THE EARLY LIFE

OF

LORD BACON.

NEWLY STUDIED

BY

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MCMII.

PREFACE.

THIS little work is mainly argumentative, and in all prolonged arguments some points may be strong and others weak, yet the general case presented may be powerful enough to carry *primâ facie* conviction to the unprejudiced.

That is all I ask. As to such copies as my publishers may think fit to send to the Press, let me say I do not seek a review, unless my reviewer is first willing to read the book from cover to cover and deal mainly with the strong points. I am not prepared to acquiesce in mere flippant abuse exceeding the limits of fair criticism. While I trust by the sale of some copies of this little work to recoup the expense of research and publication, my primary object is not to make money by it; so I request any critic not prepared to write fairly, to let this pamphlet alone. To the scholarly man some apology is due. My poor style and grammatical and constructional weaknesses may cause occasional irritation. For this may I be excused. I have neither the time nor the capacity for literary achievement and it is no pleasure to me to come into the open and face the prepossessions of a great many literary men. I take up the subject because of my keen interest and belief in the unpopular side of the question. Have we or have we not yet known our greatest Englishman?

Many expressions of doubt, uncertainty, and speculation must necessarily be found in my sketch, though, perhaps, not more than in Mr. Sydney Lee's speculations concerning the life of William Shakespeare, which has been called the best book of its year.

Lastly, may I remind Baconians and everybody else of the fact that Lord Bacon had a youth as well as an old age. To test the authorship of early Elizabethan writings by comparison with works written by his Lordship after his fiftieth year is not a final disposition of the matter. I have followed the lead of Dr. Rawley, Stephens, Pope, Lord Macaulay, and later writers in entitling him "Lord Bacon" instead of "Francis Bacon, Baron Verulam, Viscount St. Alban." The title is convenient even if not correct.

PARKER WOODWARD.

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BY the "gentle reader" I mean the bustling journalist, who has necessarily and quickly to apply smatterings of knowledge and his prepossessions to the discussion of many subjects involving research and thought, for which time will not admit. I also include the expert who, with the best intentions, has steeped himself in traditional views, and whose disposition, unless he can summon sufficient strength of mind, is to waive new studies of his favourite subject.

Mainly, however, I want to appeal to every man and woman of reasonable culture who may feel interested and desirous of hearing whatever may be fairly advanced on a subject of much difficulty.

An American gentleman, and, more recently, an American lady, have successively assured us, though not to demonstration, that they have discovered and deciphered certain communications from a deceased Lord Chancellor of England, whose memory is burdened with a savoury name and a somewhat unsavoury reputation.

The story communicated has for certain of its objects the dispossession of the name and clearance of the reputation.

But its chief importance to us at the present day consists in a claim to literary authorship, vast in extent and

significance; one which, if true, will involve the re-writing of several biographies and the re-distribution and sorting of a great deal of literary matter.

For the moment critics, upon whose veracity and care we have hitherto relied, have alleged that they have found sufficient corroborative indications of the existence of a cipher as to amount to a *primâ facie* proof, and they are calling upon the lady to complete her proofs to demonstration.

Eminent critics, on the other hand, assert that they have carefully tested and find no corroboration, and impeach either the honour or the intellectual soundness of the discoverers.

The majority of us need not concern ourselves with the technical question at issue. It will very promptly be settled one way or another.

In the meantime, as a matter of intellectual pastime, I want to take Mrs. Gallup upon her honourable assurance that the story she writes has been genuinely deciphered, and to see how the biography of Lord Bacon for the first thirty-six years of his life may be re-written, having regard to the alleged new facts and circumstances we are to take into account.

I have for mental recreation during some years taken much interest in one of the disputed claims of authorship, which, if the cipher be shewn to be a hallucination or a literary fraud, will still remain for settlement. I have read and possess many volumes of criticism containing an accumulation of strong points for what is known as the Baconian theory, accompanied by others which are probably untenable. One curious fact about these writings is that they are largely independent protests which have been raised and shaped from time to time against the titular notion, and are not the result of organized working or collaboration.

I refer more particularly to the works of Messrs. Wigston, Reed, Theobald, White, Donnelly and James, of Mrs. Pott, and of many others whose scattered writings appear in the publications of the Bacon Society. These works have never

attained general circulation, and the ordinary reader is therefore unaware of the weight of accumulated criticism and evidence which can be brought to bear. I have read and possess much of the literature on the other side—"The Life of Shakespeare," by Mr. Lee; the articles of Mr. Fiske, Mr. Madden, Mr. Collins, the Quarterly Reviewer, Mr. Leslie Stephen, and many others. Mrs. Gallup's book and the interest it excited caused me to dip deeply into the history of the period 1500 to 1600, and to read the biographies and works of those whose authorship is questioned or involved.

Taking the biographies of Lord Bacon, by Mr. Spedding, Mr. Montagu, Mr. Dixon, Dr. Rawley, and the writer in the "Dictionary of National Biography," which, so far as they deal with the first thirty years of the life, are singularly short and uninforming, I have drafted a new biography of Lord Bacon to the age of about thirty-six, and in doing so have endeavoured to see how far the cipher story finds support from, or is contradicted by, uncontested facts.

I have written as one whose investigations have led him to accept the assurances Mrs. Gallup gives as to her truthfulness, and also the truth, save as to possible slips of memory or transcription, of the deciphered statements.

The works I have mainly consulted comprise, besides some of those mentioned, the Spenser Society's publications (including the lives and works of Spenser, Harvey, Nash, Sidney, and Greene), Bullen's "Peele," Dyce's "Marlowe," Fairholt's "Lilly," Arber's "Watson," "Webbe," "Puttenham and Lily," Boas' "Kyd," Fleay's "History of the English Drama," Dodsley's Plays, Bourne's "Memoir of Sidney," Nichols' "Progresses of Elizabeth," Hazlewood's "Essays on English Poets," St. John's "Raleigh," Froude's History, Strickland's "Life of Elizabeth," Devereux's "Lives of the Earls of Essex," Craik's "Romance of the Peerage," and the Will of Sir Nicholas Bacon.

I have endeavoured to follow my usual practice in preparing Briefs for Counsel by putting the facts into

chronological order as far as I have been able, and doubtless in doing so have committed errors.

If Mrs. Gallup's theory does not stand the tests, much of this work will be "Love's Labour Lost"; but it may be useful as shewing the order in which the writings appeared, and like other failures, form stepping stones for another's success.

If, on the other hand, her honour is vindicated, the obscurity of "Watson," "Lily," Kyd, Marlowe and Greene will be explained, and the difficulties research has disclosed of marrying Shakespeare to his verse, Spenser to his publications, and the life of George Peele to his poems, will be set at rest.

I have made the divisions into years do duty for chapters.

My acknowledgments are due to Mr. E. Weidlich, of 36, Palace Road, Upper Norwood, S.E., for his very careful researches at the British Museum and the State Record Office on my behalf.

Yours faithfully,

PARKER WOODWARD.

King Street,

Nottingham. *March*, 1902.

NOTANDA to be read carefully.

"What men desire should be true they are most inclined to believe. The understanding therefore rejects things difficult as being impatient of enquiry."

Lord Bacon.

"He that will be secret must be a dissembler in some degree."

Same—"Essay of Simulation."

"No other person is cogniza't of the work save my foster-brother, Anthony; my owne brother, Robert; Ben Jonson, my friend, adviser, and assistant; and our private secretary; yet for the exterior part we imploie many amanuenses, for we can keepe severall employed when reading our plays for our finall review, or when assembling the parts."

Deciphered from First Folio Shakespeare.

"In all the workes that I published in my owne (so-call'd) name, or that of others—Spenser, Greene, Peele, Marlowe have sold me theirs—two or three others I have assum'd upon certaine occasions such as this, beside th' one I beare among men."

Deciphered from "Ben Jonson," 1616 Folio.

"Several small works under no name won worthy praise. Next in Spenser's name, also, they ventured into an unknown world. When I at length, having written in divers stiles, found three, who for sufficient reward in gold, added to an immediate renowne as good pens, willingly put forth all workes which I had compos'd, I was bolder."

Deciphered from "Novum Organum," 1620.

"I have lost therein a present fame that I may out of anie doubt recover it in our owne and othe' lands after manie a long yeare. I think some ray—that farre offe golden morning—will glimmer ev'n into the tombe where I shall lie, and I shall know that wisdome led me thus to wait unhonour'd as is meete until in the perfected time—which the Ruler that doth wisely shape our ends, rough hew them how we will, doth ev'n now know—my justification bee complete."

From same.

"Had we no secret labours to perform, gladly would we listen for th' footfalls of Death, the somber herald."

From same.

Notanda.

"Do not inflate plain things into marvels, but reduce marvels to plain things."

Lord Bacon.

"For ciphers, they are commonly in letters or alphabets, but may be in words. The kinds of ciphers, besides the simple ciphers with changes and intermixtures of nulls and non-significants, are many, according to the nature or rule of the infolding—wheel-ciphers, key-ciphers, doubles, &c. . . . . The highest degree whereof is to write 'omnia per omnia,' which is undoubtedly possible with a proportion quintuple as most of the writing infolding to the writing infolded, and no other restraint whatsoever. This art of ciphering hath for relation an art of deciphering, by supposition unprofitable, but as things are, of great use. For suppose that ciphers were well managed, there be multitudes of them which exclude the decipherer."

Lord Bacon—"Advancement of Learning" (*Tradition*).

"Another diversity of method there is . . . . and that is enigmatical and disclosed. The pretence whereof is to remove the vulgar capacities from being admitted to the secrets of knowledges, and to reserve them to selected auditors or wits of such sharpness as can pierce the veil."

From same.

"For my name and memory I leave it to Men's Charitable Speeches and to Foreign Nations and the Next Ages."

From Lord Bacon's Will.

LORD BACON'S EARLY LIFE.

Preliminaries as to Parentage.

WITHOUT waiting for the settlement of the very relevant typographical question as to whether the Elizabethan quartos and folios disclose a cipher arrangement of the italic fonts, I have ventured to take Mrs. Gallup upon her honour, and to endeavour, in the light of the story deciphered, to supply much that is missing from the existing biographies of his lordship.

Preliminaries as to Parentage.

The questions of his true parentage, and of the parentage of Robert, second Earl of Essex, are not at this date very important, though material. I am concerned mainly with Lord Bacon, the author. But it will be necessary to deal shortly with the evidences which to my mind support the cipher assertions, inasmuch as the truth or falsity of the other portions of the cipher story is involved.

(I.)—The Assertion as to Parentage.

The Assertion as to Parentage.

I do not propose to repeat many details to be found in history, having done that elsewhere; but I propose here to indicate what these evidences are, and where any person interested in checking my statements may find them.

The Princess Elizabeth, when placed in the Tower, had no expectation of coming out alive. We may judge of her hereditary tendencies by what we know of the conduct and disposition of Henry VIII., her father. Some evidence that Elizabeth had acquired those characteristics is afforded by the State documents as to the Sir Thomas Seymour intrigue while Edward VI. was on the throne. For this see the article by Dr. E. A. Freeman in the "Quarterly Review" of 1854. He says: "The details of Seymour's courtship of Elizabeth are somewhat extraordinary, and must have surpassed even the ordinary grossness of the age. . . . It does not say much for Elizabeth that proceedings of this kind did not hinder him from winning her affections. She acknowledged that she would have married him could he have obtained the consent of the Council." As to the proceedings in the Tower the cipher story is, of course, second hand, and the difficult conditions of the word cipher necessarily involved extravagance of statement. For the account of the Tower imprisonment a reference should be made to what Miss Strickland says about Elizabeth and Dudley in her "Lives of the Queens of England." I quote one extract: "Considering the intriguing temper of both, it is probable that, notwithstanding the jealous precautions of their respective gaolers, some sort of secret understanding was established between them at this period."

As to Elizabeth's conduct when she had succeeded

to the throne, we have very graphic and trustworthy testimony in the letters of the Venetian and Spanish ambassadors. They can be found in Froude's "History of England," supplemented by his article in "Fraser's Magazine," 1861. These reports to foreign courts were private diplomatic communications upon a matter of State importance, which necessarily had to be true to the knowledge, information, or belief of the persons making them. The following documents should be referred to:—

The Assertion as to Persecution.

18th April, 1559.—Letter of Feria:—"Lord Robert has come so much into favour that he does whatever he pleases with affairs, and it is even said that Her Majesty visits him in his chamber day and night."

– April, 1559.—Second letter of Feria:—"Sometimes she appears to want to marry him (the Arch Duke Ferdinand), and speaks like a woman who will only accept a great Prince; and then they say she is in love with Lord Robert, and never lets him leave her."

10th May, 1559.—Letter of Schafanoya, Ambassador of the Doge of Venice:—"Meanwhile my Lord Robert Dudley is in very great favour and very intimate with Her Majesty."

November, 1559.—Letter, Bishop De Quadra to Philip, King of Spain:—"I have heard from a certain person who is in the habit of giving me veracious news, that Lord Robert had sent to poison his wife. Certainly all the Queen has done with us and with the Swede, and will do with all the rest in the matter of her marriage, is only to keep Lord Robert's enemies and the country engaged with words until this wicked deed of killing his wife is consummated. I am told some extraordinary things about this intimacy."

7th March, 1560.—Same to same:—"Lord Robert is the worst young fellow I ever encountered. He is heartless, spiritless, treacherous and false. There is not a man in England who does not cry out upon him as the Queen's ruin."

The Assertion as to Parentage.

15th March, 1560.—Same to same:—"Things are in a strange state. The Catholics look only to your Majesty. Lord Robert says that if he lives a year he will be in another position from that he holds. Every day he presumes more and more; and it is now said he means to divorce his wife."

13th August, 1560.—Calendar of State Papers (Report to Burleigh, the Prime Minister) as to the open assertions of Mother Dowe, of Brentwood, concerning the condition of the Queen.

11th September, 1560.—Letter, De Quadra to Parma. This is an important letter from which I here quote: "She has made Lord Robert Dudley Master of the Government, and of her own person. . . . She herself was shutting herself up in the Palace to the peril of her health and life . . . they were thinking of destroying Lord Robert's wife. They had given out that she was ill; she was very well and was taking care not to be poisoned."

8th September, 1560, Amy, the wife of Dudley, was found dead at her residence, Cumnor Hall. See the Freeman article as to this. Dudley, who was less than a day's ride from Cumnor, did not attend the inquest, nor did he attend his wife's funeral. The coroner's jury never gave a verdict. See Mr. Froude's conclusion upon the evidence. If the cipher story is true, the death of Amy Robsart, followed by a secret marriage, was essential to save the critical situation of a much more important personage.

September, 1560.—See Froude's History as to a rumoured private betrothal of the Queen and Dudley. The historical rumour fixes the place of betrothal as the house of Lord Pembroke. The cipher says the house of Lord Puckering, Sir Nicholas Bacon conducting the ceremony, and Lord Puckering and Lady Bacon being the only witnesses. If the cipher story is merely a fraudulent and clever following of history, why is not the name of Pembroke introduced? If it be true, then Lord Bacon in quoting from memory may have confused Puckering with Sir William Pickering—an elderly, rich, and dissolute bachelor, one of the Queen's friends and suitors about this period.

The Assertion as to Parentage.

November, 1560.—Letter, Jones to Throckmorton, the English Ambassador in Paris (see Hardwick Papers). Jones reported that he interviewed the Queen at Greenwich, that she looked ill and harassed, and as to the death of Dudley's wife, said, "The matter has been tried in the country and found to the contrary of that that was reported, that Lord Robert was at the Court, and none of his at the attempt at his wife's house, and that it fell out as should neither touch his honesty nor her (the Queen's) honour."

The next evidence is only material on account of its peculiarity. It is the Register of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, London, of the baptism, on the 25th January, 1560 (which means 1560-1, the legal year not terminating till the 25th March), of Mr. Franciscus Bacon. A friend has carefully inspected the register for me. The first part is in one hand-writing and the rest in smaller writing and paler ink. It is as follows:—"1560, Jan. 25.—Baptizatus fuit Mr. Franciscus Bacon | filius Dm Nich° Bacon Magni, Anglie sigilli custodis." Why should the word "Mr." be used in the register of an infant's baptism? There is

no evidence of the exact day of birth, though biographers agree in fixing the 22nd January, 1560-1. This is also the date of a Commission to Archbishop Parker and others signed by Elizabeth. The date upon a document is not necessarily the day of its signature, as we solicitors well know. There are no other documents of, or near, this date signed by Elizabeth, though the signature of a dozen documents at or about this period would not negative a birth. Mr. Andrew Lang's statement in the "Times" that Elizabeth witnessed a stage play on 18th January, 1561, is found by that gentleman to be incorrect as to year. The play was Sackville's "Ferrex and Porrex," and performed a year later, viz., 18th January, 1561-2.

22nd January, 1560-1, is also the date of a letter from De Quadra reporting that Sidney, who married Lord Robert's sister, had offered that if the King of Spain would give his countenance to a marriage between the Queen and Dudley, they would restore the Catholic religion. De Quadra adds: "Some say she is a mother already, but this I do not believe."

23rd February, 1560-1.—Letter, De Quadra to Philip. He reports that on the 13th Dudley personally repeated to De Quadra the assurance which Sidney had made, and at a subsequent date (probably close to the 23rd, as De Quadra would be bursting to tell the news) the Queen made a confession to him. I now quote from Mr. Froude's article in "Fraser's Magazine," 1861: "The details of that strange meeting one would be curious to know, but the Bishop this time kept the mystery of the confessional sacred. The sum of what passed came generally to this, that Elizabeth admitted that she was no angel." If the Queen had given birth to a child on the 22nd January, the probabilities are that she would be physically

in a low condition and also mentally depressed about the period of the interview with De Quadra. The difficulties of her position, the open hostility of the Protestant party, the breach with Burleigh, and the indignation aroused by the suspicious circumstances attending the death of Dudley's wife, would lead the Queen to turn once more to the Roman Catholic Church and to Philip, as the lay head of it, just as she had done on a former occasion following her illness in June, 1554. De Quadra, usually graphic in his letters, appears to have reported only what he felt to be absolutely necessary having regard to the obligations of a confessor.

I may have laid undue stress upon the presumption as to the bodily condition of the Queen at this period. She may not have been as strong as many of the Indian women of Brazil, who are related to be back again at their toil within a day following motherhood, and yet she may have been well enough to attend to State correspondence without any real interruption.

(II.)—The Parentage of Robert, Earl of Essex.

The Parentage of Robert, Earl of Essex.

The intimacy between the Queen and Lord Robert Dudley continued. The De Quadra letters in Froude's History should be closely read for the period 1560-1 to 1567, together with Devereux's "Lives of the Earls of Essex," and Craik's "Romance of the Peerage." Melville's account of his visit to the Court about this time is also instructive. Dr. Lingard's History is accused of representing a prejudiced Roman Catholic view, but statements of this kind are not likely to be told by friendly historians.

In 1564 Lord Robert was created Earl of Leicester, and was the recipient of large grants of money and offices.

At the accession of Elizabeth Lord Hereford was a young man, his wife being Lettice Knollys, daughter of Sir Francis Knollys, whose wife was first cousin to the Queen and chief woman of her bed-chamber. The Herefords were in poor circumstances, and had a country seat at Chartley, at which place all the Hereford children were born. Netherwood, Herefordshire, is stated to have been the birthplace of Robert, and he is stated to have been born on 10th November, 1567. Mr. Devereux can find no record of the baptism. According to Mr. Froude, an important letter from the Earl of Essex, containing terms of a proposed marriage with the Archduke of Austria, was in London on 10th November, but it was not until the 11th December that Elizabeth collected herself to reply. This reply was evasive, and she sought a personal interview with the Archduke, a course naturally involving considerable delay in a period before railways.

In 1570 a Norfolk gentleman named Marsham was condemned to lose his ears for saying, "My Lord of Leicester had two children by the Queen."

In 1571 a statute was passed for rendering it penal to speak of any other successor to the crown than the issue of the body of the Queen. Miss Strickland says Elizabeth refused to have the word "lawful" annexed. The same year the Manor of Marks Hall, near Braintree, in Essex, was bestowed by the Queen on Lord Hereford. In 1572 he was created Earl of Essex and Knight of the Garter. In 1573 he was sent to Ireland, and a curious financial arrangement entered into with him by the Queen. In 1575 the Queen's gifts to Leicester totalled to £50,000, and he entertained her most sumptuously at Kenilworth. The Queen proceeded from there to the house of Lady Essex at Chartley, and from that place wrote to the Earl of Essex agreeing to make him Earl Marshal of Ireland. To this letter she added, "Deem, therefore, cousin mine, that the search of your honour with the danger of your breath hath not been bestowed on so ungrateful a prince that will not both consider the one and reward the other." In November of that year he returned to England and came to London. See Mr. Devereux's pages as to the pressure he was bringing on the Queen both as to money matters and dignities. He embarked on his return to Ireland in July. In September he and a guest, supping at a wine merchant's house in Dublin, were seized with illness. "Leicester's Commonwealth" (a book published shortly after this) is alleged to be a tissue of libels upon Leicester, but it gives a full account, with names, of the circumstances of Essex's death, alleging that he was deliberately poisoned. Robert was brought up at Chartley till January, 1577, when he was sent to Trinity College, Cambridge. He spent his Christmas holidays at the Court. See Broughton's account of the incident as to keeping his hat on in the Presence Chamber.

The Parentage of Robert, Earl of Essex.

In 1578 Leicester secretly married the widow of the first Earl of Essex. When it came to the Queen's knowledge he was imprisoned at Greenwich Castle and his wife forbidden the Court.

In 1581 Robert left Cambridge, and in 1583 was living at

Lanfey, Pembrokeshire, and it was only on the Earl of Leicester's pressure that he returned to Court.

The Parentage of Robert, Earl of Essex.

In 1585 he went with Leicester on the expedition to Holland. In his absence, Chartley, the Essex family seat, was used by Elizabeth as a place for the semi-imprisonment of Mary, Queen of Scots.

In May, 1587, Leicester resigned the post of Master of the Horse in favour of Essex. It was worth £1,500 per annum—a large sum in that day. Essex was constantly with the Queen. Bagot wrote: "When she is abroad nobody near her but my Lord of Essex, and at night my Lord is at cards or one game or another with her." Essex would then be about twenty years of age, and the Queen was fifty-four. The conduct of Elizabeth towards Robert, and his towards her, was that of mother and son. The instances of this are numerous.

Leicester died in 1588, and the Queen immediately sold his estates by auction. His will contained an adulation of the Queen, and a bequest to her of a valuable jewel. To Robert he left Leicester House, his best suit of armour, his two best horses, and a George and Garter, in the hope that he should wear it shortly. Before the year was out Essex was appointed a Knight of the Garter.

Essex's stratagems from time to time to steal away from the Court, and the Queen's efforts to get him back, should be noted.

In Robert Cary's Memoirs are one or two interesting particulars, such as, "The beginning of Spring, after Sluce (Sluys) was beseiged, and my Lord of Essex stole from Court with intent to get to Sluce if he could, the Queen sent me after him commanding me to use the best means, if I could find him, to persuade him to return to Court." "The next year, which was 1578, was the journey of Portugal, where my Lord of Essex stole from Court to go that journey." "The next journey I undertook was into France with my Lord of Essex (1591). We lay before it (Gournay) some ten days, in which time there came letters out of England to my Lord of

Essex to command him presently to repair for England." "At my Lord's coming to Court, whereas he expected nothing but Her Majesty's heavy displeasure, he found it clean contrary, for she used him with that grace and favour that he stayed a week with her, passing the time in jollity and feasting, and then, with tears in her eyes, she showed her affection to him, and for the repair of his honour gave him leave to return to his charge again." Cary goes on to say that Essex knighted him at Dieppe. Cary says further, "I delivered him the Queen's letter; then he said, 'Worthy cousin, I know by herself how you prevailed with her, and what a true friend I had of you, and which I shall never forget.'" The term "cousin" is curious; Cary being a son of Lord Hunsdon was second cousin to the Queen, and, ergo, to Essex, or else Essex used a form of speech only used by a sovereign addressing a nobleman.

The Parentage of Robert, Earl of Essex.

To go back a little in my story, in 1589 Essex asked permission of the Queen to join a small fleet starting from Plymouth to attack the coast of Spain. The Queen refused to let him go. *In spite of this, he went* on horseback from London to Plymouth and succeeded in getting away, although both Lord Huntingdon and Sir Francis Knollys had been sent after him by the Queen in order to stop him. Later on the Queen wrote to Knollys and Drake that if Essex had reached the fleet they were *forthwith to send him back safely*. Was this the conduct of a lover or a mother? Essex, however, insisted upon staying, and joined in a landing party. For his share in allowing Robert to join the expedition the Queen ordered Sir Roger Williams to be put to death, see St. John's "Life of Raleigh," Vol. I. page 196, which quotes a letter, Walsingham to Windebank, May 2nd, 1589, State Paper Office. Essex returned to England in June, and, going direct to her room, just mud-stained from his journey, soon made peace with the Queen. At this time he was in debt to the extent of £22,000. In 1590 he succeeded Leicester to the "farm of sweet wine." The same year he was secretly married to the widow of

Sir Philip Sidney. The Queen, according to Mr. Devereux, was highly incensed when the marriage came to her knowledge. "Then her anger knew no bounds against Essex, not merely because he took a wife *without asking her consent*, but for marrying, as she said, *below his degree*." Mr. Devereux goes on to observe: "One would have thought that the daughter of so distinguished and upright a public servant as Sir Francis Walsingham might have been esteemed a fair match even for Lord Essex."

The Parentage of Robert, Earl of Essex.

The journey (of which Sir Robert Cary writes) in 1591 was when Essex was urged to take some troops to help Henry IV. of France. The Queen *opposed his going*. Eventually, after he had shown his displeasure by absenting himself from Court, Essex had his own way. Towards the close of that year Sir Francis Darcy was sent by the Queen to France with "peremptory orders for Robert's immediate return," and on Sir Robert Carey coming to England with news from Essex to the Queen, she flew into a great passion against the Earl, vowing she would make him an example if he did not come home forthwith. He is then allowed to be present at the siege of Rouen, but "provided he is not to put himself in danger." It is curious, as Mr. Devereux remarks, "that the honourable Privy Council should be employed *in writing orders to a General to keep out of harm's way*." Again and again was Essex urged to return home, and he appears to have found it necessary to come over to England a second time to persuade the Queen to allow him to stay longer in Normandy. Why was the old lady troubling so much about him? At the close of the year 1591, before his return, he sent a challenge to one Villiers, the Governor of Rouen, inviting him to a duel. The Queen hearing of this, a letter was written from the Council that, *owing to his position*, he had no business to engage in such a duel. On the 9th December the Council again wrote that, "Hearing some infection had broken out in his own familiar company, they heartily desired him *to return from such danger to his person*

as they fear may happen from the increase of such infection." The following year, 1592, Essex resided entirely at the Court. The next year Parliament was summoned. Mr. Devereux writes: "The position of Essex at this time was one to make an older head giddy. He was courted by the young nobles; looked up to by all military men as their leader and patron; the Puritan party considered him as their protector, while the Roman Catholics looked to him to obtain toleration. He was the idol of the populace, while the Queen could scarce bear his absence from her side." In this year the Queen's age would be about sixty, while Robert was twenty-six. The following year Essex was still resident at Court, and we find him pressing for the appointment of Francis as Attorney-General, or, failing that, as Solicitor-General, and the result of a long struggle was that Sir Henry Coke was made Attorney-General in 1594, and Sergeant Fleming, after a further long delay, Solicitor-General. At this time Essex seems to have *taken a very prominent part in the management* of the Queen's affairs. In 1596 Essex was engaged with the fleet in a war with Spain. On his return, to the great joy of the Queen, there was considerable controversy as to the conduct of the expedition he had just returned from. At this time, says his biographer, the Earl had touched the pinnacle of his fortunes. His popular reputation was vastly increased, and therein lay the danger of his position. The Queen became envious and jealous of his popularity. In February, 1597, Robert was ill, but *the Queen visited him.* R. White wrote on the 25th of that month: "Full fourteen days hath my L. of Essex kept his chamber. Her Majesty has, I heard, resolved to *break him of his will and pull down his great heart;* who found it a thing impossible, and says he holds *it from his mother's side.*"

The Parentage of Robert, Earl of Essex.

In March Essex wanted to go into Wales, and the Queen objected. Eventually he went on a visit to the ports, and his letters to the Queen are full of affection. One from Weymouth concludes: "And *know me to be the most your own* of all your maj. creatures."

The Parentage of Robert, [illegible] of Essex.

In October Charles Lord Howard was created Earl of Nottingham, and he being Lord Steward of the Household had precedence over Essex. Robert accordingly *demanded* to have the patent altered, and in the meantime *refused* to go to Court. Eventually, to appease Essex, he was on 18th December created Earl Marshal of England. In 1598 there was further trouble between the Queen and Essex as to the marriage of Lord Southampton, and the relations between them were somewhat strained.

In March, 1599, Essex at the head of a big expedition, went to Ireland as Lieutenant-Governor. This was not, however, until after he had *as a condition of his going*, negotiated with the Queen for his release from various debts due to the Crown. He had very full powers to deal with all Irish affairs. Difficulties soon arose. Essex, against the Queen's wish, appointed the Earl of Southampton General of the Horse. In August, Essex wrote to the Queen complaining of his exile. However, in September he returned to London, and immediately sought the Queen. A day or two afterwards he was summoned before the Council, and charged with having contemptuously disobeyed Her Majesty's directions, and written presumptuous letters to her. Over this matter *the Court divided openly into two parties*, one following the lead of Robert Cecil, the other that of Essex, and finally the Queen committed him to the custody of the Lord-Keeper at York House. In November, Essex was still a captive, and Sir John Harrington about this time spoke of an interview he had with the Queen, who complained that she was no Queen, and that Essex was above her, and wanted to know who gave him authority to come back so soon. Says the biographer, "The storms raised in the Royal atmosphere by the name of Essex were probably aggravated by what took place without. *The popular voice was loud in his favour.* The severity of the Queen was blamed. The clergy preached in his vindication, and prayed for him; pamphlets were published; papers were found on the walls and scattered about the palace praising him,

and libelling his supposed enemies." At this time he was seriously ill, and Elizabeth *secretly visited him.* In June, Essex, having partially recovered his health, was brought before a tribunal of eighteen commissioners at York House. Their verdict was practically that he be confined a prisoner during Her Majesty's pleasure. On the 26th August, Essex again had his liberty but was not permitted to approach the Court. He failed to recover favour with the Queen, with the result that from sorrow and repentance, he gave himself up to rage and rebellion. He used insulting expressions regarding her. He opened Essex House to all comers. A large number of discontented persons continually assembled there, while Puritan divines preached sermons there almost daily to large congregations of people. At the beginning of 1601 he was plotting with his friends *to obtain forcible control* of the Queen and Court, with the intention of requiring the Queen to give up her then advisers, and surround herself with his friends. His attempt failed, and as is well known, he was subsequently beseiged in his own house, and finally surrendered. He was tried for his rebellion and sentenced to death. During the week following, the Queen first signed the warrant for execution and then *sent to countermand* it. In the absence of expressions of submission, which appear to have been sent but intercepted, and under the influence of Raleigh and Cobham, she sent orders to execute the warrant. Thereupon (25th February, 1601) Essex was executed in private on account of his popularity with the people. So powerful was the feeling in his favour, that *after his death the Queen was no longer received with cheers, but was received with silence when she appeared in public,* and her Ministers insulted. The Queen died on 24th March, 1603. This is a digression from the main subject, but persons desirous of testing the cipher story may look further into the matter.

The Parentage of Robert, [illegible]

Francis as a boy, 1560-1 to 1576.

Francis as a boy, 1560-1 to 1576.

According to the cipher story, the child, Francis, was taken charge of from birth by Lady Anne Bacon, and brought up as her own son in company with the young son, Anthony, of her own marriage with Sir Nicholas.

From his birth until he was about eight years old, he must have resided with his foster-parents at York House, fronting to the Strand, London, and having a large garden reaching all the way to the Thames. Francis was well educated, as might be expected of the foster-child of a clever woman like Lady Anne, and there is a tradition that he was taught to read and speak Latin from a very early age. In this way a youth fond of reading would be as readily able to read Latin authors as an ordinary boy would a newspaper. Tradition also relates that at about the age of four he was brought to the Court, and in answer to a question by the Queen as to his age made a clever reply.

In August, 1568, Sir Nicholas, according to Nichols' "Progresses," completed the erection of a mansion upon his estate at Gorhambury, near St. Albans. At this date the Queen was at St. Albans, and no doubt went to view it. From this period until Francis went to Cambridge, his time was doubtless passed partly at York House and partly at Gorhambury. In July, 1572, the Queen again visited Gorhambury, being this time entertained by Sir Nicholas. It was probably on this occasion that the terra-cotta busts of Sir Nicholas, his wife, and Francis were sculptured. In March, 1572-3, the Queen once more visited Gorhambury, and it was probably then arranged that Francis should go with Anthony to Cambridge. At any rate there they went the following month, and were placed under the charge of Dr. Whitgift at Trinity

Hall. The Queen visited Gorhambury again in June of that year. Francis remained at Trinity Hall until probably September, 1574, when the University was closed, on account of plague, for a period of six months. The vacation may have been spent in London and at Gorhambury. Returning to Cambridge in 1574-5 he remained till the following December. He appears to have rapidly learnt all that Cambridge could teach him, and to have there formed a friendship with a tutor of Law and Rhetoric named Gabriel Harvey, who was interesting himself in a scheme for adding English to the subjects taught at Cambridge. Roger Ascham, the Queen's old tutor, had been prominent in this movement. Harvey was, moreover, a poet and a close student of the technical construction of poetry.

Francis as a boy, 1560-1 to 1576.

According to the cipher story, Francis would appear to have spent a good portion of his time from December, 1575, to September, 1576, at the Court, and that the courtiers, or some of them, were uncertain whether Francis was a bastard child of Sir Nicholas who had been adopted by his wife, or a son of the Queen and Leicester, a certain formation of his eyes being like the Earl of Leicester's, while in the hanging of his nether lip his face resembled the Queen.

The Queen, according to her biographers, and to the cipher story, was a highly educated woman, who always devoted a portion of the day to reading. She was a good classical scholar, and could also speak and write in French and Italian. It is probable that the boy's studies in these languages were carefully fostered, and to such books as were available in that day he had ready access. As a delicate youth, no doubt rough sports were not attractive to him, and he was a great reader. He probably took for his recreations archery and falconry.

The cipher tells of young Lady Scales who, repeating a rumour that Francis was the son of the Queen, it resulted in the Queen making a passionate attack upon the young woman, and states that on Francis trying to appease her the

Francis as a boy, 1560-1 to 1576.

Queen, in violent language, made it known to him that the rumour was true. The cipher story also mentions a pathetic interview by Francis with Lady Anne Bacon, whom he had always, up to that time, believed to be his mother, and whom he sometimes subsequently addressed as "mother," and referred to as "mother" in his last will. From the day of his birth she had been the only person to behave to him as such.

In view of the above-mentioned trouble at the Court, Francis was sent abroad in September, 1576, being taken charge of by Sir Amyas Paulet, the Queen's Ambassador to France. Francis was with the French Court successively at Paris, Blois, Tours, and Poictiers, and would be brought in contact with the poets and learned men of France, and be able to perfect himself in the French language, possibly in Italian also. In this manner he was occupied two years, at some period of which he fell in love with Margaret, the beautiful Queen of Navarre, an accomplished lady, but eight years older than himself. In Rawley's "Life of Bacon" Francis is said to have returned to England once on a mission to the Queen during his stay. The cipher tells of his re-visiting England with a proposal to the Queen and Earl Leicester that he should be allowed to contract an engagement with Queen Margaret, then or about to be divorced from her husband. This was not agreed to, says the story (the synopsis of which is my authority), and he was sent back to France. It may have been on the occasion of this visit to England that the portrait of Francis, by Hilliard, which is dated in 1578, was painted. If his parents wanted his portrait the opportunity was a natural one. I notice that the Queen's portrait by the same artist was in the same year presented by her to Sir Nicholas Bacon, who had sumptuously entertained her at Gorhambury the previous year. Around the portrait of Francis are Latin words expressing the painter's wish that he could "paint his mind." On 12th December, Sir Nicholas Bacon, who was an old

man and had been much enriched by the Queen, made and published an elaborate Will, wherein he made full provision for his first family, his widow and his child, Anthony Bacon, but left nothing whatever to Francis. I obtained a copy from Somerset House, where it may be seen. The suggestion in Rawley's "Life" that Francis took a share, as one of five brothers, in a sum of money set apart to purchase an estate, will not hold water. There was no intestacy and there were not five brothers. Sir Nicholas had three sons and three daughters. Go and examine his original will. Ask at the same time for that of Francis, and you will find it was taken from the Registry and never returned.

Francis as a boy 1560-1 to 1576.

1579.

On 20th February, 1578-9, Sir Nicholas died. On the 20th March following, Francis returned to England bearing a despatch from Sir Amyas Paulet to the Queen, in which
1579. Francis was mentioned as "of great hope, endowed with many good and singular parts."

In the period of months from his going back to France to his return to England on the above date, the cipher states that he visited Italy. In February he was in Paris, and had some premonition of the death of Sir Nicholas.

I think it will be found that the first work by Francis was "Euphues, the Anatomy of Wit" ("my first counterfeit"). Judging by the epistle dedicatory to "Euphues and His England" (Arber reprint, page 214), I infer that the "Anatomy of Wit" was written in December, 1578 (hatched in the hard winter with the Alcyon), and that the manuscript was entrusted to Sir William West. It was entered on the Stationers' Register on December 2nd of that year, and probably published two or three months after his final return from Paris (20th March, 1578-9). He appears to have added to the book a few letters while it was going through the press, one of them being "Euphues to Botonio to take his exile patiently," which I submit to be a copy of a letter to his foster-brother Anthony, who at this date was required to go and live abroad. The work was published in the name of John Lyly. There are lilies on the British Crown, and there is in Elizabethan books much allusion to this notable emblem. In the address to the book he says: "He that cometh in print because he would be knowen is like the fool that cometh into the market because he would be seen. I am not he that seeketh praise for his labour, but pardon for his offence."

The little book consists of a veiled account of some personal love experiences, a translation from Plutarch on education, a discussion concerning the Deity, and the letters already referred to. The biographers cannot find any John Lily whose career corresponds. **1579.**

1580.

Bacon's next venture into print took the form of a number of Eclogues, partly in imitation of Virgil, entered on the Stationers' Register in December, 1579, and published in January, 1579-80, under the title of the "Shepheard's Calen-
1580. dar." The book was published anonymously in the name of "Immerito," and dedicated to Philip Sidney. The verses exhibit the young writer's skill in a variety of metres.

Before passing from 1579 I ought to note that the "Mirror of Modesty," dedicated to the Countess of Derby, was this year entered on the Stationers' Register anonymously. Two or three years later it was published in the name of Greene. I ought also to note that the anonymous writer of "The Arte of English Poesie" states that in 1579 he gave the Queen a series of poems entitled "Partheniades." The "Arte" has been attributed to someone named Puttenham, but on very slender evidence indeed, and it may turn out to have been written by Francis, and to be "the English Poet" referred to in the Harvey correspondence.

A few months later, in 1580, he published "Eupheus and His England," dedicated to the Earl of Oxford, the Lord Chamberlain, a relative of the Lady Scales who was the object of the assault by the Queen. From the dedication to that book I infer that it was written in France after his visit to England in 1578. It contains a description of Court life, has, at page 462, a reference to the Queen of Navarre and her favourite flower, the marigold, and concludes with a very elaborate eulogy of the Queen of England. I should not be surprised to find in one or two of the works of this period some short experimental trial

of biliteral cipher writing. Having invented it in 1578 he was likely to put it to an early test. His next publication was "Three Letters of Notable Contents." They were not entered on the Stationers' Register, and consisted of one letter dated 9th April, 1580, and two written between 9th April and 19th June, 1580. This was followed by a pamphlet called "Two letters of Notable Contents," published later in 1580. The date of this publication would doubtless be after July, when Spenser (whose name Francis states in cipher he used for valuable consideration) was well on his way to Dublin, a place reckoned in days' journeys further off than Cuba is to-day. This accounts for letters dated in 1579 being published later than those dated in 1580. **1580.**

Immerito writes on 16th October, 1579, evidently in reply to a letter from Harvey urging him to go on with his publications: "First I was minded for awhile to have intermitted the uttering of my writings, lest by overmuch cloying their noble ears I should gather a contempt of myself, or else seem rather for gain or commodity to do it for some sweetness that I have already tasted." To intermit implies a previous uttering, or publication. It is dated from Leicester House, where Francis would naturally visit, more particularly as since the death of Sir Nicholas Bacon York House would be closed or tenanted by some members of the first family. Immerito, in the same letter, states: "Your desire to hear of my late being with Her Majesty must die in itself"; and later on he twice refers to the Court, which shews that he was on excellent terms there.

The 1579 letters, not published until 1580, contain one solitary reference to Spenser, viz., the word "Edmontus," appearing in some Latin verse written by Immerito, and on the title page of some copies are printed the words "Ed. Spenser." Harvey, in his reply, dated 23rd October, 1579, uses the words, "For all your vowed and long experimented secrecy," and refers to the compact between Sidney, Dyer and Immerito to proclaim opposition to the current practice of

rhyming. Later comes a curious phrase as to Immerito's intimation that he may have to go abroad again to France and Italy. Harvey says, "My Lord's honour, the expecta-
1580. tion of his friends, his own credit and preferment, tell me he must have a special care and good regard of employing his travel to the best."

The next printed letter, 9th April, 1580, Immerito to Harvey, is mostly concerned with technical points in the art of poetry. It indicates the existence of beginnings of the "Faerie Queene," shews a free use of Hollinshed's Works, and that Immerito had written a work called "Dreams," having a glosse like the glosse to the "Shepheard's Calendar." (I deal with this work later.) The next letter, Harvey to Immerito, mainly concerns itself with an earthquake on 6th April, 1580. The deferential attitude of Harvey to Immerito should be noted: "I imagine your magnificenza will hold us in suspense," then a sentence as to his own work, "which my anti-cosmopolita, though it greeve him, can best justify, remaining still, as we say, *in statu quo*, and neither an inch more forward nor backward than he was fully a twelve months since in the Court at his last attendance upon my Lorde there"; which I take to mean since the time the unfinished manuscript was in the possession of Immerito for perusal. Passing to Harvey's letter of a date between April 6th and June 19th, 1580, I suggest for consideration that the "bold satirical libel lately devised at the instance of a certain worshipful Hertfordshire gentleman of mine old acquaintance," may be a friendly skit on Francis himself, who, as a boy, was frequently resident in St. Albans, Herts. The Latin words which follow, "In Gratium quorundum Illustrium *Anglo-francitalorum*," etc., seem to be an allusion to Immerito's stay in France. This is a part of the "libel":—

"Everyone A per se A his termes and *braveries in print*,
Delicate in speech queynte in araye; conceited in all points
In Courtly guyles a passing singular odde man
For Gallantes a brave Mirrour a Primrose of Honour

A Diamond for nonce, a fellow peerless in England
Not the like Discourser for Tongue and head to be found out:
Not the like resolute man for great and serious affrayes
Not the like Lynx to spie out secrets and privities of States,
Eyed like to Argus, Earde like to Midas, nosd like to Naso. **1580.**

. . . . . .

None do I name but some do I know that a peece of a twelvemonth
Hath so perfited outly and inly both body both soule
That none for sense and senses half matchable with them."

There is nothing of a libellous nature in the above verse. Harvey further on writes of his having already addressed a "certain pleasurable and moral politic natural mixed device to his most Honorable Lordshippe." Of the two letters to Immerito subsequent to 1st August, 1580, the first complains of his having, without permission, printed and published certain of Harvey's verses. But he complains very gently although obviously displeased. Why (upon the traditional assumption) should Harvey be so deferential to the "poor scholar of Pembroke Hall." I quote certain of his references to Immerito:—

"Magnifico Signor Benevolo."
"Your Good Mastershipp."
"Your delicate Mastershipp."

"Alas! they were hudled and, as you know, bungled up in more haste than good speed, partially at the urgent and importunate request of a honest, good-natured and *worshipp-ful young gentleman* who I knew, being privy to all circum-stances and very affectionate towards me or anything of my doing would for the time accept of them."

"I beseech your Benivolenza what more notorious and villanous kind of injury could have been devised against me by the mortallest enemy I have in this whole world?"

"If it chance to come once out . . . now *good Lorde* how will my right worshippful and thrice-venerable masters of Cambridge scorne at the matter?"

"Take my leave of your Excellencie's feet and betake your gracious Mastershipp, &c."

"I commend myself and mine own goodly devices, . . .
1580. the stars and your most provident wisdom, so disposing, to whose invincible and fatal resolutions I humble and submit myself."

The above style of expression is repeated in the next letter:

"What tho' Il Magnifico Segnior Immerito Benivolo hath noted this amongst his political discourses and matters of State and Government."

"Hath your monsieurship."
"Your good masterships worship."
"I beseech your gallantship."

"You cry out of a false and treacherous world; . . . did not Abel live in a false and treacherous world?"

"For myself I recount it one sovereign point of my felicity in general and some particular, contentment of mind, that I have such an odd friend in a corner, *so honest a youth in the city, so true a gallant in the Court, so toward a lawyer, and so witty a gentleman*, that both for his rare pregnancy in conceit and will gladly for his singular forwardness in courtesy, &c."

"Foolish is all younkerly learning, without a certain manly discipline. As if indeed for the *poor boys* only, and not much more for well-born and noble youth were suited the strictness of that old system of learning and teaching."

"*Good Lord, you a gentleman, a courtier and youth*, and go about to revive so old, and stale, and bookish opinion (that the first age was the golden age) dead and buried many hundred years."

"You suppose us students happy, and think the air preferred that breatheth on these same great learned philosophers and profound clerks. . . . Would to God you were one of these men but a sennight."

I end a careful examination of the Harvey correspondence in the light of the cipher story with the conclusions that Harvey was addressing a high-born youth, a courtier, a law student, to whom he was most deferential, that this youth can hardly have been a student himself in the sense of a long stay at the University; and that this young man, with all his wit and ability, was already tired and weary of things. I am disposed to think that Harvey addressed Immerito as a nobleman, and that the term "good Lord" twice used is not an expletive, nor the words Lordship and "my Lorde" merely bantering expressions. 1580.

In 1579 Spenser, at the age of twenty-six or twenty-seven, would not be a youth in the eyes of Harvey, aged about thirty; but Francis was only in his twentieth year. Nor can I understand how Spenser, the poor scholar—notice above how distantly Harvey writes of "the poor boys"—could have made such progress after 1576 as to be a gallant attending at Court in 1579. Recollect he was the son of a journeyman tailor at a period when Court favour was practically confined to the well-born. Moreover, if the tailor's son, helped to the University, and then a courtier, was Immerito, and had therefore made quick progress, why was he so discontented and sighing after a golden age? Why, after being seven years a student, and passing his degrees, should he surprise Harvey with a wish to be one? Such a remark from Francis after only a short three years of Cambridge, without taking degrees, followed by the excitement of two or three years in the French and English Courts, would be much more natural. In one of the later letters from Harvey is the jocular suggestion that Immerito might shortly be sending one of Lord Leicester's, or Earl Warwick's, or Lord Riche's players to get him to write a comedy or interlude for "the theatre, or some over-painted stage whereat thou and thy lively copemates in London may laugh," &c. If this was something more than a jest, how came the poor serving scholar to obtain such a very free hand as to warrant the suggestion of his ability to order other

people's servants about? Upon the cipher hypothesis there is nothing extraordinary in Francis being at Leicester House and ordering the doings of the players belonging either to his
1580. father or uncle Ambrose, or even those belonging to Lord Rich.

To turn back to the Harvey-Immerito letters, in one of them Immerito uses to Harvey some words of the quotation, "*Omne tullit punctum qui miscuit utile dulci.*" This will be afterwards found used as a motto in the works published under the name of Greene.

It must not be supposed that these works of Francis' were simply part of a large output of similar literature at this period of Elizabeth's reign. Examination of the Stationers' Registers or Arber's Reprint of the Registers for this period will show that except for these works English literature was practically non-existent.

Before passing from the work called "Euphues and His England," reference should, by any reader following my statements book in hand, be made to Ascham's "Schoolmaster" for the meaning of the word "Euphues." Ascham was the Queen's old tutor.

Page 462 of the Arber Reprint of "Euphues and His England" contains a reference to the Queen of Navarre and her favourite flower, the marigold. With that Queen, as with the English Queen (and I may add with Francis also), there was a curious commingling of piety and frivolity.

Later in 1580, Francis published a work called "Mamillia," and was evidently working with great energy at a variety of subjects.

Attention should at this stage be given to the four letters which appear in Mr. Spedding's "Life of Bacon." The first, dated 11th July, 1580, to Mr. Doyley (who had taken Anthony Bacon abroad), written from Gray's Inn, shews that Francis had been settled down at his lodgings there, and indicates what a firm man of the world at that date he had become, though not much more than twenty years old. The next

letters are dated 16th and 18th September, 1580; the first to Lady Burleigh and the second to her husband. In both of these (as in a later letter to Lord Walsingham, he presses the recommendation of his "suit," and points out *how incongruous it is for a person in his position to be employed in studying the common laws.* I venture to think that Francis is here pressing for his proper recognition by the Queen. 1580.

The next letter, 18th October, to Burleigh, seems to be one carefully written for submission to the Queen with a view to appease anger which his importunity had aroused. He had evidently been promised that something satisfactory should occur in the future, and that in the meantime he was to be considered in the Queen's service, and to have a satisfactory monetary allowance. Francis signs these three letters in a very curious way, not characteristic of any other of his letters so far as I have noticed, namely, "B. Fra.," as though to persons in the secret of his parentage he did not know what name to sign. Except the allowance from the Queen it is abundantly clear that Francis at the age of twenty had nothing to live on. The Bacon family had no responsibility and he was entirely a pensioner on the Queen's bounty.

1581.

1581. Mr. Spedding can tell us nothing more about Francis until 15th April, 1582. I suggest, however, that he meanwhile published, under the name of Thomas Watson, a translation into Latin of Sophocles' "Antigone," that he pushed along with other work, and published another edition of the "Anatomy of Wit," *having important variations of the text.* A second edition of the "Shepheard's Calendar," with corrections which Dr. Grosart thinks certain that "Spenser" (the inverted commas are mine) oversaw, was also published this year. The Pembroke Hall poor scholar, quietly copying documents in Dublin at this time, little anticipated a time when some literary gentlemen would be poring reverently over the only bit of his original work vouchsafed to the next ages:—"Vera copia, Edm. Speser." He, like the young butcher from Stratford, who became an actor, saved money, and subsequently started brewing and malting, never sought any of this fuss. It is all the glosse of the critic's "eye in a fine frenzy rolling." The literary "witch-doctor" has made him "fetish," saying, "Behold, here is another 'long juju,' come and dance round him." Lord Bacon expressly deprecates this idolatry, and points the danger of becoming anybody's disciple. Think for yourself and go and accomplish some original work was his advice.

If the gentle reader will pardon this digression I conclude my notes as to this year with the observation that Francis was doubtless still working upon cantos of the "Faerie Queen," and preparing the two plays produced before the Queen in the following January.

1582.

The first play was "The Arraignment of Paris," described as "his first increase," doubtless his first attempt at play writing. It was performed by the chapel children before the Queen. Like "The Shepheard's Calendar" it is pastoral in style, and contains a variety of metres. The play was printed and published anonymously in 1584, and subsequently ascribed to Peele. The other play, probably "Campaspe," also performed by the chapel children before Her Majesty, was also printed in 1584, but whether anonymously or not I do not know. It contains the line, 1582.

> "Be content to live unknown, and die unfound."

In the play of "The Misfortunes of Arthur," performed in 1587, there is the line,

> "Yea, though I conqueror die, and full of fame,
> Yet let my death and parture rest obscure."

And further on,

> "But let my carcase lurk; yea, let my death be aye unknown."

In his draft Will Francis directed that his body should be buried obscurely.

In this year, 1582, Mr. Spedding thinks Francis wrote for the Queen "Notes on the present state of Christendom." He published, under the name of Watson, the "Passionate Century of Love," which I infer to be the work called "Dreams" mentioned in the Immerito to Harvey letter of 9th April, 1580. It has a very important and learned glosse, and is a collection of Sonnets after the style of various Italian and other Sonnet writers. Many of the Sonnets are likely

to have been written about Margaret of Navarre. No. 9 refers to her favourite flower, the marigold; No. 45 is afterwards used in the Spanish Tragedy; and No. 54 is a marvellous
1582. word-picture of Queen Elizabeth. In support of the contention that Watson was a pseudonym of Francis, read the account Anthony A. Wood, the Oxford biographer, gives of him—"Thomas Watson, a Londoner born, did spend some time in this University, not in logic and philosophy, as he ought to have done, but in the smooth and pleasant studies of Poetry and Romance, afterwards retiring to the Metropolis. Studied common law at riper years. . . . He had written other things of that nature or strain, and something pertaining to pastoral, which I have not yet seen." Says Mr. Arber, "We may guess him to have been born about the time of Queen Elizabeth's accession. . . . His publications tell us in one way or another that he was of gentle blood, born in London . . . and that before 1581 he sojourned some while at Paris."

In July the young poet caused some offence to the Queen and to Burleigh, and in the name of John Lyly (read what Anthony A. Wood has to say about Lyly in "Athenæ Oxoniensis") he wrote to Burleigh. I give an extract—"It hath pleased my Lord, upon what colour I cannot tell, certain I am upon no cause, to be displeased with me, the grief whereof is more than the loss can be. But seeing that I am to live in the world, I must also be judged by the world, for that an honest servant must be such as Cæsar would have his wife, not only free from sin, but from suspicion. . . . It may be many things will be objected, but if anything can be proved I doubt, I know your Lordship will soon smell devises from simplicity, truth from treachery, factions from just service. And God is my witness, before whom I speak, and before whom for my speech I shall answer, that all my thoughts concerning my Lady have been ever reverent, and almost religious. How I have dealt God knoweth and my Lady can conjecture, so faithfully, as I am unspotted for dishonesty, as a suckling

from theft. This conscience of mine maketh me presume to stand to all trials, either of accounts, or counsel, in the one I never used falsehood, nor in the other dissembling."

This year Francis was called to the bar, but did not practise. **1582.** He doubtless was engaged in writing the plays performed at the Christmas revels before Her Majesty in 1582-3. These would seem to have been "Sappho," and possibly "Sir Clyomen." He also published a revised and corrected edition of "Euphues and his England."

1583.

1583. In 1583 Francis published in the name of Robert Greene two stories, namely, "Arbasto," dedicated to Lady Talbot, and also called "The Anatomie of Fortune," and "Mamillia" (second part). His movements this year are, according to Mr. Spedding, slightly indicated by the correspondence between Anthony and Mr. Faunt. This shews him as studying at Gray's Inn, occasionally visiting Gorhambury, and at times attending at Court (not the Law Courts). According to Mr. Faunt he had not time to speak to him when he called. There is a likelihood of his beginning to write other plays this year. The "Birth of Merlin," amongst others, has never found a parent. I notice that it contains some legal expressions such as "his body but a tenement at will."

I venture the suggestion that Francis supplied all the plays prepared and performed for the entertainment of the Queen; but it is not necessary to clear up exactly whether the plays appeared on New Year's Day, Twelfth Day, Candlemas Day, or Shrove Tuesday. They were mostly performed in the afternoon.

1584.

He may have this year provided the plays of "Selimus" and "Mucedorus." These are pure guesses of mine, but as I think the narrative is now capable of being put into shape, others, who are better able to judge, will give the matter further consideration. 1584.

Under the name of Greene were probably published "The Mirror of Modesty," already alluded to, "Morando," dedicated to Philip, Earl of Arundel, and a translation from the French entitled "Gwedonius, the Carde of Fancie." Interested by the appearance of a Latin play by Dr. Gager, called "Dido," produced at Oxford this year for the entertainment of Prince Alesco, Francis would appear to have written his own play of "Dido, Queen of Carthage," though it was not printed until 1594, and then anonymously. It has since been attributed to Marlowe. In November a new Parliament was summoned by the Queen, and Francis was elected M.P. by the burgesses of Melcombe, in Dorsetshire; he was also returned for the pocket constituency of Gatton, belonging to Lord Burleigh.

Let me ask those gentlemen willing to ponder these matters seriously to ask themselves how it was that a young student of the age of twenty-four, without local influence, without private property or any other ostensible means of support than an allowance from the Queen, could get into Parliament? Clearly he was placed there, and by powerful interests. It may be said that he was the nephew and nominee of Lord Burleigh, which may be a sufficient reply, but taken with other circumstances his election to Parliament seems to have been no ordinary matter.

1584. As shewing what a "free and independent" elector was in those days, reference may be made to Nichols' "Progresses," which gives a letter from Leicester to the Burgesses of Andover, requesting them to elect his nominee, and suggesting that they might send the return to him and he would fill in the name of the member!

1585.

The Parliament was called in consequence of several plots for the assassination of Queen Elizabeth having been detected. Earl Leicester formed an association of subjects of all degrees, the members of which bound themselves to defend the Queen from her enemies, foreign or domestic, and to prosecute to the death any person by whom or for whom violence should be offered to her life, and to hold such person for ever incapable of the crown. Francis appears to have made a brilliant speech in Parliament with reference to the Queen's safety. Fleetwood, the Recorder of London, writing about it said, "Before this time I never heard in Parliament the like things uttered. They were magnalia regni." 1585.

Early this year Francis addressed a long letter of caution to the Queen with reference to the attempts to poison her then recently discovered. It also deals in a masterly way with other affairs of State. The letter begins very curiously—"Care, *one of the natural and true bred children of unfeigned affection*, awaked with these late wicked and barbarous attempts, would needs exercise my pen to your sacred Majesty." I ask myself, "Where were the Queen's responsible ministers? and what justified Francis, a young man of twenty-five, in taking upon himself to advise the Queen on affairs of State?" If the cipher story be true I can understand both the cryptic reference with which the letter commences, and the fact of his intrusion upon her public affairs.

None of us can at this date entirely realise what a spoilt and difficult woman Queen Elizabeth was. Accustomed to the most extravagant adulation, capable of ungovernable passion, holding in her hands the liberties and lives of her subjects—even her secretaries and ministers knelt in her

presence—one can never sufficiently appreciate what it meant to be out of favour with Her Majesty. Hentzner's account of his visit to the English Court about 1596, which appears in
1585. Nichols' "Progresses," should be referred to.

Proceeding with our narrative, it is important to mention that another candidate for the affections of the Queen, so far as she was capable of maternal affection, was at this date in full popularity. I refer to her second son, Robert, Earl of Essex. As I have already stated, he was at this period continually with the Queen, and for him she showed considerable fondness. The younger son, moreover, had spent the greater portion of his time at the Court. As to the legitimacy of his birth there could be no question, while Francis was, on the other hand, only legitimate in name, and at the same time a continuous reminder of a very dark blot on the Queen's history. An adulterine bastard is a person born in wedlock but declared a bastard by Act of Parliament or legal decree of a Court. The first course was impossible without the Queen's assent, the second inapplicable to a Prince. Francis' claim to be a legitimate son was therefore good law.

The elder of the two young men had only made occasional visits to the Court; the other had spent his life in active association with the Queen and Leicester. I do not want to labour this unduly, but the distinction must be noticed.

About the Spring of this year, Earl Leicester gave an entertainment to the Queen at Oxford, in the course of which the play of "Hamlet," which Francis had in the previous year been caught, so says the cipher, teaching to some players, was publicly acted. Let us assume it very likely that "Hamlet" then performed was nothing like the "Hamlet" as we know it in its final and revised state.

In October, Leicester (who had, says the word cipher, offended the Queen) was appointed to lead an expedition of soldiers into the Low Countries in support of the Flemish and Dutch inhabitants. In Court circles (see Strickland) it was considered a banishment. Young Robert, Earl of Essex,

at the request of his father, and doubtless with the consent of his mother, accompanied the expedition. Leicester also took his players with him, and the play of "Hamlet" was performed by them at some of the towns he visited. **1585.**

Sir Philip Sidney, in a letter to Walsingham in 1586 (see Fox-Bourne's "Life"), speaks of a letter which he had forwarded by "Will, the Earl of Leicester's jesting player." I wonder whether this is the individual referred to by Francis in the Spenser lines, "Our pleasant Willie, ah, is dead of late."

Mr. Spedding is in difficulty with a letter of 25th August, 1585, from Francis to Walsingham (see Vol. I. "Life"). I copy part of the letter—"It may please your honour to give me leave amidst your great and diverse business, to put you *in remembrance of my poor suit*, leaving the time unto your honour's best opportunity and commodity. I think the objection of my years will wear away with the length of my suit. The very stay doth in this respect concern me, because I am thereby hindered to take a course of practice which, by the leave of God, if Her Majesty like not of my suit, I must and will follow; not for any necessity of estate, but for my credit's sake which, I know, by living out of action, will wear. I spake, when the Court was at Theballs, to Mr. Vice-Chamberlain (Sir Christopher Hatton), who promised me his furderance *which I did lest he mought be made for some other.* If it may please your honour, who, as I hear, hath great interest in him, to speak with him in it, I think he will be fast mine." I take this letter to mean that Francis, who never missed a point, thought it a favourable opportunity, while Leicester was out of favour, to get to know from the Queen whether she really intended to formally recognise him as her heir and successor to the throne or not.

His real interests had now become largely literary, and if the Queen declined to recognise him he should take a course of his own. My conjecture is that he meant to go back to France amongst his old friends, work along at his literature, and wait the course of events. He declined to be bottled up

at Gray's Inn any longer. He thought Walsingham might use his influence with Hatton before the latter's interest had been secured (possibly by Leicester) in favour of young Robert.

1585. The literary works written or published by Francis this year would probably comprise: the play "Gallathea," and another of the Lyly plays for performance by the children before the Queen, but not actually performed, owing to children's performances being prohibited (see Fleay's "Chronological History of the Drama"); the work "Planetomachia," published in the name of Greene and dedicated to Leicester; while in the name of Watson he translated one of Tasso's poems, "Aminta."

Francis was at an early date friendly with the City Aldermen. For the Pageant of Sir Woolstan Dixie, the Lord Mayor, on 29th October, he wrote the short device published in the name of Peele. It will be noticed that later in life he borrowed money from another Alderman, Sir John Spencer, and later still married an Alderman's daughter.

1586.

This year a Commission was formed by Act of Parliament charged with the special care of the Queen, and having power to pass sentence of death against any pretender by whom, or for whom, any attempt should be made against her life. It was in this year that Mary Queen of Scots was tried for being accessory to a projected assassination of Queen Elizabeth. The same year also saw the death of Sir Philip Sidney, for whom Francis entertained great affection. Sidney was mortally wounded at Zutphen. 1586.

During the Autumn another Parliament was summoned, and to this Francis was elected M.P. for Taunton.

The works produced during the year would probably include the plays of "Locrine" and "Hiren, the Fair Greek," and a translation of the "Raptæ Helenæ" of Coluthus, dedicated to the Duke of Northumberland and published in the name of Watson.

Mr. Spedding finds one letter from Bacon in this year, namely, one to Burleigh, dated from Gray's Inn, 6th May, 1586. Burleigh appears to have lectured him about some late motion of "mine owne," which Francis replied was only put forward for the purpose of "Yes" or "No," and all that he wanted was an ease in coming within bars, and not any extraordinary or singular note of favour. He begs to assure Burleigh that he is not naturally proud and arrogant, and that he has generally been misunderstood. Francis was evidently climbing down.

A book entitled "Discoveries in English Poetrie" was published this year in the name of William Webbe. I have a strong notion that this was written by Francis, but I am assured by a gentleman very familiar with Bacon's acknowledged works,

that I am wrong as to this. Still, nothing appears to be known about Webbe, and as the treatise is so much the sort of thing that Francis, in his strong desire to instruct as well as amuse,
1586. would be likely to write, I at present hold to my opinion. In fact it seems to be a reply to criticisms upon the poetry in the "Shepheard's Calendar." I may add that he would seem to have been friendly with a William Web, for whom, in 1591, he wrote a device when Lord Mayor.

1587.

On 10th February, 1586-7, Francis was moved to the Benchers' or Readers' table at Gray's Inn. This may have involved some improvement both in dignity and the quality of the food served. It does not seem to have been a step of any importance. 1587.

The Parliament to which Francis had been elected the previous year was dissolved on the 23rd March, 1586-7, and Mr. Spedding can tell us little or nothing about the philosopher during that year. Guided by the cipher assertions, however, we can surmise that Francis was very busy writing plays, novels, and pamphlets. A section of his philosophical work, entitled "The Greatest Birth of Time," appears to have been written about this period, as also "Penelope's Web," dedicated to Margaret, Countess of Cumberland, and her sister Ann, Countess of Warwick; "Euphues, His Censure to Philautus"; and "Pandosto, or the Triumph of time" (Time the daughter of Truth), dedicated to the Earl of Cumberland. These writings were published in the name of Greene, and I think we may trace to this period another tract called "Greene's Farewell to Folly." I have been able to purchase prints or reprints of most of the works I refer to, but with regard to Greene, I have had to rely upon the local Free Reference Library, from which the books are not lent out, so I have not been able to peruse leisurely a good deal of the work published in this name. I imagine that the "Euphues' Censure to Philautus," which is dedicated to the Earl of Essex, relates to something passing between Francis and Sir Philip Sidney before the latter's death.

The plays written at this period probably comprised "Alphonsus, King of Arragon," "Orlando Furioso," and "Tamburlaine" (1st and 2nd parts). Some of this work, of

course, may have been done in the previous year. "Tamburlaine" was published anonymously in 1590, and "Alphonsus" and "Orlando" in 1591 and 1592 respectively, in the name of Greene.

1587.

1588.

On the 28th February, 1587-8, Revels were held at Gray's Inn, and Francis was associated in the production of a play by the students called "The Misfortunes of Arthur," being, like the "Birth of Merlin," founded upon the Arthurian legend. **1588.** Two children's plays were performed before the Queen on New Year's Day and Candlemas Day respectively, at Greenwich. "Gallathea," written some years before, appears to have been one, and "Endymion" the other. Mr. Fleay says there is an allegory in one of these plays relating to the Queen, Leicester, and the Countess of Sheffield and others, but I have had no opportunity of studying it (see Fairholt's "Collection of Lyly's Plays").

On 20th July, 1588, the Spanish Armada appeared in the English Channel. By the middle of August it had been defeated, but another encounter was looked forward to as likely to take place in the Spring of the following year. For his share in the defence Leicester was made Lord Lieutenant of England and Ireland—an office, as Miss Strickland remarks, that would have invested him with greater power than any sovereign of this country had ever ventured to bestow upon a subject. He, however, died a few weeks afterwards, whereupon the Queen seized all his estates and caused them to be sold by auction to satisfy her claims for money lent.

In November the Queen summoned a new Parliament, but it did not meet until the following February. Francis was elected M.P. for Liverpool.

His other writings during this year would appear to be "Perimides, the Blacksmith," dedicated to Gervase Clifton; "Alcida," dedicated to Sir Charles Blount; and "The Spanish Masquerado," dedicated to the Sheriff of London; all published in the name of Greene. The plays written for

performance by the players would probably comprise "Doctor Faustus" (first printed in 1604 in the name of Marlowe, then deceased), "David and Bathshebe," and "The Battle of
1588. Alcazar" (some years later printed in the name of Peele), and "Friar Bacon" (afterwards printed in the name of Greene).

In this, or the previous year, was written "The Spanish Tragedy," afterwards ascribed to Kyd. "Faire Em" can be assigned to about the same period. Mr. Richard Simpson seems before his lamented death to have made a near guess at truth when he stated in the prospectus to his "School of Shakspere" that some, at least, of the so-called spurious or doubtful plays assigned to him by tradition might be found to be early productions of his pen.

1589.

"Loves Metamorphosis" and "Mother Bombie" seem to have been the plays written for the children to perform before the Queen at the New Year and Candlemas festivities.

On the 4th February Parliament met, and Francis appears to have taken a prominent part in its deliberations. He served on the most important Committees, spoke on the most important Bills, and arranged between the Commons and the Queen the terms upon which double subsidies were to be granted. Parliament was dissolved at the end of March. Francis was elected a Reader at Gray's Inn. Whether that is equivalent to the position of Bencher to-day I do not know, but it was evidently a step upwards. 1589.

Amongst the Harleian MSS. is a transcript (probably transcribed by Stephens in 1734, see Spedding's "Life," Vol. I., at page 16) of a petition by John Lyly to the Queen's Majesty (see the Arber Reprint of Lyly's Works). There is no date, and why it was transcribed I do not quite follow, but as far as Francis may now be said to have had any distinctive style, seeing that he was a master of many styles, I should say that it smacks of his composition. In effect this is what he says: "Here I have been looking after the Court entertainments for ten years past, and nothing has been done for me. I was led to suppose that I should have the reversion of the position of Master of the Revels (Tylney, the Master appointed in 1579, held office until October, 1601), and nowe I knowe not what Crabb took me for an Oyster, that in the midst of your sunshine of your most gratious aspect hath thrust a stone between the shells to eate me alive that only live on dead hopes. If your sacred Majestie thinke me unworthy, and that after ten years' tempest, I must att the Court suffer shipwrack of my tyme, my wittes, my hopes, vouchsafe in your never-erring

judgement some Plank or rafter to wafte me into a Country wherein my sadd and settled devocion I may in every corner of a thatche Cottage write prayers in stead of plaies, prayer for
1589. your longe and prosprous life, and a repentance that I have played the foole so longe." That being the petition, the response was made in October of the same year, when a grant was made to him of the office of Clerk to the Council of the Star Chamber. This was something, although Francis would have to wait until the then occupant were dead before deriving any benefit. The office, however, being of a valuable nature (£1,600 a year), it could be sold or mortgaged.

The "Lyly" plays number six, possibly seven.

On the separate author assumption, the Lillie who in 1584 owed 23s. 10d. to Magdalen College for daily food, or the other Lillie who was M.P. from 1589 to 1601, had not, in the ten years mentioned in the Petition, overworked himself as a dramatic author.

In April, Sir John Norris started with an expedition, consisting of 180 vessels and 21,000 men, for Portugal. The occasion was one of considerable excitement, and to celebrate it Francis wrote a short poem called "A Farewell." This and another poem, "The Tale of Troy," were then published together in the course of the year under the name of Peele. The other writings this year would probably be "Menaphon," which has an oft quoted introduction by Nashe. This is also called "Arcadia," and seems to have been suggested by the publication of Sidney's "Arcadia" in the previous year. I extract a prefixed verse in praise of the author—

> "Of all the flowers, a Lillie one I lov'd,
> When labouring beauty brancht itself abroade,
> But now old age his glorie hath remov'd,
> And Greener objects are my eyes' aboade."

"Ciceronis Amor," dedicated to Lord Strange, afterwards Earl of Derby; "The Orpharion," dedicated to Robert Carey; all afterwards published in the name of Greene; and probably

the plays "Edward I.," "Edward II.," "Arden of Faversham," and "The Jew of Malta." He is believed by Mr. Spedding to have composed for Sir Francis Walsingham, the Foreign Secretary, an important letter described as the 'Scrinia Sacra," written in explanation of the Queen's proceedings towards the Catholics and Puritans respectively. He also wrote "An Advertisement touching the controversies of the Church," and a short poem in the name of Peele, called "Eclogue Gratulatory," on the safe return of Essex. 1589.

1590.

This year seems to have been full of events. In February his uncle Ambrose, the Earl of Warwick, died, followed by the death in April of his friend, Sir Francis Walsingham. He
1590. wrote "The Woman in the Moon" and "Midas" for performance by the children before the Queen at her usual Christmas festivities, but the plays were satirical in tone, and indicated that he was either getting bolder or feeling somewhat desperate. At any rate the children's performances, so far as the Paul's School boys were concerned, were prohibited from this date.

"The Faerie Queene" (1st part) was at last, ten years after it had been projected, published this year. It is dedicated to the Queen, and to it are appended Sonnets to fourteen of the chief noblemen of the Court, including the Lord Treasurer, the Lord Keeper, the Lord Chamberlain, High Admiral, Master of the Horse, Secretary of State, and one to the Ladies of the Court. These Sonnets, says Dr. Grosart, and I agree with him, in practically every case contain touches declarative of some personal intercourse as between persons on terms of familiarity. You will notice these Sonnets are appended, not prefixed. No doubt the "Faerie Queene," being a big production, had been in the hands of the printers for some time There is no evidence that "the little man with short hair, little band, and little cuffs," as Aubrey describes the person who was sent to Ireland, was ever over in 1590 in connection with the publication of this poem, and of course on the footing of the truth of the cipher story there is no need to press this point. Before passing from the subject of these Sonnets, it is rather curious that in the following year Nashe, in "Piers Pennilesse," apologises for the omission from the "Faerie Queene" of a Sonnet to Earl Derby, formerly Lord Strange, and actually writes one! There is something very odd about Nashe with

which I have had little time to deal, but which I hope will be taken up by other investigators.

On the death of Sir Francis Walsingham, Francis, in the name of Watson, dedicated to him a Latin Eclogue entitled "Melibaeus." He also translated it into English Eclogues. His reason for doing this was because on a previous occasion Abraham Fraunce, in turning into English exameters Francis' translation into Latin of Tasso's "Amintas," neglected to acknowledge the source. Francis, as Watson, also Englished some Italian madrigals. This work he dedicated to his brother, the Earl of Essex, who would then be at the age of twenty-three. **1590.**

Francis was now approaching the zenith of his powers, and seeing that works on shorthand had been published, I apprehend that he was then beginning to put it into practice, and to have several assistants working for him.

On the Queen's Accession Day, 17th November, Sir Henry Lee, the Master of the Armourie, had been accustomed to direct an annual exercise of arms at the Tilt Yard, Westminster, and this year the ceremony was special owing to Sir Henry having to give up the Mastership through age and growing infirmity. Francis composed for the occasion a special commemorative verse, "Polyhymnia," published in the name of George Peele, with a dedication to Lord Compton, one of the Knights at Tilt. For this, also, Francis wrote the beautiful poem, "His golden locks time hath to silver turned."

The plays produced this year probably comprised early states of "King John," "Henry VI." (1st part), "Edward III.," and "Titus Andronicus," while the works and pamphlets published comprised "The Royal Exchange" (translated from the Italian and dedicated to the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs), "Never too late" (which is slightly autobiographical, dedicated to Thomas Burnaby), and "The Mourning Garment" (dedicated to the Earl of Cumberland), all under the name of Greene.

1591.

The plays written for the Queen's festivities this year would appear to have been "Love's Labour's Won" ("Much Ado about Nothing"), "The Two Gentlemen of Verona," and
1591. probably another chronicle play.

William Shaxper or Shakspere (the reputed author), a butcher's apprentice, married at the age of eighteen, in 1585 the father of twins, and in 1586, according to Mr. Sidney Lee, trudging on foot to London by way of Oxford, had not at that date been heard of in connection with any plays. After the dogmatic way in which Mr. Lee has written Shakspere's Life, I feel less under the need of apologizing for being a little dogmatic myself. I have not yet examined these plays for their legal knowledge (I must leave that to somebody else), but as a solicitor who has taken up "on spec" the case of the unfortunate and much derided Lord Bacon, I can only smile when I read in Mr. Lee's book, "The Life of Shakespeare," "His accurate use of legal terms may be attributed in part to his observation of the many legal processes in which his father was involved, and in particular to early intercourse with members of the Inns of Court." Verily the red herring of which Nashe, in his "Lenten Stuffe," writes so eloquently, has been dragged before the noses of our leading literati to some tune if we are to accept this statement as coincident with reasonable experience. Under the name of Greene Francis published his "Farewell to Folly," dedicated to Robert Carey, son of Lord Hunsdon; "Francesco's Fortunes," containing further autobiography in the form of a minute description of Paris, a criticism of the French Court and Society, and sketches of refined life at Lyons; and "A Notable Discovery of Cosenage." He also published this year, under the name of Spenser, "Complaients," comprising various poems, some

of them written in earlier years. He also wrote for publication, but did not publish, a poem descriptive of the Court, which he entitled "Colin Clout's Come Home Again" (see Grosart's Spenser). **1591.**

I now ask my reader, in following these remarks, to take in hand a copy of the "Complaients." Note first how in the dedication he tries to explain the inconsistency and difficulty of a man in Ireland publishing in this country. The first "Complaient" is entitled the "Ruines of Time," and is dedicated to his cousin Mary, Countess of Pembroke, "Sidney's sister, Pembroke's mother." The poet sings in the character of the Spirit of Verlame, which is an allusion to old Verulam, upon the site of which St. Albans and Gorhambury (his foster-mother's home) were built. The poem refers feelingly to the death of his father, the Earl of Leicester, and his uncle Ambrose, Earl of Warwick. Addressing the widow of the latter, he says, "Thy Lord shall never die the whiles this verse shall live, and surely it shall live for ever." Francis, in his other writings, was very confident of the eternity of his verse. He next alludes to his aunt, the wife of Sir Henry Sidney, and her two clever children, Lady Mary, to whom he dedicates the verse (and who in 1590 translated "Anthony," one of Garnier's plays), and Sir Philip Sidney, also an author. The poem was doubtless written this year, because it alludes to the death of Walsingham (Good Melibae), which only took place in the previous year. The next poem, "The Teares of the Muses," is dedicated to Lady Strange, afterwards Countess of Derby, and would appear to have been written between 1586 and this year. I base my view upon the allusion in the poem to the death of Will, the Earl of Leicester's jesting player, who, according to Sidney's letter to Walsingham, was alive in 1586—

> "And he, the man whom nature's self had made
> To mock herself, and truth to imitate,
> With kindly counter under mimic shade,
> Our pleasant Willie, ah, is dead of late."

The next "Complaient" is entitled "Virgil's Gnat" (long since dedicated to the Earl of Leicester), and was probably written between 1578 and 1588. For the second time I draw
1591. attention to the curious dedication:—

> "Wrong'd, yet not daring to express my paine
> To you, great Lord, the causer of my care,
> In cloudie teares my case I thus complaine
> Unto yourself that only privie are."

Francis was probably alluding to the difficulties in the way of his proper recognition by the Queen, owing to his father's marriage, in 1578, with the widow of the first Earl of Essex.

The next "Complaient," entitled "Mother Hubbard's Tale," is dedicated to Lady Compton. She was one of the daughters of Sir John Spencer, of Althorpe. The poet, in the dedication, states the poem to have been composed long since "in the raw concept of my youth." Seeing that the poem contains a bitter satire upon Sir Christopher Hatton as the "Ape," I doubt whether the volume was published until after that courtier's death, which occurred on 20th November of this year. In order to understand the contempt in which Francis held him those interested should read the correspondence between Hatton and Dyer, to be found, I think, in the "Life and Times of Sir C. Hatton," by Nicholas. A son is never well affected to his mother's lover. He wrote another poem this year as a sort of elegy. It is under the mask of "Greene," and is entitled "A Maiden's Dream." The dedication is to Lady Elizabeth, wife of Hatton's nephew, Sir William Hatton.

The "Ruines of Rome," "Visions of the World's Vanity," and "Visions of Bellay," are doubtless earlier poems. "Muioptomos" was dedicated to Lady Elizabeth Carey, wife of the eldest son of the Queen's cousin, Lord Hunsdon, and appears to have been written about 1590. For the entertainment of the Queen at Theballs, Francis seems to have written some speeches for Robert Cecil, who was then doing a good deal of his father's work, and whom Francis desired to propitiate. The speeches were first printed by Nichols in his

" Progresses," from a MS. transcript, and the initials of the transcriber (George Peele) being written at the end, the little work was naturally attributed to Peele.

Francis wrote the Lord Mayor's Pageant for the 29th October of this year. The Lord Mayor was William Web, or Webbe. As he and Sir Woolstan Dixie (for whom Francis wrote the Lord Mayor's Pageant in 1585) married sisters, this may have been the fulfilment of a friendly promise. Moreover Web had probably allowed Francis to use his name when publishing the " Discourse of English Poetrie " in 1586. **1591.**

It is possible that the satire in " Mother Hubbard's Tale " may have been aimed at the Frenchman Simier, whom the Queen, I think, used to call her " Ape." This may explain the more kindly attitude towards Hatton shewn in " A Maiden's Dream."

1592.

On the first day of this year Francis, in the name of Spenser, published a poem called "Daphnaida," which was a lament for the death of Douglas Howard, wife of Sir Arthur
1592. Gorges. The poem is dedicated to her mother, Lady Helena, Marquise of Northampton.

This is a most interesting year in the career of Francis. His father, the Earl of Leicester; his uncle, Ambrose, Earl of Warwick; his cousin and intimate friend, Sir Philip Sidney; his friend, Sir Francis Walsingham; and his antipathy, Sir Christopher Hatton, were all dead. Burleigh was getting very old, and affairs of State had drifted very much into the hands of the Queen herself and her son Robert. Mr. Spedding cannot find out how the acquaintance between Bacon and the Earl of Essex began. He traces no allusion to it earlier than February this year, by which time, he says, it had ripened into intimacy. Francis was, however, kept steadily in the background. What passed between Essex and himself we shall never entirely know. As a speculation from me will not matter, even if it be wrong, I venture upon consideration of the documents at and subsequent to this period, to make a guess. My guess is that Francis had begun to perceive how utterly hopeless any recognition of his claims to the throne had then become. He saw that the Queen, in her old age and in her own curious way, was dotingly fond of the Earl of Essex. She was nevertheless still beset by the difficulties of her own creation. Although almost at her sixtieth year she was still posing before her people as a virgin; her bosom was still exposed according to the habits and customs of unmarried ladies of that period. The chances, therefore, at that date that she would admit a relationship, which many around her doubtless well understood, were becoming remote. I should say

that Francis, by this time, had formed the settled conclusion that the Queen would wait until her death before declaring her successor, and that successor would most likely be Robert. He accordingly would decide to discontinue the prosecution of his own claims, and tell Essex that under all the circumstances it would be better for the State that he, Robert, a popular idol and leader of men, should succeed to the throne on the death of their mother. Francis would probably argue: "The circumstances attending my birth are very awkward. The witnesses of the marriage ceremony are dead, and a dying declaration of the Queen on the subject might not be accepted by the people to whom I am comparatively unknown. Under these circumstances, and more especially since I have taken upon myself the tremendous task of endeavouring to improve our language and literature, and the training and knowledge of our race, I shall be quite content to go on with my present studies if I can secure some position of permanent and sufficient income to enable me in comfort to prosecute my own work. There is less difficulty with respect to your birth, and I am quite willing to aid you in the direction of affairs of State; but if I withdraw in this way you must secure for me a suitable office of good salary as quickly as you can." A great deal of support to this view is to be found in Bacon's apology concerning Essex. 1592.

I consider that it was in this state of mind, and upon this understanding, that Francis penned the memorable letter to Burleigh, the draft of which appears in the Supplement to Rawley's "Resuscitatio." It begins: "My Lord, with as much confidence as mine own honest and faithful devotion unto your service, and your honourable correspondence unto me and my poor estate can breed in a man, do I commend myself unto your Lordship. *I wax now somewhat ancient;* one and thirty years is a great deal of sand in the hour glass. My health, I thank God, I find confirmed, and I do not fear that action shall impair it, *because I account my ordinary course of study and meditation* to be more painful than most parts of actions

are. *I ever bear a mind (in some middle place that I could discharge)* to serve her Majesty; *not as a man born under Sol that loveth honour;* nor under Jupiter, that loveth business
1592. *(for the contemplative planet carrieth me away wholly);* but as a man born under an excellent Sovereign, that deserveth the dedication of all men's abilities. . . . Again, the meanness of my estate doth somewhat move me; for though I cannot accuse myself that I am either prodigal or slothful, yet my health is not to spend, nor my course to get. Lastly, I confess that I have as vast contemplative ends as I have moderate civil ends, for I have taken all knowledge to be my province; and if I could purge it of two sorts of rovers, whereof the one with frivolous disputations, confutations and verbosities, the other with blind experiments and auricular traditions and impostures, hath committed so many spoils, I hope I should bring in industrious observations, grounded conclusions, and profitable inventions and discoveries; the best state of that province. *This, whether it be curiosity or vain glory, or nature, or (if one take it favourably) philanthropia, is so fixed in my mind as it cannot be removed.* And I do easily see that place of any reasonable countenance *doth bring commandment of more wits than of a man's own, which is the thing I greatly affect.* And for your Lordship, perhaps you shall not find more strength and less encounter in any other. And if your Lordship shall find now, or at any time, that *I do seek* or affect *any place whereunto any that is nearer unto your Lordship shall be concurrent, say then that I am a most dishonest man.* And if your Lordship cannot carry me on, I will not do as Anaxagoras did, who reduced himself with contemplation unto voluntary poverty; but this I will do: I will sell the inheritance that I have and purchase some lease of quick revenue, or some office of gain that shall be executed by deputy, and so give over all care of service, and *become some sorry book-maker*, or a true pioneer in that mine of truth, which (he said) lay so deep . . . from my lodging at Gray's Inn."

Anthony Bacon arrived in England at the beginning of this year, and the foreign news brought by him may have been the cause of Francis writing the lengthy article entitled "Observations on a Libel" (see Spedding's "Life") for transmission abroad as a reply to the attacks which had been made upon the Queen and her Ministers by Father Parsons in a pamphlet entitled "Responsio ad edictum Reginæ Angliæ." 1592.

The plays written this year were probably "Soliman and Persida" for the Earl of Sussex's players, "Henry VI." (2nd part), and "Richard II." Francis for the first play adapted from a novel by Wootton called "Courtly Controversy," and for the others probably dictated from Hollingshed's Chronicles. Like Mr. Shaw at the present day, when wanting to compose quickly he dictated in blank verse. (I had better explain that I am not entirely serious in this remark.) The other works published this year comprised, under the name of Greene, in February some pamphlets, and in July a novel called "Philomela," stated in the preface to have been written some time ago, and having a dedication to Lady Bridget Fitzwalter, wife of the eldest son of the Earl of Sussex. In the same month (July) a pamphlet, chaffing his old friend Gabriel Harvey for the part he took in a recent reception of the Queen at Saffron Walden, was published. In August he published, as Greene, "Black Books Messenger," and translated and dictated to an assistant a little work by Tasso, called "The Householder's Philosophy."

I am tolerably certain that Francis was at this time, if not earlier, well helped by a staff of men capable of writing a sort of shorthand, who afterwards transcribed their work. During August he was at his Lodge at Twickenham Park, to which, says Mr. Spedding, he had betaken himself with some of his lawyer friends (Masters Dunch, Cecil, Gosnold, and Field) upon a flying report of "the sickness" (the plague). He asked Dr. Andrews, afterwards a famous bishop, and Mr. Phillips, a decipherer of the Foreign Office, to join him. The Queen at this time was going on one of her Progresses, including

Croydon, at which place the players performed "Summer's Last Will and Testament." Francis, in his letter to Phillips, says, "I have excused myself of this progress, if that be to
1592. excuse to take liberty where it is not given."

In view of his recent serious resolutions, Francis, at this date, made up his mind to close his career as Greene, and, in doing so, to take advantage of the opportunity it afforded for "improving the occasion." On 20th September, 1592, he published Greene's "Groatsworth of Wit," which contains, in an introduction, rebukes of three of his assistants, viz., Marlowe, Peele and Lodge. Judging by the circumstances of the death of Marlowe in the following year; judging, moreover, by the efforts of Peele to get money from Burleigh in 1595 by an offer of verses which had been put out in his name six years before, and by the tradition as to the nature of the disease which ended in his death, I gather that these two men were rapidly becoming impossible, and yet Francis was, to a certain extent, in their hands. The general alarm at the report of the plague, coupled with the warning that he then administered, might turn them to better courses. About Lodge we know very little. He probably was not past praying for, and appears to have been subsequently sent on a voyage. I expect these men had much to do with writing out parts for the players and giving hints as to the mode of performance. It is in this introduction that we have the first printed reference to Shakspere, namely, as an actor of some fussiness and self-importance. "The only Shake-scene." His next pamphlet followed within a few days, and was entitled "Greene's Vision," written at the instant of his death, it being a prose account of interviews successively with the spirits of Chaucer, Gower, and Solomon. It contains an apology for much that Francis had written under the name of "Greene." In the preface, he says, "Many things I have wrote to get money, which I could otherwise wish to be suppressed." I hope that, whoever may take upon himself the publication and co-ordination of the complete works of

Lord Bacon will give heed to that wish. For biographical purposes it is necessary to quote somewhat lengthily from the "'Vision": "I will begin from henceforth to hate all such follies, and to write of matters of some import, either moral, **1592.**
to discover the course of virtue, how man shall direct his life to the perfect felicity, or else to discourse as a naturalist of the perfection that nature hath planted in her creatures, thereby to manifest the excellent glory of the Maker, or some political axioms or canonical precepts, that may both jointly and particularly profit the Commonwealth. . . . They which hold Greene for a patron of love and a second Ovid, shall now think him a Timon of such lineaments and a Diogenes that will bark at every amorous pen." Then follows a vision of Solomon, who makes a speech, and "Greene" goes on to say: "And this he spake with such a majesty that the terror of his countenance affrighted me, and I started and awoke and found myself in a dream; yet, gentlemen, when I entered into the consideration of the vision and called to mind not only the counsel of Gower and the persuasions of Solomon, a sudden fear attended every limb, and I felt a horror in my conscience for the follies of my pen, whereupon, as in my dream so awake, I resolved peremptorily to leave all thoughts of love, and to apply my wits as near as I could to seek after wisdom so highly commended by Solomon; but howsoever the direction of my studies shall be limited me, as you have had blossoms of my wanton fancies, so you shall have the fruits of my better labours." The "Repentance of Robert Greene," published at the end of the year, completed the trilogy of pamphlets in which Francis, as "Greene," took leave of the world. The way "Greene" is metaphorically put to death is exquisite fooling. I trust after this interval of over three hundred years our literary leaders in matters Elizabethan will see the joke.

On 4th December Gabriel Harvey published his "Four Letters of Notable Contents," to further mix up and mystify the matter.

For the usual Tilt Yard ceremonies Francis wrote a some-

1592. what grave device consisting of serious speeches. It has been called "A Conference of Pleasure." I fail to understand why. His own speeches are one in praise of knowledge, and another in praise of the Queen.

The plays written this year were perhaps the "Pinner of Wakefield" and "The Old Wives' Tale."

1593.

In February of this year a new Parliament met, to which Francis was returned as M.P. for Middlesex. This Parliament at an early age got to cross purposes with the Queen. To the Speaker's petition for liberty of speech she allowed only liberty to vote. The members who introduced a petition requesting a settlement of the question of the succession to the Crown she committed to prison. The next important question was the vote of a subsidy. This time the Queen demanded *treble* the usual supply, and asked that it should be collected during one year. Now, as Mr. Spedding says, although the practice of voting only one subsidy at a time had once before been broken, it was with an intimation that the case was extraordinary, and with the proviso that it should not be taken for a precedent. Another difficulty arose because the House of Lords proposed to join the Commons in fixing and voting the amount. Francis, while willing to vote the necessary money, claimed the ancient privilege of the House of Commons to vote supplies apart from the House of Lords. He further opposed the collection of a treble subsidy in one year, on the ground that it would cause great discontent and unsettle the kingdom. I am disposed to think that his objections were entirely in the interests of the Throne. To what extent, however, England has been saved by the gallant fight made by Francis for the privileges of the House of Commons we do not know, nor whether, apart from the protest which Francis made, the people of England would have quietly acquiesced in the collection from them of a treble subsidy in one year.

1593.

Francis carried his point as to the House of Commons, but, on the other question, although he eventually gave way, he incurred the intense displeasure of the Queen. Just consider

what this self-willed, passionate, spoilt monarch would be likely to say and do when the son she ignored, and yet feared, ventured to lead the House of Commons in opposition to her
1593. will. I am disposed to think she went so far as to cut off his allowance. She was just the sort of woman to say, "This young half-bastard, half-son of mine has had the impertinence to attempt to stop my supplies from Parliament; I will stop his and see how he likes it."

"O, how wretched is that poor man who hangs on princes' favour."

Francis, for many a month afterwards, was denied the Court; his explanations were not received, and, judging by his borrowings of large amounts from various sources, and even of small amounts from Anthony Bacon, was deprived of his Court allowance. His letters to Burleigh and the Earl of Essex are in a mutilated state, and we have the unexpected fact of both Robert Cecil and Thomas Cecil urging their father, Lord Burleigh, to do something for Francis. His own letters to the Queen confirm this. What he at this period really wanted was not the Solicitor-Generalship, nor subsequently the position of Attorney-General, but that a reconciliation should be brought about, and that he should be restored to the good opinion of the Queen. He had mortgaged his Star Chamber reversion, and could not pay the half-year's interest. Anthony came to the rescue by trying to realise his estate at Markes, for which the concurrence of Lady Anne, who had a life interest, was necessary. As usually happens, when people are "hard up," the application to her to help in this matter only resulted in complaints as to the extravagance or want of thrift on the part of the applicant. Lady Anne's grumble was that Francis was keeping a lot of men who were wasting his money. In July, Anthony and Francis negotiated the sale of another estate belonging to Anthony to Alderman Sir John Spencer, of Crosby Hall.

Mr. Spedding quotes several letters from Lady Anne Bacon about this period. One in April refers to some "enigmatical

folded writing" by Francis, which she did not understand. In another letter she speaks of Francis in these words: "He was his father's first ——." Mr. Spedding cannot make out the last word, but thinks it is "chis," and therefore writes it "choice." Was it "child" I wonder, and was Lady Anne accidentally letting the cat out of the bag? I do not wish to magnify the point, but the letter should be carefully examined before it may be considered disposed of. 1593.

As a natural result of all his trouble, Francis, who was never strong, became ill at Twickenham, as his letter to Lady Paulet discloses. He still, however, assisted Essex and Anthony in Foreign Office affairs, which, in the absence of a regular Foreign Secretary, they appear to have attended to. Francis was evidently the decipherer and adviser, drafting letters, and generally taking skilled charge of work nominally performed by Essex. From further letters adduced by Mr. Spedding, I find confirmation of the view that Francis really did not want the position either of Solicitor-General or Attorney-General but having regard to his serious pecuniary difficulties *some salaried appointment was essential to save the situation.* We can see by this and later correspondence how eager Essex was to procure his brother any salaried post which became vacant. He was doubtless sorry for his brother, and anxious to carry out the understanding between them that some appointment of middle position should be procured for Francis, in which he might be decently maintained while prosecuting his literary schemes.

The theatres were closed most of this year on account of the plague, and it is natural that, owing to illness and trouble, very little dramatic work was accomplished by Francis. He wrote a poem called "The Honour of the Garter," on the occasion of the Earl of Northumberland being installed Knight of the Garter at Windsor on the 26th June. This was inscribed in the name of Peele, who subsequently made it the pretext for drawing a gratuity from the Earl of Northumberland in respect of it.

"The Honour of the Garter" (which my reader should refer to) contains the following reference to the young Earl of Southampton:—

1593.

> "Then the brave Earls of Stafford and Southampton,
> Whose successors for his sake that lives
> And now survives in honour of that name,
> To whom my thoughts are humble and devote.
> Gentle Wriothesley, Southampton's star,
> I wish all fortune that in Cynthia's eye:
> Cynthia, the glory of the Western world,
> With all the stars in her fair firmament,
> Bright may he rise and shine immortal."

For information about Southampton I am indebted to Mr. Sidney Lee's "Life of Shakespeare," according to which he was born in 1573. When he was eight years old his father died and he succeeded to the title and a rich inheritance. He became a royal ward of Court. At the age of twelve he went to St. John's College, Cambridge, and graduated M.A. in 1589. In 1590 he was a student at Gray's Inn. I do not know whether it was the practice in those days for a rich young fellow to become a pupil in the Chambers of some learned Counsel, but if so I have a pretty strong opinion that he "read" with Francis. At this date he would be twenty years of age. We further learn that the young man was (very naturally under such circumstances) devoted to literature, and that John Florio was in his pay.

The next month a poem was printed and published entitled "Venus and Adonis," with a dedication by Shakes-peare to Southampton. It is called "The first heir of my invention." It was certainly the first time that an idealised, or any other form of our Stratford friend's name, had ever appeared in print. The origin of the invented term "shake-speare" can be seen in "The Shepheard's Calendar" Glosse, for October, and also in the "Faerie Queen," Book II., Canto ~~I3~~ 9, and in other places in the same poem. The poem of "Venus and Adonis" was published by Field, himself a native of

Stratford, and Francis may have sold the poem out and out to Shaksper, who by this time would have made money out of his share as co-venturer in the theatre upon the side of the Thames. In the alternative, I should say that Francis was in bad straits for money. Marlowe was dead, having been killed in a brawl on the 1st June that year; Greene was, of course, "defunct"; Peele was both unreliable and unassociated with this style of verse, so that the name of another player was used for a consideration, as indicated in the cipher story. One other name might possibly have been used, namely, Thomas Kyd, but he was in disgrace with the authorities under circumstances which are stated by Professor Boas in his recently published "Life and Works of Kyd." It appears from the Professor's researches that about May some threats, or as they were then called, "libels" against the Dutch residents in London had been posted on the walls of the Dutch cemetery. The Star Chamber Council employed Commissioners to enquire into the libels and arrest offenders. Amongst those arrested were Marlowe and Kydde, both of whom had been in the employment of Francis in some form or other. Marlowe, while out on bail was killed in a brawl (1st June). Kydde appears to have cleared himself of the charge of being concerned in the Dutch libels, but in his possession was found a portion of a Unitarian tract, at that time deemed atheistical, and he was in trouble on that account. Professor Boas brings to light a letter of excuse purporting to have been written by Kydde in extenuation. I am quite prepared to concede that Kydde wrote it if my reader will agree that Francis, who was always drafting letters for other people, composed it. Judging by the *facsimile* which Mr. Boas publishes, the writing is just what one would have expected from a scrivener's clerk. Kydde's father was a scrivener, viz., a person whom solicitors would at the present day call a law stationer, and it is likely that the son followed the same occupation. It will be noticed in the *facsimile* that the writer left spaces for words and quotations he could not read (a useful practice followed by engrossing

1593.

clerks to this day). The difficult words and quotations are filled in by another hand. This suggestion explains the erudition in the letter, which otherwise is somewhat difficult to
1593. account for. It contains two quotations from Cicero, an author much quoted by Francis in his acknowledged works. The "Greene" pamphlet in 1589, "Ciceronis Amor," dealt with an incident in the Latin author's career. The Kyd letter is also a useful corroboration of the cipher story as to the fact of Marlowe "*bearing name to serve my Lord*," which I take to mean that Francis had been writing plays in Marlowe's name. Gabriel Harvey, years before, in addressing young Francis as "Immerito," called him a "Lord," and from what the cipher discloses as to Francis it is not unreasonable that he should use the like expression about himself in composing a letter for his assistant to write.

All the other assistants being thus unavailable, Francis would seem to have for the first time used the name of another of the players as pseudo author of a poem of the "Greene" class, which, in July, his necessities compelled him to sell.

The plague doubtless accounts for the absence this year of any special ceremonies in the Tilt Yard at Westminster on the Queen's Accession Day.

At Christmas the name "Shakspere" for the first time appears in the accounts of the Treasurer of the Chamber as appearing with Burbage as a member of the Lord Chamberlain's company before the Queen. I cannot name the plays; probably old ones were revived.

1594.

In January, 1593-4, Francis was still out of favour with the Queen, and had not been appointed to any office. Accordingly he turned his attention to pleading at the Law Courts. On 25th January he appeared in the Queen's Bench for the heir of Lord Cheyney against the purchasers of his land, and acquitted himself so well that Burleigh sent his Secretary to "congratulate unto him the first fruits of his public practice," and to ask for a note of "his case and the chief points of his pleading to the end he might make *report thereof where it might do him most good.*" He held briefs again on the 5th and 9th. The account given by Mr. Henry Gosnold quoted by Mr. Spedding, is worth reading. It is clear that *for Francis* to appear and plead in the Courts was no ordinary matter. It was expected that several noblemen would put in an attendance. However, there was a good assemblage of learned judges, who showed him *extraordinary respect.* This strikes me as a curious commencement for one who, according to tradition, was only a young barrister of thirty-three. It rather indicates the sort of interest which might be taken were the Prince of Wales at the present day to be known to be making his first public speech than the incident of a comparatively obscure barrister conducting his first case. 1594.

About 30th March, Francis wrote a letter to the Earl of Essex, which seems to have been intended for the Queen's perusal. In that letter he refers to his intention "With this disgrace of my fortune, and yet with that comfort of the good opinion of so many honourable persons, to retire myself *with a couple of men* to Cambridge (evidently economising in the matter of assistants), and there spend my life in my studies and contemplations without looking back." I cannot see how Francis was being disgraced by not receiving an appointment

for which he admitted in later letters others were equally fit. His disgrace was something much more than this.

1594. On the 19th April Francis went down to Greenwich, where the Court was being held, hoping that the Queen would allow him to interview her, but he was not successful. He returned to London, and was again engaged in the Law Courts.

In May the poem of "Lucrece" was entered in the Stationers' Register, and later on published by Field, with a dedication to the Earl of Southampton signed by "W. Shakespeare." Whether this was another out and out purchase by Field and his fellow villager, it is impossible to say, although, from what we can gather of Shakespere's character, he may have bought the poem and dedication for an inclusive sum. Still the cipher goes no further than to say that Shakespere's name was used for a consideration. In this, or perhaps more probably, the previous year, a curious pamphlet, entitled "The Unfortunate Traveller," by Thomas Nashe, is also dedicated to Southampton. He says: "A dere lover and cherisher you are, as well of the lovers of Poets as of Poets themselves. Amongst their sacred number I dare not ascribe myself, though now and then I speak English."

In July, Francis was still without permission to attend Court, and we find him, with the help of Anthony, borrowing money for a journey he was about to take North. Whether he was going to Scotland to see King James we cannot tell, but seeing that a play of his, entitled "King James IV. of Scotland" was licensed in May of this year, it is possible that he had some scheme for forcing the Queen's hand, in which King James may have been expected to assist, and that he took the play in his pocket as a present. However, Francis was taken ill at Huntingdon, and got no further along the Great North Road from London; but he made use of his proximity to Cambridge to visit the University and take up his M.A. Judging by one of Nashe's allusions to Gabriel Harvey, they probably met once more at Cambridge.

August found Francis at work examining prisoners in the

Tower suspected of plotting against the Queen, his work being under direct retainer from her Majesty; see his letter of 20th July—"Nothing under mere impossibility could have detained me from earning so gratious a vail as it pleased your Majesty to give me." The same period shows him pressing Anthony to provide another £150. During the Autumn Anthony is still engaged in borrowing money and lending it to Francis, who, up to the end of the year, was still denied the Court, and, what is equally probable and more serious, was not being paid an allowance from the Queen. 1594.

It is to this year that Mr. Sidney Lee, in the "Dictionary of National Biography," ascribes John Lyly's second petition to the Queen, although Mr. Arber puts it at 1593. The transcript is amongst the Harleian MSS., and commences as follows:—"Most gratious and dread soveraigne, tyme cannot worke my peticions, nor my peticions the tyme. After many years' service it pleased your Majesty to except against Tents and Toyles, I wish that for Teants I might putt in Tenements, so should I be eased of some Toyles. Some lande, some good fines, or forfeitures that shall fall by the just fall of these most false traitors, that seeing that nothing will come by the Revells, I may prey upon the Rebells. Thirteene years your hignes servant but yet nothing. Twenty friends, that though they say they wilbe sure, I find them sure to be slowe. A thowsand hopes but all nothing, a hundred promises but yet nothing. Thus, casting upp the Inventary of my freinds, hopes, promises, and tymes, the summa totalis amounteth to just nothing. My last will is shorter than myne invencion; but three legacies: patience to my Creditors, Melancholie without measure to my friends, and beggerie *without shame to my family* . . . . The last and the least, that if I bee borne to have nothing, I may have a protection to pay nothinge, which suite is like his that haveing folloued the Court tenn years for recompence of his service committed a Robberie and tooke it out in a pardon."

The allusion to the rebels was doubtless to Dr. Lopez and others, who were accused of and eventually condemned for a

conspiracy to poison the Queen. Francis drew up a report about Lopez and his treason, although Mr. Spedding cannot fix an exact date when it was written. Shortly before December his assistant, Thomas Kydde, died (see Professor Boas). Towards the latter end of December Francis took part in the Christmas revels of the students of Gray's Inn. These commenced on the 20th and lasted until the 28th, on which night the "Comedy of Errors" was performed by the players. As there had been considerable overcrowding at this performance, the lawyers decided to have a "graver conceit" performed in the January following. "Romeo and Juliet" may probably also be assigned to this year.

1594.

1595.

Accordingly, on 3rd January, 1594-5, a device known as "The Order of the Helmet" was performed at Gray's Inn. Many great personages were invited and came, and when the guests were seated, the Prince of the Revels came in full state and took his throne. Various persons were invested with a collar of the Knighthood of the Helmet, the articles of the Order were read, and each in turn kissed the helmet in token of his vow to keep them inviolate. The articles, which are given in Mr. Spedding's book, are well worth reading, and are followed by a series of speeches: one Counsellor advising the exercise of war; a second, the study of philosophy; a third, the eternisement and fame by buildings and foundations; a fourth, absoluteness of state and treasure; a fifth, advising virtue and a gracious government; a sixth, persuading pastimes and sports. Mr. Spedding sees in this device the germ of the notions which Francis carried out to completion in his "New Atlantis, or Solomon's House." Now that the "New Atlantis" has been proved by Mr. Wigston and others to be identical with Heydon's "Land of the Rosicrucians," it is likely that the same device was related to the scheme of secret societies developed into the Freemason and Rose Cross brotherhoods. 1595.

The Prince of the Revels above referred to was entitled the Prince of Purpoole, and was enthroned with great ceremony.

Francis exhibited peculiar fondness for the kingly colour. On the occasion of his marriage, in 1606, he was thus arrayed. "Purple from cap to shoe," states the chronicler of the event.

On the 26th January was entered in the Stationers' Register the play of "Cornelia." It was translated from the French of Garnier and dedicated to Lady Bridget Ratcliffe, then

Countess of Sussex, being probably written for her husband's strolling players. It is stated to have been the work of a "winter's week," and is signed T. K. It is the only play
1595. published in these initials, and as Kyd was dead before the "winter's week" it was written, was foisted on to him, a practice with reference to recently deceased persons followed by Francis on other occasions. The writer in the dedication referred to, after saying that the play was the work of a "winter's week" (thus shewing wonderfully rapid powers of translating and dictating), goes on to promise better travail in the summer with the tragedy of "Portia." It is a curious fact that later in the year was produced "The Merchant of Venice," which is the nearest approach to a tragedy of "Portia" Elizabethan times afford.

Garnier, in 1568, wrote the "Tragedie de Porcie," but I am unable to say whether it is the foundation for any portion of "The Merchant of Venice." If so, it is noteworthy how the name which is derived from the Porcii or keepers of swine (*vide* Miss Young) is idealised to Portia.

Mr. Spedding begins his account of this year with an interesting undated letter from Francis to Essex. The reference in it to the "waters of Parnassus" indicates that Essex well knew Francis to be a poet. We also learn from this letter that Francis had not only ceased to be keen for the appointment of Solicitor-General, but had very little hope of it. On 25th January, though Francis was sent for to the Court, he was not seen by the Queen, and he wrote to Anthony a graphic account of what passed. Referring to money matters, it looks as though he may have been again in receipt of a small allowance from the Queen. This is the interpretation I have put upon the words: "received so little thence where I deserved best." The letter also shews his determination to be more careful then ever of his money, and to sell off "those small things I have" with as much expedition as may be, and then go abroad. He refers to the fact that he is short of work for some of his assistants, "idle pens," and asks

Anthony to send something for them to copy. In a letter to Sir Robert Cecil, he says: "Wheresoever her Majesty shall appoint me to live I shall truly pray for her Majesty's preservation and felicity," thus shewing his natural obligation to conform to her wish in this respect. Again, in writing to Burleigh on 21st March, he (quite out of accordance with our traditional view) indicates that he *has no wish to follow the practice of a lawyer* except so far as it might be necessary to serve the Queen on occasions. Later on, in a letter to his friend Greville, he explains how weary he is of all this business. 1595.

In another letter to Burleigh in July he expresses himself to be perfectly contented were a fit man, such as Sergeant Fleming, appointed to the vacant office. If his mother appointed a good man he had not another word to say. In September a letter to the Lord Keeper shows that although not appointed to any office he is at this time employed as Counsel for the Queen in a number of legal matters. Again in October he writes that as the Queen is about to appoint a Solicitor his own legal service *will not be needed*, though if she require him in any particular matter, his willing service will be available. In November Sergeant Fleming was given the vacancy. The Earl of Essex, much mortified that his efforts had proved ineffectual, gave Francis an estate of the value of £1,800. About the same period the Queen leased Twickenham Park to him for twenty-one years, to date from Michaelmas, 1624, when the lease to Edward Bacon expired. Another letter to Essex alludes to his *intention not to follow the practice of the law.* In this letter occurs a phrase which recalls the line in one of the Shakespeare plays—

> "For there was never yet philosopher
> That could endure the tooth-ache patiently."

Amity with the Queen being now somewhat restored, we find Francis, on the 17th November, once more writing the

device for the ceremonies of the Tilt Yard at Westminster. It was called "The Device of the Indian Prince."

1595. The plays written and produced this year in addition to "The Merchant of Venice," would probably comprise "Love's Labour's Lost" (see the pamphlet by Mr. James, of 37, Tenby Street, Birmingham) and "Richard III." With regard to "The Merchant of Venice" it is possible, as it was not printed until 1600, that in the meantime additions had been made with reference to the "hard Jew" who caused Francis to be arrested for debt in 1598; but this again is a point I do not think it necessary to lay great stress upon. Of the "small things" which Francis, in his letter to Anthony, expressed an intention of selling this year, the following were published under the name of Spenser, viz., "The Amoretti," dedicated to Sir Robert Needham; "Astrophel," dedicated to Sidney's sister; "Colin Clout Home Again," dedicated to Sir Walter Raleigh; and the beautiful poem, "The Epithalamion." "The Anglo Feriæ, or England's Holidays," written under the pseudonym of Peele, was not printed, but circulated in MS. It celebrates the events of 17th November of this year, was dedicated to the Countess of Huntingdon, and certain passages were obliterated before publication. What was the reason for the obliteration?

After this year Peele disappears from the scene, and nothing new was printed under the name of either Lyly, Watson, Greene, Kydde, or Marlowe. Before passing to the next year, notice should be made of a poem written by W. Har called the "Epicidium," which contains these lines—

> "You that have writ of chaste Lucretia,
> Whose death was witness of her spotless life,
> Or penned the praise of sad Cornelia,
> Whose blameless name hath made her fame so rife."

As this poem was connected with the death of the wife of a Lord Mayor, and the W. Herbert who might have written it was then recently dead, I ascribe it to Francis, and disagree

with Mr. Boas in his opinion that it is a reference to two dramatists. "Cadwallader," being a long poem published in 1604 by a mysterious William Harbert, has been examined for me at the British Museum and reported to be Baconian. 1595.

1596.

1596. As the previous year had ended in improved relations with the Queen, I am disposed to think the New Year's festivities were provided with another play from Francis, probably "Midsummer Night's Dream."

In January Francis wrote one or two letters of advice to the Earl of Rutland, about to travel abroad. The first letter is dated from Greenwich, where the Christmas festivities were usually held. In the Spring, says Dr. Grosart, the Ladies Somerset, two daughters of the Earl of Worcester, were married. Francis, to celebrate the occasion, composed a beautiful poem entitled the "Prothalamium" (Spenser). A letter of 12th March shews him to be in serious monetary difficulties. On 30th April, the Mastership of the Rolls became vacant, and Essex, from Plymouth (whence he was starting upon an expedition), immediately wrote letters to the Lord Keeper, to Lord Buckhurst, and to Sir John Fortescue, requesting them to do their best to push the claims of Francis to the vacancy. Essex was away during the summer and returned about September.

Francis wrote to him in October a very careful letter of advice as to the best course to take in order to keep on good terms with the Queen. He pointed out to Robert that he was becoming too popular, and was likely for this reason to cause offence to the Queen, who desired to be thought supreme.

On the 1st September Francis had dedicated from Greenwich his "Four Hymns of Love and Beauty" (Spenser) to his aunt, the Countess of Warwick, and her sister, the Countess of Cumberland. The following is an extract from the dedication:—"Accept this my humble service in lieu of the great graces and honourable favours which ye daily shew unto me." The relations of Francis with the Queen being now much

improved, I should not be surprised to find that his attendance at Greenwich in September was in connection with the production of plays, which I think included the one with the significant title of "All's Well that Ends Well." Other plays this year would be "Henry IV." (2nd part) and "The Merry Wives of Windsor." 1596.

It appears by a letter from Anthony Bacon to his mother, of 31st December, that Francis, during the holidays, received "gratious usage and speech from the Queen," and presented her with a tract on the Common Laws.

This year was also the date of the MS. entitled "The Veue of Ireland," which looks to me to be a very careful summary for the Queen and her advisers of the state of things in that country, and the suggestion of remedies. He would probably write it for her during the absence of Essex in Spain, and was doubtless based upon the "Irish Collection" referred to in his letter to Anthony of 25th January, 1594-5. It contains what seems like an allusion to Essex, "upon whom the eye of all England is fixed, and our last hopes now rest," and gives ample indication that the writer was a skilled civil and criminal lawyer and conveyancer.

The "Prothalamion" contains an autobiographical reference:—

> "To mery London, my most kindly *nurse*
> That to me gave this life's first native source;
> Though from another place I take my name—
> An house of ancient fame."

According to the cipher Francis was born at Windsor Castle and taken away in a box by Lady Ann Bacon to her residence (York House), London.

POSTSCRIPTA.

Biographical difficulties.

Biographical difficulties.

At the end of the year 1596 I close my attempt to reconstruct the biography of Lord Bacon. From that date very much more is known and recorded of his sayings and doings. The inner history of the period 1597 to 1626 will, however, need close study and incorporation with what is already publicly recorded. The great tragedies and events of the second half of his lifetime are subjects for a far, far abler pen than mine. Moreover, at the date at which I close my sketch, Francis had parted company with the masks of his early life. The fictitious names of Thomas Watson, John Lyly, Immerito and William Webbe were no longer used. Of substantive persons who sold to him the use of their names, Peele, Marlowe, and Greene were dead. Kidd's name was only appropriated after his death, and that but once.

Shaksper and Spenser alone were living; the former was becoming prosperous, while the latter was still in the wilds of Ireland, only returning in December, 1598, to die in poverty the following month in consequence of the ruin of his home at Kilcolman.

In bringing to a close what have been very hard labours, I ask myself once more, *Cui bono?* Are the bulk of the English race really anxious for the truth, or are they indifferent or incredulous, and, as Lord Bacon says, "impatient of inquiry"? I admit that the investigator, unless he is prepared for a long and patient examination, will repeatedly find stumbling-blocks in the way of his acceptance of the cipher story. The very letters and public acts of Francis Bacon and Robert, Earl of Essex, Anthony Bacon, Lord Burleigh and others, at first sight seem absolutely opposed to the cipher view, but when we consider the spies which beset these people, and when we realise that any incautious admission in writing meant danger to the parties concerned, one may be able to

understand the incongruity between the intimacy known to be existing between Francis and Robert, and the strict formality of their correspondence. Again, we must not forget that we are admitted to the perusal of only the selected letters. They were sifted in Lord Bacon's lifetime, sifted again by Rawley after his death; winnowed again were the letters obtained from the Cabala, a second edition of which was published in 1663. Cabala is a Hebrew word signifying secret knowledge, and, according to an old Dictionary, is also the name given to a skill or science practised by modern Jews in discovering mysteries and expositions from the numbers that letters of words make. They were sifted once more when Stephens published, in 1702, his first collection of "Letters and Memories of Sir Francis Bacon." Pope's "Iliad," please note, was published in 1715, and we are told his "Essay on Man" was much indebted to Bolingbroke. When Stephens published his second collection in 1734 from Lord Bacon's MSS. he tells us in his preface (I quote from Spedding's "Life," Vol. I., page 16) that even at that time, more than one hundred years after the death of Lord Bacon, there were MSS. "fit to be transcribed and so preserved *if not divulged.*"

Biographical difficulties.

There are some persons who, always wanting disputes settling for them by some authority, have quoted Mr. Spedding's opinion as final upon questions relating to the life of Lord Bacon. This is not fair to Mr. Spedding. It is true that he, like Mr. Montague before him, devoted the best part of a lifetime to the preparation of an adequate biography of Lord Bacon and an enumeration of his works, coupled, in the case of Mr. Spedding, with a vindication of his character from the aspersions of Lord Macaulay; but Mr. Spedding had only access to the documents at fourth hand, many catalogued were unaccountably missing, and he had not the indication and guide as to matters into which his research would have been directed had the cipher story appeared in his day. It is accordingly no derogation from the brilliancy of Mr. Spedding's work that he had to labour very much in the dark.

Postscripta.

Biographical difficulties.

Just before writing these lines I was reading Pasquil's "Apologie," titled-paged to Thomas Nashe. A brave, strenuous, and devoted fight was made by that writer for the unity of the Protestant Church; against schism and dissent. Like the tactics mostly adopted towards Baconian questions by antagonists of the present day, he tried to kill dissent by the powerful weapon of ridicule (a weapon never more mightily wielded in this country than by Nashe). Said Nashe:—"Contention is a coale, the more it is blowne by a dysputation the more it kindleth: I must spit in their faces to put it out." But we know that the mighty effort failed, and the dissent which split religious worshippers over a period of 250 years, into many sections, has only during the last fifty years begun the movement back again towards concentration and religious unity.

Thomas Nashe.

Before long someone will be interested in telling us more about Nashe. Is it only coincidence that his birth is stated to have been in November, 1567—the date given of the birth of Robert, Earl of Essex, and that he is stated to have belonged to the Hereford Nashes (not Hertford, as Dr. Grosart erroneously states). Netherwood, where Robert is alleged to have been born, is in Hereford. Nashe is not heard of after 1600, nor is he claimed by Francis as one of his masks; but "Nashe" does seem to entertain many notions in common with other masks claimed in the cipher story, and he frequently mentions his ability to change his style. The cipher claims that Francis was able to make a style specially applicable to the writings published under the name of a particular mask. Looking at the matter superficially, I fail to notice any very appreciable difference between the Nashe pamphlets and the following:—(1) "A Quip for an Upstart Courtier," printed in the name of Robert Greene (which, however, is the least like); (2) "Papp with a Hatchet," which also appeared in the Martinist controversy. The latter pamphlet is referred to by Gabriel Harvey as being by Lyly. On the British Museum print is marked in pencil, "attributed to T. Nashe and J. Lyly." If we cannot materially distinguish the style, arguments, and objective of the various pamphlets, we may have stumbled across a piece of inner history not intended for revelation. In the short extract obtained for me at the British Museum, I find the dedication to be signed, "Double V." This may associate it with the mask "Webbe" used for the "Discourse of English Poetry," published about the same date. It also contains indications that the writer was acquainted with law terms, and took the part of the stage players. There is a sentence: "Faith, thou wilt be caught by the style. What care I to be found by a style?" And again: "They will rove

Thomas Nashe.

at thee and anatomize thy life from the cradle to the grave," which reminds me of the epigram which Mr. Spedding attributes to Lord Bacon, entitled, "The World is a Bubble," and finally there is the same quotation: "What atheist more foole that saies in his heart there is no God," etc., to be found both in Lyly's "Euphues" and Bacon's "Essay on Atheism."

Thomas Nashe.

Few seem to have noticed that on page 234 in Nashe's "Lenten Stuffe," printed 1599, is to be found the word "honorificabilitudinitatibus," which is also to be found in "Love's Labour's Lost." The "Lenten Stuffe" will probably turn out to contain secret history. Another odd reference is contained in the dedication to "Humphrey, King of the Tobacconists," which reads as follows: "Most courteous unlearned lover of Poetry and yet a Poet thy selfe, of no lesse price then H. S. that in honour of Maidmarrian gives sweete Margera for his Empresse." Lord Bacon called one section of his "Novum Organum" "Valerius Terminus with annotations by Hermes Stella." If Hermes Stella = H. S. = Lord Bacon, then the reference to Margera may be a reference to Margaret of Navarre, and indirectly a confirmation of the cipher story.

Nashe's "Unfortunate Traveller," to the preface of which I draw attention, is possibly the document of a secret Society, just as, in my opinion, is the "Hypercritica," to be found in Hazlewood's "Ancient Critical Essays on English Poetry." Nashe's style is exceedingly coarse in places. In "Christ's Tears over Jerusalem," printed 1593, he bids "a hundred unfortunate farewells to fantasticall satirism," just as "Greene," in the previous year, had apologised for "lascivious pamphleting." Bear in mind that Francis was at this time only aged thirty-two. He found his attempt to kill Martinism by ridicule had failed. In 1599, when Francis had attained to considerable power in the State, I am disposed to think he decided that the marigold (Margaret's flower), mentioned in the "Unfortunate Traveller," should close its petals; the pamphlets be withdrawn. At any rate in that year the "authorities" directed "All Nashe's bookes and Dr. Harvey's

bookes be taken wheresoever they may be found, and that none of the same be ever printed hereafter." This may account for the fact of no claim being made in the cipher to the authorship of Nashe. The speculation, if tenable, reveals the true authorship of the play of " Summer's last Will and Testament," played in 1592 before the Queen at Croydon. It, moreover, explains the presence of " The Isle of Dogs (fragment) by Thos. Nashe, Inferior plaie " on the contents list outside of the MS. cover found amongst the Northumberland MSS., which list also named two Shakespeare plays and a number of Lord Bacon's acknowledged writings. My conclusions are that Lord Bacon purposely suppressed the Nashe writings so that his philosophical works should not be prejudiced in public favour by the brilliant and powerful, though coarse and erratic productions under the style of " Nashe."

Thomas Nashe.

The long word mentioned on the previous page is stated by Dr. Platt, of Lakewood, New Jersey, to make the following Anagram:—" Hi ludi tuiti sibi Fr. Bacono nati," meaning, " These plays entrusted to themselves proceeded from Francis Bacon." A Quarterly Reviewer finds fault with the Latin and the translation, but whether rightly I am unable to judge. This discovery was earlier in date than the Biliteral Cipher deciphered by Mrs. Gallup.

A few other Mysteries.

1.—One matter of some mystery. Archbishop Tenison, writing in "Baconiana," said, referring to Lord Bacon, "His Lordship owned it under his hand (this is evidently a reference to Bacon's letter to King James, March 23rd, 1620) that he was frail, and did partake of the abuses of the times; and surely he was a partaker of their severities also. *The great cause of his suffering is to some a secret.* I leave them to find it out by his words to King James: 'I wish that as I am the first so I may be the last of sacrifices in your times, *and when from private appetite it is resolved that a creature shall be sacrificed,* it is easy to pick up sticks enough from any thicket, whither it hath strayed, to make a fire to offer it with.'" Dr. Rawley judged "some papers touching matters of estate (State) to tread too near to the heels of truth and to the times of the persons concerned."

2.—Robert, Earl of Essex, was confined in the Tower before his execution. I have already drawn attention to the words "Robart Tidir," an inscription clearly cut over the doorway of the small cell at the foot of the stairs in the Beauchamp Tower, see the Tower Guide Book. If this be an indication of the cell in which Robert, Earl of Essex was confined, we have an important confirmation of the cipher allegation as to his parentage.

3.—Miss Leith has found cut in stone on the wall near the top room of Canonbury Tower, a list of Kings of England, in which, after the name "Elizabeth," and before James I., are the letters "Fr." What is the explanation?

4.—Robert Devereux, third Earl of Essex, was, prior to Cromwell, the most prominent leader of the Parliamentary forces against Charles I. Wood says:—"James I. never affected him . . . whether from that instinct or secret

prediction that divine fate often imprints in apprehension whereby he did foresee in him, as it were, a hand raised against his posterity, may be a notation not a determination. But the King never liked him, nor could he close with the Court."

A few other Mysteries.

5.—In Archbishop Tenison's "Baconiana," 1679, is stated:—"The fairest and most correct edition of this book in Latin is that in folio printed at London Anno 1623. And whosoever would understand the Lord Bacon's cypher, let him consult that accurate edition; for in some other editions which I have perused, the form of the letters of the alphabet in which much of the mysterie consisteth, is not observed; but the Roman and Italic shapes of them are confounded."

The Attack on Mrs. Gallup.

The attack on Mrs. Gallup.

The attack in the columns of *The Times* on the bona fides of Mrs. Gallup, in which we have the singular circumstance of *The Times* leader writer twice summing up and giving judgment against Mrs. Gallup without waiting for any communication from her, may have been answered before this is printed. It is not likely if the charges are unjustified that she will rest under imputations of literary fraud which have been very freely made, and which, if libels, the persons making them are doubtless preparing to answer for. But as to some of the points urged against her, she may necessarily be as much in the dark as her interlocutors. Should she effectually survive the technical tests the philogical queries may have to be left to the philologists, and it will be odd to find that several words of early date have escaped the contributors to the Dictionary edited by Dr. Murray.

With regard, however, to the allegation of Americanisms, it may turn out that some words of Elizabethan origin have survived in the United States, though become obsolete or differently spelt here.

The following notes may be of some use in seeking to clear up some of the objections brought forward:—

1.—"Surcease of sorrow" is mentioned in Mr. Candler's article in the "Nineteenth Century." Like that gentleman, the words, when I read them in the cipher story, at once recalled to me E. A. Poe's poem of the "Raven," but turning to my dictionary I found "surcease" quoted from Bacon's "Advertisement touching the Controversies of the Church," while the antithesis "unceasing sorrowe" occurs on page 160 of the "Biliteral Cipher Story," second edition. "Surcease of sorrow" is a very poetical expression, and I am less surprised at two poets using the phrase than I was to find in a book of

genealogies of persons in the United States named Spalding, that someone of exactly my name, comprised of two words only, lived and, let me hope, flourished in the States about a hundred years ago.

The attack on Mrs. Gallup.

2.—The alleged mistake as to Davidson. The cipher story in which the reference to Davidson and the noblemen who "led him to his death," is made, was deciphered from Lord Bacon's "Treatise of Natural History," not published until nine years after his death. Rawley, in a note at the end of the cipher story, expressly draws attention to the existence of errors. Before I grounded any imputation arising from the discrepancy between the cipher story and what we have hitherto accepted as a correct historical account, I think two suggestions should have consideration:—(*a*) That Lord Bacon was dictating from an overloaded memory at a late period of his life, and this may have been just one of those errors of recollection common to great brain workers under similar circumstances. (*b*) Another view is that the words may poetically express Lord Bacon's way of looking upon the degradation, collapse, and eventual death of a man who had been one of the Queen's principal ministers, whose life was forfeit, although his punishment only took the form of imprisonment, heavy fine, and dismissal from the prominent position he held.

3.—The alleged crib from Pope. Mr. Marston seeks to destroy Mrs. Gallup's reputation by alleging that she borrowed from Pope's versed translation of the "Iliad" for the purpose of framing the English prose "Iliad," alleged to be by Lord Bacon, and deciphered from the 1628 edition of Burton's "Anatomy of Melancholy." The lines of Pope he particularly singles out are—

> "The bold Ormenian and Asterian bands,
> In forty barques Eurypylus commands,
> Where Titan hides his hoary head in snow,
> And where Hyperia's silver fountains flow."

I have already pointed out in *The Times* that "Titan," "hoary headed," and "silver fountains," were not new expressions at the time Pope wrote, as they are used in Shakespeare.

Postscripta.

The attack on Mrs. Gallup.

My next note is that the MS. from which the cipher was instructed must have been in existence in 1628, that is to say, for two years after Lord Bacon's death. If my reader will turn to the deciphering in Mrs. Gallup's book, it will be seen that no secret of Lord Bacon's life is disclosed in the Iliad decipher, and there was nothing, therefore, to necessitate the destruction, though there may have been for the suppression, of a very valuable and interesting MS.

In 1702 Stephens published his first collection of the writings of Lord Bacon. Pope published the first volume of his "Iliad" in 1715. In 1734 the Harleian MSS., relating to Lord Bacon, were overhauled a second time by Stephens, who even then referred to MSS. as fit to be transcribed, and so preserved if not divulged (see Spedding's "Life," Vol. I., page 16). Pope absorbed freely from Bolingbroke for his "Essay on Man," so it is not unreasonable to expect that he made enquiry for other versions of the "Iliad" with a view to the fine finish and polish for which his verse is celebrated. If he were with this object permitted access to a manuscript expressly directed "not to be printed," it is to his credit that the case of plagiarism against him turns out to be so slight.

4.—Two or three critics write learnedly about digraphs, and seem to imagine that once a cipher is known it should be capable of being read with ease. I was always under the opposite impression and the belief that the art of writing in cipher and deciphering required long study and practice. Even Lord Bacon himself in writing (Adv. L.) about the very ciphers, refers to "changes" and to "intermixtures of nulls and non-significants." Surely the digraph must necessarily be appropriated according to the best discretion of the decipherer, having due regard to the other letters obtained.

5.—Mrs. Gallup has published (Gay and Bird, Bedford Street, W.C.) the "Tragedy of Anne Boleyn," with references to all the works whence the sentences are taken. I challenge anybody to produce an equally good play by similar excerpts from literature.

"The Anatomy of Melancholy."

The following notes may be of some use to any investigator desiring to look into the question of the authorship of the "Anatomy of Melancholy."

"The Anatomy of Melancholy."

In the British Museum are two copies of a book of about 350 pages 12mo, called the "Treatise of Melancholie," the first printed 1587, and the second 1613. My examiner reports that they are identical throughout, but that in the former about twenty pages are missing. The author is stated to be T. Bright. In 1621 was published "The Anatomy of Melancholy" by Democritus, Junior. At the end is an apologetical index, found only in this edition, subscribed Robert Burton and dated "from my studie in Christ Church, Oxon. (Robert Greene used to date "from his window in Clare Hall.") Later editions in folio followed in 1624, 1628, 1632, 1638, 1651-2, 1660, and 1676. The fourth edition (1632) differs from the third, and the fifth (1638) from the fourth. The "Dictionary of National Biography" can tell us very little about Bright. He is stated to have been with Walsingham at the English Embassy in Paris at the time of the massacre, was M.D. in 1579, at Cambridge in 1585, and when he died in 1616 directed his body to be buried where God pleased. Judging from this indication I should infer that he was a member of the Rosy Cross brotherhood, the members of which appear to have adopted the practice of directing that their bodies at death should be buried obscurely. He was the reputed author of a work on shorthand, and my impression is that he was one of the "idle pens" referred to by Francis in his letter of 25th January, 1594-5, to his foster-brother Anthony. Judging from this letter and the scheme of the "New Atlantis," Bright would seem to have been employed at Cambridge in extracting from the books in the libraries there a "collection" of notes, facts

and opinions with a view to their subsequent incorporation in treatises and dictionaries. Burton was similarly engaged at Oxford at a later period as the 1621 edition shews.

"The Anatomy of Melancholy."

The practice set on foot by Lord Bacon of forming these "collections" seems to have had a very natural origin.

As to a less degree is the custom amongst lawyers at the present day when an Elizabethan lawyer had obtained all material facts from his client, he would himself, or by his assistants, "collect" together notes of all statutes, cases, and treatises applicable to the case. Upon this "collection" of facts and authorities he advised his client or argued his Brief. Lord Bacon applied this system, necessary to a lawyer in a day before Digests, to the acquisition of knowledge generally. Having selected the subject, he or his assistant would collect from books and other sources all information and opinions of learned persons applicable to it. The "collection" would be afterwards edited or dealt with in an essay, summary, or other appropriate writing.

The date of the birth of Robert Burton is stated to have been February 8th, 1576-7, and of his death, 25th January, 1639-40. By his will he bequeathed to Christ Church the right to make a choice from his books, and there are bequests of books to members of the College and various Oxford friends. He adds: "If anie bookes be left lett my executors dispose of them with all such bookes as are written with my own hands and half my Melancholy copie, for Crips hath the other halfe." Mr. A. H. Bullen, from whose introduction to Shilleto's edition of 1896 I quote, very pertinently enquires why a copy of the "editio princeps" is not to be found in the College Library, which only possesses a copy of the second edition bearing Burton's inscription. Let me first note the distinction which Burton makes between books written with his own hands and the Melancholy copy. If my reader will follow the dates it will be seen that when the "Treatise of Melancholy" was printed, Burton was only ten years old. The second edition appeared in 1613; Bright died in 1615. The 1621 edition

seems to have been a thorough revision of the Treatise after more full and complete "collections" of facts had been made. The address to the reader is anonymous, the writer using the *nom de plume* Democritus, Junior. At the end is a philological index found only in this edition, subscribed Robert Burton, who at this date would be of the age of forty-four, and had, I expect, been engaged in preparing a "collection" from the Oxford Library. Books passed from Burton which seem to have curiously reached the Bodleian Library, although not referred to in his Will, are a confirmation of this view. Says Wood:—"The library bequeathed (?) consists of all the historical, political, and poetical tracts of his own time with a large collection of miscellaneous accounts of murders, monsters, and accidents. In short, he seems to have purchased indiscriminately everything that was published, which accounts for the uncommon treasures of Paul's Churchyard which are now to be found in the Oxford Vatican."

"The Anatomy of Melancholy."

I draw the attention of investigators to the observations made by Mr. Donnelly as to the "Anatomy" in the second volume of the "Great Cryptogram" at page 968. The reference to Verulam and St. Albans, and the pages devoted to a preliminary sketch for a new "Atlantis," should be studied. In a superficial perusal of Mr. Shilleto's volumes I note curious references on the following pages:—15, 54, 63, 86, 107, 109, 110, 112, 113, 130, 135 (Rosy Cross), 175, 233, and 315 of Vol. I., and 117, 119, 128, 132, 180, 199, 210, 216, 218, 243, 251, 254, 272, 291, and 319 of Vol. III. Several years ago a Birmingham gentleman read a paper before the Birmingham Literary Society in support of the Baconian authorship of the Shakspeare Plays. The MS. of this paper, lent to me by a mutual friend, was my first introduction to the controversy. This gentleman points out that pages 151 and 299 of Vol. II. refer to events which happened in 1633 and 1634, and suggests that to be a difficulty in the way of Baconian authorship. I am disposed to think the explanation is that at Lord Bacon's desire the collection was added to

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and brought up to date, which would account for Burton's possession of half the "Melancholy copie," being probably a portion of the 1632 edition, as corrected and revised for Cripps, the printer, of the 1638 edition. No revision, however, or addition appears to have been made later than the edition of 1638, owing, no doubt, to the incongruity of adding anything subsequent to Burton's death. I give below the report of a comparison I caused to be made in the British Museum between the "Treatise" of Bright and the "Anatomy" attributed to Burton:—

A Comparison of T. Bright's "Treatise of Melancholie," with Robert Burton's "Anatomy of Melancholy."

The epistle "to the Reader," six pages in Bright and ninety-seven pages in Burton, gave me no result.

The text of Bright fills about 350 pages 12mo, the text of Burton about 700 large 4to. The latter consists, by about three-fourths, of extracts of other authors (I should say about 2,000 of them are mentioned by name) in Latin as well as in the English translation, and the print being in large and small Roman type and large and small italics, it is exceedingly difficult to follow the thread of the later composition. I therefore decided to use the edition 1821, in two volumes of about 600 pages each, which is identical with the edition of 1651, and in which the Latin extracts are relegated to the foot notes. I was struck by the following passages:—

BRIGHT.	BURTON.
"The purest part which we call in comparison and in respect of the rest, *bloud is temperate* in quality and moderate in substance exceeding all the other parts in quantitie, if the body be of equal temper, made for nourishment of the most temperate parts and *ingendring of spirits*."	"Blood is a hot, sweet temperate red humour whose office is to nourish the whole body to give it strength and colour being dispersed by the veins through every part of it. And from it *spirits* are first *begotten*."

Postscripta.

BRIGHT.	BURTON.
"The second is *Fleume*, next the blood in quantitie, of a waterie nature *cold* and *moyst*, apt to be converted into the substance of pure blood if nature fail not in her working ordained for nourishment of moyster parts."	"Pituita, or *Phlegm*, is a *cold* and *moist* humour, begotten of the colder part of the chylus in the liver; his office is to nourish and moisten the members of the body." "The Anatomy of Melancholy."
"The third is Melancholie, of substance grosse and earthie, *cold* and *drie* in regard to the other, in quantitie inferior to *fleume*, fit nutriment for such parts as are of like temper."	"Melancholy, *cold* and *dry*, thick black and sour, begotten of the more foeculent part of nourishment, and purged from the spleen, is a bridle to the other two hot humours, blood and choler, preserving them in the blood and nourishing the bones."
"The fourth *Choler* fierie *hote* and *driest* of qualitie, thin in substance, least in quantitie, and ordained for such parts as require subtiller nourishment and are tempered with greater portion of the fierie element."	"*Choler* is *hot* and *dry*, bitter, begotten of the hotter parts of the chylus, and gathered to the gall: it helps the natural heat and senses and serves to the expelling of excrements."
(Page 11.) "Mercurie is not made of every tree."	(I., 191.) "Ex omni ligno non fit Mercurius."
(Page 6.) "Beef and venison incline to melancholie."	(I., 95.) "Beef, to breed gross melancholy blood; all venison is melancholy."
"fish to fleume"	(I., 97.) "Fish breed little and humorous nourishment, Savanarola adds cold moist and Isaac phlegmatick."
"hony and butter to Choler"	(I., 101.) "Spices cause hot melancholy as cloves *hony* and sugar also all sharp and soure things as *fat* and *oyl* etc."

Postscripta.

"The Anatomy of Melancholy."

BRIGHT.	BURTON.
(Page 31.) "Herbes. Of these kinds *Coleworts Beete and Cabage* ingender a melancholy juice."	(I., 98.) "Amongst herbs I find *coleworts* gourds cowcumbers disallowed but especially *cabbage*."
(Page 35.) "Of drinks eschew red wine and whatsoever *Beere*, *Ale*, or *Cider* is not cleere and well fined and also if it be tart and sour."	(I., 101.) "All black *wines* are hurtful to such as are of choleric complexion." "*Cider*, Perry are both cold and windy drinks and for that cause to be neglected." "*Beer* if it be over new or over stale or not sod, sharp or sour is most unwholesome."
(Page 43.) "This spirit is the chief *instrument* and immediate (intermediate) whereby the soule bestoweth the exercise of her faculty in her bodie, that passeth to and fro in a moment."	(I., 21.) *Spirit* is a most subtle vapour and the *instrument* of the soul to perform all his actions; a common tye or medium betwixt the body and the soul."
(Page 321.) "The carbuncle for virtue the chief of stones. The *Calcedonie*, of power to put away fear. The *Ruby* against fearful dreams. The *Jacinth* a great clearer of the heart. The Turquoise a comforter of spirits. The Chrysophars of like virtue. The Corneole a mitigator of anger. The *Chalydonie* or *Swallow*stone, against madness."	(II., 97.) "Granatus an imperfect kind of *Ruby*, hung about the neck resisteth sorrow and re-creates the heat. *Jacinth* has the same properties. In the belly of a *swallow* there is a stone found called *Chelidonius* Lunaticks. There is a kind of onyx called a *Chaleidonye* which has the same qualities."
(Page 301.) "Which agreement betwixt consent of *Musique* and affection of the mind, when Anstoxines perceaved, he thereby was moved to think that the mind was nothing else but a kind of *harmonie*."	(I., 449 and 450.) Two pages about music, concluding: "or else the minde as some suppose *harmonically* composed, is roused up at the tunes of *music*."

Postscripta.

BRIGHT.

(Page 313.) "The aire ought to be thinne, pure and subtile, open and patent to all windes in respect of their temper especially to the South and South East; marrish, mistie, foggy air to be eschued."

BURTON.

In Burton the opinion is the same, but the argument is spread over 40 pages.

"The Anatomy of Melancholy."

(Page 252.) "You feel the *wrath* of *God kindled* against your *soule* and *anguish of conscience most intollerable*, and can finde (*notwithstanding continuall prayers* and incessant *supplications* made unto the *Lord*), no release, and in your own judgement stand reprobate from God's covenant and voide of all hope of his inheritance."

(II., 575.) *God's* heavy *wrath* is *kindled* in their *souls* and *notwithstanding* their *continual prayers* and *supplications* to *Christ Jesus*, they have *no release* or ease at all, but a *most intolerable* torment and insufferable *anguish* of *conscience*."

BRIGHT (Page 320.)

"His apparell would be decent and comely and as the purse will give leave somewhat for the time somptuous."

SHAKESPEARE. Hamlet, I., 3.

"Costly thy habit as thy purse can buy. But not expressed in fancy. Rich not gaudy. For the apparel oft proclaims the man."

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Articles hostile to Mrs. Gallup appear in the February (1902) *Monthly* (Mr. Lang), *Blackwood* (anon.), and *Fortnightly* (Mr. Rait). I will try to answer the points raised, but as general observations I would like to say, in dealing with questions of fact it is first desirable to be unemotional; secondly, to give your name when making a charge of fraud; and thirdly, that when truth or falsity is concerned, the fullest care should be exercised and alternative views exhausted before imputations are made.

Beginning with Mr. Lang's criticisms in the Monthly, I append my replies:—

1.—The printers were silent.

Answer—They have not *recorded* any suspicions. It is possible for a man to be suspicious and yet not to worry posterity about it. Printers were few. A printer having to set his type quickly takes little interest in his copy. Instructions as to the particular fonts would be easy to follow, and after a short time cease to excite remark. Confidential printers are as conceivable as confidential clerks or other trusted servants.

2.—The styles were different and yet resembled each other.

Answer—By the keenly observant, particularly when you know what to look for, individual characteristics can be traced. An Orchardson might successfully imitate Frith in one picture, Tadema in another, and Turner in another, but yet betray his own style to

a close critic, particularly to anyone told who the real artist was.

3.—That the marriage of Elizabeth and the birth of a son on the 22nd of January, 1560-1, is built upon a fraudulent surmise from history, and is contradicted by fact.

Answer—History gives strong support to the story. Ambassadors' letters, prior to 1560, show the existence of a close intrigue between Dudley and the Queen. The Mother Dowe assertion, of August, was shared by many other people, as the document shows. In September, Burleigh admitted to De Quadra a guilty intimacy between Dudley and the Queen; also the Queen referred to Dudley's wife being dead, or nearly so, four days before the unfortunate lady was found dead. The cipher story does not follow the historical account of Mr. Froude, but gives an entirely new reason for the murder. The cipherer accepted one of many stories as to the manner of her death, though the collected evidence now points to a suicide in anticipation of what Amy knew was about to happen. The cipher does not follow Froude in suggesting a (September) secret marriage at Lord Pembroke's, nor the De Quadra story (of 20th November) of a marriage in the presence of Dudley's brother and two ladies of the Chamber. It speaks of a marriage solemnized by Sir Nicholas Bacon at Lord Puckering's (Sir William Pickering's?) in the presence of that person and Lady Bacon. Surely, a forger would have followed the book story. Certainly, the death of Dudley's wife, followed by a secret marriage, was essential to save a situation which might be inferred from Burleigh's admission, to

say nothing of the free assertion of Mother Dowe and others.

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Jones, reporting to Throgmorton his interview with the Queen at Greenwich in November, says that she looked ill and harassed, and said that none of Dudley's people were "at the attempt"—this is a curious remark—at Amy Dudley's house.

The suggestion that the Queen could not have hunted on 3rd September, four and a half months before 22nd January, 1560-1, depends on the kind of hunting. If it involved full galloping and jumping five-barred gates, I give way. If it was like Miss Strickland mentions, when, in 1557, it was accomplished with fifty archers on foot and twelve other ladies on *ambling palfreys*, when the princess was accorded the honour of "cutting the buck's throat"; or like La Mothe, the French Ambassador, described in 1570, when the Queen was posted in a lodge in the wilderness, "where toils were pitched, and she shot six does with a crossbow" as they were driven past her; there is nothing in the point.

Proceeding to 18th January, 1560-1, Mr. Lang was wrong in his letter to *The Times*. The Queen did not witness a stage play on that day, but a year later, as the household accounts show. She did not write holograph letters on 20th and 22nd January. The first, to Rutland, was a draft in (possibly) Ascham's writing; the second, a draft in Cecil's writing. The commission, or letter, to Archbishop Parker and others of 22nd January, has the Queen's signature at the top, and was conceivably one of a number of sheets signed and kept in stock for State purposes. There is no evidence that De Quadra personally saw the Queen later than the first week in September. His letter of 22nd January

is dated from London. The cipher and history show that the Queen was at Windsor. The State Calendar's translation of his letter differs materially from that of Mr. Froude, but both agree as to the general impression then prevailing as to the Queen's condition. Next, we have the intense eagerness of Dudley and his brother-in-law and the Queen for a marriage under the public auspices of King Philip. For this they would restore the Roman Catholic religion. Finally, at a date between 13th and 22nd February, the Queen confessed to De Quadra, and he, usually so graphic, only tells the King that she admitted she was no angel.

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4.—The cipherer could not have been Lord Bacon, because he was wrong in his law, and generally did not know what he was writing about.

Answer—Says Vice-Chancellor Kindersley in *re* Don's Estate, 27, Law Journal, Ch: at p. 102: "in the strictly technical sense of the term, 'bastard' is one not born in lawful wedlock." The cipherer, being born in wedlock, subsequent to a marriage solemnized after his father had become a widower, was not a bastard. His parents were above the reach of the Law Courts, and there was no ground in English law for legal objection to his status, unless "Mrs. Grundy" had a *locus standi* to intervene. In law the date of the marriage of his parents, even if as early as the 9th September or as late as 21st January, made no difference to his case, so it is no reproach to the cipherer that he did not mention it. That he called himself Prince of Wales hardly shows insanity. He had, like George IV. and Edward VII., a customary title, if not something more, and if he was correctly only the first King

of the Dudley dynasty, our present King should not be referred to as the eldest son of Queen Victoria, but as of the "Coburg Gotha" line.

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I think it may prove that Lord Bacon was right in his law on this point also. Mr. Lang should refer to the article "Prince" in the last "Encyclopædia Britannica." According to this, "The entail of Edward, the Black Prince (as Prince of Wales), was to him and his heirs, the first begotten sons of the Kings of England." When a Prince of Wales succeeds to the throne the principality in all cases merges at once in the Crown, and can have no separate existence again, except under a fresh creation. Would not the eldest son of Queen Elizabeth, like the eldest son of Queen Victoria, being a first begotten son of a "King," become Prince of Wales under the original entail without a fresh creation?

Again, why not Francis First? Blackie's Cyclopædia gives Victoria I., and the "History of Successions," dated 1653, writes of James I. and Charles I. years before a second king of either name had been crowned.

Coke, at the Essex trial, accused the Earl of Essex as wanting to be Robert the First.

The confusion about William and Robert Cecil is Mr. Lang's only. The cipherer mentions and accurately describes Robert the son, the deformed son, and him only. Francis and Robert were boys together. Which was the elder is not known to the biographers.

5.—Mary Stuart could never have been in Leicester's house.

Answer—Her custodians were frequently moving her from one residence to another. I agree with Mr. Lang as to a possible date. It would be between

11th July and 23rd September, 1585, while her custodian was Paulet, a dependent (says Miss Strickland) of the Earl of Leicester. In July and August, Leicester (letter to Burleigh, 15th August) and the Queen (see Nichols' "Progresses") were in London. The word cipher play gives the Queen's Palace as two of the scenes, the Tower for another. Mary was able to ride on horseback even in 1586, when she left Chartley for a time. A letter from the French Ambassador states that Leicester's appointment, in 1585, to command in the Low Countries was intended by Elizabeth as a sort of banishment. This also agrees with the word cipher. I have already dealt with the Davison incident. For elucidation of the phrase "our Queen's last murther," will Mr. Lang refer to Mr. Rait's article.

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To show how easily mistakes can be made, I notice that in copying out parallel passages for contrasting the cipher as to Lady Strafford with the Melville account about Lady Stafford, Mr. Lang writes "everybody" for "everie person."

Mistress Bacon did not make the pretence alleged. The word cipher shows that in Court circles she was credited with having adopted a bastard child of Sir Nicholas. "A Catholic Daughter of France," although his senior by eight years, could surely marry a Protestant Prince (cipher story) after having divorced her Protestant husband. There is nothing extraordinary in a youth of eighteen falling in love with a girl of twenty-six.

6.—The cipher is detected as copying from Pope's verse translation of the Iliad.

Answer—I have already dealt with this. Let anyone read the whole cipher translation, as I have done, while someone else reads Pope's verse. If the

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cipher be a certain crib as to one verse, and a few scattered expressions, where does the rest come from? My theory that Pope saw the MS. from which, after Lord Bacon's death, the cipher was instructed is further supported by the fact that the two expressions "hoary headed" and "silver fountains" are in the Shakespeare plays, and "silver founts" in the cipher conveniently becomes "silver fountains" in Pope's verse.

Pope, in his Introduction, refers to the translations of Ogilby, Chapman, and Hobbes, which he undoubtedly referred to while making his own verse. Did he use any other translations? In the British Museum is the MS. of Pope's "Iliad." Unfortunately the "bold Ormenian" passage is not there, and the MS. occasionally differs from Pope's verse as it appears in print. For instance, "And Eteon's Hills" in the MS. becomes "Hilly Eteon," like Chapman's translation.

Chapman has:—

> Peneleus and Leitus, all that Boetia bred,
> Arcesilaus, Clonius, and Prothoenor led.

Pope's print:—

> The hardy warriors whom Boetia bred,
> Penelius, Leitus, Prothoenor led.
> With these Arcesilaus and Clonius stand,
> Equal in arms and equal in command.

Pope's MS.:—

> The hardy warriors whom Boetia bred
> Prothoenor
> Bold ~~Clonius Leitus~~ and Peneleus led
> Clonius Arcesilaus and Leitus stand
> Equal in arms and equal in command.

Mrs. Gallup's deciphering done in the United States from a book belonging to her publishers, and before her visit to this country was accordingly not indebted to the Pope MS. for the words "bold Clonius," which appear in the cipher passage which reads:—"Peneleus Leitus Prothoenor joined with Arcesilaus and bold Clonius, equal in arms and in command, led Boetia's hosts, and there went with them fifty sable shipps."

On the Marston theory I fail to understand how Pope's line—

"And they whom Thebe's well built walls inclose,"

should be rendered by—

"In Hypothebae that well built city."

Another curious thing is that "silver Jardan" does not appear in the Pope MS., and instead of "Of Gnossus Lyctus," there is "From Gnossus Lyctus," as in the cipher passage.

7.—The confession of Cuffe in 1600-1, of Essex's letter to King James, is inconsistent with Essex being son of the Queen.

Answer—This "evidence" is the recollection of a servant of what was written upon a sheet of paper in Essex's possession at a date when he had quarrelled with the Queen and was angling for assistance from Scotland.

Now let me turn to the Blackwood critic:—

8.—This writer is satisfied that the same hand could not have written the "Faerie Queene" and the "Anatomy of Melancholy," &c., &c.

Answer—The one was a poem and written before the age of thirty-six, the other an edited "collection" of useful

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information commenced in 1587, added to and revised from that date onwards. On this critic's assumption the hand that wrote "Treasure Island" could not have written "Pulvis et Umbra," nor the one which wrote the "Formulæ of Plane Trigonometry" compose "Alice in Wonderland."

Greene did not call another part of himself "an upstart crow." The word "its" was originally slang, like "can't." It appears ten times in Shakespeare, nine in the cipher, and over thirty times in Lord Bacon's "Wisdom of the Ancients." The Bi-literal Cipher was invented by Lord Bacon, not by Mrs. Gallup.

"Too youthful" is surely an excusable term. Henry VIII. was much older than Anne Boleyn. On such grounds does Blackwood's anonymous critic base his charge of fraud.

Mr. Rait's Article:—

The points which Mr. Rait adduces are strong, and all the stronger because of the fairness combined with firmness with which they are stated.

I agree entirely with Mr. Rait in his observations upon the Seymour incident of the word cipher. I cannot believe in a young king of eleven years lecturing a sister aged sixteen upon the subject in question. But instead of giving final judgment upon this seemingly insuperable difficulty, I should call upon the word decipherer for full details of the passages whence the story is taken. Either the decipherer is misleading us, or he has made a mistake. If neither, then has the cipherer romanced or blundered or met with unexpected difficulties in telling his story. Clearly the cipherer would be writing of an event many years old at the time of writing, as to which he had to rely upon the recollection of Lady Anne Bacon. In the same way, for his account of the execution of Mary Queen of Scots, he would be dependent upon conflicting first or second

hand accounts of eye-witnesses. Froude accepted the blood-red robe tradition, and an imaginative man like Bacon would be likely to do the same. That some diligent student searching closely into the facts at a later period has come to a different conclusion is not surprising, and he may be correct; but that is an insufficient ground for the suggestion of trickery. The point as to the conversation by an Ambassador with Elizabeth a few days before 10th November, 1567, calls for enquiry. It may turn out that the real date of birth was 1562. At the same time we must not place too much reliance upon what is called history. Every fact must be dealt with upon its merits, and is of no special or preferential value because it happens to be recorded in a book of history. Mr. Rait's criticisms are timely and necessary, but as the general subject is of national interest, it is a reasonable request that he should take a spade and see whether he cannot, by further research, satisfy some of his own objections, or how far the decipherers may have been using their imaginations in difficult passages. This is the true antiquarian spirit, without which no progress is possible. If the archæologists were always suspicious and endeavouring to shew that the urns and lamps unearthed had been made in Birmingham and afterwards hidden by some trickster, that interesting branch of research would have long ago ended for lack of inquirers. I have no acquaintance with Mrs. Gallup, nor have ever communicated with her. The story she alleges she has deciphered was as astonishing to me in the first instance as to Mr. Rait. I read history and biography in the light of it, and found much corroboration, particularly in the works of "Spenser." A trickster has usually a motive. There is no money in this discovery, all having been dead loss, yet Mrs. Gallup goes on deciphering. By a stretch of possibility she might have tricked up a story upon history, but not the story produced; and certainly to have successfully included biography as well would have been marvellous.

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Of the thousands of people who read the magazine articles and *Times'* correspondence, there were, I learnt, hardly three

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dozen who bought the Bi-literal Cipher story and sought to study it for themselves. The majority of us have become so accustomed to rely upon the judgments of the Press, and so fearful of criticism, and the sort of ink-slinging which frequently goes by that name, that we shirk original work for fear of being mistaken and "cut up." A recent journalist, in "slanging" a scholarly and careful book, "Shakespeare Studies in Baconian Light," by Dr. Theobald, apologised for his rudeness on the ground that he was following an accepted fashion. *No fashion can warrant insult, and rudeness, and slander.*

Surely the subject is vastly interesting. If one man, finding his rightful chance of succession to the throne of England —you will remember Elizabeth's curious, but now explicable refusal to have the word "lawful" inserted before the words "issue of the body" in the Act of 1571—was not to be realised, took upon himself the tremendous task of founding a literature for his country, of scheming in a variety of ways for the advancement and preservation of knowledge, have we not, as Englishmen, just right to be glad to know the true facts and to recognise our greatest genius? Does it detract from that name to know that he, like all of us, had his moments of weakness as well as of strength, his frailties, his passions, his timidities, and love of life? But, as the Blackwood critic wrote, people believe what they hope. The Germans do not want the book of Mr. Conan Doyle nor the truth about the Boer War. It is equally clear that most Englishmen do not want the decipherings of Mrs. Gallup nor the truth about certain Elizabethan authorships.

In the State Trials just published (Duckworth & Co.) by Mr. H. L. Stephen, a Judge of the High Court of Calcutta, Vol. III., I am glad to notice that in introducing the singularly interesting contemporary account of the trial of Robert, Earl of Essex, Mr. Stephen states with reference to Bacon's action :—

"For Bacon to have refused his services to the Queen, that is, to his country, would have resembled the refusal of

a soldier to fight for her. The confession of Essex's confederates revealed a state of things which made the immediate trial of Essex a necessity . . . . and with Bacon's knowledge of the case, and considering the necessity of proving Essex's guilt, not only to the Court but to the country, he had no choice but to appear in the trial. Spedding's vindication of Bacon's conduct of the case is too elaborate for me to indicate its nature here, but I may perhaps be allowed to say that it seems to me to dispose completely of Macaulay's attack."

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Mr. Lang ought to re-read this trial, if only to notice the following phrase used by Mr. Attorney Sir Edward Coke :—

"But now by Godes Judgment he that thought to have been King of England, *Robert the first*, is like to be now Erle of Essex, Robert the last."

The courage and fine spirit displayed by Essex at his trial was remarkable.

I draw Mr. Rait's attention to the fact that Judge Stephen is a believer in the Essex ring story (see page 81), and gives some reasons for his belief. Whether the Judge be a "competent historian" I must leave to Mr. Rait.

Another book of interest to Baconians, just published this year, is "The Problem of the Shakespeare Plays," by Mr. G. C. Bompas (Sampson Low & Co.), and is absolutely the most powerful compendium of arguments for Bacon's authorship of the plays which has yet been written. If it be true that Lord Bacon wrote the plays, the proofs are bound to accumulate rapidly. Those collected and presented by Mr. Bompas are, as a whole, unanswerable, and yet there remains most valuable evidential material from other sources enough to furnish another book of the same size.

I notice that Mr. Bompas' book is not entirely free from errors, though on the whole accurate. While reading his reference to the visit of the Queen, in 1600, to Bacon at Twickenham, at which time Bacon says, "I had, though I

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profess not to be a poet, prepared a sonnet directly tending and alluding to draw on her Majesty's reconcilement to my Lord" (Essex), it occurred to me to refer to the passage in "Merchant of Venice," Act iv. Sc. 1, beginning "The quality of mercy is not strained," and ending "When mercy seasons justice." This forms a poem of fourteen lines applicable to the situation, and inserted in a play printed for the first time in that year. If this can be technically entitled a sonnet, it may be the verse in question. Mr. Bompas (who has always been a very courteous opponent of my views) adds a footnote on page 107, possibly inserted to meet the susceptibilities of his publisher, possibly *ex abundanti cautelâ* that his work, like Mr. Theobald's, should not be associated with "cipher speculations."—"A book lately published under the title of 'The Bi-literal Cipher of Francis Bacon,' by Mrs. E. W. Gallup, of Chicago, *has been tested by the present author, who is satisfied that it is unworthy of credence.*" Seeing that the cipher is the one big thing in controversy at the present time, it was surely due to the public to explain how Mr. Bompas conducted his test, and the reasons for his satisfaction. The authoritative and final destruction of Mrs. Gallup is what many people are waiting for, but they will not accept the *ipse dixit* of Mr. Bompas any more than that of Mr. Sidney Lee. The footnote was not necessary, and it may—with all respect it may—make this excellent book look rather foolish some day.

The phenomena which Mr. Bompas notes as to Shakespeare and Marlowe, namely, of posthumous publication and the posthumous writing of brilliant additions and revisions of the works ascribed to them, is also common to certainly the works ascribed to Greene, Spenser, and Kyd, and I think to those ascribed to Peele also. Lord Bacon's practice of revising and re-writing many times over, and year after year, the works of which he admitted authorship, is well known.