



Shakespeare Matters

"The Voice of the Shakespeare Fellowship"



Dr. Robin Fox, Professor of Social Theory at Rutgers University and former director of the Guggenheim Foundation headlined the 2006 Joint Conference of the Shakespeare Fellowship and the Shakespeare Oxford Society

2nd Annual Joint Conference in Ann Arbor a Success

Two distinguished visitors — Brigham Young University Scholar-in-residence Dr. Michael Egan, and Dr. Robin Fox, Professor of Social Theory at Rutgers University and former director of the Guggenheim Foundation — headlined the second annual joint SF-SOS conference in Ann Arbor, Michigan, November 9-12. Highlights of the Conference included a breathtaking Royal Shakespeare Company production of *The Tempest*, starring Patrick Stewart as Prospero, a provocative luncheon speech by Oregon Shakespeare Festival actor James Newcomb, the airing of *Shakespeare Behind Bars*, an inspiring documentary about a production of *The Tempest* by medium security prisoners at the Luther Lockett Correctional Complex in LaGrange, Kentucky, and more than twenty presentations,

(cont. on p. 13)

“Tilting Under Frieries”: *Narcissus* (1595) and the Affair At Blackfriars

Ever since the printing of W.E. Buckley’s 1882 Roxburghe Club limited edition¹ of Thomas Edwardes’ *Cephalus & Procris* and *Narcissus*,² printed from the unique Peterborough copy of the 1595 quarto, the *Narcissus* *L’envoy* has posed an enigma for literary historians. Although convoluted syntax complicates analysis, the *L’envoy* unambiguously functions as an honorific catalogue of major Elizabethan poets: Spenser, Daniel, and Marlowe are all implicated under their respective sobri-quets, as Collyn Clout (v.1), Rosamond (vii.1), and Leander (vii.3).³ The *Shakespeare Allusion Book*⁴ identifies the passage “Adon deafly⁵ masking thro,/stately troupes⁶ rich conceited” (ix.1-2)⁷ as a reference to the 1593 satiric epyllion *Venus and Adonis* and, by synecdoche, to Shakespeare himself, an identification followed by Katherine Duncan-Jones among others.⁸ Stanzas immediately following the *Adonis* passage have, however, puzzled scholars by reference to an unidentified poet-dramatist whose “golden art” and “bewitching pen” should have made him “of our rime/The only object and the star” (x.5-6). Ingleby includes these stanzas in his excerpt but remarks that the poet “has not been identified”:⁹

Eke in purple robes distaind,
Amid’st the Center of this clime,
I have heard saie doth remaine,
One whose power floweth far,
That should have been of our rime,
The only obiect and the star.
Well could his bewitching pen,
Done the muses obiects to us,
Although he differs much from men,
Tilting under Frieries,
Yet his golden art might woo us,
To have honored him with baies.

(ix-x)

(cont. on p. 18)

Letters:

To The Editor:

In appreciation for your hospitality at the annual meeting, I submit "The Naked Bard."

Just as luck accounts for 50% of the variation of success in life, serendipity remains the scholar's best friend.

For fourteen years I labored in the fields of Academe. On a fellowship, under the auspices of the Provost of Northwestern University, I studied Higher Education with a faculty that included anthropologist Paul Bohannon, research methodologist Donald T. Campbell, and Stanford University linguistics scholar Mary Hass.

They taught me to think. I've never forgotten their lessons.

I undertook a study of the role of professors in universities. This may sound simple, but only until you discover that no two pieces of research in that field had been conducted with a similar theoretical model, or any consistent methodology. I was forced to turn to epistemology, to create a schema for categorizing theories and methods, in order to review the literature.

Soon this project began to encounter repeated changes to incorporate the interests of various assistant professors, none of whom achieved tenure. They kept coming in, and going out, the revolving door of my dissertation committee like rogue candidates for authorship of Shakespeare's plays.

By the time I became a mother, I was nursing my firstborn son in my left arm while debating statistical methods used in surveys of the academic professions with Yale mathematician Serge Lang, over a telephone clutched in my right hand.

When I finally obtained my PhD, I sent a copy of my work to the President of the American Association of Higher Education, with the comment, "The Emperor Has No Clothes." I told him that the bare bottoms of my by then *two* darling little boys looked more appealing

than any chance to 'publish or perish.' He wrote a kind, if somewhat cynical, note in reply. "I doubt you will find the field much improved by the time your boys are grown."

Thus, I feel quite sympathetic toward the predicament of scholars who invested in the Stratfordian tradition.

But how refreshing to spend four days this fall in Shakespeare Fellowship with Shakespeare Oxford Society in Ann Arbor, Michigan! I found meticulous researchers — diligent in their pursuit of historical fact, confident enough in the foundations of their work to speak gently, courageous enough to speak their truth as honestly as the little girl in my favorite fairy tale.

No reader will be surprised to learn that the baby who drank science with his mother's milk became an MD/PhD candidate at the University of Michigan. He remembered that I had discovered Shakespeare's work at the age of ten, when childhood stories lost their luster.

He invited me to Ann Arbor to attend the Royal Shakespeare Company's performances of *The Tempest*, *Antony and Cleopatra*, and *Julius Caesar*.

While researching the Residency, I clicked a "related link" on the RSC website. The SF/SOS Annual Conference would be meeting right at my hotel. Well, why not?

And I found myself among kindred spirits. Though I cannot yet claim the compelling sense of mission I recognize in the more seasoned among you, I am grateful for your sincere welcome. I thank you for your hard work. I found you not only entertaining, but persuasive. I look forward to knowing you better.

Sincerely,

Margaret Zacharias, PhD

Special thanks to the multi-talented proofreaders for this issue: Alex McNeil and K.C. Ligon.

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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.

December 30, 2006

To the Editor:

Perhaps John M. Rollett's solution to the Sonnet dedication puzzle: THESE SONNETS ALL BY EVER THE FORTH is unfinished. I believe a complete solution is: THESE SONNETS ALL BY EVER THE BEGETTER. I reached this conclusion after hearing about the Sonnet dedication puzzle and Rollett's solution in a presentation by Sean Phillips, "Decrypting Shakespeare," at the joint SOS-SF Shakespeare Authorship Conference in Ann Arbor in November 2006. Phillips said a solution has to make sense, and Rollett's ends in nonsense. But how could such a promising start lead nowhere? Something must be missing.

Looking in the dedication for clues, I counted the words (using Rollett's 6-2-4 scheme suggested by the layout of the three blocks of text) and included the signature "T.T." This seemed reasonable because the words of the dedication and the signature initials all are separated by full stops. I found this solution in two steps. Counting the initials, the first part is: THESE SONNETS ALL BY EVER THE FORTH T. "THE FORTH T" sounded like a hint to find "the fourth t." Counting from the beginning of the dedication, the fourth *t* is in the word "BEGETTER." Replacing "FORTH T" with "BEGETTER" gives the second part of the solution: THESE SONNETS ALL BYEVER THE BEGETTER. This solution seems both intentional and meaningful. It identifies the poet as well as his role: Edward de Vere wrote the Sonnets, and he is the begetter.

Rollett himself provides a justification for counting the initials. He says the "T.T." signature is so unusual that it can be regarded as forming part of the dedication: "this Epigraph is so different from Thorpe's other dedications ... none of which is signed "T.T."—that it is easy to suppose someone else wrote it, the initials being added for the sake of form ..." (*Ever Reader* 5 and *Shakespeare Oxford Newsletter* Fall 1997). That someone else was likely to be Shake-Spear.

(Letters, cont. on p. 30)

The President's Blog...

I don't know about the rest of you who came to Ann Arbor, but I had a great time. In addition to the conference speakers, which Roger will tell you all about, it was the second time the SOS and the Fellowship have successfully run a joint conference. Not only did we come away with money in our pocket, I think we all came away with a new sense of camaraderie and unity. Oxford would have

In Ann Arbor, five of us actually met face to face for a brief impromptu meeting which, I think, convinced all of us that this is doable. Personally, if I can facilitate our organizations' joining together, I'll feel I've done a good deed. We expect that all the details will take approximately one year so it won't be a firm proposal until probably 2008.

approved. For those of you who weren't there, let me bring you up to speed.

As we all know, the entire population of Oxfordians is small in number and the population of people interested enough to join an organization is an even smaller number. Of that number there is an even smaller group of people willing to do work in support of an Oxford organization. And supporting two Oxford organizations is a strain on resources: two newsletters (competing for authors), two websites, two



groups of often overlapping members and two conferences competing for speakers and attendees.

Common sense screams at us that having only one organization would fix these problems permanently. Our Oxfordian of the Year, Lynne Kositsky, was an early proponent of rejoining our forces. To this end, the SOS and The Fellowship have formed a six-person joint committee which meets by email to discuss combining the two organizations into one. In Ann Arbor, five of us actually met face to face for a brief impromptu meeting which, I think, convinced all of us that this is doable. Personally, if I can facilitate our organizations' joining together, I'll feel I've done a good deed. We expect that all the details will take approximately one year so it won't be a firm proposal until probably 2008. Please don't get impatient, you will get up-dates!

But meanwhile, The Fellowship has to survive and, while I have your undivided attention, let me do a little begging. As I already mentioned, the Shakespeare Fellowship is a small organization which runs on a shoestring budget. For a very modest \$40 per year we supply a first-class

(Cont. on p. 31)

From a Never Writer: News

Anonymous *Richard II* Attributed to Shakespeare

Professor Michael Egan, Scholar in Residence at Brigham Young University, Hawaii, has published a definitive four volume attribution study of the anonymous early modern history play, *Thomas of Woodstock*, sometimes known as *1Richard II*. The verdict? First, Egan convincingly demolishes Jackson's case for the play's Jacobean authorship, a case ultimately based on a "dizzily circular" method in which "his hypothesis proves his hypothesis" (I: 138). Second, Egan shows that the evidence for Shakespeare's authorship of the play is overwhelming: the play's author "saw and understood Richard II's tragedy in strongly Shakespearean terms and expressed his vision using images, doublings, characters, themes and ideas often indistinguishable from Shakespeare. He deployed literally hundreds of expressions found nowhere else but in Shakespeare....there is not a single

Shakespeare play without deep and extensive connections to *1Richard II*...." (I:494). Stay tuned for further details in upcoming issues of *Shakespeare Matters*.

Brunel MA Program in Authorship Receives Final Approval

Shakespeare scholars at London's Brunel University have received final approval from University officials, including a commitment to funding, for a Masters Program in Authorship Studies. The program, billed as "the first of its kind in the world," is coordinated by Professor William Leahy (see interview, summer 2006 *SM*). Leahy became a committed skeptic of the



Lynne Kositsky was awarded the Oxfordian of the Year Award by SOS President Matthew Cossolotto and Shakespeare Fellowship President Ted Story. Ms. Kositsky has been instrumental in encouraging discussion between the two organizations with the eventual goal of reunification.

School of Arts

MA Shakespeare Authorship Studies

1 year full-time, 2-3 yrs part-time

KEY FACTS

Mode of Study

One year full-time, 2-3 years part-time

Entry Requirements

You should have a good honors degree in a relevant area such as English Literature. Applicants with relevant practical experience and/or professional qualifications will also be considered.

Fees

For information on tuition fees for this course, please visit www.brunel.ac.uk/courses/pg/graduate/school/applicator

Enquiries

Further details may be obtained from:
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Email william.leahy@brunel.ac.uk

Web

www.brunel.ac.uk/courses/pg/graduate/school/applicator

This new MA programme, the first of its kind in the world, tackles and takes seriously Shakespeare and the subject of Authorship in all its diversity. The programme examines ways in which Shakespeare has been mythologised and how issues of collaboration change our notion of authorship, value and authority. The programme also examines the enormously controversial phenomenon of the Shakespeare Authorship Question and ponders why this question causes such controversy.



Credit: Copyright/istockphoto.com

Resources and Location

The location of Brunel in London places it most conveniently for Shakespeare studies, close to The Globe, to Stratford-upon-Avon, the British Library and Senate House. Students can thereby study and immerse themselves in the key facilities for Shakespeare Studies in the UK. Furthermore, Brunel possesses an archive of texts concerning the subject of Shakespeare and Authorship to facilitate easy access to learning materials. Thus we are able to offer an MA designed and taught by experts both in mainstream Shakespeare studies and in those areas which have, until now been marginalised.

Employment

Graduates of this course will be well placed to find employment in the ever-expanding field of publishing, journalism and the arts. In addition, their advanced communication and research skills make them ideal candidates for employment in such areas as the culture industries, teaching and, increasingly, business where such skills are now highly valued.

Brunel Flyer Advertising new Authorship MA program.

official biography of Shakespeare after being asked to write for an English newspaper about the Stratford tourist industry.

The program “tackles and takes seriously Shakespeare and the subject of Authorship in all its diversity,” examining “the way Shakespeare has been mythologized and how issues of collaboration change our notion of authorship, value, and authority...and also examines the enormously controversial phenomenon of the Shakespeare Authorship and ponders why this question causes such controversy.” The program, which is expected to require one year of full time study, or 2-3 years part time, is built around a core of four related modules of study: The Making of Shakespeare, Shakespeare the Collaborator, and The Shakespeare Authorship Question. Applicants should have an honors degree in a relevant area such as English Literature, but applicants with relevant practical experience or professional qualifications will also be considered. Further information is available at www.brunel.ac.uk/courses/pg/graduate/school/application.

University of Warwick to Host Conference and Shakespeare and the Law

The University of Warwick will host an international conference on Shakespeare and the Law from 9-11 July 2007

in association with Warwick Law School and The Capital Centre partnership between The University of Warwick and the Royal Shakespeare Company. The conference will provide a unique forum for scholarly discourse between the major humanities disciplines of law, literature and the performing arts. Confirmed speakers include several leading figures in Shakespearean scholarship, theatre and the field of law and humanities.

“The study of law as a humanities’ discipline is concerned with the capacity of human beings to engage with their environment and reform it by the power of imagination expressed through arts which are not scientifically predictable in their operation or susceptible to empirical assessment,” declares the Conference purpose statement. “In this sense the study of law as a humanities’ discipline is distinct from, albeit compatible with, the study of law as a social science. Law and humanities explores the relationship between subjects and the law; ‘subjects’ indicating on the one hand the very human beings subject to the law, and, on the other hand, the humanities disciplines (including literature and drama) through which the human subject has traditionally created and challenged the law. There is no better starting place, or central case, for such a study than the works of William Shakespeare.” Conference participants will include Professor Jonathan Bate (University of Warwick), Gregory Doran (Royal Shakespeare Company), Professor Peter Goodrich (Director, Law and Humanities, Cardozo Law School), Germaine Greer (formerly of University of Warwick), Michael Pennington, B.J. and Mary Sokol (authors of *Shakespeare’s Legal Language*, 2000), Professor D. Manderson (McGill), and Professor P. Yachnin (McGill).

Boston to Host Reading of New Authorship Play

Shakespeare Fellowship trustee Sarah Smith’s 2004 mystery novel *Chasing Shakespeares*—cleverly encapsulating the authorship controversy into the adventures of two modern-day graduate students who search for the true Bard—is now being developed into a stage production.

On Sunday, February 4, *Chasing Shakespeares, The Play* was resented onstage for the first time in a staged reading at MIT. *Chasing Shakespeares* is billed by producers as a multimedia production created by the team of Alex Chisholm and Sarah Smith. Chisholm is founder of [ICE] 3 Studios, a media research and development consultancy that creates transmedia entertainment and educational properties, and is currently developing several projects with NBC Universal, including an educational media product for NBC News.

In the play, Mark Anderson’s “*Shakespeare*” *By Another Name* practically becomes a character of its own: The protagonists use *SBAN* as their guide to the Oxfordian and Shakespearean universe; they quote it; they ponder it; they mock it; they use it for kindling when their apartment building runs out of heating oil.

For information, please contact chasingshakespeares@gmail.com.

Thanks to Mark Anderson for this news note.

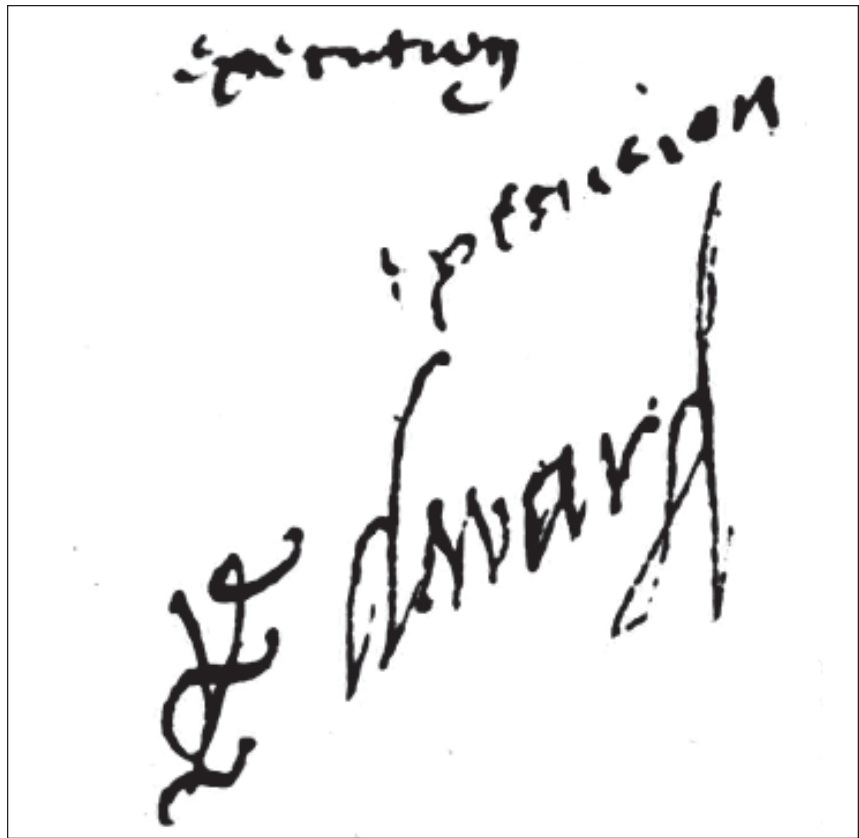
Edward de Vere's Annotated Chronicle?

The Spring 2006 (42:2) issue of the *SOS Newsletter* contains an eyebrow raising article by Ron Hess and Alan Tarica that reproduces for the first time the long-rumored "Edward" signature in the heavily annotated copy of *Halle's Chronicle*, the most important English historical chronicle before Holinshed.

At least two books by Stratfordians have argued at length that the annotations, written in a fluid secretary script, show close affinity to Shakespeare's usage of Halle's work in the history plays. Alan Keen and Roger Lubbock's 1954 *The Annotator* reprints a transcript of all the annotations and seeks to construe a plausible chain of custody connecting it to William Shakespeare and demonstrate through paleographical analysis that the author of the annotations was responsible for the six "Shakespeare" signatures. If the book were annotated by Shakespeare, it would constitute powerful circumstantial evidence of a literary nature supporting the orthodox view of authorship. Alas, the book bears the name Rychard Newport (with the date April 20, 1565) and the paleographical analysis is entirely unconvincing. It has long been known, on the other hand, that the book contained an alternate signature, "Edward," but this had not been previously reproduced.

Hess and Tarica's reprint of the Edward signature raises the interesting possibility that the *Halle's Chronicle* could be used to stand Keen and Lubbock's conclusion on its head. If it can be shown that the annotations are in the same ink as the signature, that would seem to make someone named "Edward" the annotator. If, at the same time, the signature can be connected to the well known pattern of de Vere's signature, or connected in other ways to him, that would make him the annotator.

It is impossible to overstate the importance of such a finding. Up until now, Oxfordians had paid scant attention to the book because the annotations are in a secretary hand, and although it is only



Another wildcard in the authorship debate? Is this the signature of a youthful Edward de Vere, Earl of Oxford, in "Shakespeare's" copy of Halle's Chronicle?

natural to suppose that Oxford was trained in this copybook pattern (as were most literate Elizabethans fluent, as he was, with the more specialized italic script), no examples of his use are known to survive; all his letters, as well as the annotations of his Geneva Bible, are in a different copybook pattern, the more modern italic hand. It is difficult, if not impossible, to render a credible direct comparison between samples of the two hands to determine common authorship. But the "Edward" signature, written in an italic hand, changes all that.

Indeed, Hess and Tarica argue plausibly that the peculiar flourish on the upper left corner of the "E" forms a monogram spelling the name "de Vere":

Because the large capital "E" of "Edward" was a complex figure first constructed by an equally-large "V"

whose right-leg ended at top in an "e" curl; then there was an "r" whose top formed the middle-bar of the "E"; and to wrap it up, the bottom-bar of the "E" was formed under an over-sized "e" loop. But...there's also clearly a diagonal "d-e" in it too. Thus, this "Edward" signed with a "d-e-V-e-r-e" compactly inside his name's first letter.

(14)

(Solution illustrated on p. 32)

A Boar Among The Flowers: A Closer Look at *The Adventures Passed by F.I.*

by Peter Zacharias

In 1573 an anonymous anthology of poems entitled *A Hundreth Sundrie Flowres* appeared in the bookstalls.¹ It caused a sensation for several months, irritating persons powerful enough to have its distribution stopped, and it soon vanished from the scene. Three years later it reappeared with the title *The Posies of George Gascoigne*. The major changes to a new edition were made to an amorous tale embedded among the poems, entitled *The Adventures passed by F.I.* An attempt was made, by changing the title to *The Fable of Ferdinando Jeronimi*, by moving the tale's locale to Italy, and by giving the major characters Italian names, to make it appear as if it were merely a translation of one of "Bartello's riding tales," attributed to an otherwise unknown Italian author, thereby shifting attention away from the English court, the unstated but obvious setting for the original story. To further the impression that the soldier George Gascoigne was the author of all the poems, the 1576 edition included one undoubtedly from his own hand, a long poem about soldering, presumably based upon his recent experiences in the lowlands.

Recently, in their two books *Shakespeare's Fingerprints* and *Secret Shakespeare's Adventures of Freeman Jones*, Michael Brame and Galina Popova have suggested that this tale – and incidentally the entire original anthology – was written and edited by Edward de Vere.² I would like to take a closer look at these amorous adventures of F.I. to see what, if anything, they might reveal about

the creative psyche of the 23-year-old Earl of Oxford, the young courtier who was then in the midst of his own adventures in Elizabeth's court.

In 1570 Edward graduated from Gray's Inn, having capped off his humanist

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education with three years of legal training. He immediately entered the world of the court, a world in many ways contrary to that of his humanist tutors, and one which they had often cautioned their young charges against. The humanists' world was a hierarchal one of fathers and sons, teachers and students, maturity and youth, where

obedience to one's superiors was of the utmost social importance. It followed that the world the humanists prepared their charges for was also a manly, serious world, devoted to performing one's duties to family, monarch, and God. The four classical virtues – justice, prudence, fortitude, and temperance – governed the humanists' behavior in society.

Temperance was especially important, and it meant many things to the Elizabethans. To churchmen it meant the suppression of the carnal appetites, especially lust. To the humanists it meant the active use of reason to guide one from the extremes of contrary passions to a life of moderation. To the physicians it was the means to physical and spiritual health. Its opposite, Intemperance, thus came to mean the submission of reason to the lower bodily appetites and included any disorder of the mind or body.

The humanist tutors taught that woman was responsible for a young man's intemperate behavior. She was a temptress, an Eve or a Circe who would ensnare the unwary, making them forget their responsibilities and duties, robbing them of their manhood, and transforming them into dissolute, pleasure seeking animals, thereby destroying their own and their families' reputations.

There could be no greater contrast between the masculine humanists' world and that of the court. The court was feminine and suffused with a titillating air

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(Cont. from p. 7)

of sexual arousal, stimulated by the women's extravagant dresses with their provocative necklines and tight bodices and the men's short jackets and skintight hose, which emphasized their elaborately decorated codpieces. It was a world where witty, elegant conversation and refined social graces encouraged romantic liaisons. Women and men were social equals and entertained one another with their eloquent speech, social games, and flirtatious innuendos. It was a world of dissimulation, of deceit and guile, of concealed emotions and hidden opinions, where simple directness was socially unacceptable and elaborate artificiality the acclaimed standard. These men and women assumed roles in rituals, ceremonies, masques, and lavish pageants designed to impress foreign dignitaries and to flatter the Queen.

To give pleasure to the Queen, to entertain visiting foreign dignitaries, and to amuse the other female members of the court, was the purpose of a courtier's existence. To that end he learned to dance, to play the lute, to sing, to ride, to hunt, to engage in witty repartee and to write poetry. Whatever he did, he made it appear as if he were doing it effortlessly, with a nonchalance called sprezzatura by Castiglione in *The Book of the Courtier*. Poems the courtier wrote were inspired by an occasion, dashed off in a moment's inspiration, and then circulated among his friends. They were intended to remain in manuscript, publishing being considered a trade and thus beneath an aristocrat's attention.

Edward de Vere embraced wholeheartedly these two worlds and tried to harmonize the conflicts, which divided his psyche. We find him acting responsibly, following the serious humanist program when, as a patron, he subsidized Thomas Bedingfield's translation of Cardano's *De Consolatione*, which he called *Cardanus' Comforte*, and Bartholome Clerke's Latin translation of Baldassare Castiglione's *Il Cortegiano* or *The Book of the Courtier*. To the former he supplied a poem and a preface and his name, while to the latter he wrote a dedicatory letter in Latin, extolling Castiglione's portrait of the courtier as the

perfect type of man.³ Both books are serious works intended for the psychological and social betterment of the reader and, as such, are fit to bear the nobleman's name without incurring any disgrace.

At the same time, however, he was writing *The Adventures Passed by Master F.I.*, a work written from the perspective of the sexual world of the court, and so F.I.'s suffering and joys during his intense love affair are its focus. The signed works were intended for the reader's edification. In contrast, this is a work of inward revelation, a work of catharsis, bringing relief and pleasure to its author and intended to entertain sophisticated members of the

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court; and so the authorship of such a trifling "pamphlet," as the aristocrats so offhandedly referred to the prose products of their pens, had to remain discreetly hidden, but not hidden enough so that the cognoscenti could not guess the author. Brame and Popova label this work a novel, perhaps the first, but I prefer to look at it as a multifaceted romance.⁴ I once attended a lecture on the drawings of the great masters, and it was the lecturer's thesis that the drawings were much more intimate, free flowing, and closer to the artist's creative psyche than the resulting finished formal paintings or murals. I would apply that insight to the work of the young Oxford

and say that his prose romances, lacking the formal structure and conventions of his poems, are more intimate, closer to his creative psyche — that place where the archetypes from his unconscious are brought to life by his imagination. What is truly significant about this work is that it introduces several motifs that will be employed with much greater significance in his mature plays.

The Adventures is complete in itself, hidden among the hundred sundry flowers, waiting for the unsuspecting reader. The story is told and commented upon by a friend of F.I.'s known as G.T. G.T.'s narration is itself interrupted by thirteen poems, poems written by F.I. at emotionally intense points in the narrative. G.T.'s narrative purports to explain the occasion for the creation of each of the thirteen poems. These poems stop the flow of the narrative to allow F.I. to expatiate upon the emotions he is feeling at the moment, producing the same effect in the reader as an aria in an opera, which, by the way, wasn't invented until 1600. Incidentally, several of these poems appear to be songs, and in the story F.I. did sing one of them to his mistress.

The structure of F.I.'s adventures demonstrates how Oxford tried to reconcile the two conflicting worlds he inhabited. G.T. is the rational, humanist side of himself who can view events at a distance and render an informed judgment upon them. His reason rules his passions. F.I., on the other hand, is Oxford's emotional, irrational side. He is controlled by his passions and pleasures, and these are the cause of his amorous adventures and keep him from gaining any perspective upon his actions.

In a letter to another friend that begins the story, G.T., commenting upon the poems, expresses the humanist's usual justification for reading them:

For who doubteth but that poets in their most feigned fables and imaginations have metaphorically set forth unto us the right rewards of virtues and due punishments for vices?

(Brame & Popova 3)

In the story that follows, nothing of the sort occurs. As we shall see, the punishments of vices and the rewards of virtues are not of the slightest concern to the author.

G.T. then discusses one of the humanists' favorite hobbyhorses: the need for a native literature that will take its place beside Latin, Greek, and Italian works.

I have thus far lamented that our countrymen have chosen rather to win a Passover praise by the wanton penning of a few loving lays than to gain immortal fame by the clerkly handling of so profitable a theme.

(Brame & Popova 4)

And yet in the next paragraph he recommends this story as worthy reading, which I agree it is — but not for the stated reasons. This tale of infatuation and adultery, dissimulation and inconstancy, suspicion and jealousy has much more emotional life than the poems de Vere has included in the anthology.

So with G.T., the learned humanist literary critic as our narrator and commentator, let us venture into the world of the court, where the passions, not reason, reign.

The story G.T. narrates combines the traditional tale of courtly love with the kind of sophisticated discussions of love between men and women found in *Il Cortegiano*. F.I. fancies himself to be the typical courtly lover, completely infatuated with a woman who is married and so is not in a position to return his affection; this causes him a great deal of emotional suffering, which he expresses in his letters and poems to her. But his beloved, far from being the unattainable, semi-divine being of his fancy, after a bit of socially required dissembling, quickly returns his infatuation. This is where the more realistic de Vere begins to satirize the conventions of the courtly love poetry. Lady Elynor, his beloved, is described by her friend, Frances, as the most inconstant woman alive, and as proof she tells F. I. that Elynor not only has been intimate with her secretary but also two others, H.D. and H.K.

We have seen how G.T. and F.I. manifest contrary qualities. Now Elynor and Frances, her friend, and a kinswoman of F.I. do the same. As G.T. describes them:

I must let you understand that she (Frances) was unto F. I. a kinswoman, a virgin of rare chastity, singular capacity, notable modesty, and excellent beauty. And though F. I. had

The story G. T. narrates combines the traditional tale of courtly love with the kind of sophisticated discussions of love between men and women found in *Il Cortegiano*. F. I. fancies himself to be the typical courtly lover, completely infatuated with a woman who is married and so is not in a position to return his affection; this causes him a great deal of emotional suffering, which he expresses in his letters and poems to her.

cast his affection on the other, being a married woman, yet there was in their beauties no great difference, but in all other good gifts a wonderful diversity, as much as might be between constancy and flitting fantasy, between womanly countenance and girlish garishness, between hot dissimulation and temperate fidelity.

(Brame & Popova 40)

In the midst of Elynor's dissembling, both encouraging and discouraging our courtly lover at the same time, she suddenly retires to her private quarters suffering from a nosebleed that will not stop. G.T.

tells us that F. I. paid a visit to her quarters and staunched the bleeding with a bit of magic. He brought along a hazel stick, which she held and whenever, during the incantation he recited, he said "amen," she nicked the hazel stick with a knife. The fifth time she did it, the bleeding stopped. I assume the symbolism was not lost on the court.

This proves to be the way to her heart, and soon they meet late at night in the gallery outside her rooms. Oxford indulges in more of the same kind of symbolism. F. I. goes to meet her in his nightgown with only his naked sword in his belt. This apparently frightens Elynor, and she exclaims: "Alas servant, what have I deserved that you come against me with a naked sword as against an open enemy?" (Brame & Popova 45).

She is soon reassured and G. T. tells us that they spent the night making love in the gallery with only the boards for a mattress and his nightgown for a cover. G. T. confesses he cannot describe their delight in any detail because of his lack of like experience; nevertheless, he is able to convey the erotic atmosphere on the gallery. In the morning while F. I. is fast asleep, Frances enters his room, takes his naked sword and hides it. Later that day when the women want to go riding, he can't find his sword, and so makes excuses for going unarmed.

While the women are bantering with him about his absent sword, Frances relates a dream she has had, which even though it purports to be a description of Mars and Venus's activities, is suspiciously similar to Elynor and F.I.'s tryst of the night before. Elynor, suspecting that Frances has the sword, discovers where it is hidden and later that night when she and F.I. meet in her chamber, gives it back to him, and they begin an intense affair that lasts for some time, long after her husband returns. The erotic symbolism aspires toward allegory here, especially if we look at Frances as Temperance, as the good angel, trying to keep him on the path of virtue and Elynor tempting him down the path of pleasure and earthly delights. Frances and F.I. develop an interesting platonic relationship of mutual fidelity. He tells her

(Cont. on p. 10)

(Cont. from p. 9)

“I shall not deceive such trust as you shall lay upon me, and furthermore, so far forth as I may, I will be yours in any respect. Wherefore I beseech you to accept me for your faithful friend and so you shall surely find me.”

“Not so,” quod she, “but you shall be my Trust, if you vouchsafe the name, and I will be to you as you shall please to term me.”

“My Hope,” quod he, “if you so be pleased.”

(Brame & Popova 38)

I cannot help wondering if this is not also a witty allusion to the psalm “In te Domino confide (In thee, O Lord, have I put my trust).” At the same time that he is putting his hope in Temperance, he is also falling deeply in love. As G. T. has heard him say:

And surely I have heard F. I. affirm in sad earnest that he did not only love her, but was furthermore so ravished in ecstasy with continual remembrance of his delights that he made an idol of her in his inward concept.

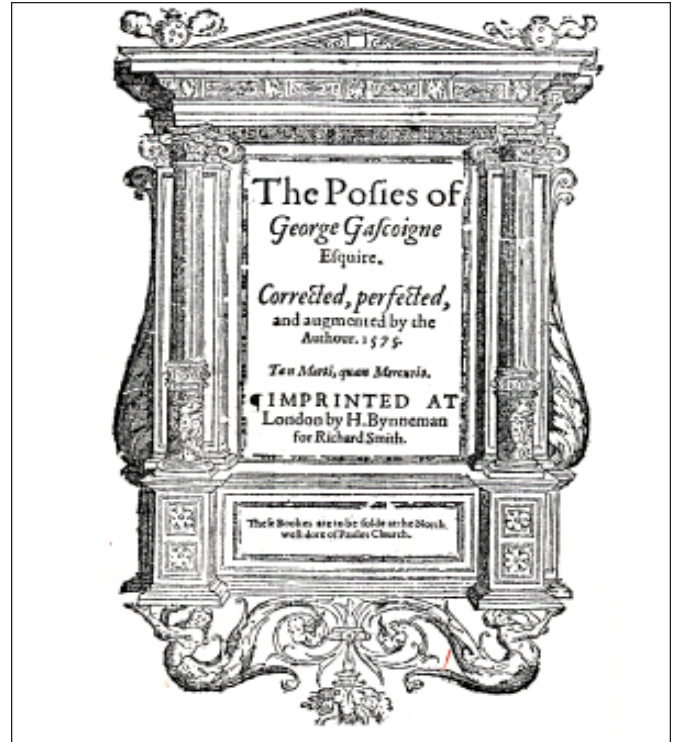
(Brame & Popova 56)

F. I.’s ecstasy inspires him to write many verses which G. T. was not able to procure. At this point in the narrative G. T., being the good literary critic that he is, intrudes into the story to speculate why F. I. would write so many verses. He comes up with what can be only called the narcissistic theory of poetry, which is quite different from that mentioned in his introductory letter, but which fits perfectly with the world of pleasure in which the story is set. His argument is based on the psychology of emotion. As long as we keep the delights of being in love bottled up, we can savor the pleasures for as long as we want. But if we disclose them to another, we lose “their hidden treasure” and then are beset by “doubtful opinions and dreadful conceits.” However, if one records in the inward contemplation of his mind the remembrance of his pleasures, his mind will be furnished with a fresh supply of delight. G. T. feels that writing verse is the best way to do this, and that is why F. I. wrote so many poems – to satisfy his own hunger for fresh delights.

While F. I. is busy reliving his pleasures through the act of writing his verses, Elynor’s husband returns. F. I. becomes good friends with him. When they go hunting together, the loss of the husband’s hunting horn occasions more bawdy innuendoes and introduces another motif that occurs frequently in Shakespeare’s plays: the unwitting cuckold as the butt of scurrilous jokes.

And the affair with Elynor continues unabated.

It is only when her secretary returns that the great boar appears. I borrow this wonderful symbol from Ted Hughes’ *Shakespeare and the Goddess of Complete Being*, but I want to give it a much broader meaning to include any emotion or thought – either creative or destructive – that erupts unexpectedly from the depths of one’s psyche and takes control of one’s actions. In this instance the boar suddenly appears in the form of suspicion and jealousy, and after laying F. I. low with a fever, goes on to



The title page of the 1575 second edition of The Poesies of George Gascoigne, with the alleged author’s name supplied for the first time.

destroy his relationship with Elynor and with it his pleasure. As G. T. describes F. I.’s condition:

(he) . . . was drawn into such a malady as no meat might nourish a body, no delights please his mind, no remembrance of joys forepassed content him, nor any hope of the like to come might comfort him.

(Brame & Popova 66)

His malady forces him to retreat to his sickbed, an episode that matches the earlier scene in which Elynor was confined to her chamber. She appears to tell him that she will visit his chamber every day until he is able to be with her once again. He resolves to put aside his jealousy and go to her, but before he can leave his room, the boar appears in the form of suspicion and gores him again. At this point we are treated to a long medieval-style narrative describing how a man suffering from suspicion becomes Suspicion itself. He was stabbed by his wife and sentenced to roast in the flames of hell. But he seemed to be enjoying his punishments and when asked by the judges, he told them his torments were less than he was accustomed to suffer in the world above, whereupon they decided to send him back into the world. Upon his resurrection, he immured himself in a fortified dungeon where no one – especially his wife – could reach him. In the dead of night he goes forth infecting and tormenting all kinds of people, including F. I., who up until then was swimming in the “deepest seas of earthly delights.” At the moment of greatest pleasure, the boar, that force beyond the control of reason, appears unbidden and ‘wounds’ him

so severely that he has to return to his bed. When Elynor returns with her friends, she tries to cheer him up with an entertainment that recalls the discussions of love that the men and women enjoyed in *The Book of the Courtier*.

After the entertainment is over, Elynor whispers to him that she will return that night. She kneels down beside him and entreats him to get well, recalling all their pleasures together since their hearts had become one. She begins crying, and her tears fall upon his lips. These put him into such an ecstatic trance that he faints dead away.

As G. T. narrates:

For surely I have heard him affirm that to die in such a passion had been rather pleasant than to like pangs of death. It were hard now to rehearse how he was revived, since there were none present but he dying who did not declare, and she living who would not disclose.

(Brame & Popova 88)

But F. I. does disclose that when he awakened the first thing he felt was his mistress's body pressing down upon him and "biting his lips with her friendly teeth."

At this point it is evident that Oxford has Gottfried Von Strassburg's Tristan in mind, because that is the way Blanchflour revives her love, the mortally wounded Rivelan. Once he is awake, they immediately make love, and nine months later she gives birth to Tristan.⁵

F. I. removes Elynor's clothes, and it appears that he will take another plunge in the sea of earthly delights when the boar enters again. F. I. and Elynor get to talking, and he hints darkly at the cause of his sickness, then after some coaxing from her, confesses his suspicion and jealousy. This angers her, and he tries to calm her down. But the vehemence of her reproaches eventually anger F. I., and he pins her down on the bed with such violence "That before she could prepare the ward, he thrust her through both hands &c. whereby the dame swooning for fear was constrained, for a time, to abandon her body to the enemy's courtesy"⁶ (Brame & Popova 90-91).

So ends his affair with Elynor. Comparing the events in the two chambers, I cannot help being reminded of that pair of poems, *Venus and Adonis* and *The Rape of Lucrece*. I think we have the seeds here of the later fruit. Elynor, like Venus, is the more open and assertive one, to the point where she encourages F. I. and the rape in his bedroom comes after he confesses his irrational suspicions, that is, he confesses to the uncontrollable eruption of the boar. Both become victims of the blind, unruly violence of the boar that penetrates the thin veneer of civilization championed by the courtly love tradition and *The Book of the Courtier*.

The day following the rape, F. I. pays a visit to Elynor who embarrasses him in front of her friends and the secretary, his detested rival. As F. I. leaves, he realizes that Elynor really does not want to have anything to do with him. With the earnest assistance of his friend, Frances, he then resolves to allow his reason to once again be his guide, but he needs some tangible proof of her inconstancy. Frances, who happened to come upon Elynor

and the secretary together in her room the day before, tells him to visit Elynor's chamber, which he does early the next morning. There he watches the secretary and Elynor parting from one another with many tender endearments. The next day he confronts her; at first, she denies it. Finally she admits to being with the secretary and defiantly asks him, "And if I did so, what then?" (Brame & Popova 115).

He doesn't answer, but instead walks away telling her that he will recover from his loss quicker than she will find her lost pleasure with the secretary. He returns to the solitude of his chamber and writes the final, thirteenth poem of the story. With the help of Temperance he has returned to the world of reason, but we can't help feeling the tragic nature of his return, for who would willingly leave such a pleasant world of earthly delights?

**Finally there is the matter of the boar,
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And what could be more destructive to a
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sexuality....**

My synopsis does not do justice to the multifaceted nature of the tale. This story, unlike anything else Oxford has written, reveals his supercharged, multi-layered mind allowing itself freedom of expression. Unconstrained by demands of form, he holds suspended in his mind the realistic goings-on at court, the courtly love romance of Tristan and Isolde, which the skeptical, humanist aspect of his mind can only satirize and lampoon, the myth of Venus and Adonis, and behind that the even older myth of the Great Goddess who is both the virgin and whore, whom he splits into Frances and Elynor just as the Catholic church splits her into The Virgin Mary and Mary Magdalene.

Then there is Oxford's interest in the emotions associated with love and desire, and the obverse, those of suspicion and jealousy, that cause his destruction. He describes them directly, but more often he is forced in the medieval fashion to resort to personification, symbolism, and allegory. Thus he interrupts his story with a long cautionary tale that harkens back to the literature of the past, just as his focus and depiction of the lovers' emotions looks forward to the future.

There is, finally, the matter of the boar, the emblem of those irrational impulses emerging from the unconscious which disrupt the pleasant, artfully constructed social conventions between men and women. What could be more destructive to a young humanist

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(Cont. from p. 11)

that the irruption of his sexuality? This is Oxford's most erotic writing, very graphic and sensual, and has to be considered the most pornographic work that was ever smuggled in among such innocent fare as the other occasional poems in the anthology, truly a boar among the flowers. He dresses much of his bawdy remarks and descriptions in puns, innuendos, allusions, and metaphors, so that the reader is constantly snickering at the author's inventive wit. This barely disguised sexual energy constantly threatens the serious depiction of F. I.'s emotions and the pathos of his situation, not to mention the serious nature of the poems.

Three other seeds germinate in this garden of jealousy — the love-destroying jealousy which will be ruminated upon until it ripens and bears fruit in the mature works of *Othello* and *Winter's Tale*. The first seed is the structural device of the two friends, either male or female, representing and expressing moral and psychic qualities that are presented as paired opposites. The

This work reveals the juvenile prankster side of Oxford, a side that others must have found very annoying. This anthology is a hoax, a practical joke aimed at Queen Elizabeth and Sir Christopher Hatton. And what is so devilishly clever is that they could not complain openly about their treatment for fear of calling attention to themselves. So they bided their time until Oxford was on his trip to Italy before taking their revenge.

second is the motif of death and rebirth or, as it is sometimes presented, as fainting and revival, which occurs in *Romeo and Juliet* and becomes the climatic moment in all of his tragicomedies. The third seed is F.I.'s soliloquy which serves to dramatize his conflicted mind caused by his suspicion, which Oxford uses in his tragedies whenever he wishes to depict a character's mental agony.

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appointed the less-than-indifferent-versifier Hatton, to the office of poet laureate, and Hatton persuaded Gascoigne to reissue the now sanitized volume under his name, as he was a commoner who would incur no disgrace by affixing his name to the published work.

It took courage for the young Oxford to confront the unconscious as he has here; most of us are frightened of the boar; we prefer to avoid or deny our irrational impulses — good or bad — that erupt unbidden. Oxford must have taken Hatton's appointment as an indication that the occasional poems courtiers wrote were not that important to Elizabeth. After 1573 he never signed a poem again, and in the years following his return from Italy, he left the dilettantish courtier poetry to the likes of Hatton, devoting himself instead to learning the craft of playwriting.

Endnotes

¹For a more complete discussion of the reasons leading up to its publication, its confiscation, and its sanitized reissue see: Ogburn, Dorothy and Charlton. *This Star of England*. New York: Coward-McCann, Inc., 1952, 55. Also Mark Anderson adds a few more details in his *Shakespeare by Another Name*. New York: Gotham, 2005, 69-70.

²Throughout this work Michael Brame and Galina Popova's edition of this "wanton" tale, *Secret Shakespeare's Adventures of Freeman Jones*, is used.

³B. M. Ward's translation of Oxford's Latin dedication to Clerke's translation of *The Courtier* can be found in Fowler's *Shakespeare Revealed in Oxford's Letters*, 45. Mark Anderson describes the circumstances surrounding Oxford's endorsement of *Cadanus' Comforte*, 64-65 in *Shakespeare by Another Name*.

⁴Brame and Popova, iv.

⁵Von Strassburg, Gottfried, 57-58.

⁶As noted by Brame & Popova in a footnote, "prepare the ward" means to assume a defensive position in fencing (90). The fencing metaphor allows Oxford to describe the rape in titillating detail.

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(Ann Arbor, cont. from p. 1)

including *Oxfordian Jeopardy!* (the brainchild of SF Trustee Alex McNeil).

Members of the Michigan *Oberon* group, with representatives in both the SOS and the SF, were instrumental in organizing the conference under the able leadership of Richard Joyrich.

The diversity of lectures and backgrounds of conference participants was an impressive illustration of the development of the Oxfordian movement over the past fifteen years. Throughout the 1990s it was rare to see conference attendees with PhDs in literature or related studies. In Ann Arbor, of twenty-two presentations, fourteen were given by members holding advanced degrees of one kind or another:

- five held PhDs in literary studies;
- two others PhDs in fields not directly related to the authorship question;
- two MAs in literature;
- a professional Shakespearean actor;
- two degrees in law;
- three MDs;
- two without other qualification who have published books on Shakespeare with an academic press;
- several have written extensively on Shakespeare and/or the authorship question.

Perhaps the most gratifying aspect of the conference was the opportunity for members and trustees of both organizations to socialize and discuss a common vision for advancing the Oxfordian cause. SOS President Matthew Cossolotto, an organizational consultant, took a leading role in inviting conference attendees to brainstorm initiatives for outreach to constituencies who may be interested in the Oxfordian case. After hours members of both organizations happily shared stories, camaraderie, and ideas. A committee of representatives from both organizations met to discuss terms of a possible reunification, and informed members that they hope to propose an agreement for reconciliation to the membership and trustees of both organizations later this year (see the President's Blog, this issue, 3, 32).

Egan, the author of over ten books and eighty articles on literary subjects, was an English Professor at the University of Massachusetts before becoming a Scholar in residence at Brigham Young (Hawaii). His four-volume attribution study of the Elizabethan history play *Thomas of Woodstock*, also known as *Richard II, Part 1* (2006, Edwin Mellen Press), was awarded the 2006 Adele Mellen Prize for Distinguished Contribution to Scholarship. The play, which exists only in a sole surviving manuscript copy, has long hovered on the margins of the Shakespearean canon. While recognized as one of the most accomplished Elizabethan history plays, the absence of an identifiable author and a published text (until 1840), as well as the play's disturbing content, led to its neglect by Shakespearean scholars. Egan's lecture analyzed how "language, scenes, narrative structures, thematic concerns, historical and political perspectives, understanding and presentation of character, linguistic finesse, symbolic imagery, and dramatic configurations" of the anonymous



Professor Michael Egan, Scholar in Residence at Brigham Young University in Hawaii, lectured on the anonymous Elizabethan history play, *Thomas of Woodstock*, which his four-volume Edwin Mellen Press study attributes to "Shakespeare." Hmmm...

play support the view of Shakespeare's authorship, and detailed some of the more than 1,600 phrase and word parallels that connect the two plays. Stay tuned for further details in *Shakespeare Matters*.

Fox, born in Hayworth, Yorkshire, regaled the conference with his humorous (and sometimes hilarious) "Personal Reflections on the Grammar School Issue." A founder of the Department of Anthropology at Rutgers University, Fox is the author of fifteen books, including *Kinship ad Marriage*, widely considered to be the most utilized anthropology textbook in the world. A committed Oxfordian, Fox's amusing personal account of his journey towards enlightenment, encounters with closed minds, and humorous commentary on the internal follies and foibles of the Oxfordian movement not only resonated with but entertained Conference attendees. His view on the Grammar school issue is that Shakspere could in fact, contrary to the view of some Oxfordians, have acquired a thorough knowledge of the classics at the Stratford grammar school – "if indeed he went there."

On Sunday Oregon Shakespeare Festival leading man James Newcomb delivered an inspiring luncheon speech at the traditional awards banquet. A passionate advocate of Oxford's authorship of the Shakespearean canon, Newcomb wowed attendees at last year's Ashland conference in his wickedly energetic *Richard III* and was interviewed about his Oxfordian conviction by Mark Anderson in the Fall 2005 issue of *Shakespeare Matters*. A charismatic and thoughtful speaker who moonlights as an adjunct

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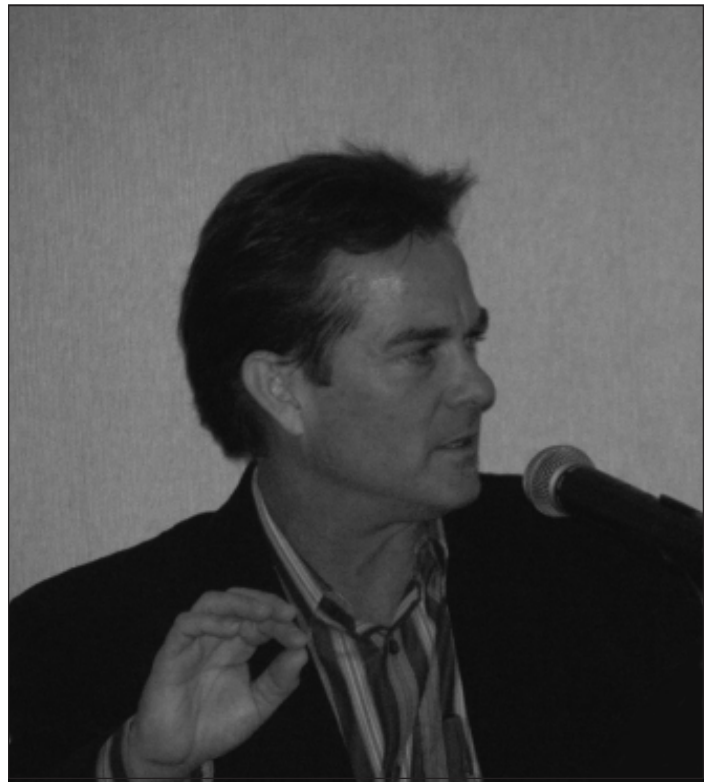
professor at the U.C.S.D. theatre department, Newcomb discussed his personal fascination with the underlying themes of artifice and authenticity in the plays and how that theme relates to the authorship question. Believing that “the artifice of theatre can show us what is true and authentic in ourselves,” and never more powerfully than “in the work of a man whose motto was ‘nothing truer than truth,’” Newcomb finds that “the more he learns about Edward de Vere, the more he empathizes with his struggle to be true to himself.”

For the second year, the Shakespeare Fellowship and the SOS collaborated to present award the annual Oxfordian of the Year award. Lynne Kositsky, who left the board of trustees of the Shakespeare Fellowship this year for personal reasons, was recognized at the awards luncheon as Oxfordian of the Year.

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Kositsky is an award-winning Canadian novelist and poet who has published nine young adult historical novels, including a novel about Edward de Vere, *A Question of Will* (Roussan 2000), which was featured in the Folger Library 2006 Exhibit of children’s literature about Shakespeare, “Golden Lads and Lasses.” Her 2002 book about an African-American girl whose family settled in Nova Scotia after the Revolutionary war, *Rachel: A Mighty Big Imagining*, was awarded the White Raven prize by the International Youth Library in Munich, given to books which “contribute to an international understanding of a culture and people.” In 2004-05 Ms. Kositsky served as the President of the Shakespeare Fellowship.

“I was surprised and delighted to win the award,” she said, “and I thank the members of the committee for their consideration.” SF President Ted Story and SOS President Matthew Cossolotto singled out her accomplishments in organizing several conferences, promoting dialogue between the SOS and the SF, her regular and spirited contributions to the online discussion forum



James Newcomb addresses the Sunday awards banquet at the 2006 Annual Joint conference of the SOS and the SF.

HLAS (Google discussion group “Humanities.Literature.Authors.Shakespeare”), and her work (with Roger Stritmatter) on the date and sources of *The Tempest*.

At this conference, Kositsky, in collaboration with Roger Stritmatter, updated their “A Moveable Feast: The Liturgical Symbolism and Design of *The Tempest*,” the latest installment in their series of papers on the sources, date, and symbolism of *The Tempest*. Stritmatter holds a PhD in Comparative Literature from the University of Massachusetts, where he wrote the first PhD dissertation on the 17th Earl of Oxford. “So rich and detailed is the fit between Shrovetide and Lenten cultural practices and the design of Shakespeare’s play,” stated Stritmatter and Kositsky, “that it may safely be concluded that it was written, as Hassel has said of Jonson’s epiphany masques and *Twelfth Night*, ‘with the major outlines of the festival reason firmly in mind.’”

Tom Townsend, who holds an MBA in Marketing and Psychology from Case Western University, took up the psychological dynamics of the authorship question. Townsend’s “Shakespeare and the Essential Common Man Theory” analyzed Stratfordian resistance to the discourse of authorship as a manifestation of the “common man theory,” which idealizes the accomplishments and abilities of ordinary persons.

Bill Farina, author of *De Vere As Shakespeare: An Oxfordian Reading of the Canon* (McFarland and Co., 2005), modeled an educational lecture, “Puritan Politics and Geography Lessons: The Authorship Debate as an Educational Device,” a slide-illustrated



Sean Phillips, amateur epistemologist, explains the Friedman conditions. Phillips went on to lay out a fascinating argument for the existence of an extended authorship anagram in the Sonnets.

lecture designed to increase student awareness of Shakespeare's geopolitical epoch and stimulate critical thinking. The presentation included examination of ten Shakespeare plays that related to Elizabethan or Jacobean politics or European renaissance geography. Farina is the co-founder, with his wife, Marion Buckley, of a Chicago Authorship group. He is currently completing a second book, a biography of Ulysses S. Grant, scheduled for publication in 2007.

In "Suffer a Sea Change: Sources of the Alchemical Images of *The Tempest* in a Life Crisis of Edward de Vere," Ron Halstead combined biographical and source criticism to explore the theory, previously articulated by orthodox scholars, identifying John Dee as the prototype and inspiration for Prospero. Halstead, who holds a Masters Degree in English and has taught literature at both secondary and college levels, emphasized the approach of new alchemy taught by Paracelsus, built around the metaphor of "man as a vessel." He linked de Vere's lifelong interest in alchemy, including his patronage of the publication of works of alchemical medicine by Conrad Gesner as translated by George Baker (de Vere's physician), recipes of Paracelsian medicine translated by the distiller John Hester, and his correspondence with Dee "anno 1570," to sources of images in the plays and Sonnets, and argued for "a parallel between de Vere's crisis and that of Ferdinand as he experiences shipwreck, apparent drowning, loss of his father, and isolation from familiar surroundings."

Ron W. Hess, an information technology security analyst who has taught at Johns Hopkins University and currently devotes much of his free time to researching and writing about the authorship question, spoke on the question, "Did Thomas Heywood Identify Will Shake-Speare as an Imitator?" Hess analyzed the catalog of poets contained in Heywood's 1635 *Hierarchy of the Blessed Angels*, an "extravagantly poetic book of the occult dedicated to King Charles I and his Queen, authorized by the King's own Chaplain, and printed by no less than the Master of the Stationer's Company, easily the most prestigious publication of that year." Hess argued that the selection and arrangement of the names of the mentioned writers, in conjunction with Heywood's commentary on literary rewards and fame, could easily be read as an esoteric text alluding to the pseudonymous character of the name "Shakespeare" (see this issue of *Shakespeare Matters* for a revised version of the talk).

Phillips explained that all ciphers can be classified as one of two types: transposition or substitution. Transposition ciphers involve the rearrangement of the characters of a message to conceal the ciphered message. Substitution ciphers substitute characters with other characters according to a prearranged pattern. Phillips noted that "no proposed cryptographic solution has ever met the conditions established by the Friedmans for validity...."

Tom Hunter's paper, "Shylock: Jews and No Jew: Why Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice* is Not Anti-Semitic," examined Shakespeare's use of Jewish scripture and how that use "defines Shylock's human drama," arguing that "any Anti-Semitism in the play comes not from the author but from performances, audiences, and critics." Hunter, who holds a PhD in English and American Literature from Wayne State University, is in the process of phasing out a career in financial planning to return to his first love, the "systematic study of how great literature works."

Alex McNeil, a graduate of Yale College and Boston College Law School and Trustee of the Shakespeare Fellowship, led the Conference in another exciting round of *Oxfordian Jeopardy!* McNeil appeared as a contestant on the real *Jeopardy!* show in 1995, on which he was able to briefly explain to several million viewers who Edward de Vere, 17th Earl of Oxford, really was. He developed *Oxfordian Jeopardy!* in 2003 and has brought it to

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three successive Shakespeare Fellowship conferences, where it has been an educational and entertaining diversion.

Sean Phillips, although employed as a theatre technician, spends his spare time as an amateur historian and freelance epistemologist and says he became involved in the authorship question “many years ago as a natural confluence of those two interests.” His paper, “Decrypting Shakespeare: Transposition Ciphers and the Friedman Conditions,” examined the work of William and Elisabeth Friedman, whose book, *The Shakespearean Ciphers Examined*, “established the specific attributes, known as the Friedman conditions, that all authorship ciphers must possess to be considered valid solutions.”

Phillips explained that all ciphers can be classified as one of two types: transposition or substitution. Transposition ciphers involve the rear-arrangement of the characters of a message to conceal the ciphered message. Substitution ciphers substitute characters with other characters according to a prearranged pattern. Phillips noted that “no proposed crypto-graphic solution has ever met the conditions established by the Friedmans for validity” and then explored specific issues related to acrostics and anagrams, which are types of transposition ciphers. The paper’s surprise ending was Phillips’ discovery of a purportedly valid (i.e., meeting the Friedman conditions for validity) Sonnet anagram that spells a complete sentence, naming de Vere as the author of the works. Phillips will be submitting his article to the mainstream academic journal *Cryptology*.

Tom Regnier, a practicing lawyer who graduated *summa cum laude* from the University of Miami School of Law, where he now teaches a regular course on Shakespeare’s Law (see *SM*, Fall 2006 (6:1), 1, 11-13), spoke on the topic, “Disclaiming Shakespeare’s Law.” Regnier was the keynote speaker at the Shakespeare Fellowship 2004 Conference in Baltimore, where he received the Fellowship’s annual award for outstanding scholarship. His lecture responded to the “many scholars who

write about legal issues in Shakespeare’s plays” who “seem to feel obliged to comment, almost as an aside, that there is nothing remarkable about the law in the play, that the legal issues were common knowledge in Shakespeare’s day, and that most people understood these issues because they were ‘in the air.’” Ironically, said Regnier, “these authors ask one to believe that a person with no legal training wrote plays in which a wide range of legal issues are so deeply and subtly interwoven that it takes expert scholarship to reveal their mysteries.”

Drawing from a wide range of legal analyses and “disclaimers” – including works such as Thomas Glyn Watkin’s *Hamlet and the Law of Homicide* (1984), Anthony Burton’s “An Unrecognized Theme in *Hamlet*: Lost Inheritance and Claudius’ Marriage to Gertrude” (2000) and Charles Ross’ *Elizabethan Literature and the Law of Conveyance* (2003) – argued that disclaimers of Shakespeare’s legal knowledge “are belied by the very complexity and subtlety of the legal analyses the writer’s perform.”

Elaborating on his longstanding interest in classical Greek influences in the Shakespearean plays, a subject formerly treated



Barbara Burris explains the latest developments in her ongoing research and scholarship on the so-called Ashbourne portrait, owned by the Folger Shakespeare Library.

in his article “*Oresteia* and *Hamlet*,” published in the 2004 issue of *The Oxfordian*, Earl Showerman’s conference lecture explored the theme “All in the Family: Gods and Greeks in *The Winter’s Tale*.” Showerman, a graduate of Harvard College and the University of Michigan Medical School, is a former trustee of the Shakespeare Fellowship who hosted last year’s successful annual conference in his hometown of Ashland, Oregon. His lecture contrasted the popular Romance by Robert Greene, *Pandosto, The Triumph of Time* (1587), generally supposed as Shakespeare’s source, with the version of the story told in *Winter’s Tale*, attributing the differences to the direct influence of the Greek tragedies on the author of the play: “The antique character names in the play along suggest topically relevant ancient sources... The provenance of Apollo, the themes of murderous, vengeful jealousy, exile, infanticide, and the mysterious resurrection of Queen Hermione, all point to dramatic treatments by the 5th century Greeks.”

Showerman went on to observe that the “remarkable parallels” between Shakespeare’s play and the dramas of Euripides “have been largely ignored by contemporary scholars, who may not be comfortable with the notion of authorial fluency, of access to untranslated Greek dramas.”

Richard Whalen, a freelance writer and former President of the SOS who graduated from Fordham College and Yale Graduate School, is the author of *Shakespeare: Who Was He? The Oxford Challenge to the Bard of Avon* (Greenwood 1994), one of the most accessible and popular introductions to the authorship question. Whalen’s lectured on the topic, “Shakespeare Plays Allegedly Written After 1604: Not Proven and Here’s Why.” His paper argued that “analysis of the history of each of [the allegedly late plays] does not support dates of composition after 1604.”

In his lecture, “The Subject of the Sonnets is...The Sonnets” Hank Whittemore examined the “self-referential” aspects of Shakespeare’s sonnets and employed his acting talents to bring alive “a portrait of the sequence based on the poet’s own words.” Whittemore is a journalist who has written ten books, dozens of TV documentaries, and nearly a hundred articles for *Parade* magazine. He has also worked as a professional actor. His most recent book, *The Monument*, presents a “radical edition of the Shakespeare sonnets as written by Edward de Vere.”

Paul Altrocchi, a graduate of Harvard Medical School who trained in neurology at Columbia Medical School and is a second generation Oxfordian who has known of de Vere’s authorship for 61 years, spoke on the theme: “Ideational Challenge: Why is it so Difficult?” Altrocchi noted that human beings “resist ideational change with remarkable tenacity” and noted that Oxfordians “are not exempt from this innate human characteristic.”

Peter Austin-Zacharias is an independent writer/scholar who holds a PhD in Renaissance Studies from Michigan State University. His dissertation was on the motif of death and rebirth in the tragicomedies of Shakespeare, Daniel, and Fletcher. His lecture, “The Boar Among the

Flowers: A Closer Look at ‘The Adventures Passed by F.J.’” provided a psychodynamic reading of the prose romance, originally published in the anonymous *A Hundredth Sundry Flowers* (1573).

The work was republished with significant alterations – changing the locale to Italy and Italianizing the names of the characters to obviate the possibility of any topical application to the Elizabethan court – in the 1575 volume *The Poesies of George Gascoigne*. Oxfordians have long suspected that Oxford may have been the author of some portion, even the vast majority, of the poems and prose pieces

Barbara Burris, an independent researcher and writer from Detroit, gave the next installment in her exceptional research on the Folger Library’s Ashbourne portrait “The Provenance of the Ashbourne Portrait of Shake-speare.” Burris examined a number of outstanding questions in the provenance of the painting that have never been held worthy of consideration by its current owners.

contained in these works. This theory surmises that the 1575 attribution to Gascoigne was a convenient ruse, like the Italianizing of “The Adventures of Master F.J.,” to uncouple the earlier work from the court milieu and contain its allegedly explosive political implications. Drawing on recent work by Michael Brame (PhD, linguistics) and Galina Popova (PhD, linguistics), *Secret Shakespeare’s Adventures of Freeman Jones*, which attributes *Flowers* to de Vere, Austin-Zacharias examined the amorous adventures of the narrative “to see what it will reveal about the psyche of the 23-year old Earl of Oxford.” *Shakespeare Matters*

is pleased to publish Dr. Austin-Zacharias’ lecture in this issue (7-12).

Barbara Burris, an independent researcher and writer from Detroit, gave the next installment in her exceptional research on the Folger Library’s Ashbourne portrait “The Provenance of the Ashbourne Portrait of Shake-speare.” Burris examined a number of outstanding questions in the provenance of the painting that have never been held worthy of consideration by its current owners:

- Is it possible that the Ashbourne “Shakespeare” was originally the full length Ketel portrait of the Earl of Oxford documented in the archives of Wentworth Woodhouse collection in the 18th century?
- If so, how did the full length Oxford Ketel portrait at Wentworth become the ¾ Shakespeare portrait at Ashbourne?
- How could this painting have plausibly ended up at the Ashbourne free school?

Richard Desper, recently elected to the Shakespeare Fellowship Board of Trustees on which he serves as Treasurer and membership coordinator, holds a PhD in chemistry from the University of Massachusetts. Over the years Desper’s interpretative articles on specific Shakespearean plays, including *Henry V*, *Twelfth Night*, and *Winter’s Tale*, have appeared in *The Elizabethan Review*, *The Oxfordian*, and *Shakespeare Matters*. Desper reprised his “‘Stars or Suns’: The Portrayal of the Earls of Oxford in Elizabethan Drama,” a detailed analysis of a curious passage in Act III, Scene vii of *Henry V*, in which Lord Rambures questions the Constable of France, Charles Delabreth, about certain embellishments on his armour: “are those stars or suns upon it?” (See *Shakespeare Matters* 5:4 (summer 2006), 1, 25-30).

Traditional scholarship has treated these words as idle chatter. In the words of C.W. Scott-Giles, a leading expert on heraldry in Shakespeare: “The reference to stars on his armour....does not appear to have any heraldic significance.” Desper

(Cont. on p. 32)

(Frieries, cont. from p. 1)

Roxburghe editor Buckley proposed a solution in 1882 which, curiously, has been ignored by all subsequent commentators including Ingleby: "A conjecture must be hazarded as to the person meant [...] whoever he was, he must have been a person of no-ble birth [...] and of high natural and acquired mental accomplishments".¹⁰ Later Buckley asserts that "if 'purple robes' may mean a Nobleman's robes, it gives some colour to the conjecture of Professor Dowden that [Edward de] Vere, Earl of Oxford, may have been intended, as his reputation stood high as a poet, and a patron of poets".¹¹ Charlotte Stopes, writing in 1921, concurs that "in the Envoy from *Narcissus*, Edwardes speaks of a distinguished noble poet who

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'differs much from men, Tilting under Frieries,'"¹² but does not identify a likely candidate or mention the Dowden-Buckley theory identifying the poet as de Vere.¹³

New evidence allows definitive identification of the phrase "tilting under Frieries" as reference to a notorious series of Blackfriars street fights (1582-85) involving Oxford's retainers. As is well known, Oxford was patron in 1583-84 of the Blackfriars theater, located in the precinct of the dissolved Dominican enclave of the same name, on the Thames

just east of Bridewell. Blackfriars had been a theatrical enclave for many decades, and the office of the Master of Revels had been located there since 1544.¹⁴ Sometime before 1580, when Lyly dedicated his *Euphues and His England* to him, until possibly as late as 1588,¹⁵ Oxford employed John Lyly as his personal secretary and literary manager, to produce plays at various venues including Blackfriars. Lyly later dramatized Oxford's relationship with the Queen in his most famous drama, *Endymion* (c. 1586).¹⁶

Oxford's connections to the Blackfriars district are well known to theatre historians. In spring 1583 he acquired the sublease of the Blackfriars playhouse from Henry Evans and transferred it to his agent Lyly. Muriel Bradbrook surmises that "Lyly was trying to amalgamate the children's troupes under Oxford's patronage" and E. K. Chambers adds that in 1583 "Hunnis, Lyly and Evans were all working together under the Earl's patronage, for a company under Oxford's name was taken to Court by Lyly in the winter of 1583-84, and by Evans in the winter of 1584-85, and it seems pretty clear that in 1583-84 at any rate it was made up of boys from the Chapel and Paul's."¹⁷

While these circumstances supply relevant context, a specific link between Oxford and Blackfriars clinches the Dowden-Buckley hypothesis. By 1576 the former Dominican convent, legally an enclave or "liberty" free from the jurisdiction of London civil authorities, had become not only a prominent theatrical district¹⁸ but also a popular site for feuds and duels, which were strictly prohibited by city authorities in London *per se*. "The liberties," writes Stephen Mullaney, "were organized around emblems of anomaly and ambivalence. What could not be contained within the strict order of the community, or exceeded its bounds in a symbolic or moral sense, resided here."¹⁹

The most notorious of all Elizabethan feuds at Blackfriars was the 1582-83 contretemps between Oxford's men and the retainers of Henry Howard, Charles Arundel, Thomas Knyvet and Thomas Vavasour; ignited by both personal and religious motives,²⁰ the altercation became the most intense and infamous internecine

quarrel of Elizabethan England, large enough in scale to enter into the literary legends of the period. A series of bloody public encounters, the result of a quarrel lasting four years (1581-85), eventuated in several deaths and more wounded. "Comme autrefois à Vérone, les rues de Londres furent emplies par les clameurs querelleuses de ces nouveaux Montagues et Capulets".²¹

It might be objected that the *L'envoy* refers to a figure who does not tilt under frieries as ordinary men do, and that since Oxford was involved in the feud, he cannot be the one implied. On the contrary, the *L'envoy* definitely alludes to someone of Oxford's elite status; Edwardes's distinction between the purple-robed poet and the "mortal men" carefully exonerates the

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former from any responsibility for the behavior of his feuding retainers. This is a customary and expected stance in dealing in print with a powerful nobleman. Historical accuracy was not a consideration; protocol required Edwardes to distinguish sharply between the aristocrat with the "golden art" and his irresponsible retainers who had involved his name in the feud.

The story of the Blackfriars feud is told in numerous documents preserved in London's PRO. In April 1583 the affair

became an international scandal when Signior Jeronimo Rocco, the Blackfriars fencing teacher, became embroiled in the fighting. The French ambassador Castelnau de Mauvissière wrote to Walsingham, complaining that Rocco was “threatened by the people of the earl of Oxford, which puts him in great trouble and despair of ever being able to live securely in this realm”.²² Before the affair had come to a close in 1584, when Oxford reunited with his wife, both Knyvet and Oxford were wounded, the latter lamed for life.²³

Understandably, the event left an indelible impression in the popular imagination of the era.²⁴ Like the 1581 marriage negotiations between D’Alençon and Elizabeth, which were still topical in *The Fairie Queene* a decade later²⁵ and remained an object of popular gossip well into the mid-1590s, the affair at Blackfriars was an event that shaped an era and entered into the popular mythology of the age.

Starting with B. M. Ward, archival researchers have progressively reconstructed the feud’s outlines,²⁶ but only in 1967 did it become known that at least one of the battles in the Knyvet quarrel took place in the Blackfriars district.²⁷ More recently the entire series of ten relevant PRO documents has been transcribed by Alan Nelson.²⁸ These include a challenge from Thomas Vavasour to Oxford dated as late as January 19, 1585.²⁹ Further references to the feud are preserved in the Foreign State Papers and other sources, confirming that it was one of the most infamous events of the 1580s, as Albert Feuillerat had already suggested in 1910.

The newly transcribed documents confirm that Oxford’s men, in spring 1582, were definitely “tilting under frieries” at Blackfriars. A June 22, 1582, inquiry “into the skirmishes which occurred at Blackfriar’s Monday June 18”³⁰ records the testimony of three witnesses, including Gerrard Ashebye, who describes how he returned to the fray “att the black ffryers stayres & their he hard emongst the water-men that there should be a freye between my Lord of Oxford[es men]³¹ & mr Knevit [...] and thereuppon he went to Cave[ll]rleyese schole of ffence in the blacke ffreyres & ther finding a staff”

proceeded to join the fray. The interrogatory also preserves confirming testimony from two other men, Roger Daobyne and William Brooke.

Close reading of Edwardes’ passage confirms the relevance of the Blackfriars episode as an explicating context. The polysemantic connotation of the word “under,” in the phrase *tilting under frieries*, furnishes a definite clue to the poem’s referent. The most obvious implication of the word in this context would be “with

The significance of this finding, identifying Oxford as the poet with the “bewitching pen,” who “should have been” – but cannot be – the “only object and the star” of the chorus of the Elizabethan poets, should not be underestimated. Edwardes evidently labors under an enforced discretion, and the constraint is echoed in other Elizabethan praise of Oxford’s literary talent...

reference to something which covers [...] or conceals” (OED 6, 3487), but another, dispensatory, meaning points directly at the Blackfriars liberty: “denoting subordination or subjection [...] to power or force exercised by some person or persons” (12), with “abstract or other subjects. denoting authority or control, without specification of the person or persons exercising it” (13) and even, critically, “under trust, in a state of supposed safety”³² (19.b). All these latter meanings suggest the special legal prerogatives of the liberty that furnished protection from civil authority and redereed it such a popular

jurisdiction for taboo activities such as theater and duels. If *frieries* does refer to the Blackfriars liberty, and *under* to the outlaw Blackfriars jurisdiction that shielded feuds and duels from city authorities, then the poet must be referring to the most famous of Elizabethan “tilts” at Blackfriars, in which the Earl of Oxford’s men faced off against the followers of Thomas Knyvet. Confirming the identification, the poet is said to reside “Amid’st the Center of the clime,” i.e., in the Midlands. Ruth Loyd Miller³³ suggests that during the 1590s, Oxford’s Bilton House estate on the Avon river in Warwickshire had become his customary retreat from the hectic life of London and the court.

The significance of this finding, identifying Oxford as the poet with the “bewitching pen,” who “should have been” – but cannot be – the “only object and the star” of the chorus of the Elizabethan poets, should not be underestimated. Edwardes evidently labors under an enforced discretion, and the constraint is echoed in other Elizabethan praise of Oxford’s literary talent: although identified in 1586 by William Webbe as the best of the court poets,³⁴ and in 1598 by Francis Meres as a writer of superlative comedies,³⁵ in 1589 the anonymous author of the *Arte of Englishe Poesie* writes that he would be counted foremost among the Elizabethan writers only “if his doings could be found out and made public with the rest.”³⁶ Likewise, Edwardes writes of a poet who “should have been” the greatest star of the poetic firmament but who – whether for reasons of class protocol or political discretion – is not.

This note has documented the relevance of the 1581-85 affair at Blackfriars to the explication of Edwardes’ *L’Envoy to Narcissus*. Without doubt, the 1582-83 Oxford-Knyvet affair at Blackfriars was the most striking instance of “tilting under Frieries” during the thirty-seven years of Elizabeth’s reign that informed the imagery and diction of Edward’s enigmatic poem. Before the fray had ended, a literary peer of the realm had been lamed for life, and followers of both factions wounded or killed. The concealed poet of “bewitching pen” and “golden art”

(Frieries, cont. from p. 19)

– whose men were in 1582 notoriously “tilting under frieries” – is none other than the still controversial Edward de Vere, 17th Earl of Oxford (1550-1604).

-- Roger Stritmatter

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NOTES

¹*Cephalus and Procris. Narcissus.* By Thomas Edwardes. From the Unique Copy In the Cathedral Library, Peterborough. Edited by Rev. W. E. Buckley, M.A. With an Appendix from Diverse Sources. Printed for the Roxburghe Club. London: Nichols and Sons, 1882.

²STC # 7525.

³Thomas Edwardes, DNB 544.

⁴C. M. Ingleby, L. Toulmin Smith, F. J. Furnivall et al., *The Shakspeare Allusion-Book: A Collection of Allusions to Shakspeare From 1591 to 1700*, 2 vols. (London: Chatto & Windus, 1909), vol. 1, 25.

⁵OED, “deafely”: obscurely to the ear; cognate with “deavely”: lonely, silent, solitary.

⁶The curious phrase “stately troupes” has received scant attention – are those tropes, troops, or both?

⁷All quotes from the *L'Envoy* are from Buckley, *Cephalus and Procris...*, 62-63.

⁸Katherine Duncan-Jones, “Much Ado With Red and White: The Earliest Readers of Shakespeare’s *Venus and Adonis*” (1593), *Review of English Studies* XLIV, 176 (1993), 489-93; Edwardes “folds the poem in on itself, making Shakespeare both creator and subject, poet and critic”.

⁹Ingleby et al., *The Shakspeare Allusion-Book*, 26.

¹⁰Buckley, *Cephalus and Procris...*, 336.

¹¹Buckley, *Cephalus and Procris...*, 340.

¹²Charlotte Carmichael Stopes, “Thomas Edwardes, Author of ‘*Cephalus and Procris*, Narcissus,’” *Modern Language Review* (xvi:3-4) July-Oct. 1921, 209-23.

¹³For a general account of de Vere’s life see B. M. Ward, *The Seventeenth Earl of Oxford (1550-1604) From Contemporary Documents* (London: John Murray, 1928). J. Thomas Looney in 1920 first argued that de Vere wrote behind the mask of the name and person of William Shakespeare in his “*Shakespeare Identified as Edward de Vere, 17th Earl of Oxford*” (London: Cecil Palmer, 1920), a proposition updated in 1984 by Charlton Ogburn Jr. in *Shakespeare: The Myth and the Reality* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1984), and more recently in Mark Anderson’s *Shakespeare By Another Name* (New York: Gotham Books, 2005).

¹⁴Irwin Smith, *Shakespeare’s Blackfriars Playhouse* (New York: New York University Press, 1964), contains a comprehensive bibliography on the theatrical practices of the Liberty up to 1964.

¹⁵Warwick Bond, *The Complete Works of John Lyly* (Oxford: Clarendon Place, 1902), 4 vols. (vol. 1, 47) believes the association ended as early as 1585, but definite evidence dating its end seems to be missing.

¹⁶See Josephine Waters Bennett, “Oxford and Endimion”, *PMLA*, 57 (1942), 354-69. Richard Dutton, in *Mastering the Revels* (Iowa City: University of Iowa, 1991), summarizes a critical tradition in which Bennett’s essay is “considered by many one of the most convincing of topical allegorical interpretations of an Elizabethan play” (56).

¹⁷E. K. Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, 4 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1923), vol. 2, 101. The effort to amalgamate forces at Blackfriars swiftly ran aground of legal complications. In May 1584 the courts transferred possession of the Lyly-Farrant lease to William More. This promptly

ended the activities of the Chapel children under Lyly and Oxford’s direction; the theatre only reopened, under the direction of Henry Evans and Nathaniel Gyles in a playing space remodelled by James Burbage, in 1597.

¹⁸As a liberty the district was protected from citizen protests against theatrical enterprises. For the same reason, of course, Burbage constructed the Theatre in 1576 within the former Benedictine liberty of Holywell in Finsbury Field in Middlesex, outside the city jurisdiction.

¹⁹Stephen Mullaney, “The Place of Shakespeare’s Stage in Elizabethan Culture,” *Encyclopedia Britannica Online*. Accessed on October 3, 2006, <http://www.personal.umich.edu/~mullaney/pdf%20files/liberties/pdf,3>.

²⁰Knyvet was the uncle of Anne Vavasour, the court lady who bore Oxford’s out-of-wedlock son in 1581. Howard and Arundel, both Catholics, were angered when Oxford informed on them in December 1580 for plotting against the crown after being invited to join the conspiracy. Ward (206-31) provides a balanced account of the matter. For a complete transcript of the official documents pertaining to the cause, see Nelson, <http://socrates.berkeley.edu/~ahnelson/LIBELS/libel7.html#7.1>.

²¹“The streets of London were filled with the quarrelling clamours (clameurs querelleuses) of these new Montagues and Capulets”: Albert Feuillerat, *John Lyly: Contribution à l’Histoire de la Renaissance en Angleterre* (Cambridge: The University Press, 1910), 126.

²²*Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series, of the Reign of Elizabeth* (January-June 1583 and Addenda. Preserved in the Public Record Office. Edited by Arthur John Butler and Sophie Crawford Lomas (London, T. Fisher Unwin, 1913), #9: 269.

²³See Cecil papers 31/45, a March 25, 1595 letter from Oxford to Robert Cecil in which he promises to “attend yowre Lordship as well as a lame man may at yowre house”.

²⁴The argument that an event such as the Blackfriars affair, occurring primarily in

(cont. on p. 31)

Did Thomas Heywood List “Will Shakespeare” as an Imitator or Front?

by W. Ron Hess

In his 1635 book *Hierarchie of the Blessed Angels, Their names, orders & Offices. The fall of Lucifer with his angells*, Thomas Heywood said important things about “Will Shake-speare” (twice hyphenated in the text) that have been minimized, dismissed, or ignored by orthodox scholars. Oxfordians haven’t grasped their significance either, and as with all things Shakespearean, it is open to interpretation. But a detailed examination will show that Heywood arguably singled out Shakespeare as a prime example of a collaborator, imitator, borrower, plagiarist, or even “front,” depending on how we read the larger context. He may have even said that the name “Will Shakespeare” was a contrived honorific, or pseudonym, as opposed to a name the poet had from birth. Orthodox opponents pretend to see nothing more than banal and useless “nicknames,” as if Heywood in his dotage was merely babbling with no meaning.

First, we need to describe *Hierarchie’s* historic context. It was a 622 page poem of wide-ranging topics sacred and profane, most of it from the Judeo-Christian Bible, but much else from mythological and even “cabalistic” sources (i.e., from the Jewish book of demonology, the *Cabala*). Published anonymously, *Hierarchie* was printed by Adam Islip (whose career was from 1591-1640 [see Plomer for details]). Islip was linked to works by Shakespeare, Oxford, and Anthony Munday, and was listed as a “pirate” in 1582 by the Stationers’ Company and again in 1599 by the Archbishop of Canterbury; from 1586 to 1603 Munday, Oxford’s former servant, spied on extremist Catholics and Puritans for the Archbishop and other officials.

While still a journeyman, Islip seemed to have pirated one of two parallel editions of the 1590 *Travels of Edward Webbe*, which described Oxford as a knight-errant adventuring in Sicily (beyond its many authentic stories, *Travels* also offered some yarns about visiting the Court of Prester John, possibly in Ethiopia). So, we can



Title page of Hierarchie of the Blessed Angels (1635).

assume that Islip was known to Oxford and vice-versa. Islip often partnered with Shakespeare-linked Stationers. Despite piracies, he rose to become Warden of the Stationers’ Company during the time of the 1632 Shakespeare “Second Folio” (*F2*) project (was it accidental that *F2* and his Wardenship coincided?). In 1633-35, as *Hierarchie* was being prepared, Islip was elected Stationers’ Company Master, and the two Wardens serving under him were W. Aspley and J. Smethwick (the only two

Stationers who were part of both the 1623 “First Folio” [*F1*] and *F2* projects). So, wasn’t there quite a wiff of “Shake-speare” in this 1635 project?

Heywood dedicated *Hierarchie* to King Charles I and Queen Henrietta-Maria. It was approved by the Archbishop of Canterbury and by the King’s Chaplain, Wm. Haywood (his approval was printed inside the front cover of the book; no apparent relation to Thomas Heywood). The book was easily the most important and prestigious work published in England in 1635. It was published during the term as Lord Chamberlain (held 1626-41) of Oxford’s son-in-law, Philip Herbert, Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, though by this time Oxford’s daughter Susan had died and Montgomery had wed Anne Clifford Sackville, widow of the 3rd Earl of Dorset. The Lord Chamberlain’s office had considerable influence on the publishing industry, particularly since Montgomery’s cousin Henry Herbert was Revels Master from 1623-66, with control over censorship of plays, playhouses, and under his unique extension of powers, even to censoring *all* books.

Despite official frowning on works about supernatural beings not from the Bible, *Hierarchie* began with a list of “angels close to God,” the first being “Uriel,” an ethereal name, occurring in earlier occult books (and likely inspiration for “Ariel’s” name in *Tempest*). As with much else in *Hierarchie*, the air-water spirit “Uriel” was from the *Cabala*.

Now, let’s examine Heywood’s approach in *Hierarchie*. Liber 4, “The Dominations,” a type of angel in his

(Cont. on p. 22)

(Cont. from p. 21)

hierarchy, is summarized with the couplet: "There is no Power, no Domination, / But from the Lord of our Salvation." After an eclectic rhymed discussion of demons, saints, rabbis, and philosophers, Heywood's verse began to discuss the way in which poets had been honored or neglected, some of it quite witty: "Yet shall a Sycophant or ballading Knave, / ... Weare speaking pockets; boast, Whom he doth serve: / When meriting men may either beg or starve." (193) [a jab at patrons like Oxford?]

On page 205 he introduces a catalog of ten ancient Latin poet-playwrights of "Past Ages," in preparation for a contrasting list of fifteen Elizabethan-Jacobean poet-playwrights on the next page (see Figure A). The following five topic areas are discussed:

Topic Area A: Page 205, beginning of the next-to-last stanza, a discussion of how ancient poets' birth names were often added to in "swelling styles," or what the orthodox call "nicknames." But I prefer to term these "qualifying names" (and use the symbol "= >"), because in reality the "swelling styles" might merely clarify the poet's identity as distinct from some other poet or person of the same or similar name. Shakespeare illustrated this in *Julius Caesar* when a mob tore apart "Cinna the poet" after confusing him with "Cinna the conspirator," or in *Love's Labour's Lost* when the character "Holofernes" playing "Judas Maccabaeus" was taunted as if he was playing "Judas Iscariot"; and in Shakespeare's time there was (and remains) confusion about Sir John Davies and John Davies "of Hereford," many different Henry Howards, and even baronial titles were often appended by their castle's names to tell parallel lineages apart (e.g., Howard "of Effingham").

So, Heywood was right to argue that the qualifying names could also be used to grace or honor poets:

Past Ages did the antient Poets grace,
And to their swelling stiles, the very place
Where they were borne, denomination
leant.

206	<i>The Dominations.</i>	L I B. 4.
<i>Rob. Greene.</i> <i>Christ. Marlo.</i> <i>Thomas Kid.</i> <i>Thom. Watson:</i> <i>Thomas Nash.</i> <i>Francis Bewmont.</i> <i>William Shake- speare.</i> <i>Beniam. John- son.</i> <i>John Fletcher.</i> <i>John Webster,</i> <i>&c.</i>	<p>In Sicily. So many others had (And that for sundry causes) meanes to add Vnto their first: for with their worth encrease Their stiles; the most grac'd with three names at least. Our moderne Poets to that passe are driuen, Those names are curtal'd which they first had giuen; And, as we wisht to haue their memories drownd, We scarcely can afford them halfe their found. <i>Greene</i>, who had in both Academies ta'ne Degree of Master, yet could neuer gaine To be call'd more than <i>Robin</i>: who had he Profest ought saue the <i>Muse</i>, Ser'd, and been Free After a seuen yeares Prentisehip; might haue (With credit too) gone <i>Robert</i> to his graue. <i>Marlo</i>, renown'd for his rare art and wit, Could ne're attaine beyond the name of <i>Kit</i>; Although his <i>Hero</i> and <i>Leander</i> did Merit addition rather. Famous <i>Kid</i> Was call'd but <i>Tom</i>. <i>Tom. Watson</i>, though he wrote Able to make <i>Apollo's</i> selfe to dote Vpon his <i>Muse</i>; for all that he could striue, Yet neuer could to his full name arriue. <i>Tom. Nash</i> (in his time of no small esteeme) Could not a second syllable redeeme. Excellent <i>Bewmont</i>, in the formost ranke Of the rar'st Wits, was neuer more than <i>Franck</i>. Mellifluous <i>Shake-speare</i>, whose enchanting Quill Commanded Mirth or Passion, was but <i>Will</i>. And famous <i>Johnson</i>, though his learned Pen Be dipt in <i>Castaly</i>, is still but <i>Ben</i>. <i>Fletcher</i> and <i>Webster</i>, of that learned packe None of the mean'st, yet neither was but <i>Iacke</i>. <i>Deckers</i> but <i>Tom</i>; nor <i>May</i>, nor <i>Middleton</i>. And hee's now but <i>Iacke Foord</i>, that once were <i>John</i>. Nor speake I this, that any here exprest, Should thinke themselves lesse worthy than the rest, Whose names haue their full syllable and sound; Or that <i>Franck</i>, <i>Kit</i>, or <i>Iacke</i>, are the least wound Vnto their fame and merit. I for my part (Thinke others what they please) accept that heart Which courts my loue in most familiar phrase; And that it takes not from my paines or praise. If any one to me so bluntly com, I hold he loues me best that calls me <i>Tom</i>.</p>	Heare

Thomas Heywood's survey of the English poets in Hierarchie of the Blessed Angels.

After which, these five ancients are listed with qualifying names (= >) of their places of birth:

A1. Publius Ovidius Naso = >
Sulmonensis

Ovid — 43BC-17AD, studied law at Rome and Athens but led a riotous life as poet, patronized by Emperor Augustus, but in 8AD, after a scandalous affair involving Augustus' granddaughter Julia, he was banished to the Black Sea Bulgarian

coast among the Goths (she was banished to an isle in the Adriatic Sea). His works include love poetry improving on Greek models; e.g., *Amores*, *Ars Amatoria* (largely pornography), *Heroides*, *Fasti*, *Tristi*, and the myth-compendium *Metamorphoses* which was in French by 1557 and first translated into English 1565-67 by Oxford's uncle Arthur Golding, possibly with young Oxford's help (Gillespie, 196, 390-403; Grant-1980, 300-03).

A2. Publius Virgilius = > Maro
Virgil — 70-19 BC, Latin poet, wrote *Aeneid* in 30 BC which emulated Homer's *Odyssey*, and in c.44 BC his *Eclogues* in the Athenian form. Virgil's patrons were Augustus and their joint mentor Maecenas, and his style was much copied by later poets (see Titus Siculus).

A3. Marcus Annaeus Lucanus
 Seneca = > Corduba

Seneca the Younger (of Cordova, Roman Spain) — c.4 BC-65 AD, studied in Egypt, then had a turbulent political career in Rome; in 49 he tutored Emperor Claudius' stepson Nero, and from 54-62 virtually shared rule of the Empire. A suspicious Nero ordered his suicide. His wide-ranging works included satires and tragic plays modeled on Greeks Menippus and Euripides (Grant, 386-88).

A4. Caius Pedo = >
 Albinovanus

Pedo — fl. 6-10 AD, a cavalry commander friend of Ovid whose lost poem about Germanicus survives in just 23 lines "Over the Seas our Galleys went" (quoted by Seneca) that are among the most beautiful in Latin; he was much praised in his time, and in the 15th century a poem "Consolatio Liviam" was exposed as fraudulently attributed to him by an Italian imitator (Howatson, 21; "Pedo").

A5. Aurelius Olympius = >
 Nemesianus

Nemesianus — of Carthage, flourished 284 AD when notable Latin poetry was rarely written any more in the agonies of the fracturing Empire; he wrote four *Eclogues* closely imitating Virgil and cribbed whole lines from Calpurnius Siculus of an earlier century (Grant-1980, 290). Though unclear what his family status was, the choice of "Aurelius" as his "gens name" was typical of ex-slaves, who on being freed might take the family name of their former master or else the clan-name of an Emperor (i.e., the Aurelian clan, claimed by most Emperors after Marcus Aurelius).

Topic Area B: In a new stanza, the last on p. 205 and carrying over to the top of p. 206, the discussion changed suddenly to a different form of qualifying name (= >),

this time by type of specialized poetry: "Some from the nature of their Poems..."

B1. Caius Lucilius = >
 Satyrus

Lucilius — 148-100 BC, great-uncle of Pompey the Great, well-versed in Greek philosophy from studies in Athens, was the first to adapt-borrow-translate the Greek satire into Latin; his satirical verses were later much copied, his 6th Book was imitated in Horace's *The Bore*, and in his 26th Book he satirized, imitated, and debated poet-playwright Lucius Accius (262-63).

B2. Livius Andronicus = >
 Epicus

Livius — c.284-204 BC, freed Greek slave of Tarentum (took name "Livius" of

in reality the "swelling styles" might merely clarify the poet's identity as distinct from some other poet or person of the same or similar name. Shakespeare illustrated this in Julius Caesar when a mob tore apart "Cinna the poet" after confusing him with "Cinna the conspirator..."

his ex-master [an ancestor of Livy]), taught Greek and Latin in Rome; for a schoolbook adapted Homer's *Odyssey* with much original material into his own *Odusia*; founded the school of Roman epic drama in imitation of Greek models; tradition holds that he'd lost his voice but would act out scenes while a boy voiced lines from behind the stage (253-54) [i.e., he was a "front" even as an actor!].

B3. Lucius Accius = >
 Tragicus

Accius — 170-c.86 BC, a son of freed slaves, later thought Rome's greatest tragedian; he had an older friend in Pacuvius, with whom he collaborated at games to present parallel plays in imitation of Greek models, including Euripides; but little more than titles have survived for his

40 plays; engaged in debates with satirist Lucilius on reform of literary matters (1).

Topic Area C: In the same stanza, Heywood's discussion changed once again to a different form of qualifying name (= >), this time their region of birth:

"Some, from their severall Countries, because they/ Were forrein borne"

C1. Publius Terentius = >
 Afer (Africa)

Terence — c.185-159 BC, Carthaginian slave freed by his master in Rome; he wrote six comedies in imitation of Athenian works (particularly of Menander 342-291), and celebrated for "purity" of his Latin style, a great influence on Renaissance and English schools; he was said during his time (by rival Luscius Lanuvinus), and in Elizabethan times, that he was a "front" for noble writers including Scipio the Younger, and "this malicious and implausible charge is left unanswered by Terence. Romans of a later period assumed that Terence must have collaborated with the Scipionic circle, a coterie of admirers of Greek literature" (Ency. Brit. Online); it's unclear how much his plays were translations of Greek; thus, when John Davies of Hereford's 1610 epigram #159 was addressed to "To our English Terence, Mr. Will. Shake-speare," it likely conveyed the idea of Shakespeare as a mere translator or a "front" for nobles, like Terence allegedly was.

C2. Titus Calpurnius = > Siculus
 (Sicily)

Calpurnius — T. Julius C. Siculus, fl. 60 AD, poet of seven pastoral eclogues that "imitate Virgil with grace and charm" (uncannily imitative or suspicious plagiarisms) but little is known of him (Grant-1980, 81-82); he was either a freedman or son of one, may have been Sicilian, and his name honored Sicilian Theocritus, who originated pastoral poetry, or since a panegyric poem is said his, possibly honored G. Calpurnius Piso, conspirator against Nero in 65 AD (Ency. Brit. Online); 200 years later his lines were stolen by Nemesianus. A modern Italian editor (Messina, 7-9) used the word "imitatore" (imitator) and remarked at

(Cont. on p. 24)

(Cont. from p. 23)

poetry seemingly of the time of Augustus inexplicably appearing a century later in the time of Nero; his refined style & shadowy biography may suggest he was a “front-man” for Roman nobles hiding their literary identities.

Staying in the same stanza, the discussion continues to the top of p. 206, ending with: “So many others had/ (And that for sundry causes) means to add/ Unto their first: for with their worth encreast/ Their stiles; the most grac’d with three names at least.//”

To summarize so far, before embarking on his second catalog of fifteen contemporary poets, Heywood first cataloged ten ancient Roman poets who he said were honored differently from those of his own day, as to be seen in appended honorific names (as opposed to their birth names). Of the ten he cataloged, as many as *five were freedmen* or of lately-slave families (B2, B3, C1, C2, & likely A5) and *all were notable imitators-adaptors* and/or were notoriously imitated themselves. Curiously, we find that many of his named poets were obscure or second-rate, while he omitted some of ancient Rome’s greatest. For example, though he included the pioneering but imitative and second-rate Caius Lucilius (B1), he failed to include Horace, the sublimely great poet whose *Bore* openly imitated or lampooned Caius nearly a century later. He also left out the great Livy while including Livius Andronicus (B2), whose “gens name” marked him as a freedman within the family into which the greater poet was later born. All of which begs the question: “What was the *method of Heywood’s madness?*”

Could Heywood’s two catalogs, imbedded in a book of occult messages, have been intended to convey a concealed message about one among the 26 poets he discussed? His discussion at the end of his first catalog claimed that the “most graced” (honored) among the catalog of ten had “*three names at least.*” This rule of three he demonstrated for all ten men, but the “at least” extension applied only to Ovid and Seneca (i.e., the two “most graced,” A1 and A3, were the only two with more than three names). Since his stated intent was to contrast the catalog of ancients with a second catalog of British, the “three names

at least” shouldn’t be taken as merely a reference to the ancient list, but must refer also to the second catalog. Yet, we’ll see only one in Heywood’s second catalog had “three names at least.” Thus, the phrase

**We will find that the one name
below was also the one
Englishman comparable to
both Ovid and Seneca, to the
greatest of “love poets” and to
the most noble of “tragic
playwrights.” And like Ovid,
he was an outcast whose
disgrace could not mute his
Muse, while he had also been
perilously close to “the seat of
power.” We will also find him
imbedded in a list of his
compatriots, each identifiable
as collaborators-imitators-
fronts, as many of the ancient
poets had been. And of course
we will find that one name was
hyphenated-- “Will Shake-
speare.”**

about “three names at least” emphasized that *one name* yet to follow and compared that man to Ovid and Seneca.

We will find that the one name below was also the one Englishman comparable to both Ovid and Seneca, to the greatest of “love poets” and to the most noble of “tragic playwrights.” And like Ovid, he was an outcast whose disgrace could not mute his Muse, while he had also been perilously close to “the seat of power.” We will also find him imbedded in a list of his compatriots, each identifiable as collaborators-imitators-fronts, as many of the ancient poets had been. And of course we will find that one name was hyphenated-- “Will Shake-speare.”

Topic Area D: Having earlier listed a catalog of ten Roman poets, on p. 206 Heywood propelled into the most celebrated page of his book: a catalog of 15 or 16 Elizabethan-Jacobean authors. Each was given a shortened first name (= >), or what orthodox scholars have recognized as just “a nickname.”

“Our moderne Poets to that pass are driven,/ Those names are curtal’d which they first had given;”

D1. Rob. Greene = > Rob

Robert Greene — Jul 1558-Sep 1592, earned MAs at both Oxford and Cambridge University (as had Oxford and only a very few others). He dedicated his 1584 *Gwydonius* to Oxford, which like many of his earlier works imitated the “Euphuist” style of Oxford’s circle. Nashe said that c.1588-92 Greene had collaborated in anti-Martinist pamphlets, with others in Oxford’s circle. Thus, with differing claims about Greene’s death, sketchy details of his life, and use of so many suspicious Stationer rebels and Shakespeare-related Stationers in his publications, some Oxfordians (e.g., N. Green, and S. Hughes) have even suggested that Greene was a front and/or pseudonym for Oxford (Greene = “VERde” = > deVER = Oxford).

D2. Christ. Marlo = > Kit

Christopher Marlowe Feb 1564-May 30, 1593, possible fellow student with Oxford’s servant John Lyly at Canterbury Cathedral school, BA 1580-84 & MA 1587 at Cambridge, great poet-playwright of seven known plays whose talent rivaled Shakespeare’s; an early innovator in blank verse, his last two plays are said to be “indebted to” Shakespeare’s *1H6*, and he likely collaborated with his roommate Thomas Kyd. An associate of Oxford’s ex-servant Thomas Watson (who 1589 saved his life in a fencing brawl, the two were then jailed together), a spy in northern France for Sir Francis Walsingham, a soldier in the Netherlands from whence he was deported for counterfeiting, he fell in with Sir Walter Raleigh’s literary group (per John Aubrey this included Oxford and his Vere cousins) and was killed in a tavern brawl while the Privy Council was

investigating him and Kyd for libelous and atheistic writings (Ogburn, 672 & 694; CDNB2, 1950).

D3. Thomas Kid = > Tom

Thomas Kyd — 1558-Aug 1594, educated at Merchant Tailors' School (under R. Mulcaster with other students Thomas Lodge and Edmund Spenser); from 1585 to c. 1590 he is said to have written *The Spanish Tragedy*, a suggested source for Shakespeare's *Hamlet* (e.g., shared character "Horatio"). He reportedly collaborated with his room-mate Marlowe. During his interrogation on the rack, he claimed suspicious documents found in his possession had been authored instead by Marlowe (Ogburn, 672 & 694; CDNB2, 1699).

D4. Thom. Watson = > Tom

Thomas Watson — 1555-92, a Catholic possibly educated at Oxford, where he studied Latin, Italian, and French poetry, in each of which he later wrote masterfully. He was a servant to Oxford c. 1578-84, dedicating his most accomplished book of English lyric verses to him (1582 *Hekatompathia*), and possibly was living in "Fisher's Folly" in 1588 when Oxford sold it, then Watson was servant to buyer Charles Cornwallis (Miller-Looney II, 385). He was in Paris in 1581 spying for Sir Francis Walsingham; in September 1589 he saved Marlowe's life by helping him in a duel, which got them briefly jailed. Sometimes identified as "Amyntas" of Edmund Spenser's *Colin Clout's*, but doubtful. A pioneer in adapting Italian madrigals into English, Watson wrote some of the most cultured Elizabethan verses and songs, but some (e.g., Ruth Miller) have argued Oxford's poems were mixed in with Watson's, and some scholars claim Watson's sonnets were "closely studied" by Shakespeare (Concise DNB III, 3147; Nelson, 287).

D5. Thomas Nash = > Tom

Thomas Nashe — 1567-1601, was a sizar 1582 at Cambridge (with R. Greene), BA 1586, toured France and Italy by 1588 when he associated with Sir George Carey (son of Lord Chamberlain Henry Carey, Lord Hunsdon, and in 1597-1603 Lord Chamberlain himself) and failed in attempts to get the Earls of Southampton or Derby as patrons. He wrote an acidic preface to Greene's 1589 *Menaphon* and

also wrote, in 1589, *Anatomy of Absurdities*. He took part in anti-Martinist side of "Marprelate Controversy" with others in Oxford's circle. Was accused of "ghosting" the possibly Shakespeare-linked 1592 *Groatsworth*.

D6. Francis Bewmont = > Franck

Francis Beaumont — 1584-1616, son of a judge, was a poet-playwright, wrote commendatory verses for plays of Michael Drayton and Ben Jonson, frequently collaborating in 1606-13 with John Fletcher. He seems to have retired c. 1613 after marrying into gentry. Beaumont died in Kent but his 1616 funeral, attended by

**Hess traces the name
Shakespeare to "Palladine" (= "of the Spear-shaker"), from
1545 and 1555 Spanish and
French romance epics,
themselves derived from the
character "Astolfo" in Ariosto's
1516-32 *Orlando Furioso*.
Thus, in Spanish, French, and
Italian circles, "Shake-speare"
was a mythical epic hero.**

tens of thousands, placed him in Westminster Abbey, in stark contrast to Mr. William Shakespeare's unheralded death a few weeks later (Halliday, 57; CDNB1, 186).

D7. William Shake-speare = > Will [hyphen possibly = a pseudonym?]

Wm. Shakespeare — fl. c. 1574-c. 1604, actual "originator" of works attributed to "Shake-speare," often hyphenation indicated a pseudonym, in this case where "William" (= helmet-resolute) + "Spear-shaker" (= epithet of Pallas Athena, goddess of war, arts, & literature) would indicate that Shakespeare was a jousting + literary name. Shakespeare is identified here and by Oxfordians as chiefly Edward De Vere,

17th Earl of Oxford (1550-1604). Hess II (479-573) traced the name to "Palladine" (= "of the Spear-shaker"), from 1545 and 1555 Spanish and French romance epics, themselves derived from the character "Astolfo" in Ariosto's 1516-32 *Orlando Furioso*. Thus, in Spanish, French, and Italian circles, "Shake-speare" was a mythical epic hero. No matter who our literary Shakespeare really was, his works were full of imitation, borrowing, adaptation, and reworking from Ovid, Petrarch, DuBellay, Ronsard, Desportes, etc. (Halliday, 57, 130-31, 167-68; Ogburn, 93-99; CDNB3, 2707-09; Evans, 48-57).

D8. Benjam. Johnson = > Ben [= Jonson]

Ben Jonson — 1572-1637, in the 1610s he was King James' "Poet Laureate"; co-wrote the lost 1597 *Isle of Dogs* with Thomas Nashe and was jailed; he contributed 2 deceptive dedications in Shakespeare's 1623 *F1*, repeated in the 1632 *F2* and 1640 *Poems*, and made two Shakespeare-related statements circa 1619 which have been seen by Oxfordians as part of a larger deception to shield the true author of Shakespeare's works. In any case, despite his feisty nature, Jonson frequently collaborated with other playwrights, including Oxford's associates Munday, Chettle, Marston, Middleton, Dekker, and Chapman (Halliday, 159; Ogburn, 221-22; CDNB2, 1624-25).

D9. Fletcher = > Jacke

John Fletcher — 1579-1625, nephew of Giles Fletcher the elder (1548?-1611, at Cambridge U., 1565 at Oxford, and a Judge aided by Oxford's father-in-law); this poet-playwright was said to have collaborated with Shakespeare c. 1610-12 (or was a dresser-up of unfinished plays, e.g., c. 1613 *Cardenio* & 1634 *Two Noble Kinsmen*), and was a partner in writing plays with Beaumont & others (Halliday, 57, 167-68; CDNB1, 1029-30).

D10. Webster = > Jacke

John Webster — 1580?-1625?, son of a tailor, 1604 entered Merchant Tailors Co.; there is no evidence he was a child actor, and it is unclear if he was the actor listed 1595 as a comedian in Germany or 1598 entering Middle Temple; he collaborated in and wrote plays: c. 1608

(Cont. on p. 26)

(Cont. from p. 25)

White Devil, c.1616 *Duchess of Malfi*, by 1619 *Devils Law Case*, and some lost plays including *Guise*. Webster's "tragic power" was ranked near to Shakespeare's but the quality is oddly uneven, so some Oxfordians argue the best of his works (e.g., *Devil and Malfi*) were revisions or revampings of lost Shakespeare works. Halliday (524) cites him as saying of his predecessors, "What I write may be read by their light" (CDNB3, 3160).

D11. Deckers = > Tom [= Dekker]
Thomas Dekker — 1572?-1632?, a hack-writer for Henslowe's Theaters 1598-1602, for which he wrote nine or ten plays and collaborated in 30 more, as well as five for Oxford's-Worcester's Men in 1602 (amalgamated c.1598-1604); his 1601 *Satiro-Mastix* was for Lord Chamberlain's Men and Paul's Boys, and he later he wrote pamphlets and pageants, but his productivity collapsed circa 1604. In 1613-19 he was jailed for debt, then he collaborated in plays with Massinger and Ford. He was said to have "dressed" Shakespeare's *Henry V* and *Julius Caesar* for his own works (Halliday, 130-31; CDNB1, 768). His 1600 *Shoemaker's Holiday* (adaptation of Deloney's 1598 *Gentle Craft*) possibly influenced Shakespeare's *Caesar* (Gillespie, 132-33).

D12. May = > Tom
Thomas May — 1595-1650, was the only poet in Heywood's catalog not old enough in 1604 to have worked as an adult for/with Oxford, though his two histories were possibly cribbed from Shakespeare? Possibly he served Oxford as a boy-actor in Oxford's Men ("amalgamated" with Worcester's Men circa 1602-03, in which he could have even acted in Heywood's plays)? Graduated from Cambridge with a BA 1612 and Gray's Inn in 1615; after a brief stint as a lawyer, he turned to writing dramas and Latin translations (some from Virgil), and by 1635 at King Charles's request he had written histories *Reigne of King Henry II* and *Edward III* (two Kings conspicuously missing from W.S.'s histories). In the Civil Wars, May was a publicist-historian for Parliament, ending with the posthumously published *History of the Parliament of England* (CDNB2, 1999)

D13. Middleton = > Tom
Thomas Middleton — 1570?-1627, at Gray's Inn 1593, dramatist who collaborated with Dekker, Rowley, Munday, Drayton, Webster, Jonson, Fletcher, and others; wrote nearly as many pageants as Munday; his 1624 *A Game at Chess* was acted for nine days before it was

Only one of Heywood's contemporaries in the second catalog is given a name resembling such a description, and that man of course was 1] "Will 2] "Shake-" 3] "speare," both in the text and in the margin. Why was W.S. being "singled out?" Was W.S. to be seen as the quintessential collaborator-imitator-borrower-plagiarizer in Heywood's second list? Also, as the only hyphenated name, when many hyphenated names were pseudonyms, arguably Heywood was saying that "Shake-speare" was a pseudonym, or perhaps a "front."

suppressed for lampooning the Spanish ambassador (Halliday, 316; CDNB2, 2026).

D14. Jacke Foord
John Ford — c.1582-c.1640, at Middle Temple 1602; wrote elegies & dramas, collaborated with Dekker and Samuel Rowley. He has recently been accepted as the most likely author of the 1612 *Elegy by W.S.*, earlier misattributed to the Bard by Donald Foster.

D15. Heywood curiously ended with himself: "...he loves me best that calls me Tom"

Thomas Heywood — 1573-1641, allegedly wrote circa 1594 *Edward IV Pts. 1 and 2* (in 1656 listed as by Shakespeare, with a 1599 title page saying it had been acted at the Curtain by Derby's Men, under Oxford's son-in-law). Likely he was the "T.H." who wrote the 1594 epic poem *Oenone and Paris* and the tragedy (c.1594, pub. 1608) *The Rape of Lucrece*, both heavily influenced by Shakespeare's two narrative poems. By 1598 he was hired by Henslowe (owner of Rose and Newington Butts Theaters) to work for the Admiral's Men as actor-playwright, collaborating with Munday and many others up to 1607 (including as a hand detected in *Sir Thomas More*, a circa 1598 W.S.-linked Munday play in manuscript). Yet, his plays were often performed at the Boars Head Aldgate, and by 1602-03 he was with Oxford's-Worcester's Men (thus, he likely worked for Oxford before 1604). His 1633 preface to *The English Traveller* said the tragicomedy was "one reserved amongst two hundred and twenty, in which I have had either an entire hand or at the least a main finger," and yet many of those plays had "been negligently lost," with only 24 now extant. Oddly, in a 1625 tribute on the death of Shakespeare's patron, the 3rd Southampton, Heywood claimed that he had once been Southampton's "servant" (Adams, xxix, fn).

To summarize Heywood's second catalog of his contemporary writers, the common theme is that they were all collaborators and/or imitators. This was likely not what each wished to be remembered for. For example, Watson's dedication to Oxford in 1582 *Hekatompathia* used the phrase "your Honours patronage," but his dedication "To the Frendly Reader" had these words objecting to labeling himself as an "imitator": "...that although *Venus* be in my verse, yet her slipper is left out; to the last and worst, that I rather take upon me to write better than *Charilus*, then once suppose to imitate *Homer*."

Could one interpret that note as inferring that Watson, while serving as Oxford's servant, had seen an early draft of *Venus and Adonis*? "Charilus" was a noble Spartan who chose not to take a passionate action directly, but nobly used restraint,

patience, and subordinates to reach his ends (as noted in Montaigne's *Essays*, Bk. 2, Chapt. XXXI). Thus, it seems Watson wished to be remembered as more than just one of Oxford's hack poets, more than his imitator. Yet, beyond a need to "innovate," no poet or playwright fails to also "imitate" or "collaborate" in pursuit of art.

Each person in Heywood's second catalog had his name linked to a "nickname." But, surely that was not "the method to Heywood's madness" in his two meticulously crafted catalogs. When we look deeper, of the fifteen British writers, we see ten had likely connections to Oxford (D1-D5, D7-D8, D11, D13, and D15), and the rest may have had. Moreover, we find that nine of them (D1-D4, D7, D9-D11, and D15) were sources for, had likely collaborations with, imitated, or finished unfinished works by Shakespeare, and again the others may have done the same.

What about the curious reference to *three names at least* discussed above? Only one of Heywood's contemporaries in the second catalog is given a name resembling such a description, and that man of course was 1] "Will 2] "Shake-" 3] "speare," both in the text and in the margin. Why was Shakespeare being "singled out?" Was Shakespeare to be seen as the quintessential collaborator-imitator-borrower-plagiarizer in Heywood's second list? Also, as the only hyphenated name, when many hyphenated names were pseudonyms, arguably Heywood was saying that "Shake-speare" was a pseudonym, or perhaps a "front." The Spring 1993 *Elizabethan Review* contained strong arguments for the existence of "Concealed Poets" using pseudonyms, and for Shakespeare having been a prime example (Hope, 60-61; Moore, 58-60). This interpretation is fortified if we emphasize exactly the same lines from *Hierarchy* that orthodox scholars favor the most (Chambers II, 219; Halliday, 226):

Our moderne Poets to that pass are *driven*,
Those *names are curtal'd* which they first had
given;
And, as we wisht to *have their memories drown'd*,
We scarcely can afford them half their sound....
Mellifluous *Shake-speare*, whose enchanting Quill
Commanded Mirth or Passion, was but *Will*.

(Heywood 206, emphasis added)

The italicized words indicate that the names which followed (including Shakespeare twice, in the text and left margin of the page) were among those who Heywood knew had assisted other writers "*driven to have their memories [of their identities] drown'd*" until their "*names are curtal'd*" (emphasis added). Much like

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the "Hollywood blacklist writers" in the 1950s, those secret noble writers needed "beards" or "fronts" to aid them in publishing their works without revealing their identities. Since orthodox scholars insist those phrases only referred to insipid "nicknames," let's rephrase it this way; Heywood said: "Shakespeare was, like myself and over a dozen other poet-playwrights, one who would do some modification to the works of others and then allow the works to be published as his own!"

Did Heywood really know "Will Shake-speare" and understand who the real author of works under that name was? Apparently he did, for as said in the short bio for D15 above, in a 1625 tribute on the

death of Shakespeare's "patron," the 3rd Earl of Southampton, Heywood claimed that he had once been Southampton's "servant" (Adams, xxix, fn). Several of Heywood's poems had been included in the 1612 edition of *Passionate Pilgrim* and thereby credited to Shakespeare, which Heywood in his 1612 *Apology for Actors* then protested. The error was likely made by the important Shakespeare-related printer William Jaggard (printer of Shakespeare's 1599 *Passionate Pilgrim*, 1619 "Pavier Quartos" of ten plays attributed to Shakespeare, and of the 1623 *F1* of Shakespeare's authentic plays). The orthodox view is that Heywood's 1612 complaint about Jaggard's mischief ended with a statement that he was satisfied about Shakespeare's honesty in the matter (Halliday, 356). Yet, curiously, Heywood further stated that "I must acknowledge my lines not worthy his patronage" (see Downs, 19). So, did Heywood claim "Shake-speare" was a patron of poet-playwrights?

Oxfordians should be studying Heywood's *Hierarchy* in greater depth, because it appears that the way in which Heywood grouped his first catalog of ancient Roman authors was a deliberate attempt to say something that we have long celebrated, and orthodox scholars have long dismissed: that "Will Shake-speare" could also have been a servant who "fronted" for noble authors. As noted above, John Davies of Hereford's 1610 epigram #159 entitled, "To our English Terence, Mr. Will. Shake-speare," may have been intended to address Shakespeare as a front.

Our Oxfordian interpretation of this was partly made on grounds that a "freedman" or ex-servant was well-positioned to continue serving his noble master and friends by "fronting" their works as if they were his. Thus, note A5, B2, B3, C1, & C2 in Heywood's first catalog were precisely that: freedmen well-positioned to be fronts! At least this reinforces the long-held Oxfordian notion about what Davies of Hereford possibly meant about Terence and Shakespeare both as fronts.

Thus, note that many in Heywood's second list had been servants of, pensioners

(Continued on page 31)

Another Coincidence? Shakespeare and Oxford Together on the Same Day

by Robert R. Prechter, Jr.

One can imagine the excitement in orthodox circles if documents were to show conclusively that William Shaksper of Stratford and, say, Edmund Spenser or Ben Jonson, were at the same place at the same time. There would perhaps be even greater excitement on the Oxfordian side if evidence indicated that “Shakespeare” and Oxford attended the same function. Apparently, that is what we have.

King James treated Oxford exceptionally well. Immediately upon his accession to the throne in 1603, he restored Oxford’s place at court and granted him lands he had pursued for years. The King’s Men, formerly The Lord Chamberlain’s Men, acted a play before James at the Earl of Pembroke’s estate at Wilton on December 2, 1603. E.K. Chambers¹ conjectured that the play was Shakespeare’s *As You Like It*. So James apparently held a good view of both Oxford and Shakespeare, a reasonable confluence if they were the same person.

This is not the only time that Oxford held a prominent place in King James’ public appearances. A section of Christopher Paul’s article² noted an event that occurred three months later, in March 1604. As Nelson describes it, “On 15 March the King rode in triumph through London.”³ Nichols⁴ records that upon that occasion immediately to the King’s left was “The Lord Great Chamberlaine,” i.e., the Earl of Oxford.

Something else happened on this date. Price⁵ records that in a document from 1604, “‘William Shakespeare’ heads the list of ‘Players’ who are issued red cloth for ceremonial livery on the occasion of King James’s procession through London...on 15 March,”⁶ 1604. Moreover, the recipient

could not have been William Shaksper of Stratford because at that time he “was back in Stratford selling malt to Philip Rogers.”⁷

Is it a coincidence that the very man whom 85 years of scholarship identifies as

However, the recipient could not have been William Shaksper of Stratford because at that time he “was back in Stratford selling malt to Philip Rogers.” Is it a coincidence that the very man whom 85 years of scholarship identifies as Shakespeare was present in a ceremonial role in the same place on the same day as the elusive William Shakespeare, and at a time when the Stratford man was out of town?

Shakespeare was present in a ceremonial role in the same place on the same day as the elusive William Shakespeare, and at a time when the Stratford man was out of town? We may postulate that Oxford, who lived until June of that year, was filling a role in the final months of this life that he had played

so many times for James’ predecessor, Queen Elizabeth. On this occasion, it appears, he played both the Earl of Oxford, Great Chamberlain of England, and William Shakespeare, the first-listed receiver of ceremonial livery among the King’s Men’s players. Whatever one might conjecture about the specifics of that day’s events, the record shows that Edward de Vere and “Shakespeare” attended the same function on the same day, at the behest of King James.

Notes

¹ Chambers, E.K. (1930). *William Shakespeare: A Study of Facts and Problems*, vol.2, Oxford, 329.

² “A First Blast of the Trumpet against the *Monstrous Adversary*,” *Shakespeare Matters*, Fall 2006, 6:1, 26.

³ Nelson, Alan. H. (2003). *Monstrous Adversary*. Liverpool University Press, 424.

⁴ Nichols, *Progresses of James*, Volume 1, 327, as qtd. in Paul, Christopher, 26.

⁵ Price, Diana. (2001). *Shakespeare’s Unorthodox Biography*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

⁶ Price, 17, 33.

⁷ Price, 33.

Don't Overlook the Endnotes

by Richard F. Whalen

“Truth is in the footnotes” – Jacques Derrida

Readers of Mark Anderson's excellent biography of Edward de Vere, 17th earl of Oxford, might be forgiven for skipping over or only glancing at the 156 pages of endnotes in small type sprinkled with *ibids*, *op cit*s and MSS numbering. But they'd be missing a gold mine of insights and nuggets of information and sources that Oxfordian researchers probably will be consulting for years to come.

His book, “*Shakespeare*” by *Another Name*, now in soft-cover at about \$17, is worth the money just for the endnotes. His years of research uncovered a wealth of sources remote and arcane, plus books and articles on Renaissance writers and Oxfordian articles that most scholars have overlooked or forgotten.

Here are just a few examples:

Unmentioned by any scholar is Anne Cecil de Vere's request for abortion-inducing potions when she was pregnant with her first child, Elizabeth, who would be born five months later. This was at a time when her husband of four years was refusing to acknowledge that he would be the father. Anne's request was reported in a letter from her doctor to her father, Lord Burghley, in March 1575, a week after de Vere left for Italy. The doctor wrote that she asked him for “some medicines *ad menses promotiones*,” potions supposed to cause menses to resume. As Anderson suggests, it could be a classic case of: Do you know who the father is? (119). He notes that B. M. Ward in his biography of de Vere reprints part of the letter but not the Latin phrase and that Alan Nelson in his biography of de Vere reprints the letter in its entirety but does not translate or

comment on the Latin phrase (474). And in *Hamlet*, Ophelia carries abortion-inducing flowers, including rue, considered at the time to be the most powerful.

Unknown to scholars until now is the high probability that the city on the coast of

Orthodox scholars also overlook how John Lyly's *Campaspe*, a 1583 play about an exiled courtier's dramatic plea for royal forgiveness, appears to echo de Vere's break-up with Anne Vavasour (188, 497). In the play, Alexander the Great gives up his lover to another man willingly. De Vere was sometimes compared to Alexander the Great, and in real life, de Vere in effect saw Vavasour, mother of his

Bohemia in *Twelfth Night* was Ragusa, today's Dubrovnik. Anderson tracked it down in two obscure Croatian journals he cites in a half-page of endnotes (462-3). Oxford might well have visited Ragusa, a flourishing, commercial city-state, during his travels to Italy and Venice, just across the Adriatic. It's hardly conceivable that

Shakespeare of Stratford would have known or cared about Ragusa.

Orthodox scholars also overlook how John Lyly's *Campaspe*, a 1583 play about an exiled courtier's dramatic plea for royal forgiveness, appears to echo de Vere's break-up with Anne Vavasour (188, 497). In the play, Alexander the Great gives up his lover to another man willingly. De Vere was sometimes compared to Alexander the Great, and in real life, de Vere in effect saw Vavasour, mother of his illegitimate son, move on to another lover, Sir Henry Lee, her jailer when she was in the Tower for her affair with de Vere in 1581. Lyly, of course, was de Vere's secretary at the time, and some Oxfordians have surmised that de Vere wrote the plays that appeared under Lyly's name. In his endnote, Anderson says that to his knowledge no one else has proposed his interpretation of Lyly's *Campaspe*, and among his citations is an obscure book by the famous E.K. Chambers on Lee to support his hypothesis.

Brought to light for the first time are two additional allusions by contemporaries to a much admired writer who concealed his identity, as did de Vere. In the text, Anderson summarizes a passage by Richard Brathwait: “Let me tell you: London never saw writers more gifted than the ones I saw during the reign of Queen Elizabeth. And never were there more delightful plays than the ones performed by youth [probably the children's companies] whose author wrote under a borrowed name” (368). In the passage, Brathwait alludes to young actors performing plays “Prettily shadowed in a borrowed name.” In a long endnote,

(cont. on p. 30)

(Endnotes, cont. from p. 29)

(Hierarchy, cont. from p. 27)

Anderson supplies background on Brathwait (562).

Also overlooked until discovered by Anderson is a passage in a book published by William Kittle in 1942 that brought to light another reference to an Elizabethan writer who conceals his name. The reference is an epigram in a collection by Thomas Bastard published in 1598. As Anderson summarizes, "The author [whom] Bastard criticizes writes sinful works, is widely admired and hides behind another man's identity." The first two lines address a writer who, "deluding, raisest up a fame / And having showed the man, concealest his name" (320). In the endnotes, Kittle is listed as the author of two books on de Vere, in 1930 and 1942 (416, 546).

Anderson seems to have read volumes upon volumes of works about Elizabethan and Jacobean England, and everything written by Oxfordian scholars, including unpublished manuscripts by Ruth Loyd Miller, Andrew Hannas and Christopher Paul. His end notes provide mini-bibliographies on specific topics. One is on reflections of Castiglione's *Courtier* in seventeen Shakespeare plays (448). Another lists books and articles on the knowledge shown in Shakespeare's works in the fields of law, theology, medicine, astronomy, philosophy, linguistics, military, naval art and science, history, botany, literary studies and classical studies (423-4). And he tracked down useful research articles in long gone journals such as *The New Shakspeare Society's Transactions* (1874) and obscure ones such as *Studia Romanica et Anglicana Zagrabiensia* (1964).

(Letters, cont. from p. 3)

Spelling the word "forth" without a "u" allows the total number of letters in the body of the dedication to be 144, which is important because the odd spellings and wordings hide another message: the name of the son. Rollett (*The Oxfordian*, Volume II, 1999) demonstrates that the dedication to Shakespeare's Sonnets "is a masterpiece of cryptography, and records for posterity two tremendous secrets: the name of the true poet, and the name of the young man he was so certain he had immortalized in his verse ..." The poet is Edward de Vere ("EVER"), and the young man (revealed by writing the 144 letters in 18x8 and 16x9 arrays) is Henry Wriothesley.

By extension, my solution records a third secret: the relationship between the poet and the young man. Edward de Vere is Henry Wriothesley's begetter; thus the subject of the Sonnets is Shakespeare's son. Edward de Vere likely employed authorship cryptology because he was prevented from claiming credit for works written under the Shake-Spear pseudonym, including the Sonnets. Why? If Hank Whittemore and others are correct, the Sonnets barely conceal the fact that Queen Elizabeth is Henry Wriothesley's mother; thus the subject of the Sonnets also is the succession.

Sincerely,

Kathryn Sharpe
Seattle, Washington

of, and/or even collaborators with nobles. Many served Oxford, others served one or more of the Herberts or Stanleys, etc. Wasn't it logical that "Heywood's method of his madness" had him name himself, along with W.S., among over a dozen other contemporaries, as poet-playwrights who had "fronted" for nobles? It certainly gives new meaning to Heywood's 1612 reference: "I must acknowledge my lines *not worthy his patronage*" (emphasis added).

That 1612 phrase seems to be directed at Shakespeare the author, and Heywood's second catalog seemed intent on the occult message that all listed had been collaborators, plagiarists, or even fronts for nobles. Thus, "patronage" meant what it said, the patronage of a noble for a servant, and not a less obvious alternate meaning such as only "support." Since no provincial Warwickshire petty-suit usurers were known to have been "patrons" of poets, Heywood apparently regarded Shakespeare, the true author, as a noble giver of "patronage." Hence, Heywood knew Shakespeare the author (indeed, Heywood wrote for the Oxford-Worcester's Men), and what he said about Shakespeare the author seemed more like Oxford the noble patron than like Shakespeare. Meanwhile, what he said about W.S. the public persona seemed more like Shakespeare as an imitator, collaborator, or front, as comparable to at least five ancient Roman freedman fronts.

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(Tilting, cont. from p. 20)

was one of those great events that impressed itself on the memory of an entire generation. The number of extant documents preserved mentioning the feud testifies to its magnitude in public consciousness.

²⁵As Marion Taylor reminds us in *Bottom, Thou Art Translated: Political Allegory in A Midsummer Night's Dream* (Amsterdam: Rodopi NV, 1973), Spenser parodied the Alençon marriage negotiations in *The Fairie Queene* (1591), a text not published until more than ten years after the height of scandal: "Alençon and his envoys were so well known in London that even in 1594-95, when Alençon had been dead for over a decade, they were remembered in the English capital" (207).

²⁶Ward, *The Seventeenth Earl of Oxford...*, 227-31.

*(Cont. on p. 32)**(President's Blog, Cont. from p. 3)*

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(Tilting, Cont. from p. 31).

²⁷Gwynneth Bowen, "Touching the Affray at the Blackfriars", *Shakespearean Authorship Review* (#18: 1967), 1-7.

²⁸<http://socrates.berkeley.edu/~ahnelson/LIBELS/libel7.html#7.7>. Accessed on October 2, 2006.

²⁹BL Lansdowne 99[/93] ff. 252-53.

³⁰PROSP 12/154/[/11], ff. 20-21. Parentheses Nelson's.

³¹*The Compact Edition of the Oxford English Dictionary*. Complete Text Reproduced Micrographically Volume II P-Z. Oxford University Press, 1971, 3487.

³²*Shakespeare Identified in Edward de Vere, Seventeenth Earl of Oxford and The Poems of Edward de Vere*, by J. Thomas Looney. Third edition, edited by Rugh Loyd Miller, 1975 (Port Washington: Kennikat Press), II: 355-369.

³³B. M. Ward, *The 17th Earl of Oxford...*, 146.

³⁴Ward Op. cit. 264.

³⁵*The Arte of English Poesie, Carefully Edited by Edward Arber* (London: 5 Queen Square, Bloomsbury, 1 December 1869), 75. The anonymous author also praises Oxford (77) as one deserving "the hiest price" - along with Richard Edwardes - "for Comedy and Interlude." The book was originally published, with a dedication to Lord Burghley, in or around June 1589 and is conventionally attributed to George Puttenham.

Does it spell "De Vere"? You be the judge. Details on page 6.

d e v e r e

(Annual Conference, cont. from p. 17)

suggests, on the contrary, that this passage is a covert allusion to a famous incident in the family history of the Earls of Oxford, in which the soldiers of the 13th Earl of Oxford at Barnet were fired upon by their own Lancastrian allies when the Earl of Warwick, in the deep fog of battle, mistook the stars on their badges for the suns of the opposing Yorkists.

- Ed



Winking Bard, kindness Katherine Berney.

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