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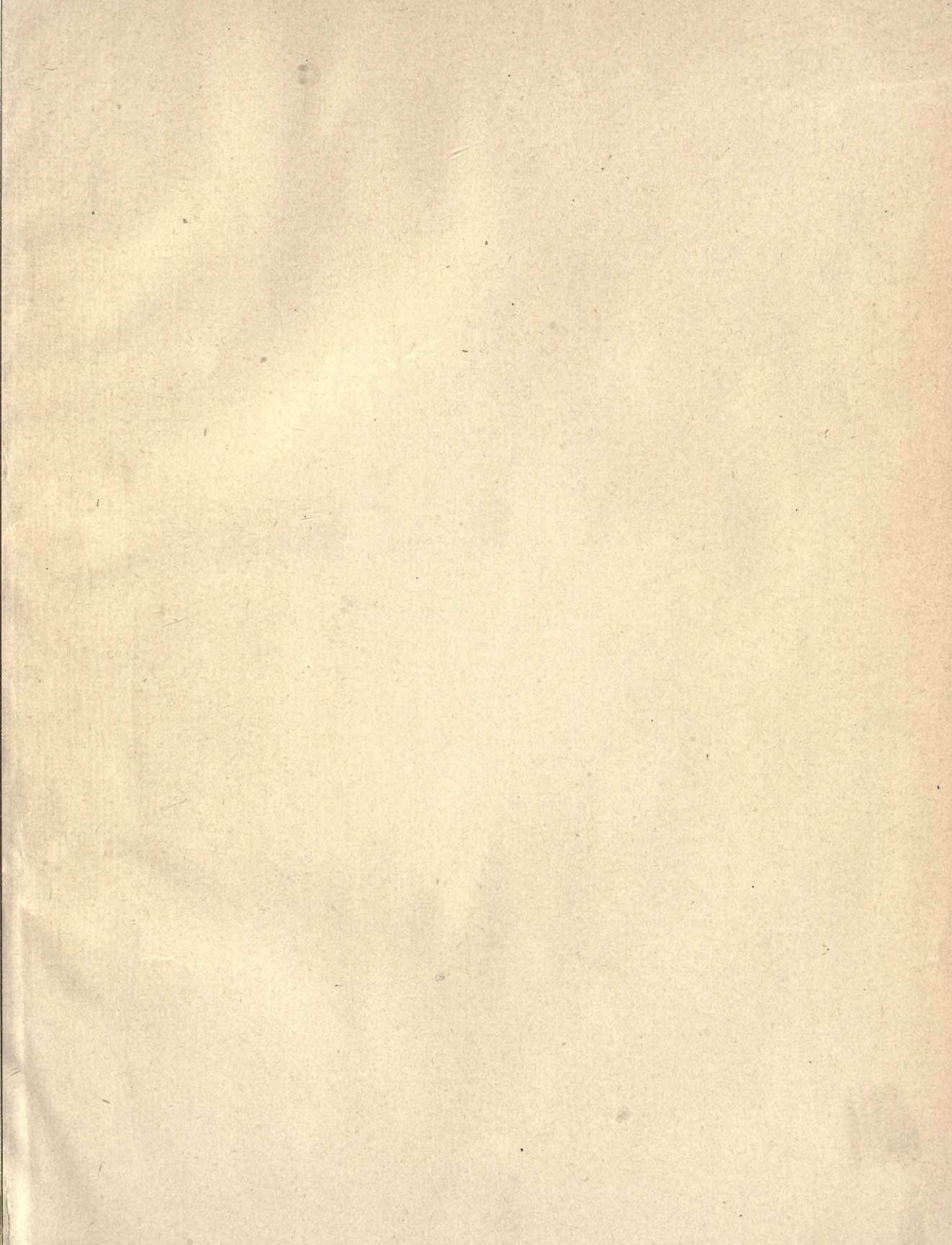
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Leonard Field.
12 Sep^r 1902.



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THE
SHAKESPEARE-BACON
CONTROVERSY.

THE
SHAKESPEARE-BACON
CONTROVERSY:

A REPORT
OF
THE TRIAL OF AN ISSUE
IN WESTMINSTER HALL, JUNE 20, 1627.

READ IN THE INNER TEMPLE HALL,
THURSDAY, MAY THE 29TH, 1902,

AND
PREPARED FOR PUBLICATION
BY

WILLIAM WILLIS

Treasurer of the Honourable Society of the Inner Temple.

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PREFATORY NOTE.

THE Shakespeare-Bacon controversy involves to-day questions of character, and if it had arisen soon after the publication of the Folio volume, might have involved questions of property. There is no better method for determining questions of reputation and of property than the method of judicial investigation. Entertaining this view, I have long thought that the Shakespeare-Bacon Controversy could be best determined by a trial legally conducted, particularly as such a process would exclude all hearsay evidence or second-hand information. Nothing can be more discreditable than to listen to hearsay, when it affects the character of another. If the person who speaks to the disparagement of another, professes to speak of his own knowledge, his statement should never be accepted, without an opportunity being afforded for denial or explanation. This conduct is due to the living; in respect of the dead, it is atrocious to accept or repeat to their injury second-hand gossip, or even direct statements, which they have not had the opportunity of denying or explaining. I had rather suspend my judgment than accept such statements. By retailing gossip of the worst kind, some have endeavoured to make Shakespeare an adulterer and a drunkard; some have also endeavoured to establish his youthful ignorance by retailing an anecdote which never saw the light until 137 years after Shakespeare's death. I apologize for putting into the mouth of the cross-

examining counsel questions as to Shakespeare's holding horses at the theatre door; no one then could have suggested such questions. I did it, because some of my hearers who had heard of this matter, might think that a question, founded on it, ought to be put. The story came in the following way. D'Avenant heard it from *some one*. D'Avenant told it to Betterton, Betterton told it to Rowe, Rowe told it to Pope, Pope told it to Newton, Newton told it to Johnson, Johnson told it to Shiels, who told it to the world.

It may not be unnecessary to state that the report of the trial in the following pages is not the report of a real trial, but such a report as I believe would have come into existence if the trial had taken place at the time named. The trial, although imaginary, is a real test of the question in dispute.

I hope the reader will pardon the introduction of certain passages, which do not directly advance the hearing of the cause. The paper was prepared for reading, and it seemed to me necessary to make the trial as nearly like a real one as possible. I therefore put in the interruptions of Counsel, the laughter and cheers of the spectators, and the loss of temper and indignation of witnesses, such as occur in a real trial. As the result of these imitations, some of my hearers supposed I was reading the report of a trial which had actually taken place, and asked for an inspection of the MS. they thought I had discovered.

Although the history of Shakespeare's youth has, I think, little bearing upon the question of the authorship of the plays, I considered that some account of his youth should be given; I thought some of my hearers might look for and require such information. I hoped to give the information by the examination of Mr. R. Field, a native of Stratford, well-known to Shakespeare,

the printer of "Venus and Adonis" and "Lucrece" which Shakespeare dedicated to the Earl of Southampton. I could not, however, find any evidence of Mr. Field being alive in 1627. I found he gave up business in 1624. I did not like to call him as a witness unless I was satisfied of his existence at the time of the trial. To procure the account of Shakespeare's youth and early manhood, I adopted the statement of Mr. Malone, that John Heminge, the actor, and one of the editors of the folio volume, was born within a mile of Stratford-on-Avon. Mr. Sidney Lee states that Heminge was born at Droitwich. I hope I may be pardoned, if "for this occasion only," I state that Heminge was born at Shottery, and through his mouth, get a slight sketch of the poet's early life.

I fixed upon the year 1627 for the trial, because at that time both Shakespeare and Bacon were dead. With every desire to be impartial in the conduct of the trial, I could not bring myself to suppose that the historian, lawyer, and philosopher would make any claim to the authorship of the plays. By fixing the year 1627 for the trial, I lost the testimony of three or four important witnesses, such as Burbage, the fellow-actor of Shakespeare, Camden, and R. Field.

The readers of this address must remember the year of the trial, 1627, or they may commit the mistakes of some of my hearers, who asked me why I did not use the quotation from Greene's "A Groat's Worth of Wit," in which a reference to Shakespeare is supposed to be made under the word "Shakescene," and why I did not call John Milton, who was in Court, and use his noble words on the dramatic author, Shakespeare. The answer is that Greene died in the year 1592, and that Milton could give no direct evidence. He was only eight years of age when Shakespeare died, and had nothing to do with the

preparation and production of the folio volume. I have, in the Appendix, set forth the quotation from Greene, and the lines of Milton, which appeared for the first time in the second folio edition of Shakespeare's plays published in 1632.

In placing the various witnesses in the box, I have assumed that men would speak in Court to the truth of that which they had written under their own hand, or which their conduct necessarily involved. Their credibility must be determined by the judgment of each reader.

I hope I have not done any injury to the claim of Lord Bacon, when I make the Counsel state "he has no living witness he can call in support of it." I can only say that my reading did not supply me with the name of any such person.

I cannot suppose that my address is free from error or defect : I shall be delighted, however, if it help in any degree to the re-establishment of the belief that William Shakespeare of Stratford-upon-Avon was the author of the greatest poetical work which, with the exception of the "Paradise Lost," has appeared in the English tongue.

If the 'trial' should not be of any service, I hope the Appendix may be useful to students of Shakespeare. Its preparation has involved considerable labour, and I do not think, with my many engagements, I could have published the Appendix, unless I had received the kind and learned assistance of Mr. Pickering, the Librarian of the Honourable Society of the Inner Temple. For this service, I tender him my sincere thanks.

W. W.

ERRATA.

Page 3, last line, for "Sly, Philips," read "Lowin, Taylor."

Page 51, line 20, for "Polemanteia" read "Polimanteia."

Page lxiv., line 13 of note, for "semi-colon" read "full stop."

THE ADDRESS.

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THE ADDRESS.



WHEN I was about to enter upon my duties, as Treasurer of this Society, I received a volume, in which a claim was made on behalf of Francis Bacon, Baron Verulam, Viscount St. Alban, to the authorship of the Plays contained in the folio volume, which appeared in the year 1623, under the name of 'William Shakespeare.'

The writer stated that he claimed no less for Lord Bacon, than the authorship of these Plays, and that the claim had come to stay.*

I had, for some time, taken an interest in the determination of the respective claims of Shakespeare and Lord Bacon, and had become, to some extent, familiar with writings passing under both these names. I knew that some of my predecessors in office had delivered addresses on purely literary questions, and I thought I might, without impropriety, deliver an address to the members of this Society on the Shakespeare-Bacon controversy.

I found also, that the controversy excited considerable public interest, particularly, in connection with the establishment of the claim of Lord Bacon, by the alleged discovery of a cipher, contained in the folio volume itself.

I remembered, that for nearly three centuries, Masters of this house had been familiar with the dramatic literature of our country, and intimate with the principal actors who have appeared on the English stage.

* "Shakespeare Studies in Baconian Light," by R. M. Theobald.

I also remembered, that Mr. Edward Malone, one of the greatest admirers of the poet Shakespeare, and the most industrious editor of the works passing under that name, was a member of this house.*

I resolved, therefore, to deliver, as Treasurer, an address on the subject, whether William Shakspeare, or Shakespeare, of Stratford-on-Avon, was the author of the Plays contained in the folio volume.

Just as I was preparing materials for the address, a paper came to my hand, which throws considerable light upon the question, and will, I trust, be interesting to all who study the works which appeared under the style of 'William Shakespeare.'

The paper purports to be an account of a trial which took place in Westminster Hall, in the month of June, 1627. I propose to read this paper, as a contribution to the discussion of the question.

The writer says, that a man of the name of William Shakspeare, or Shakespeare, died at Stratford-upon-Avon, in the month of April 1616; that he had made his will in the month of March previously; and that it was attested by five witnesses. The writer, further, says that it became necessary about the year 1620 to file a bill in Chancery, for the administration of the testator's estate. In the course of the administration, it became important to determine, whether the testator was the author of the plays published under the name of 'William Shakespeare' in the folio volume of 1623.

The Lord Chancellor, thinking it well that this

* In the Variorum Edition of 1821, the name of the Poet is invariably written *Shakspeare*:—even when a quotation is made, although the writer wrote and printed the name *Shakespeare*. Ben Jonson always wrote "Shakespeare." Mr. Malone makes him write Shakspeare. This is very misleading. The alteration occurs in numerous instances. Mr. Malone may call the poet by what name he pleases. Let others have a similar freedom.

question should be determined by a jury, directed an issue to be sent for trial by the Court of King's Bench. The issue was in these words.

"HALL *v.* RUSSELL,
In re SHAKSPEARE.

Was William Shakspeare, the testator in the cause, the author of the plays, which appeared under the name of 'William Shakspeare' in the folio volume published in the year 1623?"

Accordingly, the 20th June, 1627, was appointed for the trial by the Chief Justice and a special jury.

As soon as it was known, that this question was to be tried by a jury, considerable excitement prevailed, and in the City many were looking forward with interest to the trial.

[It is well to note, that the proofs of the various witnesses have been preserved, and have come down with the paper. The witnesses seem to have written out their respective proofs. As frequently happens in such case, the proofs contain much which is only impliedly stated. The Counsel have, by proper questions, endeavoured to turn the implied statements into express and positive statements. The fairness of the examination can be judged, by a study of the proofs, contained in the Appendix.]

On the 20th June, 1627, the Chief Justice took his seat, in Westminster Hall, at 9 a.m. Long before that hour the Court was well filled with persons of every rank and station.

The reporter says he noticed among the early arrivals Mr. John Milton, the scrivener of Bread Street, with his son John, a youth of singular beauty and great promise. Mr. Benjamin Jonson was conspicuously present. Near him stood Mr. Selden, Mr. Vaughan, Sir John Elliott, John Hampden and Sir Thomas Wentworth. Among the divines, might be noticed the Rev. Thomas Adams, the Dean of Worcester, and Dr. Richard Sibbes; among the actors, Heminge, Condel, Sly, Philips; among the poets, Drayton, Marston, and

Chapman. The Earls of Pembroke and Montgomery were also present. The Bar was well represented.

A respectable jury of citizens was sworn.

Mr. Noy appeared for the plaintiff, and Mr. Robert Heath for the defendant.

After a short opening address of Counsel, in which he said he should call many witnesses for the establishment of the affirmative of the proposition, and that the question was so simple that the jury could follow the evidence without much explanation from himself, he proceeded to put in evidence the following documents:—

The Will of William Shakspeare, executed 25th March, 1616.

It was produced from the office of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury.

It began thus—In the name of God, Amen. I, William Shakspeare, of Stratford-upon-Avon, in the County of Warwick, *Gent.*

John Hall and Susanna his wife, daughter of the Testator, were appointed executors.

Thomas Russell and Francis Collins, were appointed overseers.

It appeared that the Will was signed in three different places. The Chief Justice, on examining the Will, expressed the opinion that the first and second signatures were spelt "Shakspeare," and that the third and last was spelt "Shakespeare."

Counsel for the plaintiff also put in evidence a petition from the Lord Chamberlain's players 'to the Right Hon. the Lords of their Majesties Most Honourable Privee Councill,' dated 1596.

The object of the petition was to entreat that they, the players, might be permitted to carry on the repairs of and to continue their performances in, a private house belonging to them in the precinct of the Blackfriars.

The first five names of the Petitioners were Thomas Pope, Richard Burbage, John Heminge, Augustine Phillips, William Shakespeare.

Counsel for the plaintiff also put in evidence a grant of King James the first, dated May 17th, 1603, to Laurence Fletcher, William Shakespeare, Richard Burbage, John Hemmings, Henrie Condell and others, wherein they are styled the King's servants.

Counsel for the plaintiff also put in a letter from Richard Twyney, of Stratford, dated 25th October, 1598, addressed

“To my loving, good friend and Countryman, Mr. Wm. Shacksp'e.”

The Counsel for the defendant asked to put in a letter of same date from Abraham Sturley, of Stratford, to Mr. Bredon Twyney, then in London. The Judge assented. Council read from it the following:—

“It seemeth to him that our Countryman, Mr. Shaksp'e”; and in another part, “our Countryman, Mr. W. Shak.”

In order to show how the name of Shakespeare was written, the Counsel for the plaintiff tendered in evidence a volume entitled “Remains concerning Britaine,” published in 1605 by William Camden.

The Court held that the book was admissible for that purpose, not to prove any fact stated therein.

Counsel read from the chapter of the excellence of the English Tongue, p. 43.—“Whatsoever grace any other language carrieth in Verse or Prose, in Tropes or Metaphors, in Echoes or Agnominations, they may all be lively and exactly represented in ours. Will you have Plato's verse? read Sir Thomas Smith. The Ionicke? Sir Thomas Moore. Cicero, Ascham. Varro? Chaucer. Demosthenes? Sir John Cheke. Will you read Virgil? Take the Earl of Surrey's.

Catullus ? *Shakespheare* and *Barlowe's fragment. Ovid ? Daniell."

The Judge : How spelt ?

Counsel : S h a k e s p h e a r e .

The Counsel for the plaintiff also read from the Chapter on " Poems " the following passage :—

" If I were to come to our time, what a world could I present to you out of Sir Philip Sidney, Edmund Spencer, Samuel Daniel, Hugh Ballard, Ben Jonson, Thomas Campion, Michael Drayton, George Chapman, John Marston, William Shakespeare, and other most pregnant wits of these our times, whom succeeding ages may justly admire."

The Judge : How spelt ?

Counsel for the plaintiff : *Shakespeare*. I may say, my Lord, William Camden died the very year the folio appeared. I cannot, of course, call him.

The Counsel for the plaintiff also put in evidence " Barnfield's Poems," published 1598, and read the following lines :—

" And Shakespeare thou, whose hony-flowing Vaine,
(Pleasing the world) thy Praises doth obtaine,
Whose Venus and whose Lucrece (sweete and chaste),
Thy Name in fames immortell Booke have plac't.
Live ever on, at least in Fame live ever :
Well may the Body dye, but Fame dies never."

The Counsel for the plaintiff also put in evidence a book entitled, " Avisa "—by Henry Willobie, published 1594, and read the following passage :—

" He betrayeth the secrecy of his disease unto his familiar friend, Will Shakespeare, who not long before had tried the courtesy of a like passion, and was but newly recovered of the like infection."

The Counsel for the defendant also put in evidence

* As published ; should be Marlowe.

two deeds executed by the Testator, the signature in each case being written "Shakspeare." Both the deeds were prepared in the name of William Shakespeare.

EDWARD BLOUNT was then sworn and examined.

I was one of the printers and publishers of the folio volume, which appeared in the year 1623. It contained thirty-seven plays; on the title page they are said to be Mr. William Shakespeare's, Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies.

I am now in my sixty-seventh year.

I was admitted a Freeman of the Stationers' Company, June 25th, 1588, and in that year I opened a stationer's shop at the sign of the Black Bear in Saint Paul's Churchyard. I have carried on business there ever since.

Among other books, I have published Florio's Dictionary, in English and Italian; Florio's translation of Montaigne's Essays; and the first English translation of "Don Quixote" by Thomas Shelton.

I have, from my commencement in business, been familiar with the principal authors of my time, and also the principal actors on the stage.

I remember Mr. William Shakespeare, as an actor, from the year 1588.

He was then taking part in the pieces presented by the Lord Chamberlain's servants, who performed at the Theatre in Blackfriars, and subsequently, at the Globe Theatre, on Bankside.

I saw him play in that year.

I do not know of my own knowledge when he first began to write, but I know plays were presented about 1590 and 1591, as having been altered and adapted by William Shakespeare.

The first publication, with the name of William Shakespeare upon it, appeared in 1593.

It was entitled "Venus and Adonis," printed by R. Field.

R. Field was a native of Stratford-on-Avon, and was well known to Shakespeare.

I do not think Mr. Field is alive.

There is no name of any author on the title page.

It was dedicated to the Earl of Southampton, and purports to be dedicated, by William Shakespeare.

The Judge: Shakespeare with the "e" after "k"?

Yes, my Lord.

In his dedication, the writer hopes he shall not offend in dedicating *his unpolished lines*. He vows to take advantage of all idle hours till he has honoured his lordship with some graver labour. He says, "If the first heir of my invention prove deformed, I shall be sorry."

The Earl of Southampton was a youth of great promise. He was at that time about twenty-one years of age.

He was the friend of the Earl of Essex, and was well acquainted with Francis Bacon.

The Earl of Southampton died in 1611.

I produce a copy of the "Venus and Adonis," first edition. It was put in and marked B¹. A second edition appeared in 1594, a third in 1596, a fourth 1599, fifth 1600, a sixth in 1602, all with the name of "Shakespeare" on them. An edition also appeared in the year 1616, the year of the testator's death.

The next publication, with the name of Shakespeare on it, was entitled, "Lucrece." It was printed by R. Field, for J. Harrison, 1594. It was dedicated, like the "Venus and Adonis," to the Earl of Southampton, by William Shakespeare.

The name to the dedication is spelled with the "e" after k. Put in marked B².

I may say, my lord, with one or two exceptions, I have never seen the name, on a book, printed in any other way.

A second edition appeared in 1598, a third in 1600, a fourth 1607, all with the name of Shakespeare upon them. An edition of 1616, with name on title page and marked B³, also an edition of 1624 marked B⁴, were put in.

I have often seen the Earl at the theatre where Shakespeare performed, and I have seen the Earl conversing with him on some occasions.

I produce 35 editions of Plays in Quarto, published prior to the Folio, on 34 of which is printed the name of Shakespeare, and on one of which W. Sh. is printed—all put in marked B⁵ to B³⁹.

In twenty-nine of these editions, the Christian name William is given.

On the title pages of 12 of these editions you can read—“*written* by William Shakespeare.”

In nearly all cases the plays “written by,” or “by” William or W. Shakespeare, are said to have been acted by the Lord Chamberlain’s servants or His Majesties servants, of whom Shakespeare was one.

The earliest in date are three in the year 1598, one in the year 1599, six in the year 1600, two in the year 1602, one in 1603, one in 1604, two in 1605, four in 1608, three in 1609, three in 1611, one in 1612, one in 1613, 1615, three in 1619, three in 1622.

One of the editions of 1611 is “The Troublesome Reign of King John.”

A quarto of the year 1591 is nearly the same as the edition of 1611.

The quarto of 1591 bears no name. If it is fair to infer, that the edition of 1591 was written by Shakespeare, he began to correct and augment plays 1589—1590. On one of the plays, William Shakespeare is styled “Gent.,” his description in the Will.

I had seen most of these plays acted, and on looking at the printed quartos, I knew they were for the most part imperfect. I saw some other plays acted, which passed under the name of Shakespeare, and I knew there were and must be plays in manuscript, which had not been printed.

Mr. W. Shakespeare, at the time of the petition to the Privy Council, possessed a share in the Blackfriars Theatre and the Globe, and was a fairly prosperous man.

I have often seen Shakespeare in the company of Richard Burbage, John Heminge, Henry Condell, and Benjamin Jonson. I have seen Shakespeare in conversation with the Earl of Pembroke and the Earl of Montgomery. Until I printed and published the folio volume, I had not printed or published anything written by Shakespeare. I do not, of my own knowledge, know where he was born. I know that, sometimes, I did not see him for months together. I do not of my knowledge know where he went to, when he left town. I have not seen him since the year 1614. I have heard that—

“Do not tell us what you have heard, sir,” said the the Counsel for the defendant.

I was only going to say I believe he died in 1616.

Some time in the early part of the year 1622, Mr. Heminge and Mr. Condell called upon me. They brought a large bundle of manuscript. They said they were desirous of publishing all the plays that Shakespeare had written, in order to keep alive the fame of Shakespeare, and as an entertainment and instruction for succeeding generations; that they ought to do it at once, because imperfect copies were getting abroad, and that some had just appeared; such as “Othello,” “Henry the Fourth,” 1st part, and “King Richard the Third.”

The manuscripts were handed over to me; I cannot say they were all in the same handwriting. I do not

know the handwriting of Shakespeare. I saw, by a hasty inspection, that there were twenty plays which, to my knowledge, *had not appeared in print, in any shape or form.* They asked me to print and publish all the plays.

They said they did not want anything for the manuscripts, and that they would assist me in every way they could, without remuneration. I said if they would leave the manuscripts with me, I would look them through, consider the matter, and give an answer. They left them with me. I compared "Henry the Fifth," "Richard the Second," "Richard the Third," "King John," "Merry Wives of Windsor," "Othello," "Hamlet," "Taming the Shrew," "Henry the Fourth" in the manuscripts, with whatever had been printed upon the same subjects, and at once saw the superiority of the Manuscripts over every previous edition. Some of the manuscripts were quite independent copies, containing only a small portion of any previous edition. I then read the manuscripts which had never been in print. "The Tempest," the performance of which I witnessed, seemed perfect. But when I had read "Julius Cæsar," "Antony and Cleopatra," "Macbeth," "Henry the Eighth," "Timon," "As You Like It," my heart was—

"Do not tell us about your heart, sir," blurted out the Counsel for the defendant.

Then, sir, I saw I had in my hands a treasure, and I resolved, if possible, to undertake the printing and publishing the plays.

I could not undertake the work myself—so I spoke to Mr. Jaggard. He was never my partner in business, in any sense. After telling him about the manuscripts, he suggested that we should unite with two others in running the risk, and finally Jaggard and I, and I. Smithweeke and W. Aspley agreed to undertake the work.

We brought out the edition in 1623, entirely at our own charges. Some volumes were printed before the close of the year 1622.

John Heminge and Henry Condell gave every assistance in the printing and overlooking the punctuation. I and my coadventurers gave them nothing for their labour. The writer had punctuated very largely; and as far as I know, the punctuation of the plays, in the folio volume, is excellent, particularly when compared with the quartos.

The printing of the folio was not done from any printed book or books; it was done all from manuscript. When the plays were all printed, I suggested that a portrait of Shakespeare should be placed at the beginning of the Book. Heminge and Condell agreed to this.

I gave instructions to Droeshout, the Dutch artist, to prepare the etching.

After the portrait was prepared, which is a very fair resemblance of Shakespeare, I spoke to Mr. Jonson, and asked him to write, a few lines, to be placed under the portrait. Up to this time, I had not spoken to Mr. Jonson about the work I had on hand, nor he to me.

He brought me, in manuscript, the lines which are now printed opposite the portrait in the volume.¹

At the same time he brought to me, to my surprise—

Counsel for the defendant: "Don't tell us of your surprise."

He brought me the Commendatory Verses that are also printed at the beginning of the folio.²

The folio is dedicated to the Earl of Pembroke and the Earl of Montgomery. They are brothers. I asked them to allow the folio volume to be dedicated to them. They consented. The folio volume was here produced.

One was handed to the Judge.

¹ App., p. xlix. ² See App. lv.

The Judge said, I have my own copy.

Two other copies, with the one intended for the Judge, were handed to the jury.

Some of the jury said they had seen Shakespeare on the stage, and that any one would know the engraving was intended as a portrait of him.

The Judge quite agreed with the jury in the opinion they expressed.

Cross-examined.

How could *you* procure the consent of the noble Earls to the dedication of the folio volume?

I have known them many years.

In 1607 they permitted me to dedicate to them a book entitled "The Courtier's Arte," which had been translated from the Italian.

The dedication of that work I wrote myself.

Why did you ask them *both* to be patrons of the folio volume?

Because I knew they were well acquainted with Shakespeare, and had seen in manuscript some of the plays which are contained in the folio volume.

You say you were acquainted with Shakespeare as early as 1588. How did this come about?

I was the intimate friend of Mr. Marlowe, who wrote, for the stage, some excellent dramatic pieces.

Is that the Marlowe, to whom Mr. Jonson refers, in the commendatory verses printed in the folio, "Marlowe's mighty Line"?

It is.

I was then acquainted with all the theatres and knew the principal actors, and about that time Shakespeare, a young man from the country, as I believed, appeared on the stage.

To show you my intimacy with Marlowe and so with the stage, I may tell you that in 1598, five years after

Marlowe's death, I published his "Hero and Leander," and dedicated it to Sir Thomas Walsingham. I wrote the dedication. Marlowe had placed the manuscript in my hands. I published the remains of Marlowe and the remains of Shakespeare.

You say you have seen the Earl of Southampton with Shakespeare. Does not that seem strange?

No, the Earl was of easy access and generous disposition. I was myself well-known to the Earl, and in 1600 I dedicated to him a book entitled, "The Uniting of the Kingdom of Portugal to the Crown of Castile."

How could Shakespeare be noticed by the Earl as early as 1591 or 1592, when, as we know, he held horses at the theatre door whilst the riders entered the theatre, to see the play?

You assume he did this.

I do not, and never heard that he did.

He no more held horses, sir, than you have held asses. (Loud laughter.)

Be respectful, sir, said the Counsel.

I am sorry if I spoke hastily, my lord, but (turning to Counsel) you provoked me.

Mr. Heminge will tell you all about it.

Counsel for the defendant, "Speak for yourself, sir."

Whatever he may have done or been, when I first knew Shakespeare, he was a bright, attractive, well-featured, intelligent young man.

Have you in your possession the Manuscripts from which you printed?

No, I have not.

Is not this strange?

I do not think so, I did not see any reason for keeping them. They passed away, I believe, with other material that was no longer required. I did not keep the manuscript of the Dedication, the Preface, or the lines

opposite the portrait, nor the manuscripts of the Commendatory Verses, nor have I the manuscripts of many books I have printed and published.

Did you not destroy the manuscripts, from which you say you printed, in order to destroy the evidence of authorship?

Certainly not. I had no such intention.

Did you never hear that Shakespeare the actor, whom you knew, had nothing to do with the pieces published under his name?

I never did.

Did you never hear that the name 'Shakespeare,' *Theobald* that is, with the "e" after the "k," was assumed to cover and conceal the writings of a very great, distinguished man?

I never did.

Would you be surprised to hear that Lord Bacon,—

The reporter says that as soon as this word escaped from Counsel's lips, the whole Court was convulsed with laughter, in which the jury joined.

To save appearances, the learned Judge retired into his private room, as he said, in order to fetch his copy of "Venus and Adonis." His laughter was heard in the Hall.

"We noticed," says the reporter, "that Mr. Jonson never smiled. He seemed deeply moved, and exclaimed, 'What next? And next?'"

On the return of the Judge, the laughter had not quite subsided, and the usher cried "Order, Order."

The Judge, on again taking his seat, said to the Counsel for the defence, "I am sorry, sir, your question should have been so received, but you must remember the spectators are human, and that the jury and myself are not free from infirmity. We are, however, quite impartial."

The Counsel resumed.

Now that this indecent laughter is over, tell me, sir, do you not know that Lord Bacon was the author of the plays contained in the folio volume ?

I do not know it, and never until now have I heard a doubt cast upon the authorship of Shakespeare.

Did you never have any communication from Lord Bacon in respect of the publishing the folio volume ?

Never. I never received a paper of any kind from him, nor did I communicate any portion of the manuscript to him.

Did not Mr. Benjamin Jonson bring you the manuscripts or some of them, from which you printed ?

“ My lord, my lord,” said Jonson.

Pray be quiet, Mr. Jonson, you will have your turn directly, said the Judge.

He did not, nor did he touch any sheet of them. As I have told you, I never communicated with him until I spoke to him about writing some lines for the portrait.

Did not Mr. Jonson write the Dedication or Preface ?

He wrote neither. Heminge and Condell wrote the Dedication, and the Address to the Readers they composed in consultation with myself.

Did you not receive money from some one in order to induce you to print the folio ?

I did not. I looked to the sale and the sale only to recoup myself and my co-adventurers.

Re-examined : I myself never touched the manuscripts nor added a line to them. After they were in my possession, Heminge and Condell never, to my knowledge, altered the manuscripts, nor did anyone else.

I could, if necessary, have written a Dedication and the Address to the Readers. I wrote a work entitled “ A Hospital for Incurable Fools.” I hope some day such hospital will be founded. The second part of Shelton’s translation was dedicated to the Duke of Buckingham. I

wrote the dedication. I wrote the Address to the Reader in the book entitled "Horae Subsecivae," which I printed and published 1620. If you read it, I think you will see the trace of my hand in the Address to the Great Variety of Readers, printed in the folio.

Have you ever had a manuscript handed to you without payment ?

Yes, the manuscript of the Essays entitled "Horae Subsecivae" was given to me. I paid nothing for it. Writers do not often receive much for their compositions, I am credibly informed.

"Do not tell us what you are informed," said the Counsel for the defendant.

I meant, that the authors of the four gospels, the finest biographies in the world, received nothing for them.

The reporter says that here Mr. Milton looked to his son John, who smiled approvingly.

Is it uncommon for imperfect copies of writings to be printed ?

Not at all ; so common is it, that many, to my knowledge, have been obliged to print their manuscripts, in order to do themselves justice.

Writings often circulate in manuscript, before they are in print.

Did you know Richard Burbage ?

I did.

I believe he is not alive ?

No, he died in 1619. I saw his gravestone, as I left my shop this morning, and read the epitaph, "Exit Burbage."

Mr. Blount then retired.*

*The evidence of Mr. Blount cannot be too carefully considered, in the face of Mr. Bompas's statement, "that the printers and their associates who undertook the charges (of the folio volume) were none of them literary men; but one of the chief literary figures of

W. JAGGARD:—I am a stationer by trade.

I was asked by Mr. Blount to join him in the publication of the folio volume.

We received no money except what arose from the sale of the books.

I saw the manuscripts from which the folio was printed. I cannot say in whose handwriting they were. The portrait is not unlike the features of Shakespeare. I have often seen him as an actor at the Globe Theatre, and at the theatre in Blackfriars. I have seen the editions of the Plays in circulation which Mr. Blount produced.

I never heard a doubt cast on Shakespeare being the author of the plays and poems, printed and published in his lifetime. I never heard, until now, any suggestion that he was not the author of the plays contained in the folio volume. I never added a single line to the manuscripts, nor did any one else to my knowledge.

He was not cross-examined.

The Counsel for the plaintiff stated that J. Smithweeke and W. Apsley were prepared to give similar evidence to that of W. Jaggard.

The Counsel for defendant said they need not be

the day, Ben Jonson, worked in co-operation with them. He wrote the principal preface, and 'probably' the dedication, and 'seems' to have been the chief editor. Here may be found the solution of the mystery. Whatever control Jonson had over the production of the folio was, in fact, or may well have been, the control of Bacon." In support of any one of these statements, Mr. Bompas cannot adduce a particle of evidence. Although born, I believe, in the last century, Mr. Bompas writes, as if he were present, heard the arrangements made, and saw the pieces composed and written, 'Probably,' and 'seems,' and 'perhaps' and 'may well have been,' are in every part of his Book. His argument for the Editorship of the folio by Jonson rests upon a statement, for which there is no foundation,—the reckless statement, that none of the printers were literary men. Blount was a man of remarkable literary skill. Read his dedication of the 'Hero and Leander' of Marlowe.

called. He would take it that they would speak as W. Jaggard had done.

JOHN HEMINGE sworn.

The reporter says he was a fine, venerable-looking man, and entered the box with delightful ease. He said, I am by profession an actor, and one of the two editors of the folio volume.

I am seventy-one years of age, and was formerly for many years one of the Lord Chamberlain's Company, and afterwards and until recently one of the King's servants.

I retired from the profession about two years ago. I was born at Shottery, a mile from Stratford-upon-Avon in the year 1556.

When I was a boy I often went into Stratford. I was educated at the Grammar School there.

I came to know Mr. John Shakespeare, or Shakspeer, for the name was spelt in many ways. He was in business as a glover at Stratford, and in his shop and in the street I often saw his son William, a little boy, then about three years of age.

I afterwards knew his brother Gilbert. He was about two years younger than William.

William Shakespeare was just entering the Grammar School as I was leaving.

I was about seven years his elder.

I was at the School with him about one year.

I went to London in the year 1574, when I was eighteen years of age. Just about that time, the Blackfriars Theatre was being built.

I became connected with the theatre there, first of all in humble employment, but afterwards as an actor.

I was one of the Lord Chamberlain's servants, and became interested in the Blackfriars Theatre, and subsequently 'the Globe.'

I frequently returned home to Shottery, and saw on

many occasions William Shakespeare. He was growing into a bright, active, handsome youth.

I heard he was assisting his father in business.

When I returned home in 1583, I found he had fallen in love with and married Anne Hathaway, whom I knew very well. She was about my age.

She was of a good family, with pretty face and sweet manners. Shakespeare was, at the time of the marriage, eighteen, and his wife twenty-six.

A child was born in 1584, Susanna, and twins in the following year, Samuel and Judith.

Samuel was the only son of Shakespeare, and died in 1596.

The business of Shakespeare's father declined, and Shakespeare was obliged to look out for some means of livelihood.

He came to London about 1586. He was well acquainted with Richard Burbage, one of the Lord Chamberlain's Company. Burbage was connected with Stratford. Shakespeare sought me out at Blackfriars. Burbage and I procured him employment at the theatre.

He soon shewed capacity for the stage and for business management. Although he began in small parts, he soon shewed himself a fairly good actor. He became a member of the Lord Chamberlain's Company, and was united with myself and others in the management of the Blackfriars Theatre and subsequently the Globe Theatre on Bankside. Burbage, Condell, and myself were his fellow-actors.

He soon saw the importance, if we were to be successful, of having a good set of pieces to perform.

He had a ready flow of bright, clear speech, and a powerful imagination. He could readily describe the characters he saw passing around him. He could

realize the situations and the feelings of men who had done great acts, whether good or bad.

I found as soon as he came to London he was reading everything he could put his hands on.

I knew he was reading Holinshed and Hall, North's "Plutarch," just then translated, and all the stories and novels and plays that were within his reach.

He suggested, first of all, that he should adapt old plays for our Company. Burbage and I agreed to this.

I remember his producing "The Troublesome Reign of King John" about 1589 or 1590. It was printed in two parts in 1591, as acted.

During the next twenty years he wrote a number of Plays for the Company, of which he and I were members. I have often seen him engaged in writing and preparing the manuscript of the plays.

Our Company, through his plays, became very successful. He was thus repaid for all his trouble. His manuscripts were copied out, sometimes in parts, for actors and sometimes for loan.

I remember Lord Pembroke and Lord Montgomery having some manuscript plays for private reading.

The plays produced at our Theatres were greatly sought after. Many portions, more or less, got into print.

You could not converse with Shakespeare without seeing his dramatic power.

He was a happy imitator of nature. He was a most gentle expresser of it.

What he thought, he expressed with that easiness that we have scarcely received from him a blot in his papers.

Mr. Blount was correct in giving the list of the copies of his plays that were printed in his lifetime.

Shakespeare ceased to act about 1603. He, however,

produced many plays between 1603 and 1612—"Hamlet," "Lear," "Coriolanus," "Macbeth," "Timon," and "The Tempest."

The last play he produced was "The Tempest" in 1611.

About 1612 he left London for good, and went to live at Stratford.

I visited him there in 1615, and found him quite well.

The will of 1616, which has been produced, is signed by William Shakspear, the man of whom I have been speaking. That (pointing to the will) is his signature. I am the John Heminge mentioned in the will, to whom the testator gives a ring.

Richard Burbage, who is mentioned in the will, and to whom a ring also was given, was my dearly-loved friend, one of Shakespeare's fellows. He died 1619. I wish he were here to-day.

"None of your wishes," said the Counsel for the defendant.

The JUDGE: Let us have a little relaxation. This would be a dull affair, if all were as formal and precise as you.

Henry Condell, mentioned in the will and to whom a ring is given, was also Shakespeare's fellow actor. I am sorry I could not attend the funeral. After Shakespeare's death, the plays which he had composed, and which were at the theatre, came into my charge as the business manager of the Company.

His plays, five or six years after his death, were not so frequently on the stage, and as no large sum of money, if any, could be got for the plays, I decided to print and publish them, to keep alive the memory of so worthy a friend and fellow as Shakespeare, if I could find any one who would bear the charges.

I spoke to Henry Condell and other players, who

consented to the publication, and Condell decided to edit the plays jointly with myself. I spoke to Mr. Blount and an arrangement was made, as he has stated. He and I saw to the preparation of the sheets for printing, and also to the punctuation.

We did not see the proofs to correct them. The plays are, I think, well punctuated, and have attained in printing a very substantial accuracy.

I did not add a line to the manuscripts, nor, as far as I know, did any other person.

There are twenty plays in the folio, of which I never saw any copy in print.

The folio was printed from independent manuscripts, not from any book.

I wrote the dedication of the folio volume.

I never received anything for allowing the manuscripts to be printed, or for my work in editing, nor did my colleague, Henry Condell.

The portrait is very much like the Poet. No one could mistake it.

Cross-examined—I am not a man of straw, as you suggest. I am possessed of considerable real estate in the City of London and the suburbs.

I do not believe that the stealing of deer had anything to do with Shakespeare's coming to London. I do not believe, from what I heard, that he stole any deer, or exposed himself to an indictment at the instance of Sir Thomas Lucy.

I believe he did not kill any deer at Charlcote Park. I have heard that he killed a deer at Fulbroke close by. Fulbroke Park was not the property of Lucy. Fulbroke belonged to Sir Francis Englefield, who was attainted and his property sequestered, but the proceeds not appropriated by the Queen. Lucy sported there without right, and so did Shakespeare.

Sir Thomas Lucy was angry at what he called the insolence of young Shakespeare in daring to interfere with his claim of sport over Fulbroke Park.

William Shakespeare was not, when he came to London, a rude, uncultivated youth. He was not a runaway poacher.

I do not believe Shakespeare ever was in a lawyer's office. I never heard so.

Did he not stand for hours, holding a horse at your theatre door?

Is it likely?

Answer the question.

Then certainly not—never. Persons came to the theatre on horseback, and when they arrived, either there was no one to take the horse or no one on whom they could rely, to take due care and bring the horse when the play was over.

Shakespeare saw that it would be a great convenience, if boys, well selected and known, should be ready to hold the horses when the riders dismounted, or take them to some stables.

Shakespeare organised a body of boys for this purpose, and they were called by his name. As for *his* holding a horse, himself, it is an idle story.

I never heard of Shakespeare receiving any assistance in the composition of his plays.

He may have received such help. I think he found all the materials of his plays ready to his hand. He supplied the dramatic energy; all that made the dry bones live.

I never heard of his receiving help or assistance from Francis Bacon.

He may have read some of Bacon's manuscripts.

May he not have visited Bacon by night and taken away the plays as Bacon composed them?

He may have gone by night, like Nicodemus, but I never heard that he did.

I never heard of or saw any communications, passing between him and Bacon.

I did not add a line to the manuscripts, nor suffer any one to do so.

Is not the account of the condition of the Plays you gave in your Address to the Reader a fiction?*

What do you mean? Certainly not.

I said we collected and published what we believed to be the best text of Shakespeare.

I said that the copies printed before the folio were very often stolen and surreptitious copies, maimed and deformed, and that I now put them forth cured and perfect in their limbs. I say we did and have done this.

I believe I came into possession of the true original copies, that is, as they received the last finish from Shakespeare's hands. The twenty not printed before are undoubtedly the original. No one has pretended to be in possession of the original manuscripts of these plays, nor of any manuscript copy of them, nor has any one printed a better text of them. All the prints of these plays are from the text of the folio.

Of those printed before the folio I can give you abundant proof that I gave the better, and, as I believe, the final text.

Take "Othello," published for the first time, in quarto, in 1622.

There are passages and songs in the folio not found in the quarto.

Spelling and punctuation much improved.

* After quoting the preface to the folio, which, if true, establishes by proper inference the claim of Shakespeare, Mr. Bompas exclaims, "The story is a fiction" ("The Problem of Shakespeare's Plays," by Geo. C. Bompas, p. 100).

The same with "Hamlet"; there are very important portions in the folio, not in the quartos.

One passage is omitted from the folio, which is found in the quartos. I did not omit it.

It is a portion of the speech of Horatio when, after seeing the Ghost, he speaks of the palmy state of Rome, and says,

" A little ere the mightiest Julius fell,
The graves stood tenantless, and the sheeted dead
Did squeak and gibber in the Roman streets."

Shakespeare may have omitted this passage, because it was somewhat far fetched, a little bombastic, and the connection with the succeeding lines defective.

The "Merry Wives of Windsor" in the folio is almost entirely a new play. "Taming the Shrew" the same. "Richard the Third," "King John," "Henry the Fifth," are all different from and superior to the quartos. The whole of the plays were printed from the manuscript, and, as I believe, the original, in the sense of the complete and last manuscripts of Shakespeare. My belief is that after correction and addition, they were re-written.

To my knowledge, no one has revised or touched the manuscripts since Shakespeare's death.

You ought to be ashamed of yourself in stating my story is a fiction.

Mr. Benjamin Jonson had nothing to do with editing the folio.

Neither he nor Lord Bacon ever made the slightest alteration in the manuscripts or supplied a line.

HENRY CONDELL: I am an actor and reside in Aldermanbury, and have a country house at Fulham. I own several houses in Fleet Street and the Strand. I was for many years associated with William Shakespeare on the stage.

I only knew him after he had been in London for some time.

I was one of the actors when Jonson's "Every Man in his Humour" was performed in 1598. People are pleased to say that I created the part of Captain Bobadil.

I had known Shakespeare then about a year.

I was afterwards one of His Majesties' servants, and am the Henry Condell mentioned in the will before me, by which a ring is given me.

I took a leading part in some of Shakespeare's plays.

I concur in the statements Mr. Heminge has made as to Shakespeare and his writings, and particularly as to the preparation and production of the folio volume.

I only desire to add that I employed the last portion of my strength in discharging the duties of friendship.

This witness was not cross-examined. The reporter says the witness seemed very feeble, and that he died in the following December.

FRANCIS MERES: I am a clerk in Holy Orders and Rector of Wing in Rutlandshire.

I also keep a school there.

I was born in 1565, and am now sixty-two years of age.

I am a Master of Arts in both Universities.

In the year 1596 I was living in Botolph Lane, London, and I continued there until 1602, when I became Rector of Wing.

During my residence in London, I took considerable interest in contemporary English literature.

I also visited the theatres and made the acquaintance of play writers and actors; among these was William Shakespeare. He was then one of the Lord Chamberlain's Company, and was both an actor and as I believed, a writer.

I have seen many of his plays in manuscript.

I also saw some of his sonnets.

They were to my knowledge lent to some of his friends, and I have received some from Shakespeare himself.

He was a man of the most sweet and facile expression, and was a bright, intelligent man.

I saw nothing in his appearance or conversation to make me doubt his authorship of the plays and sonnets. I never had a doubt as to his being the author. I believe the manuscripts were in his handwriting.

I remember "The Two Gentlemen of Verona" and "The Comedy of Errors" among the plays in manuscript. They were never printed until they appeared in the folio.

Cross-examined : Do you think he was the author of the plays you mention?

Yes, I do, although I feel quite certain he found to his hand much of their material.

I believe the plays, I saw, were shaped and put into form by him, and that the plays for the most part were in his language.

In my opinion large portions of the plays could not have been written by Francis Bacon. They are not in his style. I never heard of Bacon rendering Shakespeare any assistance.

Do you mean that the actor, William Shakespeare, whom you knew, was the author of the plays or sonnets you speak of?

Undoubtedly.

Have you said anything like this before to-day?

I have not only said so, but written and published so. When I was in Botolph Lane I published in 1598, 'Palladis Tamia,' 'Wits' Treasury,' being the second part of 'Wits' Commonwealth.'

I wrote what you can read in this volume (producing it). "As the soul of Euphorbus was thought to live in Pythagoras, so the sweet, witty soul of Ovid lives in mellifluous and honey-tongued Shakespeare, witness his 'Venus and Adonis,' his 'Lucrece,' and *his sugred sonnets among his private friends.*"

In using the word Shakespeare did you not use it as a *nom-de-plume*?

No, sir, certainly not; or I should not have written as I have. When I wrote Shakespeare, I meant the man who played at Blackfriars and the Globe,—the man I knew.

I read by his permission some of the sonnets he handed to me. They afterwards appeared, in print with others, in a volume published in 1609. I had nothing to do with their preparation for the Press or with their publication. I had been in the county of Rutland seven years at the time of the publication of the Sonnets.

I also gave in the same volume a list of some of Shakespeare's plays which I had seen acted at his theatre, and used his name, in my book, eight or nine times, in connection with different kinds of poetry. I always wrote the name with an "e" after the "k."

Re-examined: I believe, to-day, that Shakespeare was the author of the plays in the folio volume, and from my knowledge of him, believe that he was quite capable of producing them. I have never, until to-day, heard a doubt cast upon his authorship.

Will you give me the list of plays you published in 1598 as being Shakespeare's?

Yes; I gave—

- "Two Gentlemen of Verona."
- "Comedy of Errors."
- "Love's Labour Lost."
- "Love's Labour Won."
- "Midsummer Night's Dream."
- "Merchant of Venice."
- "Richard the Second."
- "Richard the Third."
- "Henry IV."
- "King John."
- "Titus Andronicus."
- "Romeo and Juliet."

Twelve in all. Only four had been printed when I wrote, viz. "Richard the Second," "Richard the Third," "Romeo and Juliet," and the "Troublesome Reign of King John," and they were without the name of Shakespeare. Of the remaining eight, four appeared under Shakespeare's name in his lifetime. "The Two Gentlemen of Verona," "The Comedy of Errors," and "Love's Labour Won," under the title of "All's Well That Ends Well," did not appear in print until the folio was published.

The play of "Romeo and Juliet" did not appear under Shakespeare's name until the folio appeared.

WILLIAM BASSE :

I am a member of the household of Francis Lord Norreys.

I have a taste for poetry, and have from time to time written several pieces.

They are all in manuscript.

I knew the actor, William Shakespeare, member of the Lord Chamberlain's Company and the King's servants.

I have read many of his pieces in print and some in manuscript. I got the manuscript pieces at the theatre.

I remember hearing of his death, and shortly after I wrote an epitaph on Shakespeare.

Cross-examined : When you say you wrote an epitaph on Shakespeare, you mean, do you not, that you wrote an epitaph on Lord Bacon?

No, I do not, and did not. Lord Bacon died last year, and I wrote the epitaph in 1616.

My epitaph was on Shakespeare, the actor and author, whom I knew well.

I spelled his name without the "e"—Shakspeare.

Did you ever shew the epitaph to any one?

I shewed it to Mr. Benjamin Jonson, soon after I wrote it.

It has not been printed.

Have you the manuscript here ?

Yes, I have.

Re-examined : Will you give it me ?

Witness handed it to Counsel.

Put in and read.

ON WILLIAM SHAKSPEARE, WHO DIED
APRIL, 1616.

Renowned Spencer, lie a thought more nigh
To learned Chaucer ; and rare Beaumont lie
A little nearer Spencer, to make room
For Shakspeare, in your threefold, fourfold Tomb.
To lodge all four in one bed make shift
Until Doomesday ; for hardly will a fit
Betwixt this day and that by fate be slain,
For whom your curtain needs be drawn again.
But if precedency in death doth bar
A fourth place in your sacred sepulchre,
Under this carved marble of thine own,
Sleep, rare tragedian, Shakspeare, sleep alone.
Thy unmolested peace, unshared cave,
Possess as Lord, not tenant of thy grave !
That unto us and others it may be
Honour hereafter to be laid by thee.

After the reading of the lines, the witness said,
Perhaps your Lordship will permit me to say that
when I wrote these lines I thought a cenotaph would be
erected to William Shakespeare in Westminster Abbey.

BENJAMIN JONSON, sworn and examined :

I am fifty-three years of age.

I have written many plays, masks, and poems. I
published an edition of my dramatic pieces in the year
1616, the year of Shakespeare's death.

I gave, in that edition, the names of the actors, in
the respective pieces, and I spelt the name of Shakespeare

with an "e" after the "k." I never saw it otherwise in print, except in one or two instances.

I began to write when I was quite young, and had written my first play when I was about two and twenty.

I knew the Company entitled the Lord Chamberlain's servants. They played at the theatre in Blackfriars, in winter, and at the Globe, on Bankside, in summer.

I was desirous that my play should be presented by the Lord Chamberlain's servants.

I applied to one of them, I forget which, to receive my piece for performance.

I left it for perusal, and afterward, when calling, I was told it was not suitable.

As I was leaving, an actor of the name of Shakespeare came up, and finding that I was an author, he asked to be allowed to look at my manuscript. I put it into his hands, and after reading for some little time, he said, "This will do. Leave it with me."

A few days after I received a message that my play was accepted for performance, and subsequently it was placed upon the stage by the Lord Chamberlain's servants.

I always believed that this was due entirely to the influence of William Shakespeare.

I had prior to this seen two little volumes of poetry entitled "Venus and Adonis" and "Lucrece." They were published under the name of William Shakespeare.

I knew no other William Shakespeare or Shakspeare than the William Shakespeare of the Lord Chamberlain's Company.

So far as I know, no one ever suggested a doubt as to the William Shakespeare, of the Lord Chamberlain's servants, being the author of them.

I knew the Earl of Southampton. I have often seen

him at the Blackfriars and at the Globe and seen him in conversation with Shakespeare.

I do not know, of my own knowledge, whether the Earl rendered any pecuniary assistance to Shakespeare.

Early in 1598 I produced my comedy, "Every Man in his Humour." It was accepted by the Lord Chamberlain's servants, and acted by them.

William Shakespeare, whom I had frequently seen acting at the Blackfriars and the Globe, decided to take a part in the performance.

He represented the elder Knowell.

Richard Burbage, John Heminge, and Henry Condell were among the performers.

During the rehearsals and at the various performances I constantly saw William Shakespeare.

He was then about thirty-five years of age.

From the time of his acting in my comedy, I became very friendly with him.

Between 1598 and 1600 I remember seeing in print dramatic pieces, said to have been acted by the Lord Chamberlain's servants and written by William Shakespeare.

In 1600 Sir Walter Raleigh, and others founded a Club, where they could meet together for social enjoyment and intercourse. They met at the Mermaid, in Friday Street, in the City. Shakespeare was a member of this Club.

Shakespeare was a fine, intelligent, handsome-looking man, possessing a sparkling eye and a lofty and expansive forehead.

His conversation was peculiarly brilliant. His witty and rapid allusions attracted the attention of all.

From the year 1600 until 1614 I frequently met him at the club; very frequently until 1611.

Only occasionally afterwards.

I did not see Shakespeare in London after the year 1614.

Shakespeare acted a part in my 'Sejanus,' when in 1603, it was presented by the King's servants.

Burbage, Heminge, and Condell also took parts.

I do not remember Shakespeare appearing on the stage after this time.

Although he did not act, I saw him frequently between 1603 and 1611, because his Company presented my 'Volpone or Fox,' 1605; 'The Alchemist,' 1610; and 'Cataline,' 1611.

I saw him frequently during these performances.

Between 1603 and 1611 his more important pieces appeared.

I remember "Hamlet" being presented under his name in 1603 and in print in that year and in succeeding years; his "Lear" in 1608, and "Troilus and Cressida" in 1609.

During this time also, the plays of "Macbeth," "Timon," "Othello," "Henry the Eighth," "Antony and Cleopatra," and "The Tempest," although not printed, were produced under his name, and acted.

He was from 1603 to 1611 very busy writing his plays. I have seen his manuscript plays.

"The Tempest" was the last piece of Shakespeare that appeared on the stage.

I saw at the performance Mr. Selden and Mr. Vaughan.

I looked through the folio volume as soon as it was in print, and remembered the whole of the plays therein, as having been performed, under the name of William Shakespeare, and some printed under his name.

I knew that many of the printed pieces were very imperfect.

The folio is a great advance on nearly all of them,

and represents, in my opinion, more distinctly the mind and expression of Shakespeare.

Those plays that appeared in the folio volume, for the first time, in point of printing and punctuation, are with two or three exceptions, an admirable piece of work.*

I do not, of my own knowledge, know where Shakespeare was born or the date of his birth.

I visited my friend Shakespeare in the early part of 1616 at Stratford-on-Avon, and found him living there with Mrs. Shakespeare, who seemed some few years older than himself.

Susanna, his elder daughter, was married to Dr. John Hall, who was practising as a physician in Stratford.

His second daughter, Judith, had been married to Thomas Queeney just a few days before my arrival.

Shakespeare and his wife seemed to be on affectionate terms. They were living by themselves in considerable comfort.

Drayton the poet was with me.

Before leaving, Shakespeare, Drayton, and myself dined together at one of the principal Hostelries.

I heard soon after, that he had caught a cold, which led to his death.

I never had any of Shakespeare's manuscripts in my possession.

I did not see him composing any of his plays. From time to time, I saw some manuscripts of plays lying before him at the Theatre.

I never heard any doubt as to his authorship of the pieces that passed under his name.

* Look at "Macbeth" in the folio edition and compare it with the text and punctuation of the Cambridge edition. There are mistakes in about ten words in the folio, mistakes which are readily detected, and the right word at once perceived. "Macbeth," in the folio, is a marvel of accurate printing and punctuation.

I had nothing to do with the preparation of the folio volume.

I did not deliver any manuscript to Mr. Blount or alter or add to any that was in his possession.

The first time, I knew of the volume being prepared, was when Mr. Blount showed me the portrait of Shakespeare, and asked me to write a few lines to be placed under, or opposite to, it.

The portrait in the folio is a fairly good representation of the Shakespeare whom I knew and of whom I have been speaking, and with whom I was acquainted for twenty years.

Whilst I was writing the lines, I thought I would write some Commendatory Verses, and I wrote those lines that appear in the beginning of the volume, and gave them to Mr. Blount.

How came you to say in your 'Commendatory Verses' that you would not lodge Shakespeare by Chaucer or Spencer, or bid Beaumont lie a little further?

Because Mr. Basse, who has just been called, shewed me his lines in Manuscript which he had composed on Shakespeare, and they led me to write thus.

Cross-examined :

Somewhat rash and hasty, in your conduct, Mr. Jonson?

I do not think so.

Temper somewhat violent?

I hope not.

A little border blood in you?

I am of Scotch extraction, if you mean that.

I come, I think, from the Johnstons of Annandale.

You fought a duel with Gabriel Spenser, an actor, and killed him, did you not?

My Lord, am I bound to answer this question? Has it anything to do with what you are trying?

JUDGE : You had better answer the question. Counsel have great licence. I cannot say the question if answered one way, may not remotely go to your credit. It goes also to the credit of the Counsel.

I was unfortunately concerned in his death, and very much deplore it.

I do not think I was to blame in the matter.

You frequently say things that are unpleasant and annoying ?

Not very often, sometimes I do.

Why, you told Marston, did you not, that his father-in-law, who was a clergyman, wrote his plays, and that he wrote his father-in-law's sermons ?

I did.

Somewhat annoying, Mr. Jonson, you know, and rather hasty ?

Perhaps so.

But you thrashed him as well ?

I did that also.

You pretend *now* to be a friend of Shakespeare the actor ?

I do not pretend, sir. I have always been his friend, from the first hour of our acquaintance.

Did you not try to bring contempt upon his writings ?

Then you admit some writings ?

Never mind what I admit, answer my question.

I never did. His fame was so great, and his writings for the most part so supreme, I cannot say I was always free from envy. I never expressed it and I never entertained it long. I always truly admired and loved him. I can tell you, that no feud or jealousy ever disturbed our intercourse.

Have you not said that you thought he wrote too hastily ?

I have, and when Heminge and Condell have said that Shakespeare never blotted a line, I have said, would he had blotted a thousand.

I know they thought it was a malevolent utterance. I spoke to show their mistaken judgment; not to bring contempt on Shakespeare.

He was so great and good that I loved the man, and I now honour his memory, on this side idolatry, as much as any.

Come now, you do not believe he wrote the plays in this volume?

Yes I do, most assuredly I do.

Had he no one to assist him?

I cannot say. I know I never assisted him, nor did he at any time ask me.

You do not pretend that he invented the fables of his plays?

Oh no, nor yet that the language was always his. I believe he took whatever he found suitable. He had a tenacious memory. I should think, he did not forget anything he read.

His vivacious wit and powerful imagination soon clothed a story in surpassing splendour. I think he laid his hands on anything he could find. Read and compare the "Lear" of 1605, and the "Lear" of 1608, and in the latter you see a dramatic force and energy which in my opinion only Shakespeare could have supplied.

He could put more into a situation than any man I ever knew. He could realize and intensify the past.

Still, still you cannot say he was the author of the folio volume?

I do, and again I say I do. I never peruse the plays in the folio, without seeing the *race* of Shakespeare's mind nor without noticing how in them his manners brightly shine.

Do you not consider that the writer of the plays was a great philosopher ?

I do not. There is a great deal in them, and a very large portion too, that no philosopher could or would have written.

There is no doubt in the plays a good deal of philosophy and much that is pleasing to a philosopher. There are also many difficult problems presented in the plays. It is impossible to escape from these, in setting forth conspicuous actions in great men's lives, whether the actions be good or bad.

He took the story and gave it form and life. He wrought from without and struck down on conscience, the passions, temptation, sorrow, remorse, and retribution.

He did not, in my judgment, like a philosopher, work from within man to the external world, or seek to put down human experience in any abstract statements. He has, however, wrought up more wise sayings and proverbs in his plays than any man I know.

Was not his speech common-place and vulgar ?

By no means. His vocabulary was extensive, language choice, and flowing.

I have seen Raleigh, Selden and others sit lost in admiration as he has discoursed, and when he has descended to the common scenes of life, he has set the table in a roar.

Do you not know that *your* Shakespeare was a mere money-grubber, a coarse, bustling man of business ?

He may have lent money and made it, but I tell you he was honest and of an open free nature, had an excellent fancy, of brave notions and gentle expressions, wherein he flowed with that facility that sometimes it was necessary he should be stopped. His wit was in his own power. I would the rule of it had been.

Is the portrait in the folio like the man you speak of?
It is, and it would remind any one of Shakespeare.

Now when you were asked to write the lines, you knew, did you not, that the man Shakespeare, of whom you have told us, was not the author of the book?

I knew nothing of the sort.

Rather a sly suggestion of yours, was it not: "look not on his picture but the book"?

Did I say the book? I said, I think, "his book."

The Judge looked at the folio and said, "Yes, the words are 'his book.'"

Scarcely fair, Mr. Heath.

Theobald

I ask you again, a rather sly suggestion of yours?

What on earth do you mean? Do you mean that whilst I was leading people, who do not scan language very carefully, to think that the Shakespeare of Stratford was the author of the book, I saved my own conscience by asking them to turn away from the portrait and look on the book; the book not being, in my own mind, written by Shakespeare?

Yes, said the Counsel, that is my meaning.

Then, sir, you deserve just such a thrashing as I gave Marston.

My lord, my lord, is this the way I am to be treated? said the Counsel.

The JUDGE: It may be a cruel suggestion, but I must ask the witness to be quite calm.

I am very sorry, my lord, but it is very easy for *you* to preach calmness.

When I was writing the lines I thought of Shakespeare's wit as well as of his face, and I wished the engraver could have drawn his wit as well as his face, but as I knew he could not draw his wit, and I wished people to know it, I simply asked them to look for his wit not in his picture but in his book.

May I call attention to the Commendatory Verses, my lord? They will show that when I said *his* book, I meant the book of my friend William Shakespeare.

Yes, you may, said the Judge.

I wrote thus, my lord—

“To the memory of my beloved, the author, Mr. William Shakespeare; and what *he* has left us.”

That is explicit enough, is it not?

Does the learned Counsel mean that I wrote a lie? That I knew Shakespeare the actor was not the author of the plays, and that he had left no literary compositions behind him?

Do you really mean to state upon your oath, that you believe that Mr. Shakespeare, the actor and moneylender, and the man you visited at Stratford, was the author of the plays contained in this folio (holding up the volume)?

I do, most certainly. I have no doubt of it.

Have you never heard it suggested that the plays and poems passing under the name of Shakespeare were really written by Lord Bacon?

Never, until I heard it fall from your lips to-day.

You were frequently in consultation with Lord Bacon from his fall to his death?

I was.

Did you not see him with the manuscripts of all or some of the plays in the folio volume?

Not one. You must remember his fall was in May, 1621, and the plays were printed in 1622, only a year and a half subsequently.

Did you write any portion of this volume?

I did not.

Did Lord Bacon?

To my knowledge, no.

Were you not, by arrangement with Lord Bacon, writing Commendatory Verses which, whilst nominally on

Shakespeare, were really intended for Lord Bacon himself as the author of the folio? Were you not commending the book, not the man?

Certainly not. How dare you ask me the question? Do you mean, I did this, with Lord Bacon's concurrence?

The witness was very much excited and violently gesticulated.

The JUDGE: Be calm, Mr. Jonson. If Counsel should ask you, if you murdered your own mother, you must keep very calm and answer, No. You must observe the proprieties, Mr. Jonson.

My lord, the suggestion is infamous.

Counsel: Notwithstanding your violence, I put the question again.

Then I repeat, my lord, the suggestion is infamous. The great Lord Chancellor, for such I deem him, fell from office in May, 1621. There never was a greater fall. His health was much broken. He finished his life of "Henry the Seventh" by the end of October, 1621, and published it in the following year. Then, with my assistance, he translated into Latin the "Advancement of Learning" which appeared in October, 1623, as "De Augmentis Scientiarum." The folio volume had already appeared, in 1622. In March, 1622, Lord Bacon was turning his attention to a digest of the law. Early in that year he wrote the fragment of the "Life of Henry the Eighth." During 1622 he wrote some of the twenty new essays which appeared in the edition of "The Essays" in 1625. He conducted between June 1621 and 1623 a considerable correspondence.

All the time, from his fall to the publication of the folio, was taken up with his own special work. He busied himself with his "Historia Ventorum" and "De Vita et Morte." Until the close of 1623 his grief was fresh upon him; he was still, to use his own language, "a bruised reed."

He never tried to forget his fall, by trickery, but by constant work of his own special kind.

In the depth of his grief he often sat reflecting on the fate of great men, who, having occupied high station, had fallen to low estate.

It was not a time for playing such a trick, as the learned counsel here suggests.

Did not Lord Bacon write the fragment of "Henry the Eighth" in order to get State papers into his hands, and then, discontinue the prose, to write the *play* of "Henry the Eighth?"

No, sir, it is a shameful suggestion. My Lord, as I have said, Lord Bacon had, to my knowledge, nothing to do with the folio volume.

I had not Lord Bacon in my mind when I wrote the Commendatory Verses.

I still call the man, who helped me to the performance of my first play, my friend, my gentle Shakespeare. Take him for all in all I never shall see his like again.

He was not of an age, my Lord, but for all time. (Slight cheers, which were quickly suppressed.)

Did not 'this man for all time,' as you call him, get drunk with you at the dinner you had just before you left Stratford, and did not that debauch kill him?

Certainly not. It is well you and I, sir, are not outside in Palace Yard.

The JUDGE: Mr. Jonson, be calm.

Do you not see in some of the *words* used in the folio volume a direct reflection of Lord Bacon's philosophy? *Theobald.*

I do not remember any; perhaps you will suggest one.

Yes, I will. In the folio you find the word "modesty" used in the sense of keeping due measure?

Yes, I remember now.

You also know, do you not, that Bacon's philosophy required that in the indulgence of feeling in forming

opinion, a true measure should be observed between the mind and its objects ?

Yes, I remember something like that.

Lord Bacon uses the word "modesty," does he not, in the same sense as that in which the word is used in the folio ?

Yes, I think he does.

Theobald Is it not interesting to see 'the poet's large Latinity' appearing in such an unexpected form ?

Not at all ; there is no appearance of Latinity in it.

The word "modesty" was used in English in the sense to which you are referring, before Bacon wrote a line.

It can be found in a book published in English in 1579, North's "Translation of Plutarch's Lives," a book which I know Shakespeare read and studied.

It appears twice in a few pages in the translation of Calvin's "Harmony," 1584.

Shakespeare need not have gone to Bacon, nor become a Latin scholar, for the use of that word.

Take the word "fact," Mr. Jonson. In the folio, the word is often mentioned and invariably means 'deed.' Thus, "I say the truth, the fact was infamous." This is quite a classical style, you know, and you can find its use in Bacon's "Life of Henry VII.," thus, "that barbarous fact," meaning deed. How can Shakespeare, who had little Latin, attain to this classical and scholarly style ?

I will tell you, sir, though first reminding you that Bacon's "Life of Henry VII." was not published until 1622. Shakespeare attained to this classical style by familiarising himself with English literature and English talk. Fifty years before Bacon used fact, meaning deed, in his "Life of Henry VII.," the word "fact," meaning deed, was in common use. You will find the word "fact" used in the sense of 'deed' in six different places in North's "Translation," 1579. You find there also the expression "with the fact," meaning "in the deed." You will find

the word "fact" used with the same meaning in John Rainolds' "Lectures on Obadiah," 1584, and in King's "Lectures on Jonah," delivered in 1594. The word "fact," meaning deed, was in common use.

Take "merely," used thus in "Hamlet," "Things gross and rank in nature possessed *merely*," meaning completely. Lord Bacon uses the word in this sense. What do you say to that?

Yes, quite right, and used by North in his "Translation" in the same way, 1579, used by Hooker, 1586, and six times by Richard Sibbes, 1610—1624, and also by Thomas Adams.

I will take another word, "facinorous." Where did Shakespeare get that word from?

In the folio you have the words "of a most facinorous spirit," meaning especially bad.

Where did your friend, the moneylender, get that from?

BEN JONSON: Did he get it from Bacon?

COUNSEL: Do not ask me questions.

I must, my Lord. I do not find it in any of Lord Bacon's writings.

I cannot say where Shakespeare got it, but this I know, it has been in use for many years, and some years ago, addressing a large congregation, I heard Thomas Adams, the preacher at St. Gregory's, speaking of the conspiracy to blow up the Houses of Parliament, describe it as a "*facinorous deed*." Richard Sibbes, the preacher at Gray's Inn, has the word "facinorous" in each of two sermons preached in commemoration of the Gunpowder Plot. The use of the word was not uncommon.

Take "translate," Mr. Jonson, used, as you know, by Shakespeare in the sense of conveyance or removal—fine Latinity there—where did he get it?

Common use. In 1594 I heard King, Bishop of London, say 'the first translation' was made in Paradise, when the man put the sin on to the woman and the woman put it on to the serpent. There is 'your conveyance,' quite common. I have heard Mr. Sibbes speak of "ill translations" to others. In an Epitaph on the Earl of Warwicke, in St. Mary's Church, Warwick, you can read, 'the executors did *translate* worshipfully the said body into the vault aforesaid.'

Let us consider the word "preposterous," Mr. Jonson. Does not Shakespeare use it in the classical sense of having the last first, or of something being in an inverted order, and do you not find the word "preposterous" used in the same sense by Lord Bacon?

Yes, undoubtedly, you do.

How do you account for this use in common, unless Lord Bacon was the author of the folio?

I account for its use by Shakespeare, because it formed part of the current language. It has been in use in the sense you speak of, to my knowledge, for more than forty years. I find the word used in the classical sense in a Translation of Calvin's "Harmony," published in 1584, at a time when Lord Bacon had not published a line. "They objected that Christ did it preposterously"; that is, He visited all the towns of Galilee before He visited Nazareth. He visited in 'an inverted order.' I find the word 'preposterous' in the translation of Calvin, 1584, used in the classical sense six times, in a few pages. I remember the use of the word in the same sense in Adams' sermons.

Look at the word "dissemble," Mr. Jonson. Shakespeare uses it in quite a classical sense, of concealing or feigning a thing as different from what it really is, does he not?

Yes, I remember the clown, putting on a gown or

heard for disguise, and saying, "I'll put it on, and will dissemble myself in it."

Does not Lord Bacon use the word "dissemble" in the same sense?

Yes, I think so.

How do you account for this *fine* use of the word in Shakespeare?

Again, I tell you, common use, current language. I heard Thomas Adams, preaching on Jacob's supplanting Esau, cry out, "Here is prodigal dissembling: a dissembled person, a dissembled name, dissembled venison, and a dissembling answer."

What do you say, Mr. Jonson, to 'gross as a mountain, open, palpable.' Is not that combination quite Baconian?

Jonson: If it is, it will go hard with Shakespeare.

Mr. Heath:—Lord Bacon uses the words 'gross' and 'palpable' together. Thus, he speaks of 'gross and palpable darkness,' of 'gross and palpable flattery.' How do you account for this same combination of words in Shakespeare? Are they not quite from the Baconian mint?

Jonson: Chaucer used the word gross.

In the translation of Calvin's 'Harmony' I find 'gross errors,' 'gross mockers': 'filthy and palpable mistakes.'

No doubt, said Mr. Heath, there the phrases are separate. But where do you find the combination?

In a sermon, preached 1614, Adams says, "Imagine the Egyptian's case, in that gross and palpable darkness, the longest natural night that the Book of God specifies." Whilst standing here, I have been looking through Mr. Blount's "Horae Subsecivae," published 1620, manuscript about 1615, and I find the words gross and palpable applied twice to 'flattery.' The word palpable has been in very common use. I have often heard Adams exclaim, 'The disease is palpable.'

Yes, sir, you have found 'gross and palpable' in Adams and in the "Horae Subsecivae;" but these are in the time when Bacon had spoken and written. Can you find me an instance of it before Bacon wrote?

Yes, sir, I can. I find in Hooker, 'grossly and palpably offended,' 1586.

Mr. Heath: There it is adverbial in form.

Is that your refuge? You shall not escape, for I find the words 'gross and palpable blindness' in an address to the reader prefixed to the Translation of Calvin's sermons, published in 1582. The address is signed T. T.—no doubt a comparatively unimportant person. I am satisfied that the combination 'gross and palpable' was in common use long before Bacon was born.

Shakespeare did not require 'great latinity' to become acquainted with the words, nor was he, in any way, indebted to Lord Bacon's mint for the phrase.

Lord Bacon himself was indebted to others for the combination 'gross and palpable,'* of which you make so much.

Try again, said the JUDGE, but this really must be the last, for it is a strong order to ask the jury to find, in the absence of direct evidence, that Lord Bacon is the author of the plays because there are words and opinions common to both writings.

Take "acknownd," Mr. Jonson. It occurs only once in Shakespeare, and is an attempt to bring the Latin word *Agnosco* into our language, is it not?

* Mr. Theobald (p. 264) says, "Most people use the twin adjectives *gross and palpable* without thought of their origin. It is one of Bacon's many contributions to verbal currency. It was a new coin when it issued from his affluent mint. Anyone using it in the early part of the *seventeenth* century, would have felt almost obliged to *quote Bacon* while employing it. It is as well to recall our obligation to him, now that we have reached the *twentieth* century." This is deliciously bold. Mr. Theobald uses 'the twin adjectives *gross and palpable* without thought of their origin.' They are from 'the affluent mint of T. T.'

I know the word. I have used it myself. It has been recently used by the Dean of Worcester. It was not an attempt on the part of Shakespeare to introduce a new word. It had been in our language for two centuries and was *dropping out*, not *coming in*.

Would you, sir, said Mr. Jonson, like to put me another word? looking at the Counsel with an air of triumph.

Would you, my Lord?

Not I, Mr. Jonson, said the JUDGE, with a smile.

Then, my Lord, said Mr. Jonson, let me say that the word *extenuate*, which is found in the folio volume, and upon which so much stress is laid to show Shakespeare's unusual classical diction, was used, in the sense in which Shakespeare used it, more than forty years ago.

Hallam

It can be found in Calvin's "Harmony," 1584. "The Majesty of God was not *extenuated*, although it were compassed about with the flesh."

I heard Henry Smith use it in that sense in his sermon on usury, published in 1592. I have heard Thomas Adams use it, in the same sense.

Shakespeare had little Latin, and less Greek; but just before his birth and whilst he was coming to manhood, words were being introduced from the Latin into our language and first of all with the Latin meaning, and many of these words from the Latin are found in the sermons published by the great preachers of Shakespeare's age. These words must, therefore, have got into common use; and their use by Shakespeare does not, to my mind, afford the slightest evidence of his being indebted to Lord Bacon for the knowledge of them.

Now, Mr. Jonson, do you not find a number of parallel passages in the folio and in the writings of Lord Bacon which show how remarkably the ideas of Shakespeare and Bacon correspond?

Theobald

I cannot say I do, but perhaps you may present to me such a parallel.

I will. Take the subject of "usury." Lord Bacon condemned "usury," did he not, though he thought, that it might in some cases advance merchandise, and, that if the rate of interest were moderate, the use of money might encourage industry?

Yes, I remember those opinions. They are presented in his essay on "Usury," which did not appear till 1625. Shakespeare's opinion, as expressed in "Hamlet" is much more strongly against "usury" than that of Lord Bacon.

Theobald

Ah! but the *poet's mind* widened; became more generous between 1617 and 1625, did it not?

By that, sir, you mean that the poet and Lord Bacon are one, which is begging the very question in dispute. In my opinion Shakespeare did not derive his condemnation or views of usury from Lord Bacon at all. Usury was most severely condemned in the pulpit between 1580 and 1620, and if Shakespeare took his view of usury from anyone, he took it from the preachers. In 1592, Henry Smith, the most popular preacher of his age, delivered two most remarkable discourses in condemnation of usury. They were printed in 1592, and in them the preacher pointed out that whilst the Jewish law allowed usury to be taken from a stranger, it did not allow usury to be taken from a friend. It was from this teaching, that Shakespeare took the view expressed in these lines in the "Merchant of Venice":

"If thou wilt lend this money, lend it not
As to thy friends; for when did friendship take
A breed for barren metal of his friend?"

I do not think Shakespeare derived his views of political economy from Lord Bacon. If you can show me that Bacon was the first that spoke against usury, and no

one else, there might be something in your suggestion ; but in my view there is nothing.

Now, sir, let me ask you, don't you think Shakespeare got his views of ambition from Lord Bacon? Shakespeare says, "Cæsar's ambition, which swelled so much." Don't you think this came from Lord Bacon's statement of a fact in natural history, that Turkey cocks swell greatly when angered?

Well, if we cannot say, "There goes a man with swelling pride," without getting it from Lord Bacon's Turkey cock, we have come to a pretty pass. I do not think the use of 'swelling,' or 'blown,' or 'swollen' come from the natural history of the Turkey cock. The words 'swelling,' 'high pride,' 'high blown pride' have been in common use all my life.

Do you not think Shakespeare got the constant use of sweetness, sugar, and honey as applied to spirit, from Lord Bacon?

I do not—words in most common use—applied everywhere to speech. In "Polemanteia," 1595, you find 'sweet Shakespeare.' Meres speaks of Shakespeare's sugared sonnets, and the honey-tongued Shakespeare, and Dr. Richard Sibbes is styled "The honey dropping, Sibbes."

CHIEF JUSTICE: I don't think we can have any more of your parallels, Mr. Heath, and if you have no better than these three, I do not think it will be worth while to proceed with this kind of cross-examination, for the best parallels would, in my opinion, have only a very remote bearing on the question we have to try.

Let me take one other. Shakespeare speaks of love as "engendered in the eyes, with gazing fed," does he not?

Yes, he does. How would you have it engendered? In the pocket?

Do not be rude, sir. Does not Lord Bacon state the same thing as a 'scientific fact'?

Theobald

I believe he does—it is not however scientific because he states it. If, however, it is scientific in his mouth, so it was in my grandmother's. I heard her say 'No eyes, no love,' and 'that if you took the infection, you would look again, and the more you looked, the more you would be in for it.' That is pretty much the same thing as 'fed with gazing,' is it not? In consequence of what my grandmother said, I wrote:

"Drink to me only with thine eyes."

The notion is quite common-place. Marlowe, in his "Hero and Leander," says:

"Who ever loved, that loved not at first sight."

Touch increases love, but who that had eyes, ever touched, without having first looked.

Do not trifle, sir. The poet Shakespeare shows intimate acquaintance with the most subtle and recondite teachings of Plato and Aristotle, does he not?

I do not know. Every man that has lived has experienced what Shakespeare says, and it is foolish to shut us up to Plato or Aristotle for every common-place notion, or make everything scientific, which Bacon utters. You seem to think, if there is in any writings anything like that which Bacon has written, he must be the author of the writings.

Now, Mr. Jonson, did you ever hear that Shakespeare was in a lawyer's office at any time?

I never did.

Well then, sir, how can you account for the many references to law, and law proceedings appearing in the plays, unless he had some lawyer to assist him?

I must say for myself, I do not see any very remarkable references to law and legal proceedings in the plays. There is one thing that does make me think that Shakespeare may have been in a lawyer's office, he puts in the mouth of Jack Cade the remark

“that it would be well if all lawyers’ throats were cut.” Another thing that makes me think he may have been in a lawyer’s office is, that he said a lawyer’s opinion is not worth anything unless it is paid for.

But where, sir, could he have got to know about “recoveries” and “fines” and “vouchees” and “sealing of bonds,” and “indentures in three parts,” and “Be it known unto all men by these presents,” unless he had been in a lawyer’s office?

Why, sir, in the common conversation and business of life.

Did you, or do you know anybody, who was not a lawyer, have as great a knowledge of law as is displayed in this folio volume?

Oh, yes, many. It has been quite common for Divines, who to my knowledge have never been in any lawyer’s office, to draw some of their happiest illustrations from legal proceedings. Why, there is my friend Thomas Adams. I know he has not been in a lawyer’s office, because I heard him one Sunday morning in his discourse “nonsuit the devil,” a thing a lawyer never would do. In the same sermon he asked everyone of the congregation whether God had *acknowledged a fine* to him. That’s pretty technical, I think, and accurate. You ‘suffer’ a recovery, and you ‘acknowledge’ a fine. I heard him one morning, when he had not cleared a matter up quite to his satisfaction, say he must have a writ *ad melius inquirendum*; and on another occasion he said that when God cites men to judgment there will be *no* return to the writ “*non est inventus*.” Preaching at St. Paul’s Cross, March 7th, 1612, to eight thousand people, he said: “If no plummets, except of unreasonable weight, can set the wheels of the lawyers’ tongues a-going; and then if a golden addition can make the hammer strike to our

pleasure; if they keep their ears and mouths shut, till their purses be full; and will not understand a cause till they feel it; then to speak in their own language *Noverint universi, be it known to all men by these presents*, that these are thieves; though I could wish rather that, *Noverint ipsi*, they would know it themselves and reform this deformity." On another occasion Thomas Adams said, "The inheritance is ours already, not *in re* but *in spe*. Our common law distinguisheth between two manner of freeholds: a freehold in deed, where a man hath made his entry upon lands and is therefore really seised; a freehold in law, where a man hath a right to possession, but hath not made his actual entry." I heard him exclaim, "Do not complain, Esau: *Volenti non fit injuria*." I have heard my friend Dr. Sibbes ask whether the congregation had a "freehold" in the love of God or whether they were only "tenants at will," and whether they held all they possessed *in capite* of God. Not long since, I heard the Dean of Worcester, when preaching from "Buy the truth," exclaim, "Here, my friends, is a bargain and sale"—highly technical, Mr. Heath—and say that in every bargain and sale there must be a thing, a subject, which the writers on Roman Law called "merx." My Lord, I could go on, I could go on. It is absurd to suggest from Shakespeare's references to law and use of law phrases, that he must have had the assistance of such a lawyer, as my friend, the Lord Chancellor Bacon. I may say, that everybody in this court, is more or less familiar with the transactions of law; they take place before the eyes of all of us. I could not get along Paul's chain yesterday, because of the people who had come out of their houses, to let a mortgage be effected by 'livery of seisin.' Right phrase, Mr. Heath, I think, and yet I was never in a lawyer's office, Mr. Heath.

What do you say to Shakespeare's medical knowledge and his knowledge of plants?

Very good. But such knowledge was quite common. Thomas Adams in one of his sermons sets forth nineteen diseases of the soul. He finds nineteen diseases in the body which answer to them, and he sets forth the diseases in the body with more skill than half the faculty. Adams' knowledge of plants and herbs is equally remarkable. He describes dogs, and sports as if he had been a sporting man. No man in the age of Elizabeth and the early years of James confined himself to one little portion of knowledge.

Have you noticed, Mr. Jonson, that in many instances the name of Shakespeare, appearing on the books published in Shakespeare's life time, is printed with a hyphen between the syllables?

Bompas

I had not until now. On looking at the books before me, it would seem to be so.

Does not the 'hyphen' indicate that it is a *nom de plume*?

I should say not—only an accident—a fancy of the printer. Let me look at my own volume and see how the name Shakespeare is printed. It is remarkable. The first is printed without the hyphen, and the second is printed with the hyphen, and a capital S begins the second syllable.

I gave no instructions to print it so. Of course, *my* actor was a real living man, the same in both plays. No *nom de plume* took part in one of my plays. I find in the title page of "Hamlet," 1603, a hyphen, and in the title page of "Hamlet," 1604, Shakespeare without a hyphen. It was never written with a hyphen until 1598; one without the hyphen, two with it. The editions of "Venus and Adonis" and "Lucrece" are without it.

In 1608 you have Shakspeare with a hyphen. No one contends that Shakspeare is a *nom de plume*.

There is nothing in it, sir.

Had you, before you wrote the Commendatory Verses, ever spoken to any one of Shakespeare, as the author of dramatic pieces?

I had. I mentioned his name to Drummond of Hawthornden at the time of my visit to him.

Was that when you went on your wild-goose chase to Scotland in 1618?

Not on my wild-goose chase—a very pleasant journey on foot to see my relatives in Annandale. Taylor, the water-poet's journey to Scotland, on foot, was a wild-goose chase, sent after me by people of London, to cast ridicule upon my journey. He would never have got home without my assistance.

During my stay in Scotland I visited Drummond, of Hawthornden. I stayed with him a considerable period, during which time we discussed the characters of many men, among others, the character of Shakespeare.

Drummond brought and put on the table before us Shakespeare's "Venus and Adonis," "Lucrece," and three or four of his dramatic pieces in quarto.

We spoke of Shakespeare, and among other things I stated that he wanted art, and that so hasty was he in composition, that he had placed Bohemia on the sea-coast and landed sailors there.

Did you speak of Shakespeare as a real man and an author?

I did. I was speaking of my friend, whom I visited at Stratford in 1616.

Can you give me any other occasion?

Yes, I spoke to Shakespeare himself about his play of "Julius Caesar."

In his "Julius Caesar" he made Caesar say, "Know, Caesar doth not wrong, but with just cause; nor without cause will he be satisfied."

I pointed out the absurdity of doing wrong with just cause. He laughed heartily. Whether he altered the phrase or omitted it, I do not know.

The JUDGE: Let me look at the play in the folio.

Yes, here it is. It stands thus—

“Know Caesar doth not wrong; nor without cause will he be satisfied;” “but with just cause” is omitted.

By the JUDGE: Had you, Mr. Jonson, anything to do with the omission?

Not at all, my lord; nor did I know of the omission until now.

How came you to omit Shakespeare from your “Scriptorum Catalogus?”

Because I was giving a list chiefly of orators and statesmen, not of poets. I did not forget Shakespeare, or omit him from the list, because I did not rank him among the greatest. I had only a few minutes before written my account of Shakespeare, in which I had declared I loved him as much as any one, this side idolatry. My account of Shakespeare is in paragraph 71 of my “Timber or Discoveries”: and my “Scriptorum Catalogus” is No. 79 of the same work. I think the two paragraphs show I regarded the two men, Bacon and Shakespeare, as distinct, but equally objects of my veneration and regard. If you read paragraph 77, De Claris “Oratoribus,” and paragraph 78, “Dominus Verulamius,” you will see at once that my “Scriptorum Catalogus” was not intended to include the poets.

You wrote in the Commendatory Verses, did you not—

“Or, when thy socks were on,
Leave thee alone for the comparison
Of all that insolent Greece or haughty Rome
Sent forth or since did from their ashes come.”

You also in “Timber or Discoveries” wrote that Lord Bacon hath performed that in our tongue, which may be

compared or preferred either to insolent Greece or haughty Rome.

Did you not mean by these later words to declare that Lord Bacon wrote the plays?

Certainly not. You will notice that I expressed the opinion that Shakespeare's *comedies* would stand the comparison. In the "Timber or Discoveries" I was thinking of Lord Bacon's speeches, histories, and philosophical writings. I could not intend to state that the author of the plays was Bacon, seeing, as I have already said, I wrote of Shakespeare and Bacon as two distinct and equally eminent persons, in the course of a few pages. I applied to both a common phrase of my own. I may tell you that if I had intended to say that Shakespeare was not the author of the plays in the folio volume, but that Lord Bacon was, I would have said so openly, and expressed my contrition for the deception Lord Bacon and myself had jointly practised.

The reporter adds that Mr. Jonson uttered these last words with much feeling, and retired after being under examination for nearly four hours.

SIR ROBERT CHESTER then entered the Box.

I am living in Essex.

I am about sixty-one years of age.

I was knighted in the year 1603.

In 1601 I published a poem entitled, "Love's Martyr or Rosalin's Complaint," allegorically shadowing the truth of love in the constant fate of the "Phoenix and Turtle." I was anxious to include, in my volume, a few poetical pieces on the subject by some of the best authors.

I applied to Mr. John Marston, Mr. George Chapman, and Mr. Jonson, and they each gave me a piece, and the pieces are printed under their respective names. I applied to Shakespeare, the actor and writer, whom I knew well, and asked him also to supply me with a

piece. He immediately promised, and not long after he supplied me in manuscript with a piece, signed by himself. It was printed and published under his name, William Shakespeare, spelled with an "e" after the k. I see, by looking at the Book, the name is printed with a hyphen between, the "e" and the "s." I did not order this; it was purely the act of the printer.

Cross-examined : Do you mean that you applied to the man of whom Mr. Jonson spoke ?

I do. I applied to the man who played Knowell in "Every Man in his Humour"—the member of the Lord Chamberlain's Company.

I was familiar with his writings or the writings passing under his name, and from my conversation with him and what I knew of him, I felt assured he could do what I asked.

I did not apply to Francis Bacon, nor hear of him in the matter.

I never, until this trial, heard a suggestion that Shakespeare was assisted by Francis Bacon in the composition of his plays.

I do not consider the piece Shakespeare wrote for me was of the highest class, but it indicates the command of poetical language, the possession of imagination, and the words, "threne" and "threnos" shew his acquaintance with words of classical origin.

These three verses will afford a specimen of, I believe, his genuine work :—

1. Beauty, Truth and rarity,
Grace in all simplicity,
Here enclosed in cinders lie.
2. Death is now the phoenix' nest,
And the turtle's loyal breast
To eternity doth rest.

3. Leaving no posterity,
'Twas not their infirmity,
It was married chastity.

HENRY WALLEY: I am a stationer, carrying on business at the Spread Eagle in St. Paul's Churchyard, over against the great north door.

In 1609 I was carrying on business there in partnership with Mr. R. Bonian. We heard that Mr. Shakespeare was just bringing out a new play called "Troilus and Cressida," and thinking we should like to procure a copy of it and print it before it was acted, we applied to William Shakespeare and asked him if we might have a copy for publication.

He consented, and gave us a manuscript copy. I did not know the handwriting.

There seemed to be other copies at the theatre.

They were just about to place it on the stage. On getting the copy we printed and published it—date 1609.

Cross-examined: You did not see him compose the play? Certainly not.

You surely did not believe that he had composed it?

Yes, we did, and stated so on the title page of our edition. You can read here—(producing a copy) "Written by William Shakespeare."

Why did you not say more about the play and whose it was?

We did. Read the preface, headed "A never writer to an ever reader, Newes'. Eternal reader, you have here a new play, never stal'd with the stage, never clapper claw'd with the palms of the vulgar."

I may tell you we took that word 'clapper claw'd' from the play itself.

We go on to say that were "the vain names of comedies changed for the titles of commodities, you would flock to them for the main grace of their gravities,

especially this author's comedies. So much and such favoured salt of witte is in his comedies, that they seem (for their height of pleasure) to be borne in that sea that brought forth Venus."

What do you mean by that?

That the same man who wrote the "Venus and Adonis" wrote the play.

We also said, "Believe this, that when he is gone and his comedies out of sale you will scramble for them."

We heard nothing about Sir Francis Bacon during the negotiations for the play.

Had not the play of "Troilus and Cressida" been acted before 1609?

Yes, a play under that title; but different from the play we printed and published.

COUNSEL for the plaintiff said that R. Bonian was prepared to speak to the same effect as his partner Walley. On this

COUNSEL for the defendant said there was no occasion to call him. It should be taken that he agreed in substance with his partner.

THOMAS WALKLEY:

I am a stationer and carry on business at the Eagle and Child, in Britain's Bursse.

I knew William Shakespeare the actor, and as, I believe, writer or author.

I have sold numbers of copies of plays purporting to be written by him.

I knew the play "Othello," and have seen it performed on several occasions. It was produced under Shakespeare's name.

In the year 1621 some one, I forget his name, brought me a manuscript copy of the play of "Othello."

I examined it and found it to be a very fine copy, and much like what I had seen on the stage.

I did not know the handwriting.

I printed and published it in 1622.

I put on the title page that the piece had been acted at the Globe and at the Blackfriars by his Majesty's Servants, and that it was written by William Shakespeare.

It had been acted frequently by his Majesty's Servants.

Cross-examined : Had Othello been in print in any form before you printed your edition ?

No, to the best of my belief it never had.

Was there any preface to your edition ?

Yes, sir. It is short ; I will read it. " To set forth a Book without an epistle, were like the old English proverbe, A blew coat without a badge ; and the *author* being *dead* I thought good to take that piece of work upon me ; to commend it I will not ; for that which is good, I hope every man will commend, without entreaty ; and I am the bolder because the author's name is sufficient to vent his work."

I wrote that because I knew Shakespeare as a writer was highly esteemed.

Have you compared your edition of " Othello " with that contained in the folio volume ?

I have.

Which do you say is the better ?

I am bound to admit both in punctuation, printing, and text, the folio is far superior.

The folio contains passages which are not in my edition.

Mr. Jonson had nothing to do with bringing me the manuscript from which I printed, nor Lord Bacon either.

I have never heard of Lord Bacon assisting Mr. Shakespeare to write, or of his being the author of, the play of " Othello."

I should not have written *the author being dead* if I had.

In 1622, when my edition was published, Lord Bacon was alive. Shakespeare was dead. He was the dead author to whom I referred.

Did you know of the name 'Shakespeare' being a nom-de-plume when you printed 'Othello.'

Certainly not. I believed it was Shakespeare's, the actor, and printed the name as I believe he used it.

HUGH HOLLAND:

I am Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. I was educated at Westminster School under William Camden, and was a Queen's Scholar. I was a member of the Mermaid Club, and well acquainted with William Shakespeare, the actor and author. I have frequently met him at the Club.

He was all that Mr. Jonson described him.

I have seen Shakespeare on the stage, and was familiar with most of the pieces that came out under his name.

If he was not the author of them, he ought to have been. He was so great.

Cross-examined:

I am myself somewhat of a poet.

I have written several pieces.

I wrote the lines on Shakespeare which appear in the folio volume.

Did you speak of Shakespeare there as you have done to-day?

Yes, indeed, the heading would be sufficient for that.

"Upon the lines and life of the famous Scenicke Poet, Master William Shakespeare."

I may read a line or two—

"For done are Shakespeare's days;

His days are done that made the dainty plays."

Did you believe that he made the plays in the folio volume?

Undoubtedly, a man of brighter genius I never met.

Re-examined :

You also made a prophecy, did you not?

Yes, I wrote that—

“ Though his line of life went soon about,
The life yet of his lines shall never out.”

LEONARD DIGGES :

I was born in London in the year 1588.

My father was a most distinguished Mathematician.

I left London for University College, Oxford, in 1603.

Prior to leaving London I had seen Shakespeare on the stage, and also in after years I saw pieces that were produced under his name.

I proceeded B.A. 1606.

After this, I travelled abroad, studying at several Universities.

In consideration of my continental studies I was created M.A. at Oxford last year.

I have seen the monument erected to Shakespeare at Stratford.

It is a very good likeness, and represents him as an author with a pen in his hand.

The plays in the folio are very much as I heard them when they were acted.

They were presented under the name of Shakespeare. I never heard a doubt cast upon his authorship.

Cross-examined :

Have you ever said anything like this before?

Oh, yes, frequently.

Tell me one single occasion on which you have?

Open the folio volume.

Do not tell me what to do, sir, said the Counsel.

Then hand it me, sir,
The usher handed the folio to the witness.
He opened it and read—

“To the memorie of the Deceased Author, Maister W.
Shakespeare.”

So much did I believe it, sir, that I wrote—

“This Book,
When Brass and Marble fade, shall make thee looke
Fresh to all ages.”

You were referring to the book, not to the man?
Certainly not.

Re-examined.

Did you prophecy, Mr. Digges?

Yes, I think I did.

I wrote—

“Be sure, our Shakespeare, thou canst never dye,
But crown'd with laurel, live eternally.”

WILLIAM, EARL OF PEMBROKE, sworn and examined.

I am forty-seven years of age.

I am Lord Chamberlain to the King.

I succeeded to the Earldom when I was twenty-one.

I have always delighted in the society of men of letters.

Before I was of age, I knew Shakespeare the actor.

I became intimate with him, and admired his writings
very much.

I have seen most of his plays acted, and have received
from Shakespeare many of them in manuscript, in order
that I might read them privately.

My brother and I conferred some favours on Shake-
speare, but they are scarcely worth mentioning.

I never heard a suggestion of Lord Bacon being the
author of the plays, or his assisting Shakespeare to write
them.

I was as much impressed by Shakespeare as I was by the plays, and saw in him everything to make me believe he was their author.

When asked by Mr. Blount, I at once consented to allow the volume to be dedicated to myself and my brother, the Earl of Montgomery.

He was not cross-examined.

EARL OF MONTGOMERY, examined and sworn.

I am the brother of the last witness, and can say that what he has just said is substantially true.

JOHN SELDEN.

I am a barrister-at-law, of the Inner Temple.

I became acquainted with Shakespeare about 1608. I had previously been introduced to Mr. Benjamin Jonson.

I was a member of the Mermaid Club, and frequently met Shakespeare there. He was one of the most brilliant men it has been my lot to meet.

I can see in the plays the characteristics of the man I knew. The man and the plays seem to me identical.

I saw the play of "The Tempest" about 1611; it was announced as Shakespeare's.

I saw in it the genius of Shakespeare, and said to some of my friends he had not only found out a new character in his Caliban, but also devised a new manner of language.

I knew Lord Bacon intimately towards the close of his life. He asked me if I would, after his death, advise as to the preservation or destruction of his manuscripts. I said I would, and he named me in his will as the person to be consulted by his executors. I saw a great many of his manuscripts. I did not see a paper that had a scrap of dramatic poetry on it.

This witness was not cross-examined.

MR. NOY said: My Lord, I have a number of gentlemen here to speak to Shakespeare having the

reputation of authorship, but, I have told them, reputation in this case of private matter is inadmissible; if it were admissible, I could call nearly all the citizens of London.

This is my case, my Lord.

Thereupon the JUDGE said to the Counsel for the defendant, Mr. Heath: I have watched with very great care your cross-examination of the witnesses. I have not noticed any questions, which indicate to me that you have any witnesses to call in opposition to the testimony which has been given.

Will you tell me, is there a living witness you can call who will give evidence of any fact relevant to the claim of Lord Bacon?

The COUNSEL for the defendant hesitated, looked surprised by the question, and said:

I must say, my Lord, your Lordship's question gives rise—

JUDGE: I want yes or no, Mr. Heath.

Then I must say I cannot call any such witness, said Mr. Heath.

Further, Mr. Heath, I do not want this question sent down for trial again, because evidence has been improperly rejected. Can you produce a piece of paper, printed or written, which contains a statement by any man, dead or living, which is relevant to such a claim?

I cannot, said the COUNSEL for the defendant.

Can you produce any book containing a play or plays, or any portion of a play, upon which the name of Francis Bacon, or Lord Bacon, or Viscount St. Albans appears as the author?

I cannot.

Have you any manuscript found in Lord Bacon's possession, whether in his handwriting or not, that has any bearing upon his claim?

MR. HEATH: I have none, my Lord, nor can I produce any.

Have you any person, whom you could call, to speak to Shakespeare's ignorance as a young man, or to his having held horses at the theatre door?

I have not, my Lord.

The LEARNED JUDGE: You can address the jury, then, Mr. Heath.

MR. HEATH: My Lord, I propose to put in evidence the whole of Lord Bacon's published works.

The JUDGE: What for, Mr. Heath?

MR. HEATH: To establish, by a careful examination of them, so many close parallels between passages in the folio volume and passages in Bacon's works, involving such profound reflection and insight, as shall lead the jury to conclude that the plays were written not by the man of no education, but by Bacon the philosopher and thinker.

The LEARNED JUDGE:

In the absence of all direct evidence, I think such parallelisms could only have a very remote bearing on the question we have to try, especially in the face of the affirmative evidence adduced by the plaintiff. However, I will allow you to put in evidence the works of Francis Bacon, Baron Verulam, Viscount St. Alban.

The learned COUNSEL for the defendant here began to hand in several volumes.

The JUDGE, interposing, said: Mr. Heath, what are you doing? You cannot put these books in without some evidence they were *written* by Lord Bacon?

MR. HEATH: Will not the name on the title-page be sufficient?

The JUDGE: Yes, I should have thought so, "but sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander."

What do you say to the forty-two volumes lying before me with the name of Shakespeare upon them?

If the name is sufficient to establish authorship, you know the consequence, Mr. Heath.

After a pause the JUDGE said: They can all go in, Mr. Heath, without any other evidence of authorship, than what the title page supplies, only do not be too long in your examination, and use only your best instances.

MR. HEATH then put in evidence printed copies of Lord Bacon's works, and a manuscript copy of the 'Conference of Pleasure,' composed by Francis Bacon, 1593.

The learned COUNSEL for the defendant and for the plaintiff, respectively addressed the jury.

THE SUMMING UP.

GENTLEMEN OF THE JURY,

The question, you have to determine, is one of the simplest kind, and the evidence bearing upon it may be easily and readily appreciated.

You have nothing to do with the faults or beauties of the works in question; nothing to do with the meaning of some of the words employed therein; nor are you called upon to fix the text of the various plays, in respect of which there has even now arisen a difference of opinion. Neither are you called upon to determine with what object or purpose the plays or any of them, were written. You are not called upon to determine the facts of Shakespeare's early life or the extent of Shakespeare's learning in his youth, except so far, that extreme ignorance on his part as a young man, would not be favourable to the suggestion of his being the author. You will not, however, forget, that a man may have had in early life a defective education and yet in the course of a few years, by study and natural taste and gifts, become a most distinguished author. You will also remember

that the Grammar Schools of our country have produced youths, of such excellent knowledge and rare mental capacity, that they have passed direct from the school to the University as 'Poor Scholars.'

The only question, you have to determine, is, whether the plays which are found in the folio volume before you, were written by William Shakespeare, by whom I mean the man who died at Stratford-on-Avon, April, 1616. The affirmative of this proposition rests on the plaintiff, and unless he has made it out to your satisfaction, you ought to find that William Shakespeare was *not* the author. If you find that Lord Bacon was the author, the claim of William Shakespeare is from the very nature of that finding, rejected; but although you may be of opinion that Lord Bacon was not the author of the plays, you may still think that the evidence is so unsatisfactory that you cannot find that Shakespeare was.

I ought to tell you, that you may properly come to the conclusion that William Shakespeare, the testator in the cause, was the author, although he did not, in your opinion, invent any of the fables of the plays, and although you may think he was—I do not say he was—a plagiarist and took and appropriated material for constructing the plays, wherever he could find it. You may think that many of his plays were fashioned out of plays previously written, or out of stories and histories found ready to his hand. He may have used much that he heard in conversation, saw in life passing before him, or things found in manuscripts placed at his disposal. If you think the idea and design of these plays, with the arrangements of the parts and the language, for the most part, are Shakespeare's, you are entitled to find, and ought to find, that he was the author, without any regard as to where and how he obtained the materials. If you think the method, the

style, and the compilation be his, although he had the matter from others, you may still justly find that he was the author.

“A poet,” as an ancient writer has said, “may be compared to one walking in a garden and making a poesy of flowers which he culls and plucks from divers beds and banks. Now though the flowers be none of his, yet the choice of them and the twisting of them together to give the fragrance, is solely his own work.”

If you think that William Shakespeare, the testator, culled from other writers, the various beauties found in the folio volume, twisted them together, and arranged them; that he gave shape and form to the plays before you; you may find that he was the author of them although the material were none of his, and that others even assisted in the selection and arrangement. The fact that he borrowed from other writers may detract from his originality, but not from his claim to be the author. Let me give you an illustration from the plays before you.

Mr. Jonson in his evidence called your attention to the distinction between the Chronicle history of King Lear, published in 1605 and the play of “King Lear” under the name of William Shakespeare, published in 1608. He told you there was a dramatic power in the play of 1608 which only Shakespeare could supply. I myself have read those two plays, and I think, gentlemen, no one can read the play of 1605, and the play of 1608, without feeling in this latter play the presence of a dramatic power and energy of which there is scarcely any trace in the former. It is clear also that the man who created the play of 1608, used the material of the play of 1605, or was indebted to that play for most important suggestions. Yet whoever was the man who prepared and brought into existence the play of 1608, he may claim

to be, and should justly be, regarded as the author, although perhaps without the play of 1605, the play of 1608 would never have been written. You may take this case as an illustration of the direction I have given you ; and you may dismiss from your mind much that the learned counsel for the defendant has addressed to you as to the materials out of which the plays were composed.

His claim of authorship for Lord Bacon, you must not and cannot disregard ; for if you should be of opinion that Lord Bacon was the author of these plays in the sense in which I have directed you, the claim of William Shakespeare is necessarily excluded. Independent authors of the plays you can scarcely conceive possible. Two writers working independently of each other, and producing substantially identical arrangement, thought and language, in thirty-seven plays, is beyond human conception. Two persons have worked together in the production of plays, as Beaumont and Fletcher, with whose names and writings some of you are doubtless familiar. If you think these plays, or any of them, were the joint production of William Shakespeare and Lord Bacon ; that Lord Bacon assisted to such an extent as to be deemed a co-worker, you will say so by your verdict.

The learned counsel for the defendant says that he regrets that Lord Bacon is not alive to be called. He has speculated very largely on what Lord Bacon would say if he were here, and intimated that his Lordship would claim the authorship of all or some of the plays. On the other hand, the monosyllable " No," which might fall from his lips, would destroy the whole case of the defendant.

He might also express, in bitter terms, his repudiation of the attempt to make him the author of the plays by implicating himself and others in fraud and falsehood.

The learned counsel for the plaintiff has speculated as to what Shakespeare would say if *he* were here. Dismiss these things from your mind. These parties are not here. Their presence would perhaps in a moment put an end to this cause; but we must determine this question in their absence.

The learned counsel for the defendant says he has placed demonstrative proof before you that Lord Bacon is the author. In such inquiries, as we are undertaking, there can be no "demonstrative" proof; for the whole question is resolved into one of probability, and Courts of Justice are obliged to act upon probability together with proper inferences from facts placed before them. The only reason why Courts of Justice act upon the evidence of men, is because, from long experience, it has been found, men do as a rule speak the truth, or what they believe to be the truth. The probability is in favour of their so doing. This probability rests upon the unbroken experience of centuries, and is the ground on which human testimony is accepted. Courts of Justice cannot *know* that the thing stated is true, for even if one of the jury were to say that he knew that what a witness had said was true, there would only be a probability in favour of its truth, and it might turn out, after all, that he was mistaken, as many a witness has been in Courts of Justice. Even if Lord Bacon were to come into court and say he was the author of these plays, we should only have a probability in his favour, to be met by opposing probabilities; and the same observation would apply, if Shakespeare also could be called as a witness. If they were in opposition, we should have to conduct the very enquiry which has been conducted before you to-day. Perhaps as interested parties, they could not be examined, and we must proceed, without any consideration as to what they might say, if present.

Theobald

Perhaps, gentlemen, I should do best, if I first deal with the claim that is made on behalf of Lord Bacon. I do not think I make an unfair observation when I say, that with the exception of the argument founded upon parallel passages, identical thought and similarity of language, and the use of legal phraseology in the plays, not a particle of evidence has been produced in support of his Lordship's claim. No one has been called to speak to any fact which could justify such a conclusion, and I can only say, that I think the suggestion, which I now make, that it would be scarcely wise for you to rest your decision that Lord Bacon was the author, upon the similiarity of language and such parallelisms as have been offered to you by the learned counsel, is not beyond my province. Mr. Jonson in his evidence showed conclusively—it is a question however entirely for you—that there is no evidence that Shakespeare derived his classical and refined language from Lord Bacon, but as Mr. Jonson said, from the common use of the language.* Direct evidence that Lord Bacon supplied the language, it is certain, there is none. I think also the parallel passages did not produce much effect on your minds, and the learned counsel was quite willing to retire from a further prosecution of such comparisons. It appears to me that it would want a much more close identification of thought and language in the folio volume and the works of Bacon, in order to justify you in finding that Lord Bacon was the author of the plays, especially in the face of the evidence in support of Shakespeare's claim. The passages the learned counsel read from the "Conference of Pleasure," composed by Francis Bacon, 1593, had not a trace of dramatic quality.

*Of the classical words set forth by Mr. Theobald as being in Bacon's Works and in the folio, my narrow reading has supplied me with proof that seventy of them were in common usage.

I think it is clear that Shakespeare never was in a lawyer's office. After the evidence shewing how common legal knowledge was among laymen, it seems scarcely wise to draw the inference that Lord Bacon supplied the small portions of law that appear in the plays.

The question whether Lord Bacon was the author of the plays, however, is one for you. Before you can come to that conclusion you must believe that 'Shakespeare' was a false name. That Southampton knew he was receiving a dedication from Bacon under the name of 'Shakespeare.' That Shakspeare himself, the actor, knew of the use of 'Shakespeare.' That twelve or fourteen printers or publishers, who printed and published works under the name of 'Shakespeare' were told by Shakspeare or Bacon so to print the name. Under such circumstances how could the secret be kept? Nor can you come to a conclusion in favour of Lord Bacon without finding that the production of the folio volume and the placing of Shakespeare's portrait therein, involved conduct, on the part of Blount, Heminge, Condell, Jonson, and Lord Bacon himself, to which no decent mind would be a party. They played with the very dead. Take, however, into your serious consideration all that the learned counsel has urged.

Assuming you do not come to a conclusion favourable to Lord Bacon's claim, the question then arises, Was Shakespeare, the testator, the author of the plays?

Gentlemen, it is not my province to determine this question. It is a question entirely of fact. I shall not read over to you the evidence to which you have listened with great attention. I would point out to you, the fact of composition or authorship must be found by you. You may find it as a fact inferred from other facts established to your satisfaction. It is not necessary you should have direct evidence of authorship; and even if you

had such evidence, you would have to consider whether you could accept it as true. Circumstantial evidence may sometimes afford as good ground for a decision as the most direct evidence.

Before drawing or attempting to draw the inference of authorship, I should, if I were in your place, endeavour to answer certain questions. The first would be, To what extent, if any, were the plays, contained in the folio volume, printed from manuscript? If I accepted the evidence of Mr. Blount, Mr. Heminge and Mr. Condell, I should find that all the plays were so printed. Even if I did not accept their evidence in its entirety, I should from the necessity of the case find that the whole of twenty plays and large portions of the remaining seventeen, which compose the volume, were so printed. Of the twenty plays, no portion of them, as far as can be known, was in print before the folio, and of the remaining seventeen, considerable portions also were never in print until the folio appeared. A very large portion, therefore, of the folio must have been printed from manuscript. This conclusion is arrived at, apart from the determination of the question, From whom did Mr. Blount receive the manuscripts? nor is the conclusion as to the printing of the folio from manuscript in any way affected by the non-production of the manuscripts; they must have existed, or the book could not have been printed. Mr. Blount has not preserved the manuscripts of the plays, nor has he preserved the manuscripts of the dedication, or preface or of any of the commendatory verses. Even if the manuscripts were preserved, they might not be in the handwriting of Shakespeare, as manuscripts were often reproduced by men who were called 'poor Scribes.' You have been told by two or three witnesses that manuscripts have often been re-copied and passed into circulation. Lord Bacon, we know, caused some of his manuscripts

to be copied, and he himself possessed a manuscript copy of "Camden's Britannia." If the manuscripts of the plays in the folio were in the handwriting of Shakespeare, still the question would remain, Did he compose or was he the author of the manuscripts? In such a case the presumption that he was the author would be very strong, but still, in the absence of Shakespeare's evidence, you would have to find the fact by inference, if at all. If you think the manuscripts were destroyed for the purpose of concealing, if possible, all trace of the authorship, you might hesitate before you arrived at a decision in favour of Shakespeare's claim. Of the destruction of the manuscripts with any such intention, there is not a particle of evidence.

If I found that the whole or the greater portion of the folio volume was printed from manuscripts, the next question I should put to myself would be, How did these manuscripts reach the hands of the printer? The only evidence is, that they came into the hands of the printers from the hands of Heminge and Condell, the friends and the fellow-actors of Shakespeare. They have sworn that they delivered the manuscripts to Mr. Blount, and Mr. Blount has sworn he received from them the manuscripts. There is no evidence of their having been delivered to Mr. Blount, or any of his associates, by any other person or persons. Heminge and Condell in their dedication and preface to the folio, stated the facts to which they subsequently deposed. Mr. Blount was a party to their statement by printing it, and must be taken to be implicated thereby, so far as the facts contained therein come within his knowledge. Against this evidence, it is suggested by the counsel for the defendant, that the manuscripts, or some portion of them, came directly into the hands of Mr. Blount from Mr. Benjamin Jonson; that the printer and supposed editors were so ignorant they

Bomfas

could not have written the dedication and preface; that Mr. Jonson must have written both the dedication and preface; that he suggested the fictitious statements contained therein, and in fact edited the volume at the instance and in the interest of Lord Bacon. There is not, it appears to me, any evidence of any one of these statements. The examination and cross-examination of Mr. Blount shewed you that he is a man of considerable literary ability, and did not need, and would not need, the assistance of Mr. Jonson in order to get the dedication and preface written. The suggestion that the manuscripts came from Lord Bacon and that Mr. Jonson edited the volume for him, involves Lord Bacon and Mr. Jonson in a series of untruths. Mr. Jonson has denied he brought to Mr. Blount any portion of the manuscript from which the folio was printed; that neither he nor Lord Bacon had anything to do with putting manuscript copy into the hands of the printer or any other person. Mr. Jonson has told you he did not bring to Mr. Blount any portion of the manuscript of the play of "Henry the Eighth," and that Lord Bacon did not write any portion of that play, still less resort to any trick for the purpose of getting papers into his possession from which to compose it. If you can accept the evidence of Heminge and Condell and Mr. Blount, then the manuscripts from which the folio was printed in whole or in the greater part, came to the hands of Mr. Blount from Mr. Heminge and Mr. Condell. If you can accept the evidence of Mr. Jonson, not any portion of the manuscripts was supplied or handed over by himself, or, as far as his knowledge goes, by Lord Bacon. The employments of Lord Bacon between June, 1621, and the close of the year (March) 1622, are quite inconsistent with the production of any one of the plays contained in the folio volume. On one of the folio volumes is the date 1622.

Assuming you do accept this evidence, the next question for you to ask yourselves is, How did Heminge and Condell come by the manuscripts? Up to this point you believe that Mr. Blount, Mr. Heminge, and Mr. Condell have told you the truth. Believing Mr. Heminge and Mr. Condell thus far, you will the more readily accept their statements, when they stand alone, supported, however, in some important particulars by other witnesses. Mr. Heminge and Mr. Condell have told you that the manuscripts they took to Mr. Blount had been for a longer or shorter period in the possession of the Company of Actors, of which Shakespeare was a member; that these plays were all produced and acted under the name of William Shakespeare, their fellow-actor, and that some, in a more or less perfect state, had been printed and published in his life-time as 'by William Shakespeare,' and some as 'written by William Shakespeare'; that although they cannot speak to the manuscripts as being all in his handwriting, they have seen him in possession of manuscript plays and sometimes engaged in writing or composition; they have told you that the manuscripts they handed to Blount were all originally in possession of Shakespeare; that they did not receive any of the manuscripts from Lord Bacon, or receive any communication from him respecting them. The learned counsel for the defendant did not suggest that Heminge and Condell wrote the plays or any portion of them. Mr. Jonson and Mr. Blount tell you that all the manuscript plays appeared on the stage under the name of William Shakespeare, as their author, and that they saw the greater number of the plays acted. Mr. Jonson pointed out that the plays 'written by William Shakespeare' are said quite correctly in point of time to have been played by the Lord Chamberlain's servants or the King's servants, of whom he was one. You will

remember the very important evidence Mr. Meres gave of the existence of some of the manuscript plays as written or composed by Shakespeare. He saw some of the manuscript plays in the possession of Shakespeare, the actor, and gave in 1598 a list of twelve plays as having been written by Shakespeare, the actor. At that time, only four of these eleven plays had been printed in any form, and printed without the name of Shakespeare. Three of them were subsequently printed with his name, but one of them, "Romeo and Juliet," never appeared under the name of Shakespeare until it was printed in the folio volume. Of the remaining eight, four were printed, subsequently, with Shakespeare's name, in Shakespeare's life-time. One, "Titus Andronicus," appeared in 1600-1611, without any name until it appeared in the folio volume. "Love's Labour Lost" is supposed to be the play "All's Well That Ends Well," which did not appear in print until it appeared in the folio volume. Two others, the "Gentlemen of Verona" and the "Comedy of Errors," did not appear in print until they appeared in the folio volume, twenty-five years after Meres had spoken of them as being in manuscript. That these two plays with "All's Well That Ends Well" were printed in the folio volume from manuscripts, is manifest. No copies of these plays have been subsequently printed, nor is there a suggestion of manuscripts of these two plays being now in existence. It is clear, if you accept the evidence of Blount, Heminge and Condell, that Heminge and Condell took the manuscripts of these three plays to Blount. If so, have you any doubt that the manuscripts of these three plays, which Heminge and Condell took to Blount, were the very manuscripts of which Meres wrote in 1598? If you have no doubt of their identity, have you any doubt that Heminge and Condell, who, so to speak, were

in the line of possession, and came into possession of the manuscripts of the "Gentlemen of Verona," the "Comedy of Errors," and "Love's Labour Won," did come into possession of all, or nearly all, the manuscripts of the plays which passed under Shakespeare's name? Heminge and Condell were the first to print "Romeo and Juliet" and "Henry the Fifth" under the name of Shakespeare. Several editions in quarto had appeared without any name. On this evidence, you may find, that Shakespeare brought all the plays contained in the folio volume in manuscript to the theatre, and placed them at the disposal of the Company of which he was a member, and that they subsequently passed into the possession of Heminge and Condell.

Assuming you do, the next question you should ask yourselves, is, Was the William Shakespeare, the fellow-actor of Heminge and Condell, in the opinion of those who knew him, capable of the production of these plays? If you accept the evidence of Jonson, Selden, Digges, Holland, Basse, Meres, Chester, the question can only be answered in the affirmative. Never was such lofty praise bestowed on any man, as was bestowed by them on Shakespeare, the actor.

You will not forget the evidence of Mr. Jonson, that in the plays he sees the race of Shakespeare's mind, and that in them Shakespeare's manners brightly shine. Assuming you find that Lord Bacon was not the author of the plays, the next thing to bear in mind is, that if Shakespeare was not the author, there is no evidence to show that anybody else was. From all these findings, and facts proved in evidence, what inference do you draw? Do you draw the inference that Shakespeare was the author of the plays? If you do, there is, in my opinion, ample evidence to justify your finding.

I would point out to you that many of the plays, and

all the poems, have appeared under the name of William Shakespeare as the author. You might properly infer from that fact itself, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, that William Shakespeare, the testator, was the author of such plays and poetry. There are forty-two such volumes before you. If you believe he was the author of these plays and poetry, in the sense in which I have directed you to use that word, you may, in my opinion, very readily find he was the author of those plays which appeared for the first time in the folio volume, under his name.

Theobald The learned Counsel has constantly reiterated that Shakspeare is the name of the actor. If so, he is in some difficulty, for in the year 1608, "King Lear" is published under the name of "Shakspeare." I need scarcely say that if the actor wrote or composed "King Lear" there is an end of the defendant's case. In the same year, there is an edition under the name of "Shakespeare," and the names in both editions are with the hyphen. Subject to your better opinion, it seems to me that Shakspeare and Shakespeare both described the actor. I do not attach much weight to the will being signed "Shakspeare," without the "e" after the "k." *

Gentlemen, I asked the counsel for the defendant, during his address, if he admitted that anyone of these productions in print with the name of Shakespeare on them was the offspring of the actor's intellect. He felt the force of my observation, for I could not find out from the whole of his address, whether he denied the authorship of all the plays and poems printed in his life-time, or whether he admitted the authorship of Shakespeare,

* The learned Judge's view is sustained by the fact that the preacher at Gray's Inn dedicated some of his works under the style "Sibbes." He signed his will "Sibbs," without the "e," in the year 1635.

the actor, in respect of any one of them, or any portion of one of them. It is a question entirely for you, but if I had to decide this matter, and the learned counsel for the defendant admitted that "Venus and Adonis" was written by Shakespeare the actor, who could not have been more than twenty-eight years of age when it was written, I should without difficulty find that in the course of years he was capable of writing any of the plays which are before us. If I believed that Shakespeare, the actor, wrote the "Venus and Adonis," I certainly should dismiss at once all the observations of the learned counsel about the rusticity and ignorance of Shakespeare. If he admitted "Lucrece" was written by Shakespeare, the actor, I should have then still less difficulty, for in portions of that work I see indications of every quality possessed by the great dramatist who composed the plays. If you think, after the evidence of Mr. Walkley, that William Shakspeare, or Shakespeare, wrote "Othello," then it appears to me the case for the defendant is gone—that all argument derived from neglected education and rustic manners is absurd. The man who wrote "Othello" could write all the plays. The "Othello" of 1622 never came, as far as I can see, from Lord Chancellor Bacon nor Mr. Jonson. The evidence as to the "Troilus and Cressida," published in 1609, seems to me to lead to the same conclusion.

I asked, Gentlemen, you will remember, the Counsel for the defendant, if he really claimed for Lord Bacon the authorship of the "Venus and Adonis." He stood perplexed for a moment or two, and then said he did not think he did; but with the utmost boldness he claimed it for Anthony Bacon, the brother of Lord Bacon. I pointed out to him there was not a scrap of evidence in support of such a claim. *Bompas*

It appears to me, upon the evidence of Sir Robert

Chester, you may come to the conclusion, that Shakespeare, the actor and testator, wrote, when about thirty-six years of age, the piece attached to "Love's Martyr," entitled "The Phœnix and the Turtle." He wrote his own name, William Shakespeare, under it. It is certain that Chester applied to Shakespeare the actor, as to a poet. He did not apply to Francis Bacon. No one ever knew of Francis Bacon in connection with any of the pieces published under the name "Shakespeare." The suggestion that the actor Shakespeare did not write the lines he gave to Chester but got them from Francis Bacon appears to me ridiculous; there is no evidence of it. I do not think Bacon could have composed them. It is a matter, however, entirely for your consideration. If you believe Shakespeare wrote that piece, his poetical taste, command of language, and acquaintance with words of classical origin are completely established.

Moreover, if Shakespeare, the actor, wrote the piece entitled, "The Phœnix and the Turtle," then it is clear that this is not his first piece of poetry. It is too good for a first attempt. Where are his previous works? Are they the "Venus and Adonis," "Lucrece," and some of the plays which had appeared under his name?

You cannot give too much consideration to Sir Robert Chester's evidence. If true, it supplies, as it seems to me, a combining power to all the other evidence before you, which can only lead to one conclusion.

I ought also to tell you there is cogent evidence before you that Shakespeare, the actor, wrote the Sonnets. If you come to that conclusion, you will be materially assisted in determining the question of the authorship of the plays.

The learned counsel during his address to you, *Bompas* frequently said the play of "Hamlet" was in existence in 1589, and that it was in the highest degree improbable

that Shakespeare the actor could be the author of it. If this were so, I confess it would be a serious impeachment of Shakespeare's claim. I pointed out to him, however, that all he could say was that a play of "Hamlet" appeared in 1589, and that there was no evidence that the play of 1589 was the same play as the play of 1603. His answer was, there was a ghost in both plays; a rather *ghostly* argument, pardon the expression. It is idle to draw from such a fact the inference that the plays were the same.

Of the rudeness and ignorance of Shakespeare when he came to town there is no evidence, and no evidence of his holding horses at the stage or theatre door.

One further observation, gentlemen, before I cease to address you. The case for the defendant presents a most remarkable state of things. For thirty years there are poems and plays set forth as the plays and poems of William Shakspeare the actor, and thousands of people, you and I amongst them, believed him to be the author of them. According to the case of the defendant, he is not the author. He dies, and the secret is not disclosed. Seven years after his death, thirty-seven plays are collected as his works and ushered in with most kind and affectionate greetings from his literary friends; and the secret is not yet disclosed. Lord Bacon is really the author, says the counsel for the defendant, but his name is not mentioned or disclosed, in connection with these works. Lord Bacon dies in 1626, and in no scrap of paper, memorandum, or private writing is there a reference to his authorship of either the whole or any part of these writings, or to his connection therewith. Neither has anyone come before you to-day to say he has heard a whisper of such a suggestion. This seems to me a story characterized by the highest degree of improbability. But more

than that, if the defendant's case be true, here is a man, who, according to the counsel for the defendant, in mental capacity was a mere money-lender, and a second-rate actor, in morals an adulterer and a drunkard, has been deemed all through life as capable of producing such plays as these; that as the plays have manifested the presence of increasing mental qualities and endowments, so Shakespeare, as to those who knew him, increased in mental power and greatness. If he did to his friends appear to have these qualities—and I think you cannot doubt he had them—then you have this remarkable circumstance: that this man, who had the most various gifts and the highest qualities, never wrote or published anything.

Nor is this the only marvel created by this defence. The learned counsel says that "William Shakespeare" was a *nom de plume*, chosen by Francis Bacon in the year 1593, under which should appear all the great poetical works he contemplated. If he did, he chose the name of a person actually living and well known, for I believe the name by which the actor at the Blackfriars was known, was "Shakespeare," with the "e" after the "k." Everybody, with two or three exceptions, writes his name thus, and the deeds prepared for his execution, were in that style. Francis Bacon selects as a *nom de plume* the name of a living person, and one well and widely known. He selects the name of this person with such marvellous insight and success, that every one believes that William Shakespeare, the actor, at the Blackfriars and the Globe, is really the author of the plays and poetry, and capable of their production. Never was there such a venture; yet so successful was the choice, that suspicion never turned her glance on Bacon, and neither during the lifetime of Shakespeare, nor of Bacon, was the secret

discovered. Never before was the true author so completely and miraculously hidden.

The learned counsel for the defendant says he shall by your verdict lead Lord Bacon to the heights of Parnassus. Gentlemen, if he does, it will be only by leading Shakespeare down. He says he hopes that no one will cast any dirt upon or asperse the character of Lord Bacon. Gentlemen, the learned counsel need not be afraid of anyone speaking unkindly of the great Chancellor, whose many rare qualities and bright intellect we all remember and revere. But he must never forget he has degraded Shakespeare almost to the lowest point of human existence—that he has charged Mr. Jonson, and Mr. Blount, and Mr. Heminge with conspiracy and perjury, and to secure a verdict for his client he has not hesitated to suggest conspiracy on the part of Lord Bacon himself, which, if true, will present his character in a most doubtful light to coming ages. Gentlemen, do not be influenced by anything I may have said. Do not let your feelings prompt your judgment. You may indulge your feelings after you have pronounced your verdict. Examine carefully the whole of the evidence before you, and pronounce that verdict which your conscience and judgment approve.

The jury asked leave to retire. They were absent about a quarter of an hour. There was a buzz of conversation during which some could be heard to say that they thought the jury would not agree.

The usher announced that the jury had agreed, and they came into Court.

The ASSOCIATE asked them whether they were all agreed, and the foreman said they were.

The ASSOCIATE: What do you find, gentlemen?

The FOREMAN: We find that William Shakespeare, the testator and actor, was the author of the plays

contained in the volume of 1623. My Lord, we desire to add, and it was for the purpose of preparing this rider that we retired, that Lord Bacon was in no sense the author of these plays, nor, as far as we can see, did Shakespeare derive any marked assistance from Lord Bacon. We wish to state that the name by which the Testator was generally known, was 'William Shakespeare.' We desire to say that we believe that John Heminge and Henry Condell, in the account they gave of the preparation and production of the folio volume, spoke the truth. We desire to express our sense of gratitude to John Heminge and Henry Condell for their precious gift to us and to all men to come, by publishing the remains of their dear and beloved friend, William Shakespeare.

The CHIEF JUSTICE said :

Gentlemen, I thoroughly concur in the verdict you have given and also in the opinions and expressions contained in your rider. I thank you for the faithful discharge of your duty; I dismiss you from further attendance. We can now leave William Shakespeare, whom many of us admired and loved, to the eternal substance of his greatness.

THE END.

APPENDIX.

VENUS
AND ADONIS

*Vilia miretur vulgus: mihi flavus Apollo
Pocula Castalia plena ministret aqua.*

LONDON

Imprinted by Richard Field, and are to be sold at
the signe of the white Greyhound in
Paules Church-yard.

1593.

(i)

TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE

Henrie Wriothesley, Earle of Southampton,

and Baron of Titchfield.

*R*ight Honourable, I know not how I shall offend in dedicating my unpolisht lines to your Lordship, nor how the worlde will censure mee for choosing so strong a proppre to support so weake a burthen, onely if your Honour feeme but pleased, I account my selfe highly praised, and vowe to take aduantage of all idle houres, till I haue honoured you with some grauer labour. But if the first heire of my inuention proue deformed, I shall be sorie it had so noble a god-father: and neuer after eare so barren a land, for feare it yeeld me still so bad a harvest, I leaue it to your Honourable suruey, and your Honor to your hearts content which I wish may alwaies answeere your owne wish, and the worlds hopefull expectation.

Your Honors in all dutie,

William Shakespeare.

LUCRECE

LONDON.

Printed by Richard Field, for John Harrison; and are
to be sold at the signe of the white Greyhound
in Paules Churh-yard. 1594.

TO THE RIGHT

HONOURABLE, HENRY

Wriothesley, Earle of Southampton,

and Baron of Titchfield.

*T*HE loue I dedicate to your Lordship is without end: wherof this Pamphlet without beginning is but a superfluous Moity. The warrant I haue of your Honourable disposition, not the worth of my untutord Lines makes it assured of acceptance. What I haue done is yours, what I haue to doe is yours, being part in all I haue, deuoted yours. Were my worth greater, my duety would shew greater, meane time, as it is, it is bound to your Lordship; To whom I wish long life still lengthned with all happinesse.

Your Lordships in all duety,

William Shakespeare.

The
Rape
of
Lucrece.

By
Mr. *William Shakespeare.*

Newly Reuised.

LONDON:

Printed by *T. S.* for *Roger Iackson*, and are
to be solde at his shop neere the Conduit
in Fleet-street. 1616.

(v)

The
Rape
of
Lucrece.

By
Mr. *William Shakespeare.*

Newly Reuised.

LONDON.

Printed by *I. B.* for *Roger Iackson*, and are
to be sold at his shop neere the Conduit
in Fleet-street. 1624.

(vi)

A

PLEASANT
Conceited Comedie
CALLED,
Loues labors lost.

As it was presented before her Highnes
this last Christmas.

Newly corrected and augmented
By W. Shakespere.

Imprinted at London by W. W.
for *Cutbert Burby.*

1598.

(vii)



THE
TRAGEDIE

of King Richard

the third.

Conteining his treacherous Plots against his
brother *Clarence*: the pitiful murder of his innocent
Nephewes: his tyrannicall usurpation: with
the whole course of his detested life, and most
deserued death.

*As it hath beene lately Acted by the Right honourable
the Lord Chamberlaine his seruants.*

By William Shake-speare.

LONDON

Printed by Thomas Creede, for Andrew Wise,
dwelling in Paules Church-yard, at the signe
of the Angell. 1598.

(viii)

THE
Tragedie of King Ri-
chard the second.

As it hath beene publikely acted by the Right Ho-
nourable the Lord Chamberlaine his seruants.

By William Shake-speare.

LONDON.

Printed by Valentine Simmes for Andrew Wise, and
are to be sold at his shop in Paules churchyard at
the signe of the Angel.

1598.

(ix)



THE
HISTORY OF
HENRIE THE
FOVRTH ;

With the battell at Shrewsburie,
betweene the King and Lord Henry
Percy, *surnamed Henry Hot-*
spur of the North.

With the humorous conceits of Sir
Iohn Falstalffe.

Newly corrected by *W. Shake-speare.*

AT LONDON,

Printed by S. S. for *Andrew Wise*, dwelling
in Paules Churchyard, at the signe of
the Angell. 1599.



The most excellent
Historie of the *Merchant*
of *Venice*.

With the extreame crueltie of *Shylocke* the Iewe
towards the sayd Merchant, in cutting a iust pound
of his flesh : and the obtayning of *Portia*
by the choise of three
chests.

*As it hath beene diuers times acted by the Lord
Chamberlaine his Seruants.*

Written by William Shakespeare.

AT LONDON.,
Printed by I. R. for Thomas Heyes,
and are to be sold in Paules Church-yard, at the
signe of the Greene Dragon.

1600.

(xi)



THE
EXCELLENT
History of the Mer-
chant of Venice.

With the extreme cruelty of *Shylocke*
the Iew towards the saide Merchant, in cut-
ting a iust pound of his flesh. And the obtaining
of *Portia*, by the choise of
three Caskets.

Written by W. SHAKESPEARE.

Printed by J. Roberts, 1600.



A
Midsommer nights
dreame.

As it hath beene sundry times pub-
likely acted, by the Right Honoura-
ble, the Lord Chamberlaine his
seruants.

Written by William Shakespeare.

Printed by Iames Roberts, 1600.



A

Midsommer nights
dreame.

As it hath beene sundry times pub-
lickely acted, by the Right honoura-
ble, the Lord Chamberlaine his
seruants.

Written by William Shakespeare.

¶ Imprinted at London, for *Thomas Fisher*, and are to
be soule at his shoppe, at the Signe of the White Hart,
in *Fleetestreete.* 1600.



THE
Second part of Henrie
the fourth, continuing to his death,
and coronation of Henrie
the fift.
With the humours of sir Iohn Fal
staffe, and swaggering
Pistoll.

As it hath been sundrie times publikely
acted by the right honourable, the Lord
Chamberlaine his seruants.

Written by William Shakespeare.

LONDON
Printed by V. S. for Andrew Wise, and
William Aspley.

1600.

(xv)

B¹⁴
Much adoe about
Nothing.

As it hath been sundrie times publikely
acted by the right honourable, the Lord
Chamberlaine his seruants.

Written by William Shakespeare.

LONDON

Printed by V. S. for Andrew Wise, and

William Aspley.

1600.

(xvi)

A

Most pleasaunt and
 excellent conceited Co-
 medie, of Syr *Iohn Falstaffe*, and the
 merrie Wiues of *Windsor*.

Entermixed with sundrie
 variable and pleasing humors, of Syr *Hugh*
 the Welch Knight, Iustice *Shallow*, and his
 wise Cousin M. *Slender*.

With the swaggering vaine of Auncient
Pistoll, and Corporall *Nym*.

By *William Shakespeare*.

As it hath bene diuers times Acted by the right Honorable
 my Lord Chamberlaines seruants. Both before her
 Maiestie, and else-where.

LONDON

Printed by T. C. for Arthur Iohnson, and are to be sold at
 his shop in Powles Church-yard, at the signe of the
 Flower de Leuse and the Crowne.

1602.

(xvii)

THE
TRAGEDIE

of King Richard
the third.

*Conteining his treacherous Plots against his brother
Clarence: the pittifull murder of his innocent Ne-
phewes: his tyrannicall usurpation: with the
whole course of his detested life, and
most deserued death.*

*As it hath bene lately Acted by the Right Honourable
the Lord Chamberlaine his seruants.*

Newly augmented,
By *William Shakespeare.*

LONDON

Printed by Thomas Creede, for Andrew Wise, dwelling
in Paules Church-yard, at the signe of the
Angell. 1602.

(xviii)

THE
Tragicall Historie of
HAMLET

Prince of Denmarke.

By William Shake-speare.

As it hath beene diuerse times acted by his Highnesse seruants in the Cittie of London: as also in the two Vniuersities of Cambridge and Oxford, and else-where.

At London printed for N. L. and Iohn Trundell.

1603.

(xix)

THE

Tragicall Historie of
HAMLET,

Prince of Denmarke.

By William Shakespeare.

Newly imprinted and enlarged to almost as much
again as it was, according to the true and
perfect Copie.

AT LONDON,

Printed by I. R. for N. L. and are to be sold at his
shoppe under Saint Dunstons Church in
Fleetstreet. 1604.

(xx)

The

Tragicall Historie of
HAMLET,

Prince of Denmarke.

By William Shakespeare.

Newly imprinted and enlarged to almost as much
again as it was, according to the true and perfect
Coppie.

AT LONDON,

Printed by I. R. for N. L. and are to be sold at his
shoppe under Saint Dunstons Church in
Fleetstreet. 1605.

(xxi)

THE
TRAGEDIE
of King Richard
the Third.

*Conteining his treacherous Plots against his brother
Clarence: the pittifull murder of his innocent Ne-
phewes: his tyrannicall usurpation: with the
whole course of his detested life, and
most deserued death.*

*As it hath bin lately Acted by the Right Honourable
the Lord Chamberlaine his seruants.*

Newly augmented,

By *William Shake-speare.*

L O N D O N

Printed by Thomas Creede, and are to be sold by *Mathew
Lawe*, dwelling in Paules Church-yard, at the Signe
of the Foxe, neare S. Austins gate, 1605.

THE
Tragedie of King
Richard the second.

As it hath been publikely acted by the Right
Honourable the Lord Chamberlaine
his seruantes.

By *William Shake-speare.*

LONDON,

Printed by W. W. for *Mathew Law*, and are to be
sold at his shop in Paules Church-yard, at
the signe of the Foxe.

1608.

(xxiii)

B²²
M. William Shake-speare,

HIS

True Chronicle History of the life
and death of King *Lear*, and his
three Daughters.

*With the unfortunate life of EDGAR,
sonne and heire to the Earle of Gloucester, and
his sullen and assumed humour of TOM
of Bedlam.*

*As it was plaid before the Kings Maiesty at White-Hall, up-
pon S. Stephens night, in Christmas Hollidaies,*

By his Maiesties Seruants, playing usually at the
Globe, on the Banck-side.

Printed for Nathaniel Butter.

1608.

(xxiv)

B²³
M. William Shak-speare:

HIS

True Chronicle Historie of the life and
death of King LEAR and his three
Daughters.

*With the unfortunate life of Edgar, sonne
and heire to the Earle of Gloster, and his
sullen and assumed humor of
TOM of Bedlam :*

*As it was played before the Kings Maiestie at Whitehall upon
S. Stephans night in Christmas Hollidayes.*

By his Maiesties seruants playing usually at the Gloabe
on the Bancke-side.

LONDON,

Printed for *Nathaniel Butter*, and are to be sold at his shop in *Pauls*
Church-yard at the signe of the Pide Bull neere
St. Austins Gate. 1608.

(xxv)

THE
HISTORY OF
Henry the fourth,

With the battell at Shrewseburie,
betweene the King, and Lord
Henry Percy, Surnamed Henry
Hotspur of the North.

With the humorous conceites of Sir
Iohn Falstalffe.

Newly corrected by W. Shake-speare.

LONDON

Printed for *Mathew Law*, and are to be sold at
his shop in Paules Church-yard, neere unto S.
Augustines gate, at the signe of
the Foxe. 1608.

(xxvi)

THE LATE,
And much admired Play,
Called
Pericles, Prince
of Tyre

With the true Relation of the whole Historie,
Adventures, and fortunes of the said Prince:

As also,

The no lesse strange, and worthy accidents,
in the Birth and Life, of his daughter

MARIANA

As it hath been diuers and sundry times acted by
his Maiesties Seruants, at the Globe on
the Banck-side.

By William Shakespeare.

Imprinted at London for *Henry Gosson*, and are
to be sold at the signe of the Sunne in
Pater-noster row, &c.

1609.

(xxvii)

THE
Historie of Troylus
and Cresseida.

*As it was acted by the Kings Maiesties
seruants at the Globe.*

Written by William Shakespeare.

LONDON

Imprinted by G. Eld for *R. Bonian* and *H. Walley*, and
are to be sold at the spread Eagle in Paules
Church-yard, over against the
great North doore.

1609.

(xxviii)

THE
Famous Historie of
Troylus *and* Cresseid.

Excellently expressing the beginning
of their loues, with the conceited wooing
of *Pandarus* Prince of *Licia*.

Written by William Shakespeare.

LONDON

Imprinted by *G. Eld* for *R. Bonian* and *H. Walley*, and
are to be sold at the spred Eagle in Paules
Church-yard, ouer against the
great North doore.

1609.

xxix)

A NEUER WRITER, TO AN EUER READER.

NEWES.

Eternall reader, you haue heere a new play, neuer stal'd with the stage, neuer clapper-clawd with the palmes of the vulger, and yet passing full of the palme comicall; for it is a birth of your braine, that neuer undertooke any thing commicall, vainely: and were but the vaine names of commedies changde for the titles of commodities, or of playes for pleas; you should see all those grand censors, that now stile them such vanities, flock to them for the maine grace of their grauities: especially this authors commedies, that are so fram'd to the life, that they serue for the most common commentaries, of all the actions of our liues, shewing such a dexteritie, and power of witte, that the most displeas'd with playes, are pleas'd with his commedies. And all such dull and beauy-witted worldlings, as were neuer capable of the witte of a commedie, comming by report of them to his representations, haue found that witte there, that they neuer found in them-selves, and haue parted better wittied then they came: feeling an edge of witte set vpon them, more then euer they dreamd they had braine to grinde it on. So much and such fauored salt of witte is in his commedies, that they seeme (for their height of pleasure) to be borne in that sea that brought forth Venus. Amongst all there is none more witty then this: and had I time I would comment vpon it, though I know it needs not (for so much as will make you thinke your testerne well bestowd) but for so much worth, as euen poore I know to be stuff in it. It deserues such a labour, as well as the best commedy in Terence or Plautus. And beleeeue this, that when hee is gone, and his commedies out of sale, you will scramble for them, and set vp a new English inquisition. Take this for a warning, and at the perrill of your pleasures losse, and iudgements, refuse not, nor like this the lesse, for not being sullied, with the smoaky breath of the multitude; but thanke fortune for the scape it hath made amongst you. Since by the grand possessors wills I beleeeue you should haue prayd for them rather than beene prayd. And so I leaue all such to bee prayd for (for the states of their wits healths) that will not praise it. Vale.

THE LATE,
And much admired Play,

Called

Pericles, Prince
of Tyre.

With the true Relation of the whole History,
aduentures, and fortunes of the sayd Prince;

As also,

The no lesse strange, and worthy accidents,
in the Birth and Life, of his Daughter

Mariana.

As it hath beene diuers and sundry times acted by
his Majestyes Seruants, at the Globe on
the Banck-side.

By *William Shakespeare.*

Printed at London by S. S.

1611.

(xxxi)

THE
TRAGEDY
OF
HAMLET

Prince of Denmarke.

BY
WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE.

Newly imprinted and enlarged to almost as much
again as it was, according to the true
and perfect Coppy.

AT LONDON,
Printed for *Iohn Smethwicke* and are to be sold at his shoppe
in *Saint Dunstons Church* yeard in Fleetstreet
Under the Diall. 1611.

(xxxii)

The Firft and Second PART ^{B⁸⁰}
OF THE
Troublefome RAIGNE of
John King of England.

WITH THE
Discouerie of King *RICHARD*

Cordelions bafe Sonne

(Vulgarly named, the Baftard *Fawconbridge* :)

ALSO,

The Death of King *John* at *Swinfted Abbey*

As they were (fundry times) lately acted
by the QUEENES MAIESTIES Players.

Written by W. Sh.



Imprinted at *London* by *Valentine Simmes*, for *John Helme*, and are to be fold at his Shop in *Saint Dunstons Church-yard* in *Fleetstreet*. 1611.

(xxxiii)

THE
TRAGEDIE

of King Richard

the third.

*Containing his treacherous Plots against his brother
Clarence: the pittifull murder of his innocent Ne-
phewes: his tyrannicall usurpation: with the
whole course of his detested life, and
most deserued death.*

*As it hath beene lately Acted by the Kings Maiesties
seruants.*

Newly augmented,

By William Shake-speare.

LONDON,

Printed by Thomas Creede, and are to be sold by Mathew,
Pauls Church-yard at the Sign [1612]

(xxxiv)

THE
HISTORY OF
Henrie the fourth,

With the Battell at Shrewseburie, betweene
the King, and Lord Henrie Percy, sur-
named *Henrie Hotspur* of the North.

With the humorous conceites of Sir
Iohn Falstaffe.

Newly corrected by *W. Shake-speare*.

LONDON

Printed by W. W. for *Mathew Law*, and are to be sold
at his shop in Paules Church-yard, neere unto S.
Augustines Gate, at the signe of the Foxe.

1613.

(xxxv)

THE
Tragedie of King
Richard the Se-
cond:

*With new additions of the Parliament Sceane,
and the deposing of King
Richard.*

As it hath been lately acted by the Kinges
Maiesties seruants, at the Globe.

By William Shake-speare.

At LONDON,

Printed for *Mathew Law*, and are to be sold
at his shop in *Paules Church-yard*, at the
signe of the *Foxe*.

1615.

(xxxvi)

THE LATE
And much admired Play,
called
Pericles, Prince of
Tyre.

*With the true Relation of the whole Hi-
story, adventures, and fortunes of
the saide Prince.*

Written by W. SHAKESPEARE.

Printed for T. P. 1619.

(xxxvii)

A

Most pleasant and excellent
conceited Comedy,
of Sir Iohn Falstaffe, and the
merry Wiues of Windsor.

With the swaggering vaine of Ancient *Pistoll*, and Corporall *Nym*.

Written by W. SHAKESPEARE.

Printed for *Arthur Johnson*, 1619.

(xxxviii)

The
Whole Contention
betweene the two Famous
Houses, LANCASTER and
YORKE.

*With the Tragicall ends of the good Duke
Humfrey, Richard Duke of Yorke,
and King Henrie the
sixt.*

Diuided into two Parts: And newly corrected and
enlarged. Written by *William Shake-
speare*, Gent.

Printed at London, for T. P. [1619]

(xxxix)

THE
TRAGEDIE
OF
KING RICHARD
THE THIRD.

Contayning his treacherous Plots against
his brother Clarence: The pittifull murder of his innocent
Nephewes: his tyrannicall Usurpation: with the whole
course of his detested life, and most
deserued death.

As it hath been lately Acted by the Kings Maiesties
Seruants.

Newly augmented.
By *William Shake-speare.*

LONDON,

Printed by *Thomas Purfoot*, and are to be sold by *Mathew Law*, dwelling
In *Paul's Church-yard*, at the Signe of the *Foxe*, neere
S. Austines gate. 1622.

THE
Tragœdy of Othello,
The Moore of Venice.

*As it hath beene diuerse times acted at the
Globe, and at the Black Friers, by
his Maiesties Seruants.*

Written by William Shakespeare.

LONDON,

Printed by N. O. for *Thomas Walkley* and are to be sold at his
shop, at the Eagle and Child, in Brittons Bursse.

1622.

(xli)

The
Stationer to the Reader.

To set forth a book without an Epistle, were like to the old English proverbe '*A blew coat without a Badge,*' and the author being dead, I thought good to take that piece of work upon me: to commend it, I will not, for that which is good, I hope everyone will commend without entreaty: and I am the bolder, because the author's name is sufficient to vent his worke. Thus leaving every one to the liberty of Judgment: I have ventured to print this play and leave it to the generall censure.

Yours,

Thomas Walkley.

THE
HISTORIE
of
Henry the Fourth.

With the Battell at *Shrewseburie*, betweene
the King, and Lord *Henry Percy*, surnamed
Henry Hotspur of the North.

With the humorous conceits of Sir
Iohn Falstaffe.

Newly corrected,
By *William Shake-speare*.

LONDON

Printed by *T. P.* and are to be sold by *Mathew Law*, dwelling
in *Pauls Church-yard*, at the Signe of the Foxe, near
S. Austines gate. 1622.

(xliii)

SHAKE-SPEARES
SONNETS,

Neuer before Imprinted.

AT LONDON

By *G. Eld* for *T. T.* and are
to be solde by *Iohn Wright*, dwelling
at Christ Church gate.

1609.

(xliv)

TO . THE . ONLIE . BEGETTER . OF .
THESE . INSUING . SONNETS .
MR. W. H. ALL . HAPPINESSE .
AND . THAT . ETERNITIE .
PROMISED .
BY .
OUR . EVER-LIVING . POET
WISHETH .
THE . WELL-WISHING .
ADVENTURER . IN .
SETTING .
FORTH .

T. T.

A Lovers complaint.

By
WILLIAM SHAKE-SPEARE.

329 lines—Printed at the end
of the 154th sonnet.

SHAKE-SPEARES

SONNETS.

Neuer before Imprinted.

AT LONDON

By *G. Eld* for *T. T.* and are
to be solde by *William Aspley.*

1609.

(xlvii)

THE
PASSIONATE
PILGRIME.

By W. Shakespeare.

AT LONDON

Printed for W. Iaggard, and are
to be sold by W. Leake, at the Grey-
hound in Paules Churchyard.

1599.

(xlviij)

TO THE READER.

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

B. I.

MR. WILLIAM
SHAKESPEARES
COMEDIES,
HISTORIES, &
TRAGEDIES.

Published according to the True Originall Copies.

[PORTRAIT]

LONDON

Printed by Isaac Iaggard, and Ed. Blount, 1623.

* One copy in the British Museum has this printed in full "and."

(1)

To the most Noble and Incomparable pair of Brethren,
William Earl of Pembroke, &c

Lord Chamberlain to the Kings most Excellent Majesty ;

AND

Philip E. of Montgomery, &c.

Gentleman to his Majesties Bed-Chamber. Both Knights of the most Noble
Order of the Garter, and our singular good Lords,

Right Honourable,

WHILST we study to be thankful in our particular, for the many Favours we have received from your L.L. we are faln upon the ill fortune, to mingle two the most diverse things that can be, fear, and rashness, in the enterprise, and fear of the success: For, when we value the places your H.H. sustain, we cannot but know their dignity greater, than to descend to the reading of these trifles: and while we name them trifles, we have depriv'd our selves of the defence of our Dedication. But since your L.L. have been pleas'd to think these trifles something heretofore, and have prosecuted both them, and their Author living, with so much favour: we hope, (that they out living him, and he not having the fate, common with some, to be Executor to his own writings) you will use the same indulgence toward them, you have done unto their parent. There is a great difference, whether any Book chuse his Patrons, or find them: This hath done both. For, so much were your L.L. likings of the several parts, when they were Acted, as before they were published, the Volume ask'd to be yours. We have but collected them, and done an office to the dead, to procure his Orphans, Guardians; without ambition either of self-profit, or fame: only to keep the memory of so worthy a Friend and Fellow alive, as was our *Shakespear*, by humble offer of his *Plays*, to your Most Noble Patronage: Wherein as we have justly observed, no man to come near your L.L. but with a kind of religious address; it hath been the height of our care, who are the Presenters, to make the Present worthy of your H.H. by the Perfection: But there we must also crave our abilities

abilities to be considered, my Lords. We cannot go beyond our own powers :
Country hands reach forth Milk, Cream, Fruits, or what they have: and many
Nations (we have heard) that had not Gums and Incense, obtained their requests with
a leavened Cake ; it was no fault to approach their gods, by what means they could :
And the most, though meanest of things, are made precious, when they are dedicated
to Temples. In that name therefore, we most humbly consecrate to your H.H. these
Remains of your servant *Shakespear*; that what delight is in them, may be ever your
L.L. the reputation his, and the faults ours, if any be committed by a pair so careful
to shew their gratitude both to the living, and the dead, as is

Your Lordships most bounden,

JOHN HEMINGE,
HENRY CONDELL.

TO THE
Great Variety
OF
Readers,

FROM the most able, to him that can but spell. *There you are numbred. We had rather you | were weigh'd. Especially, when the fate of all Books depends upon your capacities : and not of | your heads alone, but of your Purses. Well, it is now publick, and you will stand for your privi | ledges, we know : to read, and censure. Do so, but buy it first ; that doth best commend a | Boook, the Stationer says. Then how odd soever your brains be, or your wisdoms, make your | silence the same, and spare not. Judg your six-penny worth, your shillings-worth, your five shillings-worth | at a time, or higher, so you rise to the just rates, and welcome. But, whatever you do, Buy. Censure will | not drive a trade, nor make the Jack go. And tho you be a Magistrate of Wit, and sit on the stage at | Black-Fryers, or the Cock-pit, to arraign Plays daily ; know, these Plays have had their tryal already, | and stood out all Appeals ; and do now come forth quitted rather by a Decree of Court, than any pur | chas'd Letters of Comendation.*

It had been a thing, we confess, worthy to have been wished, that the Author himself had lived to have set forth, | and overseen his own Writings; But since it hath been ordain'd otherwise, and he by death departed from that | right, we pray you do not envy his Friends the office of their care and pain, to have collected and published them; | and so to have publish'd them, as where (before) you were abus'd with divers stoln and surreptitious Copies, | maimed and deformed by the frauds and stealths of injurious Impostors, that expos'd them : even those, are now | offered to your view cured, and perfect of their limbs; and all the rest, absolute in their numbers as he con | ceived them. Who, as he was a happy imitator of Nature, was a most gentle expresser of it. His mind | and hand went together : And what he thought, he uttered with that easiness, that we have scarce received | from him a blot in his Papers. But it is not our Province, who only gather his Works, and give them | you to praise him. It is yours that read him. And there we hope, to your divers capacities, you will find | enough, both to draw, and hold you : for his wit can no more lie hid, than it could be lost. Read him | therefore, again and again : And if then you do not like him, surely you are in some manifest danger, not | to understand him. And so we leave you to other of his Friends, who, if you need, can be your guides : if | you need them not, you can lead your selves, and others. And such Readers we wish him.

J. HEMINGE.
H. CONDELL.

TO THE MEMORY OF MY BELOVED,
THE AUTHOR, MR. WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE,
AND WHAT HE HATH LEFT US.

To draw no envy, (*Shakespeare,*) on thy name,
Am I thus ample to thy book, and fame ;
While I confess thy *writings* to be such,
As neither *Man*, nor *Muse*, can praise too much.
'Tis true, and all men's suffrage. But these ways
Were not the paths I meant unto thy praise :
For seeliest ignorance on these may light,
Which, when it sounds at best, but eccho's right ;
Or blind *Affection*, which doth ne'er advance
The truth, but gropes, and urgeth all by *chance* ;
Or crafty malice, might pretend this praise,
And think to ruin where it seem'd to raise.
These are, as some infamous Bawd, or Whore,
Should praise a *Matron*. What could hurt her more ?
But thou art proof against them, and indeed
Above th' ill fortune of them, or the need.
I therefore will begin. Soul of the *Age*,
The applause ! delight ! the wonder of our Stage,
My *Shakespear*, rise ; I will not lodg thee by
Chaucer, or *Spenser*, or bid *Beaumont* lie
A little further, to make thee a room :
Thou art a Monument without a Tomb,
And art alive still, while thy Book doth live,
And we have wits to read, and praise to give.
That I not mix thee so, my brain excuses ;
I mean with great, but disproportion'd Muses :
For if I thought my judgment were of years,

I should commit thee surely with thy Peers ;
And tell how far thou didst our *Lily* out-shine,
Or sporting *Kid*, or *Marlow's* mighty Line.
And tho thou hadst small *Latine*, and less *Greek*,
From thence to honour thee, I would not seek
For names ; but call forth thund'ring *Æschylus*,
Euripides, and *Sophocles* to us,
Pacuvius, *Accius*, him of *Cordova* dead,
To live again, to hear thy *Buskin* tread,
And shake a Stage : Or, when thy Socks were on,
Leave thee alone for the comparison
Of all, that insolent *Greece*, or haughty *Rome*,
Sent forth, or since did from their ashes come.
Triumph, my *Britain* ! thou hast one to show,
To whom all Scenes of *Europe* homage owe.
He was not of an age, but for all time !
And all the *Muses*, still were in their prime,
When like *Apollo* he came forth to warm
Our ears, or like a *Mercury* to charm !
Nature herself was proud of his designs,
And joy'd to wear the dressing of his Lines ;
Which were so richly spun, and wov'n so fit,
As, since, she will vouchsafe no other wit.
The merry *Greek*, tart *Aristophanes*,
Neat *Terence*, witty *Plautus*, now not please ;
But antiquated and deserted lie
As they were not of *Natures* family.
Yet must I not give *Nature* all : Thy *Art*,
My gentle *Shakespear* must enjoy a part.
For tho the *Poets* matter *Nature* be,
His *Art* doth give the *Fashion*. And, that he,

Who casts to write a living *line*, must sweat,
(Such as thine are) and strike a second *heat*
Upon the *Muses* Anvile: turn the same,
(And himself with it) that he thinks to frame;
Or for the Lawrel, he may gain a scorn,
For a good *Poet's* made, as well as born.
And such wert thou. Look how the Fathers face
Lives in his Issue, even so the race
Of *Shakespear's* mind, and manners brightly shines
In his well turned, and true filed lines:
In each of which, he seems to shake a Lance,
As brandish't at the eyes of *Ignorance*.
Sweet *Swan* of *Avon*! what a sight it were
To see thee in our water yet appear,
And make those flights upon the Banks of *Thames*,
That so did take *Eliza*, and our *James*!
But stay, I see thee in the *Hemisphere*
Advanc'd, and made a *Constellation* there!
Shine forth, thou *Star* of *Poets*, and with rage,
Or influence, chide, or chear the drooping Stage,
Which, since thy flight from hence, hath mourn'd like
 night,
And despairs day, but by thy *Volumes* light!

BEN JOHNSON.



TO THE
MEMORY OF THE DECEASED AUTHOR,
MASTER W. SHAKESPEARE.

Shakespear, at length thy pious Fellows give
The World thy Works; thy Works, by which, out live
Thy *Tomb*, thy *Name* must: when that *stone* is rent,
And Time dissolves thy *Stratford* Monument,
Here we alive shall view thee still. This *Book*,
When Brass and Marble fade, shall make thee look
Fresh to all Ages; when posterity
Shall loath what's new, think all is prodigy
That is not *Shakespear's*; ev'ry Line, each Verse
Here shall revive, redeem thee from thy Herse.
Nor Fire, nor cankring Age, as *Naso* said
Of his, thy wit-fraught *Book* shall once invade.
Nor shall I ere believe, or think thee dead,
(Tho mist), until our bankrout *Stage* be sped
(Impossible) with some new strain t'out-do
Passions of *Juliet*, and her *Romeo*;
Or till I hear a Scene more nobly take,
Than when thy half sword parlying *Yeomans* spake.
Till these, till any of thy Volumes rest
Shall with more fire, more feeling be expresst,
Be sure, our *Shakespear*, thou canst never die,
But crown'd with Lawrel, live eternally.

L. DIGGES.

UPON THE LINES, AND LIFE, OF THE
FAMOUS SCENICKE POET,
MASTER WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE.

Those hands, which you so clapt, go now, and wring
You *Britaines* brave; for done are *Shakespeares* days;
His dayes are done, that made the dainty Playes,
Which made the globe of heau'n and earth to ring:
Dry'de is that veine, dry'd is the *Thespian* Spring,
Turn'd all to teares, and *Phæbus* clouds his rayes;
That corp'e, that coffin, now besticke those bayes,
Which crown'd him *Poet* first, then *Poets'* King.
If *Tragedies* might any *Prologue* haue,
All those he made would scarce make one to this;
Where *Fame*, now that he gone is to the graue,
(Death's publique tyring-house) the *Nuncius* is:
For, though his line of life went soone about,
The life yet of his lines shall neuer out.

HUGH HOLLAND.

TO THE MEMORY OF MR. W. SHAKESPEAR.

We wonder (*Shakespear*) that thou went'st so soon,
From the World's-Stage, to the Graves-Tyring-room.
We thought thee dead, but this thy Printed worth
Tells thy Spectators, that thou went'st but forth
To enter with applause. An *Actors* Art,
Can dye, and live, to *act* a second Part.
That's but an Exit of Mortality;
This, a Re-entrance to a *Plaudite*.

J. M.

FINIS.

Printed at the Charges of W. Iaggard, Ed. Blount,
I. Smithweeke and W. Aspley, 1623.

(lxi)

Palladis Tamia.

WITS

TREASURY

Being the Second part
of Wits Common
wealth.

BY

Francis Meres, Maister
of Artes of both Uni-
uersities.

Viuitur ingenio, cætera mortis erunt.

AT LONDON

Printed by P. Short, for Cuthbert Burbie, and
are to be folde at his fhop at the Royall
Exchange. 1598.

(lxii)



f. 280^a

As the Greeke tongue is made famous and eloquent by *Homer, Hesiod, Euripedes, Aeschilus, Sophocles, Pindarus, Phocylides* and *Aristophanes*; and the Latine tongue by *Virgill, Ouid, Horace, Silius Italicus, Lucanus, Lucretius, Aufonius* and *Claudianus*: so the English tongue is mightily enriched, and gorgeouflic inuested in rare ornaments and replendent abiliments by fir *Philip Sidney, Spencer, Daniel, Drayton, Warner, Shakespeare, Marlow* and *Chapman*.

f. 281^b

As the foule of *Euphorbus* was thought to liue in *Pythagoras*: so the sweete wittie foule of *Ouid* liues in mellifluous and hony-tongued *Shakespeare*, witnes his *Venus*

f. 282^a

and *Adonis*, his *Lucrece*, his fugred Sonnets among his priuate friends, &c.

As *Plautus* and *Seneca* are accounted the best for Comedy and Tragedy among the Latines: so *Shakespeare* among y^e English is the most excellent in both kinds for the stage; for Comedy, witnes his *Gentleme of Verona*, his *Errors*, his *Loue labors lost*, his *Loue labours wonne*, his *Midsummers night dreame*, and his *Merchant of Venice*: for Tragedy his *Richard the 2*, *Richard the 3*,

Henry the 4, King John, Titus Andronicus and his *Romeo and Iuliet*.*

As *Epius Stolo* said, that the Muses would speake with *Plautus* tongue, if they would speake Latin: so I say that the Muses would speake with *Shakespeares* fine filed phraze, if they would speake English.

f. 282^b As *Pindarus, Anacreon* and *Callimachus* among the
Greekes; and *Horace* and *Catullus* among the Latines are
f. 283^a the best Lyrick Poets: so in this faculty the best amōg
our Poets are *Spencer* (who excelleth in all kinds) *Daniel*,
Drayton, Shakespeare, Bretto.

As these Tragicke Poets flourished in Greece, *Aeschylus*,
Euripedes, Sophocles, Alexander Aetolus, Achæus Erithriæus,
Astydamas Atheniësis, Apollodorus Tarsensis, Nicomachus
Phrygius, Theſpis Atticus, and *Timon Apolloniates*; and these

*Of these plays mentioned by Meres, four were in print at the time of his enumeration, if we assume his "King John" to be "The Troublesome Reign of King John," dated 1591: the other three are "Richard II.," "Richard III.," and "Romeo and Juliet." These three were published in 1597. All four were without any name of author. "King John" was published under the title of W. Sh., 1611; "Richard II." appeared under name of William Shakespeare, 1608, and "Richard III." 1600; "Romeo and Juliet," 1599; one undated. Of the remaining eight four were subsequently published under the name of Shakespeare in his lifetime—(1) "Love's Labour Lost," 1598; (2) "Midsummer Night's Dream," 1600; two editions "Merchant of Venice," 1600, "Henry IV." first portion, 1598, 1613 (newly corrected) second part, 1600, "Love's Labour Won" is supposed to be the play "All's Well That Ends Well," which did not appear in print until it appeared in the folio volume. "Titus Andronicus" appeared 1600, 1611, but without the name, till it appeared in the folio volume. "Two Gentlemen of Verona" and the "Comedy of Errors" were not published until they appeared in the folio volume.

f. 283^a among the Latines, *Accius*, *M. Attilius Pomponius Secundus* and *Seneca* : fo these are our best for Tragedie, the Lorde *Buckhurst*, Doctor *Leg* of Cambridge, Doctor *Edes* of Oxforde, maister *Edward Ferris*, the Authour of the *Mirroure for Magistrates*, *Marlow*, *Peele*, *Watson*, *Kid*, *Shakespeare*, *Drayton*, *Chapman*, *Decker* and *Beniamin Johnson*.

The best Poets for Comedy among the Greeks are these, *Menander*, *Aristophanes*, *Eupolis Atheniensis*, *Alexis Terius*, *Nicostratus*, *Amipfias Atheniensis*, *Anaxãdrides Rhodius*,
f. 283^b *Aristonymus*, *Archippus Atheniẽfis* and *Callias Atheniensis* ; and among the Latines, *Plautus*, *Terence*, *Næuius*, *Sext*, *Turpilius*, *Licinius Imbrex*, and *Virgilius Romanus* : so the best for Comedy amongst us bee, *Edward Earle* of Oxforde, Doctor *Gager* of Oxforde, Maister *Rowley* once a rare Scholler of learned *Pembrooke Hall* in Cambridge, Master *Edwardes* one of her Maiefties Chappell, eloquent and wittie *John Lilly*, *Lodge*, *Gascoyne*, *Greene*, *Shakespeare*, *Thomas Nash*, *Thomas Heywood*, *Anthony Mundy* our best plotter, *Chapman*, *Porter*, *Wilson*, *Hathway* and *Henry Chettle*.

f. 283^b As these are famous among the Greeks for Elegie, *Melanthus*, *Mymnerus Colophonius*, *Olympius*, *Myfius*,
f. 284^a *Parthenius Nicæus*, *Philetas Cous*, *Theogenes Megarensis*, and

Figres Halicarnassæus; and these among the Latines,
f. 284^v *Mecænas, Ouid, Tibullus, Propertius, T. Valgius, Cassius*
Seuerus and Clodius Sabinus: so these are the most passionate
among vs to bewaile and bemoane the perplexities of Loue,
Henrie Howard Earle of Surrey, fir Thomas Wyat the elder,
fir Francis Brian, fir Philip Sidney, fir Walter Rawley, fir
Edward Dyer, Spencer, Daniel, Drayton, Shakef-peare,
Whetstone, Gascoyne, Samuell Page fometimes fellowe of
Corpus Christi Colledge in Oxford, Churchyard, Bretton.

LOVES MARTYR:
OR
ROSALINS COMPLAINT.

*Allegorically shadowing the truth of Loue,
in the constant Fate of the Phœnix
and Turtle.*

A Poeme enterlaced with much varietie and raritie;
now first translated out of the venerable Italian Torquato
Cæliano, by ROBERT CHESTER.

With the true legend of famous King *Arthur*, the last of the nine
Worthies, being the first *Efsay* of a new *Brytish* Poet: collected
out of diuerse Authentickall Records.

*To these are added some new compositions, of seuerall moderne Writers
whose names are subscribed to their seuerall workes, vpon the
first subiect: viz. the Phœnix and
Turtle.*

Mar:—Mutare dominum non potest liber notus.



LONDON
Imprinted for E.B.
1601.
(lxvii)

HEREAFTER FOLLOWV DIVERSE

Poeticall Effaies on the former Subject; viz. : the *Turtle* and *Phœnix*.

Done by the best and chiefest of our
moderne writers, with their names subscribed to their particular workes :
neuer before extant.

And (now first) consecrated by them all generally,
to the loue and merite of the true-noble Knight,
Sir Iohn Salisburie.

Dignum laude virum Musa vetat mori.

Anchora Spei.

MDCI.

(lxxviii)

Let the bird of lowdeft lay,
On the fole *Arabian* tree,
Herauld fad and trumpet be :
To whofe found chafte wings obay.

But thou fhriking harbinger,
Foule precurrer of the fiend,
Augour of the feuers end,
To this troupe come thou not neere.

From this Seffion interdict
Euery foule of tyrant wing,
Sawe the Eagle feath'red King,
Keepe the obfequie fo ftrict.

Let the Priest in Surples white,
That defunctiue Muficke can,
Be the death-deuining Swan,
Left the *Requiem* lacke his right.

And thou treble dated Crow,
That thy fable gender mak'ft,
With the breath thou giu'ft and tak'ft,
Mongft our mourners fhalt thou go.

Here the Antheme doth commence,
Loue and Conftancie is dead,
Phœnix and the *Turtle* fled,
In a mutuall flame from hence.

So they loued as loue in twaine,
Had the effence but in one,

Two

Two distincts, Diuision none,
Number there in loue was flaine.

Hearts remote, yet not asunder ;
Distance and no space was feene,
Twixt this *Turtle* and his Queene ;
But in them it were a wonder.

So betweene them Loue did shine,
That the *Turtle* saw his right,
Flaming in the *Phœnix* fight ;
Either was the others mine.

Propertie was thus appalled,
That the selfe was not the fame :
Single Natures double name,
Neither two nor one was called.

Reason in it selfe confounded,
Saw Diuision grow together,
To themselues yet either neither,
Simple were so well compounded.

That it cried, how true a twaine,
Seemeth this concordant one,
Loue hath Reason, Reason none,
If what parts, can so remaine.

Whereupon it made this *Threne*,
To the *Phœnix* and the *Doue*,
Co-supremes and starres of Loue,
As *Chorus* to their Tragique Scene.



Threnos.

BEautie, Truth, and Raritie,
Grace in all simplicitie,
Here enclofde, in cinders lie.

Death is now the *Phaenix* nest,
And the *Turtles* loyall brest,
To eternitie doth rest.

Leauing no posteritie,
Twas not their infirmitie,
It was married Chastitie.

Truth may seeme, but cannot be,
Beautie bragge, but tis not she,
Truth and Beautie buried be.

To this vrne let those repaire,
That are either true or faire,
For these dead Birds, sigh a prayer.

William Shake-speare.

From folio Edition of Ben Jonson
published 1616.

Every Man in his Humour.

[at end]

This Comoedie was first
Acted, in the yeere
1598.

*By the then L. Chamberlayne
his Seruants.*

The principall Comœdians were,

Will. Shakespeare.	Ric. Burbadge.
Aug. Philips.	Joh. Hemings.
Hen. Condell.	Tho. Pope.
Will. Slye.	Chr. Beeston.
Will. Kempe.	Joh. Duke.

With the Allowance of the Master of Revells.

(lxxii)



From folio edition of Ben Jonson
published 1616.

Sejanus.

[at end]

This Tragœdie was first
acted, in the yeere
1603.

By the King's Majesties
Servants.

The Principall Tragœdians were,

Ric. Burbadge.	Will. Shake-Speare.
Aug. Philips.	Joh. Hemings.
Will. Sly.	Hen. Condel.
Joh. Lowin.	Alex. Cooke.

With the allowance of the Master of Revells.

(lxxiii)

FROM BEN JONSON'S TIMBER OR
DISCOVERIES.

Cunningham's Edition, 9th vol., p. 155.

De Shakspeare nostrat.—Augustus in Hat.

I remember, the players have often mentioned it as an honour to Shakespeare, that in his writing (whatsoever he penned) he never blotted out a line. My answer hath been, Would that he had blotted a thousand. Which they thought a malevolent speech. I had not told posterity this, but for their ignorance, who chose that circumstance to commend their friend by, wherein he most faulted; and to justify mine own candour: for I loved the man, and do honour his memory, on this side idolatry, as much as any. He was (indeed) honest, and of an open and free nature; had an excellent phantasy, brave notions, and gentle expressions; wherein he flowed with that facility, that sometimes it was necessary he should be stopped: *Sufflaminandus erat*, as Augustus said of Haterius. His wit was in his own power, would the rule of it had been so too. Many times he fell into those things, could not escape laughter: as when he said in the person of Caesar, one speaking to him, "Caesar, thou dost me wrong." He replied, "Caesar did never wrong but with just cause," and such like; which were ridiculous. But he redeemed his vices with his virtues. There was ever more in him to be praised than to be pardoned.



“Is it not strange that I, to whom they have all been beholding; is it not like that you, to whom they all have been beholding, shall (were ye in that case that I am now) be both of them at once of them forsaken?

Yes, trust them not: for there is an upstart crow, beautified with our feathers, that with his *Tiger's Heart Wrapt in a Player's Hide* supposes he is as well able to bumbast out a blanke verse as the best of you; and being an absolute Johannes factotum, is in his own conceit, the only Shake-scene in a countrie.

Greene, Groat's-worth of Wit.



ON SHAKESPEARE, 1630.

What needs my Shakespeare for his honoured bones
The labour of an age in pilèd stones?
Or that his hallowed reliques should be hid
Under a star-ypointing pyramid?
Dear son of memory, great heir of fame,
What need'st thou such weak witness of thy name?
Thou in our wonder and astonishment
Hast built thyself a livelong monument.
For whilst, to the shame of slow-endeavouring art,
Thy easy numbers flow, and that each heart
Hath from the leaves of thy unvalued book
Those Delphic lines with deep impression took,
Then thou, our fancy of itself bereaving,
Dost make *us* marble with too much conceiving,
And so sepúlchred in such pomp dost lie
That kings for such a tomb would wish to die.

MILTON (Edit. Masson, 1874.)

SHAKESPEARE.

EDITIONS OF POEMS AND PLAYS
PUBLISHED BEFORE 1627.

Those marked *a* have the author's name in full.

_____ *b* _____ W. S. on the Title.

_____ *c* W. Sh. _____

_____ *d* _____ no name _____

SHAKESPEARE.

Editions of Poems and Plays before 1627.

<i>d</i>	KING JOHN. (Capell Coll.)		1591
<i>c</i>	_____	4to	1611
<i>a</i>	_____	4to	1622
<i>d</i>	VENUS and ADONIS. Title and dedication. 2 ll. (Bodleian)	4to	1593
<i>d</i>	_____ (B.M.)	4to	1594
<i>d</i>	_____	sm. 8vo	1596
<i>d</i>	_____ (Sir C. Isham's copy)		1599
<i>d</i>	_____ (Bodleian)	sm. 8vo	1600
<i>d</i>	_____	16mo	1602
<i>d</i>	_____ (Bodleian)	12mo	1617
	_____ (Bodleian)	18mo	1620
<i>d a</i>	LUCRECE. Title and dedication. 2 ll.	4to	1594
	_____ (Mentioned, not seen by Malone)		1596
<i>d</i>	_____ (Capell Coll. Camb.)	18mo	1598
<i>d</i>	_____ (Bodleian)	24mo	1600
<i>d</i>	_____ (Capell Coll.)	sm. 8vo	1607
<i>a</i>	_____	8vo	1616
<i>a</i>	_____	16mo	1624

- a* Author's name in full.
b W. S.
c W. Sh.
d No name.

<i>b</i>	LOCRINE	4to	1595
<i>d</i>	ROMEO and JULIET	4to	1597
<i>d</i>	_____	4to	1599
<i>d</i>	_____	4to	1607
<i>d</i>	_____	4to	1609
<i>d</i>	KING RICHARD II. (Capell Coll.) ...	4to	1597
<i>a</i>	_____	4to	1598
<i>a</i>	_____	4to	1608
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<i>a</i>	_____	4to	1615
<i>d</i>	KING RICHARD III.	4to	1597
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<i>a</i>	_____	4to	1602
<i>a</i>	_____	4to	1605
<i>a</i>	_____	4to	1612
<i>a</i>	_____ (Doubtful Lowndes.)		1621
<i>a</i>	_____ (B.M., Capell and Bodleian)	4to	1622
<i>a</i>	_____ (Doubtful Lowndes.)	4to	1624
<i>a</i>	LOVE'S LABOUR LOST	4to	1598

- a* Author's name in full.
b W. S.
c W. Sh.
d No name.

<i>d</i>	KING HENRY IV. Part 1.	4to	1598
<i>a</i>	_____	4to	1599
<i>a</i>	_____ (Bodleian)		1604
<i>a</i>	_____	4to	1608
<i>a</i>	_____	4to	1613
<i>a</i>	_____ (another copy different in text only)	4to	1613
<i>a</i>	_____	4to	1622
<i>a</i>	PASSIONATE PILGRIM. (Capell Coll.)	4to	1599
<i>a</i>	_____ 2nd edition. (No copy known Lowndes)		
<i>a</i>	_____ (Bodleian)	4to	1612
<i>a</i>	KING HENRY IV. Part 2.	4to	1600
<i>a</i>	MERCHANT OF VENICE	4to	1600
<i>a</i>	_____ (different Title)	4to	1600
<i>a</i>	MIDSUMMER NIGHT'S DREAM	4to	1600
<i>a</i>	_____ (different printer)	4to	1600
<i>a</i>	MUCH ADOE ABOUT NOTHING	4to	1600
<i>a</i>	SIR JOHN OLDCASTLE	4to	1600

a Author's name in full.
b W. S.
c W. Sh.
d No name.

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<i>d</i>	KING HENRY V.	4to	1600
<i>d</i>	_____ (Devonshire Coll. and Capell)	4to	1602
<i>d</i>	_____	4to	1608
<i>d</i>	KING HENRY VI. Part 3.	4to	1600
<i>a</i>	_____ Part 2 and 3.	4to	1619
<i>d</i>	TITUS ANDRONICUS		1600*
<i>d</i>	_____	4to	1611
<i>a</i>	MERRY WIVES OF WINDSOR. (Bodleian)		1602
<i>a</i>	_____	4to	1619
<i>a</i>	HAMLET	4to	1603
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<i>a</i>	_____	4to	1605
<i>a</i>	_____	4to	1609
<i>a</i>	_____	4to	1611
<i>a</i>	LONDON PRODIGAL	4to	1605
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<i>a</i>	KING LEAR	4to	1608
<i>a</i>	_____ (another edition with differences)	4to	1608

a Author's name in full.

b W. S.

c W. Sh.

d No name.

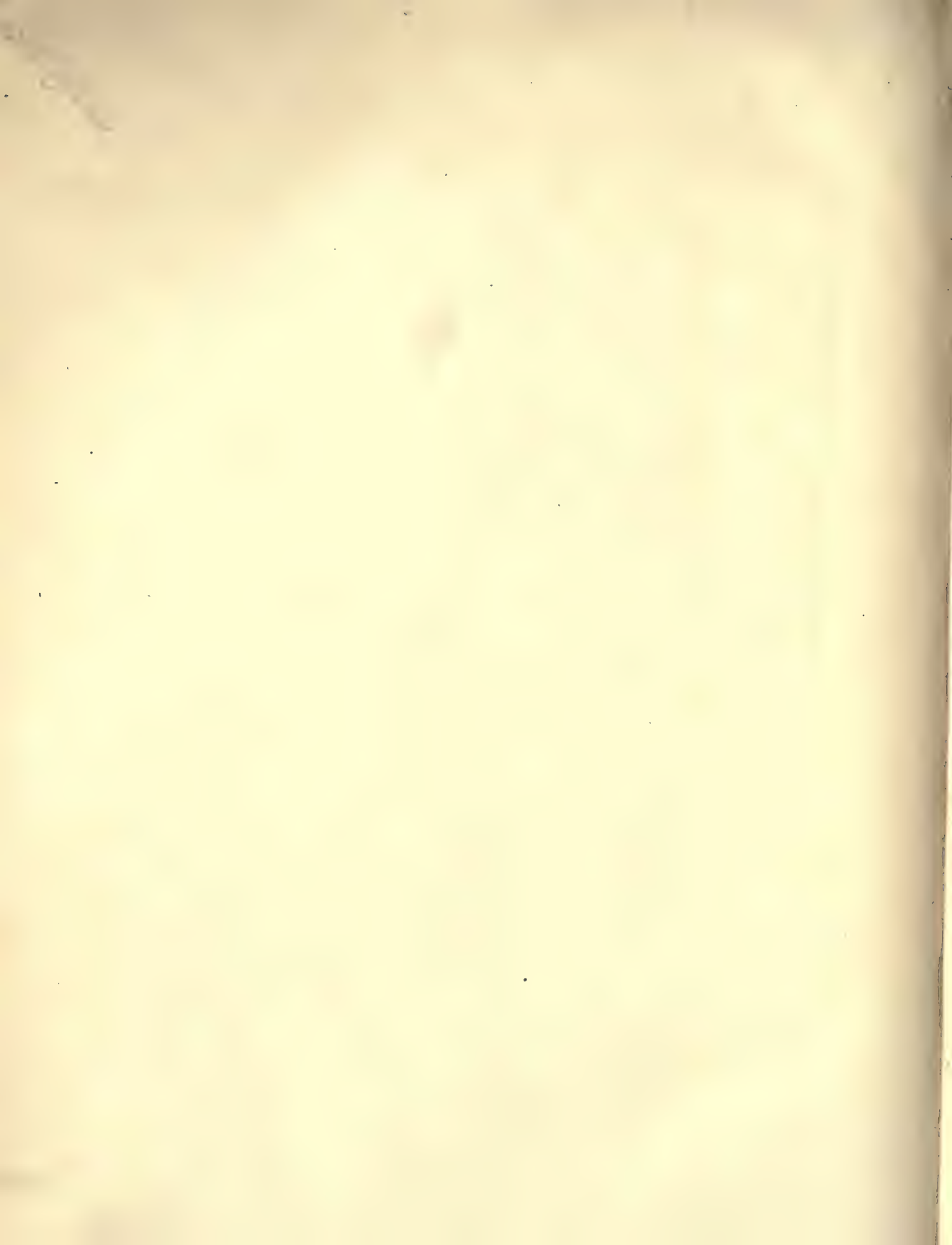
* A facsimile of this edition is in the B. M. *Lowndes*.

<i>a</i>	YORKSHIRE TRAGEDY	4to	1608
<i>a</i>	_____	4to	1619
<i>a</i>	SONNETS	4to	1609
<i>a</i>	_____ (different imprint)	4to	1609
<i>a</i>	TROILUS and CRESSIDA	4to	1609
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<i>b</i>	LIFE OF LORD CROMWELL	4to	1613
<i>a</i>	OTHELLO	4to	1622

<i>a</i>	WORKS. Editio princeps	folio	1623
<i>a</i>	_____ (different Title)	folio	1623

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b W. S.
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