



Shakespeare Matters

"The Voice
of the
Shakespeare
Fellowship"

9:1

"Let me not to the marriage of true minds admit impediments..."

Winter 2010

2009 Joint Shakespeare Authorship Conference

by Katherine Sharpe



Conference chair Bonner Miller Cutting (right) awarded Virginia Renner, librarian extraordinaire, with the Oxfordian Recognition Award at the 2009 Annual Joint SOS-SF Conference.

I spent five days and a thousand dollars to attend the Fifth Annual Joint Shakespeare Authorship Conference in Houston, Texas from November 5-8, 2009. It was worth it!

Beyond hearing informative and provocative presentations, I had the chance to meet and explore burning questions with eminent Oxfordians. Once Oxford is accepted as Shakespeare, you'll have to fight your way through a crowd for a word with them, so *carpe diem*. If you weren't there, this summary provides a taste of what you missed, and I hope encourages you to attend next year's joint conference in Ashland, Oregon. This year's was well organized and comfortable. The Doubletree Hotel and Conference center was 10 minutes from the airport, and its informative and friendly staff greeted guests with warm chocolate chip cookies. Earl Showerman shared his presidential suite for a viewing of *Troilus and Cressida*, and no hurricane arrived to argue its case for a revised dating of *The Tempest*.

Conference organizer Bonner Miller Cutting and her team did an outstanding job, from registration to final banquet. Bonner is a Trustee of

(Continued on page 7)



The Ashbourne "Shakespeare": the Lost Cornelius Ketel Portrait of Edward de Vere?

Charles Wisner Barrell: A Biographical Sketch

by Mike A'Dair

Charles Wisner Barrell (1885-1974) was an American writer, journalist, art critic, editor and researcher into the Shakespearean Authorship question. He maintained that Edward de Vere, the 17th Earl of Oxford (1550 -1604) was the author of the works of William Shakespeare. While he received the main argument in favor of de Vere from the writings of John Thomas Looney (1870-1944), Barrell did a great deal to support and corroborate the theory that Oxford was Shakespeare. Perhaps most well-known for his 1941 *Scientific American* article on the "Ashbourne" Shakespeare, as editor of the *Shakespeare Fellowship Newsletter* (1940-43) and *Quarterly* (1944-48). The purpose of this

(Continued on page 14)

Letters

To the Editor:

I read with interest the article by Dr. Waugaman about the connections between Psalm 119 and the Sonnets. Although I do have to say that some of the connections Dr. Waugaman mentions seem to me to be a little tenuous, I do believe that the Psalms (as well as the entire Geneva Bible) were a very important influence on Edward de Vere.

However, I was most taken aback by Dr. Waugaman's implied statement that the "Lamed" section of Psalm 119 is to be equated with the English word "lamed". As you and, I believe, Dr. Waugaman know, the Hebrew letter name "Lamed" is properly pronounced as two syllables to rhyme with "ah bed". The letter is a descendant of the Proto-Canaanite letter "lamd" which is a pictograph meaning "ox goad" (cattle prod). This letter is also the ancestor of the Greek letter "lambda," and by extension, our letter "L." On the other hand the English word "lamed" comes from Old English.

The similarity in spelling of these two terms (when the name of the Hebrew letter is rendered into the English alphabet) is purely coincidental. One might as well say that the portion of Psalm 119 based on the eighth Hebrew letter "Hay" refers to food for horses, the section for the 14th letter "Nun" (pronounced as "noon") refers to a woman in a convent, or the 21st section of the Psalm ("Shin") refers to a part of the leg.

I suppose Dr. Waugaman's point is that de Vere, while certainly knowing about the letter "lamed" from his tutor Sir Thomas Smith (an expert in Greek and Hebrew), was struck by this coincidence of the two words being spelled alike in the English alphabet and was then drawn to read that part of the Psalm more carefully, but this point was not made very well (in my opinion) in the article.

This implied equating of the terms in de Vere's mind does not do justice to the obvious knowledge de Vere had of Hebrew (there are many Hebrew-English

puns throughout the works of Shakespeare).

Sincerely,

Richard Joyrich



Waugaman replies:

I am grateful to Richard Joyrich for his excellent comments. I was unaware of the many Hebrew-English puns in de Vere's work, but that is entirely consistent with what we know about his love of word play. John Andrews, among others, has observed that Shakespeare never missed an opportunity to play on the multiple meanings of any words.

And yes, though I did not make my point clearly enough, I simply meant that de Vere was reminded of the English word 'lamed' by the transliteration of the Hebrew letter into that same word.

For further examples of de Vere's echoes of the Sternhold and Hopkins Psalms, see my recent *Notes & Queries article* (accessible via shake-speares-bible.com).

Sincerely,

Richard M. Waugaman, M.D.

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Please address correspondence to:

Editorial Offices
P.O. Box 65335
Baltimore, MD 21209

Editor:
Roger Stritmatter, PhD

Contributing Editors:
Mark Anderson, Lynne Kositsky,
Katherine Sharpe,
Howard Schumann,
Alex McNeil, Linda Theil,
John Shahan, Michael Delahoyde
Ren Draya,
Richard Whalen,
Hank Whittemore, R. Thomas Hunter
William Boyle, Gary Goldstein

Phone (Baltimore, MD): (410) 764-9202
email: newsletter@ShakespeareFellowship.org
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The Shakespeare Fellowship
PO Box 421
Hudson, MA 01749

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

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

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

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

From the President

Make Your Reservations for Ashland!

By now most of you should have renewed your membership in the Shakespeare Fellowship and been introduced to our new online authorship journal, *Brief Chronicles*. The early renewal returns have demonstrated that our members are very interested in supporting *Brief Chronicles*, and took the opportunity to order printed copies of the inaugural edition. Several Fellowship trustees have also made major donations in this effort to get *Brief Chronicles* into the hands of our members and of university professors and librarians in the expectation that this will help counter the argument that Shakespeare authorship studies is a 'fringe' movement unworthy of scholarly attention.

A number of trustees have also been busy working on a variety of projects. Plans for the Ashland Authorship Conference are going well and the joint conference committee has agreed to keep the registration fee at \$200 for our 4-day event, September 16-19. Registrations will include an opening reception, buffet lunches, and the awards banquet at the close of the conference. Both Paul Nicholson, Executive Director at Oregon Shakespeare Festival, and Bill Rauch, artistic director at OSF, will be speakers this September. Rauch, who is directing both *Hamlet* and *Merchant of Venice* this season, has been praised for his innovative work at OSF in recent stories reported in *The Wall Street Journal* and the *New York Times*.

Once again Keir Cutler will perform his brilliant adaptation of Mark Twain's satire, *Is Shakespeare Dead?* which is scheduled for a forum open to the general public on Saturday afternoon. Robin Goodrin-

Nordli will also perform her one-woman show, *Bard Babes*, that afternoon. The proceedings of this forum will conclude with a signing ceremony of the Declaration of Reasonable Doubt by a select group of Oxfordian theater professionals. Fellowship trustees who have already agreed to speak at the conference include Bonner Cutting, Tom Regnier and myself. We plan to have a pdf registration form available online by next month so we can stimulate



widespread early interest and recruit the best speakers. Cheryl Eagan-Donovan is even bringing her video camera to record interviews and events for her documentary, *Nothing is Truer than Truth*.

This promises to be a wonderful conference in a charming venue just a few steps from the festival theaters where *The Merchant of Venice*, *Hamlet*, *1 Henry IV* and *Twelfth Night* (what a lineup!) will be in production. For further information on the OSF season, go to www.osashland.org. For the conference we have booked a group of rooms at the Ashland Springs Hotel (www.ahslandspringshotel.com).

Eight years ago the Shakespeare

Fellowship Foundation was established through the generosity of Roland Caldwell. Fellowship trustees Charles Berney, Alex McNeil and Roger Stritmatter were the original signatories on the trust agreement. The stated purpose of the trust was to aid and financially assist research efforts "toward the educational literary objective of establishing once and for all the true correct identity of the author of the enormous literary works known to the world as 'Shakespeare.'"

The Caldwell Trust Company has managed the account very well and the Foundation endowment has grown substantially since its inception. The trust agreement requires that all recipients qualify for 501(c)(3) status under the IRS code. This winter the Foundation subcommittee has been meeting and will soon announce the first grants from the Shakespeare Fellowship Foundation to qualified university and charitable organizations which have been identified as particularly worthy of our support.

Finally, an *ad hoc* committee has been formed to update the Fellowship website with more timely news and book reviews. In fact this year promises to be particularly robust in the realm of authorship publications. Besides *Brief Chronicles'* inaugural issue, James Shapiro's *Contested Will* and Oxfordian Charles Beauclerk's *Shakespeare's Lost Kingdom* are due out this spring. As Roland Emmerich has apparently begun production of *Anonymous*, his much-anticipated authorship film project, this next year could be quite propitious for knowledgeable Oxfordians.

— Earl Showerman

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

2010: A Blockbuster Year for Authorship Studies

2010 looks like it's going to be a big year for Shakespeare authorship news. Kurt Kreiler's new book (*Der Mann, der Shakespeare erfand: Edward de Vere, Earl of Oxford*) continues to make waves in Germany. One of the largest newspapers in Germany, the *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, in January wrote up a big, favorable review of it. James Shapiro's *Contested Will: Who Wrote Shakespeare?* appears in April, as will Charles Beauclerk's *Shakespeare's Lost Kingdom*.

And, good or bad or otherwise, it appears that the first big movie about Edward de Vere as Shakespeare is going to be helmed by Hollywood blockbuster director Roland Emmerich.

News arrives today of the first bit of casting for Emmerich's *Anonymous* — which is now reportedly working with a \$30 million budget and begins shooting in Berlin in March.

According to the movie website Collider.com, Emmerich has cast the young British actor Edward Hogg as one of his marquee talents. Looking over Hogg's resume, he certainly doesn't lack for film/television or stage experience. Hogg is best known on screen for his lead role in last year's *White Lightnin'*.

Hogg has also been in productions of *Measure for Measure* and *The Tempest* at Shakespeare's Globe as well as a turn as the fool in *King Lear* at the RSC. Expect a raft of Hogg puns, especially if Hogg is cast as Edward de Vere — the blue boar himself.

— Mark K. Anderson

Holderness: Shakespeare's Bio is the Earl of Oxford's

On the academic front, fresh rumor has also broken out attesting to the weakening hold of orthodox presumption within the scholarly industry. Speaking at the November 28 Globe symposium on Shakespearean biography, "Shakespeare: From Rowe to Shapiro," Graham Holderness, Professor of Early Modern Literature at Hertfordshire University and Editor-in-Chief of *Critical Survey* stated:

If you were to construct a biography which ticked all the boxes — if you were to read Shakespeare's plays and infer a biography from it — it wouldn't be Rowe's, it would actually be the Earl of Oxford's.

Readers may recall that *Critical Survey* is the journal which this fall featured several articles on authorship (including two written wholly or in part by *SM* editor Stritmatter) on the authorship question.

A fuller account of the Globe event is given by Shakespearean Authorship Trust Trustee Julia Cleave, writing as a guest blogger on Linda Theil's SOS blog, to which we are indebted for this story. Emails from the editor to Holderness requesting further comment went unanswered.

Beauclerk to Publish *Shakespeare's Lost Kingdom*



Charles Beauclerk's new book on the authorship question, *Shakespeare's Lost Kingdom*, will be published by Grove Press in April. Beauclerk is known to many American Oxfordians from his extensive speaking tour on the authorship question, during the years 1991-97. He is a founding member of the English de Vere Society and was briefly the President of the Shakespeare Oxford Society in 1996. He is also the author of the critically acclaimed *Nell Gwyn: Mistress*

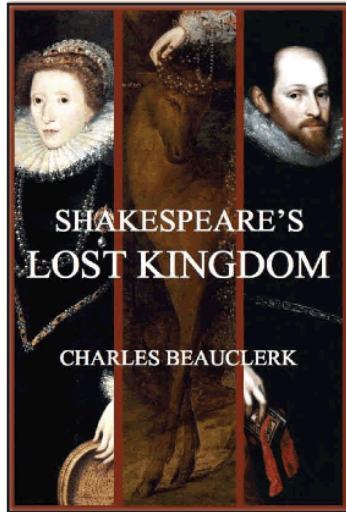
to a King (Atlantic Monthly 2005).

From Grove Press advance publicity:

It is perhaps the greatest story never told: the truth behind the most enduring works of literature in the English language, perhaps in any language. Who was the man behind Hamlet, King Lear, and the sonnets? What passion, what pain, what love inspired words so powerful that "not marble, nor the gilded monuments / Of princes, shall outlive this powerful rhyme"? In *Shakespeare's Lost Kingdom*, critically acclaimed historian Charles Beauclerk pulls off an enchanting feat, humanizing the bard who for centuries has remained beyond our grasp.

Beauclerk has devoted more than two decades

researching the authorship question. If the plays and poems of Shakespeare were discovered today, he argues, we would see them for what they are—shocking political works written by a court insider, someone whose status and anonymity shielded him from repression in an unstable time of armada and reformation. As a satirical writer as trenchant as “Shakespeare” would



not have kept his head for long without the monarch's indulgence. But the author's unique status and identity were quickly swept under the rug after his death. The official history—of an uneducated Stratfordian merchant writing in near obscurity, and of a virginal queen married to her country—dominated for centuries.

Shakespeare's Lost Kingdom delves deep into the conflicts and personalities of Elizabethan England as well as into the plays themselves to tell the true story of the “Soul of the Age.” From the queen whose sexual escapades threatened to tear the curtain from the royal stage, to the poet whose identity crisis fueled a body of incomparable works, and the controversy that survived both of them, springing up again and again down through the centuries, this is a compelling, convincing history. You'll never look at Shakespeare the same way again.

Moore's *Lame Storyteller* Issued

Boca Raton, FL (USA) and Hamburg, Germany, January 4, 2010... German publisher Verlag Laugwitz is pleased to announce publication of *The Lame Storyteller, Poor and Despised, the collected Shakespeare papers of literary historian Peter Moore* (1949-2007), which previously appeared in peer reviewed journals in the US, England, Holland and France from 1993 to 2006.

Among Moore's arguments are:

- The Shakespeare plays were written from 1585 to 1604 and not 1590 to 1613, as commonly supposed
- The Rival Poet of the Sonnets was Robert Devereaux, Earl of Essex and the Fair Youth was Henry Wriostheley, Earl of Southampton
- Shakespeare's share of *Two Noble Kinsmen* was written in the last year of Elizabeth's life—and ended with her death
- The dramatist attacked in Ben Jonson's “On Poet Ape”

was Thomas Dekker and not William Shakespeare

- Shakespeare used the Bible's two-witness rule involving murder in designing *Hamlet's* inner dynamic
- Shakespeare adapted the Earl of Surrey's Psalm 8 as well as *Piers Plowman* in writing Hamlet's soliloquies
- Shakespeare set Christian and pagan philosophies against each other in *King Lear* and mediated the debate through the concept of nature
- Shakespeare used ancient and modern notions of time and Epicureanism in devising *Macbeth's* structure

“Peter became one of the most brilliant scholars of the Elizabethan period late in life,” noted Dr. Uwe Laugwitz. “He was not an academic—he did not receive a doctorate, nor did he teach Shakespeare. What is special about his insights into Shakespeare and the Elizabethan Age is that they derive from a most intriguing background—military officer, legislative aide, and education official, with degrees in engineering and economics.”

Copies of Moore's book are available for \$20 from the Shakespeare Fellowship. Please visit our online bookstore for ordering details (<http://www.shakespearefellowshiponlinestore.com>)

Brief Chronicles Signs New Editors

Editors of the Shakespeare Fellowship's new online peer reviewed scholarly journal of authorship studies, *Brief Chronicles*, are pleased to announce that six new distinguished scholars have joined the journal's editorial team, which now numbers twelve in all.

The new members include a Research Professor in Economics from the University of Hertfordshire, a specialist in historical codicology and textual dating from Harvard University, a former editor of the *Wellesley Index to Victorian Periodicals* with an established expertise in 19th century anonymous publication, a Professor of Shakespearean studies from Blackburn College, and a widely published Professor of theater history from the University of Missouri.

The sixth new member of the board is a pioneer in the use of biometric linguistics to establish authorship of disputed documents, a regular legal consultant in forensic linguistics, and a nationally recognized expert on the Daubert Standard, the most important rule of evidence regarding the admissibility of expert witness testimony in American legal proceedings

“We are delighted to add each and every one of these new scholars to our board,” said General Editor Roger Stritmatter, Associate Professor at Coppin State University. “Each contributes something of unique value that helps to develop the intellectual diversity and interdisciplinary character of our publication.”

The six new members are:

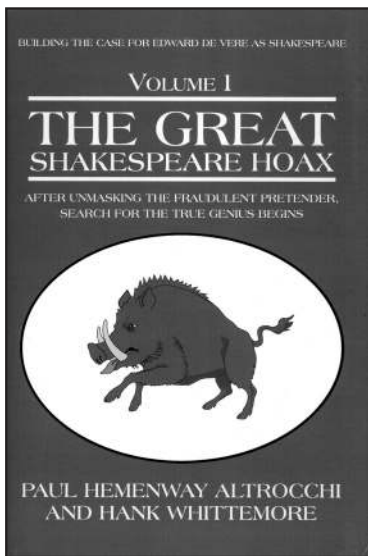
Geoffrey M. Hodgson, PhD, a Research Professor in Economics at the University of Hertfordshire in England. He is an Academician of the Academy of Social Sciences in the UK and the author of over 12 books and over 100 articles in academic

(Continued on p. 6)

(News cont. from p. 5)

Linguistics from Brown University (1987).

Dr. Chaski developed—and continues to develop—ALIAS: Automated Linguistic Identification and Assessment System in order to provide objective measurements for statistical analysis. In 1995 she won a three year Visiting Research Fellowship at the US Department of Justice's National Institute of Justice, Office of Science and Technology, Investigative and Forensic Sciences Division, where she began the validation testing which has become an increasingly important aspect of forensic sciences since the Daubert ruling. Dr. Chaski has served as an expert witness in Federal and State Courts in the United States, Canada, and The Hague.



Altrocchi-Whittemore Series on the History of Authorship

Shakespeare Fellowship members Dr. Paul Altrocchi and Hank Whittemore have issued the first five volumes in their projected multi-volume series of anti-Stratfordian and Oxfordian commentary and criticism of "Oxfordian Literature from the Beginning." The five volumes cover the years 1864-1971, and include extensive excerpts from works by such leading

anti-Stratfordian and Oxfordian scholars as George Greenwood, Percy Allen, J. Thomas Looney, Canon Gerald Rendall, Charles Wisner Barrell, Eva Turner Clark, Louis P. Benezet, and the elder Ogburns. The first volume, *The Great Shakespeare Hoax*, also includes an extensive selection of articles by traditional Shakespeareans exploring the theme of Shakespeare's encyclopedic and sophisticated intellect.

These books, which serve the critical purpose of making readily available a large number of out-of-print or obscure resources, should be an indispensable asset to anyone who wants to study the authorship question (as it should be studied) as a topic in intellectual history (please see "From the Editor," this issue, for further commentary).

The volumes are available from Barnes and Noble and Amazon online (see ordering details in ad, p. 26 this issue).

Waugaman Publishing Spree

DC Psychoanalyst and *Brief Chronicles* Board member Richard Waugaman continues to set the standard for just how much one committed, well-informed, and self-disciplined individual can accomplish to report Hamlet's cause aright to the unsatisfied. Within a few weeks time, Waugaman has published the following articles in major academic journals:

- "A Psychoanalytical Study of Edward de Vere's *Tempest*," in the *Journal of the American Academy of Psychoanalysis and Dynamic Psychiatry* 37: 4 (2009), 627-644.
- "The Sternhold and Whole Book of the Psalms is a Major Source for the Works of Shakespeare," *Notes and Queries*, December 2009.
- "Who Was Shakespeare? We Suggest Edward de Vere," *The Scandinavian Psychoanalytic Review* vol. 32, no.2 (2009) (co-written with *SM* editor Roger Stritmatter).

According to Waugaman's *JAAPDS* abstract,

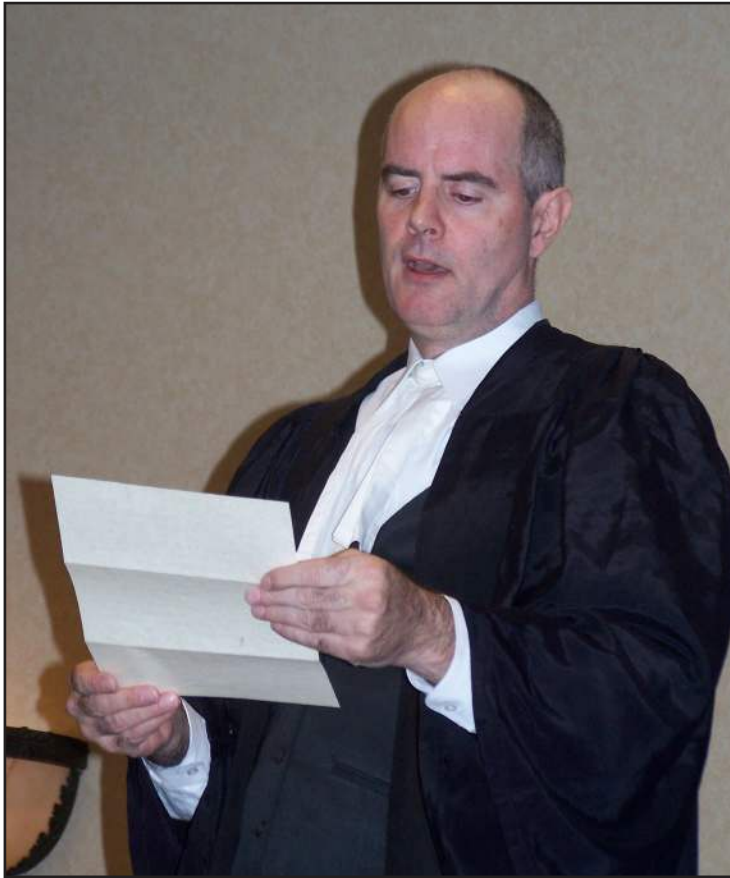
There is now abundant evidence that Freud was correct in believing Edward de Vere (1550-1604) wrote

under the pseudonym "William Shakespeare." One common reaction is "What difference does it make?" I address that question by examining many significant connections between de Vere's life and *The Tempest*.

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(Continued on p. 13)



Keir Cutler, PhD, wowed conference attendees with his hilarious satirical skit, “Is Shakespeare Dead?” based on the Mark Twain classic.

(2009 Conference, cont. from p. 1)

the Shakespeare Fellowship, a musician, frequent conference presenter, author (working on a book about Shakespeare’s will), and leader of an Oxfordian study group in Houston. She was a tireless, cheerful, gracious hostess.

At the closing banquet, Cutting presented the Oxfordian Recognition Award to Virginia Renner, former director of Reader Services at the Huntington Library in Pasadena, CA. Renner is a co-author of the Declaration of Reasonable Doubt, which she persuaded ten of her Huntington colleagues to sign. For many years, she has provided information and guidance to scholars studying Shakespeare authorship. The two Oxfordian societies that sponsored the joint gathering—the Shakespeare Fellowship (SF) and the Shakespeare Oxford Society (SOS)—held their annual meetings. The SF chose Earl Showerman to succeed Alex McNeil as president, and it elected Showerman,

Patricia Urquhart, Ian Haste, and Ted Story to its Board of Directors. The SOS elected John Hamill to succeed Matthew Cossolotto as president, and elected Richard Joyrich, Richard Smiley, and Cossolotto to the Board of Trustees.

The Conference presentations are grouped under two themes: I. Taking our message to a wider audience through drama, film, fiction, online and print publication, and public presentations.

Three of the presentations were rousing monologues, given by actors Cutler and Whittemore, which exemplify successful and entertaining efforts to expose the authorship question and theories to new audiences, outside of mainstream academia and beyond the authorship studies community, by means of drama. Cutler, a Montreal playwright and performer with a PhD in theatre, channeled Mark Twain’s comedic skepticism about the credentials of the man from Stratford in his *Is Shakespeare Dead?* (1909), and then parodied the meltdown of a frustrated actor turned col-

lege professor, who never learned to teach and instead uses his class as a sounding board for his own psychological traumas, in “Teaching Shakespeare.”

Whittemore, an actor, journalist, and author, gave a passionate performance of “Shakespeare’s Treason,” a dramatization of the politically charged love triangle he sees revealed in the Sonnets, written in conjunction with director Ted Story, and based on his 2002 book, *The Monument*. Whittemore and Story continue to refine the performance, which for some attendees was the high point of the conference. Others worry that explorations of the “Prince Tudor” theory are premature or potentially offensive. My vote is to let all theories be heard and all evidence seen, examined, and respectfully discussed. (We Oxfordians seem to be going through a succession crisis of our own, as new theories are born and fight for prominence.)

Cheryl Eagan-Donovan, a writer and filmmaker who has optioned the documentary film rights to Mark Anderson’s biography of Edward de Vere, “*Shakespeare by Another Name*,” for her current project, *Nothing is Truer than Truth*, kicked off the conference with Oxford as Shakespeare in the twenty-first Century. She discussed the relevance of Shakespeare to today’s media-centric audiences, focused on several 2009 theatrical productions staged by and targeted to young audiences — productions using gender identity, music, sexuality, and dance — explored parallels between de Vere’s life and these modern interpretations, and predicted “our Shakespeare” is at home in these evolving formats and will be embraced by audiences open to new ways of looking at his works. Eagan-Donovan is raising funds to begin her filming her narrative documentary, focusing on de Vere in Italy.

Scott Evans, a teacher of fiction and legal writing and an author of literary murder mysteries, read a chapter from a draft of his novel *First Folio*, which follows the misadventures of a resourceful, but naïve college instructor named Joseph Lawrence Conrad who inherits a box of manuscripts—the handwritten plays of Shakespeare. While audience members ate a tasty luncheon, Evans solicited their comments on the chapter where Joe and his colleagues meet for lunch to discuss the literary evidence for de Vere as Shakespeare.

(Continued on p. 8)

(2009 Conference, cont. from p. 7)

There was a panel discussion about Michael Shermer's "skeptical" opinion piece in the August 2009 *Scientific American*, "Shakespeare Interrupted." Panel members were Felicia Hardison

Londré said the Shermer article is not worth our attention because it recycles tactics of the past that have already been answered. However, it has wide readership and it's good that letters of response were published online. Londré gives presentations around the world on the authorship question, and the audience wanted to hear about this. She said the question is out there, but people will believe what they want to believe and hear from that mindset: "Our evidence means nothing until we change their desire to believe." When she speaks publicly, Londré starts by establishing a position of tolerance—saying the question is open and they can weigh the evidence and decide, that it's not an elitist argument but a search for truth, that we're doing the best we can without final answers, that Will Shaksper and Edward de Vere were real people and we're trying to fit the name "Shakespeare" to one, and (although there are other forms of evidence) it's useful to look at their lives. Finally, she listens to their questions.

Londré (professor of theatre at the University of Missouri-Kansas City, dramaturg, author, and frequent presenter on Shakespeare authorship), Robin Fox (professor of social theory at Rutgers University, anthropologist, researcher, and author), and John

Shahan (founder and chairman of the Shakespeare Authorship Coalition, principal author of the Declaration of Reasonable Doubt, and strategist).

Shahan said the article was disappointing and full of errors and that Shermer had quoted his private communication publicly and needed to be made accountable. Shahan summarized how the article came to be, and why he published a rebuttal in the SOS newsletter (which an audience member called "a solid piece we all should study and memorize").

Fox thought the Shermer article was good, in that it suggests to people unaware of the authorship question that it's worth discussing, however, Shermer got it wrong from beginning to end, and the only substantive issue regards Shakespeare's allusions (or lack of them) to grammar school or university educations. Fox reviewed de Vere's education and asked people please to stop claiming that de Vere attended Oxford and Cambridge, because, though he did receive degrees at both, he got his superior education at Cecil House as a ward. Even so, he said that nothing in Shakespeare's writings excludes Oxford's experience—Oxford ran a grammar school and was a patron of one. In the lively discussion that followed, Dan Wright said Queen Elizabeth awarded de Vere the two university degrees because he had an equivalent or better education. De Vere also was educated at the Inns of Court in theatre and legal arts.

Londré said the article is not worth our attention because it recycles tactics of the past that already have already been answered. However, it has wide readership and it's good that letters of response were published online. Londré gives presentations around the world on the authorship question, and the audience wanted to hear about this. She said the question is out there, but people will believe what they want to believe and hear from that mindset: "Our evidence means nothing until we change their desire to believe." When she speaks publicly or to students, she first establishes a position of tolerance—saying the question is open and they can weigh the evidence and decide that it's not an elitist argument but a search for truth, that we're doing the best we can without final answers, that Will Shaksper and Edward de Vere were real people and we're trying to fit the name "Shakespeare" to one, and (although there are other forms of evidence) it's useful to look at their lives. Finally, she listens carefully to questions.

Shahan is interested in strategic planning to undermine the Stratfordian ideology. In "Declaration of Reasonable Doubt: Strategy Implications for Oxfordians," Shahan said the Declaration of Reasonable Doubt (www.doubtaboutwill.org) attracts media attention with its twice-yearly updating of the signatory list (now at 1676). It aims to defeat our opponents' strategy, which is to claim that there is no room for doubt and refuse to address the issues. We must create a crisis for orthodoxy, since they refuse to recognize there is one. We need a precipitating event similar to Copernicus sending people telescopes to "see for themselves." He encouraged us to find high-profile people who are not afraid to be contrarians to sign the declaration in time for the anniversary of the 2012 Olympics in London, and to focus media attention on new evidence, recent research, and new book launches.

Alex McNeil, a former President and Treasurer of the Shakespeare Fellowship, spoke on, "Is Shakespeare in Jeopardy?" McNeil presented an illustrated survey of primary reasons why there is a Shakespeare Authorship Question. He examined the evidence (or lack of it) for William Shaksper of Stratford-on-Avon as the author and then presented the case for Edward de Vere, 17th Earl of Oxford, as the real author. Audience members

asked him to share his PowerPoint slides on the Web, in order to help them with ideas and images as they put together similar presentations for general audiences. Not everyone agrees with all his theories (as his excellent survey of Oxfordian opinion shows (See *SM* 8:3 (Summer, 2009), p. 6), but his catalog of facts more than covered the primary evidence.

Editors Roger Stritmatter and Gary Goldstein introduced *Brief Chronicles*, a new interdisciplinary, peer-reviewed journal of authorship studies, which is available free online (www.briefchronicles.com). Web-based publication is the most cost-effective, practical communications venue available. As part of the emerging scholarly platform called Open Journal Systems, *Brief Chronicles* offers authors an online submissions process, creative commons license, direct access to readers, and rapid archiving by Google Scholar and other academic search engines; open access dramatically increases the rate of article citation over traditional, subscriber-based print publication. The journal's annual issues will bring the best in contemporary scholarship in Shakespearean authorship studies to a growing Web audience. Its first issue, published in November, followed its standard review process for scholarly journals—all major submissions, even by members of the editorial board, will undergo a double-blind peer review process where reviewers do not know the identity of writers, and vice versa.

Michael Egan, professor, award-winning scholar, author, and the new editor of *The Oxfordian*, summarized the changes he made in his first edition of the journal, as well as his plans to send it to many English departments in the U.S. and abroad, in hope that recipients will learn more about the authorship issue and the case for Edward de Vere. The 2009 edition of *The Oxfordian* features an "Open Forum" section with articles supporting five authorship candidates: David Kathman on William of Stratford-upon-Avon; Peter Farey on Christopher Marlowe; John Hudson on Amelia Bassano Lanier; John Raithel on William Stanley, and Ramon Jiménez on Edward de Vere.

When Egan took questions from the audience, there were some emotional responses, not only about the large number of weak articles, but specifically about the unprofessional statements made by Kathman about Charlton Ogburn and others. It is unusual to see such personal remarks in a scholarly journal, and although this might generate interest, many wondered how it adds respectability to the authorship discussion. Egan maintained that educated readers will see the difference in the scholarship used by these authors, and said that he had placed Kathman's article first to generate publicity, stating that having an Oxfordian journal put a Stratfordian argument first shows openness to the question. It is too early to judge the success of the issue, and most people are keeping an open mind about widely soliciting non-Oxfordian articles (which always have been allowed), as well as having a non-Oxfordian as the journal editor.

It was invigorating to hear and see examples of the myriad ways our story about Oxford as Shakespeare getting out to a widening public. As Cheryl Eagan-Donovan said, "Our Shakespeare is at home in these evolving formats." Equally compelling were the following conference presentations that addressed the daunting, exciting, and never ending task of improving our story.

II. Getting facts straight, finding evidence, and drawing lines between Shakespeare's works and an author's life.

Paul Altrocchi, physician, researcher, writer, and co-editor with Hank Whittemore of *Building the Case for Edward de Vere* as

Shakespeare—a new anthology of Oxfordian literature—said this series chronicles early Oxfordian discoveries, contains wonderful articles from obscure journals and books, and will eventually include the work of contemporary authors. In "Searching for Shakespeare's Earliest Published Works," Dr. Altrocchi argued the

John Shahan is interested in strategic planning to undermine the Stratfordian ideology. In Declaration of Reasonable Doubt: Strategy Implications for Oxfordians, John said the Declaration of Reasonable Doubt (www.doubtaboutwill.org) attracts media attention with its twice-yearly updating of the signatory list (now at 1676). It aims to defeat our opponents' strategy, which is to claim that there is no room for doubt and refuse to address the issues. We must create a crisis for orthodoxy, since they refuse to recognize there is one. We need a precipitating event similar to Copernicus sending people telescopes to "see for themselves." He encouraged us to find high-profile people who are not afraid to be contrarians to sign the declaration in time for the anniversary of the 2012 Olympics in London, and to focus media attention on new evidence, recent research, and new book

earliest known works of Edward de Vere are the *Tragical History of Romeus and Juliet* by Ar. Br., traditionally credited to Arthur Brooke, and the translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* credited to Arthur Golding. He suggested that Ar. Br. is clearly a pen name—because people don't abbreviate their last names—and

(Continued on p. 10)

(2009 Conference cont. from p. 9)

semantic analysis shows that the real Arthur Brooke, a tedious translator, was an unlikely author. Likewise, Golding could not have translated Ovid's *Metamorphoses* because it is so unlike the three ponderous histories he translated and dedicated to Cecil and de Vere. Rather, the Golding *Metamorphoses* reads like immature Shakespeare, less a translation than a new work modeled after Ovid, adding many new lines and words. Golding likely let his nephew, de Vere, use his name. Both were at Cecil House during the start of the translation (whereas Shakspeare was *in utero*). Altrocchi found no sign of de Vere's hand in Golding's three histories. He also examined the claim of Michael Brame and Galina Popova in *Shakespeare's Fingerprints* that by age eight de Vere had translated seven books of Virgil's *Aeneid*. He concluded this "hunch" was not up to the authors' usual careful analysis. These works are not de Vere's; the translations are mediocre, and the meter sacrificed to rhyme.

SOS President Matthew Cossolotto was unable to attend the Conference, but Richard Joyrich read his remarks on "By Death Departed: Marking the 400th Anniversary of Shakespeare's Posthumously Published Sonnets." Cossolotto argued that posthumous publication is the Occam's Razor explanation for *all* the evidence associated with the appearance of Shakespeare's sonnets in 1609. This evidence is largely ignored by Stratfordians and most anti-Stratfordians because establishing that the poet Shakespeare died before 1609 would eliminate just about every authorship candidate (including William of Stratford) except Christopher Marlowe (who died in 1593) and Edward de Vere, the 17th Earl of Oxford (who died in 1604). You can read highlights of the evidence Cossolotto collected for posthumous publication online at <http://shakespearesonnets1609.wordpress.com>.

Frank Davis, neurosurgeon, researcher, past SOS president and trustee, presented "A Comparison of Contemporary Signatures with those of William Shakspeare." Davis showed dozens of examples of autographs of various writers, actors, and others from the Elizabethan and Jacobean eras. His assertion that a signature was a source of pride seems true, because regardless of the language of the text (Latin, English, or other), most signatures were in English and clearly were legible and consistent. Davis said this shows how desperate the orthodox champions were when they presented these six scraggly signatures as proof of authorship.

Ren Draya, professor of British and American literature, author, poet, and editor of the upcoming Oxfordian edition of Shakespeare's *Othello*, spoke on "Music and Songs in Shakespeare's Plays: *Othello*." Draya opened with a cautionary summary of the unexpected labor (four years) involved in editing an Oxfordian edition of a play — a process that affirmed her belief that *Othello* was written by Oxford — and provided a list of research questions to follow through on. She then addressed music and songs of Shakespeare's plays, the role of music in an Elizabethan nobleman's life, and the connections to the Earl of Oxford. She illustrated the ways music is used metaphorically in a range of plays focusing on *Othello*, with descriptions of the music (trumpet fanfares and one aubade) and explication of the songs (two drinking songs and Desdemona's "Willow Song").

Ebru Gökdag, author, activist with Theatre of the Oppressed, teacher, director, and playwright, spoke on "Easing Elizabethan's Turkophobia Through *Othello*." She argued that Elizabethans identified the Turks as the antithesis of everything European civilization represented. This image was used by many European

playwrights including Elizabethan ones, especially Shakespeare, who were suggesting different tactics to prevent Turks from further

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***Othello* shows that Shakespeare had great knowledge about Turkish (Ottoman) military history. He closely follows the details of the accounts of the Turkish battles, but diverges from the truth on some important matters, such as showing the Turks defeated by a storm (not the Christian fleet) at Lepanto. In this play, Shakespeare says it's possible to defeat the Turks by getting to know their characteristics and weaknesses. *Othello*, who was converted and baptized as a Christian (Turkey's worst nightmare) could motivate Elizabethans to rise above their pessimistic Turkophobia.**

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Questioned about why Queen Elizabeth called Oxford her "Turk," Ebru said she had not heard of it, but that Elizabeth saw Turks differently from the general public; she trusted them as "friendly enemies" — to be kept close as allies in the war against Spain. In 1579, Elizabeth wrote the Turkish Sultan to initiate trade and get help against a Spanish armada. Richard Whalen suggested Elizabeth might have been kidding Oxford with the name because Oxford had been to the Adriatic, possibly on a diplomatic mission.

Ron Halstead, teacher, theologian, and researcher, discussed "The Influence of the Family of Love on the Theme of Forgiveness in *Measure for Measure*," arguing that the unorthodox interpretation of forgiveness in the Sermon on the Mount that appears in *Measure*

for *Measure* shows the author's exposure to teachings of the Family of Love, an extreme anabaptist cult, regarded by the Elizabethan State and Church as a threat and persecuted from 1576 to 1583.

The government suspected groups that met in private, and there was reason to fear that Family of Love operatives were plotting to kill William Cecil. Harsh measures were used to produce security, and reputations were threatened. Yet Halstead gave examples showing the group must have had powerful protection, and one unnamed lord had professed the "dangerous" doctrine, which said "look within to find the hidden treasure," not to the church or other intermediaries. Ruth Loyd Miller demonstrated that the author of *Othello* was familiar with the Family of Love. Not only does *Measure* share a common literary source (Cinthio) with *Othello*, but it shares autobiographical elements from the same period in de Vere's life.

W. Ron Hess, researcher and author of *The Dark Side of Shakespeare*, addressed the conference with his topic, "All the World's a Stage: Did Shakespeare Kill Don Juan?" Hess argued that Oxford's travels—to Brussels in 1574 and through France, Germany, Greece, and Italy in 1575-76—followed a well-coordinated mission laid out for him by his father-in-law, Lord Burghley, and his mentor, the Earl of Sussex. Hess believes Oxford's

mission was to encounter, beguile, and eventually destroy Don Juan, the one man capable of conquering England in the 1570s, and by doing so, Oxford bought England a precious decade to prepare before the Spanish Armada sailed. Don Juan, the natural son of Emperor Charles V and half-brother of Spain's Philip II, was a threat to England because in 1571 he helped destroy the Turkish fleet and became the darling of Catholic Europe. Hess wonders if Oxford was trailing Don Juan: Oxford was reported twice in Milan and once in Sicily, was alleged to have been to Naples, and arrived in Venice from Genoa just after Don Juan sailed to Genoa to interfere in the Genoese Civil Wars. When Don Juan died of dysentery in 1578 in his Namur garrison, Oxford's servants Deny and

Williams were there. Was the death actually from poisoning? Was Oxford, in high favor at court in 1579, being rewarded by Queen Elizabeth for his espionage? According to Hess, "Oxford's dancing with Don Juan" is celebrated in Shakespeare's plays, e.g., actors give spy-like details such as the exact numbers and consistency of Don Juan's armies in 1578 in Milan and the Netherlands.

John Hamill, historian, project manager, newly elected Shakespeare Oxford Society president and board member, spoke on "A

Spaniard in the Elizabethan Court: Don Antonio Pérez." John examined letters to members of the Elizabethan court (Essex, Southampton, Burghley, and others, some translated by John for the first time) from the flamboyant Spanish fugitive, Don Antonio Pérez (1540-1611), Secretary of State for Philip II.

Hamill argued that these documents support the one-hundred-year-old claim that Pérez was openly parodied as Don Armado in *Love's Labour's Lost*, his reports of intrigues in the Spanish court were clearly the source of several dramatic details in *Othello*, and he seems to have been vilified as Iago. Hamill focused on Pérez's turbulent life and connection to the Elizabethan court, showing how his life stamps his role in *Othello* and *Love's Labour's Lost*, which reveals his personal impact on the playwright. Pérez is important in the fields of Elizabethan and Shakespearean studies because of his relationships with the kings of Spain and France, Philip II and Henri IV, and with Queen Elizabeth, the Earl of Essex, and Francis Bacon.

Martin Hyatt, biologist, diver, and researcher, spoken on "Heaven's Sweetest Air: An Examination of Bird Symbolism in Shakespeare's Sonnets." Hyatt said this talk is part of a larger project, and he requested that his theory not be mentioned online.



Martin Hyatt presented on the symbolic uses of birds in the Sonnets in his talk, "Heaven's Sweetest Air."

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He said Shakespeare not only loved birds, alluding to them over 600 times in his works, but the kinds of birds and their placement in the sonnets have deeper meanings. Hyatt explored the traditional symbolism and associations of the birds mentioned in nine of the sonnets—birds both natural (crow, nightingale, gull, lark, raven, hawk, dove) and imaginary (siren, phoenix)—and argued that Shakespeare used birds to mark the seasons, allude to myths, symbolize things he could not say outright, and provide clues to hidden temporal information such as important birth dates.

Tom Regnier, lawyer, teacher, author, and actor, in “Legal Imagery in Shakespeare’s Sonnets,” explored legal terms, images, and metaphors in sonnets 46, 30, 87, 133, 134, and 116. Regnier said Shakespeare uses legal terms and metaphors in many ways in the Sonnets—some obvious, some subtle.

The Sonnets use both explicit and implicit legal metaphors and often contain words with both legal and non-legal meanings (e.g., pleading, summon). Shakespeare’s many methods of employing legalisms in the Sonnets are mirrored in the plays, which also display his sophisticated legal knowledge in varied ways, supporting Lord Penzance’s conclusion that Shakespeare “seems almost to have thought in legal phrases—the commonest of legal expressions were ever at the end of his pen in description or illustration.” The audience enjoyed searching these sonnets for legal terms before Regnier revealed them onscreen.

Earl Showerman, University of Michigan Medical School graduate, emergency room doctor, and newly elected Shakespeare Fellowship president, spoke on “*Troilus and Cressida*: Shakespeare’s Early Homeric Political Allegory.” Showerman said that *Troilus and Cressida* is similar to *Timon of Athens* as a drama that defies genre classification, has an anomalous position in the First Folio, and anticipates *Timon* in its experimentation with bleakness.

In *Troilus*, Shakespeare weaves a literary tapestry incorporating elements from numerous untranslated Greek sources, which constitute a serious challenge to the “lesse Greek” mentality of contemporary Shakespeare editors. On December 27, 1584, the Earl of Oxford’s boys performed *The History of Agamemnon and Ulisses* before the court at Greenwich. J.T. Looney saw this as an early version of *Troilus*, and E.T. Clark suggested the two factions in Greece headed by Achilles and Agamemnon paralleled the domestic factions in mid-1580s headed, respectively, by Leicester and Burghley. While many editors see *Troilus* as a

political allegory focusing on the Earl of Essex, Showerman believes the 1580s political crisis caused by England’s response to Spanish aggression in the Low Countries is a more credible and coherent allegory. A cast of Oxford-connected personalities might reflect the intense personal and political pressures of that time: Troilus as Oxford, Cressida as Anne Vavasour, Ulysses as Burghley, Achilles as Leicester, Patroclus as Sir Phillip Sidney, Ajax as Sir Christopher Hatton, Hector as Thomas Radcliffe, Diomedes as Sir Henry Lee, and Pandarus as Henry Howard.

Roger Stritmatter, Associate Professor of Humanities and Literary Studies, author, editor of *Shakespeare Matters*, and editor of the new online Journal, *Brief Chronicles*, in “The de

Vere Geneva Bible: A Rosetta Stone in the Shakespearean Question,” rhetorically asked whether his 2001 University of Massachusetts PhD dissertation, although still ignored by mainstream Shakespeareans, contains critical evidence confirming the theory articulated by Looney (1920), Miller (1975), Ogburn (1984), Whalen (1994), Sobran (1997), and Anderson (2005), identifying Edward de Vere, 17th Earl of

Oxford, as the true author of the “Shakespearean” works. He argued that a history of the reception of the case by orthodox Shakespeareans documents a pattern of evasion that suggests a strong need to contain a perceived threat to traditional beliefs, rather than respond to the argument on its merits.

Richard Whalen, author, co-editor of the Oxfordian Shakespeare Series (of which he is a general editor as well as editor of *Macbeth*), and past president of the SOS, spoke on “The Influence of *Commedia dell’Arte* in Shakespeare: Italian Theater Unknown in England but Known to Oxford.” Whalen argued that this satiric, improvisational theater in Italy was an important influence on Shakespeare’s writing of *Othello*, *The Tempest*, and a few other plays. The earl of Oxford was in Venice and other Italian cities in 1575-6 at the height of its popularity there. He was even spoofed in a *commedia dell’arte* performance by Italian actors. It was, however, virtually unknown in England. One troupe of Italian comedians performed in London in the 1570s (when Shakespeare was in his early teens in Stratford), but after that there is no evidence of visiting *commedia dell’arte* players until a performance for Queen Elizabeth in 1602, and none after that until the 1700s. Commentators have ignored or overlooked the especially pervasive influence of *commedia del’arte* on *Othello*, which is set in Venice and on Cyprus and which supports Oxford, who was there at the right time, as the true author of the play.



Tom Regnier analyzed the legal language in Shakespeare’s Sonnets.

Daniel Wright, Professor and Director of the Shakespeare Authorship Research Centre at Concordia University, lecturer, and author, spoke on "The Inauguration of the World's First Academic Centre for the Investigation of the Shakespeare Authorship Question: What the SARC Offers to Amateur and Professional Scholars Alike."

For an annual subscription fee of \$95, the SARC offers scholars access to a database of resources including JSTOR

Attendees had heard new insights on issues of continuing interest; they had reunited with old friends and made new ones. True, there was emotion and argument, but surely that is a sign of vitality and growth as well as deep commitment to a clearer vision of a seminal time in literary and world history.

(several hundred well-known journals) and the World Shakespeare Bibliography. Wright and Boyle have been collaborating on integrating access to SOAR, the New England Shakespeare Oxford Library, a permanent collection of books, journals, articles, and various media available to subscribers. For details about these resources, see www.authorshipstudies.org/database/subscriptions.cfm. and www.shakespeareoxfordlibrary.org.

The conference ended after the Sunday banquet, and attendees returned home gloriously overloaded with information and leads to follow. We had heard new insights on issues of continuing interest; we had reunited with old friends and made new ones. True, there was emotion and argument, but surely that is a sign of vitality and growth as well as deep commitment to a clearer vision of a seminal time in literary and world history.

(News, cont. from p. 6)

journals.

Donald Ostrowski, PhD, a Research Advisor in the Social Sciences and a Lecturer at Harvard University's Extension School, where he teaches World History and survey courses, including the plays of Shakespeare. Although his research focuses primarily on early Slavic history, he has an extensive publication record in comparative history and methodology. He has expertise in codicology, text dating and attribution, and textual criticism.

Mike Hyde, PhD in English from Tufts University, an MA from Tufts, and a BA in English with high honors from Harvard College. While completing a dissertation on Shelley, he also took many courses in Renaissance and Shakespeare studies. At Harvard he studied with Harry Levin's Shakespeare course group, and at Tufts with Sylvan Barnet.

Hyde served as the sub-editor for Walter Houghton on *The Wellesley Index to Victorian Periodicals* (from 1974-1980), a massive five volume compilation of more than thirty leading British-Scottish-Irish magazines published between 1800-1900. In that capacity he conducted extensive research on anonymity as well as the use of pseudonyms, initials, pen names, and other authorial disguises. He successfully identified Mary Shelley as the anonymous author of dozens of magazine articles, including one in *New Monthly Magazine* (1829) titled "Byron and Shelley on the Character of Hamlet."

Ren Draya, PhD, a Professor of British and American Literature at Blackburn College, a small liberal arts school in central Illinois, where she teaches, among other courses, Shakespeare, Craft of Writing, and Twentieth-Century British Literature. Draya received her doctorate in dramatic literature from the University of Colorado, working under J.H. Crouch, founder of the Colorado Shakespeare Festival. Her B.A. in English is from Tufts University, where she studied under Sylvan Barnet, editor of the Signet Shakespeare series.

Felicia Hardison Londré, PhD, is Curators' Professor of Theatre at the University of Missouri-Kansas City and Honorary Co-Founder of Heart of America

Shakespeare Festival. She was the founding secretary of the Shakespeare Theatre Association of America. She was inducted into the College of Fellows of the American Theatre at the Kennedy Center in 1999 and elected to the National Theatre Conference in 2001.

Carole E Chaski, PhD, the President of ALIAS Technology LLC, Executive

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Director of the Institute for Linguistic Evidence, the first non-profit research organization devoted to linguistic evidence, and the Executive Director of the Marylee Chaski Charitable Corporation, a private foundation supporting the life cycle of literacy through grants and scholarships. Dr. Chaski earned her A.B. *magna cum laude* in English and Ancient Greek from Bryn Mawr College (1975), MEd in Psychology of Reading from the University of Delaware (1981), and MA and PhD in

(Continued on p. 22)

(C.W. Barrell, cont. from p. 1)

article is to provide a biographical overview of Barrell's life.

Barrell's Antecedents

Charles Wisner Barrell was born July 6, 1885 in Warwick, Orange County, New York.¹ Orange County is in the southern end of New York State, just west of the Hudson River; Warwick is about 40 miles

Barrell's most illustrious ancestor in the maternal line was probably his great grandfather William Lewis Benedict, who was a prominent member of the Warwick/ Orange County area in New York State, and an assemblyman in the state legislature in the mid-19th Century. In 1852, he wrote and submitted to the State legislature the first bill calling for free public education in New York.

north and west of New York City. According to his obituary, he issued from a confluence of three prominent families of the Warwick/ Orange County area, the Benedicts, the Burts, and the Barrells.²

Barrell was the second surviving son of Charles Wisner Barrell Sr. and Mary Hornby Barrell.³ Charles Barrell, Senior (the father) died on Feb. 1, 1885, just a few months before the birth of his son.⁴ According to his obituary, he died at his home in Jersey City, New Jersey, from strain connected with overwork.⁵ He was

just 25 years old.

Barrell's maternal grandfather apparently abandoned his wife while their marriage was yet in its summer season. It is reported in the obituary for Barrell's maternal grandmother, the writer Eliza Benedict Hornby (1835-1917), that her husband, Charles E. Hornby, who had been a military bandleader for the Union Army in the Civil War, disappeared after the war while visiting his native England. The reason for his disappearance is unclear. One version has it that he had gone to England after his mother's death to claim an inheritance and that he was murdered on the wharf there while preparing to embark on his return trip.⁶ However, Mr. Robert K. Hornby, who is called "a direct descendent" of Charles E. Hornby, discovered that in 1903 Charles E. Hornby applied to the U.S. government for a pension as a Civil War veteran.⁷

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Another illustrious ancestor on the maternal side was James Benedict, who was the first Christian minister to found a church in the Warwick Valley area of New York State. He was ordained as a minister of the Baptist Church in Warwick in 1765.⁹

Barrell's maternal grandmother, Eliza Benedict Hornby, was a writer of personal and family memories and tales of regional lore, many of which were collected in her book *Under Old Rooftrees*, published in 1908, when she was 73 years old.¹⁰

Charles Wisner Barrell (the son and our writer) had an elder brother, Donald Melville Barrell. The brother was a chicken farmer, also of the Warwick Valley area, and, like his mother, a writer of local interest. In his later life, he narrated an oral history called "Old Warwick Valley and the Ways of its People," which was printed in the local newspaper, *The Warwick Valley Dispatch*, in 1975. He also wrote a book with the meandering title, *Along The*

Wawayanda Path, From Old Greycourt to Chester to Sugar Loaf, published by T. E. Henderson in 1975. Donald M. Barrell was quite long-lived. He was born in 1883 and died in 1986, making him close to 103 years old at the time of his death. By comparison, Charles Wisner Barrell, our writer, lived only to be 88 years old. City living will do it to you every time.¹¹

On the paternal side, Barrell ex-

Barrell's most important early work, however, was as an art critic. Beginning probably after the failure of *The Open Road*, Barrell wrote for popular magazines such as *The Craftsman* and *Munsey's Magazine of Art*.... Not all of Barrell's early writings were as an art critic. I discovered that Barrell is noted as being the author of several stories of a more sensational or pot-boiler nature....

pressed pride in his paternal fourth great grandfather, Joseph Barrell, who was a Boston merchant in the early years of the United States. Joseph Barrell was a friend of George and Martha Washington and, reportedly, they often stayed with Joseph Barrell and his family when they were in Boston. Joseph Barrell owned two ships, *The Martha Washington* and *The Columbia*. According to Barrell's obituary, in May of 1792, Captain Robert Gray, sailing the *Columbia* up the Pacific Coast of North America, discovered a huge river flowing into the sea. He named it the *Columbia*

River in honor of his ship.¹²

Barrell's Early Career

Barrell's early career was checkered. Like many independent and creative people, he tried his hand at numerous jobs. In Barrell's case, the dates he did these jobs poorly documented, as is the order in which he did them. He appears to have settled down by the late date of 1919, when he was 34 years old. After that date, we have a pretty good idea of what he was doing and where he was.

He began his career as a professional writer, reporter and journalist in 1901, at the age of 16.¹³ By 1905 or thereabouts, he was the editor of a magazine called *The Open Road: A Sojourner's Chronicle*, which he published from Jersey City, New Jersey.¹⁴ The magazine soon failed.¹⁵

Barrell worked as a photographic contact man for The Rotograph Company, an American branch of the famous German company, Photographische Gesellschaft of Berlin. This company was the originator of the modern rotogravure process.¹⁶ Barrell's experience with this company gave him his basic education in the technology of photography, a branch of knowledge that was to play a large part in his later life.

Barrell at some point worked as a publicist for the Louisiana Board of Tourism; one assumes that Barrell actually lived in the Bayou State for some period of time.¹⁷ He also worked as a publicist for several film studios, including the New York-based Triangle Film Studio.²² He began this work in 1918 and stopped working for them in January 1919.²³

Barrell's most important early work, however, was as an art critic. Beginning probably after the failure of *The Open Road*, Barrell wrote for popular magazines such as *The Craftsman* and *Munsey's Magazine of Art*. He used the forum of the popular magazine to introduce new artists to the general American public. In the years 1908 and 1909, he wrote important pieces about the artists John Sloan and Robert Henri,¹⁸ and is credited with being the person who, in effect, introduced them to the world. He also had a hand, through these writings, of helping to instill a consciousness in the public that American artists could create

art out of the poverty and ugliness that were to be found in America's—particularly New York's—slums. Simultaneously,

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to be ameliorated.

Not all of Barrell's early writings were as an art critic. In a sheaf of information that I came across, Barrell is noted as being the author of several stories of a more sensational or potboiler nature, including "The Belle of Torreon" (published in *Action Short Stories*, 1925), "Experience" (*Munsey's Magazine of Art*, 1916), "In a Jailbird's Plumage," (published in *Top-Notch*, 1911); "In the Hands of the Crucible Gang," (*Grey Goose*, 1909); "A Man's Heaven," (*Munsey's*, 1916); On the "Wings of the Night" (*Top-Notch*, 1910); A Painter of Dogs (*Munsey's*, 1907); "Then and Now" (*Munsey's*, 1915); and "The Wages of Courtesy" (*The Cavalier*, 1909).¹⁹ Between 1900 and 1950, he wrote, by his own estimation, "at least two or three hundred articles."²⁰

Barrell also tried his hand at playwriting. In 1915, he received a copyright for a one-act play he wrote called *The Last Rebel*. He was 30 years old. I do not know if the play was ever produced.

In some later books about Henri and/or Sloan, Barrell is described as having been a socialist during the early years of the twentieth century.²¹ I have been unable to discover anything more substantive about Barrell's political beliefs, either in his youth, middle or old age. In his writings on Oxford, Barrell rarely mentions contemporary political events.

Barrell's marriage

Barrell was married to Marie Sobsovich Barrell,²⁴ who attended Swarthmore College in the late 1920s and was mentioned in the Swarthmore Bulletin in 1930, apparently as having graduated or as having taken some post-graduate classes there.²⁵ A brief snippet in the *Swarthmore Bulletin* states that she studied German while at Swarthmore.

Marie Barrell was born in 1883 in New York, and died there in 1979, at the age of ninety-five.²⁶ In the numerous internet public records services I have consulted, I have not been able to find any record of a marriage license having been issued for Barrell and Sobsovich. Therefore, I sus-

(Continued on p. 16)

(C.W. Barrell, cont. from p. 15)

pect that they were not legally married, or did not become legally married until seven years had passed and they became husband and wife under “common law.” I also do not know when they began keeping house together. They apparently had no children.²⁷

In 1929, Charles (and, possibly, Marie) began living in the Greenwich Village section of New York City. They bought a home at 6 Grove Street in that neighborhood; but, unfortunately, we do not know exactly when they bought that house. Barrell was demonstrably in that house by 1948, when the lawsuit against Dawson was filed; but most likely he began living in the Grove Street house earlier, perhaps as early as 1929.²⁸

Barrell's middle life

If Barrell married or began living under common law with Maria Sobsovich after she graduated from college after his magazine *The Open Road* had failed, Barrell would have had some weighty family responsibilities and no reliable source of income. The film industry in New York was failing; he didn't like living in Louisiana; it was time to face the music. Eventually, he did that. In 1919, he took a job with The Western Electric Company as director of its motion picture bureau.²⁹

Western Electric was essentially the equipment provider for the nation's premier phone company, AT&T. It made the telephones and the hardware that made telephonic communications possible; other companies actually provided the telephone service, regionally across the land.

Arthur Edwin Krows, a historian of the nontheatrical film industry, explains why Western Electric was making motion pictures:

contracting for production and arranging distribution, Barrell soon developed as an able director himself and, in the fourteen years of his connection with Western Electric, achieved a distribution record of having more than a million feet of film simultaneously in circulation.³⁰

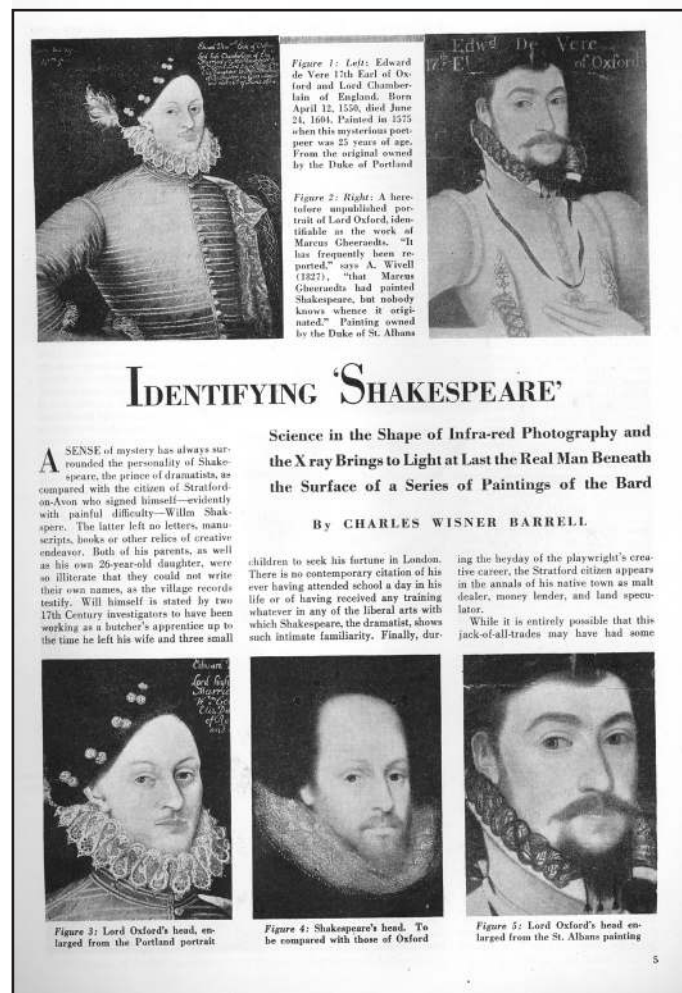
Krows described Barrell as being of “excellent character, had had sufficient experience (for the job), and quickly demonstrated a passionate devotion to duty.”³¹ One of those movies has been found. *Finding His Voice* was released in 1929. According to information found on the internet, Barrell wrote the script for it under the euphonious pseudonym, W. E. Erpi.³²

While working with Western Electric, Barrell also did photographic research for Associated Bell Telephone Laboratories., a subsidiary of Western Electric.³³ In the deposition from his lawsuit against Giles Dawson, Barrell states that he directed the expenditure of “many hundreds of thousands of dollars worth of photographic work of one kind or another” for Associated Bell Laboratories between 1919 and 1934.³⁴ In a brief autobiography written in 1940, Barrell writes that his position with Western Electric and Associated Bell “entailed close association with many of the foremost physicists and engineers in the field of sound transmission and photographic research.”³⁵

Enter Oxford

Barrell was friends with a wealthy gentleman named Eustace Conway, who lived in New York. In 1928 Conway purchased a portrait, known as the “Ashbourne,” which was at the time known as one of the “unorthodox” portraits of William Shakespeare.³⁶ There were a dozen or so of these; eight of them appeared to portray a man, or several different men,

the most obvious proof of goodwill is to invite the suspicious parties in to see that it contains no evil devices. Consequently, the first step to be taken in any well-founded picture program instituted by a reputable Big Business is to photograph the processes before defining its services. The Bell System now did primarily that.



Barrell's January 1940 *Scientific American* study of the Folger Library's "Ashbourne Shakespeare" portrait rocked the world of authorship studies.

According to Krows, who noted that Barrell took over the motion picture bureau soon after its inception, Barrell began his stint with Western Electric as a scriptwriter:

When a reputable house is distrusted,

At first merely writing the scenarios,

who were members of the English nobility of the Elizabethan era. The British art expert Dr. Marion H. Spielmann had written extensively about the Ashbourne Portrait in 1910 in the British art magazine, *Connoisseur*. In his essay he called into question several doubtful characteristics about the painting and raised the question that parts of the painting may have been

In late 1928 or early 1929, Conway asked Barrell to look at the painting. Barrell did so, initiating a relationship that was to become the major passion of his subsequent life. That relationship was deepened in 1934, when Barrell read *Shakespeare Identified In Edward de Vere, the Seventeenth Earl of Oxford* by J.T. Looney. The same year Barrell left his job with Western Electric. In the following year, he traveled to England to begin his extensive investigations on the Earl of Oxford.

tampered with or painted over.

In late 1928 or early 1929, Conway asked Barrell to examine the painting, initiating a relationship that was to become the major passion of his subsequent life. That relationship was deepened in 1934, when Barrell read *Shakespeare Identified In Edward de Vere, the Seventeenth Earl of Oxford* by J.T. Looney.³⁷ The same year Barrell left his job with Western Electric. In the following year, he traveled to England

to begin his extensive investigations on the Earl of Oxford.

A lengthy quotation from Barrell, published in *The Shakespeare Fellowship Newsletter* in 1942, gives some insight into what he was doing in the mid-to-late 1930s:

With the solution of the personal story behind The Sonnets as a humbly 'hoped-for' ideal objective and a lively curiosity to learn more about the private life of the literary nobleman with the great contemporary reputation, whose "doings" could not be "found out," I decided to take up the problem where Mr. Looney had been obliged to leave it.

That was the beginning of a seven years' search which has led through the dusty files of the Public Record Office and Somerset House, various Courts of Chancery, Queen's Bench, Prerogative and Request, among the yellowing pages of many thousands of volumes of genealogical records, State papers, personal letters, diaries, armorial devices, biographic commentaries, histories – and finally, to privately owned Elizabethan and Jacobean portraits.

As a result of this gradgrindish pursuit of fact, I acquired much gray hair, permanent eyestrain and a bad disposition, but at the same time I may say without false modesty, that I have emerged from the long continued paper chase with documentation that appears to play a vital part in the permanent identification of Edward de Vere, Earl of Oxford, with the creative life of "Mr. William Shakespeare."³⁸

According to Barrell's testimony in his 1948 lawsuit against the Folger Shakespeare Library, Barrell first became a member of the British branch of the Shakespearean Fellowship in the 1930s.³⁹ The American Branch of the fellowship was formed in November, 1939; Barrell began writing for it virtually simultaneously, with his first offerings being published in January 1940. He also served as secretary and treasurer of the organization.⁴⁰

Barrell's Oxfordian Writings

It is not within the scope of this

Barrell discovered that the original painting contained a ghostly monogram "CK" which also had been overpainted. In investigations in support of the article, he discovered that the Dutch artist Cornelius Ketel is noted as having resided in England between 1573 and 1581, as having painted a full length portrait of the Earl of Oxford which had since become lost, and as having frequently signed his work with a monogram, "CK," which monograms were frequently arranged in a stylized design that was similar with the one that Barrell discovered on the Ashbourne.

article to go into great detail concerning Barrell's work in the Oxfordian realm of study. I will limit myself here to presenting just the barest of outlines of his work. All of the articles that he wrote and published through the Shakespeare Fellowship are

(Continued on p. 18)

(C.W. Barrell, cont. from p. 17)

available online at www.shakespeareauthorshipsourcebook.com.

In addition, he wrote a notable article, "Elizabethan Mystery Man," for the *Saturday Review of Literature* in May, 1937, which summarized the Oxfordian argument as it then stood. It is still a classic in the genre.

In 1940, Barrell wrote an eight page

Barrell's *Scientific American* article was brilliant: concise, scientific, and seeming to present concrete visual proof that the Earl of Oxford was, in fact, William Shakespeare. The story was picked up by some 2000 newspapers in the United States and by other newspapers internationally. For a brief period of time, the names of both the Earl of Oxford and Charles Wisner Barrell were becoming familiar names to the general American public.... Then came the Second World War....

analysis of the Ashbourne Portrait which was published in the January 1940 edition of *Scientific American*. In his article, Barrell described the results of x-ray and infra-red photography which he had used (with the permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library, which owned the painting) on the portrait in 1937. These

then-modern, almost science-fictionesque technologies revealed that the painting had been overpainted. Beneath the surface paint, one could see that the subject had originally had a much larger neck ruff, indicating that the subject of the painting was of the nobility.

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In addition, Barrell found that the original version of the painting had a coat of arms that had been blacked out. Barrell wrote that the coat of arms was that of the family of the Earl of Oxford's second wife, Elizabeth Trentham, and, offering other evidence from semi-microscopic photographs of the painting that had been given to him by Conway and from his related research, concluded that the subject of the painting was de Vere. Barrell's identification of the subject in the Ashbourne as de Vere was supported by the subject's strikingly similar appearance to the sitter in a painting that had already been found, the Welbeck Portrait, in which the name of the subject appears on the painting.

Barrell's *Scientific American* article was brilliant: concise, scientific, and seeming to present concrete visual proof that the Earl of Oxford was, in fact, William Shakespeare. The story was picked up by some 2000 newspapers in the United States and by other newspapers internationally.⁴¹ For a brief period of time, the names of both the Earl of Oxford and Charles Wisner Barrell were becoming familiar names to the general American public.

Then came the Second World War. During that time, Shakespearean investigations took a back seat to defeating the Axis powers. Barrell joined the American Branch of the Shakespeare Fellowship and became the editor of its publications, first

the it's newsletter (1940 to 1943) and then the *Shakespeare Fellowship Quarterly* (1944-1948.) During those years, Barrell

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wrote thirty articles on questions relating to the Earl of Oxford.

Among these articles was a six-part series advocating the idea that Anne Vava-

sour was the Dark Lady of the sonnets, and that many of the sonnets are written to or about their illegitimate son, Edward

In my investigations into this issue, I have never seen the text of any public apology by Dawson to Barrell. If such a public apology was made, it seems to be missing.

However, one letter is extant that almost fills the bill. In September 1948, no doubt at his lawyer's insistence, Dawson did write a corrective letter to Underhill, in which he softened some of the things he had said about Barrell and his work.⁴⁶ While Dawson said that he "unqualifiedly" retracted any slur he may have made against Barrell's character in his earlier letter, the retraction was couched in so many qualifications that this second letter to Underhill was more of an equivocation than an apology.

Vere. Thus, the fatherless waif, Barrell, in middle life, determined that the sonnets were written by the poet, who was himself a fatherless waif and ward of the state, and were written in large part to the poet's

illegitimate and fatherless son.

After the war, as America at least in theory began to be able to return to literary considerations, Barrell was finding it increasingly difficult to get published in the popular magazines that were his bread and butter.⁴² The academic establishment by this time had had time to regroup; it had rejected the Oxfordian thesis and the dons of academia were telling the publishers to stay away from Barrell.

The Lawsuit Against Dawson

In 1947, a New York City-based, self-proclaimed Shakespearean expert named Meredith Underhill took umbrage at statements made by Barrell which had been published in *The New York Herald*. Underhill wrote the Folger Shakespeare Library for its opinion on the Earl of Oxford and C.W. Barrell; Folger Curator of Books and Manuscripts, Giles E. Dawson, writing on Folger Shakespeare Library letterhead, wrote back that the evidence that Barrell had seen in, and underneath the surface of, the Ashbourne Portrait was false and baseless. "They just weren't there," Dawson wrote. "If he can now produce pictures of these things, they must have been doctored up."⁴³

Underhill gave Dawson's letter to Barrell's associate, New York-based corporate attorney Charlton Ogburn, Sr.⁴⁴ Ogburn, an Oxfordian and future co-author of the biography and exegesis of the plays and poems based on details from Oxford's life, *This Star of England* (1952), had done some legal work for the Shakespeare Fellowship and was unofficially the its lawyer. When Ogburn showed the letter to Barrell, Barrell felt that he had been libeled.

The case dragged on for more than two years. Depositions were taken in September and October, 1949, and, on November 7, 1950, the case was finally dropped, without judgment or financial compensation going to either party. Why the case was dropped is unknown.

The Dawson "Apology"

Oxfordian writers, including Ruth Loyd Miller in 1975, have maintained

that the lawsuit against Dawson resulted in Dawson making a public apology to Barrell.⁴⁵ But this issue will bear some scrutiny. In my investigations into this issue, I have never seen the text of any public apology by Dawson to Barrell. If such a public apology was made, record

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However, one extant letter almost fills the bill. In September 1948, no doubt at his lawyer's insistence, Dawson did write a corrective letter to Underhill, in which he softened some of the things he had said about Barrell and his work.⁴⁶ While Dawson

(Continued on p. 20)

(C.W. Barrell, cont. from p. 19)

said that he “unqualifiedly” retracted any slur he may have made against Barrell’s character in his earlier letter, the retraction was couched in so many qualifications that this second letter to Underhill was more of an equivocation than an apology. Dawson sent a copy of the second letter to Ogburn, who presumably shared it with Barrell.

If there is no other public apology,

If such a public apology was made, record of it seems to be missing. However, one extant letter *almost* fills the bill. In September 1948, no doubt at his lawyer’s insistence, Dawson did write a corrective letter to Underhill, in which he softened some of the things he had said about Barrell and his work. While Dawson said that he “unqualifiedly” retracted any slur he may have made against Barrell’s character in his earlier letter, the retraction was couched in so many qualifications that this second letter to Underhill was more of an equivocation than an apology.

most likely the letter from Dawson to Underhill is the apology that is being referred to. If so, then the conventional Oxfordian assertion that Dawson made a public apology to Barrell should be revised, because it was not public and was not published in any newspaper or magazine, nor was it even written to or addressed to Barrell. If no other published apology is found, or if the Dawson letter to Underhill is the apology referred to, then Dawson never

did publicly apologize to Barrell.

This point is supported by the language of the settlement, which was entered into the court on November 7, 1950. The stipulation of the settlement makes no mention that a public apology by Dawson to Barrell would be required.⁴⁷

Barrell’s Later Life

Soon after the failure of Barrell’s lawsuit against Dawson, the available record of Barrell’s life ends. In 1951, an article by him about the authorship controversy and the credentials of Edward de Vere was accepted for publication in *The Story of Our Time—The Grolier’s Encyclopedia Year Book*. Other than that article and two private letters to writer Galett Burgess, no subsequent writings from Barrell’s well-worn typewriter are known to exist. The American branch of the Shakespeare Fellowship broke up in the early 1950s; with that collapse, Barrell lost his public platform. It is likely that the failure of the Dawson lawsuit destroyed what little credibility the plucky Oxfordian champion had built up; at any rate, nothing more is known to have been published by him in his lifetime.

Barrell died June 20, 1974, at the age of 88.⁴⁹ Marie Sobsovich Barrell died in New York City in 1979 at the age of 95.⁵⁰ Barrell’s private papers and miscellanea have not been found.

Barrell’s Writings

Barrell was a practical, working journalist who dealt with complex literary, artistic, social and historical questions in a very matter-of-fact and realistic medium—the newspapers and popular magazines of the United States during the period between 1900 and 1950.

Speaking only of the Oxfordian articles, I will praise them (this side idolatry) for their wonderful style. They are pellucid, urbane, almost Victorian in their propriety and tone. They have an admirable solidity to them, as if he wrote not with commas and parenthesis, but with rivets and solder. They are logical; at times they are slightly humorous, especially when he pokes fun at those chowder-headed Stratfordians.

Barrell frequently did original re-

search in which he uncovered obscure facts and connections which he then used to buttress the Oxfordian claim.

If the 17th Earl of Oxford is ever finally recognized as the true author of the works of William Shakespeare, then Charles Wisner Barrell should also be remembered as being among those writers and researchers who brought the true identity of the

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greatest poet in the English language out of the shadows and into the light of day.

Endnotes

¹Information provided for birth date of Charles Wisner Barrell on <http://government-records.com>.

²Obituary for Charles Wisner Barrell, *Warwick Valley Dispatch*, June 26, 1974. (Henceforth “Barrell obituary.”)

³ <http://ancestry.com> for Charles Wisner Barrell.

⁴ Wisner, George Franklin, *The Wisners In America*, Chart 22; see also 231.

⁵ Miller, Ruth Loyd, ‘Shakespeare’ Identified In Edward de Vere, 17th Earl of Oxford, Volume II (“Oxfordian Vistas”), 420.

⁶ See Eliza Benedict Hornby's obituary in *Under Old Rooftrees*, found at <http://www.albertwisnerlibrary.org/Factsandhistory/History/rooftrees.pdf>.

⁷ *ibid.*, 3.

⁸ Miller, *op.cit.*, 420.

⁹ www.albertwisnerlibrary.org/Factsandhistory/people.

¹⁰ Mrs. Hornby's obituary, *op.cit.*

¹¹ <http://ancestry.com> for Donald Melville Barrell.

¹² Barrell obituary.

¹³ In 1940, Barrell wrote a brief autobiographical sketch that was likely published in the authors' biographies section of the January, 1940, edition of *The Scientific American*. This blurb is henceforth abbreviated as "BBB"—Barrell's biographical blurb

¹⁴ Internet: Google/books: "Charles Wisner Barrell." It is buried deep in the strata of information.

¹⁵ Internet: Google/books, "Charles Wisner Barrell": a snippet from a magazine article published in 1910 notes that "The Open Road unfortunately failed to find adequate sponsors."

¹⁶ BBB

¹⁷ Miller, *Ibid.*

¹⁸ "The Real Drama of the Slums as told in John Sloan's Etchings" published in *The Craftsman*, 1909 and "Robert Henri—Revolutionary" published in *The Independent*, June, 1908.

¹⁹ *The Fiction Mags Index*. (www.phisp.com/homeville/FMI/s187.htm, under Barrell, Charles Wisner.

²⁰ Court records for Barrell v. Dawson, Civil Case 2698—48, District Court of the United States for the District of Columbia. (Henceforth, "Court Records.") Barrell deposition, 44.

²¹ For example: the book *George Bellows and Urban America*, by Marianne Doezema (1992), has this enticing sentence fragment: "Progressives, of course, did not favor the kind of substantive change in the 'social system' advocated by the likes of Charles Wisner Barrell." A second example is from the book *Robert Henri and His Circle* by William Innes Homer (1969), which says that "In 1908, John Sloan's socialist friend, Charles Wisner Barrell, tried to stimulate Henri's interest in Debs and involve the artist in the socialist movement."

²² BBB.

²³ Krows, Arthur Edwin, "Motion Pictures — Not For Theatres," a 210,000-word history of the non-theatrical film industry published in the trade magazine *The Educational Screen*, one chapter at a time over a period stretching from 1938 to 1944. The brief mention of Barrell can be found in the June 1941 issue, 242. Krows writes that Barrell began working for Triangle Film Studio in 1918.

²⁴ Barrell obituary.

²⁵ Internet: Google/books for "Charles Wisner Barrell" The brief student biography in the *Swarthmore Bulletin* for 1930 mentions her as "Marie Sobsovich (Mrs. Charles Wisner Barrell)."

²⁶ <http://government-records.com> for Marie Sobsovich Barrell

²⁷ Barrell obituary. The obituary mentions no children.

²⁸ For his address, Court records, Page 1 and throughout, on the "title page" of each section of the court records. On those title pages Barrell's address is given as 6 Grove Street. The identification of 6 Grove Street in Greenwich Village is from the obituary, which states that Barrell lived in Greenwich Village for 45 years. Assuming that Barrell had just one house in Greenwich Village during that time. He would have moved there in 1929.

²⁹ BBB, Court records (Barrell deposition section, 27), and Miller, *op.cit.*, 421

³⁰ Krows, *op. cit.*

³¹ Krows, *op. cit.*

³² Internet/Google/Books for Charles Wisner Barrell. I would suggest that the "W.E." stands for Western Electric; the Erpi could mean his job made him dyspeptic.

³³ BBB, and Court Records (Barrell deposition section, 27), and Miller, *op. cit.*, 421.

³⁴ Court records, Barrell deposition section, 27.

³⁵ BBB

³⁶ Court records, Barrell deposition, 14 and 15, and Miller, *op.cit.* 421-422.

³⁷ BBB.

³⁸ "Shakespeare's Own Secret Drama," Part 2, February 1942 in *The Shakespeare Fellowship Newsletter*.

³⁹ Court records, Barrell deposition, 46.

⁴⁰ The essays that he wrote for the Shakespeare Fellowship begin in 1940 and go through 1948. In the deposition he states

that he was secretary/treasurer of the organization. The organization was formed in November, 1939, but was not incorporated until February 1945. When Barrell began his work as secretary/treasurer is unknown.

⁴¹ "Who Was Shakespeare?" an unsigned editorial, ostensibly by the staff of *The Scientific American* but probably written by Barrell himself, published in the May 1940 edition of that magazine, page 264. The writing style is very much like Barrell's.

⁴² Court records, (Barrell deposition, 3, 48, 67).

⁴³ Miller, (*op.cit.*, 435), and Court records, (initial complaint, 1).

⁴⁴ Court records, (Underhill deposition, 6)

⁴⁵ Miller, *op.cit.*, 429.

⁴⁶ Court records (In defense attorneys' pleadings that case ought to be struck, Jan. 31, 1949, 4-5).

⁴⁷ Court records, final page. The Stipulation For Dismissal, Nov. 7, 1950, states in full, "The within action having been settled, it is hereby stipulated that said action may be dismissed with prejudice, each party to bear his own costs."

⁴⁸ Letter to Galett Burgess, April 23, 1951. Bancroft Library. Possibly the piece may be found in Grolier's Encyclopedia for 1951, although having something approved in March or April for publication in a year book for that same year seems like rushing it. I assume it was published in the year book for the following year, 1952.

⁴⁹ Barrell's obituary.

⁵⁰ <http://government-records.com> for Marie Sobsovich Barrell, date of death.

(News, cont. from p. 13)

controversy about de Vere's authorship is our idealization of the traditional author, about whom we know so little that, as Freud noted, we can imagine his personality was as fine as his works.

Waugaman's *Notes and Queries* study of the influence of the psalms in Shakespeare took its cue from the marked psalms of the de Vere Geneva Bible, from which Waugaman set out to investigate two related questions.

First, how important were the Sternhold and Hopkins psalms, in a general sense, for shaping Shakespeare's religious themes and imagery? The received wisdom, as Waugaman explains in his article, was "not very."

While scholars have recognized the generic importance of the psalms, the standard belief has been that while the Coverdale psalms and those found in the Book of Common Prayer were critical to Shakespeare, he was not that familiar with the Sternhold and Hopkins psalms that are found with the 1570 de Vere Geneva Bible.

Not so, according to Waugaman, whose *Notes and Queries* article documents a series of previously undetected allusions to language that is not found in these alternative sources, but is unique to Sternhold and Hopkins.

"The Sternhold and Hopkins metrical translation of the Psalms is a crucial but neglected repository of salient source material for the works of Shakespeare...." concludes Waugaman.

Catholic Bard Update: *Times Online* Busy "Imagining"

As those who have followed the authorship question over a period of time may be aware, over the last decade a growing showdown has been shaping up within the orthodox Shakespeare community over the question of the bard's religious affiliations.

A quick and dirty solution to the longterm problem of the "mystery" of Shakespeare's biography is to postulate that he was a secret catholic.

The Catholic bard theory is like a

cheap magic trick.

Voila! Suddenly the misfit between the biographical documents and the literary work is explained. No need to question who wrote the stuff. Like many English recusants who practiced the Old Faith, Shakespeare was forced to adopt a

As those who have followed the authorship question over a period of time may be aware, over the last decade a growing showdown has been shaping up within the orthodox Shakespeare community over the question of the bard's religious affiliations. A quick and dirty solution to the longterm problem of the "mystery" of Shakespeare's biography is to postulate that he was a secret catholic. The Catholic bard theory is like a cheap magic trick. Voila! Suddenly the misfit between the biographical documents and the literary work is explained.

public *persona* at odds with his private faith. He lived life wearing a mask!

The only trouble with this theory is that, while purporting to resolve the biographical problem, it actually only makes it worse, as Peter Dickson argued in a 2004 *University of Tennessee Law*

Review article.

That's why an impressive roster of older Shakespearean scholars (among them Stanley Wells, Robert Bearman, James Shapiro, Jonathan Bate, and Katherine Duncan-Jones), who are not so easily seduced by the latest fad and know when they are being led into a trap, have steadfastly resisted falling for the Catholic bard theory.

But Richard Owen in a *London Times* December 22 story, "Cryptic Signatures that 'prove that William Shakespeare Was a Secret Catholic,'" appears as blithely unaware of the problem as he is irresponsible in promoting gossip as credible journalism.

While the biographical record of the Stratford Shakespeare does contain definite traces of Catholic sympathy, including evidence that he was an investor in the Blackfriars Gatehouse, the Shakespearean works taken as a whole are unmistakably Protestant in their ethos. Adding additional "documentary" evidence for the Bard's Catholicism, even if it could pass the smell test for legitimacy—which the "evidence" of Owen's article most certainly doesn't—does not salvage the Stratford biography, as Dickson has cogently argued for over ten years now.

Having mentioned the "smell test," let me digress for just a moment. The caption to the *Times Online* graphic assures us with a straight face that the name "Arthurus Stratfordus Wigomiensis," which appears "in the visitors' book at the Venerable English College in Rome" as a visitor in 1587, is "thought to be a pseudonym of William Shakespeare."

Since William of Stratford's whereabouts in 1587 are otherwise undocumented, this "Arthurus Stratfordus" must actually be the Bard! If this doesn't seem logical, you may not have studied enough theology in an English Department. Obviously, anyone associated with "Stratford" in 16th century Europe (most of which constitutes one or another of the "lost years" of the alleged author of *Hamlet* and *Twelfth Night*), must be the divine William, even if his name is actually Arthur and his surname is either Stratford or Wigomienses.

It's a pseudonym, dummy!

As if this isn't loopy enough, the same article also announces a second sacred relic from the lost land of Elizabeth I: in 1589 arrived in Rome one "Gulielmus Clerkue Stratfordiensis," who, the *London Times* dispatch assures us without even cracking a smile, must *also* have been Shakespeare of Stratford. Surely this is nothing short of a miracle: two pseudonyms in as many years.

Questions: Is it possible — however bizarre it might seem to the conspiracy theorists at the *Times Online* — that "Arthurus Stratfordus" was actually just Arthur Stratford? Or that Williamus Clerkue" was just William Clerke? Has anyone tested this theory? Is there any reason, beyond the fact that there are "lost years" in the traditional biography, and the two gents in question have names that soundly vaguely like they might have had something to do with Warwickshire, that this pair of pilgrims are identified with with the Bard? Is "Arthurus Stratford" the same man known known in Lancashire, according to Michael Wood, as "William Shakshafte"?

How many pseudonyms hath Shakespeare, anyway?

The answer, apparently, is "as many as we need to distract the public from the 'Wolfish Earl' and 'Diablo Incarnato,' Edward de Vere, 17th Earl of Oxford."

One would think that Vatican scholars would already know what any internet dummy equipped with Google can now discover in five minutes: *Wigomiensis* is an early Latin variant for *Wigorniensis*, and refers to the diocese of Worcester. The name is Arthur Stratford of Worcester, as Robert Bearman pointed out in *The Shakespeare Quarterly* more than a year ago.

But, the reasoning apparently goes, if Shakespeare could change his name he could also change his diocese, couldn't he?

This is not to say that Shakespeare the writer was unsympathetic to the plight of such recusants as the martyred father Edmund Campion (1540-1581). Indeed, as Oxfordian scholar Richard Desper has pointed out in an article originally published in *The Elizabethan Review* and reprinted at The Shakespeare Fellowship, Campion's fate is central to some of the more obscure passages of *Twelfth Night*. Likewise, Poor Tom in *Lear* can easily

be read as a Shakespeare's comment on the circumstance of recusants, who were hunted down like animals by the Elizabethan security forces.

But being sympathetic to the situation of recusants is not the same as being one. As Peter Dickson says, read as

Greenblatt assures us in a recent review of Jonathan Bate's *Soul of the Age* that Shakespearean scholars are too timid. They don't do enough "imagining." Greenblatt, who has flirted with the recusant theory in a number of his works, might well be gratified by all the bold "imagining" that the *London Times* seems to be regularly bringing to the task of bardography these days. Certainly it is hard to ask for a better example of how postmodern historiography seems to have abandoned all principle except finding the answers "we" already want.

a whole, it is impossible to reconcile the humanist and Protestant high church ethos of the Shakespearean oeuvre with the philosophical outlook of an English recusant.

An example from *Hamlet* may clarify why this is so.

Hamlet's father may have gone to

his grave "unhousel'd and unaneled" — which is to say, without Catholic last rites — but Hamlet himself was a student at Wittenberg, the 16th century center of academic Protestantism, not to mention, through Georg Joachim Rheticus, a stronghold of Copernican astronomy. All this, as numerous scholars have pointed out, is relevant to the exegesis of the play as a reformation parable.

One may add to this that over a hundred years of careful analysis of Shakespeare's Biblical influences — which are very significant — shows unmistakably that the Bible with which Shakespeare was most conversant was the Geneva translation, prepared during the 1550s in Geneva by Calvinist refugees from Mary Tudor's counter-reformation government and first published in Geneva in 1560.

The Genevan translation was so inflammatory from a Catholic perspective that even the Anglican establishment disapproved of it and quickly attempted to replace it with a more moderate Protestant translation (The Bishop's, 1576). To suppose that an Elizabethan recusant would depend primarily for his Biblical instruction on this translation of the Bible makes no sense at all.

Stephen Greenblatt assures us in a recent review of Jonathan Bate's *Soul of the Age* that Shakespearean scholars are too timid. They don't do enough "imagining." Greenblatt, who has flirted with the recusant theory in a number of his works, might well be gratified by all the bold "imagining" that the *London Times* seems to be regularly bringing to the task of bardography these days. Certainly it is hard to ask for a better example of how postmodern historiography seems to have abandoned all principle except finding the answers "we" already want.

But to "imagine" that Shakespeare was a recusant is like imagining an English Puritan who fortified his faith with daily reading of the Vulgate and distributed references to its language and points of doctrine throughout his theological tracts. Indeed, as Concordia University Professor Daniel Wright points out in *The Anglican Shakespeare: Elizabethan Orthodoxy in the Great Histories* (a book based on

(Continued on p. 27)

Greenblatt on Bate: Shakespeare Biographies Must Use “Imaginative Daring and Narrative Cunning...”

by Richard Whalen

As Shakespeare biographies must necessarily be mostly imaginary, they should be written without anxiety, inhibitions or fear, argues Harvard’s Stephen Greenblatt, a leading Shakespeare scholar and author of his own imaginary biography of the Stratford man as Shakespeare.

In a long review of Jonathan Bate’s *Soul of the Age* (2008), Greenblatt contends that Bate’s biography, although also mostly imaginary, falls short of his standard of uninhibited, anxiety-free, fearless confidence. “Do it with local color,” Greenblatt commands. “Work in all you know. Make them [your readers] accomplices.”

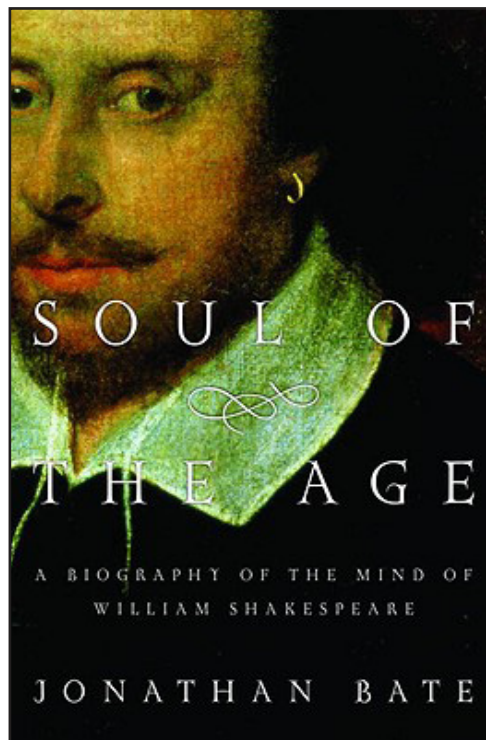
“Given the paucity of evidence,” Greenblatt says, “that enterprise demands speculation, imaginative daring and narrative cunning.” In effect, if there are not enough biographical facts, dare to trick the reader by cleverly making them up. If Greenblatt prevails, future Shakespeare biographies will have to be shelved in the section for fiction.

Greenblatt’s stinging and provocative critique of Bate’s biography for being insufficiently imaginary appears in the December 17, 2009, issue of *The New York Review of Books* (56: 20) as “Shakespeare in No-Man’s-Land.” Greenblatt’s own imaginary biography, *Will in the World* (1997), follows his prescriptions for a Shakespeare biography. It opens boldly and unapologetically with the words, in capital letters, “LET US IMAGINE.”

In Greenblatt’s opinion, Bate’s imaginary Shakespeare biography is too timid: “The spectacle of anxiety in Bate’s book goes well beyond the ordinary signals of caution.”

Greenblatt notes correctly that the usual qualifiers such as “could have” and

“may well have” are the “stock-in-trade of Shakespeare biographies.” He adds that biographers are subject to “professional policing” by scholars intent on catching mistakes and “shaming those guilty of carelessness, rashness, or ignorance.”



This threat, Greenblatt says, “can produce a painful aura of fear and inhibition, especially among those whose very gifts make them most sensitive to criticism.” That is to say, Jonathan Bate.

In this belated review of Bate’s 2008 book, Greenblatt complains about Bate’s “skittishness” and his “uneasiness about his own project.” He says Bate’s “nervous” shifting of tenses from dramatic present to historical past “suggests a writer uncomfortable with what he is doing.”

Bate tries to use “action prose” of sentence fragments “but his heart is clearly not in them.”

“Where does this leave the beleaguered biographer?” asks Greenblatt. He answers: “In a no-man’s-land of swirling hypotheticals and self-canceling speculations; stillborn claims that expire at the moment they draw their first breath.”

Greenblatt gives what he calls a brief sampling from Bate’s book:

- It is not outrageous to imagine...
- Could it have been at the same age...?
- Could he be the voice not only of Guy but also of William...?
- Could he have been Shakespeare’s apprentice in the acting company?
- It seems more than fortuitous that...
- It is unlikely to be a coincidence that...
- Guesswork of course, but I have a hunch that...
- I have an instinctive sense that...
- It is hard not to notice...
- We cannot rule out the possibility that...
- Could it then be that...? One of the two could easily have been...
- He may well have been there...
- The players may well have been...
- This could have been the occasion...
- It is not beyond the bounds of possibility that...
- ...requires us to countenance the possibility that...

It is not very clear, however, how Bate’s alleged anxiety, inhibition and fear as demonstrated above differs that much from Greenblatt’s own style of imagining and hedging. Here is a brief sampling of

Greenblatt's style in *Will in the World* (2004), with emphasis added:

In the summer of 1585, William of Stratford “*may have been working in the glover’s shop, perhaps, or making a bit of money as a teacher’s or a lawyer’s assistant. In his spare time he must have continued to write poetry, practice the lute, hone his skills as a fencer – that is, work on his ability to impersonate the lifestyle of a gentleman. His northern sojourn, assuming he had one, was behind him. If in Lancashire he had begun a career as a professional player, he must, for the moment at least, have put it aside. And if he had a brush with the dark world of Catholic conspiracy, sainthood, and martyrdom—the world that took Campion to the scaffold – he must still more decisively have turned away from it with a shudder.*

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As it happens, Greenblatt and Bate, both leading establishment Shakespeare scholars, are head-to-head competitors in academic publishing. Greenblatt is a chaired professor of humanities at Harvard University. Bate is a professor at the University of Warwick. Each is general editor of a complete, annotated works of Shakespeare: Greenblatt’s from Norton in 1997, and Bate’s more recently from Random House, in 2007. Shortly after its publication, the queen awarded Bate the honorary title of Commander of the British Empire (CBE).

In his own Shakespeare biography, Greenblatt laid claim to frankly imaginary biography that for all its speculations is uninhibited and anxiety-free. “It is important,” he wrote in the preface to that book, “to use our own imagination” since “nothing provides a clear link” between Shakespeare’s works and the life of William of Stratford. (See my review of his book in the winter 2005 issue of *Shakespeare Matters*.)

Greenblatt repeats that theme in his review of Bate’s book:

... despite feverish attempts to comb the archives and find further documentary records of Shakespeare’s life, very little has turned up in the last century. . . . The paucity of new discoveries has not inhibited the constant writing of new biographies. (I am guilty of one of them.) The lure is almost irresistible, and with good reason.

The irresistible lure of course is the enduring cultural importance and the aesthetic power and intensity of the Shakespeare plays and poems. Everyone wants to know more about the poet-dramatist.

Greenblatt says:

Never mind that he left so few traces

of himself. Never mind that that none of his personal letters or notes or drafts survive; that no books with his marginal annotations have turned up; that no police spy was ordered to ferret out his secrets; that no contemporary person thought to jot down his table talk or solicit his views on life or art. Never mind that Shakespeare’s

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son of a middle-class provincial glover flew below the radar of ordinary Elizabethan and Jacobean social curiosity. The longing to encounter him and know him endures.

“Given the paucity of the evidence,” Greenblatt asserts that writing a Shakespeare biography “demands (emphasis added) speculation, imaginative daring and narrative cunning, but these are all qualities that arouse the scholar’s suspicion and anxiety. Bate’s attempts to

(Continued on p. 27)

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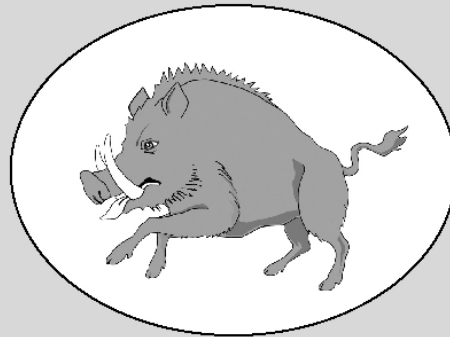
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(News, cont. from p. 23)

Wright's Ball State University PhD dissertation), and as many historically informed Shakespearean scholars are aware, the Shakespearean history plays are suffused with the rhetoric and spirit of the reformation.

They are no more the work of a recusant that they are the work of William of Stratford, by any of his imagined pseudonyms.

Oliver Kamm's Anti-Eddy Antics

Oxfordians looking for an amusing sideshow in the online Stratfordian carnival may want to check out the several recent editorials by anti-conspiracy theorist, former hedge fund

The sheer grubby irrationalism of this non-existent debate testifies to the point I've just made to your comrade: we don't have a common passion for Shakespeare. To you and your comrades, the works are merely a vehicle to ransack – in a thoroughly amateurish manner – to buttress your belief in a conspiracy.

operator, and regular *London Times* Editorialist, Oliver Kamm. We are indebted to this story in part to Linda Theil, whose online blog comments :

Kamm's anti-Eddy antics at the *London Times Online* assure Edward de Vere's face and fame are spread ever more widely

as the author of Shakespeare's works. In a running commentary to Kamm's latest foot-stomp "Great historical questions to which the answer is no" (http://timesonline.typepad.com/oliver_kamm/2010/01/great-historical-questions-to-which-the-answer-is-no-2.html), dated 28 January 2010, Kamm rebuked Heward Wilkinson for saying Strats and anti-Strats alike love Shakespeare, while informing Richard Malim that neither Malim nor any other anti-Strat likes Shakespeare, either. Quoth Kamm:

The sheer grubby irrationalism of this non-existent debate testifies to the point I've just made to your comrade: we don't have a common passion for Shakespeare. To you and your comrades, the works are merely a vehicle to ransack – in a thoroughly amateurish manner – to buttress your belief in a conspiracy.

You gotta admit, the guy has a way with words and universal concepts. You go, Oliver!

(Greenblatt on Bate, cont. from p. 25)

enter the life-world of his subject are underwhelming."

As a committed Stratfordian (so far), Greenblatt never questions whether "the paucity of evidence" might suggest that Will Shakspeare of Stratford was not the great poet-dramatist and that someone else must have been. He never raises the issue of William Shakespeare's identity, an issue of which he is fully aware. In this 3,300-word review of Bate's book, he argues from his position of authority at Harvard that biographies of the Stratford man as the great poet-dramatist can only be imaginary. Oxfordians can certainly agree with that.

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If you were to construct a biography which ticked all the boxes – if you were to read Shakespeare’s plays and infer a biography from it – it wouldn’t be Rowe’s, it would actually be the Earl of Oxford’s

— Professor Graham Holderness, University of Hertfordshire



Jack Cutting was among the dedicated volunteers who made the Oxfordian Movement’s first national conference in Houston a huge success.

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