Shakespeare Matters

"The Voice of the Shakespeare Fellowship"

10:2 "Let me not to the marriage of true minds admit impediments..." Spring 2011

Sonnet 80, Marlowe, and *Hero and Leander*

by Richard M. Waugaman, M.D.

Nearly every line of Shakespeare's (de Vere's) Sonnet 80 echoes words and phrases in Christopher Marlowe's unfinished 1593 poem *Hero and Leander* (*HL*). I therefore believe Sonnet 80 was Shakespeare's reply to Marlowe's poem, and will examine parallels between them to document this contention. I agree with those who maintain that Marlowe was the controversial rival poet of Shakespeare's Sonnets. Taken separately, each allusion to *HL* in Sonnet 80 might be dismissed as merely coincidental. But the cumulative impact of these allusions supports my reading of Sonnet 80. I hope this study will re-awaken interest in *HL*. As Weaver observed of *HL*, "Mar-

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James Shapiro and the Sources of Literary Imagination

by Heward Wilkinson

In *Contested Will* James Shapiro emphasizes the bard's ordinariness and democratic good-fellowness, ostensibly making his writing more compatible not only with the world and life of William Shakespeare of Stratford but also with a populist need to recast him in the common mold. This emphasis links with Shapiro's related strategy of denying any profound autobiographical connections in great literature, in the name of defending "imagination."

Sadly, I believe that, insofar as this kind of argument is

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. . .But Not Shakespeare: Absence of Evidence Or Evidence of Absence?

by Alex McNeil

Anyone who studies the authorship question quickly learns of gaps in the life of William Shakspere of Stratford – places where we should expect to find traces of him but we don't. Many of these gaps or absences are well known; I put together a few lesser known ones for "Oxfordian Jeopardy!" a version of the popular TV game show customized for Oxfordian audiences. The category, ". . . But Not Shakespeare," was used at the 2007 Shakespeare Authorship Studies Conference at Concordia University in Portland.

Before we look at the first question (or "answer," actually; in *Jeopardy!* the contestants are shown the answer and have to supply the correct question[1]), let's review some of the better known evidentiary absences in the life of the Stratford man:

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Amazon Reviews: Is the Tide Shifting?

by Roger Stritmatter

According to Amazon.com, James Shapiro's *Contested Will* was published April 10, 2010 — 13 days before the official birthday of Shakespeare, and one day, measuring by Old Style, before the birthday of the 17th Earl of Oxford.

Irrepresssible Amazon reviewer Rob Hardy, writing on April 4, six days before the official release date, was the first to congratulate Shapiro on a job well done. Employing a favorite phrase from the Stratfordian lexicon, Hardy announced that (as Shapiro had undoubtedly proven) "There is no evidence that anyone in Shakespeare's time thought that the plays came from anyone else. In fact, it was only a couple of centuries after his death that doubters started piping up" (emphasis added).

Over the next few months a handful of anti-Stratfordian reviews were posted, but it is clear that the opinions expressed in

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Report of the Nominating Committee

In accordance with the Shakespeare Fellowship bylaws, the 2011 Nominating Committee has made the following nominations for office:

For three-year terms as Trustees (2011-2014) – Gary Goldstein, Thomas Regnier and Kathryn Sharpe.

For one-year term as President (2011-2012) – Earl Showerman.

Gary Goldstein is renominated for a second term. He is the managing editor of *Brief Chronicles,* the peer reviewed online journal published by the Shakespeare Fellowship. He is the former editor and publisher of *The Elizabethan Review,* a semi-annual peer reviewed journal published from 1993 to 1999 in print and from 1997 to 2001 on the Internet, focusing on the English Renaissance. In 2003-04 he served as editor of the quarterly *Shakespeare Oxford Society Newsletter*, and from 2004-07 he was a member of the Editorial Board of *The Oxfordian*, an annual journal on the Shakespeare Authorship Issue. He also edited the recently released Shakespeare studies text, *The Lame Storyteller, Poor and Despised* (Verlag Laugwitz, 2009), the collected Shakespeare papers of literary historian Peter Moore.

Tom Regnier is also renominated for a second term. An attorney, he now teaches at John Marshall School of Law and formerly served as judicial law clerk to the Honorable Harry Leinenweber in the U.S. District Court of the Northern District of Illinois. He received his Bachelor of Arts degree in English (Phi Beta Kappa) from Trinity College, Connecticut. He earned his Juris Doctor degree, *summa cum laude*, from the University of Miami School of Law, and his Master of Laws degree from Columbia Law School in New York, where he was a Harlan F. Stone Scholar. He previously served as an Assistant Public Defender, Appellate Division, in the 11th Judicial Circuit of Florida and clerked for the Honorable Melvia Green in the Third District Court of Appeal of Florida.

Kathryn Sharpe received a B.A. in Multimedia from the University of Washington (Seattle) in 1974. She worked in television news and fine art for several years before returning to the University of Washington, where she now serves as a senior communications specialist in Information Technology. A second generation Oxfordian, she is active in local Oxfordian activities in the Seattle area. In her spare time she paints watercolor landscapes of the Pacific Northwest.

Earl Showerman is nominated for a third term as President. He is a graduate of Harvard College and University of Michigan Medical School. A longtime patron of the Oregon Shakespeare Festival, after retiring from medicine in 2003, he enrolled at Southern Oregon University (SOU) to study Shakespeare and to pursue his decades-long love affair with the authorship question. In recent years he has presented a series of papers at Concordia University and the joint SF/SOS authorship conferences on the topic of Shakespeare's "Greater Greek."

If no other nominations are made, these four persons will be deemed elected to their offices at the Fellowship Annual Meeting, which will be held during this year's Joint Conference with the Shakespeare Oxford Society in October (see article in this issue). The bylaws provide that nominations may also be made by petition; any such nominations must be received by August 24, 2011. For information on making nominations by petition, contact Assistant Treasurer Richard Desper at the Shakespeare Fellowship, P.O. Box 421, Hudson MA 01749.

Finally, the Board of Trustees extends its gratitude to Ted Story, who will complete his term this year and who declined renomination. Ted is a founding trustee and past President of the Fellowship. Ted has spent a lifetime in the theater, and most recently collaborated with Hank Whittemore in writing "Shake-speare's Treason" and directed Whittemore's one-man stage presentation of it. Ted promises to remain active in the Oxfordian world.

The members of the Nominating Committee were trustees Alex McNeil and Ian Haste, and member Lynne Kositsky.

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The purpose of the Shakespeare Fellowship is to promote public awareness and acceptance of the authorship of the Shakespeare Canon by Edward de Vere, 17th Earl of Oxford (1550-1604), and further to encourage a high level of scholarly research and publication into all aspects of Shakespeare studies, and also into the history and culture of the Elizabethan era.

The Society was founded and incorporated in 2001 in the State of Massachusetts and is chartered under the membership corporation laws of that state. It is a recognized 501(c)(3) nonprofit (Fed ID 04-3578550).

Dues, grants and contributions are tax-deductible to the extent allowed by law.

Shakespeare Matters welcomes articles, essays, commentary, book reviews, letters and news items. Contributions should be reasonably concise and, when appropriate, validated by peer review. The views expressed by contributors do not necessarily reflect those of the Fellowship as a literary and educational organization.

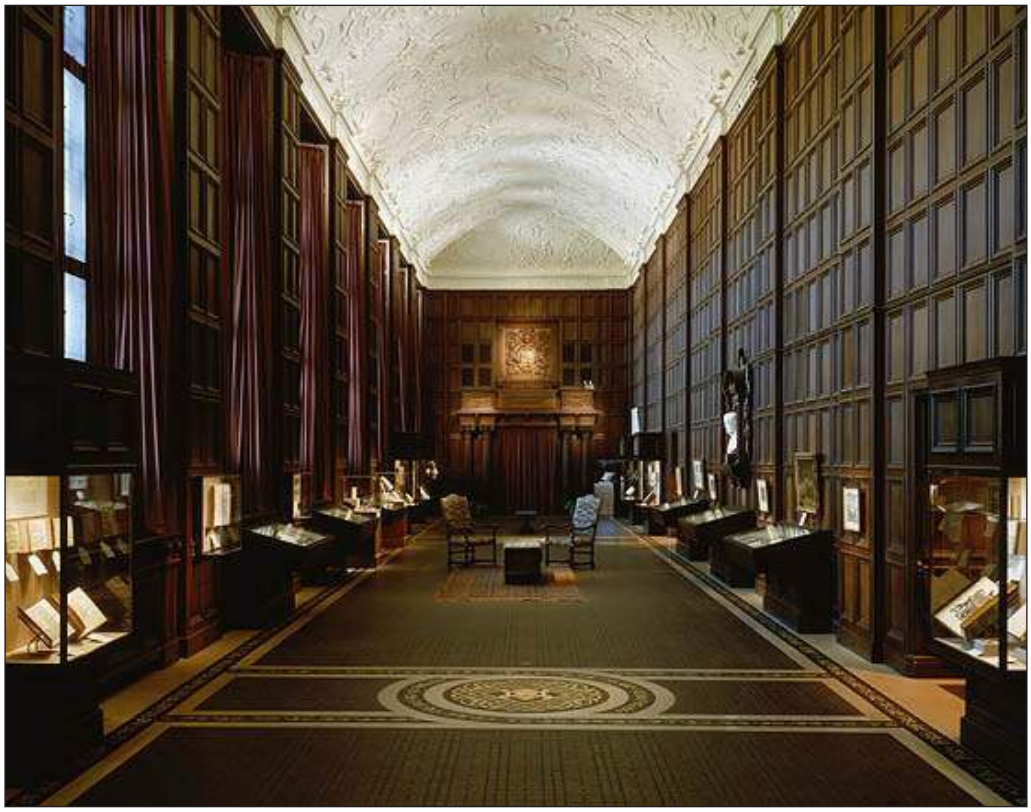
From a Never Writer to an Ever Reader: News...

2011 Joint Conference Scheduled for Washington DC

The 2011 joint authorship conference sponsored by the Shakespeare Oxford Society and the Shakespeare Fellowship will be held in Washington DC from October 13-16. Arrangements for a block of rooms at the Washington Court Hotel have been finalized. The program will include a tour of the Folger Library with a viewing and discussion of the Earl of Oxford's Geneva Bible. The SOS and SF are organizations dedicated to academic excellence, as defined through the independent scholarship of several generations of scholars, among them J.T. Looney, B.R. and B.M. Ward, Charles Wisner Barrell, Charlton Ogburn, Jr., Ruth Loyd Miller, and Mark Anderson, among others.

The primary focus of both organizations is to consider and advance the case already argued by these and other writers identifying Edward de Vere, 17th Earl of Oxford, as the true mind behind the mask of "Shakespeare." Although papers exploring alternative authorship theories (e.g., Mary Sidney, Francis Bacon, etc.) are welcome, presenters should bear in mind that conference attendees are for the most part well versed in the arguments for and against Oxford's authorship as presented in these seminal works. Those desiring an audience for alternative authorship scenarios, or writing from an orthodox "Stratfordian" perspective, should prepare themselves by carefully considering the expectations of their audience. Please weigh the arguments for Oxford's authorship and construct your own arguments in relationship to them.

Full details about the Conference, including information about accommodations, registration and presenting papers, may be found on the sponsoring organizations' web sites: www.shakespearefellowship.org and www.shakespeare-oxford.com.



The Great Hall of the Folger Shakespeare Library.

2011 Student Essay Contest Announced

The Shakespeare Fellowship and the Shakespeare Oxford Society are co-sponsoring the 2011 Essay Contest for secondary school students. A total of $3000 in prize money will be awarded. The contest is open to students throughout the world. Entries are due in December 2011, and the winners will be announced in the spring of 2012.

Complete details concerning eligibility, topic suggestions and submission requirements may be found on the organizations' web sites: www.shakespearefellowship.org and www.shakespeare-oxford.com. Special thanks goes to Fellowship Vice President Bonner Miller Cutting, who has

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spearheaded the effort to revive the contest. It is hoped that the contest will be especially popular this year, not only because of the cash prizes, but also because the fall 2011 release of Roland Emmerich's feature film, *Anonymous,* should help popularize the authorship issue among students (and hopefully among faculty, too).

Oregon High Schoolers Tackle Authorship Question

While Professor Shapiro is concerned over the fourth graders, authorship heresy continues to spread, unabated by professorial angst, within secondary education. With help and encouragement from Shakespeare Fellowship President Earl Showerman, students at New Urban High School in Milwaukie, Oregon, recently spent thee months examining the Shakespeare authorship question. Students in Anna Scarpino's English class read *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and *Hamlet*; heard an engaging lecture from Dr. Showerman; attended a production at the Portland Center Stage; and participated in "The Mystery of William Shakespeare: Who Was He – Really?" led by Dr. Daniel Wright, Director of the Shakespeare Authorship Research Centre at Concordia University, and by celebrated actor Michael Dunn.

At the end of the three-month study, students were required to write papers in response to the Shakespeare Authorship Coalition's "Declaration of Reasonable Doubt." Thanks to donations from Dr. Showerman and Fellowship Vice President Bonner Cutting, students had access to a comprehensive library of texts, articles and other resources to support their arguments. Ms. Scarpino reports that, although "a handful of students couldn't let go of the meritocratic dream, a new wave of young men and women are serious Shakespeare skeptics."

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Ms. Scarpino reports that, although "a handful of students couldn't let go of the meritocratic dream, a new wave of young men and women are serious Shakespeare skeptics." Or, as two students put it, "William Shakespeare . . . who is undoubtedly regarded as the greatest writer in the English language, may not be the man we thought he was" (Amanda Martin); "Are we buying that the great Shakespeare is the same man who could barely sign his own name? Poppycock, I say" (Skyler Barbee).

"I Am That I Am" Dated to 1578

Regular contributor Richard Waugaman reports finding what may be a previously unknown early modern use of the phrase "I am that I am." De Vere famously used those words in an angry postscript to his 1584 letter to Lord Burghley. He employed them again in Sonnet 121.

Oxfordians and Stratfordians alike have always assumed the Sonnet phrase is solely a biblical echo of Exodus 3:14. Katherine Duncan-Jones calls it "semi-blasphemous." Stephen Booth says the biblical echo "is unmistakably present and does make the speaker sound smug, presumptuous, and stupid."

In 1578, prayers written by Edward Dering (1540?-1576) were published. Here's the beginning of "A prayer to be said before the studying or reading of holy Scripture":

> O Heauenly Father, whatsoeuer I am, whatsoeuer I haue, whatsoeuer I know, it is only by thy free grace. For by nature I am the childe of wrath, and I am not borne a newe of fleshe and bloude, neither of the seede of man, or of the will of man. Fleshe and bloude cannot reueale the mysteries of thy Heauenly Kingdome vnto mee: but by thy blessed will *I am that I am*, and by the same knowe I that I knowe.

De Vere loved complexity and ambiguity. Now we know that "I am that I am" was spoken not only by God in Exodus, but also by the humble believer who recites this prayer. It deepens and expands the associations of this phrase.

Oxford's Motto Noted in Margin of 1602 Book

Jason Scott-Warren's 2001 book, *Sir John Harrington and the Book as Gift*, reports (at 161) that Archbishop Tobias Matthew wrote "Vero nihil verius" in the margin of Sir John Harrington's 1602 work, "A Tract on the Succession to the Crown." Scott-Warren believes the notation was made soon after the book appeared. The passage refers to William Rainolds

Students at New Urban High School in Milwaukie, Oregon, participated in a 3-month study of the authorship question.

having been Catholic when he was young, but later becoming a Protestant. The passage also contains the phrase "this Doctor now of Oxford." This may be one reason Matthew wrote the words of Edward de Vere's Latin motto in the margin here. He was possibly reminded that the Oxford too had shifted his religious position. Every occurrence of "Vero nihil verius" prior to 1606 in EEBO is connected with de Vere.

Further, one of the two 1606 uses of the phrase appears in Robert Fletcher's *The Nine English Worthies*. One of the "worthies" is de Vere's son, Henry. In his dedication, Fletcher writes that the sons of nobility should "direct your generous hearts to the studie of good literature... Remember, I beseech you, the Poesies borne in some of your honourable Ensignes [emblems, heraldic arms]; Vero nihil verius..." A wonderful allusion to the poetry and literature written by the 17th Earl of Oxford!

— Richard Waugaman

Authorship Discussed at Texas English Conference

Writing on the Oberon blog, Linda Theil reports an intriguing new development in authorship studies. At the March 2011 annual joint meeting of the Conference of College Teachers of English and the Texas College English Association, Professor Dale Priest of Lamar University in Beaumont, Texas, addressed the Shakespeare authorship question. A Lamar University press release reported that Priest earned special honors in being selected to speak at the association's breakfast and to select his topic: "What's in a Name? The Shakespeare Authorship Debate Revisited." Known as a Shakespeare scholar, Priest has been a member of the conference for more than 30 years.

When Theil asked Professor Priest why he chose that topic, he replied: "That controversy has been a favorite diversion for me ever since 1987, when I helped bring to our campus the satellite-TV coverage of the Supreme Court debate about that issue. That was interesting and fun. Justice Stevens — now retired — is a long-time Oxfordian in that battle. . . . (My paper) was well-received and we had a lively discussion afterward."

Dr. Priest is the author of a number of papers on Shakespearean topics, among them:

- "Katherina's Conversion in *The Taming of the Shrew:* A Theological Heuristic," in *Renascence: Essays on Values in Literature*, XLVII:1 (Fall, 1994), 31-40.
- "Oratio and Negotium: Manipulative Modes in As You Like It." *Studies in English Literature*, 1500-1900 28: 2 (spring 1988): 273-86.

The presentation was synopsized by a conference attendee, Dr. Suanna H. Davis, on her Teaching College English weblog in a March 9 post titled "TCEA: Breakfast — Reassessing Shakespeare."

Commenting on Priest's reference to the work of Roger

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Professor Dale Priest discusses authorship at the TCEA Conference.

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Stritmatter on the annotated Geneva Bible owned by Edward deVere, Davis wrote: "One-quarter of the (marked) Bible (verses) were direct references to Shakespeare's plays. Among them one-hundred Bible verses had not been previously noted by Shakespeare scholars. This is HUGE, to me. If one-hundred Bible verses were not previously noted, does that mean all the rest might also fit? I find this very persuasive."

Thanks again to Linda Theil for noting the Texas conference. Below is Roger Stritmatter's response to the question posed by Dr. Davis:

> Regrettably, the short answer is, "probably not." While there are doubtless a few remaining connections that might be traced between marked verses in the de Vere Bible and Shakespeare, I am confident that the vast majority of relevant verses have now been identified.
>
> This of course includes both the 141-143 verses documented in the prior research of Thomas Carter (1905) Richmond Noble (1935), Stephen Booth (1977), Peter Milward (1987), and Naseeb Shaheen (1989, 1991, 1993, 1999), and the 137 new verses identified in my 2001 University of Massachusetts PhD dissertation (quite a number of which have been validated in a series of articles published in *Notes and Queries* between 1991 and 2001).
>
> Most significantly, among this number are no less than 30 of 81 verses or groups of verses that Shakespeare alludes to four or more times. This topic has not yet received the notice it deserves, and further details are forthcoming.
>
> It is quite true that Dr. Richard Waugaman has recently added significant new examples confirming the powerful influence of the Psalms marked in the Sternhold and Hopkins edition of the metrical psalms bound with the de Vere Bible. The psalms, however, are special case; their length and complexity meant that it was impossible within the short compass of the few years allotted to the dissertation process to fully explore that dimension of the problem. I would not be surprised, moreover, if future study did not turn up a few more compelling links between marked verses and Shakespeare. But the number will probably be small.

Brief Chronicles vol. II Sent to History Professors

The second issue of *Brief Chronicles,* the peer reviewed journal launched by the Shakespeare Fellowship in 2009, has been sent to 725 members of the American Historical Association teaching Early Modern European History at US universities, with an invitation to help resolve the Shakespeare Authorship Question. Last year, the inaugural issue was sent to selected university English department academics. Recognizing that the question is really an interdisciplinary one, the journal editors, with the approval of the Fellowship trustees, decided to approach history departments this time.

"Very few academic historians have written about the Shakespearean Question," said Professor Roger Stritmatter of Coppin State University, general editor of *Brief Chronicles*. "We find this situation unfortunate because the issue of who wrote Shakespeare's works is as much historical as it is literary, and the required investigation raises basic questions of epistemology and method requiring collaboration between historians and literary scholars. We therefore believe that early modern historians are qualified by training to make a significant contribution to the exploration of this question, which is so central to the self-conception of Anglo-American culture."

Commenting further on the historical William Shakespeare, Gary Goldstein, the journal's managing editor, noted that he "almost certainly lacked the experience required by the author of the works—travel to Italy, ability to read the known sources of his plays in French, Italian and Spanish, knowledge about astronomy, falconry, horticulture and law, as well as pursuit of a joint career as actor and prolific playwright."

Volume II was originally published as a free online journal in the fall of 2010. But, thanks to the generosity of many Shakespeare Fellowship members, funds were raised to print about 1000 hard copies, of which 725 were mailed to the AHA list. The hard copy edition differs slightly from the original online version, as it includes an additional book review and several letters. Both versions are available free of charge at the web site www.briefchronicles.com. Hard copies are available for $20 postpaid ($25 outside the US). Contact Richard Desper at shakespearefellowshipadmin@gmail.com.

Over 2,000 sign Declaration of Reasonable Doubt

The Shakespeare Authorship Coalition (SAC) now has 2,010 signatories to its **Declaration of Reasonable Doubt about the Identity of William Shakespeare**, launched in April of 2007. SAC executive director John Shahan notes that the pace of signatures "has clearly picked up since the addition of the Keir Cutler video plus an audio recording of Michael York reading the Declaration," outreach made possible through a grant awarded by the Shakespeare Fellowship. In a recent press release, Shahan thanks both York and Cutler, and also Hanno Wember and the *Neue Shake-speare Gesellschaft*, who recruited a dozen new signatories during the period.

It is difficult to say when such a tipping point might be reached, but a major contribution of the Declaration is likely to be that it contradicts the Stratfordian narrative about doubters. The clear implication of Shapiro's book, for example, is that authorship doubters are all defective in some way. Beneath its thin veneer of civility, it is an extended ad hominem attack on all doubters. Another example of this Stratfordian narrative is the claim on the website of the Shakespeare Birthplace Trust in Stratford that "The phenomenon of disbelief in Shakespeare's authorship is a psychological aberration of considerable interest." They then offer some examples of this alleged psychological aberration, including "even certifiable madness (as in the sad case of Delia Bacon.

Shahan notes that the signatories are a very well-educated group – much more so than the general population. Nearly 79% are college graduates, and 725 (36%) have advanced degrees – 312 doctorates and 413 master's degrees. A total of 354 (18%) indicated that they are current or former college/university faculty members. In a category by themselves, there are the 24 prominent signatories on the Declaration's notables list.

Among college graduates and current/former faculty, the largest number indicated that their field was English literature (403, 25%), followed by theater arts (203, 13%). One would not find that a large proportion of those expressing doubt about evolution are biology majors, or that a large proportion of those who express doubt about the Holocaust are history majors; but one does find that the largest proportions expressing doubt about Shakespeare's authorship are from the two fields that deal with him most directly.

Shahan responded to the description of the Declaration as a "petition" in James Shapiro's book *Contested Will*, pointing out that a declaration is not a petition. The Declaration of Reasonable Doubt is exactly what its title says it is – a declaration. It is addressed to "Shakespeare lovers everywhere," and it asks nothing of any authority. If the goal had been to maximize the number of signatories, explained Shahan, "we would not have written a 3,000-word declaration that can take over 25 minutes to read, and another 3-5 minutes to sign. We would have written a short request, and used some existing online petition service. The main reason why we took a different route is that, as stated on the SAC website home page, the Declaration was written 'not just to advocate, but also to educate the public...'"

There is no point, continued Shahan, asking people to sign a petition about something they do not understand. SAC has said that it hoped thousands would sign the Declaration and millions would read it, and is well along toward achieving both of these intermediate objectives. But, says Shahan, they've always also said that their main goal is to "legitimize the authorship issue in academia" by the 400th anniversary of the death of William of Stratford on April 23, 2016. There's no magic number of signatories that will accomplish this. Nor is the declaration the only means, nor even quite possibly a very important one, by which it will be achieved. Rather than a slow, steady accumulation of doubters, we may reach a tipping point where some newly-discovered evidence makes it virtually impossible to remain in denial, and even orthodox scholars suddenly notice that the emperor isn't wearing any clothes.

It is difficult to say when such a tipping point might be reached, but a major contribution of the Declaration is likely to be that it contradicts the Stratfordian narrative about doubters. The clear implication of Shapiro's book, for example, is that authorship doubters are all defective in some way. Beneath its thin veneer of civility, it is an extended ad hominem attack on all doubters. Another example of this Stratfordian narrative is the claim on the website of the Shakespeare Birthplace Trust in Stratford that "The phenomenon of disbelief in Shakespeare's authorship is a psychological aberration of considerable interest." They then offer some examples of this alleged psychological aberration, including "even certifiable madness (as in the sad case of Delia Bacon...)"

Most people can see that such claims are not credible, once it's pointed out; but they have the desired effect. The issue is stigmatized. But there may come a time when people take another look, and see that it makes no sense to think that all of the many outstanding people who have expressed doubt are "defec-

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Mark Anderson, Cheryl Eagan-Donovan, and Alex McNeil at the recent Boston "Oberon" Fundraiser.

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tive." If that day comes, those who have made such claims will have much to answer for.

Meanwhile, continue to call attention to the Declaration and Keir Cutler's video. There's safety in numbers, and prominent people, especially, like to be in good company. If there is any significance to going over 2,000, it most likely has something to do with that.

Authorship Events in Cambridge, MA

Two Oxfordian events recently took place in Cambridge, MA. On April 13, several dozen persons attended "Carnivale in Venice" at Oberon, a club (and an appropriately named one!) located close to the Harvard campus. The event, which included a silent auction, was a fundraiser for filmmaker Cheryl Eagan-Donovan, who aims to complete the filming of her documentary film, *Nothing Truer Than Truth,* based on Mark Anderson's book, *Shakespeare by Another Name*. Eagan-Donovan and her camera operator headed for Venice, Verona and Padua in May 2011. Several of the partygoers came in medieval costumes and masks. Music was supplied by DJ Jesse Kaminsky of local radio station WMBR, who played contemporary Italian pop tunes, and a live set was performed by Boston's The Upper Crust, a rock band whose members dress as seventeenth-century British fops. The Upper Crust announced themselves as Oxfordians, quite possibly making them the first pop group to have taken a position on the authorship question.

On May 6, about thirty local Oxfordians gathered for dinner at the Elephant Walk restaurant, also in Cambridge. This was an attempt to revive what had been an annual event during the 1990s of marking the birthday of Edward de Vere. It provided a great opportunity for veteran Oxfordians to catch up with one another, and to welcome several persons who were new to the issue. There was no keynote speaker, although Laura Wilson Matthias spoke about the upcoming film, *Anonymous*, attempting to dispel some rumors which have arisen well before its scheduled premiere in September. Matthias has seen the completed film, but was bound by a non-disclosure agreement not to discuss plot details. She emphasized that director Roland Emmerich's aim is to entertain audiences by presenting "a story" about the Shakespeare authorship issue, not "the story" about the issue.

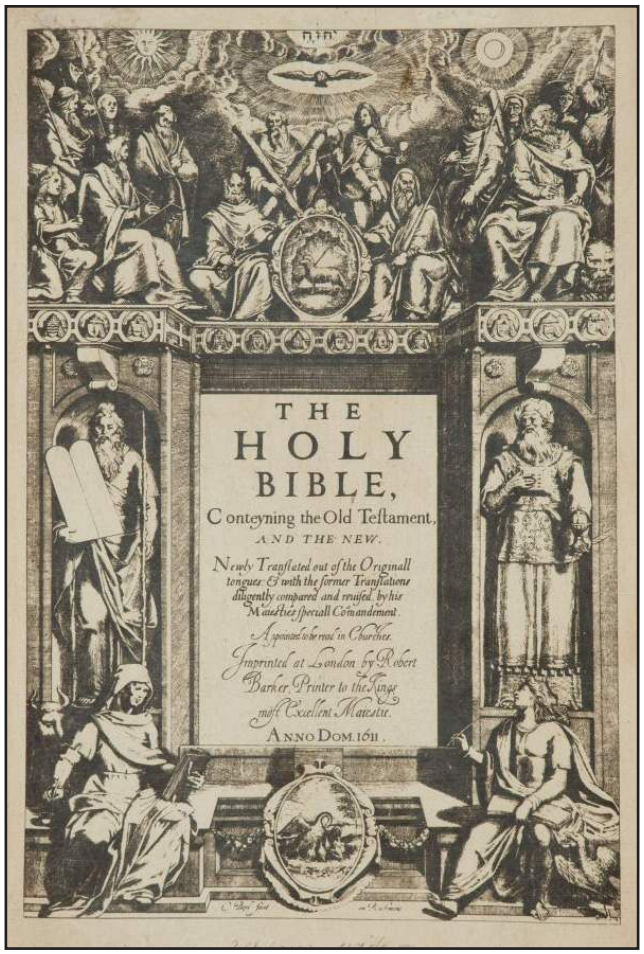
Oxford and the King James Bible

by Paul Streitz

According to established history, Edward de Vere, 17th Earl of Oxford, died June 24, 1604. That date is agreed upon by both Oxfordian scholars, who believe he was the author "William Shakespeare," and by Stratfordian scholars, who support the man from Stratford-upon-Avon as the author. Supporting this date is an entry in the register at the Church of St. Augustine in Hackney with an annotation that he died of the plague.

However, Paul Altrocchi[1] asserts that Oxford could not have died of the plague. Christopher Paul[2] states that it is not certain where or when Oxford died, and notes that not until January 29, 1608, is there any reference to Oxford being dead: "the daughters of the late Earl of Oxford." [3] He is never referred to in any of the letters before this date as being dead, according to Paul.

Oxford left no will, or at least no will was ever entered into probate. This seems odd for a nobleman trained in law at Gray's Inn, who served as a juror on the trial of Mary Queen of Scots, and whose works abound with legal references and display an in-depth knowledge of the law. With three daughters, one legitimate and one acknowledged illegitimate son, it would seem reasonable to assume that he would not leave his final affairs on Earth in such an untidy mess.



Title page of 1611 King James Bible.

Oxfordians often make the case that the man from Stratford-upon-Avon could not be the author "William Shakespeare" because there were no eulogies upon his death in 1616. Yet, the same can be said about the Earl of Oxford, if his death occurred in 1604. There were no eulogies written by any contemporaries, nor were there any public ceremonies or known burial. From all accounts, Oxford was in the good graces of King James and as a minimum he had retained the honorary title of Lord Great Chamberlain. The lack of a public ceremony is inexplicable.

A more probable theory is that Oxford did not die in 1604. Rather he was exiled (forcibly or perhaps not forcibly) and died in 1607 or early 1608. He simply disappeared on June 24, 1604, and the forces arrayed against him, led by Sir Robert Cecil, kept him in seclusion.

John Barton[4] makes a strong case that the island described in *The Tempest* is the Isle of Mersea, a cold, flat windswept island off the eastern coast of England near Chelmsford. It is located about fourteen miles east of Oxford's Castle Hedingham. Barton himself was born on Mersea and says he lived in a house on Mill Road "called the Oxford house (no idea why)." This may lead to a conclusion that Oxford was forced into exile on the Isle of Mersea or in the Essex Hedingham area, and he may have used Mersea as his metaphorical place of imprisonment in *The Tempest*. If he were exiled close to Hedingham, he could still maintain contact, if not live with, his wife and other close relatives and companions.

An imposed or self-imposed exile may have not been particularly objectionable to the Earl of Oxford. The reign of the Tudors was over, Oxford had stopped using his "Edward VII" signature and he could contribute little to the political or theatrical life of the new reign. The facts known about the writing of the King James Version of the Bible fit such a scenario, with Oxford continuing to work for another four years, creating the KJV, *The Tempest* and *Shake-speares Sonnets*.

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(KJV, cont. from p. 8)

In 1609, Oxford's recent death was trumpeted by the publication of *Shake-speares Sonnets*, which lauds the "ever-living" poet. In 1611, *The Tempest* was performed and the KJV was printed and sold. Oxford chronicled his life in his plays and poems. It is unlikely that he would not chronicle his final act. *The Tempest* certainly ruminates on a wise king's loss of power to someone less intelligent and completely amoral, which describes Robert Cecil's usurpation of the throne and his likely exiling of Oxford in 1604. *The Tempest* even includes a brief description of what Oxford was allowed to take to the island.

> Knowing I loved my books, he furnish'd me
> From mine own library with volumes that
> I prize above my dukedom.

On July 22, 1604, the King wrote to the Bishop of London ordering him to begin the work on such a Bible. (This is shortly after Oxford's death/disappearance.) A committee of fifty-four learned men was to work on the project, subdivided into six committees of nine men each. Two committees were at Oxford, two at Cambridge and two at Westminster. The names of fifty of the fifty-four men are known.

The Problem of the King James Version of the Holy Bible

The King James Version presents much the same problem of attribution as does the Shakespeare authorship problem. There is a long record of attributing it to a group of scholars appointed by King James in 1604. However, as with Shakespeare, problems emerge as soon as one looks closely at the historical record. As with the man from Stratford, there is little evidence that any of the men assigned to work on the KJV had any literary talents whatsoever, yet it is one of the finest pieces of literature in the English language. As with the account of the man from Stratford, the account of the work of the committee assigned to the KJV is quite mysterious. There are no records of meeting or of correspondence among the various members. There are no records or notes of the work they did in developing the KJV. Further, the KJV appears to be the product of one steady, very artistic hand. If the work were collaborative, one would expect to find differences in style between the parts assigned to various groups, but no such variations exist.

This has led to the theory of the "hidden genius" to account for the stylistic unity of the KJV, but, as noted, no member of the group assigned to the task had any literary talent; the hidden genius theory founders on the lack of a candidate.

To be sure, scholars have frequently noted the similarity between the KJV and the works of William Shakespeare, but none has suggested that the man from Stratford-upon-Avon had anything to do with the KJV. Oxfordian scholars have not offered him as a candidate for authorship of the KJV because they believe he died in 1604, seven years before its publication.

The Historical Record[5]

At the Hampton Court Conference in January 1604, Dr. John Reynolds suggested to King James that a new translation of the Bible was necessary to remedy the errors in previous versions printed during the reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI. The two most popular Bibles of the time were the Bishop's Bible, published during the reign of Edward VI, and the Geneva Bible, published in 1566. A copy of the latter Bible was owned and annotated by Edward de Vere, 17th Earl of Oxford.

On July 22, 1604, the King wrote to the Bishop of London ordering him to begin the work on such a Bible. (This is shortly after Oxford's death/disappearance.) A committee of fifty-four learned men was to work on the project, subdivided into six committees of nine men each. Two committees were at Oxford, two at Cambridge and two at Westminster. The names of fifty of the fifty-four men are known. A set of rules was established for the translation, which prescribed such things as its purpose, the names to be used and the use of footnotes and margin notes. The project did not seem to get started until 1607, a delay of almost three years. H. Wheeler Robinson reports in *The Bible In Its Ancient and English Versions* that Dr. Samuel Ward wrote a summary of the work, with these details:

> After each section had finished its task twelve delegates, chosen from them all, met together and reviewed and revised the whole work.
> Lastly the very Reverend the Bishop of Winchester, Bilson, together with Dr. Smith, now Bishop of Gloucester, a distinguished man, who had been deeply occupied in the whole work from the beginning, after all things had been maturely weighed and examined, put the finishing touch to this version.[6]

Ward further reported that the object was not to create a new Bible, but to remove errors from the older translation: "In the first place caution was given that an entirely new version was not be furnished, but an old version, long received by the Church, to be purged from all blemishes and faults."[7]

The result of this injunction was that the new version, officially named the *King James Authorized Version*, was stylistically very similar to the preceding English versions. In addition, the rules prescribed that if certain words were subject to interpretation, one interpretation would appear in the text and the other

would be in the margin of the work. Wheeler states that there were no notes or correspondence between the various translation groups, nothing is known about the procedures of the committee and nothing is known about how the final revision was completed. None of the manuscripts of the finished version seemed to have survived. Wheeler gives further details of the actual printing of the KJV from Dr. Anthony Walker's book on the life of Dr. John Bois:

> Four years were spent in this first service; at the end whereof the whole work being finished, & three copies of the whole Bible sent from Cambridge, Oxford & Westminster, to London; a new choice was to be made of six in all, two out of every company, to review the whole work; & extract one out of all three, to be committed to the presse.
> For the dispatch of which business Mr. Downes & Mr. Bois were sent for up to London. Where (though Mr. Downes would not go till he was either fetcht or threatened with a pursivant) their four fellow labourers, they went dayly to Stationers Hall, & in three quarters of a year, finished their task.[8]

The first edition of the KJV contains a "Preface of the Translators" written by Dr. Miles Smith, wherein he states the intention of the translators:

> Wee never thought from the beginning, that we should neede to make a new Translation, nor yet to make of a bad one a good one…but to make a good one better, or out of many good ones, one principall good one.[9]

Olga Opfell's book, *The King James Bible Translators*, is a detailed history of the KJV, written with the assumption that it was the work of a committee, even though she is well aware that committees seldom produce anything with style and grace. She starts by stating that the dean of Westminster, Lancelot Andrewes, was to lead the group at Westminster: "James named the scholarly dean of Westminster, Lancelot Andrewes first of all to the group of learned men who were to make a new translation of the Bible. Andrewes suggested other scholars and assisted in the preliminary arrangements."[10]

She proceeds to describe the translation of the KJV:

> The first Westminster group reportedly met in the famous Jerusalem Chamber, which was part of the original Abbey House and used for meetings of the dean and chapter…. The Abbey library has been suggested as a likely meeting site although it may not have been properly fitted up at the time…. Here he lived the greater part of the time, and perhaps the scholars held some meetings within its rooms. Collaborating with Andrewes on the Bible task was another dean and a special friend...[11] (Italics added).

A close read reveals much speculation. Opfell presents no evidence that anything was actually translated at Westminster, but the enormous detail makes it appear otherwise. Opfell never tells us who is reporting that the group met. Is it a modern-day scholar or a person of the time? "Reportedly" adds a distinct note of doubt to the whole business. In the final sentence, "collaborating with Andrewes" is pure speculation. She has not shown that such a group ever met or produced a page of the KJV. She is merely accepting the traditional view and embroidering it with detail.

The primary source document quoted by Opfell and others is the biography of John Bois, written by his friend Anthony Walker. That account was written years after the printing and, although there are some notes by John Bois, they seem to be of the early stages of the translation. Gustavus S. Paine asks the following question in *The Learned Men:* "But are there any other such notes about the making of a true world masterpiece? Why should these have survived when we have nothing comparable from Shakespeare?"[12]

It is certain that Robert Barker was the printer of the KJV. The only clue about the manuscript seems to be that in 1660, a pamphlet was published in London stating that printers "had obtained the manuscript copy of the Holy Bible."[13] The manuscript, says Opfell, was never heard of again. But this is the crux of the mystery. With over fifty scholars working over several years, there are no manuscripts, correspondence or detailed notes. One would imagine that such a project would have involved extensive communication and review among the scholars, but nothing seems to exist. As mentioned, the biography of Dr. John Bois reports that he stated copies had been made of the scholars' manuscripts, but that remark was made seven years after the printing of the KJV.

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(Continued on p. 12)

(KJV, cont. from p. 11)

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Despite these assertions about the work of the committee, suspicions emerged:

As some historians of science have pointed out, anomalous evidence—the stuff that supposedly spawns most scientific revolutions—is usually recognized as anomalous only after the fact. The human mind finds it much easier to assimilate facts into existing cognitive structures than to accommodate these structures to anomalous findings. The history of science is replete with evidence that confirms the observation that most scientists resist innovation.

> ...that a committee of forty-seven should have captured (or even, let us say, should have retained and improved) a rhythm so personal, so constant, that our Bible has the voice of one author speaking through its many mouths; that is a wonder before which I can only stand humble and aghast.[14]

Or:

> It is a miracle and a mystery, since group writing seldom achieves great heights. Individual writings of the committeemen show no trace of the magnificent style... Though their work was a revision, which represented a long evolutionary progress, it was also creation. Not all the pages were of equal literary value, but over all the result was stunning….To this day its common expressions—labour of love, lick the dust, clear as crystal, a thorn in the flesh, a soft answer, the root of all evil, the fat of the land, the sweat of thy brow, the shadow of death—are heard in everyday speech.[15]

Or:

> Perhaps the greatest of literary mysteries lies in the unanswered question of how fifty-four translators managed to infuse their work with a unity of effect which seems the result of one inspired imagination. The mystery will never be solved; but the perfect choice throughout of current English words, the rhythmic fall of phrase and clause, the unfailing escape from the heavy and sometimes pompous renderings of the older translations, remain.[16]

The historical record, while leaving interesting gaps, is not overly suspicious in and of itself. It seems far more likely that a group of translator-editors might make the additions and changes than that a rural youth might turn into Shakespeare. On the other hand, a close student of history should be very suspicious of such anomalies:

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It is useful to compare the questions surrounding the King James Version of the Bible with the origins of the questions about the authorship of the Shakespeare canon. The Shakespeare authorship controversy arose not because of a lack of belief in the historical record that the man from Stratford was the author. The few historical facts that existed pointed in the direction of William Shakspere from Stratford-upon-Avon, and historians and literary scholars proceeded to fill in the blanks with conjecture. It was Delia Bacon's "literary suspicions" that first put doubt in the Stratfordian theory of authorship. Her book, *The Philosophy of the Plays of Shakspere Unfolded*, astutely pointed out that the plays were written from the point of view of someone inside the moat, not outside. In the same manner, J. Thomas Looney was deeply suspicious that the man from Stratford would have the intimate knowledge of the court that was displayed in Shakespeare's works. To Looney, the biography of the author as revealed through the works and that of the man from Stratford did not match up, and he proceeded to search for someone whose biography did match the works.

The translation issue of the King James Version of the English Bible arises because the historical record is (as with Shakespeare) so fragmentary, because the literary quality of the KJV is beyond the capability of any individual known to have been involved with it, and because it is not possible for a committee to have been able to produce such a stylistically integrated work. The similar-

ity between the KJV and Shakespeare has not gone unnoticed. According to Wheeler H. Robinson:

> *The Authorized Version* is a miracle and a landmark. Its felicities are manifold, its music has entered into the very blood and marrow of English thought and speech, it has given countless proverbs and proverbial phrases even to the unlearned and the irreligious. There is no corner of English life, no conversation ribald or reverent it has not adorned. Embedded in its tercentenary wording is the language of a century earlier. It has both broadened and retarded the stream of English Speech. It is more archaic in places than its forerunners, and it is impossible for us to disentangle from our ordinary talk the phrases of Judea, whether Hebrew or Greek, whether of the Patriarchs, the Prophets, the Poets, or the Apostles. Only the closest scrutiny can give precision to the rhapsodical vagueness with which the Authorized Version is worshipped at a distance.[18]

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How did this come to be? How to explain that fifty or more men, none a genius, none even as great a writer as Marlowe or Ben Jonson, together produced writing to be compared with (and confused with) the words of Shakespeare?[19]

Mary Ellen Chase in her book *The Bible and the Common Reader* gives these as examples of the differences between the KJV and the earlier Bibles. In these examples, the literary quality in the Geneva Bible seems strong, Bishops Bible is more pedantic and the quality blooms even greater in the KJV.

Geneva: When the stars of the morning praised me together, and all the children of God rejoiced.

Bishops: When the morning stars praised me together, and all the children of God rejoiced triumphantly.

KJV: When the morning stars sang together, and all the children of God rejoiced triumphantly.

Geneva: They shall break their swords also into mattocks, and their spears into scythes; nation shall not lift up a sword against nation, neither shall they learn to fight any more.

Bishops: They shall break their swords into mattocks, and their spears to make scythes: And one people shall not lift up a weapon against another, neither shall they learn to fight from thenceforth.

KJV: They shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruning hooks: nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more.

The KJV has gone through many reprintings, corrections and language updates. As a consequence, as with Shakespeare's works, there exist substantial differences between the original and subsequent versions. This does not change the literary quality of the KJV, but it is an issue, as would be changing the text of a Shakespeare play. Here is the KJV with the original words and spellings:

they shall beate their swords into plow-shares, and their speares into pruning hookes: [Or, sythes] nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learne warre any more.[20] [21]

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The KJV was the authoritative source for laymen and scholars, so the original editions included insertions of alternate words, illuminating comments as to sources and meanings, and comparisons to other Bibles. Over the years, these were dropped.

When I was a childe, I spake as a childe, I understood as a childe, I thought [Or, reasoned] as a child: but when I became a man, I put away childish things. For now we see through a glasse, darkely: [Gr. in a riddle] but then face to face: now I know

(Contintued on p. 14)

(KJV, cont. from p. 13)

in part, but then shall I know even as also I am knowen.[22]

Charles Butterworth notes in his *Literary Lineage of the King James Bible* that the translation even changes to match the tonality of the passage. He notes where two identical passages in the original

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This rejection of the Genevan reading is characteristic of the whole treatment of the Psalms in this respect. A fundamental revision and often a completely new translation was made, there are enormous differences from the Geneva, though the reading of the Geneva is often transferred to the margin. There are very many marginal notes from the Hebrew, as though a serious attempt was made to supply the materials for a correct rendering in accordance with the original...

Hebrew text are rendered with different tempo and rhythm in the KJV.

In chapter 35 the verse is rendered:

> (10) And the ransomed of the lord shall returne and come to Zion with songs, and everlasting joy upon their heads: they shall obtaine joy and gladnesse, and sorrow and sighing shall flee away.

In chapter 51 the same text is translated:

> (11) Therefore the redeemed of the Lord shall returne, and come with singing unto Zion, and everlasting joy shal be upon their head: they shall obtaine gladnesse and joy, and sorrow and morning shall flee away.

Each of these is beautiful in itself. Obviously, there was no intentional difference in the meaning between them, since both are translations of the same Hebrew words; yet there are noticeable differences in their literary effect. The first is light and musical; the second is slower and more eloquent. Is the distinction accidental? No, the style of each seems to harmonize to harmonize with the tone of its surrounding ideas.[23]

Oxford, in his Latin dedication to Bartholomew Clerke's translation of *The Courtier*, makes a similar observation about tonality:

> If weighty matters are under consideration, he unfolds his theme in a solemn and majestic rhythm; if the subject is familiar and facetious, he makes use of words that are witty and amusing.[24]

Robinson was aware of the significant differences that exist between versions of the Bibles and that the final product is not an amalgam of the prior versions:

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Robinson notes the quality of the phrasings of the KJV and its poetic quality:

> …the final wording is the English wording of the revisers, and the final music is the result of sure instinct working subtly on the vast and various material offered. An excellent instance of this subtlety is Prov. iii. 17, wherein Coverdale, the Great Bible and the Bishops agree in reading
>
> Her wayes are pleasant wayes and all her paths are peaceable.

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The Geneva has:

> Her wayes are wayes of pleasure and all her paths prosperie.

The Authorized Version takes these, turns back to the Hebrew text more accurately than the others, adds a music of alliteration and tactful balance which gives the final version a perfect melody in

> Her wayes are wayes of pleasantnesse, and all her pathes are peace.[26]

As future Oxfordian scholars descend on the KJV with an eye to determining what Oxford wrote, they will find not all

the brilliance is from his pen. Olga Opfell credits the previous translation of the Bible by Miles Coverdale with some of the KJV's most memorable passages. The Coverdale version preceded both the Bishop's Bible and the Geneva Bible.

More often Coverdale, acutely sensitive to rhythm and beauty, produced such memorable phrases as "the valley of the shadow of death" in Psalm 23. He had a great talent for word linkings—loving kindness, tender mercy, morning star, and blood gultiness originated with his pen.[27]

In passing from the Coverdale Bible to the Bishop's Bible, the Geneva Bible and finally to the KJV, some of the poetry of the Coverdale version has been lost. In my opinion there are several instances where the verse of Coverdale version is superior in wording and style to the KJV. In Judges 15:16 the Coverdale version is dramatic, emphasizing what Sampson did, "yea even with the cheek bone of an ass." The Geneva muddles this with "heaps upon heaps," which is unfortunately retained by the KJV.

Coverdale: And Samson said: With an old ass's cheek bone, yea even with the cheek bone of an ass have I slain a thousand men.

Geneva: Then Samson said, With the jaw of an ass are heaps upon heaps; with the jaw of ass have I slain a thousand men.

KJV: And Samson said, With the jawbone of an ass, heaps upon heaps, with the jaw of an ass have I slain a thousand men.

In some instances there is a loss of meaning from the Coverdale to the Geneva not corrected in the KJV. In Deuteronomy 24:5 a man is excused from military duty so that he may sleep with his wife, and presumably procreate. The sense of this is lost by the KJV.

Coverdale: When a man hath newly taken a wife, he shall not go out a warfare, neither shall he be charged withwithal. He shall be free in his house one year long, that he may be merry with his wife which he hath taken.

Geneva: When a man taketh a new wife, he shall not go a warfare, neither shall he be charged with any business, but shall be free at home one year, and rejoice with his wife which he hath taken
.

KJV: When a man hath taken a new wife, he shall not go out to war, neither shall he be charged with any business; but he shall be free at home one year, and shall cheer up his wife which he hath taken.

Bringing cryptograms and word placement into any discussion of Shakespeare or authorship is always a tricky issue. The Psalms are the section of the Bible that is closest to *Shake-speares Sonnets* and closely match the Sonnets in poetic beauty. Psalm 46 contains something interesting. In the KJV the 46th word from the beginning is "shake" and the 46th word from the last (ignoring the exclamation) is "spear." Is this a coincidence?

Finally, here is an example where the poetic sense is lost from Coverdale to the KJV. In the Coverdale, the author keeps the metaphor of the flower blooming and fading as a natural occurrence of life, whereas the KJV makes it more dramatic that the flower is "cut down." However, this loses the sense of naturalness. Consider Job 14:1-2:

Coverdale: Man that is born of a woman hath but a short time to live and is full of diverse miseries. He cometh up and falleth away like a flower.

KJV: Man that is born of a woman is of few days, and full of trouble. He cometh forth like a flower, and is cut down.

Oxford made significant changes from the Geneva Bible to the KJV that improved the quality of the reading. It does not appear, however, that Oxford had the Coverdale Bible available to him because, in some instances, the Coverdale Bible has the more poetic reading of the lines.

Bringing cryptograms and word placement into any discussion of Shakespeare or authorship is always a tricky issue. The Psalms are the section of the Bible that is closest to *Shake-speares Sonnets* and closely match the Sonnets in poetic beauty. Psalm 46 contains something interesting. In the KJV the *46th* word from the beginning is "shake" and the *46th* word from the last (ignoring the exclamation) is "spear." Is this a coincidence?

1. GOD is our refuge and strength: a very present helpe in trouble.
2. Therefore will not we feare, though the earth be removed: and though the mountaines be carried into the midst of the sea;
3. Though the waters thereof roare, and be troubled, though the mountaines ***shake*** with the swelling thereof. Selah.
4. There is a river, the streames whereof shall make glad the citie of God: the holy place of the Tabernacles of the most High.
5. God is in the midst of her: she shall not be moved; God shall helpe her, and that right early.
6. The heathen raged, the kingdomes were mooved: he uttered his voyce, the earth melted.
7. The Lord of hosts is with us; the God of Jacob is our refuge. Selah.
8. Come, behold the workes of the Lord, what desolations hee hath made in the earth.

(Contintued on p. 16)

(KJV Cont. from p. 15)

9. He maketh wars to cease unto the end of the earth; hee breaketh the bow, and cutteth the ***speare*** in sunder; he burneth the chariot in the fire.
10. Be stil, and know that I am God: I will be exalted among the heathen, I will be exalted in the earth.
11. The Lord of hosts is with us; the God of Jacob is our refuge. Selah.

Here is Oxford in *The Merchant of Venice*:

Portia. The quality of mercy is not strain'd,
It droppeth as the gentle rain from heaven,
Upon the place beneath: it is twice blest;
It blesseth him that gives and him that takes:
'Tis mightiest in the mightiest: it becomes
The throned monarch better than his crown...

Charles Butterworth estimates that approximately 40% of the KJV is new or altered material that differs significantly from previous English Bibles. Even if we knew nothing of Oxford as Shakespeare, we would conclude that he would be more than qualified as a poet. His deep interest in the Bible is illustrated by his annotated copy of his Geneva Bible kept in the Shakespeare Folger Library in Washington, DC. Roger Stritmatter's *The Marginalia of Edward de Vere's Geneva Bible* shows the correspondence between the underlinings, notes and miscellaneous marks in Oxford's hand that correspond to the most frequently alluded-to Biblical passages in the works of Shakespeare. In addition to Oxford's knowledge of Latin and Italian, he also had knowledge of Greek, and, Stritmatter suggests, perhaps some knowledge of Hebrew. In short, Oxford possessed the qualifications and the ability to produce such a magnificent literary and religious document.

What Oxford did with the KJV was similar to his translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* from Latin to English, which involved taking the sparse Latin and turning it into rhymed couplets of fourteen syllables. Oxford's[28] "translation" was about 30% longer than Ovid's original. Similarly, the KJV is of such singular and exquisite beauty, it might be better described as The English Bible as Interpreted by the Earl of Oxford. There does not seem to be an exact word to describe what Oxford did with the Bible. He did not write it, of course, because it had already been written, nor did he translate it because it had been translated into Greek, Latin and English from the Hebrew. However, Oxford did more than simply edit other people's translations because he added his creativity and phrasings; whatever it can be called, Oxford made a contribution as significant to the Western world as he had done with his works under the name of William Shakespeare.

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Conclusion

Moving the date of Oxford's death from June 24, 1604, until late 1607 or early 1608 solves several historical and literary problems. First, it resolves the mystery surrounding Oxford's death: why there was no funeral, why there were no elegies, why there was no will and why there was no mention of his death in the few letters about him between mid-1604 and 1607. Second, it is also consistent with the political currents of the time wherein Sir Robert Cecil wanted to keep Oxford as far away from King James as possible. Third, it resolves the problems associated with *The Tempest*. The play was not set on some Caribbean island as is commonly thought, even though there is nothing in the physical description in the play that would lead one to believe this is an island in the southern latitudes. If indeed Mersea is the model for Prospero's island, it provides a possible post-1604 link to Oxford. Fourth, a later death date also gives Oxford sufficient time to write *Shakespeares Sonnets*, a work that chronicles the last days of the Elizabethan reign.

And most importantly, the revised date gives the Earl of Oxford sufficient time to complete the King James Bible and connects it with the works under the name "William Shakespeare."

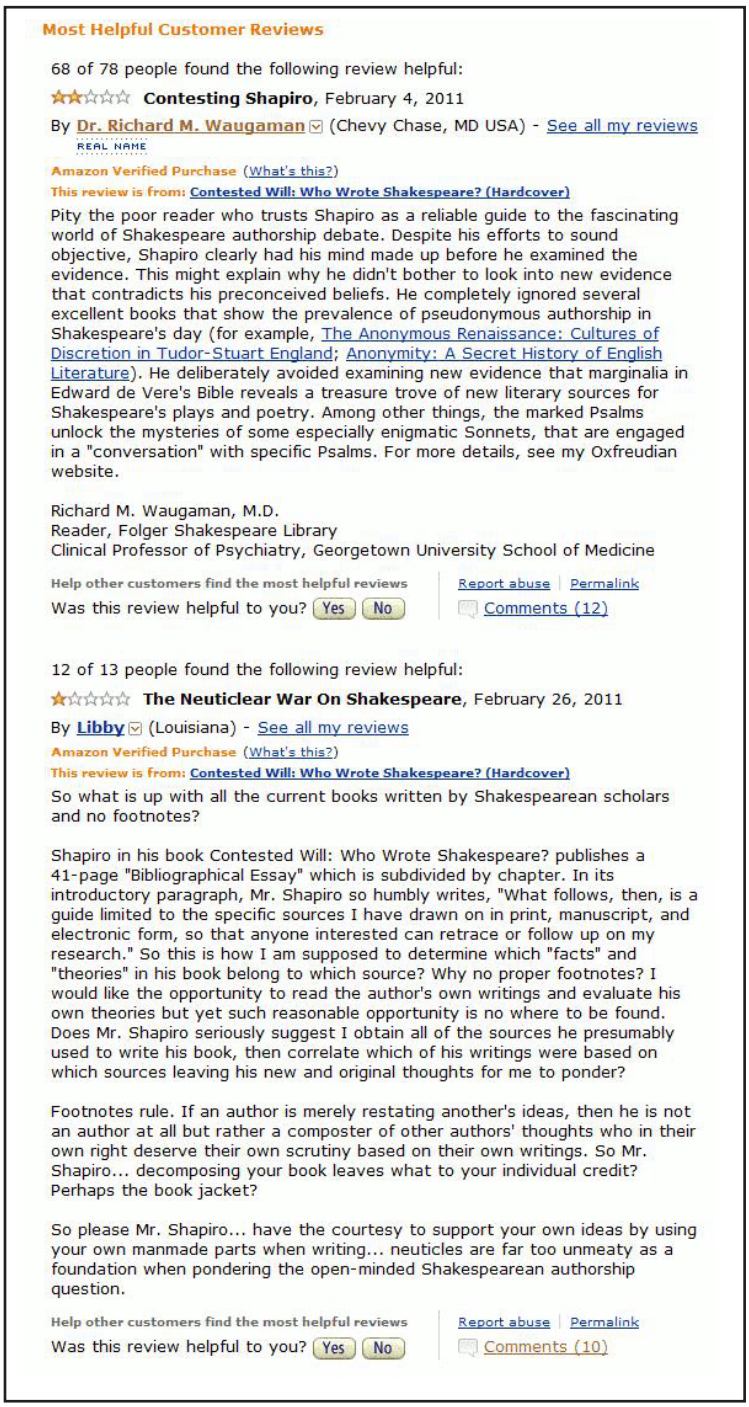
[Paul Streitz is the author of *Oxford: Son of Queen Elizabeth I.*]

Endnotes

[1] Paul Hemenway Altrocchi, "It was not 'Ye Plague'" *Shakespeare Matters,* 1:4 (Summer 2002).
[2] Christopher Paul, "A Monument Without a Tomb: The Mystery of Oxford's Death," *The Oxfordian,* Vol. VII, October 2004.
[3] Id., 49.
[4] John Barton, "Prospero's Island," *The Shakespeare Oxford Newsletter*, 39:1 Winter 2003.
[5] My thanks to Richard Kennedy, whose post on the Internet outlined the difficulties surrounding the authorship of the King James Bible.
[6] H. Wheeler Robinson, ed., *The Bible In Its Ancient and English Versions,* Greenwood Press, Westport, CT, 1940, at 201.
[7] Ibid.
[8] Id., 202.
[9] Id., 203.
[10] Olga S. Opfell, *The King James Bible Translators*, McFarland, Jefferson, N.C. & London, 1982, at 27.
[11] Id., 31.
[12] Gustavus S. Paine, *The Learned Men*, Thomas Y. Crowell Company, New York, 1959, 119.

(continued on p. 32)

(Amazon, cont. from p. 1)



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This review is from: Contested Will: Who Wrote Shakespeare? (Hardcover)

So what is up with all the current books written by Shakespearean scholars and no footnotes?

Shapiro in his book Contested Will: Who Wrote Shakespeare? publishes a 41-page "Bibliographical Essay" which is subdivided by chapter. In its introductory paragraph, Mr. Shapiro so humbly writes, "What follows, then, is a guide limited to the specific sources I have drawn on in print, manuscript, and electronic form, so that anyone interested can retrace or follow up on my research." So this is how I am supposed to determine which "facts" and "theories" in his book belong to which source? Why no proper footnotes? I would like the opportunity to read the author's own writings and evaluate his own theories but yet such reasonable opportunity is no where to be found. Does Mr. Shapiro seriously suggest I obtain all of the sources he presumably used to write his book, then correlate which of his writings were based on which sources leaving his new and original thoughts for me to ponder?

Footnotes rule. If an author is merely restating another's ideas, then he is not an author at all but rather a composter of other authors' thoughts who in their own right deserve their own scrutiny based on their own writings. So Mr. Shapiro... decomposing your book leaves what to your individual credit? Perhaps the book jacket?

So please Mr. Shapiro... have the courtesy to support your own ideas by using your own manmade parts when writing... neuticles are far too unmeaty as a foundation when pondering the open-minded Shakespearean authorship question.

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The Amazon.com review page for *Contested Will*, as it appeared in April 2011.

them were not persuasive to the majority of readers who left responses on Shapiro's Amazon page. Such reviews originally averaged only about 1/3 approval rating, while that of Hardy, the "founding father" of Shapiro's cheerleading squad, maintained a healthy following, with far more readers approving than contesting his analysis of Shapiro's book and the authorship question more generally.

Most of the subsequent reviews followed in the groove laid down by Hardy's pen. A September 25, 2010, review by S.G. Oles sounded a typical note, asserting that "Over the years, it's been hard to get real Shakespeare scholars to take anti-Shakespeare theories seriously. It's like trying to get a respected astrophysicist to write a book about the flying saucer millions believe crash-landed in Roswell, New Mexico. The failure of scholars to take anti-Stratfordianism seriously — just like the government's long refusal to take the Roswell rumors seriously — fed the passion of true believers, convincing them there was a conspiracy of silence keeping the truth from being revealed."

"Scholarly and Enjoyable," raved W.A. Carpenter in November. Esther Shay concurred: "Hail, Man of Stratford!" Shapiro, asserted Shay, had authored

A brilliant study of the Shakespeare authorship controversy–one which ought, in a reasonable world, to dispel forever any doubt that yes, Shakespeare really did write Shakespeare. Unfortunately, we do not live in a reasonable world, but in one so increasingly confusing and complicated that we are at times easy prey to tales of great conspiracies operated with supernatural cleverness by mysterious forces.

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As of March 2011, Hardy's book still had the most votes of any review in the listings, with 79 of 112 readers finding it "useful." And, as the review most often approved by readers, it was listed at the top of the Amazon charts.

But then something changed.

Little by little, more negative reviews

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(Amazon, cont. from p. 17)

had started appearing, and they began to receive a significantly higher proportion of positive votes from readers. Shapiro's rating began to slip (it now stands at only about 3.45/5), and along with it the price

As of early March 2011, 68 of 78 readers had found Waugaman's review not only credible but helpful, and ten of the twelve comments are positive. Within a few days Waugaman's review had topped Hardy's on the Amazon charts. Although not as many readers had posted comments on it, it had a much higher approval rate than Hardy's, no doubt due to the combination of informed perspective and impartial tone. One of few negative comments, posted by Doug Haydn Fan, seems to prognosticate the future of Stratfordian criticism: "A loon is a loon is a loon – however you trot it out!"

for a new hardback copy of the book — now down to $10.10 (61% off retail) from Amazon and as little as $5.99 from affiliates — began to fall (the publisher, Simon and Schuster, still lists it at $26).

A watershed moment of occurred with Richard Waugaman's February 4, 2011, review:

> Pity the poor reader who trusts Shapiro as a reliable guide to the fascinating world of Shakespeare authorship debate. Despite his efforts to sound objective, Shapiro clearly had his mind made up before he examined the evidence. This might explain why he didn't bother to look into new evidence that contradicts his preconceived beliefs. He completely ignored several excellent books that show the prevalence of pseudonymous authorship in Shakespeare's day (for example, *The Anonymous Renaissance: Cultures of Discretion in Tudor-Stuart England* or *Anonymity: A Secret History of English Literature*).
>
> Waugaman went on to argue that Shapiro "deliberately avoided examining new evidence that marginalia in Edward de Vere's Bible reveals a treasure trove of new literary sources for Shakespeare's plays and poetry. Among other things, the marked Psalms unlock the mysteries of some especially enigmatic Sonnets, that are engaged in a 'conversation' with specific Psalms."
>
> What happened next was truly strange. Based on the evidence, it is hard to avoid the conclusion that had Waugaman written his review in April 2010, it would have been buried in a heap of obloquy from Stratfordian diehards.
>
> Not today. As of early March 2011, 68 of 78 readers had found Waugaman's review not only credible but helpful, and ten of the twelve comments are positive.
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>
> Fan's refreshing logic did not deter Libby, writing from Louisiana, from offering her own account of Shapiro's book. Waugaman had generously given Shapiro two stars, but Libby was a tougher grader: One star was all she would give. Libby also shifted the focus from the content to the rhetoric of Shapiro's presentation and made some interesting observations

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about Shapiro's documentation practices:

> In [the book's] introductory paragraph, Mr. Shapiro so humbly writes, 'What follows, then, is a guide limited to the specific sources I have drawn on in print, manuscript, and electronic form, so that anyone interested can retrace or follow up on my research.'
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his book belong to which source? Why no proper footnotes? I would like the opportunity to read the author's own writings and evaluate his own theories but yet such reasonable opportunity is nowhere to be found. Does Mr. Shapiro seriously suggest I obtain all of the sources he presumably used to write his book, then correlate which of his writings were based on which sources leaving his new and original thoughts for me to ponder?

This was bad enough for Shapiro and his promoters; worse still, less than a week later, Libby's review, with 11 of 12 positive votes, suddenly eclipsed Hardy's, moving into second position in the review rankings for the book.

It's hard to imagine things getting any worse for Shapiro, but worse they did get, and at a seemingly accelerating pace. Hardy's review, now nearly a year old, has not only the largest number of votes but also by far the longest comments section of any of review of Shapiro's book.

As in the reviews themselves, the history of the comments suggests that the Shapiro boosters on Amazon are running out of steam.

From last April until February 2011 the discussion was dominated by supporters of Shapiro's book and Hardy's review. Then, on February 5, Shakespeare Fellowship member William Ray jumped into the thread with this stunning remark:

"This review was helpful in that anything the reviewer has said I would doubt and suspect the opposite were true. To take on the joke that begins the wordy statement, someone wrote Shakespeare who had his same name. This is funny because it is a tautology, i.e., it is nonsense."

That was the 25th comment in the thread. A month later, there were a hundred comments, and during two weeks in March, critics of Hardy's review have outnumbered defenders by more than two to one, a complete reversal of the dynamic.

The first response to Ray was that Stratfordian logic (never, to be sure, a strong point for the orthodoxy) fell off a cliff. The inimitable S. G. Oles took one of the first stabs at answering Ray:

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"William Ray, your prose style seems to indicate you are in an advanced state of drug addiction — which would explain your interest in Shakespeare denial."

Oles followed this remark with a string of posts, sometimes offering attempts at rational arguments, but heavily interlarded with gratuitous fallacies and personal attacks. "Sir," answered Ray, "your display of energy may fall under the category, 'Methinks the lady doth protest too much.'" Three blog comments in a row by the same writer in answer to a pretty moderate post by another. The fury of the response may be evidence of growing doubt about one's own position, so there is some value in replying.

The combination of politeness and laser-like clarity in Ray's remarks was soon yielding fruit of sorts from Oles, who graduated from insults about Ray's alleged intoxication to pointing out that "you are asking people to believe something which has never happened in the entire history of the world: a major writer creating a large body of work under a pseudonym that isn't exposed during his lifetime."

Right.

The other shoe did not drop until March 3, when independent British scholar John Rollett signed on to the debate:

Shapiro's book *Contested Will* is a great read, but contains a number of surprising factual errors. For example, he appears to think that doubts about Shakespeare first surfaced around 1750 (page 21), with which Rob Hardy (review, April 4, 2010) apparently concurs. But in the late 1590s John Marston and Joseph Hall were much exercised over the authorship of *Venus and Adonis* and *Lucrece*.

They derided someone they referred to as 'Labeo' for penning them ('Write better Labeo, or write none'). Labeo was the most prominent Roman lawyer of his day, and it has been surmised that by 'Labeo' they were pointing to Francis Bacon. Again, Thomas Edwards indicated in 'L'Envoy' to his poem *Cephalus and Procris & Narcissus*, that *V&A* was written by someone wearing 'purple

(Contintued on p. 20)

(Amazon, cont. from p. 19)

robes' and dwelling 'Amidst the Center of this clime'…..

Shapiro makes much of his discovery (pages 12-3) that the lectures supposedly presented by James Corton Cowell in February 1805 to the Ipswich Philosophic Society ('Arthur Cobbold Esqre., President') were a Baconian forgery. In fact, the original finding that the lectures were a Baconian spoof was made by me, an Ipswich resident, in 2002, after many hours spent in the Suffolk Record Office.

Briefly, although there are large families with both surnames in the area, no trace can be found of either of these two gentlemen. Professor Daniel Wright presented my findings at a conference in Portland, Or., and a report of it by Nathan Baca was printed in *Shakespeare Matters* 2:4 (Summer 2003).

Professor Shapiro could be forgiven if he had not read this account, but astonishingly he references Baca's report on pages 319-20 of his book, without mentioning that his 'discovery' had been anticipated….

It is remarkable that Professor Shapiro should have made several gross errors of a kind that would necessitate a PhD student re-writing and re-presenting his PhD thesis. Did he not ask even a single colleague to read through his typescript?

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By this point it was obvious that the Oxfordians (including myself; I also contributed several comments to the thread) had the initiative.

What were Oles, Hardy, or any of the rest to respond to Rollett's wild card? Someone they had never heard of, who seemed to know what he was talking about, was not only demolishing the logic of Shapiro's argument, a foundational point for Hardy back in April, about the historical time frame for the origins of the authorship question, but was also accusing the great man from Columbia of stealing some other parts of his argument from persons to whom he gave no credit — Rollett himself.

This is a serious accusation, if true, and it appears that none of Shapiro's former supporters, understandably, wanted to go near it. If they denied it and it was true (as so it seemed), they'd be lying to defend something that was indefensible, but if they admitted it that would be even worse.

Instead, Ray himself responded:

In reading the adjacent letter from Dr. Rollett concerning James Shapiro's giving the readers an impression that he, Shapiro, was the discoverer of the Cowell-Wilmot forgery, not Rollett: By logical examination, Shapiro is lying both about the sequence and about himself supposedly deserving credit as discoverer of the forgery.

Now, suddenly, they were gone. Is that a sign of the times? Maybe so. As the inimitable B.J. Robbins, one of the most avid Shapiro boosters on Amazon, put it in an exchange on the same thread with me, "You can take ANY educated person out of his field of expertise, feed him one-sided information, and convince him/her of just about anything." That pretty much sums it up.

By this time, as might be expected, even the voluble Mr. Hardy seemed to have vanished, along with Oles and the other Stratfordians who, no more than a few weeks earlier, had been holding forth among themselves about what moronic conspiracy theorists the anti-Stratfordians are, and more recently were happily engaging Mr. Ray in discussion that ranged from abusive (usually) to (less often) civil. Throughout it all Ray appears to never once have lost his cool.

Now, suddenly, they were gone. Is that a sign of the times? Maybe so. As the

(Continued on p. 30)

(Jeopardy, cont. from p. 1)

- Number of books he's known to have owned (What is 0?)
- Number of countries he's known to have traveled to (0)
- Number of manuscripts he's known to have owned (0)
- Number of letters he's known to have written (0)
- Number of letters written to him (1 – not every correct response here is zero!)[2]
- Number of contemporaneous accounts that anyone spoke with him (2)[3]
- Number of Stratford townsfolk who referred to him as a literary man (0)[4]
- Number of poems he published upon Queen Elizabeth's death in 1603 (0)[5]
- Number of elegies written upon his death in 1616 (0)

Considered separately, none of these curious facts would be enough to discredit the Stratford man as the author Shakespeare. Records get lost over time. And, to be sure, absence of evidence is not necessarily evidence of absence.

To illustrate the latter point, let's take "letters written by Shakspere" from the list above. We know that no such letter is known to exist, nor did anyone note receiving or even seeing one. That does not prove that he never wrote a letter. What should we infer from this absence of evidence?

We know that Shakespeare the playwright uses letters throughout his works (by one count, letters appear in 32 of the 37 plays).[6] We also know that Shakspere had business and property matters in London and in Stratford, and that, during a twenty-year theatrical career in London, he couldn't have undertaken the three-to-four-day journey from one place to the other very often; thus, we should expect him to have written letters, if indeed he could write. More importantly, we have evidence of letters written many of Shakespeare's literary contemporaries. In her groundbreaking book, *Shakespeare's Unorthodox Biography*, Diana Price detailed a "record of correspondence" for fourteen of twenty-four such contemporaries.[7] From all of the above information, it is fair to infer that it is more likely than not that a record of at least one letter by Shakspere, if he ever wrote any, should exist.

Now let's play Jeopardy!

> $400. THE NUMBER OF LITERARY WORKS DEDICATED TO WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE.

What is zero? Diana Price shows how common it was for Elizabethan writers to make dedications and similar written tributes to each other. But none of them ever dedicated a work to Shakespeare, nor did Shakespeare ever write a commendatory verse or epistle to any of his literary contemporaries. According to traditional biography, Shakespeare was deeply indebted to several of them, whose works he freely raided, yet he never acknowledged that debt.

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Price cites the following writers among those who dedicated works, or submitted similar offerings, to their fellows: Nashe, Spenser, John Davies, Marston, Nathaniel Richards, Lodge, Jonson, Massinger, Daniel, Drayton, Chettle, Lyly, Webster, Dekker, Beaumont, Fletcher and Chapman.[8]

What should we infer? It's certainly puzzling that Shakespeare dedicated nothing to a fellow writer, and that nothing was dedicated to him. Given his lengthy literary career, and (according to conventional biography) his borrowing from, and collaboration with, other writers, isn't it reasonable to expect that there would be at least one dedication to or from a fellow writer?

> $800. THIS PRODUCT FROM THE NEW WORLD BECAME HUGELY POPULAR IN ENGLAND BY THE 1580s.

What is tobacco? Tobacco may have been introduced in England as early as 1565, but it was probably not widely used until the late 1580s, following the voyages of Walter Raleigh, Francis Drake and Ralph Lane. As early as 1577, it was touted in England as a miracle drug.[9] By the 1590s "drinking tobacco" had become a mania.[10] Tobacco shops sprouted everywhere. A German lawyer noted its widespread popularity in England in 1598. It affected the theater; an anonymous playgoer wrote in 1599:

It chaunc'd me gazing at the Theater
To spie a Lock-Tobacco Chevalier
Clowding the loathing ayr with foggie fume
Of Dock Tobacco friendly foe to rhume.

Spenser alluded to tobacco in 1590.[11] Ben Jonson mentions it in *Every Man in His Humour* (1598) and *The Alchemist* (1610). Dekker used the term "artillery" to describe the smoking paraphernalia used by "reeking gallants" at the theaters. In 1600 Raleigh persuaded Queen Elizabeth to try it.

Nevertheless, by 1602 at least some of tobacco's harmful effects were known, and in 1604 King James, disgusted by the

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(Jeopardy, cont. from p. 21)

smoking habits of his subjects, published his *Counterblast to Tobacco*. Unfortunately, the work was in vain, as tobacco's popularity increased during his reign even as its importation was heavily taxed.[12]

Given Shakespeare's extraordinary breadth of knowledge and interest in the world around him, it is at least puzzling that he never mentioned the substance.

The omission of tobacco from the canon is perhaps puzzling even to Oxfordians. There is no question that Oxford was keenly aware of the world around him, and wrote of such "new" things as the Copernican theory and the theory of circulation of the blood. One reason for the omission of tobacco may be that many, if not most, of the plays were originally written by the late 1580s, before tobacco had become a widespread cultural phenomenon in England.

But Shakespeare never mentions tobacco. He took cognizance of the New World, mentioning Mexico (*Merchant of Venice)*, America (*Comedy of Errors*) and Guiana (*Merry Wives of Windsor*), and must have been known of tobacco. Few scholars have commented on the non-appearance of tobacco in the Shakespeare canon. Some speculate that Shakespeare didn't want to offend King James, but that guess raises two further questions: why didn't Shakespeare mention tobacco in any of his pre-1603 works, and, if he wanted to be in favor with James, why didn't he put an *anti*-tobacco reference in any of his later works? We know that James issued letters patent for Shakespeare's acting company in 1603, and that he had at least seven Shakespeare plays performed at court in a single year (November 1604 – October 1605).

We also know that, in 1604, several of the members of Shakespeare's company were awarded red cloth to wear in a royal processional, and that Shakespeare was specifically named in the accounts of the Master of the Wardrobe. Some orthodox scholars maintain that Shakespeare wrote plays such as *Macbeth*, with its Scottish setting, and *Measure for Measure*, with its themes of justice and mercy, specifically with King James in mind. Thus, according to traditional scholarship, Shakespeare was truly "His Majesty's Servant," as Schoenbaum puts it.[13]

What should we infer here? Perhaps not a great deal, as many other contemporary playwrights did not mention tobacco in their (surviving) works. But, given Shakespeare's extraordinary breadth of knowledge and interest in the world around him, it is at least puzzling that he never mentioned the substance.

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$1200. HIS BOOK, *THE COMPLEAT GENTLEMAN* (1622), MENTIONS OXFORD.

Who is Henry Peacham? Peter Dickson demonstrated the significance of this work in the Fall 1998 issue of the *Shakespeare Oxford Newsletter*. In his 1622 book, Peacham named the great poets of the Elizabethan era in this order: Edward de Vere, Earl of Oxford; Lord Buckhurst; Henry Lord Paget; Sir Philip Sidney; Edward Dyer; Edmund Spenser; and Samuel Daniel. Peacham obviously drew from Puttenham's 1589 list of great poets (in which Oxford, Buckhurst, Paget and Sidney were listed first), but he made deletions and, importantly, added Spenser and Daniel. Yet he omits Shakespeare, who had written two very popular long

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poems and an edition of sonnets. Peacham added material to two subsequent editions in 1627 and 1634, but made no changes to this section.

What to infer here? Peacham was not attempting to catalog all of the poets of the era, and chose to list only seven, several of whom were of the nobility; perhaps he didn't think that Shakespeare's poetry, even though it was very popular, was first rate. Or perhaps Peacham knew full well who was the real Shakespeare, and listed him first.

$1600. HIS PREMATURE DEATH IN 1612 CAUSED AN OUTPOURING OF LITERARY GRIEF.

Who is Prince Henry? Born in 1594, Henry was the eldest son of James and, had he survived his father, would have succeeded him. But the popular prince died at age 18, probably of typhoid fever, in 1612. His death saddened the entire nation. Many elegies were written. From an online list compiled by Michael Ullyot of Calgary University, at least 34 English poets wrote elegies, the vast majority of them within two years of Henry's death.[14] The list included persons who were contemporaries of Shakespeare, such as William Alexander, Christopher Brooke, Thomas Campion, George Chapman, John Davies of Hereford, John Donne, Sir Arthur Gorges, Thomas Knyvett and John Webster. But the list does not include Shakespeare.

Once again, what should we infer? It should be noted, of course, that a number of Shakespeare's contemporaries are not known to have written elegies, including Jonson, Daniel, Lodge and Drayton. Given the esteem in which Shakespeare was held by King James, wouldn't Shakespeare have felt an even greater obligation than his fellow writers to mark the sad occasion of the prince's death? Or was the real Shakespeare dead by this time?

$2000. THIS 1611 TRAVELOGUE CONTAINED "PANEGYRIC VERSES" FROM DOZENS OF POETS.

What is *Coryat's Crudities*? Thomas Coryat was born in 1577, and was employed for a time in the household of Prince Henry. In 1608 he spent five months traveling by foot on the Continent, reaching Venice and Germany, among many other places. Upon his return to England, it appears that he couldn't find a publisher for his travel narrative, so he asked many of England's leading literary figures to write verses or letters for it. He ended up with almost 60 items from more than 50 persons, including Ben Jonson (who supplied an acrostic), Henry Neville, John Harrington, Dudley Digges, John Donne, Hugh Holland, Thomas Campion, Michael Drayton, John Davies of Hereford and Henry Peacham. Published in 1611, *Coryat's Crudities* ran to 428 pages, but Coryat's narrative doesn't begin until page 152 – more than a third of the book is comprised of the panegyrics.[15]

Published in 1611, *Coryat's Crudities* ran to 428 pages, but Coryat's narrative doesn't begin until page 152 – more than a third of the book is comprised of the panegyrics. Sure enough, William Shakespeare is not among the contributors. Coryat, however, described his stay in Venice in great detail; searching for writers to praise his work, wouldn't it have occurred to him to ask someone who had written two plays – *The Merchant of Venice* and *Othello*– that were set in Venice?

Sure enough, William Shakespeare is not among the contributors. Coryat, however, described his stay in Venice in great detail; searching for writers to praise his work, wouldn't it have occurred to him to ask someone who had written two plays – *The Merchant of Venice* and *Othello*[16] – that were set in Venice? Shakespeare of Stratford was, according to orthodox biography, still at work in London in 1609-1610, and had not yet "retired" to Stratford.

What should be inferred? Perhaps Shakespeare turned Coryat down ("Sorry, pal, I don't do commendatory stuff"), or perhaps the real Shakespeare was dead by that time.[17]

That concludes our game (even if you supplied the correct responses to the five answers, we won't actually pay you $6000; they're just pretend, or "Stratford," dollars). As noted, Shakespeare's absence or non-involvement in any one of the listed events is not remarkable, but, when we consider the large number of such absences and non-involvements, we can begin to draw inferences that in Shakespeare's case, absence of evidence is indeed evidence of absence.

Endnotes

[1] Merv Griffin created *Jeopardy!* in the early 1960s (the daytime version premiered in early 1964). The idea for the program came from the quiz show scandals of the late 1950s, when it was revealed that the producers of several big-money shows had supplied favored contestants with the answers to the questions they'd be asked. One day Griffin's wife mused, "Why don't they just give everyone the answers?" That remark inspired Griffin to turn the traditional question-and-answer format into an answer-and-question format.

[2] The letter was from Richard Quiney, a fellow Stratfordian, asking about the possibility of a monetary loan. It was found in Quiney's possessions. Whether it, or a copy, was delivered to Shakspere is unknown.

[3] This one merits amplification. In *The Mysterious William Shakespeare*, Charlton Ogburn, Jr., found only one such account – the town clerk of Stratford, who noted in his diary that he'd spoken with Shakspere about a property matter. However, in his 2008 book *The Lodger Shakespeare* (largely

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(Imagination, cont. from p. 1)

accepted in our culture, great literature is, in effect, reduced to a banal aestheticism.

Although influential for many reasons over the last century and a half, through such doctrines as "Art for Art's Sake" (Walter Pater), "Significant Form" (Roger Fry, Clive Bell), the attack on "The Intentional Fallacy" (Wimsatt and Beardsley), and the "autonomy of the aesthetic" (Bloom), this view has been exaggerated in Anglo-American literary discourse due to the unacknowledged (and often unconscious) influence of the authorship question. These doctrines would not play as great a role in modern European literary theory if it had been possible to recognize an otherwise normal literary relationship between life and work in the instance of our greatest Anglophone author, Shakespeare, rather than the null relationship that exists between the author of the plays and poems, and William Shakespeare of Stratford.

A relationship between life and literary work is very clear when we consider the great nineteenth century novels. The only question is whether this also applies to the age of Shakespeare and/or to Shakespeare himself. Thus, in Dickens' *Little Dorrit* we easily apprehend the relation to Dickens' own experience of Marshalsea Prison and his father's bankruptcy.

In *Little Dorrit* we see the true nature, not reductive at all, of imagination – a great writer's preoccupation with, and lifelong meditation upon, certain central motifs in their experience, resulting in their profound transmutation, and "sea change Into [the] something rich and strange" of art.

Nor is it an accident that for Dickens, in this novel, *Lear* is pervasively present, and the parallels of the relationships between Lear and Cordelia, and William and Amy Dorrit, are profound indeed. Fallible fathers are at the heart of Dickens' novel, as they are in Shakespeare's play. Dickens is a great critic, and his novel is, among many other things, an implicit commentary on, and transformation of, *Lear.*

The notion that Shakespearian drama does not reflect the same deep creative-imaginative preoccupations and imaginative transformations (fallible fathers in *Lear*, but elsewhere the constant preoccupation with violent overthrows of monarchs and emperors, as well as the theme of betrayal in sexual love, and its concomitants) seems to me so astonishingly naive that one must question the literary education of anyone who, caught in the modern age's demagogic fashions, has not been able to read what screams at us from almost every page of Shakespeare: The profound imprint of, and imaginative organization created by the author in relation to his world. *Lear,* like *Little Doritt,* is drawn from a literary wrestling with the

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Such a misreading is so profound that it forms a textbook lesson in the modern ahistorical incapacity to understand another civilization or phase of civilization in terms other than our own – and the shallowest understanding of our own at that. It is epistemological ethnocentrism of the worst kind. Shapiro is, of course, entirely happy to make use of historical allusions in the plays – like that which is usually assumed to refer to the return of the Earl of Essex from Ireland in *Henry V* – but he entirely omits the inextricable connection with the author's inner life and life experience, which we see writ large in such works as *Little Dorrit*, and one can not only reasonably infer from Shakespeare, but which are actually supported by Shakespeare's own practice and articulations!

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To be sure, Shapiro quotes at the end of his book (quite inconsistently with his official position of not taking character utterances out of context) the very positivist, Enlightenment theory of imagination – but the quote is from a work written long before the Enlightenment (which itself might have given Shapiro pause, with his accusations of anachronism, if he could read what is in front of his eyes). Consider the speech of Theseus on imagination in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*:

> More strange than true: I never may believe/ These antique fables, nor these fairy toys./ Lovers and madmen have such seething brains,/ Such shaping fantasies, that apprehend/ More than cool reason ever comprehends./ The lunatic, the lover and the poet/ Are of imagination all compact:/ One sees more devils than vast hell can hold,/ That is, the madman: the lover, all as frantic,/ Sees Helen's beauty in a brow of Egypt:/ The poet's eye, in fine frenzy rolling,/ Doth glance from heaven to earth, from earth to heaven;/ And as imagination bodies forth/ The forms of things unknown, the poet's pen/ Turns them to shapes and gives to airy nothing/ A local habitation and a name./ Such tricks hath strong imagination,/ That if it would but apprehend some joy,/ It comprehends some bringer of that joy;/ Or in the night, imagining some fear,/ How easy is a bush supposed a bear! (V.i. 2-22).

Bottom's vision is, of course, not a dream; on the contrary, it is a transmuted reminiscence of his actual experience with Titania (Shakespeare would have had little to learn from Freud's theory of dreams!). In that marvelous passage, summoning the deepest resonances of Shakespeare's particular relation to his life and vision in his art, Bottom transmutes and recreates his experience, in the manner of Wordsworth's "emotion recollected in tranquillity." This mode is likewise manifest in Shakespeare's own quasi-autobiographical account of his creative process in Sonnet 30...

The positivistic discrediting tendency of this is even clearer in the context of the fifth act, yet it is profoundly belied and indeed reversed by Bottom's great speech (with its resonances of Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians, 2.9):

> [Awaking] When my cue comes, call me, and I will answer: my next is, 'Most fair Pyramus.' Heigh-ho! Peter Quince! Flute, the bellows-mender! Snout, the tinker! Starveling! God's my life, stolen hence, and left me asleep! I have had a most rare vision. I have had a dream, past the wit of man to say what dream it was: man is but an ass, if he go about to expound this dream. Methought I was–there is no man can tell what. Methought I was,–and methought I had,–but man is but a patched fool, if he will offer to say what methought I had. The eye of man hath not heard, the ear of man hath not seen, man's hand is not able to taste, his tongue to conceive, nor his heart to report, what my dream was. I will get Peter Quince to write a ballad of this dream: it shall be called Bottom's Dream, because it hath no bottom; and I will sing it in the latter end of a play, before the duke: peradventure, to make it the more gracious, I shall sing it at her death. (IV.i. 205-226).

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> When to the sessions of sweet silent thought
> I summon up remembrance of things past,
> I sigh the lack of many a thing I sought,
> And with old woes new wail my dear time's waste:

(Continued on p. 26)

(Imagination, cont. from p. 25)

Then can I drown an eye, unused to flow,
For precious friends hid in death's dateless night,
And weep afresh love's long since cancell'd woe,
And moan the expense of many a vanish'd sight:
Then can I grieve at grievances foregone,
And heavily from woe to woe tell o'er
The sad account of fore-bemoaned moan,
Which I new pay as if not paid before.
But if the while I think on thee, dear friend,
All losses are restored and sorrows end.

What an evocation of creative reminiscence and reverie!

If we wanted to go further, we need only turn to Hamlet's exquisite evocation and articulation of dramatic art, in which, as Peggy Ashcroft was wont to point out, the "as 'twere" indicates the limits of the direct biographical reference (of which Oxfordians are so commonly accused by Stratfordians), for art is indeed always a transmutation of experience, and the relationship between art and life is always dialectical, reflecting neither raw "reality" nor pure "imagination":

Conceiv'd out of the fullest heat and pulse of European feudalism — personifying in unparallel'd ways the mediaeval aristocracy, its towering spirit of ruthless and gigantic caste, with its own peculiar air and arrogance (no mere imitation) — only one of the 'wolfish earls' so plenteous in the plays themselves, or some born descendant and knower, might seem to be the true author of those amazing works — works in some respects greater than anything else in recorded literature.

Be not too tame neither, but let your own discretion be your tutor: suit the action to the word, the word to the action; with this special o'erstep not the modesty of nature: for any thing so overdone is from the purpose of playing, whose end, both at the first and now, was and is, to hold, as 'twere, the mirror up to nature; to show virtue her own feature, scorn her own image, and the very age and body of the time his form and pressure. (*Hamlet* 3.2. 17-25)

Yes indeed!

Fie upon't! foh!/ About, my brain! I have heard/ That guilty creatures sitting at a play/ Have by the very cunning of the scene/ Been struck so to the soul that presently/ They have proclaim'd their malefactions;/ For murder, though it have no tongue, will speak/ With most miraculous organ. I'll have these players/ Play something like the murder of my father/ Before mine uncle: I'll observe his looks;/ I'll tent him to the quick: if he but blench,/ I know my course. The spirit that I have seen/ May be the devil: and the devil hath power/ To assume a pleasing shape; yea, and perhaps/ Out of my weakness and my melancholy,/ As he is very potent with such spirits,/ Abuses me to damn me: I'll have grounds/ More relative than this: the play 's the thing/ Wherein I'll catch the conscience of the king. (2.2. 592-610).

These are not (how could they possibly be?) the words of one who was indifferent, as Shapiro claims (and has to claim, to bypass the Oxfordian threat), to the relation between life and work. And so, if we read *Hamlet, King Lear,* and all the rest of the mighty oeuvre, we are free once more to recognize the profound truth expressed by Walt Whitman (no snob, no defender of aristocracy) in *November Boughs*:

We all know how much mythus there is in the Shakspere question as it stands to-day. Beneath a few foundations of proved facts are certainly engulf'd far more dim and elusive ones, of deepest importance — tantalizing and half suspected — suggesting explanations that one dare not put in plain statement.

But coming at once to the point, the English historical plays are to me not only the most eminent as dramatic performances (my maturest judgment confirming the impressions of my early years, that the distinctiveness and glory of the Poet reside not in his vaunted dramas of the passions, but those founded on the contests of English dynasties, and the French wars) but form, as we get it all, the chief in a complexity of puzzles. Conceiv'd out of the fullest heat and pulse of European feudalism — personifying in unparallel'd ways the mediaeval aristocracy, its towering spirit of ruthless and gigantic caste, with its own peculiar air and arrogance (no mere imitation) — only one of the 'wolfish earls' so plenteous in the plays themselves, or some born descendant and knower, might seem to be the true author of those amazing works — works in some respects greater than anything else in recorded literature.

(Sonnet 80, cont. from p. 1)

lowe's seminal contributions... have been relegated in recent decades to the status of curiosities."[1]

The identity of the Rival Poet of *Shake-speare's Sonnets* has elicited much speculation. Scholars have failed to reach consensus on it. One problem is the lack of consensus on a more basic issue: whether or not the Sonnets are significantly autobiographical. This question is extraordinarily provocative. Our failure to take seriously the Sonnets' autobiographical contents has hamstrung their explication. Recognizing de Vere's authorship opens up vast realms for scholarly inquiry, including the topic of this article.

H.E. Rollins offers a comprehensive review of the previous literature on the Sonnets in his 1944 *New Variorum Edition*. He can scarcely conceal his annoyance at most of the ideas he was forced to read and summarize. He calls it "a genuine relief" to arrive at long last at the theory that there is *no* actual rival poet, that it is merely a Petrarchan convention to praise a (fictive) rival poet. Rollins speaks for many critics, who cannot reconcile an autobiographical reading of the Sonnets with their idealized image of the traditional author.

I agree with previous critics who find the Rival Poet Sonnets to be rich in allusions to Marlowe. Marlowe influenced Shakespeare's works more than did any other contemporary poet (see Logan, 2007). And I suspect that Shakespeare in turn influenced Marlowe's poems and plays more than did any other contemporary writer. Assuming Southampton to be the Fair Youth, Robert Cartwright (quoted in Rollins, 1944) first proposed Marlowe as the Rival Poet in 1859, noting that he was "just the sort of splendid and dissipated character to lead the young lord [Southampton] astray" (281).

I do not believe that Sonnet 80 influenced Marlowe's poem—I maintain that the literary influence was in the opposite direction. Words in the sonnet that are not directly parallel to *HL* often offer a Chaucerian "quittance" or reply to Marlowe. As an emblematic example, Shakespeare's "sawsie barke (inferior farre to his)" answers Marlowe's "stately builded ship, well rig'd and tall." Rivalry is the overt theme in both passages. Rivalry with the other poet for Southampton's affections is the core theme of the Rival Poet Sonnets. And Marlowe uses the ship trope as Leander's means of trying to persuade Hero to forsake her service to Venus on the island of Sestos, and instead be made "more majestical" by sailing on the "ocean" of "Love's seas." Helen Vendler, in her valuable reading of the Sonnets, argues that "The motive for the invention of the ocean metaphor [in Sonnet 80] is not clear" and the eight lines on the ocean and the boat seem "almost to have wandered in from a different poem" (358). Indeed they have![2]

In the first line of Sonnet 80, Shakespeare wrote: "O how I *faint*[3] when I of you do write." Marlowe wrote, in the first two lines of *HL*'s Second Sestiad: "By this, sad Hero, with love unacquainted,/ Viewing Leander's face, fell down and *fainted*." Leander embodies Southampton; both Shakespeare and Hero *faint* when they think of him or see him. (Leander is described as "a maid in man's attire" [I:83] who has "dangling tresses" [I:55] that are compared favorably to the Golden Fleece; a painting of the adolescent Southampton was misidentified for many years as a woman, partly because of his long hair, dangling over one shoulder.) The positioning of this echo of Marlowe's first two lines in Shakespeare's first line alerts the reader to the many further allusions that follow. Shakespeare's line 2 is, "Knowing a better spirit[4] [i.e., the rival poet] doth use[5] your *name*." This echoes several passages in Marlowe: "know that some have wronged Diana's *name*" (I:284); Marlowe also has Leander say of Hero's misguided devotion to Venus: "For thou in vowing chastity hast sworn/ To rob her *name* and honor" (I:304-5). Later, Hero laments her rash love-making, with Marlowe echoing the words Leander applied to Venus—"As if her *name* and honor had been wronged" (II:35).

Shakespeare's line 3 is, "And in the *praise* there spends[6] all his might." Marlowe wrote of Hero: "Many would *praise* the sweet smell as she passed" (I:21). Shakespeare's "*spends* all his *might*" echoes Marlowe's "And *spends* the *night* (that *might* be better spent)" (I:355). *Might* as a noun in Shakespeare also echoes its uses as a noun in Marlowe: "Neptune's *might*" (I:3); and "Maids are not won by brutish force and *might*" (I:419). That last line is parallel with Shakespeare's use of *might* to woo one's lover.

Shakespeare's line 4 is, "To *make* me *tongue-tied* speaking of your fame[7]." Here, the echo is a contrasting one—love is said to have precisely the opposite effect in Marlowe's "Love always *make*s those eloquent that have it" (II:72). But Shakespeare has (self-servingly) echoed the gist of Marlowe's "True love is mute, and oft amazed stands" (I:186), as well as Marlowe's related "Love is... deaf" (II:288). The muteness of true love is echoed as well in Shakespeare's "your soundless deep" (line 10). Shakespeare's "tongue-tied" also contrasts with Hero's Freudian parapraxis: "her *tongue tripped*,/ For unawares, 'Come tither,' from her slipped" (I:357-58). Hero does not know how to deceive: "her *tongue* untaught to glose" (I:392). Shakespeare's "*speaking* of your fame" echoes Marlowe's evocative description of Leander as having "in his looks... a *speaking* eye" (I:84-85). Shakespeare's "your *fame*" echoes Marlowe's Leander to Hero: "Seek you... immortal *fame*?" (I:283) and "incorporeal *Fame*" (II:113).

Shakespeare's line 5, "But since your worth (wide as the *Ocean* is)," echoes three references to the ocean in Marlowe. The first is the paradigmatic comparison to "A stately builded ship" that "The *Ocean* makes more majestical" (I:225-26). Later, Leander "To the rich *Ocean*...flies" (II:224). Near the end of *HL*, Marlowe speaks of Apollo playing "music to the *Ocean*" (II:328). Shakespeare's line 6, "The *humble* as the proudest sail doth bear," echoes Marlowe's Leander beseeching Hero "in *humble* manner" (I:314). Later, Leander "*humbly* made request" (I:379) of Destiny's nymphs to bless his pursuit of Hero. Shakespeare's contrasting "*proud*est saile" echoes Marlowe's "*proud* Adonis" (I.14). Shakespeare refers to Marlowe again in similar language when he begins Sonnet 86, "Was it the *proud full sail* of his great verse"; this phrase amplifies the nautical trope of 80. (Whall, 1910, cited in Rollins[8], finds the nautical imagery in Sonnets 80 and 86 unique among the Sonnets.)

In line 7, Shakespeare's trope for himself in contrast with the rival poet as

(Continued on p. 28)

(Sonnet 80, cont. from p. 27)

a "sawsie[9] barke (inferior farre to his)" answers Marlowe's "stately builded ship, well rig'd and tall" (I:225). Shakespeare's line 8 speaks of "your broad main." The OED credits Marlowe with the first use of the phrase "ocean main," in his play *Tamburlaine*. Shakespeare's line 9, "Your shallowest[10] help will hold me *up* afloat[11]," echoes Marlowe's "He heaved him *up*" (II:171). The latter refers to Neptune preventing Leander from drowning by holding him on the sea's surface and protecting him from the waves. Shakespeare's line 10, "While he upon your *sound*less deep doth ride," echoes Marlowe's Apollo beginning "To *sound* forth music to the Ocean" (II:228). The conjunction between "soundless" and "deep" is amplified by Booth's[12] speculation that "soundless" means not only "of infinite depth," but also "silent." As noted earlier, it thus amplifies the contrast between the voluble rival poet and the "tongue-tied" Shakespeare and "soundless" youth.

Shakespeare's line 11, "Or (being *wracked*) I am a worthless boat," echoes Marlowe's Hero's "treasure suffered *wrack*" (I:49). "Worthless boat" once more *contrasts* with Marlowe's "stately builded ship." Shakespeare's line 12, "He of tall building, and of goodly pride," echoes that same phrase. Shakespeare's "goodly *pride*" echoes Marlowe's "lofty *pride*" (I:393); it also echoes "*proud* Adonis" (I:14). Shakespeare's line 13, "Then if he thrive and I be *cast away*," echoes Hero evading Leander's embrace: "*away* she *cast* her" (I:342). In line 14, Shakespeare leaves Marlowe's *HL* behind, as his self-deprecation hits rock bottom.

I take May of 1593 to be a significant moment in de Vere's relationship with Marlowe. *Venus and Adonis*, dedicated to Southampton, was published within two weeks of Marlowe's death.[13] We know that Marlowe's poem *HL* was unfinished when he was murdered on May 30, 1593. There are multiple parallels between the two poems. I believe that *HL* is a principal example of the rival poet's poems that engendered both intense admiration and jealousy in de Vere. As early as 1903, M. J. Wolff[14] speculated that Marlowe wrote *HL* for Southampton. The Sonnets suggest the possibility that de Vere was jealous of Marlowe — not just because of his poetic gifts, but because of a love triangle involving Southampton.

Leander acknowledges he is "but base,/ Base in respect of thee" — Marlowe was far below Southampton's social class. I believe Marlowe is alluding to his erotic rivalry with de Vere in having Leander assert, "I in duty [i.e., devotion to Hero] will excel all other." I believe de Vere in turn contrasted his poetry with Marlowe's in his "My sawsie *barke* (inferior farre to his)." As noted, this trope is of central importance because it responds to Marlowe's "stately builded ship, well rigged and tall" (I: 225). Leander is trying to seduce Hero into forsaking her chaste devotion to Venus. I suspect that Marlowe seduced Southampton away from de Vere. "Sawsie" (or "saucy") not only meant insolent and lustful, it also echoes the Latin word *saucium*, meaning "hurt" or "wounded." De Vere has been devastated by the Southampton's infatuation with Marlowe and his poetry. In addition, "saucy" as "wounded" recalls other words in Sonnet 80 that allude to de Vere's poor health: *faint, tongue-tied, wracked* and *decay*. I suspect that Marlowe's "as spotless as my youth" (I:207) is intended as an implicit contrast to de Vere being eleven years older than Marlowe, and to the notoriety and infidelity de Vere acknowledged in the Sonnets. Sonnet 82 acknowledges the youth seeks "some fresher stamp."

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I assume de Vere's intimate relationship with the Earl of Southampton began in 1590, when he was 40 and Southampton was 17. In May of 1593, Marlowe was 29, Southampton 20, and de Vere 43. De Vere's father had suddenly died in his mid-40s, when de Vere was 12. Many men suffer from the irrational anxiety that they will die at the same age as their fathers. De Vere first adopted the pseudonym Shakespeare with the publication of *Venus and Adonis*, within two weeks of Marlowe's death. Human behavior is regularly "over-determined," with multiple meanings. Perhaps de Vere chose the pseudonym of a front man who was 14 years younger with the unconscious fantasy of thereby cheating fate, and living longer than did his father.

I believe de Vere became unbearably jealous of Marlowe not just because of his poetic gifts, but because of a love triangle involving Southampton. Pethaps de Vere may even have played some role in Marlowe's murder. Bate (1997) agrees Marlowe was the Rival Poet. He notes that Shakespeare "remained peculiarly haunted by [Marlowe's] death." Further, Bate holds that "Shakespeare was the rival who killed Marlowe" (105), but he is writing metaphorically. A contemporary reported that Marlowe was killed "by a rival in lewd love." De Vere had the motives and the temperament to help arrange Marlowe's murder. The blasphemous letter posted in the church shortly before Marlowe's death was signed "Tamberlaine." It led to Marlowe's arrest, and it may have played a role in his execution. It may have been written not by Marlowe, but by someone such as de Vere who wished to frame him, and who may have succeeded. Marjorie Garber

(1987) shows that Shakespeare's plays are full of ghostwritten letters, some of which are used to frame innocent victims. Bate cites Garber's view that Prince Hal's victory over Hotspur alludes to Shakespeare vanquishing Marlowe (6).

De Vere killed a cook's helper with his fencing sword when he was 17. He nearly engaged in a duel with Philip Sidney (another rival poet, and rival for de Vere's first wife). De Vere was once reported to have boasted that he could arrange to have Sidney killed and that he could get away with it (Nelson, 2003). The bisexual de Vere was wounded and ultimately lamed in a swordfight with Thomas Knyvet in 1582, over de Vere's love affair with Knyvet's niece Ann Vavasour. De Vere probably assumed Marlowe was taunting him when Marlowe echoed Homer's reference to "limping Vulcan," Venus's notoriously cuckolded husband (de Vere believed his wife's first child was the result of her infidelity to him). Likewise, Neptune's unrequited infatuation with Leander may also allude to de Vere (e.g., the reference to Neptune dancing [II:185], and Neptune's jealousy of Leander's longing for Hero [II:207-208]).[15]

Previous scholars have noted that one of Leander's speeches (I:199-294) contains a hundred lines with many striking parallels with the first 17 Sonnets. I agree.[16] In wooing Hero, Leander uses many of the same arguments that de Vere used in the procreation Sonnets (thus casting Leander as de Vere). These borrowings illustrate the mutual literary influence of the two writers on each other. We can discern a literary conversation between those Sonnets that were composed before *Hero and Leander* and those composed after de Vere read it (perhaps a copy Marlowe had given to Southampton).

Like the poet in the first 17 Sonnets, Leander woos Hero through multiple appeals. She is more beautiful than Venus. She is not intended just to be looked at. And she will appear more beautiful "on Love's seas." She is like the untuned strings of a musical instrument, "Which long time untouch'd" will sound dissonant. Brass shines more through use. Precious metals are of no worth lying in the ground, but gain their value through use. The miser hoarding his money misses the chance to increase his wealth by lending it (this might explain lines 4 and 5 of Sonnet 75, which John Kerrigan finds enigmatic—"such strife/ As 'twixt a miser and his wealth is found") . Beautiful clothing is wasted if not worn. An empty palace is desolate. "Lone women, like to emptie houses, perish" — a pithy summary of the logic of the procreation sonnets. It explicitly echoes Sonnet 13: "Who lets so fair a *house* fall to decay?"; Sonnet 10: "Seeking that beauteous roof [house] to ruinate"; and Sonnet 11: "Let those whom Nature hath not made for store... barrenly *perish*." Significant words that occur in a mere 31 lines of this speech by Leander and also in the procreation Sonnets include: *ruin(ous); house(s); perish; decease; bequeath'd (bequest); heaven; legacy; world; destroy; confound; nature; number; single; marriage (married); father(s); perfection* and *eye* (used ten times in those 17 Sonnets).

Many Oxfordians prefer to believe that the Youth was de Vere's son rather than his lover. Whatever your opinion on this matter, I would urge a careful rereading of the Rival Poet Sonnets in light of Marlowe's enormous influence on the works of de Vere.

Although Oxfordian readings of the Sonnets date back to Gerald Rendall's 1930 book on that topic, Oxfordians have been nearly as uncomfortable with the bisexuality of the poet as Stratfordians have been. Many Oxfordians prefer to believe that the Youth was de Vere's son rather than his lover. Whatever your opinion on this matter, I would urge a careful rereading of the Rival Poet Sonnets in light of Marlowe's enormous influence on the works of de Vere.

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Endnotes

[1] William P. Weaver, "*Hero and Leander* and the Rudiments of Eloquence." In *Studies in Philology*, 105(3):388-410, 2008.

[2] Vendler, when she learned of my theory about Sonnet 80, wrote me that "You may well be right in your conjecture about Marlowe" (personal communication, January 25, 2009).

[3] "Faint" can mean sink; give way; or become depressed.

[4] "Spirit" could also mean one who kidnaps.

(Continued on p. 30)

(Sonnet 80, cont. from p. 29)

[5] "Use" could also mean to utter; to employ for profitable ends; or to have sex with.

[6] "Spend" could also mean to utter; to exhaust; to destroy; or to squander.

[7] "Fame" could mean either a favorable reputation, or infamy.

[8] Hyder Edward Rollins, *New Variorum Edition of Shakespeare Sonnets*. Philadelphia, 1944.

[9] "Saucy" could mean lascivious; or a rashly venturing ship.

[10] Shakespeare coined the meaning of "shallow" as lacking in depth of feeling or character.

[11] "Afloat" could mean out of debt; "float" could mean scum; a raft; a flood; or agitation of mind.

[12] Stephen Booth, *Shakespeare Sonnets*. (New Haven, 1978).

[13] The dedication of *Venus and Adonis* begins with a quotation from Ovid's Amores, a work that was translated by Marlowe around 1589. The two lines quoted are from the 15th stanza, which begins and ends with references to Livor, or Envy. Ovid states that Envy is only a force during one's lifetime. Was Shakespeare hinting that Marlowe's death freed Shakespeare from the intense envy he had earlier felt toward Marlowe?

[14] M.J. Wolff, *Shakespeares Sonnets*. (Berlin, 1903).

[15] I suspect that the *roman a clef* aspects of HL are complex. E.g., Leander persuading "Venus's nun" Hero that she owes no rightful chastity to the unchaste Venus may allude to de Vere's affair with Queen Elizabeth's ostensibly chaste lady in waiting, Anne Vavasour.

[16] Conrad (1884) and Ewig (1899) similarly argued that the first 17 Sonnets influenced *Hero and Leander.*

(Amazon, cont. from p. 20)

inimitable B.J. Robbins, one of the most avid Shapiro boosters on Amazon, put it in an exchange on the same thread with me,

"You can take ANY educated person out of his field of expertise, feed him one-sided information, and convince him/her of just about anything."

That pretty much sums it up.

Editor's note: Since the above was written, originally as a blog post at www.shakespeares-bible.com, there has been a small swing back in the direction of Stratfordian commentary on the Amazon site, partly due the fact that "Libby" has, regretably, withdrawn her review. Oxfordians who have read Shapiro and have not already done so are encourage to log on to Amazon to post reviews, and/or to comment on or approve reviews by others. This is one place where everyone can make a material contribution.

(Jeopardy, cont. from p. 23)

a flight of fancy based on the Belloy-Mountjoy lawsuit of 1612, in which Shakspere had given a deposition), Charles Nicholl reported that some of the other tenants recalled discussing the matter with Shakspere. Because the events had occurred in 1604, and the lawsuit was in 1612, it could be argued that these accounts are not strictly contemporaneous, but, as Shakspere was alive in 1612, I count it. Conversely, although Ben Jonson related to William Drummond in 1619 that he had known (and spoken with) Shakespeare, the Stratford man had died three years earlier, so I don't consider it contemporaneous. Nor do I include diarist John Manningham's report of the "William the Conqueror" joke involving Shakspere.

[4] This group of course includes Shakspere's own descendants – daughters Judith and Susannah, and granddaughter Elizabeth Hall, who lived until 1670 – none of whom is known even to have mentioned his name.

[5] There is little, if any, doubt that Sonnet 107 refers directly to Elizabeth's death, but it wasn't published until 1609.

[6] Bear in mind that in those days there were only three reliable methods of communicating detailed information privately from one person to another: direct conversation, a personal messenger or a letter. Information of limited content could be delivered via other methods (such as drums, smoke signals, colored flags, etc.) but such communications were not truly "private." It was not until the mid-19th century that a new communication medium was invented – the telegraph.

[7] For three of the ten men for whom there was not a "record of correspondence" (Munday, Middleton and Heywood), Price reported "an extant original manuscript," thus providing independent evidence that he could write. Price, 302-305. Of the remaining seven writers, six had literary careers substantially shorter than that of Shakespeare and four were dead by age 35.

[8] Price, 306-313.

[9] In 1577 John Frampton produced *Joyful Newes Out the Newe Founde Worlde*, an English translation of Nicholas Monardes' 1571 French work. In it tobacco was extolled (Monarde had dubbed it "de Hierba Panacea"); Frampton noted its leaves could be used as a poultice, and that it could be chewed or inhaled.

[10] Interestingly, the word "drinking" was originally used to describe the act of inhaling burning tobacco. The first use of the verb "smoke" to describe it dates to 1617.

[11] *The Faerie Queene,* Book 3, Canto 6, 32.

[12] See generally www.tobacco.org/resources/History/Tobacco_History16.html; and www.tobacco.org/History/Elizabethan_Smoking.html.

[13] Schoenbaum, *William Shakespeare, A Compact Documentary Life* (1977), title of chapter 14.

[14] See www.homepages.ucalgary.ca/~ullyot/princehenry.htm.

[15] The first 98 pages contain some 48 panegyric verses, and conclude with the word "Finis." Coryat then supplies another 50 pages of such stuff.

[16] Although *Othello* was not published until 1622, most scholars assume that the 1604 Revels Account of a performance of "The Moor of Venis" by "Shaxberd" is the same play. *Merchant* appeared in quarto in 1600, and is known to have been performed in 1605. Kevin Gilvary (ed.), *Dating Shakespeare's Plays* (2010), 123, 125, 407-408.

[17] *Coryat's Crudities* is available online at GoogleBooks. Beginning his narrative, Coryat writes that he sailed from Dover at 10 A.M. on May 14, 1608, and arrived in Calais about seven hours later, "after I had varnished the exterior parts of the ship with the excremental ebullitions of my tumultuous stomach, as desiring to satiate the gormandizing paunches of the hungry Haddocks. . .

(KJV, cont. from p. 16)

[13] Opfell, 111.
[14] Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch, quoted in Opfell, 119.
[15] Opfell. 131.
[16] Mary Ellen Chase, *The Bible and the Common Reader*, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1944, 42.
[17] Frank J. Sulloway, *Born to Rebel*, Vintage Books, New York, 1997. at 18.
[18] H. Wheeler Robinson, ed., *The Bible In Its Ancient and English Versions*, Greenwood Press, Westport, CT, 1940, 204.
[19] Gustavus S. Paine, *The Learned Men*, Thomas Y. Crowell Company, New York, 1959, at 167.
[20] Robinson at 219.
[21] *The Holy Bible, A Facsimile in a reduced size of the Authorized Version published in the year 1611 with an introduction by A.W. Pollard and illustrative documents*, Oxford, Printed at the University Press, London: Henry Frowde, Oxford University Press, New York,1911.
[22] Id. 223.
[23] Charles C. Butterworth, *The Literary Lineage of the King James Bible*, Octagon Books, New York, 1971, 220.
[24] Oxford's Introduction to Bartholomew Clerke's translation of The Courtier, in *Oxford: Son of Queen Elizabeth I*, Oxford Institute Press, Darien, CT, 2001, 183.
[25] Robinson at 215.
[26] Id., 214.
[27] Opfell, 18.
[28] Roger Stritmatter, T*he Marginalia of Edward de Vere's Geneva Bible: Providential Discovery, Literary Reasoning, and Historical Consequence*, Oxenford Press, Northampton, Mass., 2001.

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— Walt Whitman.

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