

Sir Edwin Durning-Lawrence: A Baconian and his Books

by

K. E. ATTAR

RIDICULED FROM ITS INCEPTION as the concept of lunacy, the Baconian theory concerning the authorship of the plays commonly attributed to William Shakespeare yet survives.¹ A monograph defending it appeared as recently as 1998,² and the second object for which the Bacon Society (since renamed the Francis Bacon Society) was established in 1885, as stated in its Memorandum of Association and repeated in each issue of the Society's journal, *Baconiana*, remains:

To encourage for the benefit of the public, the general study of the evidence in favour of Francis Bacon's authorship of the plays commonly ascribed to Shakespeare, and to investigate his connection with other works of the Elizabethan period.³

The theory survives, too, in the library of a prominent late Baconian, Sir Edwin Durning-Lawrence (1837–1914), which was bequeathed by his widow to the University of London Library in 1929 and established there in 1931. Durning-Lawrence's views, expounded at greatest length in his monograph *Bacon is Shakespeare*, attracted at least two dissenting pamphlet replies in the 1910s, systematically demolishing his arguments, and they continue to receive coverage in modern monographs.⁴ His library is the subject of more

¹ For an overview of early disparagement of the Baconian theory, albeit without full bibliographical details of his sources, see James Phinney Baxter, *The Greatest of All Literary Problems: The Authorship of the Shakespeare Works* (Boston and New York, 1915), pp. xxvi–xxvii, beginning with 'Why should Baconian theorists have any following outside lunatic asylums?' (p. xxvi). Baxter represents the Baconian viewpoint.

² N. B. Cockburn, *The Bacon Shakespeare Question: The Baconian Theory Made Sane* (Limpsfield Chart, 1998).

³ See, for example, *Baconiana*, 71 (1999), no. 196. The Francis Bacon Society, incorporated on 20 August 1903, continues to host lectures on the subject, for example, 'Shakespeare and Bacon: What Was the Relationship?', an address by Mark Rylance delivered at the Society's annual general meeting held at the University of London Library, 28 August 2002 (recorded on two sound disks by the University of London Library).

⁴ Edwin Durning-Lawrence, *Bacon is Shakespeare* (London, 1910); cf. Thomas Sheppard, *Bacon is Alive! Being a Reply to Sir Edwin Durning-Lawrence's 'Bacon is Shakespeare'* (Hull, 1911), and Ralph Winnington Leftwich, *Bacon is Not Shakespeare! A Reply to Sir Edwin Durning-Lawrence, Bt.* (London, [1912]). See also the anonymous pamphlet *The Bacon Craze: An Answer to 'The Shakespeare Myth' by Sir Edwin Durning-Lawrence, Bart.* (London, 1912), which was a reply to Edwin Durning-Lawrence, *The Shakespeare Myth* (London, 1912). For a late-twentieth-century summary of Durning-Lawrence's views within the context of the Baconian issue, see S. Schoenbaum, *Shakespeare's Lives*, 2nd edn (Oxford, 1991), pp. 420–21, and John Michell, *Who Wrote Shakespeare?* (London, 1996), pp. 141–42, 157–59.

flattering attention, Irwin and Staveley having described it as 'a very important collection of about 7,000 volumes largely of seventeenth-century literature containing one of the best collections in the world on Sir Francis Bacon and valuable collections on Shakespeare and Defoe'.⁵ The present article reviews Durning-Lawrence's place in the Baconian controversy, describes the comprehensive documentation concerning his library, discusses his acquisition policy and treatment of his books, and examines the content of his library to illuminate a collection motivated by a mission.⁶

I

Some awareness of Edwin Durning-Lawrence's life is helpful for the expectations it may raise about his library. A political presence and a devoted widow have secured biographical records, of which the fullest is a eulogistic chapter in a book commissioned by Lady Durning-Lawrence from an acquaintance, the Revd Alexander Gordon.⁷ Durning-Lawrence was born in London on 2 February 1837, the youngest son of Alderman William Lawrence (the name 'Durning' was added in 1908 by Royal Licence when Edwin was created a baronet). He was educated at the University College School and University College London, gaining a BA in 1861, for which he read Architecture, and a LLB in 1866. In 1867 he was called to the Middle Temple, but never practised. In 1874 he married Edith Jane Durning Smith. He was briefly a member of the Metropolitan Board of Works, and was a Lieutenant for the City of London and a Justice of the Peace for Berkshire. Following three election defeats, he served as Liberal Unionist Member of Parliament for Truro, 1895-1906. He was, according to Manning Press, pronounced in his views; notwithstanding, his role in the House of Commons was ultimately judged to be modest, with his obituary claiming that his chief distinction there was to wear more expensive silk hats than anybody else present, their cost rumoured at £30 each.⁸

⁵ *The Libraries of London*, ed. by Raymond Irwin and Ronald Staveley, 2nd edn (London, 1964), p. 146. The Report of the Library Committee of the University of London for 1931 states the extent of the library more accurately as 5,750 volumes (University of London Archives, UL 3/9, Reports of the University of London Library, 1907-49), a figure repeated in *A Directory of Rare Book and Special Collections in the United Kingdom and the Republic of Ireland*, 2nd edn, ed. by Barry Bloomfield and K. Potts (London, 1997), p. 402.

⁶ For the best brief descriptions of Durning-Lawrence's library, see the Report of the Library Committee and the *Directory of Rare Book and Special Collections*, as cited in the previous note. A further description appears in 'The Durning Lawrence Library at University College, London' [*sic*], *Baconiana*, 27 (1943), 149-52 (pp. 151-52). For a list of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century plays in the Durning-Lawrence library, see [Pamela Baker], 'English Renaissance Plays in the University of London Library', *Research Opportunities in Renaissance Drama*, 11 (1968), 65-72.

⁷ Alexander Gordon, *Family History of the Lawrences of Cornwall* (West Norwood, 1915; hereafter cited as Gordon), pp. 49-80. Gordon's connection with the family is apparent from his officiation at Durning-Lawrence's funeral ('Funerals: Sir Edwin Durning-Lawrence', *The Times*, 27 April 1914, p. 11). For shorter, less partial accounts, see 'Durning-Lawrence, Sir Edwin', in *Who Was Who, 1897-1916*, 4th edn (London, 1953), p. 217, and 'Sir Edwin Durning-Lawrence Bart., J.P., M.P.' in C. A. Manning Press, *Berkshire Leaders Social and Political* (London, 1905), unpagged.

⁸ Manning Press, *op. cit.*; 'Death of Sir E. Durning-Lawrence', *The Times*, 22 April 1914, p. 10.

Durning-Lawrence's publications reveal diverse interests, including as they do such widely ranging titles as *The Progress of a Century; or, The Age of Iron and Steam* (1886), *The Pope and the Bible* (1888), and *A Short History of Lighting from the Earliest Times* (1895). He was an active Unitarian, as described by Gordon and attested by the representatives of several Unitarian organizations listed as present at his funeral.⁹ He supported golf and cricket, liked and practised art, and was interested in science and archaeology.¹⁰ A wealthy man, he was also generous, a benefactor to diverse religious, educational, and other institutions.¹¹

Yet Durning-Lawrence left his mark neither as a politician nor as a philanthropist, but as a Baconian. As recounted by Gordon, he became an adherent of the Baconian theory upon reading the first volume of Ignatius Donnelly's *The Great Cryptogram: Francis Bacon's Cipher in the So-Called Shakespeare Plays* (Chicago, 1888).¹² He became a member, and from 1909 President, of the Bacon Society, and devoted time, money, and energy to amassing a library to support the theory and to spreading the view through his writings and through lectures, the last of which he delivered less than a week before his death.¹³ So marked was Durning-Lawrence's passion that the second half of his brief obituary in *The Times* was headed 'Ardent Baconian'. It dealt with his views in uncomplimentary fashion:

But whatever interest Sir Edwin may once have taken in politics and the affairs of the Empire, this came, in the later years of his life, to be as nothing in comparison with the mighty Bacon-Shakespeare question. [...] No more ingenious perversion of reason, no more industrious misdirection of research, is to be found even in the most finished literature produced by those who used to prove the flatness of the earth and the fallacies of the Copernican theory. The book [*Bacon is Shakespeare*] shows, too, a fine command of rhetoric: the Old Bailey has seldom heard more fierce denunciations of a criminal in the dock than those which the mild Sir Edwin pours

⁹ Gordon, pp. 51–54; 'Funerals: Sir Edwin Durning-Lawrence'.

¹⁰ For details about Durning-Lawrence's artistic, scientific, and archaeological bent, see Gordon, pp. 56 and 59.

¹¹ The Revd W. F. La Trobe-Bateman refers to his 'never-failing generosity' in a brief paragraph acting as a corrective and complement to Durning-Lawrence's rather uncharitable *Times* obituary; see W. F. La Trobe-Bateman, 'The Late Sir E. Durning-Lawrence', *The Times*, 24 April 1914, p. 10. Examples of benefactions are listed in 'The Durning-Lawrence Library at University College London', p. 150, and his name is among the subscribers to the facsimile publication of the first folio (Oxford, 1902). Gordon, pp. 53–69, places weight on Durning-Lawrence's generosity.

¹² For discussion of Donnelly's book, see especially William F. Friedman and Elizebeth [sic] S. Friedman, *The Shakespearean Ciphers Examined: An Analysis of Cryptographic Systems Used as Evidence that Some Author Other than William Shakespeare Wrote the Plays Commonly Attributed to Him* (Cambridge, 1957), pp. 27–50, and Warren Hope and Kim Holston, *The Shakespeare Controversy: An Analysis of the Claimants to Authorship, and their Champions and Detractors* (Jefferson, NC, and London, 1992). Friedman and Friedman include some reference to Durning-Lawrence.

¹³ Gordon quotes the conclusion of this speech: "'BACON! Thou 'world's wonder!' 'Deare Sonne of Memorie, great Heire of Fame, What needst Thou such dull wisse of thy Name' as 'that thy hallow'd Reliques should be hid under a starre-yointed Pyramid' — a beacon, a bacon — to tell us that thy hallow'd Reliques, the immortal Plays known as Shakespeare's were written, not by 'the Householder of Stratford', but by THEE!'" After this brilliant conclusion, he fainted and fell backwards' (Gordon, pp. 74–75).

out upon 'the sordid moneylender of Stratford'. [...] The worst of it was that in this country and America, where the popular grasp of any standard of criticism is a little uncertain, Sir Edwin had, for a time at least, a certain following [...].

While regretting the loss of a man who, if he could be got away from Bacon, had many good and amiable points, one cannot but feel that he was happy in not living to see the celebrations which the British Academy and other friends of literature are to hold in 1916, the third centenary of Shakespeare's — not Bacon's — death.¹⁴

II

The monograph *Bacon is Shakespeare* (1910) is Durning-Lawrence's major work, but he repeated his arguments in three pamphlets, *The Shakespeare Myth* (1912), *Macbeth Proves Bacon is Shakespeare* ([1913]), and *Key to Milton's Epitaph on Shakespeare* (1914), and expressed his views in numerous briefer letters to newspapers, which he collected in scrapbooks.¹⁵ His thesis was that of all Elizabethans, only Francis Bacon had the erudition to compose the works commonly attributed to Shakespeare, while the actor William Shakespeare was an illiterate drunkard, who played the ghost to Bacon's Hamlet:

England is now declining any longer to dishonour and defame the greatest Genius of all time by continuing to identify him with the mean, drunken, ignorant, and absolutely unlettered, rustic of Stratford who never in his life wrote so much as his own name and in all probability was totally unable to read one single line of print.¹⁶

Baconian authorship of the plays is, claimed Durning-Lawrence, revealed through cryptograms. In his book he included a chapter on the word 'honorificabilitudinitatibus' in *Love's Labour's Lost*, v. i. 45, which he turned into the anagram 'hi ludi F. Baconis nati tuiti orbi' ('These plays of Francis Bacon are preserved for the world'), and pointed to mispagination and upside-down printing of printers' ornaments in various books as drawing attention to statements pointing to Bacon's authorship. He construed icons in emblem books as contributing to the revelation. In minor writings he stated that Bacon furthermore 'by himself and by his servants produced the whole of the literature of the golden Elizabethan age'¹⁷ as well as the final version of the King James Bible, which would have needed smoothing to unify the style of the fifty-odd translators.¹⁸

¹⁴ *The Times*, 22 April 1914, p. 10.

¹⁵ For reference to Durning-Lawrence's extensive correspondence concerning the Baconian controversy, both private and public, see Gordon, p. 70. For his scrapbooks, see University of London Archives, DLLA/17, Press clippings, Bacon-Shakespeare correspondence, South London Press, April-October 1910; DLLA/18, Bacon-Shakespeare correspondence, 30 June 1910-30 January 1912; and DLLA/19, Sir E. Durning-Lawrence, Correspondence on Shakespeare-Bacon Question, 1910-11.

¹⁶ *Bacon is Shakespeare*, p. 82.

¹⁷ Durning-Lawrence, 'Bacon is Shakespeare', *Dulwich Post*, 26 February 1914, repr. in *Macbeth Proves Bacon is Shakespeare*, p. 5 (2nd sequence). See also 'No book of the Elizabethan Age of any value proceeded from any source except from his [Bacon's] workshop of those "good pens" over whom Ben Jonson was foreman' (*Shakespeare Myth*, p. 29).

¹⁸ *Shakespeare Myth*, pp. 28-29. He was not alone in this view; see, for example, William T. Smedley, *The Mystery of Francis Bacon* (London, 1912), pp. 126-28.

Finally, Durning-Lawrence claimed that Bacon, under Thomas Shelton's name, authored *Don Quixote*, which Cervantes then translated into Spanish. He reached this conclusion by identifying Bacon's handwriting in corrections in his copy of Shelton's first English translation, and presented his views in a lecture.¹⁹ Adopting the theory in 1917, Alfred von Weber Ebenhoff acknowledged Durning-Lawrence as its source, and touched upon the aborted debate which ensued:

Der hierüber von Sir Durning-Lawrence gehaltene Vortrag entzündete eine lebhaft Polemik, welche durch den allzufrüh eingetretenen Tod Sir Edwins und den inzwischen entflammten Weltkrieg unterbrochen wurde.²⁰

While Durning-Lawrence developed theories, providing a new (but not the first) anagram for 'honorificabilitudinitatibus' and new examples of iconography to support his case, his views, except concerning Cervantes, were not intrinsically startling. By 1910 the Baconian issue was over half a century old, such that one class of reaction to *Bacon is Shakespeare* was a weary sense of *déjà vu*, with E. Nesbit suggesting in a letter published in *New Age* on 8 September 1910 that a committee of three Baconians, three Shakespeareans, and three neutral people should gather to determine the authorship issue once and for all.²¹ The application of cryptography to the subject was already familiar through Ignatius Donnelly, Oliver Lector had used emblems to promote the Baconian case, and Harold Bayley had extended Baconian authorship.²² What singled out Durning-Lawrence was vehemence of expression coupled with intense marketing activity. Concerning the latter he wrote:

In 1910 appeared my own book, 'Bacon is Shakespeare', which, placed in every library in the world, has carried everywhere the news of the decease of the myth. [...] The significant fact that the Figure put for Shakespeare in the 1623 Folio of the plays consists of a doubly left-handed dummy is alone sufficient to dispose of the Shakespeare myth. I have printed in various newspapers all over the world about a

¹⁹ See Alfred von Weber Ebenhoff, *Bacon — Shakespeare — Cervantes* (Leipzig and Vienna, 1917), pp. 179–367 (for Cervantes generally), especially p. 179 (on Durning-Lawrence).

²⁰ i.e. 'Sir Durning-Lawrence's lecture on this sparked off a lively polemic, which was interrupted by Sir Edwin's all too early death and the World War which had arisen meanwhile' (von Weber Ebenhoff, p. 179). The latter further acknowledges his debt in a letter he wrote to Lady Durning-Lawrence on 17 July 1920, which is inserted in her copy of the book held in the Durning-Lawrence collection. This letter, discussing the state of Baconian study in Germany, includes the sentence: 'I am very glad that you are pleased by the Cervantes-Chapter of my book, to which I have been initiated by the late Sir Edwin'. Representing the same opinion on a smaller scale, John Hutchinson had already named Durning-Lawrence as the source of this view in 'Did Bacon Write *Don Quixote*?', *Baconiana*, 3rd ser., 12 (1914), 169–70 (p. 169). For a recent acknowledgement of Durning-Lawrence and Hutchinson as the first doubters of Cervantes's authorship of *Don Quixote*, see John S. Alabaster, 'An Analysis of the Latin Entries in Bacon's *Promus*', *Baconiana*, 196 (1999), 55–97 (p. 76).

²¹ Copy in University of London Archives, DLLA 118.

²² Oliver Lector, *Letters from the Dead to the Dead: Collected and Arranged with Notes, Comments and a Glossary* (London, 1905), for example pp. 14–22, 63–64, 70; Harold Bayley, *The Shakespeare Symphony* (London, 1906). These works were in Durning-Lawrence's library.

million copies of articles demonstrating this fact, which none can successfully dispute,²³

and:

At the end of July, 1913, I wrote a short article, or letter, upon Milton's Epitaph. [...] I sent a copy of my letter to the world's Press, about 15,000 in number, with the result that nearly ten million copies have been circulated in extenso, and a further ten million copies in an abbreviated form.²⁴

In 1912 Ralph Winington Leftwich referred to 'the almost super-human efforts of Sir Edwin Durning-Lawrence' over the past two years through which 'the Baconian heresy' had again raised its head.²⁵ The range of newspapers in which *Bacon is Shakespeare* was reviewed confirms this effort, with reviews appearing in local papers such as the *Aberdeen Evening Express* and *Lynn News*; in nationally significant ones such as the *Manchester Guardian* and *The Scotsman*; in foreign ones like *Sioux City (Iowa) Journal* and the *Times of India*; and in papers with a specific subject slant, such as the *Christian World* and *Shipping World*, as well as more obviously literary papers such as *The Bookseller* and the *Times Literary Supplement*.²⁶

Durning-Lawrence's proselytizing activity exemplifies the passionate views held by contemporary protagonists on both sides of the authorship divide. The underlying question of whether it matters who wrote Shakespeare's plays is nowadays answered mildly, for example by N. B. Cockburn: The question is often asked: 'Does it matter who wrote Shakespeare?'. My answer is that it is interesting to know the identity of the greatest poet in the English language and to relate his work to his life and character. A knowledge of his identity may also help sometimes with the elucidation of Shake-Speare texts.²⁷

Durning-Lawrence and certain of his contemporaries reacted far more vehemently. The former wrote:

To acknowledge this 'Sogliardo' as the author of the immortal plays, is an outrage upon humanity, and when, knowing what I do, I refuse to be any party to such a crime, I am only performing what seems to me to be the bounden duty of every true Englishman, viz., to do his best worthily to honour the greatest man his country ever produced, the man who, though not born at Stratford-upon-Avon, desired for a time to be known under the pseudonym of Shakespeare.²⁸

²³ *Shakespeare Myth*, p. 31.

²⁴ *Key to Milton's Epitaph on Shakespeare*, p. 5.

²⁵ Leftwich, *Bacon is Not Shakespeare!*, p. [5].

²⁶ See University of London Archives, DLLA/18.

²⁷ Cockburn, *Bacon Shakespeare Question*, p. 1.

²⁸ Letter from Durning-Lawrence, 16 May 1910, in University of London Archives, DLLA/17. He expressed himself less forcefully in *Bacon is Shakespeare*, there describing the issue as 'one of considerable importance' (p. 1).

A fellow-Baconian, James Phinney Baxter, later expressed the same sentiment as follows:

We owe an immense debt to the author of these works which we cannot afford to ignore by shirking the question of their authorship; [...] it is a question of the greatest literary importance, and simple justice demands that it be settled righteously, if possible.²⁹

And the Shakespeareans were equally capable of passion, with Leftwich writing:

Finding that the author boasts of having sent his misleading work [*Bacon is Shakespeare*] to every public library in the world, I realise that something must be done. Many will read it in these institutions who know nothing of the arguments which refute it and their judgement will be warped for life. Failing stronger pens than mine, I hope this little work will do something to mitigate the mischief.³⁰

The press reviews themselves are equally a product of their time. In several of them *Bacon is Shakespeare* constituted a starting point to discuss more widely the Baconian issue, the significance of which was generally accepted (that Andrew Lang was among the correspondents shows the calibre of contestants attracted).³¹ But Durning-Lawrence's own arguments, which he insisted were irrefutable,³² were in fact frequently refuted and widely derided. Few reviews in the scrapbook compiled by Durning-Lawrence commended him.³³ Consensus was that the most valuable contribution of *Bacon is Shakespeare* was the author's reproduction of Bacon's *Promus of Formularies*. Some critics declared themselves open to conviction concerning the Baconian claim, but averred that Durning-Lawrence failed to convince them. Some asserted that they had no time for such nonsense, while others, regarding the claims as heretical and dangerous, rebutted them methodically, as did the authors of the pamphlets.³⁴ Durning-Lawrence reaped mockery for his cryptography, critics applying his method to 'prove' that Dickens, Shaw, or Kipling were responsible for the works of Shakespeare, and he was criticized for his aggressive, abusive style. In some

²⁹ Baxter, *Greatest of All Literary Problems*, p. xxviii.

³⁰ Leftwich, *Bacon is Not Shakespeare!*, p. [3].

³¹ Andrew Lang, 'The Bacon-Shakespeare Mare's Nest', *Morning Post*, 19 August 1910, in University of London Archives, DLLA/18. Lang's posthumous book, *Shakespeare, Bacon and the Great Unknown* (London, 1912), does not mention Durning-Lawrence.

³² 'A few copies of my book, "Bacon is Shakespeare" [...] are still on sale. [...] No important statement contained therein has been or ever will be successfully controverted' (*Shakespeare Myth*, p. 27n).

³³ For atypically positive comments, see University of London Archives, DLLA/18, for example, 'However, the work of a man of such importance as Sir Edwin Durning-Lawrence cannot be dismissed without consideration, nor indeed, on its merits does this publication deserve to be' (*Bath Herald*, 27 August 1910), and 'Everybody who is interested in this old battle of opinions must possess this handsome and wonderfully clever book, written by a man who has saturated himself in his subject' (*Eastern Morning News*, 19 August 1910).

³⁴ See 'Shakespeare-Bacon Controversy: Criticisms by Well-Known Scholars and the Press', 2 September 1910, in University of London Archives, DLLA/17.

quarters dismissal of him was complete, a reviewer in the *Manchester Guardian* of 30 August 1910 declaring:

To supremacy in any department one ought to take off one's hat, and as this is the most supremely foolish book we have met since we can remember we cheerfully perform that salutation to Sir Edwin Durning-Lawrence.³⁵

Even schoolchildren laughed at his views, as G. Payling recollected in a letter of 14 December 1955 to J. H. P. Pafford, Goldsmiths' Librarian, University of London:

As boys we always looked on his Baconian proselytism — for it was that quite unashamedly — with a certain measure of amusement. Nor did the English masters afterwards encourage any heresy — Bacon was Bacon and Shakespear was Shakespear! But Sir Edwin was a wealthy chairman of the school governors and I suppose our tactful applause after his orations may have helped to earn the large bequest he left to U. C. S. when he died.³⁶

Widespread interest in the Baconian question continued unabated after Durning-Lawrence's death. Hope and Holston note that while W. H. Wyman's 1884 *Bibliography of the Bacon-Shakespeare Controversy* contained 255 references, Joseph Galland's *Digesta Anti-Shakespeareana* of 1949 had 4,509.³⁷ Richmal Crompton's ridicule of the argument in a children's story of 1932, 'William Holds the Stage', evinces humorously the infusion of the theory into popular culture.³⁸ Time, while lending no charity to Durning-Lawrence's zeal or approach, has reinforced his position as a protagonist in the debate. Admittedly Cockburn's 740-page monograph, which presents a more measured and defensive case than Durning-Lawrence's and which spurns cryptography, ignores his work, unless referring obliquely to him in the statement:

Some Baconians have always been rational but others fit Bacon's jibe in another context (Spedding 7.24) at 'cracked brains that wear their feather in their head instead of their hat'. They have come near to destroying their own case by enlisting a host of absurd arguments, the cryptograms especially.³⁹

Yet many authors over the past ninety years have cited him, initially as an academic with whom one may or may not agree, later as an outstandingly

³⁵ Copy in University of London Archives, DLLA/18.

³⁶ University of London Archives, UL 4/18/20: Library Office Files: Durning-Lawrence Library.

³⁷ Hope and Holston, *The Shakespeare Controversy*, p. 149. Like is not compared entirely with like, as Galland's bibliography has a wider remit.

³⁸ Here an old boy of William's school represents the Baconian theory, to William's bewilderment. The story of Hamlet is introduced, recalling Durning-Lawrence's comparison of Hamlet and the ghost with Bacon and Shakespeare, and reduced to a joke by William's confusion between Bacon and Ham[let]: 'Whenever I say it's Bacon you say it's Ham, and whenever I say it's Ham you say it's Bacon. [...] Let's say Eggs for both of them. Then we shan't get so muddled' (Richmal Crompton, 'William Holds the Stage', in *William the Pirate* (London, 1932, repr. 1985), pp. 24–45 (pp. 29–30)).

³⁹ Cockburn, *Bacon Shakespeare Question*, p. 3. Cf. Mitchell, *Who Wrote Shakespeare?*, p. 159: 'There is a strong rational case for Bacon as Shakespeare, but the Baconian symbolists and cryptologists have done little to help it'.

forceful and somewhat ridiculous representative of a strand of the Baconian argument, who has become part of its history.⁴⁰ Discredited and derided as Durning-Lawrence has been, his work remains, notwithstanding, an integral contribution to the Baconian theory.

III

An argument that depends to a large extent on supposed revelation through aspects of various books — printers' ornaments, mispagination, emblems, text — requires use of libraries. Durning-Lawrence supported his labours primarily by developing his own library, the second that he had built up systematically.⁴¹ Assisted by wealth, the services of an agent, and the ready availability of antiquarian books,⁴² he formed it rapidly, from about 1890 until 1914, and with *éclat*: press clippings advertising *Bacon is Shakespeare* refer to Durning-Lawrence as being 'well-known not only as a Shakespearean student, but also for his very fine and valuable library'.⁴³ His widow was to write of this library:

I should like here to emphasize that my husband was in no sense a bibliophile. He did not buy a book for the sake of the book, though he was proud to possess a fine copy when he could obtain it, but every book was purchased with one aim, and that aim was to prove that Francis Bacon was at the head of a great literary and scientific society, from whence emanated all the Elizabethan and Jacobean literature.⁴⁴

Durning-Lawrence's own remarks tally with his widow's assessment. He refers several times to his Baconian library, as in: 'That these letters are snares for the uninitiated, the writer, who possesses a "Baconian" library, could easily prove to any competent scholar'; 'A copy of Vigenère's book will be found in the present writer's Baconian library'; 'In my own library, which contains so many special copies of books with engravings printed upside down in order to afford Baconian revelations, there is only one copy

⁴⁰ See n. 4 above. H. N. Gibson voices this view especially clearly: 'We shall select Sir Edwin Durning-Lawrence as the chief exponent of their [i.e. the Baconian] case, for he expresses this much more freely and forcefully than anyone else. [...] Later writers on the Baconian theory still include his book in their bibliographies. We are therefore entitled to regard him as an official spokesman' (H. N. Gibson, *The Shakespeare Claimants: A Critical Survey of the Four Principal Theories Concerning the Authorship of the Shakespearean Plays* (London, 1962), pp. 31–32).

⁴¹ He had already replaced Robert Collyer's private library, burnt in 1871 (Gordon, pp. 68 and 70).

⁴² The availability of relevant texts on the second-hand market is clear from the fact that, concurrently with amassing his own 5,750-odd volumes, Durning-Lawrence supplied the Tate Library at Brixton Oval with the second, third, and fourth folios of Shakespeare, a Baconian collection, and much of its reference library (Gordon, p. 68). The agency of Francis James Burgoyne, mentioned in Gordon (p. 70), is evident from the addresses on several invoices (University of London Archives, DLLA/9, Invoices, 1890–1895; DLLA/10, Invoices, 1896–1907; DLLA/11, Invoices, 1908–1914).

⁴³ Extracts from *Sheffield Telegraph*, 30 June 1910, and *Publishers Circular*, 2 July 1910, in University of London Archives, DLLA/18; there is also an extract from the *Nottingham Guardian*, 3 July 1910, where the final phrase reads: 'but for his very fine library'.

⁴⁴ Gordon, p. 2 of preface (unpaginated). Gordon's interpretation of Durning-Lawrence's library, placed in a paragraph about his interest in the Baconian controversy, supports this view (Gordon, p. 70).

of the second folio'; 'My own unique library, which contains so many curious contemporary pages, examples of which are not known to exist elsewhere'; 'I have a Baconian library'.⁴⁵

The library (its contents, means of acquisition, and arrangement) is extraordinarily well documented, with the documentation held in the Durning-Lawrence archive in the University of London Library. The library's key is its two-volume manuscript catalogue, arranged in exact alphabetical order.⁴⁶ This catalogue was maintained until Durning-Lawrence's death, containing even the latest of his acquisitions. The layout shows none of the blank spaces that might be expected in a document compiled over a long timespan. Entries are primarily on the verso of leaves, with the recto used for overflow. Each volume, 291 mm in height, is handsomely bound in red morocco with gilt edges and fillets, marbled endpapers, and five raised bands on the spine. 'Library catalogue' is tooled in gold in the second spine compartment, and the volume number and extent (A-K; L-Z) in the third. Durning-Lawrence presumably commissioned the catalogue, as the head of each page sports the printed title 'Library catalogue'. Each page is divided into four printed columns with printed headings, namely number, author and title of book, vols, and date. The number of the first column refers to the accession number with which Durning-Lawrence also stamped each book; the date is the date of publication.

The catalogue is a careful work. Under 'author and title' it sometimes differentiates editions of Bacon's works by editor or by place of publication. Each book received two entries. Works of literature were entered under both author and title (for example, Settle's *Pastor Fido* can be found under both 'S' and 'P'). For non-fiction, entry is by author and by subject, with subjects as diverse as Christ, duelling, elocution, Egypt, hydropathy, and treason. Form entries appear under the headings 'manuscripts' and 'incunabula'. Cross-references sometimes appear, for example 'Iliad see Homer's works', 'Evolution see also the works of Charles Darwin'.

A three-volume accessions register complements the manuscript catalogue. These volumes, 200 mm high, are bound in limp brown leather, with marbled endpapers and edges. The title of each volume is tooled in gold on the centre of the front cover and on the spine: 1-2,500, Baconiana and mss; 2,501-5,000, early printed books; 5,001-7,500, general collection.⁴⁷ Each double-page spread is divided into columns, headed as follows: number, author and title of work, dis. shelf, and memoranda. 'Number' refers to the running accession number. The numbers 1-7,500 have been stamped into

⁴⁵ Durning-Lawrence, *Bacon is Shakespeare*, pp. 113 and 110; *Key to Milton's Epitaph*, pp. 2 and 6; University of London Archives, DLLA/17, letter of 29 April 1910.

⁴⁶ University of London Archives, DLLA/3 (vol. 1, A-K) and DLLA/4 (vol. 2, L-Z).

⁴⁷ University of London Archives, DLLA/5-7.

the three volumes, but only 5,666 numbers are used. In the first volume Bacon accounts for numbers 1-1,125, and Shakespeare, whom Durning-Lawrence collected far less assiduously, for numbers 2,000-224; manuscripts take up numbers 2,401-33. The second volume has a note in the front: 'Enter in this vol. all books printed before 1800, which are not Baconian or Shakespearian'; numbers here are consecutive, from 2,501 to 4,358. The third volume has two sequences, 5,001-7,331, and Tudor facsimile texts, 7,401-94. When several items were bound together each item received its own number. The accession numbers reveal that Durning-Lawrence often bought books in batches: for example, early editions of Defoe have the numbers 2,627-864, 2,871-89, and 4,186-259; John Crowne has twelve consecutive numbers, 2,512-23, with other seventeenth-century drama nearby (for example Elkanah Settle, 2,557-73; Nahum Tate, 2,586-91); various translations of the New Testament occupy 6,505-42.⁴⁸

The author/title column occasionally includes the date of publication. 'Dis. shelf' refers to the item's physical location in Durning-Lawrence's library. The 'memoranda' (notes) sometimes comprise letters such as 'S' and 'UL', or a letter and number combination like 'B10086', the significance of which is not immediately apparent, but they occasionally record provenance (for example no. 6543, 'The family Bible') and sometimes indicate the reason for an item's presence in the library: for example no. 30, *Blackwood's Magazine*, 3 (1818), 'Contains dialogue between B & S'; no. 1, *Beilage zur allgemeinen Zeitung*, 'Contains article of interest on authorship of plays'. Durning-Lawrence further notes the fact that works are bound together; physical imperfections (for example no. 6816, 'Binding broken'); duplicates; and items withdrawn for various reasons, for example no. 6611 (*Bosworth, Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*), 'withdrawn — 2 copies already in library', and no. 6698 (*Don Giovanni*), 'withdrawn — worn out'.

Supplementing the accessions register are three large scrapbooks of invoices.⁴⁹ Most of the latter are for books, many addressed to F. J. Burgoyne, Durning-Lawrence's agent. The first clearly identifiable early books invoiced in the scrapbooks are Bacon's *Sylva Sylvarum*, 1677, entered in Vol. 1 of Durning-Lawrence's accessions register (invoice of 20 December 1890; accession no. 687), and Florio's translation of Montaigne's *Essays*, 1632, entered in Vol. 11 of the accessions register (invoice of 3 June 1891; accession no. 3,367). While the imprecision of the bibliographical detail provided on the invoices often renders it impossible to match them with specific books (the invoices rarely state dates of publication), they are useful

⁴⁸ The batch buying of Defoe is further evident from the fact that the seventy-three volumes with the accession numbers 4,186-259 are from the library of Henry Huth, auctioned on the fourteenth day of its sale in June 1912; see *Catalogue of the Famous Library of Printed Books, Illuminated Manuscripts, Autograph Letters and Engravings Collected by Henry Huth*, 9 vols (London, 1911-20), II (1912), pp. 633-62.

⁴⁹ University of London Archives, DLLA/9-11.

in demonstrating the sources of Durning-Lawrence's acquisitions. He was as cosmopolitan in purchasing his books as in spreading his opinions. Although many of the booksellers from whom he bought were London dealers (Sotheran, Quaritch, Maggs, Pickering & Chatto, as well as lesser-known ones), his British sources were far-flung, being based in Oxford, Cambridge, Edinburgh, Manchester, Exeter, Halifax, Leeds, Birmingham, Bath, and elsewhere. Continental booksellers from whom he bought were based in major German cities (Frankfurt, Berlin, Munich, Leipzig, Halle), in France (Paris, Lille), and in Venice, Vienna, Louvain, and Geneva.⁵⁰ Certain invoices and receipts are for services rendered: for example on 24 December 1910 H. J. Aylmer received thirty shillings for addressing 810 packages of *Bacon is Shakespeare*. The interest Durning-Lawrence showed in the appearance of his books is exemplified by the instructions, accompanied by a drawing, given on 2 June 1909 to George F. Banting, bookbinder, for binding: 'blue cloth, gilt lines and gilt small ornaments on panels'.

The final documents concerning Durning-Lawrence's library are two typescript inventories made by Debenham, Tewson & Chinnocks, auctioneers, estate agents, and valuers. The first is from May 1914, shortly after Durning-Lawrence's death; the second, a valuation for fire insurance purposes, dates from June 1929, following his widow's demise.⁵¹ In both cases the most valuable books are distinguished by individual titles, while the remainder are summarized by content, for example 'a small collection of theological books, music, etc., about one hundred vols' and 'Various. Rosicrucian literature etc. (28 vols.)'. The 1914 inventory states on its title-page: 'with prices of all books valued at £10 and upwards'; some additional prices have been pencilled on to pp. 1-3, including sums of less than £10.⁵² The 1929 valuation estimates the worth of the entire library as £48,613 15s. 0d. By this time marked inflation had taken place: for example, Lyttelton's *Tenures* (1591) was estimated at £150 (pencilled price £350) in 1914 and at £1,500 in 1929; the Shakespeare first folio at £1,000 (pencilled price £7,000) in 1914 and at £14,000 in 1929. As the lists are ordered by bookcase and shelf, they are helpful not only in highlighting the most valuable works (or what were perceived at the time to be the most valuable works) in Durning-Lawrence's library, but in demonstrating to an extent its arrangement. Thus it is clear that the library overflowed into a passage (framed facsimiles and a framed autograph document signed by Francis Bacon) and into cupboards in the basement. The lists also show that the arrangement of books was not

⁵⁰ The use of dealers is further apparent from the list of purchasers at the back of the Huth catalogue (n. 48 above), pp. 750-53, in which Durning-Lawrence is not named.

⁵¹ University of London Archives, DLLA/1, Inventory of library by Debenham, Tewson & Chinnocks, May 1914; DLLA/2, Library valuation for fire insurance purposes, June 1929.

⁵² When there is both a typescript and a pencilled price, the pencilled price is usually higher, sometimes considerably so. Only Camden's *Queen Elizabeth* (1635) has a higher price in typescript (£30) than in pencil (£20).

systematic. The 1625 edition of Camden's *Queen Elizabeth*, for example, was on the second shelf of the second bookcase, the 1635 edition on the first shelf of the ninth bookcase. Bacon's works, biographies of him, and volumes concerning the Bacon-Shakespeare question were held chiefly in cases 4 and 10-12, but some were in cases 1 (shelves 2 and 7) and 2, while separately listed are 'various[,] 23 Bacon Shakespeare question' items in case 22 (shelves 1-2), twenty-six volumes of Baconiana in case 24 (shelves 1-3), and Mallet's *Life of Bacon* (1740) in case 25 (shelf 6).⁵³ Thus the importance of shelf numbers in the accessions register becomes apparent. The accession number of a book in the library catalogue would have enabled it to be looked up in the accessions register, and from there the physical location would have been reached.

Durning-Lawrence's books confirm the tidy, methodical approach to their acquisition and cataloguing revealed by the library documentation. Books were stamped, usually in two ways. One stamp recorded the accession number, corresponding to the number in the accessions register. The other stamp impressed the letters 'D S' in mauve, with a distance of 15 mm between the D and the S. These letters correspond to the 'dis. shelf' of the accessions register, and indicate the bookcase and shelf; in a separate operation the case number was then stamped after the 'D' and the shelf number after the 'S'. Stamping in this way must have been retrospective for many volumes, for the invoice for the 'D S' stamp is extant and dated 24 May 1898, well after Durning-Lawrence's collecting activity had begun. Durning-Lawrence rarely inserted a personal bookplate into his books and never wrote his name in them. As the location stamp was custom-made, it is the closest approximation in most books to an ownership mark.⁵⁴

Bookplates reveal acquisitions from several major auctions of the late nineteenth century. Durning-Lawrence's chief source in this respect was the Huth library, from which he purchased several emblem books as well as the early editions of Defoe.⁵⁵ Other famous libraries from whose dispersal he benefited were those of Richard Heber; Charles Spencer, third Earl of Sunderland; the Earl of Roxburghe; S. R. Christie-Miller (the Britwell Court library); and Frederick Locker-Lampson (the Rowfant library). Although this entailed owning several books of distinguished provenance — and certain other books had eminent former owners, for example Augustus

⁵³ The Durning-Lawrence library as now housed in the University of London Library contains the library's original furnishings from 13 Carlton House Terrace, given by Miss T. A. C. Durning-Lawrence. The arrangement of the books now follows one of the University Library's classification schemes. Not all books in the University Library with a classmark beginning [D.-L.L.] are from Durning-Lawrence's library, as the University Library has since added relevant material to the collection by transfer or gift, or by using the proceeds of a small endowment fund.

⁵⁴ See University of London Archives, DLLA/10. The vendor was George H. Smith, 52 Landor Road, Clapham Rise, London SW; the price of the stamp, with box, pad and black ink, was 2s.

⁵⁵ These books receive prominence in the 1914 inventory through the note 'The Huth Library. Twenty-nine vols', with reference to bookcase 17, shelves 8-9 (under).

Frederick, Duke of Sussex, the antiquarian William Cole, and the novelist Rosina Bulwer-Lytton — provenances of this kind, like fine bindings, were presumably incidental to Durning-Lawrence's purpose.⁵⁶

Whereas he owned numerous multiple and variant editions, Durning-Lawrence possessed fewer exact duplicates, and notes in his accessions registers show that duplicates were deliberately disposed of. Remaining duplicates tend to occupy a place in the collection because they are bound with other books.

Durning-Lawrence did not make a principle of rebinding books, and, predictably, there are many calf and some vellum bindings in the collection, occasionally with illustrious coats of arms.⁵⁷ His house bindings for flimsier works were of half or quarter morocco and sheepskin, or of half or quarter morocco and marbled boards. Some invoices for bindings survive, most notably one dated 23 May 1898 from J. Zaehnsdorf, amounting to £15 8s. 9d. for seventy-one books, listed by short title.⁵⁸

Manuscript notes on endpapers sometimes explain the reason for a book's presence in Durning-Lawrence's library. He did not, however, annotate his texts internally. A work now in the Durning-Lawrence library, which stands out because of annotations by Edward D. Johnson and other members of the Francis Bacon Society, is the 1902 facsimile edition of Shakespeare's first folio; this was not Durning-Lawrence's, but was given to the University of London Library by the Francis Bacon Society in 2003.⁵⁹

IV

The most widely available summary of the contents of Durning-Lawrence's library, that in the *Directory of Rare Book and Special Collections*, reads:

Partly an extensive collection of early editions of Francis Bacon [...] and works on the Shakespearian authorship controversies. The remainder contains books on a variety of other subjects, with many early editions of Elizabethan and Jacobean authors and dramatists, of the works of Daniel Defoe [...] and of emblem books. Noteworthy items include the first four Shakespeare folio editions; the Latin Bible printed by Koberger at Nuremberg in 1477; Coverdale's Bible of 1535; and the first

⁵⁶ An exception may be his possession of the Shakespearean scholar John Payne Collier's copy of Livy's *Romane Historie* (London, 1600), annotated in pencil by Collier and with a note by him on the first leaf, dated May 1881, recording his use of the volume. Durning-Lawrence valued Collier, noting in his manuscript catalogue: 'Manuscript collations of various copies of the folio editions [of Shakespeare], in the handwriting of John Payne Collier'.

⁵⁷ For example, of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester; Lewis Watson, Earl of Rockingham; and Charles Stuart, Baron Stuart de Rotheray. See Reginald Rye and Muriel Sinton Quinn, *Historical and Armorial Bookbindings Exhibited in the University Library: Descriptive Catalogue* (London, 1937), nos 2, 17, and 25.

⁵⁸ See University of London Archives, DLLA/10. While often the short title does not suffice to identify the volume in question, sometimes it does. These books cost between 2s. 6d. and 8s. 6d. to bind, with many costing 3s. 6d. or 4s. 6d. The style differs from that of non-Durning-Lawrence books in the University of London Library.

⁵⁹ Present at the classmark [D.-L.L.] (XVII) (Shakespeare — Works — 1902) fol.

translation into English by Thomas Shelton of *Don Quixote* 1612–20. There are c20 incunabula, and c40 ms.⁶⁰

Accurate as the account is, it does not make apparent the planned cohesiveness of the collection. Predictably in an avowedly Baconian library, the most salient feature is Bacon's works in multiple editions and translations, supplemented by works about Bacon such as Maller's *Life of Francis Bacon* in various editions and translations. Of editions of Bacon published to 1750, the cut-off point of Gibson's bibliography,⁶¹ Durning-Lawrence owned thirty of the forty-five English editions of the *Essays*, five of the eleven Italian editions, six of the seven Latin editions, the 1647 Dutch edition, and the sole German edition. He also owned seven of the nine editions of *De Augmentis Scientiarum*, eight of the nine Latin editions of *De Sapientia Veterum*, five of the six editions of *Novum Organum*, five of the seven editions of the *History of Henry VII* (and two of its French translation, three of its Latin one), all six editions of the *Historia Ventorum* and of the *Historia Vitae et Mortis* (in addition to both the English translations of this work and one of the two French ones), and thirteen of the sixteen English editions of *Sylva Sylvarum*.⁶² His possession of early editions of lesser works is patchy: for example, he had both editions of *Cases of Treason* (1641, 1681), three of the four of *Resuscitatio*, and all three of *Scripta in Naturali et Universali Philosophia*, but neither of the two editions of *Essay of a King* or of *Charge Given by . . . Sir Francis Bacon . . . at a Sessions for the Verge*. The geographic breadth of his sources of acquisition and the number of his books show that Durning-Lawrence sought to own as many editions and translations of Bacon as possible. The thoroughness of his acquisition is evident from his possession of variants: for example, all three English editions of Bacon's *Essays* dated 1613 in the imprint, distinguished primarily by the spelling of 'atturny' ('aturney', 'atturney') on the fifth line of the title-page.⁶³

Books with copy-specific Baconian relevance complement Bacon's own works: a copy of Littleton's *Tenures* (London, 1591), allegedly annotated by Bacon and a book that Durning-Lawrence was proud to own, as he mentioned his possession of it in *The Shakespeare Myth* (p. 27); Polydore Vergil's *De Inventoribus Rerum* (Paris, 1528), inscribed 'Francis Bacons

⁶⁰ *Directory of Rare Book and Special Collections*, ed. Bloomfield and Potts, p. 402. The Report of the Library Committee of the University of London for 1931 similarly implies distinct subject interests (n. 5 above).

⁶¹ R. W. Gibson, *Francis Bacon: A Bibliography of his Works and of Baconiana to the Year 1750* (Oxford, 1950).

⁶² Durning-Lawrence's copy of the 1670 edition stands out for its unusual make-up, with 'Articles of enquiry, touching metals & minerals' being bound immediately after 'Sylva sylvarum' instead of at the end. This is followed by 'History natural and experimental of life & death', 'New Atlantis', and 'A table of the chief matters contained in these centuries', in that order. 'His Lordships usual receipt for the gout' is on the final leaf, so that the pagination of Durning-Lawrence's copy is [16], 14, 215, [3], 221–27, [1], [10], 64, 31, [21] p. The usual pagination is: [16], 14, 215, [29], 64, [2], 221–27, [1], 31, [1] p. (cf. Gibson, *Francis Bacon*, item 179a).

⁶³ STC 1142–44; Gibson, *Francis Bacon*, items 8–10.

booke';⁶⁴ *Memoriae . . . Francisci, Baronis de Verulamio* (London, 1626), bound in white vellum with the boar that was Bacon's crest stamped in gilt on the centre of each side. Certain writings by Bacon are similarly enhanced. His *Translation of Certaine Psalmes into English Verse* (London, 1625) incorporates autograph verses by George Herbert addressed to Bacon tipped in between the frontispiece portrait and the title-page; a copy of the 1627 edition of *Sylva Sylvarum* bears the inscription 'the gift of my brother Nathanyell Bacon, December 23 1626'; and Bacon's *Instauratio Magna* (London, 1620) is bound like the *Memoriae*, but with the gilt worn away.⁶⁵

As is evident from his accessions register, Durning-Lawrence collected the works that bear Shakespeare's name less conscientiously. His glory was possession of all four of the early folios, especially a rare copy of the second folio in which Milton's epitaph contains the word 'starre-yointed' instead of the more frequent 'starre-yointing'.⁶⁶ He owned a quarto edition of *Hamlet* (London, 1683) and a seven-volume edition of Shakespeare's *Works* (London, 1709–10), the first to appear after the four folios, but he otherwise contented himself with facsimiles of the quartos and the variorum editions. Shakespeareana (which to Durning-Lawrence would have been Baconiana) is more strikingly present than Shakespeare, with such works as Thomas Moffatt's *The Silkwormes and their Flies* (London, 1599), a possible source for the masque of Pyramis and Thisbe in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*; Bartholomew Yonge's translation of Jorge de Montemayor's *Diana* (London, 1598), considered a foundation of *Two Gentlemen of Verona*; and Edward Topsell's *Historie of Four-Footed Beastes* (London, 1607), one of Shakespeare's reference books for natural history. Durning-Lawrence also acquired all that he could find pertaining to the Baconian issue published on both sides of the Atlantic. He evidently read at least some of it, quoting from such works in *Bacon is Shakespeare*.⁶⁷ The manuscript catalogue of his library lists 239 works under 'Bacon-Shakespeare controversy'. Not only is

⁶⁴ Durning-Lawrence's copy of the *Concordantiae Bibhorum* ([Frankfurt], 1600) also bears Bacon's inscription on the title-page.

⁶⁵ These bindings are described in Rye and Quinn, *Historical and Armorial Bookbindings*, nos 6 (*Instauratio*) and 7 (*Memoriae*). A letter from William H. Weldon, College of Arms, to F. J. Burgoyne, 14 June 1893, inserted looseleaf in the *Instauratio*, states of the crest: 'but that does not prove that that copy was his, though I should think, most probably it was'.

⁶⁶ Durning-Lawrence claimed to own one of only two copies to contain the correct form 'starre-yointed' (*Key to Milton's Epitaph*, pp. 2 and 5). In fact his copy of the Aspley imprint of the second folio (STC 22274b) is anomalous: the page containing the epitaph is attached to a stub on different paper, inserted from another issue. Durning-Lawrence's copy of the first folio is no. 23 in Anthony James West, *The Shakespeare First Folio: The History of the Book*. Vol. 11: *A New Worldwide Census of First Folios* (Oxford, 2003).

⁶⁷ Roughly contemporary books in his possession cited in *Bacon is Shakespeare* include *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* (June 1818) (on p. 2); Sidney Lee, *Life of Shakespeare* (London, 1899) (on pp. 54 and 74); and Walter Begley, *Is it Shakespeare?* (London, 1903) (on p. 62).

the quantity of such works outstanding, but some titles are now likely to be uncommon.⁶⁸

Any reference in a book to Francis Bacon, however fleeting, justifies its place in the library as 'Baconiana'.⁶⁹ Durning-Lawrence frequently notes the reason for a book's presence on an endpaper, for example: 'This history dedicated in very encomiastic terms to the Earl of Essex highly irritated Queen Elizabeth; and she employed Sir Francis Bacon to search the book for treason. — Lowndes. Bohn. Page 1018', which is tipped into John Hayward's *First Part of the Life and Raigne of King Henrie the IIII* (London, 1559); 'Dedicated to Lady Bacon', on the paste-down of Thomas Wilcox's *A Short, yet Sound Commentarie on that Woorthie Worke Called the Prouerbes of Salomon* (London, 1589), and 'Dedicated to Francis Bacon, p. 89', on the front free endpaper of Samuel Garey's *Great Brittans Little Calendar* (London, 1618); a note on the front flyleaf of Bouhours's *Les Entretiens d'Ariste et d'Eugene* (Amsterdam, 1671), 'Reference to Bacon on p. 173'; a pencilled note on the front paste-down of *The Mathematical and Philosophical Works of John Wilkins* (London, 1708), 'contains Bacon's cypher'; and notes tipped into Dudley North's *A Forest of Varieties* (London, 1645), including such observations as 'p. 232, Epigram upon Bacon' (Durning-Lawrence's italics). Such inclusiveness explains the presence in the collection even of such works as Disraeli's three-volume *Curiosities of Literature* (new edn, London, n.d.), on the front free endpaper of which Durning-Lawrence has recorded: 'Bacon founder of the Royal Society, vol. 2, p. 410' (on this page is written: 'the real founder [of the Royal Society] was Lord Bacon, who planned the ideal institution in his philosophical romance of the New Atlantis'), and, in its turn, Thomas Sprat's *History of the Royal-Society of London*, 2nd edn (London, 1702).

Particular clusters of strengths outside the obvious Baconiana feed into the Baconian interest. A fine collection of eighty-four emblem books is present because Durning-Lawrence was convinced that Bacon was responsible for the production of many of them, and that their images contain clues to revealing Shakespeare's identity.⁷⁰ Florio's *Second Frutes* (London, 1591) is present among other early dictionaries because the reference on p. 53 to 'slice of bacon' and 'gammon of bakon' shows, says Durning-Lawrence,

⁶⁸ For example, William Preston Johnston, *The Prototype of Hamlet and other Shakespearian Problems* (New York, 1890), is not recorded in the combined catalogue of British academic research libraries, COPAC (<<http://www.copac.ac.uk>>, accessed 27 May 2003). The only copy of *Über die behauptete Identität der Metaphern und Gleichnisse in Bacon's und Shakespeare's Werken* (Grünberg, 1891) in COPAC is in the British Library. However, other copies may not yet have been catalogued electronically.

⁶⁹ Cf. also the list of Baconiana in R. W. Gibson, *Francis Bacon*.

⁷⁰ Examples present in Durning-Lawrence's library and discussed in *Bacon is Shakespeare* are Gustavus Selenus, *Cryptomenytices et Cryptographiae Libri IX* (Lüneburg, 1624) (on p. 125); Alciati's *Emblems* (Augsburg, February 1531) (on pp. 151–52); and Baudouin's *Emblems* (Paris, 1638) (on pp. 152–59).

variant spellings for Bacon;⁷¹ multiple early editions of Montaigne's *Essays* are present because Durning-Lawrence believed that the author of the Shakespearean plays read Florio's translation of Montaigne and was more influenced by him than by any other single author.⁷² Early editions of Cervantes relate to Durning-Lawrence's belief that Bacon wrote *Don Quixote*.⁷³ A clutch of over forty Rosicrucian books from the seventeenth century (and a few later ones), including rare French and German titles, is explicable on account of Bacon's alleged leadership of the Rosicrucian fraternity in England.⁷⁴ Durning-Lawrence's belief that every significant piece of Elizabethan or Jacobean literature emanated from Bacon's pen or workshop, including the Authorised Version of the Bible (see p. 297 above), explains the rationale behind early Bibles in his collection, notably the Coverdale Bible (1535), the Geneva Bible from 1600 and 1611, and both 'he' and 'she' editions of the Authorised Version (i.e. variants distinguished by 'he went' versus 'she went' in Ruth 3: 15 (1611)). It also accounts for a valuable collection of early-seventeenth-century literature, especially quarto plays, including nine by Philip Massinger, seventeen by Francis Beaumont, with or without John Fletcher, and four by Marlowe.

Durning-Lawrence's manuscripts (University of London Library, MSS 285–320), several of which derive from the Phillipps collection, complement the books. Twenty-four of them date from the seventeenth century and concern Bacon or his times, for example a copy of Bacon's 'Apologie of the Earle of Essex', differing slightly from the first printed edition of 1603 (MS 287); parliamentary speeches and copies of letters by Bacon and others, 1607–40 (MS 308); and 'Fragmenta regalia, or, Observations on Queene Elizabeth her tymes and favorites, c. 1630' (MS 286). Durning-Lawrence's interest in Bibles emerges in a rubricated vellum copy of the Vulgate, possibly

⁷¹ *Bacon is Shakespeare*, p. 112.

⁷² Durning-Lawrence owned eight French editions, from 1580, 1582, 1588, 1602, 1608, 1627, 1659, and 1912 (a facsimile of the first edition), and Florio's English translation in editions of 1603, 1613, and 1632. Accession numbers show that he bought these in lots: five of the French editions have the accession numbers 29,480 and 29,482–85, while the English editions have the consecutive numbers 3,365–68.

⁷³ Durning-Lawrence's copies of this work include Spanish editions from 1607 and 1610 (with the third part from 1616), English editions from 1612–20, 1652, and 1687, an Italian edition from 1610, and a French edition from 1695. He further owned Cervantes's *Los Trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda* (Spanish, 1617; Italian, 1617; French, 1618; English, 1619), *Viage de Parnaso* (Spanish, 1614), and *Exemplarie novells* (English, 1640).

⁷⁴ That Durning-Lawrence himself adhered to this belief is apparent from his discussion of Rosicrucian symbolism in one of his copies of Baudoin's *Emblems* (see *Bacon is Shakespeare*, pp. 152–59). Examples of the Rosicrucian titles, to be found at classmarks [D.-L.L.] 113.5, are two editions of Christian Rosencreutz, *Chymische Hochzeit* (Strasbourg: n. pub., 1616, and Strasbourg: L. Zetzner, 1616); three editions of *Fama Fraternitas* (Kassel, 1615; Frankfurt, 1615; Frankfurt, 1617); *Colloquium rhodostauroricium* (n.p., 1621); two editions of Michael Maier, *Lusus serius* (Oppenheim, 1616, and Frankfurt, 1625); *Gründtlicher Bericht von dem Vorhaben, Gelegenheit und Inhalt der löblichen Bruderschaft dess Rosen Creutzer* (Frankfurt, 1617); and Henricus Neuhusius, *Advertissement pieux et tres-utile des freres de la Rosee-Croix* (Paris, 1625; this edn not in F. Leigh Gardner, *Catalogue Raisonné of Works on the Occult Sciences* (London, 1903–12), I: *Rosicrucian Books* (1903)).

from the early fifteenth century (MS 292). Six nineteenth-century manuscripts variously concern Bacon's works (a copy by J. Payne Collier of a manuscript of Bacon's Essays, MS 291), Shakespearean authorship or editions (for example, two papers by James Corton Cowell, an early Baconian, read before the the Ipswich Philosophical Society in 1805, MS 294), and Rosicrucianism (MSS 314-15).⁷⁵

Occasionally the collector's desire denied by Lady Durning-Lawrence sprang the bounds of a Baconian library, so that what began as a Baconian interest expanded independently. This applies to the seventeenth-century plays, which extended beyond the Jacobean to the Caroline and Restoration periods in the shape of, for example, ten plays by Thomas Shadwell (in twelve editions), thirteen by John Crowne, sixteen by James Shirley, and nineteen by Elkanah Settle.⁷⁶ Durning-Lawrence aimed for completeness in this area, owning, for example, four editions of Settle's *Cambysus*, *King of Persia*, two each of his *Heir of Morocco*, *Pastor Fido*, and *Ibrahim, the Illustrious Bassa*, and three editions of Beaumont and Fletcher's *Philaster*.⁷⁷ He preferred faulty copies to none at all, this section of his library being remarkable for imperfect books. Many plays have been closely cropped in binding, with loss of head or tail lines. Some contain more severe deficiencies: for example, copies of Massinger's *The Fatal Dowry* (1632) and Markham's *The True Tragedy of Herod and Antipater* (1622) both want the first gathering; Jonson's *Volpone* (1607) wants not only all before quire B, but also leaf G2 and all after quire M. As well as Bibles from the fifteenth to the seventeenth century, Durning-Lawrence owned multiple editions of nineteenth-century Bibles, chiefly New Testaments purchased together, in foreign languages as diverse as Balla, Croat, Fijian, Galla, Hindu, Khasi, Magyar, Malay, Sinhalese, Tamil, Welsh, and Yoruba, as well as the more common European languages. Certain interests appear truly independent: several shelves of works of largely Unitarian theology, chiefly contemporary, but including three volumes of bound pamphlets concerning the Trinity from

⁷⁵ A description by Rowan Watson of Durning-Lawrence's manuscripts is available as part of a typescript list of manuscripts in the University of London Library, available for consultation in the Palaeography Reading Room.

⁷⁶ Aphra Behn's *The Rover* (London, 1677) is especially distinctive, Durning-Lawrence's copy having been used as a prompt copy for a later revival. It is annotated, with several speeches boxed and some text crossed out. A collection of quarto plays has been considered typical for a seventeenth-century gentleman's library; see T. A. Birrell, 'Reading as Pastime: The Phase of Light Literature in Some Gentlemen's Libraries of the 17th Century', in *Property of a Gentleman: The Formation, Organisation and Dispersal of the Private Library, 1620-1920*, ed. by Robin Myers and Michael Harris (Winchester, 1991), pp. 113-31 (p. 114). By Durning-Lawrence's time, however, it was far less common; cf. W. Carew Hazlitt's list of popular collecting areas in John Carter, *Taste and Technique in Book Collecting* (London, 1970), p. 27.

⁷⁷ Namely, *Cambysus*, 1671, 1672, 1675, 1692; *Heir of Morocco*, 1682, 1694; *Pastor Fido*, 1677, 1694; *Ibrahim*, 1677, 1694; *Philaster*, 1639, 1687, 1695.

the early eighteenth century;⁷⁸ first editions of Charles Darwin, commensurate with Durning-Lawrence's view of Darwin as one of the six greatest Englishmen;⁷⁹ and seventeen late incunabula (1476–1500), the unifying feature of which is that all except for Koberger's *Biblia Latina* (Nuremberg, 1477) and the *Orationes Francisci Philelfi* (Basel: Johann Amerbach, [1498?]) are Italian imprints. Durning-Lawrence purchased eleven of the incunabula, via Henry Sotheran, from a single Sotheby's sale of early printed books, the property of an unnamed gentleman, held on 5 December 1907.⁸⁰

Early editions of Defoe's works, a strength of the collection, occupy an anomalous position. Durning-Lawrence evidently valued them, owning two sets: one in which minor works are bound together and a second set acquired later, primarily from the Huth library (auctioned as lots 2,105–297 on the fourteenth day of its sale, 12 June 1912), in which minor works have been bound separately, by Rivière. A pencilled note that adorns the title-page of *A Letter to a Peer Concerning the Bill against Occasional Conformity* (London, 1702), similar to the notes about the Baconian significance of books, reads: 'Refers to De Foe'. An explicit connection between the two writers occurs with Defoe's mention of Bacon in *The Storm*:

Not but that a Philosopher may be a Christian, and some of the best of the latter have been the best of the former, as Vossius, Mr Boyle, Sir Walter Raleigh, Lord Verulam, Dr Harvey, and others.⁸¹

Robert Mayer and Ilse Vickers have recently portrayed Defoe as a historian heavily influenced by Bacon, such that the Defoe texts may be seen as an enhancement of Durning-Lawrence's Baconian collection.⁸² Durning-Lawrence himself noted no link in any of his volumes of Defoe, and neither do his reference works, such as *Chambers's Encyclopaedia*, Aubrey's *Brief Lives*, and Thomas Wright's and William Lee's biographies of Defoe, make a connection. He may, however, have sensed a continuity between them, on reading the works of both.

⁷⁸ Present in the Durning-Lawrence Library at [D.-L.L.] G8.2 [Tracts]. For Durning-Lawrence's Unitarian convictions, see Gordon, pp. 51–54.

⁷⁹ See Gordon, p. 74. The other five were Alfred the Great, Henry VIII, Francis Bacon, Oliver Cromwell, and John Wesley. Durning-Lawrence owned twenty-one works by Darwin, as well as Holden's biography of him and memorial notices from *Nature*.

⁸⁰ See University of London Archives, DLLA/10. A particular jewel among the incunabula is Rardolt's *editio princeps* of Euclid's *Elementa* (Venice, 1482). The Koberger Bible is highlighted in the report of the Library Committee for 1931 (p. 11) on account of its provenance, as it derives from the library of Charles Spencer, third Earl of Sunderland, with his arms stamped on the binding (described in Rye and Quinn, *Historical and Armorial Bookbindings*, no. 16). However, neither of these volumes was purchased at the Sotheby's sale of 5 December 1907 and nor was Durning-Lawrence's copy of *De Animalibus* by Albertus Magnus (Venice, 1495), distinctive for its Hague binding, which the 1914 inventory of Durning-Lawrence's library (n. 51 above) attributes tentatively to Jean Grolier.

⁸¹ Daniel Defoe, *The Storm; or, A Collection of the Most Remarkable Casualties and Disasters Which Happen'd in the Late Dreadful Tempest, Both by Sea and Land* (London, 1704), p. 4.

⁸² Robert Mayer, *History and the Early English Novel: Matters of Fact from Bacon to Defoe* (Cambridge, 1997), especially pp. 160–61; Ilse Vickers, *Defoe and the New Sciences* (Cambridge, 1996).

Some books entered Durning-Lawrence's library by chance. He absorbed books owned by his wife, chiefly nineteenth-century literature, and accessioned them as his own.⁸³ Wider family absorption accounts for occasional other books, most notably a nineteenth-century Bible bound lavishly in red leather with gold clasps and corners, and gilt, gaufered edges; an inscription by the Committee of the British and Foreign Bible Society to the Honourable J. C. Lawrence, M.P., Lord Mayor of London (i.e. Sir James Clarke Lawrence, 1820-97), 'in remembrance of the kind interest taken by him in the ceremony connected with the opening of the new premises of the Society', is signed by Anthony Ashley Cooper, seventh Lord Shaftesbury, in his capacity as President of the Society. Some books remain from Durning-Lawrence's childhood, such as the occasional school prize. Gifts are present, notably a copy of the second edition of *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* (London, 1866), with a copy of one of Tenniel's drawings, for the illustration on p. 132 of Alice with the Duchess, inserted at the front.⁸⁴ Occasionally Durning-Lawrence was not aware of what he owned, as is apparent from the presence in his collection of a German Protestant tract from 1602, *Nothwendige Antwort und Defensionschrift der christlichen Revocation Predigt des ehrwürdigen Godefride Raben* (Wittenberg: Paul Hellwig, 1602).⁸⁵ This piece of religious propaganda resembles the German Rosicrucian literature of the same period in its physical appearance, a poorly produced quarto pamphlet in *fraktur*. Its accession number shows it to have been purchased at the same time as the Rosicrucian works, presumably from the same source. It is listed under the heading 'Rosicrucian books' in Durning-Lawrence's manuscript library catalogue, an error explicable only through failure to read the title, let alone the content, of the piece.

The Baconian thrust of Durning-Lawrence's library is as evident from what he did not have as from what he possessed. For a Victorian gentleman his book ownership was remarkably narrow. Despite his legal and architectural leanings, his catalogue lists only fifty items under the heading 'Law and laws', of which fifteen are by Bacon and six more are antiquarian (1586-1687), and merely two titles under the heading 'Architecture'. And despite his scientific interests the catalogue lists only five works under the heading 'Science', four under 'Physics', and none under 'Chemistry' or 'Biology'. The works of travel, literature, and history that one may expect to adorn the shelves of a gentleman's library of the period are largely absent

⁸³ For example, John Ruskin, *Sesame and Lilies*, 3rd edn (Orpington, 1876), inscribed 'Edith J. Lawrence, with love from A. H., Christmas 1870'; Thomas Hood, *Poems*, 9th edn (London, 1857); Catherine Swanwick, *Richard Coeur de Lion* (London, n.d.), inscribed to Mrs Edwin Lawrence from the author.

⁸⁴ This work receives particular mention in the Library Report of 1931, p. 3. It is valued in the 1914 inventory of Durning-Lawrence's library (p. 7) at £35, and in the 1929 inventory (p. 20) at £200.

⁸⁵ See K. E. Attar, 'A Reformation Slanging Match; or, A Rare German Book in the Durning-Lawrence Collection in the University of London Library', *German Studies Library Group Newsletter*, 32 (2002), 1-6.

from Durning-Lawrence's. His noteworthy clutch of early editions of Cervantes and Montaigne can be traced, as shown above, to a Baconian connection. Apart from these, his possession of foreign literature was negligible. His eighteenth- and nineteenth-century English literature was limited primarily, although not exclusively, to the works of Defoe (discussed above), Lord Byron, Sir Walter Scott, and Charles Dickens. This section of the library, furthermore, is the one in which the integration of Lady Durning-Lawrence's books is most noticeable. History is certainly better represented, and includes several sixteenth- and seventeenth-century imprints; but the history is mostly English, with an emphasis on the Baconian period, and thus conforms to the focus of the entire collection.

Sir Edwin Durning-Lawrence's enduring scholarly contribution was double-edged. The energy and thoroughness that he devoted to the verbal espousal of his Baconian mission exacerbated the derision that his cryptographic arguments excited. When directed at the furtherance of his library, the same energy and forcefulness had happier results. His views concerning Bacon's responsibility for earlier-seventeenth-century literature and his catholicity with regard to Baconian relevance led to the amassing of a comprehensive and valuable collection. His methodical approach to that collection, equal to the rigorous dedication with which he promulgated his opinions, led him to document it with remarkable thoroughness. The library stands now as a dual testimony. Most importantly, it embodies a branch of the Baconian theory of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. As such it provides a significant tangible contribution to the history of literary criticism. Yet more intriguing is its insight into a book collector with outstanding and determined missionary motivation.⁸⁶

London

⁸⁶ The generosity of the Vice-Chancellor's Development Fund of the University of London enabled the cataloguing of the rare books in the Durning-Lawrence Library, 2001-02. I am grateful to Professor John Flood for his advice concerning this article.