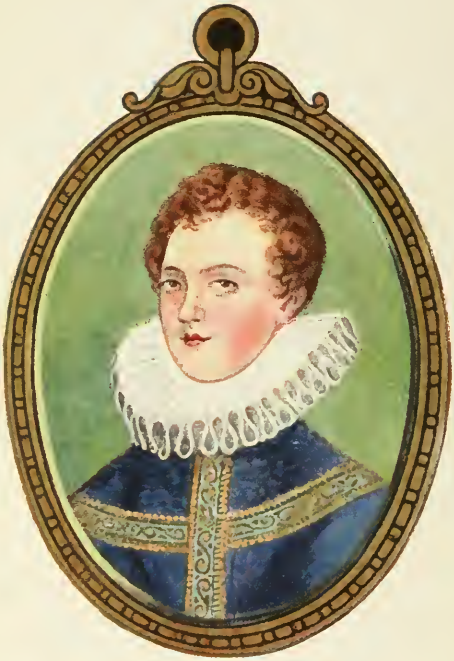
SIR FRANCIS BACON



FRANCIS AT THE AGE OF EIGHTEEN

# SIR FRANCIS BACON

## POET—PHILOSOPHER—STATESMAN —LAWYER—WIT

BY

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# PREFACE

Mr. James Spedding, in addition to editing the philosophical works of Francis Bacon, devoted years to the examination of Bacon's letters and unprinted pamphlets with a view to obtaining all the light available upon Bacon's career as a philosopher. To that general object he remained faithful. So that the "Life and Letters of Bacon" which Mr. Spedding printed in several most valuable volumes were not studied from the other points of view of Bacon as a man of the world in peculiar relationship with Queen Elizabeth or as a "concealed poet."

Francis Bacon's fame was unfortunate in the fact that his great biographer reviewed it so long ago instead of to-day, when so much additional information has been unearthed from concealment.

Conscious of the little he really knew, Mr. Spedding became alarmed at the position of authority concerning Francis Bacon with which he was credited. But he had become a pundit in spite of himself, and although later in life he found that Bacon had the habit of mind which constitutes the making of a poet, his (Spedding's) declaration about the Shakespeare Plays which he made in 1867 has been persistently quoted as a final and authoritative pronouncement:

"I believe that the author of the Plays published in 1623 was a man called William Shakespeare.

It was believed by those who had the best means of knowing, and I know nothing which should lead me to doubt it."

In view of the hundreds of parallelisms between the words and thoughts expressed by Bacon and those in "the Shakespeare Plays," and which have been printed by Edwin Reed, W. F. Wigston, Gervinus, and many others, Mr. Spedding only displayed the ignorance of which he felt conscious when he proceeded to comment:

"I doubt whether there are five lines together to be found in Bacon which could be mistaken for Shakespeare, or five lines in Shakespeare which could be mistaken for Bacon by one who was familiar with the several styles, and practised in such observation."

I have elsewhere shown (*Baconiana*, July, 1916) that Spedding did another injustice to Bacon, by attributing to Lambarde, instead of to the former, one of the finest treatises upon a branch of English History and Law ever compiled. I refer to the manuscript included both by Blackbourne in his "Bacon's Works," 1730, and by Basil Montagu entitled "An Account of the Office of Compositions for Alienation."

If the reading public will agree with Mr. Spedding, that upon the subject of Francis Bacon he was far from infallible, they may spare a short space of their valuable time to the study of the memoir I have ventured to put forward in the following pages.

In "Evenings with a Reviewer" (Preface), Mr. Venables stated that Mr. Spedding was in the habit of saying "that he (Spedding) got undeserved credit for knowledge because no one

would believe that such a man could be so profoundly ignorant."

It is more than probable that three hundred years after Bacon's death some pronouncement will be made about him by those authorised to do so, so that this memoir is nothing more than an essay in research after the truth of the matter. Not that readers generally will welcome the truth. On page 143 of "The Amethyst Ring," a book by Anatole France, the subjects of truth and error are discussed:

"Do you not think," said M. Leterrier, "that Truth contains a power that renders her invincible, and sooner or later ensures her final triumph?"

"It is precisely what I personally do not think," returned M. Bergeret. "On the contrary, I opine that in the majority of cases Truth is likely to fall a victim to the disdain or insults of mankind, and to perish in obscurity. I could give you many instances of this. Remember, my dear sir, that Truth has so many points of inferiority to Falsehood as practically to be doomed to extinction. To begin with Truth stands alone. That is not her only shortcoming. She is inert, is not capable of modification, is not adapted to those machinations which would enable her to win her way into the hearts and minds of men. Falsehood, on the other hand, possesses the most wonderful resources. She is pliant and tractable, and she is natural and moral. She is natural as being the product of the working of the senses, the source and fountain-head of all illusion; she is moral because she fits in with the habits and customs of the human race, who, living in common as they do, founded their ideas of good and evil, their human and divine

laws, upon the oldest, most sacred, most irrational, most noble, most barbarous, and most erroneous interpretations of natural phenomena. Falsehood is the principle of all that is beautiful and of good report amongst men. They lend a willing ear only to the lies of the poets. What makes you wish to destroy Falsehood and to seek Truth ?

" Such an enterprise can only be inspired by decadent curiosity and culpable intellectual temerity. It is an attempt against the moral nature of man and the laws of society.

" It is a sin against the sentiments as well as the virtues of the nations."

If, therefore, in presenting these pages representing long researches and study of Sir Francis Bacon's career and literary performances, I sin against the sentiments as well as the virtues of the English-speaking peoples, I must claim to have been inspired by " decadent curiosity," if not mainly by desire to do justice to the real truth of the matter.

My observations about Gosson, Watson, Spenser, Peele, Marlowe, Lyly, Shakespeare, Bright, Burton, Whitney, Webbe, and other matters are set out at greater length in a book called " Tudor Problems," published some years ago. My notes on the " Florio Montaigne," on Thomas Lodge, and queries concerning the authorship of " Don Quixote," are to be found in a small serial publication called " Baconiana." Those concerning the sigils or revealing numbers used by the secret literary fraternity of the Rosy Cross up to about the year 1740 are given in a book in the preparation of which I was associated with my brother, Frank Woodward, entitled " Secret Shakespearean Seals," published by Mr. B. Halliday of Highcross Street, Leicester.

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"Dogmatic prejudice coupled with a desire to persecute, to expel new truth under the name of heresy, is unfortunately no exclusive privilege of theologians."—SIR OLIVER LODGE, *Hibbert Journal*, January, 1920.

# SIR FRANCIS BACON

## CHAPTER I

### THE MASTER MYSTIC

"He was of middling stature; his presence grave and comely, of a high flying and lively wit, striving in some things to be rather admired than understood; yet so quick and easy where he would express himself and his memory so strong and active that he appeared the master of a large and plenteous storehouse of knowledge, being (as it were) nature's midwife stripping her callow brood *and cloathing them in new attire.* His wit was quick to the last."—*Description of Sir Francis Bacon by Arthur Wilson (a contemporary) in "History of Great Britain containing the Life and Reign of King James I.,"* 1652.

BIOGRAPHY is not an exact science, and it is not made easier to attempt in a case such as this, in which "one man in his time plays many parts. He played those parts out of necessity in an attempt to pursue his literary aims in a way so as not to interfere with his obligations and expectations.

The literary achievements of Francis Bacon cannot be apprehended until the initial fact is accepted that this Proteus masked himself as author under many names, and that various books set as far as possible in sequence of date will disclose the main incidents of a marvellous career.

Sir Francis used to mask as "authors" the

names of men-players such as Peele, Gosson, Marlowe, Greene, Lodge, and Shakspere, and those of clerks such as Spenser, Kyd, Nash, Whitney, and Webbe, and of clerics like Bright and Burton. One military man, Barnabe Rich, served on occasion, as did pen-names such as "Euphues," "John Lyly," "Thomas Watson," "Immerito," "Ignoto," and "Anonimous." A number of the men-players were paid for the use of their names.

Of these "authors" no "biographies" or serious essays in that direction were attempted until the nineteenth century, and then without satisfactory results. Those readers of this book who are not choked with indignation at the above extensive authorship claims are politely requested to read on.

An admittedly garbled "Life of Bacon" was printed by his chaplain, Rawley, in 1657. But Rawley expressly stated in his Preface that he had not left to a future hand anything which he found to be of moment *and communicable to the public.* Also: "And the rather in regard of the distance of time since his Lordship's days whereby I shall not tread too near upon the heels of truth."

A sort of "Life of Spenser" was prefixed to a collected folio edition of the "Spenser" poems in 1679. It was, however, manifestly a feigned account, intended to burke enquiry until a certain time had elapsed from Sir Francis Bacon's death. The same remark can be applied to the ridiculous "Life of Shakespear," which the Poet Laureate, Nicholas Rowe, prefixed to an edition of the Shakespeare plays in the year 1709. By certain secret numerical signs, books proceeding from

members of the Rosicrosse secret literary fraternity established by Francis for the advancement of learning, arts, sciences, manners, and the religion taught in the Established Church, were made known to the brethren. The 1679 "Spenser" Folio and Rowe's 1709 edition of the "Shakespeare" plays exhibit those signs. The monograph on Shakespeare in Fuller's "Worthies," 1662, and John Milton's sonnet on "Shakespear," 1630, both exhibit Rosicrucian signs.

Sir Francis Bacon planned for the revelation of his true identity and work after many years from his death had passed over. Certain cipher accounts of his life and works have now been decoded with sufficient accuracy to tell persons of this generation who he really was, and to a considerable extent the literary work he accomplished in his lifetime under various pen-names. He did not disclose all of his literary vizards, as he would not wish to confuse the search for cipher inserted in books attributed to the authorship of a definite seven "authors." Other masks could, he knew, be found later. From the ciphers in the books of the *seven* it was decoded that Francis was the elder son of a secret marriage between Queen Elizabeth and Lord Robert Dudley, afterwards Earl of Leicester. The whole trouble of his life arose from the circumstance that although born in wedlock he was begotten during the time that Lord Robert's first wife was alive, and was born five months after that poor lady's death. It was impossible, in view of the Roman Catholic opposition to the Queen (the religion professed by many of her subjects), that she

could admit the marriage. A second son of this union—viz., Robert, afterwards second Earl of Essex—was born about six years later, but the Queen was for the same reason debarred from a confession of parentage, which, although correct so far as Robert was concerned, would have involved the disclosure of the sordid circumstances associated with the birth of Francis. Both sons were taken from her at birth and brought up as other people's children: Francis in the family and as the believed younger son of Sir Nicholas and Lady Ann Bacon; Robert as the son of Walter, first Earl of Essex, and his wife Lettice (daughter of the Queen's cousin). These matters are mentioned in order to explain a situation which without this key could not readily be understood.

A secret may not be one in fact. Many people know it or consider they do. But concerning an autocratic sovereign like Elizabeth, *to have repeated it openly and unproven would have been high treason.* However true, its truth was not provable, and the man or woman who ventured to affirm that Francis and Robert were sons of the Queen was liable to the severest punishment. Indeed, one Norfolk gentleman named Marsham was condemned to lose his ears for having stated that the Queen had two children by the Earl of Leicester. Amongst the fifty odd peers of that time, and the fifty or more knights and gentry who, and whose wives, were admitted to the intimacies of the Royal Court, there must have been a general suspicion that Francis and Robert were sons of the Queen, whether bastards or not. Royal bastards have been

tolerated in almost all times. But unless royal parents proclaimed or admitted the bastardy or lawful issue, courtiers had to keep their mouths shut. As this narration proceeds it will be seen how convention and the wishes of the Sovereign were observed, though, through it all, the real relationship reveals itself. *This biography is mainly concerned with the concealed literary career of Sir Francis Bacon.* That is the matter of main importance. The contemporary evidence of this secret literary work is ample. Statements by Francis himself, and by or to the Earl of Essex, Anthony Bacon, Ben Jonson, John Davies, Sir Thomas Bodley, Lord Burleigh, and Wm. Rawley, who knew him personally, will be referred to in due course.

## CHAPTER II

### LONDON IN ELIZABETHAN TIMES

"His [Sir Francis Bacon's] servants had liveries with his crest, his watermen more employed than even the King's."—AUBREY.

To understand the main *locus in quo* it is desirable to take note that London and Westminster in Sir Francis Bacon's day did not number a population of more than some two hundred thousand, and that, except within the city boundaries, the residents were very much spread out.

As shown faithfully in Norden's Map of Westminster, 1593, the Royal Court comprised a large district reaching from the River Thames to the Horse Guards. It included the new Palace of Whitehall (formerly Wolsey's York Palace or Place), the old Palace of Westminster, the Abbey or West Minster (St. Paul's in the city of London being the East Minster), and the sanctuary. It included also extensive subsidiary buildings, residences, guard-houses, and the like, for a numerous body of retainers and guards. The whole of the Court precincts was protected on the land side by high walls and postern gates, and the river front was equally well guarded. To be forbidden access to the Court was equivalent to a denial of entry upon practically the whole of Westminster.

Whitehall Palace and its gardens fronted the Thames, which river was the main, most frequent, and easiest means of communication with London and the Tower, with the residences of the noblemen along the Strand front, and with the Queen's Palaces at Greenwich, Hampton Court, Richmond, and Windsor. The old Saxon Palace of Havering-atte-Bower, in Essex, was also partly reached by way of the Thames.

Next to the Whitehall Palace and Court, towards the Strand, was an area known as Scotland Yard. Then along the Strand, with garden reaching to the Thames, came the old residence of the Archbishops of York (at that time known as York House, and occupied by the Lord Keeper), and then Durham House and Garden, at one time the residence of the Bishops of Durham. Then successively were Bedford House, the old Savoy Palace, Somerset House (where Lord Hunsdon lived), Bath or Arundel House (residence of the Earl), and Leycester House (afterwards known as Essex House), occupied at one time by the Earl of Leicester, and next time by the Queen's unacknowledged but lavishly well-treated second son, Robert, Earl of Essex. Most of the houses or palaces were taken from the Roman Catholic hierarchy at the time of the Reformation, and all their gardens bordered the Thames.

Between Leycester House and the boundary wall of London City was a large area formerly the centre and residence of the Knight Templars, but in Sir Francis Bacon's time occupied by the barristers, ancients, and law students of the Temple.

Farther east along the river front and within the city boundaries (but not subject to its jurisdiction, as it was Crown property) was another large area walled all round and entered only through postern gates, guarded in the daytime and locked at night. This with its large refectories and residential chambers, before the Order was suppressed and its property taken, was the home of the community of the Black Friars. Within the peacefulness of this protected district in Queen Elizabeth's reign certain Court officials such as Lord Cobham, the ninth Earl of Northumberland, and the Earl of Oxford (who married a daughter of Lord Burleigh), were permitted to reside. It is also said that a certain "John Lyly" had at one time a lodging there.

One part of this disused monastery was used by the Master of the Revels for storage of the scenery properties and costumes required for the masques and comedies performed for the amusement of the Royal Court. The performers were the chorister boys (known as the children of the Queen's Chapel) who were lodged at the old Savoy Palace, or they were the chorister boys of St. Paul's, called the Paul's children. These boy-players were rehearsed in their parts in a large room of the old monastery, where full performances were sometimes actually given. What is now known as Playhouse Yard adjoined it. Later, a room or theatre which Burbage built and the Earl of Oxford rented was made use of.

## CHAPTER III

### BIRTH TO MANHOOD

"If I could but paint his mind."—HILLIARD, 1578.

RAWLEY stated in his garbled biography that Francis was born at York House or York Place. As a fact, he was born at Wolsey's new Palace (York Palace or Place), Whitehall, where Queen Elizabeth lived, and not at York House, the old residence of the Archbishops of York. But he was secretly removed at birth to York House by the Queen's friend, young Lady Ann, the second wife of Lord Keeper Nicholas Bacon, who at that date resided at York House. The date of his birth was 22nd January, 1560/1.

Francis spent the first thirteen years of his life at York House or at the country house of the Bacons at Gorhambury House, near St. Albans. Tradition is that the Queen frequently took notice of him. At his age of twelve she went specially to Gorhambury House, and a terra-cotta bust of the boy (which shows abnormal brain development) was made for that occasion. No bust of Anthony Bacon is recorded, although he was the presumed elder son of Sir Nicholas and Lady Ann. Francis was tutored in music, in Latin, Greek, French, and Italian, and possibly in fencing. His French tutor

was Amias Paulet, son of the Protestant governor of Jersey, of which island French is the spoken and written language to this day. His Italian tutor was John Florio, son of an Italian Protestant refugee preacher, who at one time was employed by Lord Burleigh. Edvardo Donati was very possibly his tutor for music. Bonetti, who took over the rooms he occupied at Blackfriars as "John Lyly," was likely to have been his fencing-master. At the age of thirteen, following a visit of the Queen to Gorhambury House, Francis was sent with Anthony Bacon to Cambridge University. He did not go to St. Bennet's College, where Sir Nicholas had been educated, but to Trinity College, founded by Henry VIII., and visited by the Queen and Earl Leicester in 1564. Here he was placed in charge of Whitgift, the head of the college, who was one of the Queen's private chaplains. After-events make clear that at Cambridge he was tutored in rhetoric and poetry by a popular young professor named Gabriel Harvey, and that with him he formed a warm friendship. Francis soon found that Cambridge could teach him nothing. Moreover, he disliked the philosophy of Aristotle taught there as being unfruitful *and only strong for contentions*. Like the Queen (as he commented in the "Felicities of Queen Elizabeth") he had had the advantage of intensive education without the detriment of knowing that he was "born to the purple."

In the summer of 1574 plague raged in England, and the Queen would seem to have sent Francis into France in charge of Amias Paulet, his French

tutor. Because of the plague Cambridge University was closed until March, 1574/5. The evidence as to the visit to France is a letter from Francis to Robert Cecil of January, 1594/5, in which he says, "these one and twenty years (for so long it is that I kissed Her Majesty's hands upon my journey into France)." In a letter to Robert, Earl of Essex, of about the same date, he corrects himself, "these twenty years (for so long it is, *and more* since I went with Sir Amyas Paulet into France from her Majesty's royal hand)."

More than twenty years back from January, 1594/5, would be in the year 1574. When or whether Francis went back to college does not seem clear, but he left finally in December, 1575. During the period January to September, 1575/6, Francis was frequently at the Royal Court, where he was suspected by the courtiers to be a royal bastard. There he came into friendly relationship with his cousin, Sir Philip Sidney, and with Fulke Greville, both interested in poetry and both writers of verse.

It is not sure whether he met Vere, Earl of Oxford (another poet), until later. Francis seems to have tried his hand at a play for the Chapel children, as in 1576 a play called "Historie of Errors" was performed at Hampton Court before the Queen. The play would be a translation from the Latin play of the "Menæchmi," written by Plautus, the comic dramatist.

If we can judge by the play as revised in the Shakespeare folio it must have been poor stuff, but a beginning anyway.

It is quite probable that he was present and helped over the entertainment of the Queen at Kenilworth Castle in July, 1575, and wrote the published account of the affair, and the "Laneham letter" from the Court at Worcester. Mr. E. G. Harman has argued this possibility very fully in his work on "Spenser."

The internal evidence rather tends to show that Francis wrote the ten pages affixed in 1575 to Gascoigne's poesies called "Certayne Notes of Instruction concerning the making of Verse or Ryme in English." He seems to have intended them to help his music tutor, Donati.

In the year 1576 Francis incurred the censure of the Queen, who, in her rage, admitted his sonship, but said she should never own him as son. It was decided to send him abroad for a long stay. At first Edward Bacon, ten years his senior, was to go with him, and in June, 1576, a licence to the two of them, with coach and six horses, to travel was issued. Plans were, however, changed. Edward Bacon went without Francis. Amias Paulet was knighted and put in charge of Francis, and they crossed the Channel into France in September.

A Mr. Duncombe was also sent with Francis as tutor. Sir Amias Paulet succeeded Dr. Dale as Ambassador to France in February of the following year, 1576/7. Paulet and Francis moved along in attendance at the French Court, visiting Blois, Paris, Poictiers, and other places. Francis had evidently mastered the French language thoroughly on his previous visit, as he was able to converse and fall in love with the French King's sister Marguerite

(wife of Henry of Navarre, though she had never lived with her husband). Francis came back to England—nominally with despatches—but really with a scheme whereby the Queen was to help Marguerite to get a divorce in order that Francis should subsequently marry her. This was in 1578.

The help was refused. Francis must have been back in England some considerable time, as the Queen's private Court limner, Hilliard, painted a miniature of him. A portrait of Robert, Earl of Essex, was at a later date also painted by Hilliard. In 1853 this portrait was in the collection of the Earl of Verulam at Gorhambury. Francis would seem to have had time to assist his Italian tutor, Florio, to publish his "First Fruits" (Italian sentences with English translations), and to have added verses to it in the name of "Gosson."

In the same name Francis contributed a short poem to a book about the West Indies. Gosson was a boy-player in the Queen's service. While at the French Court young Francis must have met and become friendly with both Montaigne the essayist and Desportes the poet. Later in his life Francis showed considerable interest in both these literary Frenchmen. While in France the subject of this biography wrote "Euphues Anatomy of Wit," subsequently referred to as "my first counterfeite" (dissembling), and added chapters before its publication in England in 1579.

"Euphues," according to "The Schoolmaster," written by Ascham, the Queen's old tutor, in 1570, meant, "he that is apt by goodnes of wit and appliable by readines of will to learning."

Francis returned from Paris to England in March, 1578/9, and would then learn of the death in the previous month of his foster-father, Sir Nicholas Bacon. He mentions in one of his books that he had a premonition of this death.

On his return he plunged actively into writing books to add to English literature, which he had found most deficient both in quantity and quality. One has only to examine the Stationer's Register for that period to confirm the truth of this statement.

Experienced in the activities of the French poets directed towards improving French language and extending French literature, he made similar efforts concerning the language and literature of England, over which he had hope of one day being called to rule as king.

This important circumstance demanded that nothing should be printed over his own name as author, yet the task he essayed was thus rendered all the more difficult. He could not print too much in one name without causing suspicion.

He began a pamphlet discussion upon the subject of the improvement of English music and poetry, and the importance, educationally, of stage-plays. At that date plays had been banned in the city, and strolling men-players subjected to specially restrictive laws. Certain men-players had escaped the operation of these laws by being made the servants of the Earl of Leicester, the Earl of Warwick, or other wealthy noblemen. Yet stage-plays had to be justified to the general public. So Francis wrote upon the subject in the name of the

player Stephen Gosson and published a reply under the vizard of another man-player, Thomas Lodge, a poor scholar or servitor of Oxford, son of a bankrupt city alderman. In this same year Francis closely studied the writings of Chaucer and brought out an Emblem Kalendar, for which he wrote the verses and more than probably drew (and very badly too) the emblems. He printed it at the turn of the year 1579-80 (a time calendars had been usually published), and called it the "Shepheards Kalendar." He dedicated it to his friend and cousin Sir Philip Sidney, signing himself "Immerito."

A clerk named Edmund Spenser who seems to have been in Earl Leicester's service left for employment in Ireland in July, 1580, but before going Francis made a bargain for the use of his name on books. Immediately after Spenser's departure Francis printed three letters and then two letters which had passed between himself and his poetry tutor Gabriel Harvey on the subject of the reform of English verse. The Francis letters were signed "Immerito."

Late in 1580 Francis was ready with "Euphues his England" (Lyly), containing a clever commentary upon the English Court as he found it on his return from France, but concluding with high praise of the Queen. In September, however, he was very much perturbed at an order, through Burleigh, that he was to go into Gray's Inn and study law. He protested in a letter to Burleigh that he could not understand how anyone "well off or friended should be put to the study of the

common laws" instead of "studies of greater delight." By October the matter was adjusted, the Queen appointing him to a position in her service (which appears to have been that of writing and rehearsing comedies for boy-players at the revels), and making some provision for his maintenance. Rich Sir Nicholas Bacon (in a quite recent will in which he certainly mentions him) left him practically nothing. It was not the affair of Sir Nicholas!

Apart from the Gray's Inn residence, Francis had a lodging at the Black Friars, being there recorded as "John Lyly."

He was soon discontented with the Gray's Inn restrictions and, according to an entry in Burleigh's handwriting still amongst the Inn records, was excused from compulsory attendance at commons. Six years later came an order that he was to have his meals at the Benchers' table, although not entitled (by seniority or otherwise) to the innovation.

Having now attained twenty-one, it was decided to send him upon a year's travel abroad, according to the practice of the period for princes' and noblemen's sons. Anthony Bacon, who was in Europe, was consulted as to the best route. He wrote to Lord Burleigh in February, 1580/1, advising the road to be taken. The Discourse prefaced to "L'Histoire naturelle," 1631, states distinctly that Francis travelled both in Italy and Spain.

It will be shown later that Francis wrote the Discourse. On 19th October, 1581, Francis was in Orleans, to which place Sir Thomas Bodley (the Queen's gentleman-usher), on behalf of certain

"friends" sent money arriving December, and required him to make diligent inquiries into matters of State importance. To judge from the "Apophthegms," Francis was familiar with the writings of the Greek lyric poet Simonides, noted for the melody, sweetness, and elaborate finish of his verses. The year in that period did not date from 1st January, but from 25th March, so that a book printed between 1st January and 25th March, 1582, would be dated 1581. In 1581 a book called "Don Simonides," first part, was printed giving an account of travel in Italy and Spain, and finishing up about a visit in London to an old friend called "Philautus." It is not of immediate import to identify "Philautus," but he was the friend mentioned in the "Anatomy of Wit," in "Euphues his England," and later in some "Greene" and "Lodge" Nouvelles. It could hardly have been a reference to Sir Philip Sidney, whose sobriquet was "Philsides." It might have referred to his friend the poet, Vere, Earl of Oxford, who married a daughter of Lord Burleigh. But it is more probable that the references are to his father, the Earl of Leicester, as Philautus (Self-Love), and that Camilla (the name of the Virgin Queen of the Volscians), wife of Philautus, would be Queen Elizabeth. This was a period, it should be borne in mind, when there was nothing but exceedingly pleasant relations between the youth Francis and his noble and royal relatives. "Don Simonides" is, however, title-paged to one Barnabe Rich, a soldier back from long service in the Low Countries, and of the estimated age at that date of forty.

The point to be considered is: Was Rich merely another accommodating mask for Francis? If not the coincidences are extraordinary. Francis would keep notes on his visit to Spain and Italy, and Philautus was *his* friend. While on the subject of funds, the Bodley letter rather gives away the chaplain Rawley's attempt at an explanation of the non-provision for Francis in the Nicholas Bacon will. If there had been a few hundreds coming to him when of age, he would have had funds enough of his own for his journey. But it is notable that Francis, who seems to have been very open about his monetary affairs, never at any time alluded to receiving money from Sir Nicholas. On the other hand, the Bodley letter refers to certain friends as providing funds.

The only intelligible explanation is that Francis wrote "Don Simonides," of which a second part was published in 1584. To cover up the matter, Francis put out the other book title-paged to Rich in 1581—namely, "A Farewell to the Military Profession." The prefatory remarks in that book link up Rich as a writer, although an old soldier of over forty, and served as the inky fluid amidst which Francis printed his own translations into English from the French of Belleforêt, of eight tales by the Italians Bandello and Boccaccio.

Upon one of these tales, "Apollonius and Silla," the Shakespeare play of "Twelfth Night" is said to have been founded. It will be interesting to find out after all that Francis selected his own raw material of that play from the same translator—viz.,

Belleforêt—from whom he obtained subject-matter for "Hamlet."

A young imaginative poet such as Francis was, and a prince to boot, was not likely to have been satisfied with a surname of such savour as to have stood in the way of his recognition as a great poet during three whole centuries. Moreover, this surname "Bacon" was not correctly his at all, although he eventually settled down to it with the comment "What's in a name? The rose by any other name would smell as sweet." Still he had the objection of a poetic nature to the unsavoury surname thrust upon him by the circumstance of his upbringing.

The "Farewell" shows how this studious young prince had filled up his spare time abroad. So does the translation of the "Antigone" of Sophocles, printed 1581 in the name of "Watson." So does the "Passionate Centurie of Love," printed a few months later under the same pen-name of "Watson." This last-named book contains a large number of exercises in sonnet writing, most of the styles of the leading sonnet writers of the period being copied, and the majority of instances being founded upon the best Italian sonnet poets. Hallam in his work upon the "Literature of Europe" states that the Italian sonnets alone of that period occupied 661 *volumes*.

The "Watson" sonnets are dedicated to the author's friend Vere, Earl of Oxford, who had married a daughter of Lord Burleigh. Francis turned his attention to the Revells, writing some "Lyly" plays for performance by the Queen's Chapel children, but in July he got into trouble

with the Queen. This explains why a "Lyly" letter should have been considered of sufficient importance to have been preserved amongst Burleigh's records. It was suggested by the late Mr. Fleay that the trouble was the performance publicly of the comedy of "Sapho and Phao" which contained a number of allusions of no harm in the privy circle of the Queen, but undesirable for the general public. However, Francis made his apology to Burleigh, signing it with the name "John Lyly," under which, as the author of the comedy, he had masked himself.

The "Notes" which Francis made upon the "States of Christendom" were not printed in his lifetime, the reason, of course, being that they were for the private information of himself and the Queen and her Ministers. They covered ground that he may not have entirely visited in the time at his disposal, but they accord very fully with a journey made in 1581. He would have learnt in France that the Queen Dowager of Austria had left Vienna in the previous August, that the Diet of Augsburg was fixed to be held in July, 1581/2, and that preparations were being made in France to help the fugitive King of Portugal in June, 1581/2.

## CHAPTER IV

### EUPHUISM

"Some works under no name won worthy praise."—*Biliteral Decipher.*

A GOOD deal of criticism has been devoted to showing that the style of writing which first was made manifest in the "Anatomy of Wit" and in "Euphues His England" had caught like an infection a number of writers whose works appeared shortly subsequent to those publications. Perhaps literary critics have failed to appreciate how difficult the style was for prolonged imitation.

The truth is that the style was nothing more or less than the original prose style of the young poet Francis, who, according to Hilliard, had developed mental powers of a very high order, and evidently wrote with a good conceit of his own abilities. "Greene" the ascribed author, "Lodge" the ascribed author, "Lyly," "Watson," "Gosson," and "Rich" also, all evinced proof of the infection for the simple reason that their supposed "works" were written by one and the same man—viz., Francis—in his ordinary youthful and bumptious style. To many present-day readers the young poet's euphuistic style is very irritating. Undoubtedly clever, it has a note of cocksureness which only a pert young prince would assume.

For the same reason traces of the style are to be found in some of the "Shakespeare" plays.

Robert Greene was a player in the Earl of Leicester's company whom Francis (according to the biliteral cipher story) paid for the use of his name. Like Gosson, he had been in his youth one of the Queen's Chapel choristers, and when too old had been sent as a poor boy to Cambridge. He was back in London in 1583, and obtained a post in the Chapel Royal in charge of the boys. See, "Old Cheque-Book of the Chapel Royal."

"Mamillia," a tale which Francis had entered on the Stationers' Register in 1580, while Greene was away at Cambridge, was the first publication which in 1583 he put out in the name of Greene as author. Other tales ascribed to the name of "Robert Greene" quickly followed—viz., "Morando," "Arbasto," "Myrrour of Modestie," "Carde of Fancie," and "Debate between Folly and Love."

If the "Greene" biographers are to be believed, "Greene" caught the euphuistic infection directly he had *contemplated* author in 1580, which is absurd.

In 1584 Francis was elected Member of Parliament for two constituencies—viz., Melcombe and Gatton—and wrote a careful and affectionate letter of advice to his mother the Queen, whose life was in some danger from turbulent subjects. It commenced: "Care *one of the natural and true-bred children* of unfeigned affection awaked with these late wicked and barbarous attempts would needs exercise my pen to your Sacred Majesty."

In June of that year the Queen made Greene Vicar of Tollesbury in Essex, a step in which the influence of Francis may be assumed.

Coincidently only a serious treatise on astronomy proceeded from "Greene's" supposed reverent pen. It was called "Planetomachia," in which the author is described as a "student in Physicke," and is dedicated to the Earl of Leicester. The motto "Omne tullit punctum qui miscuit utile dulci," which Francis, as Immerito, quoted in one of his 1580 letters to Harvey, was habitually placed on the title-pages of books ascribed to Robert Greene. Here are the sequent changes in the career of the alleged author—viz., chorister, sizar, Sub-Dean of the Chapel Royal, man-player, parson, man-player again, then parson once more. For in the following year, 1585, Greene resigned his living and went abroad as one of the Earl of Leicester's men-players, being known as the "red-nosed minister" and as "Robert the Parson." The other "Greene" books of 1584 were severally dedicated to Lord Darcie, the Earl of Arundel, Lady Talbot, the Countess of Derby, and the Earl of Oxford. Their publication would be either in 1583/4 or 1584/5.

Production of euphuistic novels did not stop publication in 1584. "Forbonius and Prisceria" appeared title-paged to another man-player, the already mentioned Thomas Lodge. With it was bound a pamphlet called "An Alarum against Usurers." In the Preface to these Lodge books they are called "these primordia [first-fruits] of my studies." They were dedicated to Sir Philip Sidney. Francis was frequently in the hands of money-

lenders, which should account for his warnings to them. In 1584 Lady Ann Bacon let him have a sufficient interest in her estate of Markes, in Essex, as to enable him to raise £1,200 upon mortgage of it in 1591 ; presumably her consent had not been obtained until that date.

About 1584 he printed two Court Comedies, "Campaspe" and the "Sapho and Phao" already mentioned, publishing them in the name of "Lyly." Another play for Chapel children, in which he had experimented in various metres and called the "Arraignment of Paris," he printed anonymously.

A Latin version of Tasso's "Amintas" was also printed in the name of "Watson."

Of course some of these publications would not necessarily be printed in the year 1583/4, but would come into the year 1584/5.

## CHAPTER V

### EMBLEMS

"I thinke some ray in that farre offe golden morning will glimmer ev'n into th' tombe where I shall lie and I shall know that wisdome led me thus to wait unhonoured as is meete until in the perfected time."—*Francis in Biliteral Cipher.*

Jan Dousa, a distinguished politician and poet in the Low Countries, visited England in 1584, and again upon special embassy to the Queen in 1585. That he made the acquaintance of Francis, the Queen's special counsellor, is a sure guess. Francis desired to print in English an emblem book, with verses similar to the many illustrated emblem books published in Holland, Germany, France, Italy, and Spain. Nothing had been done in this direction in England since his "Shepheards Kalendar." The reason is not far to seek. To produce an illustrated work in England was a big business. The engraved blocks were the property of the principal Continental printers, of whom the brothers Plantin, of Leyden, were perhaps at the head.

The Earl of Leicester was busy with the preparation of an expedition to leave Yarmouth and the other eastern ports to go to the help of the Low Countries. We do not know whether Francis visited Yarmouth in the course of this, but it is more than likely, as Jan Dousa would arrive and

depart from that part of the coast. Geffery Whitney had been a clerk in the office of the High Steward of Great Yarmouth. The Earl of Leicester was High Steward and Serjeant Flowerdew under-steward, and when Flowerdew became a Judge Whitney was left in charge. The Corporation, who had the appointment of deputy, would not accept the Earl's suggestion of Whitney in place of Flowerdew, but selected another person. After some difficulty the Corporation paid Whitney £45 compensation for loss of office. So Whitney was out of a situation, but with some claim upon the Earl to do something to help him.

To assume that Geffery (so he spelt his signature) thereupon commenced author of brilliant verses and devoted his £45 capital to the production of an expensive book abroad and drew twenty-four new emblems for it is to think foolishly. The circumstances of the publication by an ascribed author who never before or since 1585/6 appeared as a poet of verses and ideas so much akin to the poesy of "Shakespeare" as to have prompted a special book to be written on the subject of "Shakespeare and the Emblem Writers," are shortly given in the number for January, 1916, of a quarterly magazine called *Baconiana* published by Gay and Hancock, Ltd., of London. The indications are that Whitney was employed by Francis to take his manuscript to Leyden and return with the proofs from time to time, and that any work of overseeing the publication as it passed through Plantins' press was performed by friend Jan Dousa, to whose "Odæ Britannicæ," 1586, Francis as "Whitney"

contributed verses. "A Choice of Emblemes" must have occupied Francis a very considerable extent of time in 1585, though it did not obtain publication until May, 1586. The "Choice" shows the Fra Rosicrosse sigils. Moreover, the internal evidence that Francis was the true author is abundant.

This year Sir Phillip Sidney died of his wounds received at the battle of Zutphen.

## CHAPTER VI

### TREATISE OF MELANCHOLY

"At every meale according to the season of the yeare he [Francis] had his table strewed with sweet herbes and flowers which he sayd did refresh his spirits and memorie."—*Aubrey's Account of Francis Bacon.*

This treatise occupied Francis a good deal of time in 1586. It was ascribed to the authorship of Timothe Bright, a man formerly in Walsingham's service, and is claimed by Francis in the biliteral cipher story as having been written by him in the name of Bright. Bright, who commenced as apothecary to Sir Francis Walsingham in Paris, seems to have assisted Francis over a book of shorthand called "Characterie" and one or two other publications.

In June, 1592, he was preferred to the Rectory of Methley in Yorkshire, in the gift of the Queen.

He died in 1615, and when Francis revised and extended the Treatise of Melancholy in 1621, it appeared with the name of his assistant, Robert Burton, associated (by Epilogue) as "author" under the title of "The Anatomy of Melancholy," although it would have appeared as by Democritus Junior had it not been for the trouble Francis was in at that date.

"Discourse of English Poesie."

Time was approaching in 1586 for the publication of the long-delayed "Faerie Queene," and as in the Harvey-Immerito Letters of 1580 it was stated that Immerito had written parts of the "Faerie Queene," and that Immerito was "Edmundus," it became necessary to prepare the reading public for the entrance upon the English literary stage of the title-paged poet "Edmund Spenser," although that inconvenient person had settled in Ireland, instead of returning in a few years' time. Still, if Francis was to produce the poem at all, he had no alternative but to use Spenser's name.

Fortunately there was a tutor in the Gray family, a member of which family was custodian of the old Saxon palace of Havering-atte-Bower in Essex, overlooking the Thames. This palace the Queen often visited and there occasionally held her Court. The name of the tutor was William Webbe, and it may be expected that he sometimes did copying for Francis.

In Webbe's name Francis issued a survey or "Discourse of English Poesie," with special reference to the "Shepheards Kalendar," the author of which he insinuated to have been Edmund Spenser. He made references such as "Whether the author was Master Sp or what scholler in Pembroke Hall soever, because himself and his freendes, for what respect I know not, would not reveale it."

Again: "If his other workes were common abroade which are, as I thinke, in *ye close custodie*

*of certain his friends*, we should have of our owne, poets whom we might match in all respects with the best."

To write in this fashion was not difficult to Francis, as he had on the stocks a more elaborate study of poetry in the "Arte of English Poesie," which he did not print until 1589. At the same time, he was never wanting in confidence of his own exceptional pre-eminence as a poet.

## CHAPTER VII

### GRAY'S INN, 1586/7

"I account the use that a man should seek of the publishing of his own writings before his death to be but an untimely anticipation of that which is proper to follow a man and not to go along with him."—*Bacon and Dr. Andrews' Preface to "Holy War."*

On 10th February Francis was moved to the Readers' Table by an order which safeguarded the rights of the other barristers or ancients who had priority over him with regard to pensions and other privileges. While more in accordance with his sense of dignity that he should sit at the top table, he would naturally desire to remain upon good terms with the members of his Inn, and therefore was careful not to do them material harm.

"Robert the Parson" (as Greene was called by his fellow men-players of the Earl of Liecester's company), having returned from performing plays at various Courts in Europe, was again available as a vizard. Francis was thus able to print an interesting tale in the name of Greene, entitled "Penelope's Web," which he dedicated to his aunt, the Countess of Warwick, and her sister, the Countess of Cumberland, who were daughters of Francis, second Earl of Bedford. He also published (as G.) a sort of combination of story and essay,

which he entitled "Euphues censure to Philautus," and dedicated it to his brother Robert, Earl of Essex.

The Euphues-Philautus controversy seems to have been carried on for the amusement of private Court circles, and did not die down finally until 1592. Gabriel Harvey called "Greene" the "Ape of Euphues."

Francis was also busy this year with plays both for boy and for men players. He was a member of the Queen's sixth Parliament, but the great trouble of the year was naturally the trial and execution of Mary Queen of Scots, about which Francis says a good deal both in his biliteral and word ciphers. Mary was suspected of claims to the throne of England, and as a Catholic was bitterly opposed to Queen Elizabeth, whom Mary considered was unentitled to it.

## CHAPTER VIII

### "THE MISFORTUNES OF ARTHUR"

"Dramatic poetry which has the theatre for its world would be of excellent use if well directed."—*Bacon's "De Augmentis,"* 1623.

PRECISELY what play was performed for Court entertainment this year cannot be fixed. But a well-written play for the benefit of the barristers of Gray's Inn and their friends was acted at Gray's Inn on 28th February, 1587/8. That it was written by Francis, whose name was connected with the production, goes without saying. The internal evidence of his authorship is very strong.

With the assistance of Timothe Bright he evolved the system of shorthand which, when printed on 250 pages of vellum, he called "Characterie." It is evident that he was much in need of means whereby his dictation could be taken down more rapidly than in longhand. For his shorthand system he wanted and eventually obtained letters patent to Bright *and his assigns* for fifteen years "to sell all such books as he theretofore had or thereafter should make, devise, compile, translate or abridge to the furtherance of good knowledge and learning." This privilege was made use of in the following year in publishing an abridgment of Foxe's "Book of Martyrs," a work much in demand

at that time, but only available from certain booksellers in a costly folio edition. Owing to Bright's dismissal from an appointment at Bartholomew's Hospital in 1591, for neglect of duty, and to his preference by the Queen to a rectory in Yorkshire, and possibly because Francis came to terms with the booksellers, the letters patent scheme was not further availed of.

Tales in "Greene's" name—that is to say, "Pandosto, or the Triumph of Time," "Perimedes the Blacksmith," and "Alcida, or Greene's Metamorphosis"—were printed about this year. Trouble over the Spanish Armada and the preparations to defeat a landing must have put an end, for the time being, to all further publishing by Francis. Then came the death of his father, the Earl of Leicester, on 4th September. In November, Francis was elected M.P. for the important constituency of Liverpool.

## CHAPTER IX

### "THE ARTE OF ENGLISH POESIE," 1588/9

"His Lordship [Francis] would many times have musique in the next room where he meditated."—AUBREY.

THIS was a busy year for Francis. His important work on the art of poetry, which appears to have been undertaken by command of the Queen, and to which she contributed verses, was now published anonymously, but with private markings to show that it had been written by Francis. It was dedicated to Lord Burleigh, had been begun as early as 1585, and one may assume that the cost of it was borne out of the privy purse. It shows that Francis was expert in every form of verse, and master of all the technicalities of poetry.

His other printed works, some of them probably held over from the previous year, comprised, in the name of Greene, "Ciceronis Amor," "Menaphon," and "The Spanish Masquerado." He introduced a new assistant, Nashe, then aged twenty-one, as author of a Preface to "Menaphon," and also as author of a dissertation entitled "The Anatomy of Absurditie." A narrative poem called "Glaucus and Scilla" was title-paged to Lodge. So like is it in style and quality to "Venus and Adonis," printed in 1593 in the name of Shakespeare, that critics have suggested, not that the same author wrote

both, but that the author of the latter poem learnt how to write it by a diligent study of the former!

Francis mentioned in 1603, writing to the Earl of Northumberland (whose daughter married Sir Philip Sidney's brother Robert), that he had prepared the draft of a proclamation to be used by King James before his entrance into London, "it being a thing familiar in my Mistress' time to have my pen used in public writings of satisfaction."

So it may reasonably be expected (apart from the cipher story) that the "Farewell" poem, written to commemorate the English expedition to the coast of the Spanish peninsula, and "An Eglogue Gratulatorie" (to welcome Robert, Earl of Essex, on his return), proceeded from his pen, though title-paged to "Peele."

With the "Farewell"—which was only a few verses—was bound a short poem called "A Tale of Troy."

After so much duty work for the Queen, Francis tried once more to obtain some good salaried appointment. He must have been tired of continually begging for pecuniary assistance in his literary schemes. So he addressed a petition to the Queen in the pen-name under which he had written many comedies for performance by the Chapel children—viz., "John Lyly." In this he pointed out how for ten years he had as directed devoted much time to the Revells with a hopeful expectation of the office of Master (then and until 1610 held by Tylney). He considered he was "wasting time, wittes, and hopes at the Court writing plays," and thought he had been "playing the

fool too long." No mere subject could have written such a petition. Had a real John Lyly written it he would have been cast into gaol, and Lord Burleigh would not have troubled to preserve the letter among his papers. The Queen was in a difficulty. Francis deserved something; but money was always scarce with her, and no office of profit was compatible with the relationship which existed between them and the prospect of her son's succession to the throne. She, however, gave him the reversion to the Clerkship to the Star Chamber, which office was valued at £1,600 per annum. Even that gift was owing to Burleigh's strenuous pressure.

It was something he could turn into money if he could find a purchaser sanguine enough to speculate upon the expectation of life of Mr. Mills, who then held the office.

In one of his later letters, Francis compared it with a neighbour's land, "which might mend his prospect but did not fill his barn."

Towards the close of the year or the beginning of the next a sharp pamphleteering attack was commenced against the clergy of the Established Church, of which his friend Whitgift, as Archbishop of Canterbury, was the head. It was known as the Martin-Marprelate controversy. Francis came to the aid of the Archbishop and promptly counter-attacked with pamphlets in which he ridiculed and held up to scorn the Martinists. His pamphlets were severally entitled "A Countercuffe of Pasquil of England," "Retourne of Pasquil," and "Pappe with an Hatchet," all anonymous.

## CHAPTER X

### "THE FAERIE QUEENE," 1589/90

"He was always the same both in sorrow and joy."—BOENER (*Francis Bacon's apothecary*).

THIS year the "Faerie Queene," long overdue, was published. For reasons already explained it was title-paged to the official named Edmund Spenser long ago settled in Ireland. There are two alleged portraits of Spenser, but neither corresponds with Aubrey's account of him, "a little man, wore short haire, little band, and little cuffs."

It almost looks as if Aubrey knew something and sought to belittle Spenser. That is not the purpose here. Beyond permitting his name to be used, the Irish official never attempted in any way to claim authorship of this great Elizabethan poem. In that respect he behaved like the Stratford player in regard to plays published in his name. Indeed, all the vizards behaved as honest men and kept the secret. Francis printed anonymously the tragedy of "Tamburlaine" and an "Elegy" on the death of his old friend Sir Francis Walsingham, which was printed in the name of "Watson." Walsingham knew well the great literary ability of young Francis, as not long before he had obtained his aid in writing—doubtless in French—an important letter to M. Critoy, one of the French

Secretaries of State, refuting slanderous allegations of Catholics abroad as to the ill-treatment by the Queen of her Catholic subjects. The survival of the draft amongst Francis "Bacon's" papers was probably due to its having been first composed in English.

Francis appears to have gone abroad in the summer of this year, possibly with a view to still further countering and refuting the libels about his mother. Sir Thomas Bodley was then at The Hague, Sir Edward Wotton not available, and Walsingham no longer alive. Francis was fluent in both French and Italian, and a skilled diplomatist. The evidence as to this journey, which seems to have had the Republic of Venice for its ultimate objective, is to be gathered from "Never too Late, or Francesco's fortunes, 1st Part" (G), 1590. From this it may be inferred that his itinerary was by way of Dover, Calais, Paris (where he visited the French Royal Court), Lyons; then he passed by the Alps and coasted into Germany, on to Vienna, and then to Venice. The trade route from Vienna to Venice was through Innsbrück, Botzena, Trient, Verona, and Padua.

In the Preface to an anonymous pamphlet, "An Almond for a Parrat," printed about 1590/1 in connection with the Marprelate discussion, the writer says, "Coming from Venice last summer, taking Bergamo on my way home."

In "Never too Late" the writer related the Palmer's tale as being told to him while he was staying at Bergamo. The internal evidence of "An Almond for a Parrat" is that its author was

Francis. It may accordingly be presumed that at Bergamo he was on his way home from Venice, and would go through Coire and other towns to the River Elbe, on which a boat would take him to Stade at its mouth where the coast is flat, sandy, and shallow. In the Preface to "A Prognostication" (N), 1591/2, Francis mentions Dover Cliffs, and also the gathering of Danske crows on the sands of the shore in "anticipation" of storms. The latter would be what he had observed at the extensive sands round Stade. In "Pierce Pennilesse" (N), 1592, he mentions the swaggering and drinking habits of the Germans and Danes. The biliteral cipher is alleged to affirm that Francis wrote under the vizard of "Greene." Gabriel Harvey in "Pierce's Supererogation" said that "*Nash*," "*Lyly*," *and* "*Greene*" *were three faces in one hood*, and that *they were a three-headed Cerberus.*

## CHAPTER XI

### ALL KNOWLEDGE, 1590–1

"I have taken all knowledge for my province."—*Letter: Francis to Burleigh.*

Francis had now worked eleven arduous years upon his self-imposed task of developing English literature. Owing to his relationship to the Queen and the possibilities of succeeding to the throne, he had to take immense pains to conceal his extensive authorship. It was an age of great literary endeavour. His contemporary Lope de Vega, the Spanish dramatist (1562/1635), contrived in his own lifetime to write, and compose verse for, nearly two thousand plays for the Spanish stage. The trouble with Francis was largely financial. The suit—the mysterious suit which he is to be found from time to time during these eleven years pressing upon the Earl of Leicester, Lord Burleigh, Sir Francis Walsingham, Sir Christopher Hatton, and confidentially upon others of influence with the Queen—must have been for financial help of a permanent kind for his literary schemes. What these schemes were could not, in an age of difficulty and suspicion, have been safely committed to writing. But the gentlemen confidentially addressed must have known to some degree at least the secret of this "suit," though it was paramount

that the general public should remain in ignorance. Francis was becoming extremely tired of suing for the help he needed. Yet he hammered away with that extraordinary persistency which characterized all his doings through life. In February his uncle, Ambrose, Earl of Warwick, died. Sir Christopher Hatton died the following November. So he made his celebrated appeal to Lord Burleigh for some office of quick revenue which would give him "commandment of more wits" than his own. He tried to make it clear to Burleigh that he had vast contemplative ends but moderate civil ends, and that he did not seek or affect any place whereunto "any that is *nearer unto* your Lordship shall be concurrent." He affirmed that if his Lordship would not carry him on, he should sell what he had and give up all care of service (meaning service to the Queen), and become some sorry bookmaker or a true pioneer in that mine of truth which (Anaxagoras) said lay so deep. This letter was written from Gray's Inn. Note how carefully he assured Burleigh that the advancement of the Cecil sons should not be interfered with.

Like all merry-minded men, Francis could be very serious at times and often greatly depressed. In biliteral cipher he said, "In truth it suiteth well with a native spirrit humourous and grave by turnes in ourselfe."

Early in the year he had printed in the name of "Lodge" the euphuistic tale of "Rosalynde," based upon the "Arcadia" of the Italian Sanazaro. Incident was borrowed from the fourteenth-century "Tale of Gamelyn," which Chaucer, in his

time, intended to make use of. Lodge, his vizard, had gone to sea to the Azores in 1587, but had returned, so Francis did not found the play of "As You Like It" on other than his own version of others' stories. The same remark (already made) applies to the play of "Twelfth Night," and also to the play of "Winter's Tale," which, it will be remembered, is based upon one of his "Greene" tales—"Dorastus and Fawnia."

## CHAPTER XII

### "COMPLAINTES," 1591/2

"Those abilities which commonly go single in other men though of prime and observable parts, were all conjoyned and met in him [Francis]. Those are sharpness of wit, memory, judgement, and elocution."—RAWLEY (*Bacon's chaplain*).

A BOOK of verse in the "Spenser" rhythm and "Spenser" name was published early in this year.

One of the poems, "Ruines of Time," is dedicated to Sidney's sister, and therefore his own cousin, Lady Mary, Countess of Pembroke. In this, the spirit of "Verlame" mourns the deaths of several of Francesco's relations—viz., the Earl of Leicester, Sir Philip Sidney, Sir Francis Walsingham, Sir Henry Sidney and his wife, and the Earl of Warwick.

Verulam city was the Roman site of St. Albans, and Francis in later years was created Baron Verulam. Lady Mary Pembroke was a poetess, but was not happily married.

In the name of "Greene" Francis printed an elegy on the death of Sir Christopher Hatton, which he dedicated to his friend Lady Elizabeth Hatton, daughter of Burleigh's eldest son, Sir Thomas Cecil.

The play of "King John" was printed anonymously in 1591, and the old Court comedy "Endimion" was also published title-paged to "Lyly." The euphuistic romance "Robert, Duke of Normandy,"

and "Catheros," a satire, were title-paged to "Lodge," and a serious pamphlet, "Farewell to Folly," was printed in the name of "Greene."

### The Demise of "Greene."

Robert Greene actually died on 10th July, 1592, at Abdye, an obscure vicarage in Norfolk.

Francis improved the occasion with a series of pamphlets—viz., "Groatsworth of Wit," "Repentance of Robert Greene," and "Greene's Vision." Greene's literary death was fixed as 4th September, 1592.

The Marprelate battle having drifted into quietude Francis started a friendly controversy with his old tutor, Gabriel Harvey, having for its object the furtherance of general public interest, as far as possible, in the printed word. People of his period, generally speaking, were in a mental slough, and had to be taught to think. There was nothing like controversy for sharpening their brains.

The new controversy was commenced with "A Quip for an Upstart Courtier" (G), and then ran on in pamphlets between Harvey and Francis masquerading as "Nash."

### The Demise of "Euphues."

When Francis, while writing as "Euphues" in 1580, was ordered to live at Gray's Inn and study law (instead of "studies of greater delight"), he added a few words to "Euphues his England."

These words were: "This letter dispatched, Euphues gave himselfe to solitarinesse, determined to sojourne in some uncouth place until time might

turne white salt into fine white sugar, for surely he was both tormented in body and grieved in minde. And so I leave him neither in Athens nor els where that I know: But this order he left with his friendes, that if any newes came, or letters, that they should direct them to the Mount of Silexedra where I leave him eyther to his musings or Muses."

Gray's Inn stands on high ground with a sharp sort of valley between it and the City of London.

"Silexedra" would mean "stone cell."

The next round in the "Euphues" game was "Euphues his censure to Philautus, 1587, compiled from some loose papers found in his cell" (G). Then "Menaphon," or "Camilla's Alarum to Slumbering Euphues in his Melancholie cell at Silexedra," 1589 (G). Next the 1590 "Spenser" reference to our pleasant Willy (Lyly), who preferred to remain in "idle cell."

> But that same gentle Spirit from whose pen
> . . . . . .
> Doth rather choose to sit in idle cell
> Than so himselfe to mockerie to sell.

In the second or 1592 edition of "Rosalynde," fathered on Lodge, who was at that date again at sea, the title-page runs:

"Rosalynde. Euphues Golden Legacy found after his death in his cell at Silexedra.

"Fetcht from the Canaries by T. L. Gent."

As Lodge went to the Canaries before Leicester's death (which occurred in 1588) the assumption of Philautus (Leicester) being still alive had to be maintained. A schedule to the dedicatory pages purports to be an extract from "Euphues last Will

and Testament," whereby he bequeaths the tale of "Rosalynde" to the sons of "Philautus" and "Camilla." It is signed "Euphues dying to live." A booklet "Euphues Shadow," entitled to Lodge, then at sea, and purporting to be edited by Greene, completed the sequence.

In this interesting way Francis dropped out as "Euphues."

### The Demise of "Watson."

Having quitted the printers' ink world as "Greene" and "Euphues," Francis proceeded to die as "Watson." First publishing a few verses entitled "Tears of Fancie" as "Watson," he added in November to the "Watson" publications a Latin poem "Aminte Gaudea." This poem he dedicated to his cousin Mary, Countess of Pembroke. He signed the dedication C.M., being his first introduction of his new assistant, the player Christopher Marlowe, to the reading public. Judging by Kyd's letter to the Star Chamber in 1593, the man-player Marlowe had, about that date (1592), been taken by Francis into his service, "bearing name to serve my Lord when writing for his players." In "Honor of the Garter," 1593, title-paged to Peele, and in "Have with you to Saffron Walden," 1596, entitled as by Nash, the illusion of "Watson's" once existence and subsequent demise was sought to be branded into the public mind.

### Anthony Bacon.

This February, 1591/2, Anthony Bacon, who was foster-brother to Francis, returned from serving as an "intelligencer" abroad. Having been brought

up together as boys, there was a strong friendship between them, which endured until Anthony died in 1601. Yet Anthony was more French than English owing to his long period abroad (1579-92). Anthony, on his arrival in England, went to Gorhambury, where he stayed with his mother, Lady Ann, until the autumn. The plague broke out in July, and Francis retreated to his country house at Twickenham. He had taken the liberty of not joining the Queen in her "Progress" that August, and had gathered a few friends around him at Twickenham Lodge instead. Francis was too busy to write (he had just done the "Device at Tilt," 17th November), but on 28th November deputed his friend Gosnold to write and say to Anthony that he, Francis, would be glad to put him up at Gray's Inn if he cared to come.

Francis moved from Twickenham Lodge to Gray's Inn, but in order to spend Christmas away from the plague went on a visit to his second cousin, Sir George Carey and Lady Elizabeth, his wife (daughter of Sir John Spencer, of Althorpe), at the Isle of Wight, of which Carey was Governor. He stayed during January with Carey (evidence "Piers Pennilesse," 1592 [N]: "I am the plague's prisoner in the country," "the fear of infection detaineth me with my Lord").

In "Have with you to Saffron Walden" (N), 1596, he refers to having spent a Christmas and a good while after at the Isle of Wight.

From the subsequent editions of the "Quip for an Upstart Courtier," the personalities about Gabriel Harvey and his brothers were excluded.

## CHAPTER XIII

### CONFLICT WITH THE QUEEN, 1592/3

"Even so my sunne one early morne did shine
With all triumphant splendour on my brow,
But out alack, he was but one houre mine
The region cloude hath mask'd him from me now."
*Shakespeare's Sonnets*, No. 33.

It is inevitable that when a junior is much abler than his seniors in superior positions, and is personally absolutely assured of such greater ability, trouble will accrue. So it did with Francis. Because Anthony Bacon was methodical and kept his foster-brother's papers and drafts in order, and at a later date (when he became secretary to the Earl) was equally careful of the Essex papers, we now get to know more about the movements of Master Francis. He was during January at the Isle of Wight, then February to May at Gray's Inn, June to November mostly at Twickenham, and in December at Hampton Court in attendance on the Queen.

Parliament met in February 1592/3, and Francis as M.P. for Middlesex took a prominent part in a debate on the subsidies to be voted to the Crown.

He was all for not burdening the public shoulders too heavily, and his was the true statesmanlike view. But it offended the Queen, who

preferred to have plenty of money in her Treasury, whenever she could get hold of it.

The letters show that Francis held stoutly to his own opinion. He was sorry to offend, but did not withdraw. He had done his duty only. He well knew "the common way to please," but in future he would preserve silence. The Queen was an old woman absolutely spoilt with flattery, but not without occasional motherly feelings. She was offended because her son would not acknowledge himself wrong and say he would be a good boy in future.

His spirits, however, did not suffer, and in "Piers Penilesse" (note the joke implied in Penilesse) he chaffed old friend Gabriel Harvey unmercifully.

But Treasury supplies to him were evidently cut off or reduced considerably. "If you interfere with my subsidy I'll interfere with yours," doubtless said the Queen. Another monetary source had consequently to be discovered.

On 16th April Anthony Bacon wrote urging his mother, Lady Ann, to bestow the whole of her interest in the Marks Estate on Francis. Bear in mind he had already raised with her consent £1,200 or more upon it. In the course of this letter Anthony shows that both he and his mother, Lady Ann, knew something about the Francis literary productions. Anthony said, "It cannot but be a grief to me to see a mind that hath given so sufficient proof of itself in *having brought forth many good thoughts for the general* to be overburdened and cumbered with care of clearing his particular estate." One has only to turn to "Piers

Penilesse" (N) (title-paged to Nash), pages 60 to 90, to know on what lines Francis was working with regard to poetry and the drama. Remember that the term "poet" at that day included writers of prose.

"To them that demaund what fruites the Poets of our time bring forth, or wherein they are able to prove themselves necessarie to the state. Thus I answere: First and formost they have cleaned our language from barbarisme and made the vulgar sort here in London (which is the fountain whose rivers flowe round about England), to aspire to a richer puritie of speach than is communicated with the Commonalty of any Nation under Heaven." This hard-working young genius, Francis, was only thirty-two years of age when he wrote those words.

In May another unpleasant incident occurred. The Flemish population in the City of London had a special reservation where they were suffered to live, but, in breach of the guild rights of the citizens, they began to open shops.

The citizens were indignant, and procured someone to write a threatening notice, which was pasted on the wall of the Flemings' Chapel. The Flemings appealed to the Star Chamber, who obliged the members of a friendly State by searching for evidence of the offender, who may have been Francis or possibly his assistant Marlowe.

Anyway, the searchers found in the rooms where Marlowe and Kyd worked some portions of a letter sent to them to be copied, in which Francis had restated in writing to a friendly Bishop a

theological argument previously used by him. The fragments referred to are in his handwriting. A warrant was issued to arrest Marlowe, but Francis had sent him out of the way to the house of Tom Walsingham, a rich friend who lived Deptford way.

Meantime, a letter of explanation to the Star Chamber was given by Francis to Kydde, the scrivener, to copy, which he did in the crabbed style of the period. Words Kydde could not make out were filled in by Francis in his own handwriting. The letter evidently appeased the Star Chamber.

While Marlowe was away in June he was killed at Deptford in a brawl. Francis published a ballad about him which he called "The Atheist's Tragedie," and signed it "Ignoto." The ballad has been especially commended for its ease and quality, far beyond the ballads of the period. Marlowe is reported to have expressed very heretical views, as heresy was considered in that day, but the so-called "Marlowe fragments" were not his at all. Compare them with what was alleged by the clergyman Barnes about Marlowe's views.

Francis resumed his interrupted literary labours, and printed the euphuistic romance "William Longbeard," (L), and "Phillis," a charming set of sonnets which he also put out in Lodge's name (that "Gent" having returned from his voyage to South America), glad of a copying job at the desk previously used by the deceased Marlowe.

In July or later Francis printed a narrative poem of the "Glaucus and Scilla" type called "Venus and Adonis." Had Marlowe lived, Francis would

probably have used Marlowe as its title-paged author. But having paid another man-player in his mother the Queen's company to act as a new go-between from himself to the men-players, he used that person's name instead. His usual masks, Greene and Marlowe, were dead, Peele was in ill-health, and Lodge was no longer a player. The name of the player accordingly selected by Francis as pseudo-author of "Venus and Adonis" was one William Shaksper, or Shaxspeere, who had come from Stratford-on-Avon in 1586, and had reached the position of a man-player in the Shoreditch company.

From what Francis tells us in the biliteral cipher, Shakspere was quite a useful actor, and could amuse his audiences most capably. Having made enough money out of profit-sharing at the Shoreditch theatre and its successors, Shakspere retired comparatively early to the village of Stratford-on-Avon and brewed beer, and otherwise lived the life of a more than ordinarily successful village tradesman. Francis reconstructed the name to Shakespeare, afterwards occasionally using a hyphen after "Shake." Francis seems to have been known amongst his intimate friends by the sobriquet "Shakespeare."

Gabriel Harvey indicated to his friend Francis his doubts concerning the employment of the Shakspere mask. In his "Sonnet of the Wonderful Year 1593" are the lines:

"Weep Poules thy Tambourlane voutsafes to die,
ENVOIE
The hugest Miracle remains behinde,
A seconde Shakerley Rashe-Swashe to binde."

By Tamburlaine he meant Marlowe, and by Shakerley, his successor in the go-between business.

On the whole Shakspere behaved very well. His health, however, was not good, and he died in 1616.

### The Secret Society.

There is very little doubt that Francis formed a secret society for the prosecution of his scheme for the advancement of learning, the maintenance of the established form of religion, and the improvement of manners, morals, arts, and sciences. The evidence in proof is essentially difficult to obtain. Overt signs can only be collected by watchful care over a number of years. One small proof has not been often recorded in books about Sir Francis—viz., the statement by Bushel, one of his servants, mentioned in Nichol's "Progresses of Elizabeth" at page 192 of the second volume:

"Let Twitnam Park which I sold in my younger days be purchased if possible for a residence for such deserving people to study in, since I experimentally found the situation of that place much convenient for the trial of my philosophical conclusions expressed in a paper *settled to the trust* which I myself had put in practice, and settled the same by Act of Parliament if the vicissitudes of fortune had not intervened and prevented it." So the site of his Solomon's House was at one time intended to be at Twickenham Lodge. One may venture to assume from that statement that his organization, so far as the workers was concerned, had been established some years before his death, at a time when he was a power in the land.

The overt indications of the existence of his secret society crop up in the "Anatomy of Melancholy," again in the reference to Francis Rosicrosse by Bishop Wilkins in "Mathematical Magic," 1641, and in the numerical sign of Fra Rosicrosse, given in a number of publications for a hundred years after his death. These signs cannot be fully dealt with in this biography, but account for the great silence and mystery concerning Francis over a long period and up to the present day. Twickenham Lodge, with its eighty-seven acres of enclosed park, gardens, lake, and orchards, must have been a very desirable residence.

Written under the sobering influence of the plague, Francis printed this year a solemn exhortation called "Christ's Tears over Jerusalem," which he dedicated, in the name of Nash, to Lady Carey, his hostess of January.

Minsheu's "Guide into the Tongues," 1617, which is a polyglot and encyclopædic dictionary, was manifestly a co-operative undertaking of the Rosicrosse fraternity.

## CHAPTER XIV

YEAR 1593/4

> "And in the midst
> Thou standest as if some mystery thou didst."
>
> BEN JONSON: *Lines on Sir Francis Bacon's sixtieth birthday.*

BEN JONSON, his contemporary, was able in 1620/1 to refer to a mystery concerning Francis. In the year 1593/4, now being dealt with, probably even Ben Jonson was unenlightened about his patron's secret labours.

Having failed to obtain Treasury support for his secret literary work, Francis was now keen to obtain one of the richly remunerated law offices in the gift of the Crown. To do this he proceeded for the first time and at the age of thirty-three to demonstrate his intimate knowledge of law and his forensic ability.

On the 25th January, therefore, Francis made his first appearance in Court as a practising barrister. He did well. Lord Burleigh sent his secretary to congratulate "unto him the first fruits of his public practice," and to ask for a note of his case and the chief points of his pleading, "to the end he might make report thereof there where it might do him the most good."

Where it might do him the most good was with his mother, the Queen.

On 5th February he pleaded in another case.

On 9th February he was fixed to plead and did plead in the Exchequer Chamber. It was to have been an important test of his quality as a lawyer. Lord Keeper Puckering, Lord Treasurer Burleigh, if able, were to be present, as also the two Lord Chief Justices, and two other judges from each bench, to form their opinions concerning his capabilities. The Lord Chief Baron and all the Barons of the Exchequer were to preside over the arguments. Wrote Gosnold about the event: "The unusual words wherewith he (Francis) spangled his speech were rather gracious for their propriety than strange for their novelty, and like to serve for occasions to report and means to remember his argument."

"Certain sentences of his, somewhat obscure and as it were presuming upon his capacities, will I fear make some of them rather admire than commend him. In sum, all is so well as words can make it, and if it please Her Majesty to add deeds, the Bacon may be too hard for the Cook." Coke, who is thus referred to, was the other candidate for the vacant office of Attorney-General.

One may readily assume that the distracted Queen had at the back of her mind better things in store for Francis than making him her Attorney-General, but of course could not give her real reasons. Eventually, after many weeks, the office was conferred upon Edward Coke. Essex was all for his brother Francis Bacon having the office. He knew how keenly Francis needed the emoluments. Returning from a Tower examination of

one Ferrara, a Portuguese Catholic accused of a plot against the Queen's life, Essex and Robert Cecil discussed the candidature, the appointment having not been made at the time of their conversation.

Cecil suggested that if Francis would be contented with the office of Solicitor-General (which Coke if promoted would leave vacant) it might be easier digestion for the Queen. Essex replied: "Digest me no digestions the Attorneyship for Francis is that I must have, and in that I will spend all my power authority and might."

However, as mentioned above, Coke obtained the appointment.

The rich physician to the Queen, Dr. Lopez, was found guilty on 28th February of being concerned in a plot to take the Queen's life.

Francis was employed in the examination of some other conspirators concerned in the plot, and it is more than probable that he also was concerned in the examination of Lopez, as he made a written report to the Queen about it.

Not discouraged, he tried to obtain money upon another tack. He petitioned the Queen in his pen-name of "Lyly," pointing out that after thirteen years' service he had lost his position of looking after the Revells. He asked her to give him some forfeitures, "that seeing nothing will come by the Revells I may pray upon the Rebells." The Queen, however, had not the heart or mind to forfeit and thus deprive the wife and children of Lopez of their rich inheritance. As a stop-gap, she gave Francis a commission which involved him

in a journey to the North of England. We shall never know what substantial fee was to be paid, but Francis took the risk of borrowing £60 from Anthony Bacon on 11th July upon the strength of it, and started on his journey north.

According to "Have with you to Saffron Walden" (N), 1596, he journeyed as far as some town in Lincolnshire, probably Stamford, which is situated on the Great North Road, where, becoming ill, he decided to return to London, but had to lay up at Huntingdon for a day or two. From Huntingdon he wrote to the Queen regretting that illness prevented "my earning so gracious a vail as it pleased your Majesty to give me." The letter is dated 20th July; but on the 27th he took his M.A. degree at Cambridge at a special congregation, though without the usual exercises and ceremonies. Old friend Gabriel Harvey may have been present, as in "Have with you to Saffron Walden" (N), 1596, Francis made play about Harvey having occupied the next room to his at the Dolphin at Cambridge.

In August and September Francis borrowed (altogether) £150 from Anthony, and appears to have rushed into print a good many old plays with the intent, as he put it in one of his letters, to "sing a requiem abroad." The plays were:

Two chapel children comedies—viz., "Dido," title-paged to the deceased Marlowe and "Nash," and "Mother Bombie," title-paged to "John Lyly."

Printed anonymously, four plays for men-players —viz. "Spanish Tragedy," "Taming of a Shrew," "Selimus," and "Henry VI." (the Contention).

Title-paged to the deceased Greene: "Friar Bacon," "Looking Glass for England," and "Orlando Furioso."

Title-paged to the deceased Marlowe: "Edward II." and "Massacre at Paris."

Possibly some of these plays did not appear until the first three months of the following year, but all bear the 1594 date, and indicate that Francis was clearing out his manuscripts with the purpose of leaving England. These plays had, of course, been written some years before.

A narrative poem, "Lucrece," with a printed Dedication (as from William Shakespeare) to Earl Southampton, then a young rich nobleman at Gray's Inn, was also printed this year.

"Venus and Adonis" had previously been dedicated to Southampton, who, of course, was a fellow resident with Francis Bacon.

## CHAPTER XV

YEAR 1594/5

"His language when he could spare or pass by a jest was nobly censorious."—BEN JONSON: *Discoveries.*

FRANCIS had a wonderfully merry, as well as an indomitable, nature. In that latter quality, as perhaps in the former also, he strongly resembled the Queen, his mother.

For the Christmas festivities at Greenwich Palace a stage had been erected by order of the Lord Chamberlain, upon which Burbage, Kemp, Shakspere and their men-players from the "Curtain" theatre at Shoreditch performed two plays, one in the afternoon of 26th December, and the other in the afternoon of 28th December, their joint remuneration being £20.

Francis, for his part, prepared an elaborate device called the "Prince of Purpoole" (a rather significant title) for the Christmas Revells at Gray's Inn. Readers may object to this statement, but if they will read the reprint of it in Nichol's "Progresses of Elizabeth," and name any other humourist of the period jocular and clever enough to have penned its wonderful passages of sustained and rollicking merriment, the information will be worth having. Associated with the device, a mock embassy of jovial barristers from the Temple

was to have been received in state at Gray's Inn Hall in the evening of 28th December. Another attraction arranged was a performance by the Shoreditch players at the Gray's Inn Hall at night of a play, presumably a repetition of the play acted that afternoon before the Queen. They were to proceed to the hall on horseback lighted by torches, and to act by torch-light. The show attracted more guests than the hall would accommodate. Consequently, when the Temple embassy arrived at Gray's Inn there was no room for them, and the disappointed Temple barristers returned to their Inn. The guests who remained were set to dancing, and afterwards the players performed the "Comedy of Errors" on the stage in the hall which had been specially erected for the occasion.

But the mishap of hospitality against the Temple barristers had to be atoned for. Accordingly, a mock inquiry was held on 3rd January, 1594/5, concerning the tumult and its cause, and a certain "sorcerer and conjuror" (these terms are used in the play of "Friar Bacon," published earlier in 1594) was playfully accused of being the originator of the trouble, by "foisting a company of base and common fellows" upon the gentlemen of Gray's Inn. To avoid offence to the Queen, the "Prince of Purpoole" device was repeated before her at Shrovetide.

Before leaving the events of January, two letters which Francis wrote that month should be noted. The first was to the Earl of Essex, in which is the passage: "Desiring your good lordship nevertheless not to conceive out of this my diligence in soliciting

this matter, that I am much in appetite or much in hope. For as for appetite the waters of Parnassus are not like the waters of the Spaw that give a stomack; but rather they quench appetite and desires." Here we have just the attitude of a wearied literary man, who wanted pecuniary help, but was too absorbed in his work to continually worry after it. On the 25th January Francis wrote to Anthony Bacon a letter which indicates the difficulty the Queen was in. She was evidently hoping for something more appropriate to turn up for her son Francis, and meantime delayed appointing a Solicitor-General. He quoted the Queen as saying: "'Why? I have made no Solicitor. Hath anybody carried a Solicitor with him in his pocket? But he [Francis] must have it in his own time *or else I must be thought to cast him away.*'

"Then Her Majesty sweareth that if I continue this manner she will seek all England for a Solicitor rather than take me. Yea she will send to Houghton and Coventry next.

"Again she entereth into it *that she never dealt so with any as with me, she hath used me in her greatest causes.*"

Then to Anthony: "I pray you let me know what mine uncle Killigrew will do. For I must now be (more) careful of my credit than ever, *since I receive so little thence where I deserved best.* And to be plain with you I mean even to *make the best of those small things* I have, with as much expedition as may be without loss and so sing a requiem I hope abroad."

In this letter Francis stated that he had a

number of men writing for him at Twickenham, and asked for a collection to be copied in succession to a collection about Irish affairs which his men had nearly finished.

The Queen got to hear that he intended to go abroad, and consequently he had to apologize to her in a letter to Cecil, in which he wrote: "Whereso-ever God and Her Majesty shall appoint me to live, I shall truly pray for Her Majesty's preservation and felicity."

An interesting letter from Francis to Burleigh, dated 21st March, 1594/5, should perhaps be mentioned here. In this he wrote: "that howsoever this matter may go, yet I may enjoy your lordship's good favour and help, as I have done in regard to my private estate which, as I have not altogether neglected, so I have but negligently attended and which hath been bettered *only by yourself* (*the Queen except*) *and not by any other in matters of importance.* The last request I find it more necessary for me to make, because (though I am glad of Her Majesty's favour that I may with more ease practise the law, which percase I may use now and then for my countenance), yet to speak, though perhaps vainly, *I do not think that the ordinary practice of the law, not serving the Queen in place, will be admitted for a good account of the poor talent which God hath given me.*"

This rather goes to show that the Queen and Burleigh were his mainstays financially, and that the borrowings from his foster-mother, foster-brother, and nominal relations were temporary loans only, and that they were sooner or later

repaid. In June, Fulke Greville repeated to the Queen that Francis had said that he (Francis) "remained as a *withered branch of her roots* which she had cherished and made to flourish in her service." The innuendo of the words in italics is easy to see. (Compare the prophecy on the last page of the Shakespeare play of "Cymbeline.")

On 28th July, writing from Gray's Inn, Francis told Burleigh that if the Queen settled her choice for Solicitor-General *upon an able man* such as Serjeant Fleming, he would not seek to alter it. Fleming was appointed on 5th November. Francis wrote for his brother Robert the device at tilt for the Queen's accession day, 17th November. It was known as Essex's device. The Crown renewal of the lease of Twickenham Lodge, this time to Francis, for twenty-one years, is dated 17th November, and about the same date Essex gave him land at Twickenham valued at £1,800. Harmony having been restored, Francis summed up the situation in a letter to Essex, from which the following passage may be quoted: "For myself I have lost some opinion, some time, and some means; this is my account: but then for opinion it is a blast that goeth and cometh: for time it is true it goeth and cometh not: but yet I have learned that it may be redeemed. For means, I value that most; and the rather because *I am purposed not to follow the practice of the law*: (If Her Majesty command me in any particular I shall be ready to do her willing service:) and *my reason is only because it drinketh too much time which I have dedicated to better purposes.*"

Francis spent most of the year between Twickenham Lodge and Gray's Inn, and his output of literature remained fairly considerable. He published a number of old plays—viz., "Old Wives' Tale," title-paged "G.P.," "Locrine," title-paged "W.S.," "Cornelia" (a translation from the French of "Garnier"), title-paged to Kyd, one of his copyists, who had died in the previous year. The translation was done in a week.

A Roman play, "Wounds of Civil War," founded (like the Shakespeare Roman plays) on Plutarch's lives, was title-paged to Lodge, then back from America, and two plays, "Henry VI." (true tragedy) and "Mucedorus," were printed anonymously.

A novel, "Jack Wilton" (N), was published, dedicated to Earl Southampton, and a discussion on phantasms of the night, called "Terrors of the Night" (N), partly written in 1593, but finished in 1594, later than his visit to Huntingdon, as it adds an incident there, was also printed early in this year or after October in the year before. It was dedicated to Lady Elizabeth Carey, daughter of the Governor of the Isle of Wight.

## CHAPTER XVI

### YEAR 1595/6

"And those who have true skill in the works of the Lord Verulam, like great masters in painting, can tell by the design, the strength, the way of colouring, whether he was the author of this or the other piece *though his name be not on it.*"—ARCHBISHOP TENISON: *Baconiana*, 1679.

THE Queen and Francis were now on amiable terms. On 30th May, writing to Anthony Bacon, Francis said, "I do find in the speech of some ladies and the very face of this Court some addition of reputation. . . . *The Queen saluted me to-day as she went to chapel.*" Francis, ever stirred by kindness, promptly responded in delighted verse, in the "Epithalamion," printed this year, and with a collection of sonnets called the "Amoretti," title-paged to the still absent Irish official Spenser—"little man, wore short haire, little band and little cuffs," as Aubrey described him.

Two curious introductory sonnets signed "G. W. Senior" and "G. W. J." make one think that his secret literary society, of which he was Grand Master had also its senior and junior Grand Wardens, like the topmost Freemasons' Lodge. But this is only surmise. At the same time, Mr. Spedding considered the device of the "Order of the Helmet," 1594/5, to be the germ of the "New

Atlantis." The omission of an important verse about the dead from the 1597 quarto of the "Shepheards Kalendar" also points to the probability that a secret society under the "helm of Pluto," devoted to Francis and to literary schemes, had by that date been established.

To Burleigh, Francis, on 17th January, gave a biblio of the "Tale of Troy," accompanied by a letter in his handwriting, but signed with his pen-name Geo. Peele, in which vizard the poem had been printed in 1589. Burleigh would never have kept that letter had it been written by the debauched person, then dead or nearly so, who bore the name of Peele. The interest to Burleigh was because it was a jocular letter from the Queen's elder son. After Burleigh's death the biblio was reprinted for sale to the public generally. Francis celebrated his return to pleasant recognition at the Court in his "Colin Clout's come home again," in which he wrote delightedly of the Queen and her courtiers. By "Colin Clout" he meant himself restored to the Court. Colin Clout was the name under which Francis "secretly shadowed himself," as will be seen in the "Glosse to the Januarie Embleme" in the "Shepheards Kalendar," 1580. At the time of the publication of "Colin Clout" none of the several editions of the Kalendar had been title-paged to Spenser.

Another instance of his merry disposition was the publication of a group of satires and eclogues under the title of "A Fig for Momus," title-paged to Lodge, to whom he also title-paged a euphuistic romance called "A Margarite (pearl) of America."

In "Never too Late," 1590 (Greene), he had discussed the value of Margarites of the West.

The Preface to "A Margarite" contains some eulogistic remarks about the French poet Desportes, then alive, whom Francis must have met and probably studied with in France. Their earlier versifying methods were similar. As at one time in the previous year Francis contemplated a literary life abroad, he may have been corresponding with Desportes upon the proposal of taking up his residence in France.

He renewed his riotous jesting at the expense of old friend Harvey, in "Have with you to Saffron Walden," 1596, ascribed to Nash.

"Astrophel," an elegy on Sir Philip Sidney written some years previously, was at last published in the name of Spenser, the family reasons for deferring it—viz., the affair with Stella, Lady Rich—having been removed. "Four Hymnes" were dedicated by Francis in the name of Spenser to the sisters Ladies Cumberland and Warwick, the latter being his widowed aunt. A daughter of Lady Cumberland—that is to say, the Countess of Dorset (afterwards known as Lady Ann Clifford)—is said to have paid for the erection of the Spenser monument in Westminster Abbey in 1620. One may expect this was a beforehand provision for the bodily remains of Francis when he died, as he would naturally seek the same sepulture as that of his ancestors, the Tudors. Or it may have been intended to cover the remains of both Francis and his (at that date deceased) brother, Earl of Essex. For the Queen he wrote a summary of the Irish

situation, at that time complicated by the rebellion of Tyrone. It was not printed in his lifetime, and was called "A Vewe of Ireland." The name of "Spenser" became associated with it in 1611, when it was printed in the Folio Spenser.

This year, 1595/6, Francis showed much firmness with his brother Robert, Earl of Essex. In a letter which Francis wrote to Robert, there is the remark, "*Consider first whether I have not reason to think that your fortune comprehendeth mine.*" As showing that Francis was on good terms with the Queen should be noticed a letter from Anthony Bacon to his mother, dated 31st December, in which Anthony stated that during the Christmas holidays *Francis had received gracious usage and speech from the Queen.*

## CHAPTER XVII

### YEAR 1596/7

"Such great wits [as Francis] are not the common births of time, and they surely intended to signifie as much, who said of the Phœnix, (though in hyperbole as well as metaphor), that nature gives the world that individual species but once in five hundred years."—Archbishop Tenison : *Baconiana,* 1679.

The publication in France in 1595 of the final and posthumous edition of Montaigne's Essays seems to have turned the attention of Francis to that form of writing. He may be safely regarded as the writer of a set of Essays entitled "Remedies against Discontentment," by "Anonimous," London. The title-page gives numerical signs of its Baconian origin.

"Faerie Queene," second part (Sp.), and a Prothalamium (Sp.), to celebrate the marriages of the Earl of Worcester's daughters, were published.

The marriages took place at Leycester House in the Strand. The "Faerie Queene," second part, may, however, have been printed the previous year.

The "Prothalamium" is very beautiful, each verse ending with the refrain :

"Sweet Thames runne softly till I end my song."

One of the verses contains reminiscences of the poet :

"At length they all to merry London came
To merry London my most kindly nurse

That to me gave this life's first native source ;
Though from another place I take my name
An house of ancient fame."

The allusion to another "place" and "house" are to "Mona Cæsaris" (or Anglesea), as the "place" and the "house" is the Royal house of Tudor, as his great-grandfather, Henry VII., was born at Anglesea. Francis makes allusions to Mona in the "Faerie Queene" (Third Book, Canto III.) :

"Of Mona where it lurked in exile
Which shall break forth into bright burning flame
And reach into the *house* that bears the stile
Of roiall majesty and soveraine name."

In the same verse is a reference by Francis to his father, the deceased Earl of Leicester :

"Next whereunto there stands a stately place
Where oft I gayned giftes and goodly grace
Of that great Lord which therein wont to dwell
Whose want too well now feeles my friendless case."

Francis seems mostly to have had a good opinion of his father, the Earl of Leicester, who fought very hard for his princely sons until his quarrel with and separation from the Queen in 1578, when, knowing the Queen dare not denounce him, he married privately Lettice, the widow of Walter, first Earl of Essex. Friendly relations were, however, soon renewed between the Queen and Leicester.

Francis published two plays anonymously this year (1596/7)—viz., "Romeo and Juliet" and "Edward III." He also printed, in the name of "Lyly," an old Court comedy performed by the Chapel children and called "Woman in the Moon."

The year seemed to have been one of depression for Francis after the joy of the previous year had worn out.

The reasons were not far to seek. Francis was short of money, and his brother Robert was insubordinate and creating fresh difficulties with their mother, the Queen. For a fortnight from 25th February Robert had sulked in his room at the Court, alleging that he was ill. It was recorded about that time that "Her Majesty had resolved to break him [Robert] of his will, and pull down his great heart; who found it a hard thing, and Essex said '*he holds it from his mother's side.*'" On 10th March a reconciliation was patched up for a time between Robert and the Queen.

Concerning money matters, a pressing letter from Francis to Lord Burleigh shows clearly once more that the old lord had considerably helped him from time to time:

"And therefore, my singular good Lord, *ex abundantia cordis*, I must acknowledge how greatly and diversely your Lordship hath vouchsafed to tie me unto you by many your benefits. The reversion of the office which *your Lordship only* procured unto me, and carried through great and vehement opposition, though it yet bear no fruit, yet it is one of the fairest flowers of my poor estate; your Lordship's constant and serious endeavours to have me Solicitor; your late honourable wishes for the place of the Wards; together with your Lordship's attempt to give me way by the remove of Mr. Solicitor, they be matters of singular obligation: by your Lordship's

grants for yourself, as by your commendation to others which I have had for my help. . . . Lastly I most humbly desire your Lordship to *continue unto me the good favours and countenance and encouragement in the course of my poor travails* [works], whereof I have had some taste and experience ; for the which, I yield your Lordship my very humble good thanks."

It may not have been entirely under the stress of his finances that he sought to marry Lady Elizabeth Hatton, the young, handsome, and rich widow for whom (despite his continued love memory for the lost Marguerite of Navarre) Francis always evinced a strong liking.

She was a daughter of his friend Sir Thomas Cecil (Burleigh's eldest son), and widow of the wealthy son of the deceased Sir Christopher Hatton. It was to her that Francis in the name of "Greene" had dedicated his Elegy upon "Sir Christopher."

Though the marriage did not eventuate—perhaps the Queen would not sanction it—Francis and Lady Hatton were close friends for many years.

Towards the end of 1596/7 Francis was busy conducting important Bills through Parliament. One Bill provided, that all land turned into pasture since the Queen's accession should be restored to arable. Here are a few words of his speech :

"The old commendation of Italy by the poet is, *Potens viris atque ubere gleba ;* and it stands not to the policy of the State, that the wealth of the kingdom should be engrossed into a few pasturers' hands." At this day we know only too well how right he was in this view.

## CHAPTER XVIII

YEAR 1597/8

"Posterity I hope will do his Lordship [Francis, Baron Verulam Viscount St. Alban] honour and benefit to themselves in a larger and more accurate collection of his works."—Archbishop Tenison: *Baconiana*, 1679.

At Christmas the play of "Love's Labour's Lost" was performed before the Queen. In February Sir Robert Cecil and Sir Walter Raleigh went to France on State business.

In their absence Robert, Earl of Essex, gave a big entertainment to his adherents and friends—many of them being Roman Catholics opposed to the Queen—at Essex House (formerly Leycester House), upon which occasion two plays were performed. One may expect that one of these plays was "Richard II." the manuscript of which was at one time within the same portfolio as Bacon's "Essays." Lord Hunsdon, the Queen's cousin, had often called her Richard II., so that the political drift of a performance of that play must have been considerable.

In January or later Francis printed for the first time under his own name and dedicated to Anthony Bacon ten "Essays" in English ("long agoe passed from my pen"), binding up the little book with a few Latin "Meditationes Sacra," printed by a different printer.

In July, Essex quarrelled with the Queen over the selection of a Deputy Governor for Ireland. She boxed her son's ears. He threatened her with his sword and left the Court. They became mortal enemies. The old Queen is said to have for many weeks afterwards walked about her rooms carrying a sword, as though prepared for a personal encounter. Burleigh was on his deathbed.

Some curious events and traditions, which may have connection with one another, occurred in this year. The plays of "Richard II." and "Richard III.," which had been printed anonymously under date 1597, were reprinted in 1598, and, together with "Love's Labour's Lost," formed the three first plays to be title-paged to William Shakespeare.

The player Shakspere bought New Place, Stratford, in 1597, and was living at Stratford in 1598. Rowe, who wrote a feigned "Life of Shakespear" in 1709, affirmed that Earl Southampton provided Shakspere with a considerable sum of money, and that the top of Shakspere's performance was that of "Ghost in his own Hamlet."

The last word spelt without a capital—viz. "hamlet"—rather goes to show that the actor was bundled off to his native village, bribed with Southampton's money not to stir until trouble over the play of "Richard II." had blown over.

Meantime, the burden of reputed authorship of the obnoxious play of "Richard II." and others was passed on to his back. Part of the terms may have been that he should have the title of esquire and a coat-of-arms, Essex being at that date at the head of the Heralds' College. Shakespere certainly is

said to have used a coat-of-arms with the mot: "Non sanz droict," which was perhaps a jocularity at the actor's expense meaning, "No. Without right!" (Ben Jonson made fun of it in 1599 in "Every Man out of his Humour," by the phrase "Not without Mustard"). Burleigh died in August. In September, a sort of gaol delivery of plays from the obscurity of anonymity to the shoulders of man-player Shakspere was effected through the medium of a book written nominally by a cleric in the employ of Francis, named Meres. This cleric was, when he died, buried at night obscurely, according to a Rosicrosse practice. In a discussion with Oliver St. John some years later, Francis imputed the bringing on the stage and into print of the play of "Richard II." to others than himself.

Francis, during one part of this year, prepared an elaborate report upon the working of the Alienation Office, a new department established in 1590 for the collection of the Queen's private revenues. The report is to be found in Blackbourne's "Life and Works of Bacon," 1730 (which was a Rosicrosse publication), but on insufficient grounds was not included in Spedding's "Works of Francis Bacon," Mr. Spedding believing it to have been written by Lambarde, an antiquarian and magistrate who was associated in the enquiry.

Another enquiry into the Queen's revenues—namely, those from the Manor of Yarmouth—was undertaken by Francis in August. A lively account of that interesting seaport and centre of the fishing industry was printed by him in 1599 under the name "Lenten Stuffe," title-paged to

Nashe. With Essex in disgrace and Burleigh dead, Francis met with further trouble on his return from Yarmouth. A moneylender named Sympson, who had obtained judgment against him for £300, had him arrested for debt on 24th September.

Sheriff More, with whom Francis had dined in the City a few days previously, had to deal with the matter, and accordingly lodged him under restraint in a house in Coleman Street. From thence Francis appealed for release both to Sir Robert Cecil and to the Lord Keeper, and his restoration to liberty seems to have been soon effected. Cecil provided the £300, for repayment of which he pressed Francis after the Queen's death. During the year Francis published the plays of "Henry V." (famous victories) and "Henry IV.," first part, both anonymously, "Alphonsus, King of Aragon," title-paged to the deceased Greene, and "Edward II.," title-paged to the deceased Marlowe.

Florio's Italian-English Dictionary, the "Worlde of Wordes," was also printed this year. It shows indication of its having been published by the secret literary fraternity.

## CHAPTER XIX

YEAR 1598/9

"But his learned and able though unfortunate successor [meaning Francis, then Baron Verulam and Viscount St. Alban] is he who hath filled up all numbers and performed that in our tongue which may be compared or preferred either to insolent Greece or haughty Rome."—*Scriptorum Catalogus: Discoveries, Ben Jonson,* 1641.

WHETHER of necessity because of the Irish rebellion, the Queen and Essex became reconciled. Things had begun to be very bad in Ireland. The house of Spenser, the Irish official, was burnt over his head, and he escaped with some of his family to London in January, but died within a month or so of his arrival. The illusion of his being a poet was maintained, and his body was buried in Westminster Abbey, a number of "poets" attending and throwing pieces of paper with supposed verses into the grave. Whether the body was subsequently removed is uncertain. The burial served a double purpose. It helped to confirm those people not in private confidence in their belief that the Irish official wrote the "Spenser" poems. It also provided a place for the eventual secret burial in Westminster Abbey of the remains of one or other of the Queen's sons when his death did actually occur. Naturally, Francis, as a direct descendant of Tudor Sovereigns, wished to be buried in the Abbey. The "Spenser"

monument or tomb was placed in the Abbey in the year that Francis reached the age of sixty—viz., 1620.

Possibly the play of "Merry Wives of Windsor" was performed before the Queen at this last Christmas. It is certainly recorded as having been played on 24th February for the amusement of the Flemish Envoy. On 27th February the Queen granted Francis a small estate at Cheltenham. In March Essex proceeded to Ireland in charge of an expedition to put down the rebellion.

Francis took occasion to write him a letter of advice as to keeping on correct terms with the Queen

He would appear to have devoted his own time to revising plays and writing poems.

"David and Bathshebe," a religious play, was printed, title-paged to the deceased Peele, and the play of "James IV. of Scotland," entitled to the authorship of the deceased Greene.

The plays of "Sir Clyomon" and "Pinner of Wakefield" were published without author's name.

The narrative poem of "Hero and Leander," perhaps the last of this kind Francis published, was printed as having been written by the deceased Marlowe and finished by Chapman.

The previous narrative poems were "Glaucus and Scilla" (1589), "Venus and Adonis" (1593), and "Tarquin and Lucrece" (generally entitled "Lucrece") (1594).

Essex landed in England from Ireland in September, and on the 28th went post haste to the Queen at her palace of Nonsuch in Surrey. He

was in disgrace, having failed to pacify Ireland, and it being believed and reported to the Queen that he was preparing to establish himself in England as Prince Regent, he was put under arrest almost immediately. Whether the Queen sent for Francis to Nonsuch is uncertain, but probable. However, he wrote from there to Essex a letter, beginning: "My Lord,—Concerning that your Lordship came now up in the person of a good servant to see your sovereign mistress, which kind of compliments are many times *instar magnorum meritorum*, and therefore that it would be hard for me to find you, I have committed to this poor paper the humble salutations of him *that is more yours than any man's and more yours than any man.*"

Francis could hardly have alluded to their concealed relationship as brothers in more pregnant words.

Moreover, he could not actually or wisely have visited Essex, as the latter was at the time in the custody of the Lord Keeper and a prisoner at York House.

This imprisonment of their idol, Essex, caused much dissatisfaction amongst the English people. The Queen's cousin, Lady Scrope, the French Ambassador, and various clergy and others, all tried to reconcile the Queen to him, but without success. Matters began to look so ugly for the Queen and her Ministers that on 29th November the Star Chamber on her behalf issued a "Declaration" of the reasons why Essex was imprisoned. The same evening the Queen and her sister-in-law, Lady Warwick, accompanied by the Earl of Worcester,

visited Essex at York House. But Essex declined to pledge himself to submission.

To go back to literary matters. It rather looks as if Francis took advantage of a decision by his friends Archbishop Whitgift and Bancroft, the Bishop of London, to have burnt certain pungent books written by Hall and Marston respectively, to have the Nash and Harvey pamphlets and the translation of Ovid's Elegies (attributed to Marlowe and perhaps actually translated by him) burnt also.

The prelates, on 1st June, issued an order to that effect (a copy of which is in *Notes and Queries*, third section, part 12, p. 436). However, the Nash, Harvey, and Marlowe books were not burnt, but probably called in. "Willobies Avisa," printed in 1594, to amuse Earl Southampton, was by a further note ordered to be "called in."

The Archbishop's order also directed "That noe Playes bee printed except they bee allowed by sooche as have authoritie."

The rather respectable set of plays already mentioned seem to have had "authoritie," or possibly Francis was "sooche."

And surely there could have been no objection to "Lenten Stuffe," printed before 25th March in the following year, being the last book to be title-paged to Nash, whose death occurred before the book was published.

## CHAPTER XX

YEAR 1599/1600

"The Life of the Honourable Author": "Francis Bacon, the glory of his age and nation, the adorner and ornament of learning, was born at York House or York Place in the Strand." —"*Resuscitatio*," *written by Rawley, Bacon's chaplain*, 1657.

Before dealing with the events of this year let one ponder over Rawley's words.

Why "*the glory of his age and nation*," although the 1623 Shakespeare folio plays or their reproduction in 1632 must have been known to Rawley?

Why did Rawley particularly introduce Francis as "*author*"? Why, too, does he say "*adorner* and *ornament* of learning"? Was it because a poet adorns and ornaments?

In asking these questions mere discussion is not sought. Contention is fatal to research, and only after scrupulous, independent, and calm enquiry can truth emerge. So many persons are interested only in controversy. This biography is merely out for justice to the memory of a great Englishman who left his name and memory to the care of future ages. "I bequeath . . . my name to the next ages and to foreign nations" (Francis's will of 1621).

To go on with the events of the year 1599/1600 under review, first must be noticed a confession of

one Thomas Wood, made before the Lord Treasurer and other ministers on 20th January, as to a conversation in which it was stated that the Earl of Essex was gone to England, and that, if Her Majesty were dead, he (Essex) should be King of England. Essex, when that confession was obtained, was a prisoner, and remained so until June, when he was brought up for trial before the Lords of the Star Chamber.

Meantime there was nothing to be done but to have patience and let time have its effect in lessening the Queen's resentment.

Very naturally the Queen, having broken with her younger and favourite son, became much more gracious to Francis, her elder son. This gave him courage to ask her on 12th March, 1599/1600, to give him certain indirect help to buy the Gorhambury reversion in fee tail from Anthony Bacon, then in poor health. Francis compared himself to Diogenes in his tub, under which name he had written "Catheros," and intimated that Her Majesty had never yet honoured him with a visit. Upon the marriage of Sir Nicholas Bacon with his second wife, Lady Anne Cooke, the Gorhambury House estate was settled upon Lady Anne for life, and then in tail to the sons of the marriage. The proposal of 12th March, if carried out, would have given Francis a hold on Gorhambury in the event of Lady Anne's death in Anthony's lifetime, and the money would have been useful to Anthony, whose health was bad and means of livelihood worse.

The purchase was probably effected, but a much

more useful deal for Francis was made by the Queen with Sir Nicholas Bacon the younger. That was her acquirement from the latter of his freehold remainder in the Gorhambury House estate, which was conveyed to the Queen, her heirs and assigns, subject to a condition whereby Sir Nicholas Bacon, jun., could repurchase the remainder on payment of £100. In the State records it is noted that the condition was to prevent Francis from selling the property, and as he had no children it would revert to Nicholas Bacon and his heirs. Had Francis succeeded to the throne he would have had the freehold remainder to Gorhambury by succession. But as he did not, he obtained in 1608 a grant of it from the Crown, as by succession to the throne the remainder had become vested in King James. The grant was made to the trustees of Sir Francis Bacon's marriage settlement, and would seem to have over-ridden the condition for repurchase.

In this curious roundabout way Francis secured the favourite country seat of Gorhambury House.

Francis meantime progressed with the revision and publication of his plays. Thus under date this year came "Henry IV.," second part, "Merchant of Venice," "Much Ado about Nothing," and "Sir John Oldcastle" (all title-paged to "Shakespeare"), "Summer's Last Will and Testament" (title-paged to Nash, then deceased), and "Titus Andronicus" (an old play performed long before the Stratford man-player had left his village), anonymous, although afterwards included in the folio plays of 1623.

There seems no evidence of the Stratford player

coming away from his village during the remainder of the Queen's lifetime, but years after her death —that is to say, in 1612—he bought a house in Blackfriars.

Sometime in May or June the Queen crossed from her palace of Richmond or Hampton Court to visit Francis at Twickenham Lodge. On this occasion he presented her with a sonnet on "Mercy," in the hope she would extend it to the Earl of Essex. Francis probably afterwards used this sonnet in Portia's speech in the "Merchant of Venice." The Queen seems to have insisted on Francis taking part in presenting the case for the Crown at the Star Chamber trial of Essex. The result of this trial was that Robert was ordered to be detained during Her Majesty's pleasure.

In July friendly letters passed between the brothers. Robert wrote to Francis: "Your profession of affection and offer of good offices are welcome to me. For answer to them I will but say this: that you have believed *I have been kind to you* and you may believe *I cannot be other* either upon humour or mine own election.

"I am a stranger to all poetical conceits or else I should say *somewhat of your poetical example.*"

The next step by Francis was to draft some letters which he desired Robert to write for the Queen to see. On 26th August Robert was given his liberty, but was forbidden to go to the Court.

A whisper had been made in the previous month that Francis had pronounced Robert's offence to have been treason. He replied to one of Robert's friends, Lord Henry Howard, about it: "I thank

God my *wit serveth me not to deliver any opinion* to the Queen *which my stomach serveth me not to maintain;* one and the same conscience guiding and fortifying me. The untruth of this fable God and my Sovereign can witness and there I leave it. . . . For my Lord of Essex I am not servile to him *having regard to my superior duty.* I have been much bound unto him; on the other side I have *spent more time* and more thoughts about *his well doing than ever I did about mine own.* I pray God you his friends amongst you be in the right."

Notwithstanding the estrangement with Robert, the Queen continued her life of pleasure. From her palace up the Thames she went down to her favourite palace at Greenwich. On 23rd June, however, she came within the walls of Blackfriars to witness the marriage of Lord Herbert to Anne Russell, one of her maids of honour, and to see the entertainments provided on the occasion. In July she went on "progress"—a round of visits—and did not return to Whitehall until November, which she did to see the usual tilt-yard ceremonies on the 17th, the anniversary of her succession. These ceremonies were also witnessed by the embassy from the King of Barbary (Morocco), at the head of which was Muley *Hamet* Xarife, a name which seems to have impressed itself upon the witty brain of Francis.

## CHAPTER XXI

### YEAR 1600/1

"The duties of life are more than life, and if I die now I shall die before the world is weary of me, which in our times is somewhat rare."—*Francis to the Earl of Buckingham, 8th June*, 1617.

In January Francis was struggling with debts, and sought a loan of £200. There was a distinct lull in his publications. "Love's Metamorphosis" (L), an old chapel-children comedy, was perhaps his only publication until the close of the year.

On 8th February his brother Robert made an attempt at a rising with a view to depose his mother the Queen. There was a street-fight, and Robert and his friends were overpowered and imprisoned.

On 19th February Robert was put upon his trial for high treason and condemned to death.

Francis (according to his ciphered account), under the imperative orders of the Queen, took a subordinate part in the prosecution.

Sir Edward Coke took the principal part in the prosecution and was very vindictive, saying to Essex, "If you want to be Robert the First, you shall be Robert the Last."

On 25th February Robert was beheaded on the Tower Green, always reserved for persons of royal blood. Persons not of royal blood were

beheaded on Tower Hill. Where were the mortal remains of "Robart Tidir" (the name clearly cut upon the wall over the doorway of a small cell at the foot of the stairs of the Beauchamp Tower) buried? Were they placed in Westminster Abbey? It is stated in Devereux's "Lives of the Earls of Essex" that the remains were removed into the Tower in a prepared coffin and buried by the young Earl of Arundel.

What this really means is that the rich young Earl of Arundel and Surrey (afterwards Earl of Norfolk also), a clever youth of sixteen, and friend, and probably ward, of Robert (who used to call him the "Winter Pear"), was permitted to take the remains away in a coffin already made for the purpose.

One would think that this could not have taken place without the Queen's permission, and that the head and body of Essex, if not in the Henry VII. chapel of Westminster Abbey, are beneath the Spenser Tomb in Poets' Corner.

It is possible that had Robert made submission the Queen would have relented; but the symbol of his submission, a ring, was kept from her by courtiers interested in his downfall.

Francis was ordered by the Queen to write a "Declaration of the Practices and Treasons attempted and committed by Robert late Earl of Essex and his Complices against her Majestie and her Kingdoms." On submitting the draft to the Queen she altered it in very many material particulars, and as altered it was printed on 14th April, and was practically her statement and not his.

The Queen went away on a "progress" in southern counties. In October Marshal de Biron, the French Ambassador, had a talk with her, and records that the Queen took up the unsavoury topic of the names of her subjects whom she had brought to the executioner's block. She included Robert, Earl of Essex, whom she told Biron she had once passionately loved. Her lamentations over the death of Essex grew until she became morbid on the subject. Young Earl Clanricarde (said to have had a close personal resemblance to the beheaded Earl of Essex) was brought to the Court with a view to console the Queen, but without success. Interesting to relate, Essex's widow eventually married Clanricarde for her third husband, and, curiously also, he was created Earl of St. Albans in 1627, but died in 1636.

Towards the close of the year Francis, who had a possible chance of being called to succeed the old Queen, took an active part in promoting useful legislation in Parliament. One cannot read the "Statute of Monopolies" (which is the foundation of English patent law) without a feeling that his capable pen drafted it.

To the close of her life the Queen had very little sleep. "Her delight was often to sit in the dark and sometimes with shedding of tears to bewail the death of Essex."

## CHAPTER XXII

YEAR 1601/2

"Crescit occulto velut arbor ævo fama Baconi."—*Written after the Manes Verulamiani in the* 1640 "*Advancement of Learning.*"

*Translation :* "The fame of Bacon grows as a tree for some unknown age."

For their participation in the Essex conspiracy the young Earls of Bedford and Rutland had been heavily fined, though the fines may have been afterwards remitted. Out of the fine on Catesby, £1,200 was assigned to Francis to be paid by instalments. On 22nd January of this year Francis was able to pay off £1,800 raised on mortgage of his Twickenham property and of other securities.

Early in this year Anthony Bacon died, and Francis must have been busy over his affairs. Precisely when Chester's "Love Martyr" was printed is not known, but the mystical short poem appended to it, called the "Phœnix and the Turtle," would seem to have been written by Francis, and to have had reference to the deaths of Robert and Anthony.

Francis continued his interest in public affairs, and wrote a long letter to Sir Robert Cecil with suggestions as to the best means of re-establishing civil government in Ireland.

Francis also found time to print two plays—"Merry Wives of Windsor" and "Thomas Lord

Cromwell," both title-paged to Shakespeare. "Works of his recreation" he would call them.

And he may have supervised the translation by the Rosicrosse fraternity of the works of Josephus printed this year under the name of "Lodge." Probably a good many "pens" were at work upon it.

Important revisions in and additions to the play of the "Spanish Tragedy" were made that year, and the amended play was republished.

When Parliament reopened on 27th October Francis was again exceedingly busy on State affairs. The Parliament lasted until late in December.

## CHAPTER XXIII

### DEATH OF QUEEN ELIZABETH, YEAR 1602/3

"But to say the truth the best commender of this ladie's virtues is time."—*Francis in "Felicities of Queen Elizabeth,"* 1607.

The Queen died on 24th March, and there is a contradiction between the cipher story and public records as to whether she directed upon her deathbed that Francis should succeed her, or whether she said "Send to Scotland."

Certainly Sir Robert Cecil, who was no true friend of Francis, stood (according to a manuscript account) at her deathbed, and King James of Scotland was said to have been nominated by the Queen to succeed to the throne. A rush was made to communicate the fact of the Queen's death to the King, and he eventually reached London on 7th May, by slow and easy stages over several weeks. Francis, when he saw his chances had gone, made haste to get on friendly terms with James I., both by writing to his friends in Scotland and to emissaries to the King from England. One of these emissaries was his barrister friend Sir John Davis, to whom Francis wrote desiring him "to be kind to concealed poets." Francis even went to make his bow to the King

when he was but a short distance from London. Unless he could get upon terms of friendship with the King, and satisfy men like Sir Robert Cecil that he was not an aspirant to the throne, his life and liberty were in jeopardy. "My ambition will now rest only with my pen," he assured Cecil.

Looking back over the various writings by Francis of State importance, none of which were printed in his lifetime, it is not difficult to understand the reason why they were left in manuscript.

They were documents of private guidance for the Queen, from a mind of infinitely finer intelligence than the highly placed persons around her, whom, as well as herself, he sought to instruct and guide. The following is a list:

"Notes on the States of Christendom," 1582.
"Advice to the Queen," 1584.
"Controversies of the Church," 1589.
"Observations upon a Libel," 1592.
"Report on the Treason of Lopez," 1594.
"Veue of Ireland," 1596.
"Report on the Alienation Office," 1599.

The "Declaration of the Treasons of Essex," 1601, was printed by order of the Queen; so was doubtless the "Letter to an Englishman in Padua," 1598.

Francis issued from the press in 1603, after the Queen's death, two interesting works.

The first was the play of "Hamlet," title-paged to Shakespeare, and said to be autobiographical in character.

Francis, except for his friends, was alone in the

world. Father, mother, and brother were dead. He asked himself:

> "Whether 'tis nobler in the mind to suffer,
> The slings and arrows of outrageous fortune
> Or by opposing, end them. To die, to sleep,
> To sleep no more—— "
>
> *Hamlet.*

The second work was the long-delayed "Florio Montaigne," entered S.R. in 1599. Florio had been Italian tutor to Francis, and was more or less associated with him in a subordinate capacity for many years afterwards. The last French edition of Montaigne's "Essaies" had been divided into six books. To six French-speaking ladies of the Court the translation into English of these six books was entrusted. They were Ladies Bedford, Harrington, Rutland, Riche, Gray, and Neville. Sir Edward Wotton, diplomatist and French scholar, helped with difficult words; Dr. Gwinn attended to the Latin quotations; Florio and Diodati did the fetching, carrying, and sub-editing; while Francis edited and also wrote the prefaces and sonnets.

The Essex conspiracy must have materially delayed the publication. The Bedfords, Harringtons, Rutlands, and Nevilles, as associates of Essex, had been besmirched by the conspiracy. Hence the book could not be brought out while the Queen was alive. Sir William Cornwallis (who once owned the country house at Highgate, afterwards sold to the Earl of Arundel, and the place where it is said Francis "died" in 1626) mentioned in his "Essays" that, in 1600, he saw the Montaigne translation in progress. Miss Hooker, in Vol. 17, "Publications of the Modern Language Association of the

U.S.A.," shows that the author of "Hamlet" drew extensively upon Montaigne. As Francis revised his earlier version of the one and edited the translation of the other, this borrowing was to have been expected. He lit his torch at every man's candle.

The translation was full of mistakes, said the late W. C. Hazlitt (and no wonder). The team of six Court lady translators may have been a happy thought but not a literary success. The frontispiece to the 1632 edition indicates as much—a fine portico, but ruins beyond.

King James offered to confer the honour of knighthood upon Francis, who replied that he wished it would be done in "*a way to grace him.*" He did not desire to be knighted as one of a crowd. Francis had, however, to suppress his princely fastidiousness. On 23rd July he was knighted as one of a batch of 300.

With the accession of King James there was peace between England and Spain.

Francis had in manuscript a book of the "Jack Wilton" class, in which he wished to hold up to ridicule the practices of duelling, tournaments, and knight-errantry. They were forms of militant lunacy which afflicted that age. But they were beginning to be ridiculous — heavily armoured knights bestriding slow-paced old cart-horses and charging with easily broken spears.

The book could not be printed in England or at all while his militant mother, Queen Elizabeth, was alive. She revelled in tournays, at any rate. Spain was a suitable country for the publication of a book of this kind, and a poverty-stricken Spanish

writer of unsuccessful plays named Cervantes was employed to co-operate and to act as the pseudo-author.

Francis had probably seen the prose poem "Gallathea" which Cervantes printed in 1584, and, to judge by what is said in "Don Quixote," did not think much of it. Shelton, a courier to Spain in the employment of Lady Suffolk (the correspondent of the King of Spain at the English Court), was doubtless used as intermediary for carrying the manuscript to Spain, but friend Gondomar, then living at Valladolid (where the Royal Court was held and Cervantes also resided), probably conducted the negotiations with Cervantes. This poor man was lodged in two miserable rooms, and the less said about the conduct of certain female relatives residing with him the better.

The Spanish version of "Don Quixote" was put into type in May, 1604, and printed in 1605, but so badly that it had to be revised in 1608. The Spanish seems only half the size of the English version, known as the Shelton translation, 1612 and 1620, but people in Spain seem to have been so assured that Cervantes was not the author that it was pirated right and left. Indeed, in the Preface Cervantes is made to say that he was not the father but only the stepfather of "Don Quixote," and that the actual author was one "Cide Hamet Benengili," who wrote it in Arabic. Francis, whenever he wished to do so, fooled people to the top of his bent. Of course, as the late Mr. Hutchinson pointed out: For "Cyde" read "Sir," for "Hamet" read "Bacon," and for "Benengili" read "of England."

The name of Muley Hamet, the Ambassador from Barbary, and the appropriateness of Hamet as a cryptic name for "Bacon," had not missed the author's notice.

The curious thing is, that while Cervantes was extravagant in praise of his undisputed works, he spoke (to use the words of Louis Viardôt, the eminent French critic) of "Don Quixote" "with modesty, almost with embarrassment."

The first part of "Don Quixote" is very much of the "Greene" and "Nashe" type of novel introducing short stories, "Curious Impertinent," "Cardenio," and "The Captive's Tale." "The last-named," said Mrs. Oliphant, "was not Cervantes' personal history." A play of "Cardenio," since lost, was performed before the English Court in 1613.

When Moseley described the play in 1653 he stated that its authors were Shakespeare and Fletcher. There is a story alluded to in "Don Quixote" (though not incorporated) called "Raconnette and Cortadillo," which was printed in Cervantes' "Novelas Exemplares," which fact tells perhaps against the view that Francis was the sole author. As "Raconnette" and one other of the Cervantes' short "example novels" are rated as of so much higher quality than the others, Francis may have revised them for Cervantes. But he was without any doubt the writer of the Shelton translation, 1612-1620, which is said "to reproduce in robust phraseology the spirit of the original." Yet the "Pleasant Notes upon Don Quixot," 1654, by Gayton (adopted son of Ben Jonson), and the

free translation of "Don Quixote," issued in 1687 by John Phillips, a nephew of John Milton the poet, hint at much more than this.

The first of these books gives the "Fra Rosicrosse" numerical sign 287 in the address, and ends on page 287, which page gives the sign in another way—viz., the 341 roman type words on the page less the 54 words in italics.

The name of Cervantes is not mentioned in Gayton's book. But the 111 letters under the words "Don Quixot" indicate "Bacon" in K cipher, and the clipped word "Quixot" in simple count comes to 100, which is Francis 67 and Bacon 33. The first complimentary verses end with the lines:

> "Your Clavis makes this History to be
> The unveiled Cabala of Chivalrie."

At page 95 are the lines "Look on thy Don, The Shakespeare of the Mancha."

The Phillips' free translation of "Don Quixote" is also full of significance. No author's name is on the title-page, but in its first square (as bounded by printers' rules) are exactly 33 roman words; 33 is the simple numerical equivalent of the letters in the name "Bacon."

The second page of the "Epistle to the Reader" gives the 287 sign, so does the last page.

In K cipher, 211 is Rosicrosse. The 111th word down page 211 is "Bacon." The 111th word up the page is also "Bacon."

In K cipher, 384 is the numerical equivalent of the total of the letters in the name "Michael Cervantes." On page 384 the 111th word down is

"Bacon": 111 is the K cipher equivalent of the word "Bacon."

The Dedication of the Shelton translation gives 239 words in roman type and 45 letters in italic type, and three small words in the heading, to which attention is drawn by asterisks. They thus total 287. The author's Preface has 157 words in roman type; 157 is the simple count of the letters in "Fra Rosicrosse."

Cervantes' "Sancha Panca," like Nash's "Jack Wilton" and Shakespeare's "Christopher Sly," would "not pay one denier." Panca says, "Let the world wagge." Sly says, "Let the world slide." Panca makes use of the expression "My deare Sir," which is to be found also in the Shakespeare play of "King John"—viz., "My deare Sir. Thus leaning on mine elbow I begin." In "Jack Wilton" we have, "When I sate leaning on my elbow."

In the Preface to Shelton's "Don Quixote" there is the phrase: "My pen in mine eare, mine elbow on the table, and my hand on my cheek;" and in the text: "Lay his elbow on the arme of his chair and his hand on his cheek."

That is precisely the pose of the effigy of Bacon in the chancel of St. Michael's Church, Gorhambury. The idealized statue to "Shakespeare," erected in Westminster Abbey in 1740, also has a "leaning on the elbow" pose. All these circumstances are very curious and invite enquiry; particularly as, invested in the motley of a mad visionary and of a dull clown, discourses are delivered upon educational subjects of great interest to Francis

Bacon such as poetry, duels, liberty, office, great place, clothes, laws, love, marriage, and death. Moreover, the views of "Piers Pennilesse" on stage-plays are re-echoed by the Canon in "Don Quixote."

Already more has here been said about this authorship than may have been prudent, bearing in mind Bacon's observation in his Essay of Praise:

"Too much magnifying of man or matter doth irritate contradiction." But the question of this authorship needs carefully looking into, and the internal evidence for the proposition that Francis wrote the original "Don Quixote," and had it translated into Spanish, is very strong.

It will be interesting if it can be established that the youth who wrote "Don Simonides" in 1581 wrote "Don Quixote" when he had reached the top of his literary powers.

The tumble-down old steeds that were used in the performances at tilt on Queen Elizabeth's birthdays would well suggest Rosinante, and it is believed that the true rendering of "Don Quixote" is "D'on qui s'ote," or "Of one who would withdraw himself."

It is surmised that the name "Sancha Panca" was intended to indicate a man who never thinks before speaking.

# CHAPTER XXIV

## YEARS 1604–7

"Such is my censure of your cogitata that I must tell you (to be plain) you have much wronged yourselfe and the world to smother such a treasure so long in your coffer . . . all your treatise over doth abound with choice conceits of the present state of learning . . . as may persuade with any student to look more narrowly to his business, not only by aspiring to the greatest perfection of that which is now-a-days divulged in the sciences, but by diving yet deeper as it were into the bowels and secrets of nature . . . *which course would to God* (to whisper so much in your ears) *you had followed at first* when you fell to the study of such a thing as was not worthy of such a student. Nevertheless, being as it is that *you were therein settled and your countrey soundly served,* I can but wish with all my heart as I do very often that you may *gain a full reward to the full of your deserts* which I hope will come *with heaps of happiness and honour."—Letter, 19th February,* 1607, *Sir Thomas Bodley to Sir Francis Bacon.*

During this period Francis devoted most time to State business. Yet he found it necessary in 1604 to print his "Apology in certain imputations concerning the late Earl of Essex."

For recreation in 1604 he revised the play of "Dr. Faustus," which he title-paged to the deceased Marlowe.

In 1605 he printed his "Two Books of the Advancement of Learning." His works of recreation were the preparation and publication of the play of "King Lear" anonymously, and the play

"London Prodigal," title-paged to Shakespeare. In that year he set on foot a counterplot whereby the Guy Fawkes conspiracy was frustrated. This strengthened his friendly relationship with the King. On 10th May, 1606, clad from top to toe in purple, he married his young wench, Alice Barnham, aged just over fourteen—a marriage which did not prove a happy one. He was still true to his vision of Marguerite of Navarre up to that event. As he said in cipher, "There was no ease to our suffering heart til our years of life were eight lustres. The faire face (Marguerite) liveth ever in dreames but in inner pleasances onely doth th' sunnie vision come." To Ludovic Bryskett's translation from the Italian of Giraldo's "Discourse of Civil Life," 1606, Francis added a Preface designed to confirm belief in the "Spenser" authorship of the "Faerie Queene." King James, or it may have been the general public (the "Prophane Vulgar," as F. called them in "De Augmentis"), were to be continued under the impression that the Irish official, Spenser, wrote the "Faerie Queene." The King and Francis were on terms of outward friendship and perhaps more than that, both being literary men, and it may have been a condition of his appointment to office as Solicitor-General that Scottish rumours about his relationship to Queen Elizabeth should be laid at rest. Bryskett was an old retainer of the Sidney family, and had latterly worked for Francis (see biography). Bryskett had exchanged Irish appointments with the official, Spenser, and was named in the "Amoretti" sonnets.

In "L'Histoire naturelle," 1631, which Mr.

Granville Cuningham affirms in "Bacon's Secret Disclosed" to contain statements about Francis not found elsewhere, it is recorded that Francis had been in Scotland. The most likely date of this visit would be after his marriage in May, 1606, and before the 4th August. The play of "Macbeth," which shows that its author had acquired some acquaintance with the "local colour" of Scotland, was not printed until 1623, but in 1610 it is mentioned by Dr. Forman as having been performed. Parliament, which met in November, had to discuss the question arisen between the respective populations of Scotland, and England; and Francis, who, according to Sir John Harrington, had charge of the matter, would be likely to visit Scotland privately to ascertain the views of Scotsmen upon it. About 1610, or probably some years earlier, Francis made a proposal to the King to write a History of his Majesty's time, but it was not proceeded with.

On 25th June, 1607, Francis was appointed to be the King's Solicitor-General.

Another matter needed vigorous attention. Rumours as to the late Queen's morality and alleged children were circulating on the Continent. Some immediate dissembling therefore became advisable. Moreover, there had been printed in Paris that year a Latin pamphlet, "Examen Catholicum Edicte Anglicane," the first pages of which, said Mr. Spedding, collected all the evil ever uttered against Queen Elizabeth.

It became needful for Francis in the interests of his mother's memory to publish a reply. This he

wrote in Latin, entitling it "In Felicem Memoriam Elizabethæ." It was written in his own high and mighty style. "The subject," said he, "is not proper for the pen of a mere scholar. It was more a science for statesmen and such as sit at the helmes of great kingdoms, and have been acquainted with the weights and *secrets* of civil business, and so qualified to handle the matter *dexterously*."

In the pamphlet he affirmed concerning the Queen: "Childless she was and left no issue behind her."

He avouched the great advantage accruing to a monarch who came to a throne *unexpectedly*. The education of heirs-apparent was often too tender and remiss, and they were consequently less capable and less temperate.

(These remarks applied very pointedly to his own experience. He himself had not the slightest idea that he was the Queen's elder son until he was near his seventeenth birthday.) So his own special education as a prince was not spoilt.

Francis wound up his inky cloud of dissembling with a sentence in which he put himself right with his own conscience:

"*Thus much* in brief *according to my ability*, but *to say the truth* the *only* commender of this ladie's virtues is *time*." If that was the real truth of the matter the earlier allegations in the pamphlet were to be taken *cum grano salis*.

Francis exercised his ability a little further by sending his pamphlet to his old friend Sir George Carey with a request that he should ask De Thou, a prominent Frenchman, to circulate it. Alluding

to De Thou, Francis remarked, "We serve our sovereigns in inmost place of law; *our fathers did so before us.*" To intimate friend Tobie Matthew, Francis chuckled at the success his pamphlet was obtaining. He had long ago learnt that people would swallow almost anything in print, and that they rarely attempted to read "between the lines." "The greatest matters are often carried in the weakest ciphers," said he in "De Augmentis."

Alexander Pope and his friends must have had that aphorism in mind when they deliberately garbled a passage from the "Tempest" in order that it should, on the scroll of the Shakespeare statue in Westminster Abbey, only contain 157 letters, thus indicating Fra Rosicrosse, and be content with doubtful Latin above the statue so that it should count 56 letters = Fr. Bacon.

## CHAPTER XXV

### YEARS 1608–16

"For my purpose or course I desire to meddle as little as I can in the King's causes, His Majesty now abounding in council; and to follow my private thrift and practice and to marry with some convenient advancement.

"For as for my ambition I do assure your honour, mine is quenched . . . my ambition now I shall only put upon my pen whereby I shall be able to maintain memory and merit for the times succeeding."—*Letter, 3rd July, 1603, Francis to Lord Robert Cecil.*

THE above letter is probably one of the most important Francis ever wrote. His bitter adversary, Cecil, had become the King's Secretary of State, and whether called upon to give his intentions or not, Francis found it absolutely incumbent upon himself to offer satisfaction to the King and Cecil as to that matter if he desired to preserve his life and liberty. He told them plainly he had no intention to meddle in the King's affairs and no political ambition. In the highly confident way he once wrote to Burleigh that he had taken all knowledge for his province; so he told Burleigh's son that by his pen he should *maintain merit and memory for the times succeeding.*

To give King James (the "usurper" as Lady Ann Clifford, his contemporary, once called him) more confidence, Francis, in the same letter, announced that he was going to wed an alderman's

daughter. A pretender to a throne so married to a plebeian in those days naturally put himself out of Court. Francis was not advanced to office until he had married "the young wench."

Francis' action exemplified the profound importance of keeping touch with one's powerful enemies actual or potential. Had he ceased to have done so he was a lost man.

The way he continually kept *en rapport* with the King and his ministers, and continued his old practice of steering the barque of the State, whether by direct or indirect means, can be studied *in extenso* in his correspondence.

The late Basil Montagu and James Spedding, as also Dr. Abbott and others, have dealt with these matters, and described Bacon's philosophical treatises at length. The present biographical essay is mostly concerned with the concealed part of Sir Francis Bacon's life.

With his concealed and openly published writings he was busy all his spare time. Notwithstanding his public engagements, literature was his main occupation. In July, 1608, he succeeded to the revenues (about £2,000 a year) of the Clerkship to the Star Chamber.

To judge by his abundant memoranda, fortunately preserved, Francis was very much occupied with affairs of all kinds and schemes for taking advantage of the unaccustomed and great increases to his income. He had cleared off a considerable amount of debt, but still owed Cecil the £300 which he had lent to get rid of the moneylender Sympson, and which could be paid when he was able. His

literary work was not specially extensive, though no doubt he looked after the revision of "Don Quixote," the corrected Spanish edition being dated this year. He printed the plays of "King Lear" and of "Richard II.," third edition, with the deposition scene added (both title-paged to Shakespeare).

In 1609 he published his "Shakespeare Sonnets," through which interesting ciphers run. Then came his folio edition of the "Faerie Queene," with two new Cantos of Mutabilitie added. The play of "Troilus and Cressida" and "Pericles," an old play, were also published in quarto, title-paged to Shakespeare.

In August, 1610, Lady Ann Bacon died. Although the letters of Francis preserved during the preceding ten years were numerous, Mr. Spedding could not find even casual mention of her by Francis either in letters or otherwise, except a letter to Sir M. Hicks, Secretary to the Earl of Salisbury, which said, "I wish I had your company here at my mother's funeral."

It has been suggested that the Authorized Version of the Bible, printed 1610/11, was submitted for final editing to Francis, but that could only have been for rounding off its English, the translation having been made by a special commission of scholarly clergymen. Dr. Andrews, one of the chief translators, was a close friend of Sir Francis.

The Prefaces and supervision of the English would occupy Francis a considerable length of time, and he was too reverent a man to undertake much secular writing during the period he was

doing this work. His next literary task of 1611 was the preparation of a folio edition for the Spenser Poems in which the "Shepheards Kalendar" was for the first time included as a Spenser poem. The five quarto editions of it had all appeared anonymously. The "Spenser Folio," 1611, had neither Preface nor editor's name. He also printed a little work in Latin under his own name, entitled, "De Sapientia Veterum."

In May of 1611/12, Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, died, and between that month and December Francis printed a new edition of his "Essays," very much extended by the addition of new Essays. As to this Chamberlain wrote on 17th December: "Sir Francis Bacon hath set out new Essays where in a chapter on 'Deformity' the world takes notice that he points out his little cousin to the life." Having regard to the remarks on deformity in the play of "Richard III.," the suggestion of Chamberlain may not be a fair one. It is clear that Francis made a close study of the effects of deformity upon the individual, and tried to be just in his comments. The pretence of cousinship was always maintained between Francis and Robert Cecil outwardly, as Burleigh and Nicholas Bacon had married sisters. They were only friendly "*secundrum exterius*," as Francis had once said in a letter to Essex in 1594. From the "Essay of Love" (1612), and the "Shakespeare Sonnets" (1609), Nos. 132, 138, 139, 140 and 142, it can be inferred that the love of Francis for his young wife had been unrequited. There is other evidence of this in the Chamberlain letters,

the letter from Francis to Lady Packington (the mother-in-law), the revocation of gifts in his 1625 will, the fact that Lady St. Alban eventually married her gentleman-usher, and that she was not buried at St. Michael's Church, Gorhambury, but at Eyeworth Church in Bedfordshire (on 9th July, 1650).

In 1612 Francis was busy with the enlarged English original of "Don Quixote," first part, and with "Minerva Britanna," an important book of emblems title-paged to Henry Peacham, who drew and perhaps engraved most of the pictures. This emblem book is full of numerical ciphers. A little book called "An Apologie for Actors," title-paged to Heywood, would also seem to have come from his pen in 1612. On 27th October, 1613, Francis became Attorney-General. Some months after this Raleigh's "History of the World" was printed. It is stated that a good many persons collaborated on this work. Francis may have written the Preface. A plan for extending abroad the labours of the secret literary fraternity of the Rosicrosse seems to have been ventilated by a pamphlet sent to Germany in 1610, but not printed there until 1614. Meantime it had been printed in Venice in 1612 as a chapter in a book, by Boccalini, called "I Ragguagli di Parnasso." Boccalini's tragic death in the following year may have stopped propaganda in Venice, and the movement was exhausted in Germany by 1620. In an English translation in 1704 by N. N. of "I Ragguagli di Parnasso," in a chapter mentioned, concerning the "Universal Reformation of the whole wide World,"

the name of Sir Francis Bacon is substituted for "Mazzoni," as the secretary and adviser of the learned men assembled in conference.

In 1614/15 Francis, if the author, would be occupied with writing and passing through the press his second part of "Don Quixote." But he seems to have had time to edit and print, title-paged to Lodge, a clever paraphrase of Seneca's plays. He was always greatly interested in Seneca. Note the reference in Preface to "Holy War," 1623. We may be assured that he had a large secret band of helpers.

In April of 1615/16 the man-player Shakespeare, under the vizard of whose name Francis had printed most of his best plays, died at Stratford-on-Avon. In that same year, 1616, was printed in Holland a book of a hundred Latin "Emblemata," giving as the author the name "Cornelii Giselberti Plempii." The first emblem picture depicts the goddess Fortune pushing from the top of a pinnacle a person garbed as an actor. At the same time she is assisting a man with his back towards the reader (but clothed and wearing the sort of hat Francis is shown to wear in some pictures of him) to rise from his knees. The letters on the page down to the ninth line total 287, which is the K count of the figures represented by the letters in "Fra Rosicrosse." The initial letters of the words in the ninth line are o, n, c, F, B. Next to the "B" is the small letter "a." Arranged, these letters give F. Bacon.

The play on "back on," probably indicated in the 1616 "Emblemata," is repeated in the 1623

Droeshout and 1640 Marshall "portraits" of Shakespeare.

Cervantes also died in this year at the age of sixty-nine, so that he was an old man when "Don Quixote," first part, was printed. It may be that the 1616 Emblem book contains some reference to that vizard also, should it transpire that Cervantes was one. From the title of a lost letter from Francis to Buckingham there would appear to have been a riotous attack on one of the London theatres this year.

Under the Marshall portrait of Shakespeare in the 1640 or second edition of the Shakespeare Poems are 282 italic letters, this being the count or value in figures of the letters in the words Francis Bacon. Thus F = 32, r = 17, a = 27, n = 13, c = 29, i = 35, s = 18, B = 28, a = 27, c = 29, o = 14, and n = 13. Total, 282. This is in K cipher, in which K = 10 and Z = 24. The letters from A to I have 26 added to the simple count of each. So A = 27, B = 28, and so on until you reach K.

## CHAPTER XXVI

### YEARS 1617–23

"The fourth [Sir Francis Bacon] was a creature of incomparable abilities of mind . . . a man so rare in knowledge of so many several kinds, indued with the facility and felicity of expressing it all in so elegant, significant, so abundant, yet so choice and ravishing a way of words, of metaphors, and allusions, as perhaps the world has not seen since it was a world."—*Sir Tobie Matthew in his Preface to an Italian translation of Bacon's Essays*, 1618.

On 7th March, 1617, Francis was made Lord Keeper. A week later King James departed to Scotland, leaving England in charge of Commissioners with Francis at their head.

Winwood reported to the King that Francis gave audience in the banqueting-house at Whitehall, and required the other members of the Council to attend his movements with the same state as the King used. If any sat too near to him they were desired to keep their distance. Indeed, said Winwood, the King had better come back as his seat was already usurped. On 7th May Francis rode in state to open the Courts at Westminster.

He was attired in a purple satin gown, and accompanied by the Council and nobility on horseback, a cavalcade of 200 horsemen, besides the

Judges and members of the Inns of Court. At the close of the ceremonies most of the company dined as his guests, the cost to him being said to have been £700.

He took up his residence at York House. On the 8th June he reported to Buckingham that all the causes before the Courts had been disposed of. "Not one cause unheard." "Not one petition unanswered." "And this I think could not be said in our age before."

In September the King returned from Scotland. On 4th January, 1617/18, Francis was made Lord Chancellor, and on 11th January created Baron Verulam.

On Candlemas Day, 1617/18, Francis dined at Gray's Inn to countenance the Revells there.

In May, 1619, the King granted him a pension of £1,200 a year during his life, and seven or ten years after, out of the Alienation Office. This was the office Francis had constituted in the previous reign to do away with the old method of "farming" this branch of State revenue.

In October, 1620, the Lord Chancellor published his "Novum Organum" and the "Parasceve."

He would then appear to have busied himself with the enlargement of his "Treatise of Melancholy," the republication of the English "Don Quixote," first part, and the publication of the English edition of the second part, both being described as translations by Shelton.

In January, 1620/1, the King created Francis Viscount St. Alban. On the 22nd of that month, being the new Viscount's sixtieth birthday, he

gave at York House a banquet to his friends. Ben Jonson wrote verses for the occasion:

> "Hail happy Genius of this Ancient Pile,
> How is it all things so about thee smile?
> The Fire, the Wine, the Men, and in the midst,
> Thou standst as if some mystery thou didst.
> Pardon, I read it in thy face, the day
> For whose returns and many all these pray,
> As so do I. This is the sixtieth year
> Since Bacon and thy Lord was born," etc.

The verses end:

> "Give me a deep-crowned bowl that I may sing
> In raising him the wisdom of my King."

At the end of January Parliament assembled. First it formulated an enquiry into abuses alleged to prevail in Courts of Justice.

The rancour of Coke turned the enquiry into a personal attack upon the Lord Chancellor.

Indeed, the Judges and officials of the Courts of Common Law had a tremendous grudge against Bacon for attracting away a large part of their business and consequent fees.

By way of illustration, imagine playgoers deserting theatres for music-halls. In the Chancery Bacon afforded litigants the novelty of *prompt justice*. Consequently, suitors flocked to the Court of Chancery and paid the fees and presents to the Chancery people which usually went to the Judges and officials of the Courts of Common Law. Bacon worked with such assiduity, intelligence, speediness, and goodwill that from the time of his assuming office he successfully and fairly disposed of over nine thousand cases. While entirely absorbed in

this heavy toil and full of the consciousness and pride he felt in thus helping his nation, the Parliamentary attack burst upon him like a sudden hailstorm.

It broke his spirit and made him ill, but it also determined him to discontinue working for a nation which repaid him so ungratefully.

He wrote to the Parliament readily admitting that the practices were faulty, and that he had been frail and had partaken of the abuses of the times, but asked for a light censure.

The Peers required him to answer in writing seriatim to the formulated charges. This he did, and his explanations should have justified a complete acquittal, yet he still pleaded guilty. He had made up his mind to give up all public service to a nation which had proved so ungrateful for his prodigious labours on its behalf.

A statement made by Thomas Bushell, one of his old retainers, many years later, lends colour to the belief that the Chancellor's submission had been arranged with the King so as to save the latter and his favourite Buckingham from the wrath which might easily have been deflected to them:

"The great cause of his suffering is to some a secret. I leave them to find it out by his words to King James. 'I wish' (said he) 'that as I am the first so I may be the last of sacrifices in your time. And when from private appetite it is resolved that a creature shall be sacrificed it is easier to pick up sticks enough from any thicket whither it hath straid to make a fire to offer it with.'"

The decision of the House of Lords condemning

him in a £40,000 fine, imprisonment in the Tower during the King's pleasure, and other penalties, is well known.

The King treated Viscount St. Alban as an ill-used man. He waited a month before (under pressure of the Peers) ordering St. Alban to the Tower, and only kept him there two days. After his release Francis went to stay at the house of Sir John Vaughan, at Parson's Green, London. Vaughan was a man of royal descent, and was Comptroller of Prince Charles's Household. From there, by desire of the King, Francis went to Gorhambury. The coach in which he travelled was so well attended—by a hundred or so of his friends on horseback desirous of protecting him from harm on the journey—that Prince Charles remarked that "he scorned to go out with a snuff." Francis returned to Sir John Vaughan's house in September, and while there the King issued a warrant for the assignment of the £40,000 fine to trustees nominated by Francis so as to protect his estate from importunate creditors, whose debts, by reason of his deprivation of office as Lord Keeper, Francis had no longer an income wherewith to pay. The King also issued a warrant for a pardon of the offences charged, and of a variety of other acts of possible offence. The extensive terms of this pardon caused Bishop Williams, the new Lord Keeper, to stay it at the Seal for explanation.

In March, 1621/2, the King gave Francis permission to come as near London as Highgate, which would incidentally bring him in closer personal touch with the printers and booksellers,

and the members of his secret literary fraternity of the Rosicrosse. The King did not deprive Francis of the *rank* of Lord Chancellor, which was next in precedence to the Royal Family. The *work* of the office of Chancellor went of course with its emoluments to the new Lord Keeper.

Francis satisfied himself that the nation had treated him with great ingratitude. His view was some ten years later expressed in the Discourse prefixed by him to "L'Histoire Naturelle," 1631. In this Discourse he described the conduct of the English nation as "monstrous ingratitude," and an act of "unparalleled cruelty."

It is not necessary to do more than state here that Francis did not die in 1626, as will be explained later. But while his mind was in distress in 1622, he gave form to his feelings by printing the play of "Othello." In the character of Othello he represented the *trustfulness* he, Francis, had reposed in the English nation (personified by Desdemona), and his belief that it had betrayed his confidence. The view that Othello represented *trustfulness* was held by Pushkin, the Russian poet. The fact that it would relieve St. Alban's feelings may be the explanation why this play (the last of the quartos) was not kept back for the Shakespeare Folio of the following year. Indeed, it was only slightly altered for the Folio. As a consequence of this breakdown in his career Francis deemed it safer to provide a foster-father for the "Anatomy of Melancholy," 1621, a development of the "Treatise of Melancholy," printed in 1586 under the pseudonym of his assistant, Bright. In the "Anatomy" Francis gave

his first sketch of a New Atlantis, and dissemblingly alluded in a slighting manner to the Rosicrosse fraternity.

Under (we may suppose) Bacon's direction a group of these secret literary workers had, in 1617, published, under the name of Minsheu's "Guide into the Tongues," a most complete polyglot dictionary. The words in the Preface (157) give the usual proof of Rosicrosse origin.

In 1622, besides the "Othello," Francis printed the "History of Henry VII.," after the King had read and commented upon the manuscript. This was of course published in St. Alban's own name as was also his "Historia Ventorum." He would have been also occupied in extending his "Advancement of Learning," which was ready for translation into Latin as the "De Augmentis" in June, 1622.

The translators, printers, and binders occupied a considerable time after 1622 with their labours, as the first, or presentation, copies of "De Augmentis" were not ready until October, 1623.

During the year Francis corresponded with King James's daughter Elizabeth, ex-Queen of Bohemia, who was then in Holland, and who held him in affectionate regard. This is evidenced by letters printed by Matthew in 1660, as well as by one found by Mr. Spedding. Francis seems to have always prepared for the possible eventuality of living abroad again if circumstances went against him in England. It must be borne in mind that he had a very extensive acquaintance with the European continent, particularly with France, where he had literary friends. Had Queen

Elizabeth of England not forbidden him he would have gone to live there in 1595.

After June, 1622, Francis lived the retired life of a literary man and author, though always in monetary trouble. His time was greatly occupied in preparing and passing through the press a folio selection of his plays—known as the "Shakespeare Folio," 1623. No one who has not studied this folio or a facsimile can form the slightest idea of the tremendous amount of work in it and the typographical arrangements carried out. It is full of ciphers and curious counts. As usual with Francis, his friend Tobie Matthew was one of the first to receive a presentation copy, which accompanied a letter dated 9th April.

The year of this letter could hardly be earlier than 1625, when Matthew was in England. In Matthew's "Life of Sir Tobie Matthew, Kt.," 1907, at p. 263, is copied a letter from Sir Tobie to Lady Buckingham, dated 9th June, 1625. Matthew was during May in France, as one of the embassy escorting Princess Henrietta Maria to England.

In 1623 Francis printed an important booklet "On a Holy War," which he dedicated to his talented friend Dr. Andrews. Really it was a manifesto to the literary men and clergy who constituted the fraternity of the Rosicrosse.

In 1624 and 1625 Francis was also occupied with new editions of his "Anatomy of Melancholy" and of his "Essays." He would also be busy with his "Historia Vitæ et Mortis," "Sylva Sylvarum," and "New Atlantis."

## CHAPTER XXVII

### 1625 TO 9TH APRIL, 1626

"But to counterfeit dying when a man thereby liveth is to be no counterfeit but the true and perfect image of life indeed. The better part of valour is discretion."—*Falstaff in "Henry IV.," First Part.*

Francis St. Alban's fortunes were at a very low ebb in 1625. His friend the King died in March of that year. Lady St. Alban, his young wife, was apparently living at her own charge, and was estranged. His pension was in arrear, and he was reduced to continuous borrowing. There are strong indications that he desired to live his remaining years in obscurity and out of England. His devoted friend Sir Tobie Matthew made a "Collection" of letters comprising some five-and-twenty, openly mentioned as letters to or from Viscount St. Alban, and many others of St. Alban to Matthew, or derived from originals or drafts in St. Alban's possession. This "Collection" was not printed until 1660, some five years after Matthew's death, when it was edited by the younger Donne, son of Donne the poet, to whom it would appear to have been entrusted. A letter on page 111 of the "Collection" seems to show that Francis St. Alban, before carrying out his scheme of private departure, offered to take his wife with him, and that she declined. On page 127 is a letter which St. Alban

would probably have written to a lady in attendance on the Queen of Bohemia, in which the writer says, "Your ladyship was the first in making me know the inclination of the Most Excellent Queen to keep me from perishing in a storm."

Letters on pp. 87, 95, 153, and 228 on a *prima facie* view would be letters written by Bacon after his flight abroad. In the last mentioned is the curious sentence "—was wont to tell me still (*when I was alive*) that he prayed God to make me an honest man, but now I am so honest," etc.

In August, 1625, the Queen of Bohemia, who was then resident at The Hague, had sent a special letter to Viscount St. Alban by Sir Albert Morton, her secretary. It is a suspicious circumstance that the letter was not preserved. St. Alban's reply, however, was kept in draft, and discloses that the Queen had offered him *a "great favour."* Without much stretching of imagination it may be assumed that the offer or *favour* was of shelter under the Queen's protection in Holland, whereby he could be kept from "perishing in a storm." Thus he could get abroad once more relieved from the pressure of creditors, and if poverty were ignominious to him, it would be less so amid new surroundings and probably covered by the garb of a friar. As he wrote to the King after being created Viscount St. Alban, he could "now die in St. Alban's habit as he lived."

Francis always took most particular care of his own health. He was for ever studying the subject of medicine, and could relieve his own pains of gout in two hours by one of his own prescriptions. Any

plan he conceived (wrote Mr. Spedding) he could carry through with the exactitude and attention to detail of a clerk of works.

Having resolved to "die to the world," it was necessary for him to dissemble a course of sickness so that his "death" would not surprise anybody. In his reply to the Queen of Bohemia, Francis took care to state that he was "*ill of a dangerous and tedious sickness.*" This was not a lie, but only a fine piece of dissembling. Asked for an explanation he could say he referred to his growing old. How he must have laughed at these little jocularities! To Mr. Palmer on 29th October he replied from Gorhambury, "I have obtained *some degree of health.*" To Sir Humphrey May about the same time: "I shall not be able in *respect of my health* to attend a Parliament. I wish you a good New Year." To the Duke of Buckingham: "I have *gotten some degree of health.* I wish your Grace a good New Year."

In his will of 21st December, 1625, he directed his executors "to have a special care to discharge a debt by bond (*now made in my sickness*) to Mr. Thomas Meautys."

His "Apophthegms," dated 1625, is prefaced "for *recreation in my sickness.*" His translation of certain Psalms, also dated 1625, is prefaced as "*this poor exercise of my sickness.*"

His will set free all his estate for division amongst his creditors, as it directed the trustees of the £40,000 fine held by them for his benefit to withdraw all right of priority of payment.

Had Francis been seriously ill one would have

expected him to spend the winter at his substantial and well-equipped mansion at Gorhambury. Strange to say, however, he came to his Gray's Inn chambers early in January or February.

Thence, on or about All Fools' Day, 1st April, though snow was said to have been on the ground, he drove with the King's physician, Sir John Wedderburn, to Highgate. What he had to do at Highgate has never transpired. Stranger still, although he had published in his "History of Life and Death" his experiments in the preservation of bodies by cold, *we are told* he attempted another. That is to say, that at the foot of Highgate Hill he stopped and bought a fowl, had it killed, and then helped in stuffing the inside with snow. How he managed the stuffing we are not informed. In this procedure we are told that he caught a chill, and that he had a fit of casting (sickness). Dr. Wedderburn we must assume was such an ass that he did not drive on with Francis to a warm house or even back to Gray's Inn. As the result, we are asked to presume, of the grave deliberations of these highly intelligent persons, Francis was taken forward to the empty summer mansion called Arundel House, on Highgate Hill, every inch of which Francis knew, having visited both his old friend Sir William Cornwallis when he owned it, and his young friend the Earl of Arundel after the latter had bought it.

It is recorded that a banquet was given there in Bacon's honour by Lady Arundel in the summer of 1617. Rawley's account ("Resuscitatio," 1657) was that Bacon had "casually repaired" to the

Earl of Arundel's house at Highgate. Norden mentions the fine views obtainable from this house over several counties, so that the approach of strangers could readily have been detected. At Bacon's visit there was only a caretaker in charge. We are told by Aubrey that Bacon was put in a bed "warmed by a panne," but damp (very creditable this to the physician if it really happened), and so after a few days Bacon is said to have died of something like pneumonia. Bacon's own account is derived from a sprightly letter to the Earl of Arundel (this nobleman had been a ward of Bacon's brother Robert, Earl of Essex, and had taken charge of the remains of Essex, for burial, after Essex was beheaded on Tower Green in 1601), not ventured into print until 1660, when it was printed in Matthew's "Collection."

According to this letter Bacon said that, like Pliny the Great, he had nearly lost his life over an experiment in the *induration of a body*, which *experiment had succeeded excellently well.* As Bacon obtained Privilege du Roy for printing some letters with the "Histoire Naturelle" in 1631, he most likely intended to publish the Arundel letter with the "Histoire" as a bluff about his "death." On second thoughts he would seem to have decided merely to say in the Discourse that "Bacon" caught a cold in a severe frost.

Montagu states in his "Life and Works of Bacon," but gives no authority, that Sir Julius Cæsar went to visit Bacon at Highgate. Rawley's 1657 admittedly garbled story is that Bacon died in the early morning of the 9th April, "*a day on*

*which was COMMEMORATED the resurrection of Our Saviour.*" The spoof begun on or about All Fools' Day, fitly finished with a sham resurrection. In Fuller's "Worthies," dated 1662, and Lloyd's "Statesmen," 1665, it is stated that Bacon made his last bed *in effect* at Cæsar's house. Montagu quotes from another "Life of Cæsar" a statement that Bacon died in Cæsar's arms. From an obscure and garbled edition of Bacon's "History of Life and Death" (perhaps the edition of 1633, in which case we can guess who garbled it) Montagu extracts a statement (not to be found in the first edition) as follows: "The condensation by *Flight* is when there is antipathy between the spirit and the body upon which it acts, as in *Opium*. . . . A grain will tranquillize the nerves and by a few grains they may be so compressed as to be irrecoverable. The *Touched Spirit* may *Retreat* into its *Shell* for a time or for ever." The above passage is probably taken from the 1633 edition or from one of the later editions of Bacon's "History of Life and Death" (say that of 1650), in which some Rosicrosse brother had been amusing the fraternity. Compare the jocularities in John Philip's edition of "Don Quixote," 1687, which are noticed in a book, printed in 1916, called "Secret Shaksperean Seals" (sold by B. Halliday, Leicester).

Shortly after publication of the "Advancement of Learning," 1640, certain learned Latin scholars complained to Rawley of the ridiculous perversion from the Latin of the "De Augmentis" contained (amongst others) in the following passage from the

1640 "Advancement of Learning": "Wherefore voluptuous men often turn into *friars* and the *declining age* of ambitious *princes* is commonly more sad and *beseiged with Melancholy.*"

In the 1671 "Resuscitatio" Molloy stated: "That Bacon made a *holy* and *humble retreat* into the cool shades of rest, where he remained triumphant above fate and fortune till heaven was pleased to summon him to a more triumphant rest."

Putting this fragmentary information together, it would appear that Bacon planned to simulate death at Highgate, and that the experiment which he said in the Arundel letter nearly cost him his life was the induration of his own body by opium. As seemingly dead he was most probably shown to the caretaker, and possibly to others, by his friendly medical men and Sir Julius Cæsar. While in the *shell* or rough coffin in which his *touched spirit* was *retreating* he, as may be assumed, nearly did die. At some friendly house he would have been restored to health. Then he went abroad as secretly as possible.

His friend and confidant, Sir Thomas Meautys, spread broadcast the statement "My Lo. St. Alban is dead and buried." After remaining hidden for a period we may assume St. Alban to have resumed his literary work. For work in progress he would need his memoranda, his unfinished manuscripts, and some of his books.

Manuscripts of finished work, such as his plays, had either been deposited in some secret places before his departure, or some (according to a story in biliteral cipher) were left in charge of his

chaplain Rawley, with instructions what to do with them.

Bacon tells us in the "Address to the Reader" in "L'Histoire Naturelle," 1631, *that he had been aided for the most part by the Manuscripts of the Author.*" Concerning Rawley, the same address tells us that the chaplain, after the death of his master, *printed in a confused manner all the papers that he found in his cabinet.* We know to what Bacon alluded, because Rawley (evidently for the purpose of a biliteral cipher statement) printed in 1629 two works of which he happened to have copies, perhaps because as a clergyman they had interested him. These were "On a Holy War" and "On a War with Spain." To these were added two unfinished fragments. No doubt Bacon was not pleased at this printing in 1629, and took, in the 1631 "Histoire," opportunity for saying these were *all* the papers Rawley possessed of his.

Bacon had planned to obtain his manuscripts by an interesting clause in his 1625 will, in which he directed as follows: "Also I desire my executors especially my brother Constable and also Mr. Bosvile presently [immediately] after my decease to take into their hands *all my papers whatsoever* which are either in cabinets boxes or presses and them to seal up until they may at their leisure peruse them."

Notice how obscurely Sir William Boswell, a literary friend and Oriental scholar, at that time English Agent at The Hague, was alluded to as "Mr. Bosvile."

Brother-in-law Sir John Constable was not

known as a bookish man, and if Sir William Boswell (acting under St. Alban's directions) wanted the papers in Holland to peruse at his leisure, it was likely he would get his own way. Anyway, the papers were sent to the care of Boswell in Holland, and that is doubtless the way they were restored to Bacon's custody.

There is no record of any funeral or burial of the remains of Francis Bacon, but the absence of "funeralls" was made good to some extent by the publication by Rawley in 1626 of thirty-three Latin dirges concerning Bacon's untimely death.

Probably most of the dirge-writers believed him dead. Others may have secretly known that he was still alive, though "dead to the world." One writer said, "He is gone. He is gone. *I have not said he is dead.*" There are some interesting references to Bacon, as Father Outis of the Rosicrosse fraternity, in Ben Jonson's "Masque of the Fortunate Isles," which was printed in 1641, but does not appear to have been performed.

The "Repertoire of Records," 1631, has also some curious allusions to the "Master of this Mysterie." Notice particularly the references in the verses.

## CHAPTER XXVIII

### LITERARY WORK AFTER APRIL, 1626

"Lord Bacon was the greatest genius England or perhaps any other country ever produced."—ALEXANDER POPE (*See Spence's Anecdotes*, 1820, *at page* 158).

ONE of Bacon's first literary ventures abroad would seem to have been a third edition, dated 1628, of that most popular book the "Anatomy of Melancholy." Cripps, the printer, was said to have made a small fortune out of the book, of which two more editions were prepared by St. Alban (those of 1632 and 1638) before his real death. So that his jocularity in the "Advancement of Learning," 1640, about ambitious princes in declining age being besieged with *Melancholy* is easily understood. To the 1628 edition Bacon added 102 pages, and filled it with biliteral cipher work which he signed "Francis St. Alban." Mrs. Gallup deciphered this edition for her first publication some years ago. The 1628 edition was supplied with a plate frontispiece engraved by one C. le Blon, a foreigner. Upon this is the only attempt at a portrait of Democritus jun. vouchsafed to the public. The evolution of an oil painting, said to have been of Robert Burton, at Brazenose College, Oxford, would be part of the general bluff. The Democritus jun. portrait would the sooner resemble Bacon at the age of 68 than

Burton at the age he was in 1628—viz., under 52. On one of the extra pages Democritus jun. wrote: "I will not hereafter add alter or retract. I have done." Yet he seems to have added seventy-seven pages to the 1632 edition. The 1638 edition was only slightly varied.

Following the 1628 "Anatomy" Bacon would be busy with the 1631 "Histoire Naturelle." Later he would be occupied with a number of publications. His French lawyer, Aelius Diodate, came over to England in 1632 and arranged with Rawley to prepare a Latin edition of certain of Bacon's acknowledged works. He probably brought with him to England the book of "Six Court Comedies," which Blount printed in that year. Bacon seems to have edited this collection of his early plays for boy actors title-paged to Lyly, and to have added the lyrics which are not in the quartos of the "Lyly" comedies. Diodate would convey Bacon's wishes and alterations concerning the 1632 Shakespeare "Folio," the 1632 "Anatomy of Melancholy," and the 1632 "Florio Montaigne," with its cryptic frontispiece engraved by Droeshout, doubtless to Bacon's rough drawing. From this edition Florio's name was withdrawn. A banner over the porch indicates something concealed. The letters upon this banner give the Fra. Rosicrosse numerical symbol—157.

A deduction from the Droeshout drawing in the "folio (Florio) Montaigne" is that F.B. was responsible for the vestibule of the work, but not for what was beyond. The six ladies who undertook to translate Montaigne are said to have done the translation

very badly. As the name Deodăti was frequently spelt Deodate, it is probable that the French *avocât* who came over to England on Bacon's business in 1632 was a relative of the Deodati who helped over the translation of Montaigne's essays.

In 1633 were published the play of "Jew of Malta," and a new edition of the "History of Life and Death."

In the same year Gruter reprinted the "Sapientia Veterum." In 1636 came a new edition of "Euphues."

In 1638 was printed another group of books—viz., the 1638 Latin works, the "Arcadia," the "Anatomy" (being all new editions), together with one or two pamphlets anon., "The Moon a Planet" (afterwards ascribed to Wilkins). Francis Bacon's final work seems to have comprised a part preparation of the 1640 "Advancement of Learning" (the edition title-paged to G. Wat), and of a small book on ciphers called "Mercury, or the Swift and Secret Messenger," printed in 1641 after Bacon's death, but fathered upon Wilkins, then a young chaplain in the service of the Lord Berkeley, who had married St. Alban's cousin-german Elizabeth Carey.

The date of Bacon's real last will is not supplied. All we learn from "Baconiana," 1679, is that he made a will in which he directed Constable, his brother-in-law, to have charge of his manuscripts, and that Constable was to take the advice of Mr. Selden (John Selden, an author, who died in 1654) and Mr. Herbert, of the Inner Temple (viz., Thomas Herbert, who went to live in France in 1651 and died in 1657). He was younger in age to his deceased

brother George Herbert, the poet, who died in 1633. As Rawley had edited Bacon's Latin edition of acknowledged works it is likely the manuscripts were, shortly prior to 1651, passed to his keeping, because Rawley printed the "In Felicem M. Elizabethæ" in 1651. Moreover, Rawley was evidently in charge of the unprinted manuscripts when Gruter wrote to him in 1652 (see "Baconiana," 1679).

The point as to *where* Bacon died has yet to be cleared up. The letter in the Lambeth Library, Meautys to Lord St. Alban, dealing with events of 1631, shows clearly that Bacon was at some place where there were titled people and especial friends of Meautys. As Meautys had a cousin who, with his wife, were in attendance at the Court of the Queen of Bohemia in Holland, Bacon was probably then at The Hague or at Rhenen. Shortly afterwards he would appear to have moved to Paris.

Bacon's desire to habit himself as a friar and then come back to see how his "kingdom" had been managed in his absence is exemplified in the character of the Duke, in "Measure for Measure." It is quite possible that he secretly voyaged to Wales between 1626 and 1637, being the date of his death indicated in the "Great Historical Dictionary" of 1691 (a Rosicrosse publication).

We may guess that he would not give up the idea of making a secret deposit of certain of his manuscripts and books. This, however, remains to be verified. According to the Preface to a book of "Three Sermons," written by Bacon (printed second edition in 1658), and preached by a clergyman, he died and was buried in Paris.

But the rather frequent cryptic references of the Rosicrosse biographies to Bacon having died in Cæsar's arms may be an indication that he went to reside and was supposed to have died upon the Isle of Anglesea, at one time called "Mona Cæsaris." His great grandfather, Henry VII., whom Francis held in the highest admiration, was born upon that island, and Francis may have wished to spend his last years in retirement there.

He mentioned Mona in the "Faerie Queene," Book III., Canto 3:

> "Be freshly kindled in the fruitful Ile
> Of Mona where it lurked in exile;
> Which shall break forth into bright burning flame
> And reach into the house that beares the stile
> Of roiall Majesty and soveraine name."

## CHAPTER XXIX

### BACON'S DEATH

"I wish to make known to your Reverence my intentions with regard to the writings which I meditate and have in hand . . . because I work for posterity, these things requiring ages for their accomplishment."—*Bacon to Father Fulgentio.*

At first the manipulation in books issued by the Rosicrosse fraternity of the number 81 led one to suppose that Bacon's death occurred in 1641.

For instances, the last poem in "Mercury" with its Roman type title-line numbers 81 lines. Under the portraits of Bacon in the 1657, 1661, and 1671 editions of "Resuscitatio," there are 81 italic letters.

The inscription on the memorial tablet to "Democritus Jun.," as given in Fuller's "Worthies," 1662, contains 81 italic letters.

Stephens in his Preface to the 1702 edition of Bacon's letters, signals 81, by saying that Bacon died aged sixty-five years two months and about fourteen days. In fact, the number 81 was often signalled, and is said by Richard Carlile to be a most sacred symbol of the higher degrees of Freemasonry. But "Count Gabalis: or Rosy-crucians Exposed," indicates an important name—viz., "Messias," the letters of which will be found to count 81. The B.I. at the foot of the verse to the Reader in the Shakespeare Folio is a way of indicating 81.

"Messias" in the form it was probably intended was merely "Leader," just as the 287 letters of the verse meant "Fra Rosicrosse."

This view is confirmed by the fact that there are 81 letters under the portrait of Bacon in the Latin edition of his acknowledged works, 1638. Moreover, under the newly engraved portrait of Bacon in the 1640, or Wats', edition of the "Advancement of Learning," there are italic capitals of one particular size—viz., I. I. D. I. V. P. P., whose numerical equivalents total 81.

We obtain a safer clue to the date of Bacon's death from the "Great Historical Dictionary," 1691, which bears marks of having been issued by the Rosicrosse fraternity, and states that Bacon was Lord Chancellor for nineteen years. Adding nineteen to the year he was made Lord Chancellor, 1618, would make the year of his death 1637. The book called "Remaines of the Lord Bacon," printed in 1638, probably contains a cipher message telling all about it. The visit of the *avocât* Diodate from Paris in 1632, and Lord Chancellor Bacon's conversations near that date with Baudoin in Paris about his Emblem book, rather tend to support an assumption for Bacon's last domicile having been in Paris.

There is much more in the Preface and contents of the "Three Sermons" to make one sure that Bacon was intended in the references.

The Rosicrosse fraternity would not have been likely to have left the body of their Founder and Leader to remain in France, whence the probabilities are it was removed to England before the years

1638 to 1640 were out. The first place to which the remains would naturally be removed would be to the vault under Bacon's Monument in St. Michael's Church, Gorhambury. A private, indeed secret, interment of this nature could only have been carried out hurriedly at night.

L'Estrange's "History of King Charles I.," 1656, states two things about Bacon. The first, that at his death there was not enough money to pay the cost of his funeral. The second, that when about twenty years from 1626 an adjoining vault for the body of Sir Thomas Meautys was being prepared, Bacon's body was disturbed and desecrated.

If Bacon actually died in 1626 the statement that there was not enough money to pay for his funeral was untrue, as there was plenty of money for "funeralls." Indeed, the 1625 will directed the cost not to exceed £300.

The probabilities are that both of the statements made in L'Estrange's book were true as to the main facts. Carlile records that in one of the Freemason ceremonies certain brethren sent (allegorically) to find the body of the Master builder of King Solomon's Temple reported that they had found the body of their master very indecently interred. The ceremony proceeds to relate that the body was directed to be placed near the Sanctum Sanctorum in what would appear to have been in an upright position in a grave about five feet in height. Thus the body would be placed in a standing position and facing east to the rising sun.

When this was done would appear to be related in an acroamatic way in "Baconiana," 1679, and

the Spenser Folio, 1679. The latter gives a tomb frontispiece, and in the Shepheards "Kalendar" a verse absent from some earlier editions was restored. It began:

"Now dead he is and lyeth wrapt in lead."

As the last (though unacknowledged and unproclaimed) Prince of the House of Tudor, his body might well have been again privately and secretly reburied in the Poets' Corner of Westminster Abbey.

In 1681 Aubrey in an account of the County of Herts recorded a rumour that Bacon's body had been removed from St. Michael's Church, Gorhambury, to make room for the eventual interment of the ashes of Sir Harbottle Grimston, then alive.

There was plenty of room in the crypt for many bodies, so the report was most probably to account for the absence of Bacon's coffined corpse from St. Michael's Church.

The authority of one of the Earls of Verulam is quoted (in "Baconiana," 1914) for confirmation of the statement that Bacon's coffin was no longer at St. Michael's Church. A statement to the same effect is made by a St. Albans contributor to *Notes and Queries*, second series G, page 132, year 1860.

In 1740-41, Dr. Mead, the then greatest authority on Bacon's works, Alexander Pope, a member of the Rosicrosse fraternity, and the third Earl of Burlington, a descendant of Robert the ill-fated Earl of Essex, put up in Westminster Abbey a statue to "Shakespeare." The letters on the tablet count 56, which is Fr. Bacon, and on

the scroll (a garbled verse from the "Tempest") counts 157 = Fra. Rosicrosse.

The time for the recognition of Bacon's *Fame* has either not arrived or the secret is being deliberately "held up."

The probabilities are that Bacon's body was removed to the Poets' Corner in Westminster Abbey, where, in an unnamed grave near the foot of the "Shakespeare" statue, he lies buried obscurely according to his own wish. The grave in question is probably the one alleged to contain the body of a relative of Henry VII., who is said to have sought sanctuary in the Abbey.

## EPILOGUE

Having essayed to outline the life and work of Sir Francis Bacon one must leave the task of reviewing and judging his career to those qualified to do so.

He was essentially a thoughtful statesman from his early years. He helped to guide the helm of State whenever he could usefully intervene without causing offence. Upon the important question of parliamentary subsidies raised in 1592 his view was a wise one, and was maintained with firmness and dignity, though it cost him the goodwill of the Queen. His letter of advice to the Queen in 1584, the important letter to M. Critoy which he drafted for Sir Francis Walsingham the Foreign Secretary, the "Veue of Ireland" and other documents not printed in his lifetime, all in the nature of State records and letters of advice during Queen Elizabeth's reign, testify to his care and devotion. When James I. came to the throne Sir Francis undertook the delicate negotiation of the terms upon which the Union of England and Scotland was carried out. All through the reign of James I. he took an advisory and suggestive part in the government of the country. In fact, he rendered great service to his nation. Elevated to the Bench he showed how lawsuits could justly and speedily be disposed of, and suitors flocked in thousands with their griev-

ances. When the rancour of Coke and his friends (interested in the greatly diminished profits and emoluments of the Common Law judges and officials) resulted in the overthrow of Sir Francis from the office of Lord Keeper, he resented this evidence of ingratitude on the part of the English nation, and retired from all further attempts to serve it.

In the discourse to "L'Histoire Naturelle," 1631, he gave strong vent to his feelings concerning the nation's cruelty and ingratitude. This may be the reason why in his will of 1625, which was really a valedictory statement, he said: "For my name and memory I leave it to men's charitable speeches and to foreign nations and the next ages." It will be seen that he did not trust the attitude of the English nation of that day further than men's charitable speeches, of which he evidently did not expect many. In his last will, written probably in Holland or France some years after 1625, Sir Francis Bacon altered his phraseology thus: "For my name and memory I leave it to foreign nations and to mine own countrymen, after some time be passed over." In time, judgments as he anticipated become fairer and possibly more appreciatory and softened.

Sir Francis Bacon never entirely emancipated himself from the attitude of devotion, amounting often to adoration, of his mother—the Queen—and the divinity of Royalty. His praises are numerous and are to be found in "Euphues Anatomy of Wit," in the "Arraignment of Paris," in the "Epithalamium," the "Amoretti" (No. 74), the "Dis-

course in Praise of the Queen," the "Faerie Queene," and other of his publications and writings. It is also shown in the "Arte of English Poesie." The latter two publications were written by desire of the Queen, and the "Faerie Queene" was, as the Harvey-Immerito letters show, begun some ten years before it was put into print. During Elizabeth's lifetime his irritations at her conduct were reposed in the safe depository of cipher, but after her death Francis was particularly careful to conserve her good name. In 1607 he printed for foreign information his "In Felicem Memoriam Elizabethæ," which in two of his wills he directed should be translated into English.

In it he affirmed that the subject of Queen Elizabeth's life could only be effectively discussed by statesmen who could be trusted to handle the biography *dexterously*, and that the only commender of the lady's virtues was *time*. Time with Sir Francis was the great healer. Only in time could the great virtues be separated from the ephemeral weaknesses.

"Of the dead, nothing but good" was a sentiment Francis held strongly. He knew how very human it was to err. Concerning the behaviour of Francis to his brother Robert, Earl of Essex, reference may usefully be made to Mr. Spedding's "Evenings with a Reviewer," to Francis Bacon's "Apology concerning Essex," and to the sorrows he experienced and committed to biliteral cipher. He shows that the "Declarations concerning the Treasons of Essex," though prepared by Francis himself by order of the Queen, *was so altered by*

*her as to be hers and not at all his own document.* Sir Francis Bacon was a born educationist. Beginning with an effort to reform English versifying and literature, English music, and English play-acting, he passed on, under the example of the Orpheus legend, to a big attempt to bring some sort of education, through the acting of plays filled with amusement and profitable instruction, to the sordid and sodden multitude of his day and generation. As he grew older he passed on to advance English learning, arts, sciences, manners, and the moderate Protestantism of the English Established Church. Schism he spat at—that is to say, by raillery and satire he strove to stamp it out.

One has only to glance at his "Lyly" and "Nashe" pamphlets ridiculing the Martin Marprelate attack on Dr. Whitgift and the Bishops of the Established Church in order to appreciate the magnificent help he gave to conformity in religious practices at a critical time. Further on he gathered round him a body of earnest clergymen and literary laymen who worked in secret fraternity for the advancement of learning, defence of the Church, and in an organized attempt to obtain still further the hidden mysteries of nature and science. In this he was faithfully served, and the Royal Society owed its establishment to his ideas.

The marriage of the philosopher-poet to a young wife was *not* a success. As to this, reference should be made to Bacon's letter to Lady Packington, to Chamberlain's letters, to the fact of her living at her own charge, to the will of 1625, and the revocation for just and grave causes of St. Alban's

bequests to his wife. The Shakespeare Sonnets would seem to reveal something:

> "Tell me thou lov'st elsewhere, but in my sight,
> Dear heart, forbear to glance thine eye aside."

Sir John Underhill appears to have had a position of gentleman-usher in St. Alban's service, and the fact that within eleven days from the date of St. Alban's believed death (9th April, 1626) Lady St. Alban was married to Sir John Underhill tells a tale.

It is reasonable to assume that, in the expansion and preparation of stage plays for the reading public, Francis had a band of qualified helpers working under his general editorship. These assistants seem gradually to have obtained sufficient instruction to enable them to write plays themselves. (In the first instance Francis had to do most of the spade work himself, and rely upon mere copyists and "go-betweens" from himself to the players.) Fletcher, Jonson, Beaumont, Chapman, Dekker, Munday, Marston, Ford, and Heywood would seem to have been qualified helpers. Francis would naturally keep the editing, arrangement, and introduction of cipher for his own particular and private care.

For his prose productions he doubtless had help from Herbert, Nashe, Meres, Bright, Burton, Peacham, Florio, and, later on, Gorges, Bettenham, Dr. Rawley, Hobbes, and Bushell.

The English friends of Sir Francis Bacon's youth would appear to have included particular friends, such as Sir Philip Sidney, his poetess sister, Lady

Mary Countess of Pembroke, Fulke Greville, the poet, and Gabriel Harvey, his professor of poetry. Lord Burleigh was a valuable friend. So were Burleigh's son Thomas and son-in-law Vere, Earl of Oxford. The friendships also included the Earls and Countesses of Warwick, Sussex, Derby, Arundel, Northumberland, Cumberland, and De la Warre. He was intimate with the Comptons, the Russells, the Walsinghams, the Rutlands, the Herberts, the Careys, the Harringtons, and the young Earl of Southampton. After the accession of James I., death or other causes seem to have dispersed the old Court party, and Francis appears, besides a great friendship with King James's family, to have found himself social with the Egertons, Lucy Harrington Countess of Bedford, Earl and Lady Dorset, the young Earl Arundel, Sir William and Lady Cornwallis, Sir Julius and Lady Cæsar, Lady Hatton, the young Earls of Pembroke and Montgomery, literary friends such as George Herbert and his brothers, Sir Henry Wotton, John Selden, Serjeant Finch, Thomas Meautys, Sir Tobie Matthew, Dr. L. Andrews, the Spanish Ambassador, Gondomar (by whom a Shakespeare First Folio Plays was received, doubtless a gift from Bacon), and the Marquis Fiat, of France.

# APPENDIX OF NOTES.

*Page* 1.—No doubt Arthur Wilson knew Sir Francis Bacon personally. It is to be noticed that he agrees with Ben Jonson as to Bacon's light-hearted and witty temperament.

*Page* 2.—The writer of the Life of Spenser does not give any name, but the letterpress gives numerical indications of it being a publication of the fraternity of the Rosy Cross. See, as to Spenser, the "Letter Book of Gabriel Harvey" (Camden Society publications), and the recent book on "Spenser," by Mr. Harman, C.B., also Mr. Cuningham's "Bacon's Secret Disclosed." Nicholas Rowe, who wrote the "Life of Shakespear," 1709, gives the usual numerical sign that he belonged to the Rosicrosse brotherhood. He did not even visit Stratford-on-Avon.

*Page* 3.—See "Tudor Problems," and books there quoted as to Bacon's real parentage.

*Page* 9.—The register of baptism is at the Church of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields.

*Page* 10.—In an Italian sonnet in the Florio "Montaigne," 1604, the writer (Bacon) refers to Florio as his old instructor or tutor.

*Page* 11.—The letters are printed in Mr. Spedding's "Life and Letters of Bacon."

*Page* 12.—The licence to travel is in the Record Office, Chancery Lane. As to Duncombe, see the letters of Paulet, printed in Vol. I. of Blackbourne's "Life and Works of Bacon," 1730.

*Page* 15.—The bargain with Spenser is disclosed in the biliteral cipher decoded by Mrs. E. W. Gallup.

For the letter indicating the settlement see Vol. I. of Mr. Spedding's book.

*Page* 16.—It is very doubtful whether there was ever a real John Lyly. See Arber's "Lyly" and Anthony à Wood's "Athenæ."

*Page* 17.—For the Bodley letter see his "Reliquæ Bodleiana."

*Page* 18.—The author has had no opportunity of examining the works attributed to Barnabe Rich.

*Page* 20.—It is also quite probable that Francis finished off his "Notes" from information supplied by intelligencers abroad.

*Page* 22.—The trouble taken over and by this supposed impecunious son of Sir Nicholas Bacon is inconsistent with such a relationship.

*Page* 23.—The motto, "Omne tullit," etc., is also on the title-page of 1632 "Anatomy of Melancholy."

"First Fruits" is also used in the dedicatory letter to "Venus and Adonis."

*Page* 24.—In "Menaphon" the authorship of "The Arraignment of Paris" was fathered upon Peele, who seems to have had some employment in connection with the production of the "Court Comedies."

*Page* 26.—See Greene's book, "Shakespeare and the Emblem Writers," and also a facsimile of "A Choice of Emblems."

*Page* 29.—See "Dictionary of National Biography" and Arber reprints as to what can be learnt about Webbe. See also article "Webbe," in "Tudor Problems."

*Page* 32.—The works of Gabriel Harvey were reprinted, edited by Dr. Grosart.

*Page* 36.—The "Peele" writings were collected by Dyce, and later by Mr. Bullen.

*Page* 40.—Francis may merely have visited Bergamo as an important city and then returned the way he came.

*Page* 45.—The date of Greene's actual death is taken from "The Cheque Book of the Chapel Royal" (Camden Society publications).

*Page* 50.—The interesting correspondence on this treasury dispute is given at length in Mr. Spedding's Vol. I.

*Page* 52.—The "Fragments" are given in Dyce's "Marlowe."

*Page* 53.—Harvey's "Tambourlane" reference is of course to Marlowe, under whose name it was produced.

*Page* 55.—Number 287 is an important Rosicrosse sigil. In "Mathematical Magick," fifth edition, 1707, "Rosicrosse" is the 151st word in Roman type on page 136. 136 + 151 = 287. The previous word is "Francis."

The "Guide into the Tongues," 1617, seems to have been a very important publication if one may judge from the list of subscribers prefixed to the first edition, many of whom would belong to the secret fraternity for the advancement of religion, learning, art, sciences, and manners.

*Page* 58.—Mr. Spedding's notion was that the relations of Robert, Earl of Essex, and Francis were those of patron and subordinate, but the letters, however careful in their terms of address, bear out the biliteral story that the men were brothers.

The "Lyly" petition, for good reasons, escaped destruction.

*Page* 59.—"Vail" means gift or reward for services.

Very few of the quarto plays printed before 1598 were title-paged to a living author.

*Page* 63.—"The Spaw" alluded to was very likely "Bath," though, as a recent writer has pointed out, Shakespeare's Sonnet No. 153, line 11, shows that Bath did not do Sir Francis Bacon much good.

*Page* 66.—"N" refers to books put out in the name of Nashe. The Preface to "Jack Wilton" is well worth reading. Sir George Carey was the Queen's cousin.

*Page* 67.—Here is the express authority of Tenison that Bacon had printed works upon which no name or not his own name appeared.

Sonnet 74 of the "Amoretti" should be studied. The "Epithalamion" shows Bacon's delight at being again on friendly terms with the Queen.

*Page* 70.—Spenser, the Irish official whose name Bacon made use of, had died in 1599.

*Page* 74.—"Richard II." and "Richard III." are mentioned as contents on a cover known as the "Northumberland House Manuscript."

*Page* 79.—The account of the burial of "Spenser" is given by Camden.

*Page* 80.—It is more than probable that Bacon's literary assistants, such as Chapman and Jonson, worked upon some of the plays prepared for publication in quarto form. As acted they would doubtless have been much shorter.

*Page* 86.—That is to say, a person of that name made the purchase, but whether he was the same as the Stratford man-player is not very clear. There were other Shakespeares in London at that period. See Mrs. Stopes's comments in "Shakespeare's Environment."

*Page* 89.—See Stephen's "State Trials" as to the ring story.

*Page* 90.—Much curious information is to be found in Devereux's "Lives of the Earls of Essex."

*Page* 91.—The late Hon. Ignatius Donnelly had another theory as to the "Phœnix and the Turtle." See his book "The Cipher on the Plays," etc. His notion of a disclosure 300 years after Bacon's death may be quite correct. But some of us cannot afford to wait so long.

*Page* 92.—It is said that a good many pens worked with Sir Walter Raleigh on "The History of the World."

*Page* 93.—Another messenger was Tobie Matthew.

*Page* 98.—It is quite probable that Cervantes collaborated with Sir Francis by supplying some of the tales by which "Don Quixote" is padded out. Cervantes would seem to have been a hack writer of unsuccessful plays. Probably "Galathea," "Ocha Comedias," "Viage del Parnaso," and "Persiles

et Sigismunda" were his own work, and that in "Don Quixote" and "Novelas Exemplares" he was paid by Bacon for some padding work.

*Page* 102.—When Sir Thomas Bodley established what is now the Bodleian Library at Oxford, he would not allow printed plays to be placed in it.

*Page* 103.—Again it is more than probable that some of his assistants expanded these plays for publication in print.

*Page* 108.—Matthew's Letters, 1660, and those published by Stephen, 1702, and by Birch may usefully be referred to. Birch's collection shows the immense pains Sir Francis had to take in order to satisfy Buckingham.

*Page* 109.—The Dedication of Shakespeare's Sonnets, 1609 has 144 letters, which is Sir = 44, Francis 67, and Bacon 33; total, 144. One of the Sonnets says "that every word doth almost *sel* my name." The numerical value of sonnets in simple count is 100. Francis Bacon = 100. So that at the top of every page of the Sonnets is said Shakespeare's [is] Francis Bacon.

*Page* 111.—Heywood was one of Bacon's "good pens." Marston, Beaumont, and Fletcher would be others of Bacon's group of literary assistants engaged in the laudable work of amusing and instructing the ignorant multitude by the medium of plays, serving up many truths and maxims of conduct. To the thinkers of that day the "policy of plays" appeared the only available means of training the uneducated masses.

*Page* 133.—The "Jew of Malta" had a Dedication by Heywood, indicating the Rosycross sign.

*Page* 134.—The internal evidence of the genuineness of the Meautys letter of October, 1631, is strong. The letter is printed by Basil Montagu in the "Life and Works of Bacon," vol. xii., p. 492.

Meautys' references are to Bacon, to the ex-Queen of Bohemia, whose husband was at that date with Gustavus Adolphus, to the English ladies of title who were with her, and to Meautys' namesake and cousin the soldier, Sir Thomas

Meautys, also in attendance on the ex-Queen, and to his wife. It acknowledged the promise by Bacon to Meautys of a handsome gift (which could most likely have been the Gorhambury reversion—all Bacon had left to bestow). It told Bacon about changes in the law officers and the judicial bench, and particularly about Bacon's friend and protégé Finch, who had been an executor of and beneficiary under Bacon's 1621 will.

It was passed as an authentic document by Dr. Rawley, Archbishop Tenison, Bishop Gibson, Robert Stephens, Dr. Birch, and Basil Montagu.

After 1637 Meautys acted as owner of Gorhambury House.

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* It is to be regretted that so little attention has been paid to the sigils given in K cipher. In the Shakespeare Folio of 1623 the verse to the reader has 287 letters, which is the K count of the letters in "Fra Rosicrosse," just as the 157 letters on the title-page is the simple count of the same words.

There are exactly 157 italic words on the first page of the Dedication, and exactly 287 italic words on the second page of the Dedication. There are 287 roman words in the second column of the first page of "The Tempest," being the first comedy in the folio. The same figure is obtained from the first column of the first history play, and from the first column of the first tragedy by deducting the correct page number (31) from the 318 roman words; 287 is shown on the first two pages of "A Choice of Emblems" (1587); in the Dedication of the "Arte of English Poesie" (1589); at the beginning and also at the end of the "Faerie Queene" (1611); at the beginning of the "Advancement of Learning" (1605); in the vestibule of Carey's translation (1674) of "I Ragguagli di Parnasso"; in the completed words of the last page of the Introduction to Stephen's edition of "Bacon's Letters" (1702); on the last two pages of the Dedication of Rowe's edition of the "Shakespeare Plays" (1709); in the Dedication of Blackbourne's edition of "Bacon's Works" (1730); and in David Mallet's (1740) "Life of Bacon." Dugdale gives the 287 sigil on the last page of the Epistle Dedicatorie to his "Antiquities of Warwickshire."

It is exhibited in the "Emblemata" of C. G. Plempii of 1616; in the "Repertorie of Records" (1631); and in John Milton's sonnet on Shakespeare (1632). "Baconiana" (1679), edited by Archbishop Tenison, gives 287 in pages 3, 4, and 5 of the Introduction, down to the words "I begin." In this "Baconiana," page 259 (which is the K count of the letters in Shakespeare) is immediately followed by the words "That is Francis Bacon." Many other instances for which there is not space here are given in "Secret Shakespearian Seals."

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Two hundred and eighty-seven is the count of the inscription letters on the Shakespeare bust at Stratford-on-Avon, and also of the inscription letters on the Bacon monument at St. Michael's Church, Gorhambury. Perhaps the most remarkable circumstance is the garbling of the extract from "The Tempest" on the scroll of the Shakespeare monument in Poets' Corner, Westminster Abbey, so as to give 157 letters.

Students of the Shakespeare Folio ought not to fail to notice the curious way in which the name "Francis" is introduced. There are Francis Pickbone, Francis Seacole, Francis Flute, Francis Quaint, Francis Feeble, and "Marry me to one Francis." Francisco appears for a few lines at the outset of "Hamlet," and does not come on again. In the first part of "Henry IV.," in the Boar's Head Tavern scene, the name Francis appears thirty-three times, which suggests Francis Bacon. In the same scene the frequent answer "Anon" seems to impart the suggestion that sooner or later "Francis" will appear on the scene. There are numerous suggestions in the Folio of the name Bacon, such as, "what is A B spelt backwards, with a horn on top?" Reading upward from the bottom of page 33 of "Two Gentlemen of Verona," the capitals run T I S F B. On page 287 in "Lear," at the bottom of the second column, the endings reveal Sir-France-is-Bee-Con. . . . Each ending is preceded by exactly thirty-three letters.

On page 33 of "Richard II.," first column, there is a reference to ten days. The capitals up the column give F R A, while on the tenth line are the words "Bay" and *Coun*trie. These may be slight matters from a man of genius, but in those days very weak puns and jokes seem to have been indulged in.

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