also uses the Latin word in the same way. This "unusual audacity" in the use of the word by Shakespeare is very near coining or invention. This is not mere "classical diction and aroma," but coining. In fact there is no audacity in the use of the word. Contrive, to waste, or wear away was common before Bacon or Shakespeare wrote. Thus in Damon and Pithias, 1571, Hazlitt's edition of old plays, we can read: "In travelling countries we three have *contrived* (wasted) full many a year."

Also on Painter Pal Pleasure, 116 b: "You tarrie and abide here to *contrive* your time."

Shakespeare uses the word "Demerits" with the meaning of good qualities. Mr. Theobald says the ordinary meaning as now employed was current in Shakespeare's day, and in one instance he has so used it, so that the classical use was one of election in the poet's mind. This is not merely classic diction or aroma but an alleged using of a word by mental choice. The word "Demerits," with both meanings, was in common use before Shakespeare wrote. Mr. Theobald has apparently a greater familiarity with Shakespeare's mind than with the English language. From a very early period "demerits," meaning good qualities, has a use as continuous and nearly as early as "demerits," meaning

faults. In Hall's Chronicle, 1548, we can read:—"For his demerits called the good Duke of Gloster." See the words "good demerits" in the account of the examination of Thos. Rose in 1558, Fox's Book of Martyrs, Mary's reign.

Mr. Theobald presents the word deprave, with the statement that in its primary meaning, it means distorted and deformed; in its secondary meaning, to vilify, to slander. He adds, the primary meaning is used by Shakespeare and Bacon. The primary meaning was in common use. Thus in addition to the illustrations in my "Examination," I give the following from Miles Coverdale, Parker Society, page 455, 1550:—"To deprave the truth of the supper *i.e.*, the Lord's Supper."

Mr. Theobald tells us the word "*document*" is used once, by Shakespeare, in its classic and etymological sense, from the Latin *doceo*—teach. Mr. Theobald tells us it was used by Bacon in the same sense. Why Bacon? To establish a "Baconian Mint." It was used by much earlier writers than Bacon, with the same meaning. Since my "Examination" of this word I have found in Philpot's writings, Parker's Society, page 331, "without the authority of any man's document;" and again "what document of any manner of Scripture might be known to convince errors?"—(Same vol., page 349). Philpot suffered martyrdom, 1555.

Mr. Theobald tells us that "epitheton as appearing in 'Love's Labour Lost,' 1st act, 2nd scene, page 14, is the Greek word epitheton—a word not likely to be used except by a classical scholar." When Shakespeare wrote, the word "epitheton" was an English word. In addition to the instances of its use as such, appearing in my former book, I have found the following instances of its use: Hooper's writings, Vol. Parker Society, 1547, page 124,—"epitheton" used as an English word. Hooper in his answer to Gardiner, 1547, says, "This is properly the epitheton of God, to be of nothing, but of himself."

In 1583 Richard Stanyhurst writes—"Virgil in diverse places investeth Juno with this epitheton, Saturnia." Also he writes, "Although mine author used not the Watrye epitheton." This word appears twice in 14 lines, and the passage can be seen in the 1st vol. of Conington's Miscellanies, page 145.

I have found an early use of the word "exhibition" meaning to maintain, or support a person or thing. Thus in 1548

Bradford in his "Letter to Traves" (Parker Society edition, page 11):—"For my master discharged me of his exhibition, telling me that he could not be able to keep either house or child."

"Of all the exhibition yet bestowed, this woman's liberality likes me best."—1600—(Heywood's Edward IV., page 89, Pearson's edition, 1874).

Mr. Theobald points out that the word "expostulate" was used with the meaning to discuss, investigate; not with the sense of remonstrance. In addition to the illustrations in the "Baconian Mint Examined," the following instance of the use of the word expostulate in the sense in which it was used by Shakespeare can be found in Bedingfield's Florentine History, Nutt's edition, page 366, written in 1588:—"The King sent ambassadors to Florence to expostulate the injury."

"The heads of the people did expostulate unto the Bishop the dishonestie of the great men."—(Same vol., page 124, Nutt's edition).

Mr. Theobald rebukes me, for not accepting Mr. Hallam's reference to the classic language of Shakespeare, and for my attempt to show that one of the words on which Mr. Hallam relied, namely "extenuate," was in most common use before Shakespeare or Bacon wrote. As much reliance is placed upon the use of the word "extenuate," I give a few further illustrations of its early use—earlier than those I formerly supplied. Thus in Hooper's "Christ and His Office," published in 1547, (Parker Society, page 56), he writes, "Therefore such as say they be not justified only by faith in the mercy of Christ, extenuate sin and God's ire against sin too much."

In Becon's works (Parker Society, page 380), there are these words: "And so likewise doth it greatly obscure, extenuate, and diminish the free mercy of God."—1565.

1617.—Airy on the Philippians, page 503—"That they should not extenuate and lessen the gifts and grace of God's spirit in their inferior brethren."

Pemble's Works, page 505—"It is only natural of man to extenuate sin."

1550.—Page 295, Hooper, Parker Society,—"Extenuateth the mercy of God."

"For I extenuate sin." (Bradford's "Letter to Traves," 1549, page 29, Parker Society.)

"Let no man extenuate the heinous offence of man as a small trespass." "Vain therefore it is to extenuate the sin of Adam." —(Noel's Catechism, translated from the Latin by T. Norton, 1570, Parker Society, vol., page 149.)

1549.—Hooper's "Christ and His Office," (Parker Society, page 12), "For seeing they will not repent, he revengeth their injustice with his most dreadful ire, not only extenuating their force and diminishing their strength, but also infatuateth and turneth into foolishness their most prudent and circumspect counsels."

Calvin's "Commentaries on John"—"extenuate," page 20.

1561.—"Calvin's Institutes" the word "extenuate" is used.

Mr Theobald seeks to show the classical taste of Shakespere in using the word "extirp," and tells us the word is exactly the same as extirpate, and by using the current or classic form, the poet shows his familiarity with both. The words to extirp and extirpate having both the same meaning, and both derived from the Latin can be found in common use from 1430. The word "extirp," which Mr. Theobald regards as the classic form, was in more common use up to 1623, than "extirpate." In Bedingfield's "Translation of the Florentine History of Machiavveli," 1588, the words "extirp" and "extirpate" are in common use, and on page 274 of his work, within four lines, both words, "extirp" and "extirpate" are used, viz.—"That prince and that state is by the victories of war enriched which *extirpeth* the enemies, becoming lord of the spoile and ransoms, and that prince or commonweal is impoverished who cannot, though he be victorious, *extirpate* the enemy." (Nutt's edition, 1905).

There was no classic form in extirp. It was in more common use than extirpate. Page 137 of Bedingfield: "Every man thought that the Ghibilini extirped, the Guelfi should ever have continued in honour."

In the same vol. these words: "The name of Gotti in Italy was clearly extirped" (page 30).

In the letter of Henry VI to Duke of Burgundy, 1431, the following passage is found:—"To the advancement of the Catholic faith and extirping of errors and false opinions."

In my reading, I have found more instances of "extirp" than "extirpate," before 1623.

The most striking instance of Mr. Theobald's want of acquaintance with the English language prior to* Shakespeare is, after his treatment of "gross and palpable," that of the word "fact." In the use of the word "fact," meaning deed, by the author of the folio, there was not even classical aroma.

Mr. Theobald found in the folio volume that the word "fact" was used in the sense of deed. For at least 100 years prior to Shakespeare or Lord Bacon writing anything, the word "fact" was in most common use as meaning deed. Mr. Theobald having called attention to the word, gives a quotation from Lord Bacon of the use of the word "fact" as meaning deed. It is taken from Bacon's History of Henry VII., published in 1623. It really is ridiculous to quote Lord Bacon as having supplied the use of the word "fact" in the sense of deed. Mr. Theobald might have quoted William Dodrington as having supplied this classical language. William Dodrington, unknown to fame, was a poor man, who in the year 1600 threw himself from the top of Saint Sepulchre's Church in London, and thereby caused his death. He left on the roof, a paper, from which I quote the few lines which follow:—

"Let no other man be troubled for that which is my own *fact*. John Bunkley and his fellows, by perjury and other bad means have brought me to this end. God forgive it them and I do, and Oh, Lord, forgive me this cruel *fact* upon my own body." —See "Relics of Literature," by Stephen Collett, pub. 1823, page 359.

Richard III. and Henry VII. used "fact" for deed in their respective proclamations before the battle of Bosworth.

In the Antiquae Nugae, page 160, Stubbs says:—"For the outward fact wherein my offence consisteth, he hath words without fact."

"Words without facts."—Hooper (Parker Society, page 58), 1547. "No fact so detestable."—Lady Anne Bacon (Translation of Jewell's "Apology," page 74). Lord Bacon might have and doubtless did acquire the use of the word "fact," meaning deed, from his mother.

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*Objection has been made to my use of "prior to." I am content to follow in the steps of Lord Stowell, Mr. Justice Bayley and Mr. Baron Alderson.

Then there is a letter of Smith to Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury—"Wherefor I beseech your Grace help me home as soon as you may conveniently for God's sake, and ye shall never, I trust to God, repent that fact."

Another illustration may be given from Fox's Book of Martyrs, 1570:—"This Fenning who was the procurer of this tyranny is yet alive, and is now a minister; which, if he be, I pray God he may so repent that *fact* that he may declare himself hereafter such an one as may well answer to his vocation."

"David being awakened by Nathan out of the slumber wherein he had long layn after his foul fact with Bathsheba."—(Farindon's Sermons, 3rd volume, page 100, 1674.)

In the word "Gratulate," Mr. Theobald sees the Latin form of the word "Congratulate." "Congratulate" did not come from the Latin word "*gratulor*," but "*congratulor*." "Gratulate" or "gratulation" came from "*gratulor*." "Gratulate" itself was a most common word, and nothing classical in its use. In addition to the proofs of the early use of this word given in my former work, I may give the following:—

"The gratulation of the most famous clerk, Master Bucer." Before 1548. (See note to Bradford's letter to Traves, page 19, Parker Society, Letters of Bradford).

"It were less inconvenient to defer a week than to make solemn gratulation, if the matter hereafter prove untrue."—(Grindal's Letter to Cecil, page 288, Parker Society). Bradford, 245:—"gratulatory sacrifice." This word can be found in nearly all the prose writings prior to the writings of Shakespeare.

"Gratulate," may be seen in Ben Jonson's Epigrams, numbers 51, 64, and 95, written between 1606 and 1608; also "Speeches of Gratulation" at Coronation of James I, written in 1603.—See page 849, Ben Jonson's works, published 1616.

"Gratulatory" may be seen twice in one page in Cranmer on the Lord's Supper:—

"His (Christ) was the taking away the sins of the world! Ours is a praising and thanking for the same: and therefore His was satisfactory, ours is gratulatory."—(Page 359, Parker Society, 1551.)

"Sacrifice commemorative and gratulatory made by the priests and people."—(Page 359, Parker Society, 1551.)

Mr. Theobald thinks there is something classical in the use of the words "mere" and "merely." The following illustrations showing its common use may be supplied:—

"God be praised, therefore, which of his mere good pleasure. (Bradford, page 10, Parker Society.)

"O Lord, it is thy gift, and cometh of Thee, and Thy mere grace."—(Bradford to Traves, page 13, Parker Society.)

"Cometh of his mere goodness only."—(Institutes of the Christian Man, 1537.)

Spencer's Sonnet, 5th vol. Collier's edition, page 266. "He freely of his own mere goodness saved us."—(Becon's Works, page 43, Parker Society, early writings.)

Mr. Theobald says "'mere oppugnancy' and 'merely oppugne' are evidently the coinage of one man." Here is the "Mint" again, and as Mr. Theobald quotes from Bacon, it is clear he meant they were from the "Baconian mint." "Oppugnancy" is not found in Bacon's writings, and "oppugn," which can be found in Bacon, was in use before Bacon was born.

In addition to the previous illustrations, the following may be given:—

"Yet we neither oppugn as enemies." (Cartwright. Quoted in the 3rd vol. of Whitgift, page 458. Parker Society, 1572.)

"Oppugning of a known truth." (Cartwright. Quoted by Whitgift, 1st vol., page 53.)

"Which favour this cause which you oppugn." (Cartwright. Quoted by Whitgift, 1st vol., page 94, Parker Society, 1572.)

In the use of these words Mr. Theobald alleges a coinage, not a mere aroma or a classic taste. . . He undoubtedly alleges they came from the coinage of one mint, and that of Bacon. "Mere oppugnancy" and "merely oppugn" may be the coinage of one mint, but they are not the coinage of Bacon.

Mr. Theobald finds at last a full proof of a Baconian supply of words to the folio 1623 in the word "perdurable."

"Oh perdurable shame." (Henry V., 4th act, line 7), and quotes from Bacon the words "of metals, which ought to be perdurable."

No wonder Mr. Theobald sees this word in a Baconian light for he believes and sees that the word "perdurable" is not an English word at all. It is difficult to say which statement of Mr. Theobald's is more rash than another, but this statement

is certainly remarkable for its recklessness. The word "perdurable" was in use in Chaucer's day, and in addition to illustrations previously given, I may supply the following illustrations of its use, which have occurred to me since :—

"And which offering of Christ's, the efficacy and effect is perdurable for ever." (Latimer at Oxford, 18th April, 1554. See his "Remains," Parker Society, page 254.)

"The spiritual consanguinity is more perdurable than that which is of flesh and blood." (Philpot's Works, page 238, Parker Society.)

Gower uses the word "perdurable," meaning everlasting.

Mr. Theobald says that the word "perpend" is used only in Shakespeare by pedantical speakers or professional fools. This is not merely aroma, but an allegation of invention. The word "perpend" was used by grave writers before Shakespeare wrote, and in the sense in which he used the word.

In further illustration of the word "Persian" in the case of garments that are sumptuous, I find in Jewell's "Apology," page 104, (Parker Society vol.) 1564, "With sumptuous and Persian-like gorgeousness." "Persian-like pride." (Jewell's "Apology," page 81).

Mr. Theobald says that "'pervert' is another instance in which the classic and intensive force of the particle 'per' is used to augment the classic sense of the root. "Vert" is to turn; "pervert" is to turn completely. This, and this alone, explains the word in the following passages :—

"Trust not my holy order
If I pervert your course."
("Measure for Measure," iv, iii, 152.)

"Let's follow him, and pervert the present wrath
He hath gained against himself."
("Cymbeline, ii," iv, 151.)

Neither of these passages appeared under the name of Shakespeare until they appeared in the folio, 1623.

Further illustration of the use of the word "pervert" can be seen in Hooper, page 108, Parker Society :—"The devil is always ready to pervert God's order in all things."

"You pervert the order of the books, setting the cart before the horse." (Cranmer, 1550, Parker Society vol., page 185.)

Mr. Theobald thinks there is a classic use in the word "port" for gate:—

"Makes his approaches to the port of Rome." ("Anthony and Cleopatra," 1st act, 3rd scene, line 45).

In addition to the illustrations of an earlier use of the word "port" in the sense of "gate" given previously, I make the following quotation:—

"The stranger likewise within thy port." (Hooper's early writings, page 340, Parker Society. 1550.)

Mr. Theobald also thinks there is a classic use in the word "port" when used to mean the state or magnificence which is maintained by anyone.

"The most of those who bear greatest port and countenance." (Golding's dedication to Calvin's "Job," page 2, 1575).

"Portly courage." ("Callisto and Melibaea," Hazlitt's Dramatic Writers, 1st vol., page 61.)

"And in his port appeared manly hardiment." (Spencer's "Fairy Queen," Book 3, 8th canto, stanza 44.)

"No less astonied with the porte and courtelike behaviour of the Knight." (Fenton's Bandello, 1567, 2nd vol., page 247. Nutt's edition.)

Writing of the word "preposterous," used in having the last first, Mr. Theobald says, "In Shakespeare the radical sense is always intended—an inverted order." To show how rare the use of this word is, Mr. Theobald points out that Iago, who was a most philosophical thinker, uses the word thus:—

"The blood and baseness of our natures
Would conduct us to most preposterous conclusions,"

and then he gives colour to the notion that Lord Bacon supplied this word by saying that Bacon uses this word similarly in his prose. Hundreds of people used the word in this radical sense before Shakespeare and Bacon saw the light. Further illustrations of the early use of the word in the radical sense I give:—

"Or else it were a preposterous order to set the cart before the horse." (Hooper's answer to Gardiner, Parker Society, 1547.)

"Esteeming things as they do all preposterously, doing that they need not for to do, leaving undone that they ought to do." (Latimer's Sermons, Parker Society vol., page 347).

"Some are a little more devout and earnest in prayer, but yet very preposterous and profane, preferring earthly things before heavenly." (Burton's Treatise of Prayer, page 102—1602.)

"The most preposterous inverter of all things human and divine." (Grindal's Remains, page 235, Parker Society.)

"Christ dissuading their preposterous seeking earthly things," *i.e.*, before heavenly (Paul Bain—1617—sermon on the text, "Seek you first the Kingdom of God.")

The use of the word "prevent," as meaning anticipate is supposed by Mr. Theobald to be quite classic in its use by Shakespeare. Further illustrations may be given of its early use in that sense :—

"That you are sorry that you are prevented, and are not the first to do it." (Quoted from Cartwright in the 1st vol. of Whitgift's Works, page 52, Parker Society.)

"But preventeth us of his goodness." (Calvin on "Job," page 278, folio edition. Spencer, books 6, canto 1st, stanza 38.)

"Am I prevented in my haste? O chance accurst." (1605. Heywood's "If you know not me," page 242, Pearson's edition, vol. 1.)

"Oh run, prevent them with thy humble ode." (Milton's "Ode to the Nativity.")

Mr. Theobald points out that Shakespeare uses the word "probation" in the sense of proving, not trial. Like the Latin—*probare*. So common was the use of the word "probation" in the sense of prove, or proving, that in a small portion of Becon's Works (Parker Society, "Common places of Holy Scripture," 1570) I find "probation" in the sense of prove, or proving, 30 times.

"I believe not their saying, but require a probation thereof." (Hooper, Early Writings, Parker Society vol., page 69.)

"Wherefore you lack probation." (Whitgift's answer to Cartwright, 3rd vol., page 432, Parker Society vol.)

"I need scripture for probation of your assertion." (Ridley, 283, Parker Society; similar use in the next page, 284; also on pages 304 and 305.) Ridley died in the year 1555, martyr.

"It needeth no probation at all." (Hooper, page 38.)

"It is so plain that it needeth no probation." (Page 24.)

Similar use in Miles Coverdale, Parker Society, pages 125, 353, and also

"To allege earnest probation for the true authority of the Church." (Philpott, translation of Curio, Parker Society, page 325, martyr 1555.)

It is strange that in the face of Mr. Theobald's comments on the use of the word "recordation" by Shakespeare, that he should allege that he only means, in the words he quoted from the folio, to intimate that Shakespeare had a classical aroma and that the author of the folio did not coin any words. Mr. Theobald is always very bold, and in the word "recordation" he sees the working of the mind of the author of the folio, and alleges that he created "recordation" from the Latin. "Shakespeare," says Mr. Theobald, "hunting after a synonym for remembrance, which is not to be found in the vernacular, borrows one from the Latin." Here Shakespeare is seen in the very act of inventing, and is seen by Mr. Theobald. Mr. Theobald's statements for the most part rest on ignorance. "Recordation" is to be found in the vernacular, and Shakespeare neither coined the word nor borrowed it from the Latin. In addition to the illustrations given in my "Examination," I find the following use of the word "recordation" before Shakespeare was born

"We always do the same by the recordation or remembrance of his sacrifice." (Ridley's Disputations, Parker Society, page 217—1555.)

"She forceth not only an equal consideration and recompense; but also claimeth a continual remembrance and thankful recordation, in him who was first partaker of the benefit." (Fenton's Tragicall Discourses, 1567; Nutt's edition, page 68—1898.)

"To comfort myself with recordation of your loving kindness of old." (Bishop of Llandaff to Duke of Buckingham, 1626; Nugae Antiquæ, Park's edition.)

As further illustrations of the words "repugn," "repugnancy," "repugnant," to resist, I give the following:—

"Though it be manifestly repugnant and contrary to the Word of God." (Becon, page 243; also in page 354. Parker Society vol.)

In Hooper, page 65, Parker Society vol., we read—"The one repugnant to the other."

"These ceremonies that God instituted not, but repugneth God's institution." (Hooper, page 61. Martyr, 1555.)

"Repugnant to true religion, which repugneth this true knowledge." (Hooper, pages 151 and 152.)

"It repugneth the manifest text of the Scripture." (Hooper, page 35, Parker Society. Same word in the same vol., page 85.)

"With confidence in Christ, repugn sin." (Hooper, page 94—1547. Hooper, pages 113, 114, 124, 137).

"God so abhoreth them as things repugnant unto the law." (Hooper, page 146.)

"That it repugneth is most certain: for how can these things agree." ("Treatise on Sacrament" by Myles Coverdale. Parker Society, pages 100 and 113.)

"Repugnant" (Page 324, Hooper, Parker Society vol.)

"Repugnance in nature." (Jewell against Harding, page 456, Parker Society.)

Becon's Works, Prayers, Parker Society—"Repugnant and contrary;" page 394.

"Directly repugnant." (Becon, page 402.)

Cranmer on Lord's Supper, Parker Society vol.—1550.—Preface, page 4, "By the very order of nature it repugneth more;" "repugnant unto Christ," page 46; "no repugnance," page 61, page 74.

To give another instance of Mr. Theobald's allegations that the author of the folio invented words, let us take his commentary on the word "ruinate." Latin, *ruina*, a ruin. "Shakespeare," says Mr. Theobald, "often turns nouns into verbs. In this instance the noun becoming a verb is Latin, the Latin word becoming an English verb":—

"I will not ruinate my father's house." (3rd Henry VI, 5th act, line 8.)

This is not "aroma," but coinage.

Had Mr. Theobald been acquainted with the prose writers in our language prior to the birth of Shakespeare, he would not have written thus. There was scarcely any word more frequently in use than the word "ruinate." (Spencer, book 2, canto 12, stanza 7. See also Spencer's 56th Sonnet).

If Mr. Theobald had only read "The Art of War," by Machiavelli, translated by Peter Whitehouse, and published in the year 1560, he would have avoided this shameful error. He would have found the word "ruinate" on page 38; on page 39 the word "ruin;" "Ruinated" on page 70; "to ruinate an army," page 160; "doth ruin thee," page 164; "an army ruinateth," page 146; "ruinate him," page 159; "many times the saying 'back, back,' hath made to ruinate an army," page 160; "discord which is the ruin of the army," page 197;

"Ruin, ruinated," page 199; "made it ruinate," page 220; "gunpowder not only ruinateth a wall, but it openeth the hills and utterly dissolveth the strength of them," page 220; "ruinated," page 221.

"Raised Hercules to ruinate that truth." (Green's "Friar Bacon," edition of Professor Churton Collins, 2nd vol., page 52.)

"Let us take notice what doth clear ruinate others." (Paul Bain's Sermon—1617—page 22.)

"Beningfield.—'The Cardinal Pole that now was firmly well, is fallen suddenly sick and like to die.'

"Sussex.—'Let him go. Why, then there's a fall of Prelates. This realm will never stand in perfect state, till all their faction be clear *ruinate.*'" (Heywood's "If you know not me,"—1605—page 238, 1st vol., Heywood's Dramatic Works, 1874.)

Mr. Theobald imputes to Shakespeare great skill in the use of the word "seen," used in the sense of the Latin, *spectatus: i.e.*, well versed or skilled. In addition to illustrations formerly given, I add the following to show how common was the use of the word.

In Tyndall's Prologue, 1525, page 7, of the Parker Society, can be read, "Beseeching those that are better seen in the tongues than I."

"Thou covetest too much to be seen an orator." (Philpot's translation of "Curio," page 360, Parker Society vol.)

In 1573, Goldwin published his translation of Calvin's "Job," and on page 166 of the translation may be read, "Well seen in the scriptures."

"For he is better seen in old doctors' councils and ecclesiastical histories than any Roman Doctor of christendom." (Grindal's Letter to Cecil, written 1565, page 245, Parker Society.)

I may add illustrations of the word "semblable," which Mr. Theobald says is either a French word or from the Latin, *similis*. He does not seem to know that it had become an English word in common use before Shakespeare wrote in "Hamlet," "His *semblable* is his mirror." In addition to the illustrations of its early use given in my former work, I may state that "semblance" is to be found in Gower 3rd vol., page 120.

"Semblable rashness." (Philpot, Parker Society, page 405).

"I told her I had now changed my former opinion, and exhorted her to do the semblable." (Bishop of Durham's Letter

to King Henry VIII., May 21st, 1533. See Collier's Ecclesiastical History, 9th vol., page 107, edition 1846.)

In Becon's early writings, page 39, Parker Society,—"semblably cold is that love."

Chaucer—"semblable," in the "Parson's Tale." (Burnett's Prose Extracts, page 103.)

So common was the use of *semblable*, that at the time of Shakespeare's birth, a book, Fenton's Bandello, was being written, in which there are about *seventy* instances of the use of the word *semblable*.

Mr. Theobald points out that the word "success" is often used by Bacon and Shakespeare to signify the issue or result of anything whether the event is good or evil, favourable or the reverse. Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury, in his letter to Lady Ann Bacon on the occasion of her publishing an English translation of Jewell's "Apology," writes commending her work "whose success I beseech our heavenly Father to bless and prosper."

Most early writers put "good success;" "prosperous success;" "evil success."

"The happy success of those, encouraged new people to the destruction of the empire." (Machiavelli, Bedingfield's Translation, 1588, page 23. Nutt's edition, 1905.)

I think these references to Mr. Theobald's classic diction of Shakespeare show, that Mr. Theobald intended to state that the words he presented were introduced into the English language in the folio, greatly by the aid of Lord Bacon. It was not kind of him to say that I misunderstood the language he employed. No one can read the chapter without seeing that he did not mean merely to assert that the author of the folio had caught the classical aroma, but that he really had invented words which before had not been used in the English tongue. I think Mr. Theobald should have apologised for his bold and reckless statement, due, to a large extent, no doubt, to his ignorance of the early English writers.

I have been compelled to write thus in defence of myself.

Mr. Theobald's chapter on the classic language of Shakespeare has proved very attractive to many, who had no knowledge of the early writers in our tongue. His chapter is easily apprehended, and was received as true by many people. As long as that chapter exists, many will still be ensnared and

be led to think, that the language in the folio was chiefly the language of Bacon. Mr. Theobald's positive statement, as to the source of the words in the folio, has led many to believe that Lord Bacon had a considerable share in the production of the plays. To believe that Lord Bacon had anything to do with the composition of the plays which appeared in the folio of 1623, makes a man present the feeblest arguments, and draw the rashest inferences, offer the most remarkable statements, and misrepresent, unintentionally, almost every fact in the life of Shakespeare.

It will be noticed that many of the illustrations presented in this "further examination" are taken from the precious volumes of the Parker Society, a well-spring of English undefiled. Their careful examination leads me to say, with greater confidence than before, that the language of Lord Bacon and Shakespeare was derived, independently of each other, from the common stock of the English people.

It is pleasant to remember that the "*affluent mint* of Lord Bacon," is a fiction.

C. G. Gallpen, Printer, 10, Pottergate Street, Norwich.

C. G. GALLPEN,
PRINTER,
POTTERGATE STREET,
NORWICH.