



The Shakespeare OXFORD Newsletter



Vol.35: no.3

"Let me study so, to know the thing I am forbid to know"

Fall 1999

Edward de Vere and the Shake- speare Quartos

(Part II)

by Robert Brazil (©1999)

(In Part I of Edward de Vere and the Shakespeare Quartos the basic publication history of the Shakespeare quartos was described, with some reference to the links between these quartos and Edward de Vere. In Part II we will take a close look at the five quartos published between 1598 and 1604 that claimed—on their title pages—to have been edited or amended in some manner by the “author” Shakespeare.)

Loves Labors Lost

Loves Labors Lost is the only first edition in this group of five Shakespeare-edited quartos, and precisely because of the claim of emendation, scholars do believe that there was probably an earlier edition of *Loves Labors Lost*. If there is a lost edition of “Lost,” then this so-called Q1 is actually a Q2. LLL, a good quarto, was also the first printed play to actually name “W. Shakespere.”

The printer was William White and the publisher was Cuthbert Burby. The exact wording of the title page is as follows:

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and the Sonnets**
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Post-1604 Shakespeare quartos
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23rd Annual Conference caps an eventful year

*Controversial issues addressed; six new
members elected to Board of Trustees*



Among the highlights at this year's conference were back-to-back presentations on The Sonnets on Friday afternoon by Stephanie Hughes (top photo, left) and Hank Whitemore (top photo, right) that told two very different stories about how and why they were written (see the separate story on page seven). At the Saturday evening Awards Banquet Dr. Frank Davis of Savannah, Georgia, a friend of the Ogburn family (bottom photo, right), accepts from Society President Aaron Tatum (bottom photo, left) The Lifetime Achievement Award, given to Charlton Ogburn, Jr. and hereafter—in his honor—to be named after him. (George Anderson photos)

The annual conference in Newton, Massachusetts not only helped ring down the curtain on the century and the millennium for all of us, it also concluded an incredible decade of progress on the authorship front for all anti-Stratfordians, but most especially for Oxfordians.

About one hundred Oxfordians gathered at the Newton Marriott Boston from November 11th to 14th for the Society's 23rd Annual Conference, and were treated to a three days of interesting papers and an informative panel discussion held at Boston College.

Another special event was the performance by The Hampshire Shakespeare Company of “The Court of Elizabeth in Shakespeare,” a selection of five play scenes linked together with an Oxfordian narrative originally written by Charles Boyle for the 1996 conference, but never performed until now. Hampshire's Tim Holcomb produced and directed the show, and appeared in one of the scenes.

On Sunday morning attendees were treated to a showing of Michael Peer's
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News Notes

Poetry challenge in *The Shakespeare Newsletter* draws an Oxfordian response

Two Oxfordians, one Stratfordian and a Nashe/Stracheyan responded to a challenge by *The Shakespeare Newsletter* to explain the meaning of the cryptic poem by John Davies, "To our English Terence, Mr. Will. Shakespeare."

The Oxfordian response printed by the Stratfordian newsletter—in its Spring 1999 issue—was by Ramon Jiménez. He pointed out that Dorothy and Charlton Ogburn had explicated the poem nearly fifty years ago in *This Star of England*. Jiménez urged scholars to take seriously the evidence for the 17th Earl of Oxford as the author in order to explicate the Shakespeare canon more fully.

The editor predictably tried to maintain that Jiménez had not solved the problem. The poem, he argued, says that *if* Shakespeare *had not* played kingly parts in sport he *would have been* companion for a king, but since Jiménez argues that Oxford was already "Companion to a Monarch," he

could not therefore be the Shakespeare of the poem. The editor does not consider that the poem could be about Oxford's having himself fallen out of favor with the monarch because of these "kingly parts in sport."

Richard Whalen also wrote a letter to the newsletter, which was acknowledged as from a "frequent contributor" but not printed because it made "many of the same points." Whalen's explication expands on the Ogburns' interpretation, and suggests a new meaning for the final couplet. In addition to addressing the above points, Whalen also offers an alternative (and probably controversial) interpretation of the whole poem. We will publish Whalen's letter in our next issue (Winter 2000).

The Stratfordian, Katherine Stevenson, responded with a 20-line mock commentary beginning, "Oh Terence, what a wounded name." She suggests that the three allusions toking refer to Will Shakspeare being the king

of wits, "our King Will 'O Wits."

The Nashe/Stracheyan interpretation came from Campbell Lathey, who was not further identified. The editor said that Lathey "believes that Shakespeare's works were co-authored by Thomas Nashe and William Strachey; Strachey's stage name was William Shakespeare."

Apparently, no Stratfordian scholars other than Stevenson with her jocular verse saw fit to tackle a poem that is so cryptic for establishment scholars. The editors of *The Shakespeare Newsletter*, published by Iona College, may not have known that their challenge would draw Oxfordian responses. That they published one is to their credit.

The poem is rarely mentioned by establishment scholars, although it is one of the few that refer to Shakespeare as a real theater personage. Oxfordians read in it clear allusions to Oxford as the man behind the pseudonym Shakespeare.

Jonson, Jones masque manuscripts found in Wilton House

Researchers looking for material to support an exhibition of 17th century portraits at one of Britain's leading stately homes have been stunned to discover a long hidden volume of dramatic works by two of the most celebrated artistic figures of that age.

The two short plays, or masques, co-written by the dramatist Ben Jonson and Inigo Jones, the architect and stage designer, were performed at court for King Charles I almost 370 years ago. They were unearthed by chance in the archives of Wilton House, ancient seat of the earls of Pembroke, during research for an exhibition to mark the 400th anniversary of the birth of the Flemish artist Sir Anthony van Dyck, nine of whose paintings hang in the Inigo Jones designed property.

Alun Williams, who discovered the hessian-bound volume, said experts from Christies had examined the works. They had confirmed they were definitely from the period and were probably part of a larger collection.

"We were surprised and delighted with this extraordinary find," he said yesterday. "We had no idea it was there and my heart started thumping when I found it ... The

manuscripts lay untouched for centuries and we are very excited to have rediscovered them."

The masques, entitled *The Fortunate Isles* and *Love's Triumph through Callipolis*, were performed at court in 1626 and 1630. According to notes on the back cover of the second play, the 4th Earl of Pembroke, Lord Chamberlain to the king and a noted patron of the arts, was among the players.

Steve Hobbs, who oversees the Wilton House archive at the Wiltshire county record office in Trowbridge, described the discovery of the two short plays as significant: "These are two masques written in contemporary hand in the early 17th century. The discovery of their authors as Ben Jonson and Inigo Jones is particularly exciting as Jones was not known as a playwright."

Archivists are particularly pleased at the discovery since much of the Herbert family's literature was lost in a fire that destroyed large parts of the interior in 1647. The plays are presently on display at Wilton House as part of the Van Dyck exhibition. (From Geoffrey Gibbs' article, in *The Guardian* [London], *Tuesday, September 14, 1999*.)

A Call for Action

by Katherine Chiljan

Let's all give *60 Minutes* a healthy suggestion for their April schedule. Send a postcard, letter, or fax requesting a report on the Earl of Oxford and the Shakespeare Authorship Question.

Make it short and concise, and name dropping wouldn't hurt, i.e., recent articles in *Harper's*, *The Spectator*, *Time*, *Newsweek*, *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, and *The Washington Post*.

Ask them to interview Oxfordians Michael York and Derek Jacobi, as well as the New Globe Artistic Director, Mark Rylance. Remind them that Shakespeare is the Man of the Millennium, etc.

60 Minutes

Attn: Story Editor

524 West 57th St.

New York, NY 10019

fax: 212-975-2019

tel: 212-975-2006

Conference (Cont'd from page 1) new documentary *The Shakespeare Conspiracy*, featuring Sir Derek Jacobi as narrator (we will review it in a future issue).

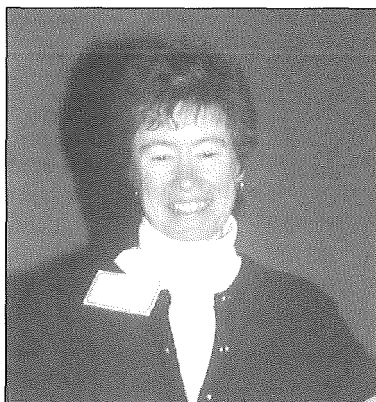
At the Banquet on Saturday evening two special awards were presented: a posthumous award to Charlton Ogburn for Lifetime Achievement, and The James S. Hardigg award for Meritorious Service to Joe C. Peel for his numerous hours of volunteer service throughout the past year. The Lifetime Achievement award will from now on be called, "The Charlton Ogburn Lifetime Achievement Award."

At the Annual General Meeting on Saturday it was reported that the Society had finished the year with a balanced budget and debt-free.

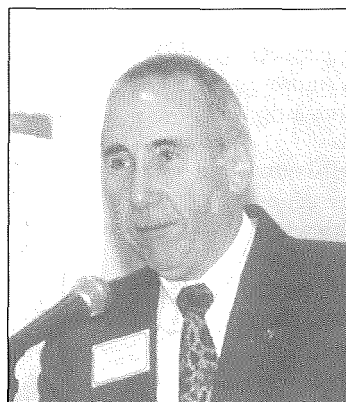
And also at the AGM, six new members were elected to the Board of Trustees, all of them serving for the first time, and promising to bring in a whole new range of experience, energy and commitment to promoting the Oxfordian cause (see page 20 for some further details about the new Board).

Our conference report will be split up between two newsletter issues this year—this issue (Fall 1999) and our next issue (Winter 2000). Several of the conference papers have already been published: Hank Whittemore on the *Sonnets* in our last issue (Summer 1999), and Robert Brazil on "Edward de Vere and the Shakespeare Quartos" (Part I in the Summer 1999 newsletter, and Part II on page one of this issue).

Two of this year's special conference events—the panel discussion on "Shakespeare and Religion" at Boston College and



Dr. Ren Draya (left), newly elected to the Society's Board of Trustees, spoke at the Friday luncheon on her journey to the Oxfordian thesis ("Detour to Damascus"). Christopher Dams (right), Secretary of the De Vere Society in Great Britain, was on hand to report on that Society's project to establish an Oxfordian dating of the entire Shakespeare canon. (George Anderson photos)



the Friday afternoon presentations on Southampton and the *Sonnets*—are the subject of separate articles (see page eight for the panel, and page six for Southampton and the *Sonnets*). Mark Alexander's informative presentation on "Shakespeare's Bad Law" (a brief history of the debate over the breadth and depth of Shakespeare's mastery of the law) will be featured in our next issue (Winter 2000). And Prof. Daniel Wright's presentation on Shakespeare's mastery of foreign languages and foreign sources ("Je te prie, m'enseigne; il faut que j'apprene à parler: the non-English sources of Shakespeare") will be published in an upcoming *De Vere Society Newsletter*.

And finally, also slated for the Winter issue is coverage of the Society's financial report for 1999 and fundraising plans for the next several years. This coverage will include an article about our relations with the

down when the plays were *actually* written, i.e. an Oxfordian chronology.

This year's Conference Chairpersons—Chuck Berney and Alex McNeil—both presented papers, both of which examined scenes in two different Shakespeare plays.

Berney spoke about *Titus Andronicus* and its possible relation to Oxford's early years. In particular the scene (IV, ii) about the fate of the changling baby born to Tamora—and the fate of those who knew of it—drew his attention. Berney also compared some of Aaron's lines in this scene with the *Sonnets*, and concluded by noting that the scene could be seen as portraying how a changling might be dealt with.

McNeil looked at the famous scene in *As You Like It* between Touchstone, Audrey and the country boy, William (V, i). Many Oxfordians see this scene as a telling com-

(Continued on page 4)

24th Annual Conference to be held in Stratford, Ontario - Home of the Shakespeare Festival

The Society's 24th Annual Conference will be held from October 26th to 29th in Stratford, Ontario (Canada). Through the efforts of Canadian Sue Sybersma, newly elected to the Board of Trustees last November, the Society will mark its first time ever meeting outside the United States.

Of special interest to all members is that, through the combined effect of the Canadian-US currency exchange rate plus the overall lower prices in Stratford vs. major US cities, the cost to attendees for conference registration and hotel accommodations

should be less than in recent years.

Shakespeare plays are always on tap in Stratford, and the two that will be running the week of the conference are *Hamlet* and *As You Like It*. Tickets to *Hamlet* will be included in the overall registration package.

The conference hotel will be the Victorian Inn on the Park (1-800-741-2135). There are two room rates this year: one for standard rooms, and one for deluxe rooms. The standard room rate is \$85/night (Canadian), and the deluxe is \$199/night (Canadian). All rates include single or double occupancy.

Call for Papers 24th Annual Conference

Individuals wishing to present papers at the Conference should send them to:

Conference Program Committee
c/o Dr. Jack Shuttleworth
7770 Delmonico Drive
Colorado Springs CO 80919
email: DeVereinCO@aol.com

Papers should be delivered typed double-spaced, or on disk in ASCII, Word Perfect 5.1 or Word 6.0 format.

Length should be based on a presentation time of approximately 30 minutes.

Conference (continued from page 3)

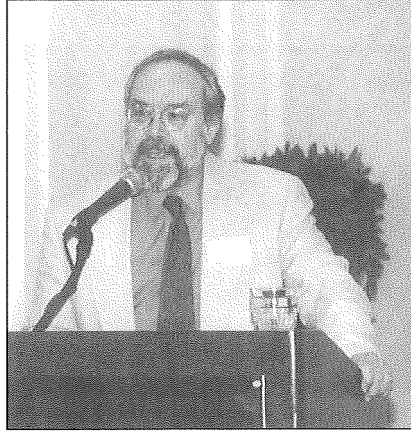
mentary on the true relationship between the author (Touchstone), his plays (Audrey), and the interloper (William) who is making a claim to Audrey.

McNeil noted some of the well-known associations already made about his scene—most notably that it really has nothing to do with the rest of the play—and presented analysis of the scene's text that supported a reading of the scene as indeed being about the author, his plays, and "William."

Another paper that looked at the works themselves came from Elisabeth Sears ("Shakespeare, Oxford and Music"); she was accompanied by Douglas Freundlich, a member of the *Renaissomics*, an ensemble trio that specializes in music of the Elizabethan and Renaissance period.

The music and songs in Shakespeare, said Sears, should be an important part of the Oxfordian thesis, for Oxford was not only a skilled poet and writer, but was also acknowledged by his contemporaries to be a skilled musician, with the credentials to be an author who could have written the Shakespeare play texts *and* their music. In 1599 John Farmer had written in his Introduction to *The First Set of English Madrigals* that Oxford "using this science [i.e. music] as a recreation, your Lordship has overgone most of them that make it a profession."

A different look at the play texts—and their historical context—was presented by Christopher Dams, Secretary of the De Vere



Chuck Berney, Conference Chair, also presented a paper on Titus Andronicus, and entertained with his delightful "Legend of the Round-Earthers" (page 5).

Society. In "Toward an Oxfordian Dating of Shakespeare's Plays" he reported on the DVS's project to establish an Oxfordian chronology of the Shakespeare canon. To date three-quarters of the plays have been assigned an editor, and much progress has been made on the first phase of the project.

Textual analysis with an eye on historical allusions is important in this work, drawing on previous scholarship, such as Eva Turner Clark's *Historical Allusions in Shakespeare's Plays*, and historical events. A report on the project will appear in the *De Vere Society Newsletter* next year.

Examples of how the work is proceed-

ing were illustrated with a close look at *Hamlet* and *Antony and Cleopatra* (a play for which John Rollett, in attendance, is the editor). Dams also asked for volunteer editors for seven plays still without editors, which include *Richard II* and *Henry V*.

Three other presentations—by Peter Dickson, Richard Desper and Charles Boyle—concentrated more on the history of the period than any plays or poems.

Dickson's presentation reviewed the research he's been engaged in for the past two years, some of which has appeared in recent newsletters. He emphasized his growing conviction that the "Catholic" issue is of great importance in the authorship debate today, and could be a trump card for Oxfordians if they would choose to focus on it (his views are discussed in more detail under "Shakespeare and Religion" on pages 8-9).

For those who wonder how this conundrum of being Catholic, Anglican, or Protestant works for Oxford—a known Catholic sympathizer in his youth—Richard Desper's paper, "The Oxford-Howard Controversy of 1580-81: A Watershed in the Life of Edward de Vere" provided an answer.

Desper's presentation took a close look at this critical period in Oxford's life, when, on December 26th, 1580, he openly acknowledged his Catholic sympathies, and in so doing named his cousins Henry Howard and Charles Arundel (along with Francis Southwell) as fellow Catholics. This act by Oxford, Desper stated, seems to have been a moment of truth when he was forced to choose between his personal faith and the political dimensions of that faith (i.e. the assassination plots emanating from Rome, and the possibility that his cousins were headed in that direction), and chose to support England over Rome. This episode, concluded Desper, was undoubtedly a watershed in young Oxford's life.

An entirely different era of history—with quite different implications for the authorship debate—was examined by Charles Boyle's paper, asking "Was Shakespeare the Son of the Virgin Queen?"

Boyle invited Oxfordians to take a close look at some strange events in 1548, just one year after Henry VIII's death in 1547, when the princess Elizabeth was still just a child of 14, but had become the subject of swirling rumors about possibly being pregnant by the Lord Admiral Thomas Seymour (whose brother Edward was the Lord Protector for the boy-king Edward VI).

Whether a child was actually born to Elizabeth at this time cannot be known, but one fact that is certain about this episode is

Vera Ogburn's letter to Society members, in memory of Charlton Ogburn, Jr.

I am very sorry that I cannot be with all of you at this 23rd Annual Conference. I do appreciate having this opportunity, however, to say a few words to you.

I want especially to thank members of the Society for the many letters I received from them after Charlton's death. I was very touched by the warmth with which they expressed their admiration for him and his long pursuit to establish the identity of the true author of the Shakespeare works.

I also want you to know that Charlton felt very indebted to the members of the Society for their support of and their loyalty to his pursuit. Indeed, it was in large part their growing enthusiasm and devotion to the cause that gave impetus to his determination to start work on what became his magnum opus. It took years but, when *The Mysterious William Shakespeare* was finally published in 1984, he said he had enjoyed working on that book more than any of the others he had written.

Recently, when I received and read the interesting program for this conference, my thoughts

went back to the fifties when in Arlington, Virginia, some brave Oxfordians gathered to exchange ideas. It was an interesting meeting. There were, I recall, about eight persons in the group. A meeting the following year was slightly larger; we were delighted to have 12 persons around the table that day. But little by little the members increased and it was not long before what became the Shakespeare Oxford Society took off! And look at it now!

So much for those happy memories.

On this special occasion my family and I want to extend to all members of the Society our deepest gratitude for this award recognizing so generously Charlton's work toward the goal we all seek. We shall cherish it always.

I send my fondest good wishes to all of you as you move along on that path to the ultimate triumph.

Thank you.

Vera Ogburn
Beaufort SC

that Elizabeth's life-long alliance with William Cecil started at this time. Cecil advised her during the crisis, and wound up remaining by her side for the next fifty years. The matter of whether a changling could have been born of Elizabeth at this time, and whether it could then have been placed with the 16th Earl of Oxford by early 1549 is, of course, a highly speculative matter.

Finally, two papers this year explored the close analysis of text for such hidden messages as acrostics, anagrams, or namesticks.

Roger Stritmatter made an impressive presentation on *Minerva Britannia*, and the possible anagram on the cover (by which MENTE.VIDEBOR yields TIBI NOM. DE VERE, if an extra letter "I" can be found somewhere). Stritmatter made an excellent case that Peacham *did intend* this anagram, and had left clues inside the book about the letter "I."

Meanwhile, text sleuthing of a different sort was presented by Dr. Albert Burgstahler, who revisited the work of Robert Tweedale of nearly thirty years ago (*Wasn't Shakespeare Someone Else?*) involving namesticks—or as he calls them, "vere-acrostics"—possibly left in the *Sonnets* and other Shakespeare text by Oxford. Burgstahler readily acknowledged the disrepute attached to such theories about codes embedded in texts.

He has spent much time analyzing Shakespearean works, known Oxford works, a variety of apocrypha that might be Shakespeare's, and such suspected Oxford works as the poems signed by "Ignoto."

In answer to a question about controls on his methodology, he said that he had done some—though, in his own words, undoubtedly not yet enough—such comparisons with other writers.

Based on the control work he has done to date, he reported the "vere-acrostic" letters (E's, F's, O's, and X's) did seem to appear often in Shakespeare or Oxford works, and were virtually absent from such contemporaries as Spenser and Daniel.

—W. Boyle

The Legend of the Round-Earthers

A long time ago in a land far away, there arose a civilization that spanned an entire continent. This civilization was very powerful and technologically advanced, but in some ways it was naive. For example, most of its citizens believed the earth was flat. Great universities had distinguished professors of geography, and these professors would write books. Every year a book would be published by one of them explaining why flatness was inevitable, or democratic, or just plain ordained by God.

Eventually a group of citizens began to have doubts about the flatness of the earth. "The sun is round," they said, "the moon is round; might not the earth be round too?" The professors of geography scoffed at this idea. "The sun and moon are in the sky," they said, "that's why they're round. Get your feet back on the ground!"

But one of the doubters thought of an experiment: he set up a pole of a standard height and measured the length of its shadow exactly at noon. He then traveled several hundred miles north and did exactly the same thing. The lengths of the shadows differed, just as they would on the surface of a sphere, and the experimenter, who was from a town called Waco, was able to calculate that the circumference of the earth was around 25,000 miles.

The professors of geography jeered at this result, calling it "the Shadow Theory," or (deliberately mispronouncing the experimenter's town of origin), "the Whacko Theory." Several of them wrote books explaining in great detail why the round-earth theory was wrong. One of the most popular of these books was written by a professor named Jephtha Fairoaks; it was entitled *Flatness: the Documentary Facts*.

Many of the citizens who believed in a round earth began exploring the consequences of this theory, with exciting results. "Look," said one of them, "when a ship sails toward the horizon, the hull disappears first, then the sails, just as you'd expect for a curved earth." Another noted that hitherto inexplicable lunar eclipses could be explained if a spherical earth was occasionally interposed between the sun and the moon.

These citizens formed an association to sponsor meetings and publications that would help them to tell each other what they had learned about roundness theory. And each day, some of them learned something new, and they were happy, although some of them were bothered by the scorn directed at them by the professors of geography and other flat-earth believers.

Then one day, one of the round-earthers said, "I have an idea! Let's sponsor a splendid feast! It will be in a luxurious place, and we'll have food and drink, and musicians and mummers, and many flat-earthers will

come and see what fine fellows we are, and then they too will believe in a round earth."

And so it came to pass that a splendid feast was held, with musicians and mummers and bounteous food and drink, and indeed, many flat-earthers came to the feast, and several of them said, "What fine fellows these round-earthers are," but none of them changed their minds, and the professors of geography were more scornful than ever. The association of round-earthers was saddled with an enormous debt from the feast, and they said, "Oh, Lord! If only everybody realized that the earth is round!"

The years went by with little change. Until a night exactly 100 years after the original experiment that established the roundness of the earth, when a gigantic monolith mysteriously appeared on a hill just outside the town of Waco. Some experts described it as a cube, while others said it had more the shape of a brick, but whatever it was, the object was silently emitting psychomagnetic waves that subtly affected neuronal belief structures in the human brain. Within 100 hours everyone in the empire realized that the earth was indeed round.

The professors of geography said they had known it all along, and they quickly began writing books explaining why roundness was inevitable, or democratic, or just plain ordained by God. The fastest writer was Professor Jephtha Fairoaks, and his book came out first, so subsequent books by other professors referred to him as "the father of modern geography," or "the brilliant originator of roundness theory." And more and more books were published, and they all referred to Professor Fairoaks and to each other, but none of them referred to books and papers by the experimenter from Waco and his followers.

The original round-earthers were completely ignored, and this made them sad. There didn't seem to be much use in exploring round-earth theory when so many professors were doing it. They even missed the scorn the professors used to fling at them. They stopped coming to association meetings, or contributing to its publications, and the association just faded away, except for reunions held every 10 years, when the original round-earthers would get together, drink too much, and reminisce about being called names like "promulgators of pernicious doctrine," "loopy lemmings," and "the sub-scientific equivalent of the sub-religious Scientologists."

Then they would sigh, and have another drink.

Moral # 1. Be careful what you wish for.

Moral #2. Recognize a Golden Age when you're in it.

(Legend was written by Conference Chairperson C.V. Berney and read at the Saturday Banquet.)

Shakespeare, Southampton and the *Sonnets*

Conference presentations explore competing theories

On Friday afternoon, three conference presentations centered around one topic, namely, the 3rd Earl of Southampton, his relationship with the *Sonnets*' author Oxford/Shakespeare (and with others, possibly including the Queen), and how all these relationships meet up in the *Sonnets*.

Implicit in this emphasis on the *Sonnets*, of course, is the question of whether understanding these relationships is important in getting at the truth about the authorship story. Or, on the other hand—as some might say—is anything about Southampton and/or the *Sonnets* just so much speculation that will likely hinder us rather than help us. Still, as we stated in our last issue (“From the Editor”), the Southampton question just won’t go away.

This schedule of events came about following a natural course of events in the Shakespeare authorship debate, starting with Hank Whittemore’s work on the *Sonnets* last Spring, which in turn led *Oxfordian* editor Stephanie Hughes to choose the *Sonnets* as her conference topic, in order to present what she considered the true story these verses tell as a counterbalance to Whittemore’s new theory.

Then in September John Rollett let it be known to us that he had some important information to share about the debate over whether Southampton might possibly be the son of the Queen (the royal heir, or “PT—Prince Tudor” theory as it is often called), and since this point was exactly the point of contention between Whittemore’s and Hughes’ presentation, he was invited to the conference, and—given that all three presentations were logically inter-connected—scheduled for the same time block as Whittemore and Hughes. So Friday afternoon became a much anticipated event, and it didn’t disappoint.

Rollett led off with a presentation that brought together several key pieces of information that had probably never been presented all at once before (though each one had been “out there” in the literature the whole time).

The starting point of his talk (“Was the Earl of Southampton Regarded as the Son of Queen Elizabeth?”) was the *Sonnets* themselves, and the familiar argument that the first two lines of Sonnet One (“From fairest creatures we desire increase, / That thereby

beauties *Rose* might never die”) could well be read as an allusion to Elizabeth (Beauty) and a call for her dynasty to continue (i.e. “that [her] *Rose* might never die,” something possible only with a royal heir).

Rollett said that this perspective on the *Sonnets*—the dynastic theme—had been critical to his own experience in becoming an Oxfordian. In fact, he stated, he had not previously been attracted to the Oxfordian thesis until this possible interpretation of the *Sonnets* became clear to him.

Rollett’s emphasis on this point is important, since those many Oxfordians who also incline towards the PT theory have had the same experience, i.e. that the *Sonnets* are the key to the authorship puzzle, with the possibility that Southampton was seen by Shakespeare as “a prince”—if not “his prince”—being, as Rollett stated (after his initial shock!) a “revelation.”

Rollett immediately moved on from the *Sonnets* to address the all-important related point of whether the Virgin Queen Elizabeth might have ever had any secret children. He presented the amazing story of Arthur Dudley, the putative son of Robert Dudley (Earl of Leicester) and Elizabeth (or so Dudley said in his account of his life, which he wrote down in 1587 for Sir Francis Englefield, an English Catholic living in Madrid charged with investigating Dudley’s claim for King Philip).

While no final judgement was ever passed on this claim by the Spanish (Englefield had told Philip at first that Dudley could be an English spy, but subsequently voiced no such suspicion; he was held by the Spanish, and simply vanished from history after 1588), Rollett’s presentation certainly made the case that Arthur Dudley had told a very convincing story, complete with many correct details about the Queen and her closest advisors, and had left in its wake the question of who he really was—for if he wasn’t a son, then who was he, and how had he come to be telling such a story, complete with his knowledge of Elizabeth’s household and servants?

The third part of his presentation involved three new pieces of evidence, rarely if ever noted by anyone before for what they seem to indicate (these are separately discussed in the box on page seven).

In summing up these various pieces of evidence, Rollett stated that the combined

effect was—in his view—to establish beyond a reasonable doubt that Southampton’s contemporaries did consider him to have a very high status, such as might be appropriate to the son of the Queen, and that in 1593 some were expecting him to be appointed a Knight of the Garter, as a prelude, perhaps, to greater things ahead.

Rollett was then followed by Stephanie Hughes, who promised to share with the audience her perspective on the story of the *Sonnets*, a perspective backed up, she stated, by the bulk of past scholarship about the *Sonnets* (Hughes stated that, as of twenty years ago, there had been 1,580 books written on the *Sonnets*, and she had read 23 of them in preparing for this presentation).

She also said that she was not going to argue with the PT theory, but rather lay out the background of existing scholarship and interpretation on the *Sonnets* and let people take it from there.

Hughes’ opening statement was one anyone—of any interpretative persuasion—could subscribe to:

The *Sonnets* are central to the authorship inquiry because they are the sole document in which the author of Shakespeare’s works divulges his personal feelings about his private life. Unfortunately, for those who wish to know more about him, that’s all he does divulge—his feelings. Since he never gave the kind of specific details that would enable the reader to figure out just who or what they are about, [it is] needless to say this has led to a tremendous amount of conjecture and controversy.

She went on from here to discuss each of the major elements of the *Sonnets* familiar to most readers, e.g. the likely identities of The Fair Youth and The Dark Lady, the most likely dates of composition, and finally, of course, the subject matter itself. In identifying Southampton as the Fair Youth, it was at least clear that here was one thing that everyone could agree on.

Hughes sided with A.L. Rowse in identifying the Dark Lady as Emilia Bassano Lanier, a lady of some distinction in the Court in the 1590s, of Mediterranean extraction (and hence “olive-skinned”), and intellectually an equal of Oxford/Shakespeare (she published a book of her original poetry under her own name in 1611, the first such

book ever published by a woman in England, and a book that—like the *Sonnets*—had very few surviving copies).

It is in theorizing about the subject matter of the *Sonnets* where Hughes believes most adamantly that those who espouse the PT theory go wrong, for she believes—and cites much previous scholarship in her support—that these are clearly love poems in the traditional style of sonnet love poems, all written in the 1590s when sonnet writing was a craze (following Sidney's *Astrophel*

and *Stella*).

But more importantly, she stated, they are love poems written to a member of Shakespeare's own sex: "It is evident to any adult reader with any experience of life that these poems of passionate love, poems suffused with sexual imagery, were written about a member of Shakespeare's own sex."

Later she asked, "How could anyone believe that Oxford would write such sexually loaded material to his own son?"

Answering the question of why Oxford/

Shakespeare did write these sonnets, Hughes stated that he wrote them for the same reason that Petrarch, Sidney or Dante wrote theirs: "He wrote them because he fell in love ... and do we really need to know more than that? ... without the impulse of love, that divine spark of passion [there would be no poems]."

She also addressed what some commentators have perceived as the parental tone in the sonnets, noting that, "there is a great deal of fatherly affection, but that is typical of [exchanges between youth and age]."

It was in concluding her talk that Hughes addressed the last piece of the sonnet puzzle, the Rival Poet. And in so doing her take on these poems did touch on the political lives of both writer and protagonist.

Hughes made the case for the Earl of Essex as the rival, noting that he had been proposed before by others, and that Oxford, Southampton and he occupied the same sphere, "one in which political allegiance and poetry were bound up together."

"It is not Southampton's passion that is at stake here, but his allegiance," she continued. She also noted that Essex was beginning to build up his power base in 1592-1595, the same dates as the proposed composition of most of these verses.

So, Hughes concluded, the sonnets were "a five year effort to keep a wayward youth from straying down the path to treason" (an effort which, she noted, failed).

But, of course, it is at the end of that same path where Hank Whittemore's theory on the *Sonnets* begins, positing that two thirds

(Continued on page 22)

The 3rd Earl of Southampton and the Order of the Garter

In the third part of his conference presentation John Rollett presented some interesting evidence from the early 1590s that should be factored into any future discussions about Southampton. The evidence was all material that had been in the literature for ages, but few in attendance, whether supporters or detractors of the Prince Tudor theory, had ever seen it all laid out in one place before.

This piece of the Southampton puzzle involves three separate documents—two poems and one letter—all written in 1592-93 in the months leading up to the elections to the Order of the Garter in 1593. It is the nature of these several mentions of Southampton's name at this time, when he was only nineteen years old, that Rollett emphasized must give one pause to wonder what is really going on here.

The first document is a 1593 letter from Philip Gawdy to his brother in which he mentions in passing that Southampton is to be one of the nominees for the Order of the Garter. Membership in the Order of the Garter was a significant, high honor for aristocrats in this era, dating back to its establishment under King Edward III.

Sir Sidney Lee, writing in 1900 about this mention of Southampton's nomination, called it an extraordinary honor, "unprecedented outside the circle of the sovereign's kinsmen." Southampton biographer Charlotte Stopes remarked in her book that it was "an honor so great at his early age that it had never before been paid to anyone of Royal Blood."

Continuing in this vein, Rollett then turned to two little-known poems, one written in commemoration of the upcoming 1593 Garter installation, and the other dating from the previous fall, both of which extoll Southampton in language that sets him apart from anyone else being addressed in either of these poems.

First, from "The Honour of the Garter," written by George Peele in 1593:

Gentle Wriothesley, South-Hampton's starre,
I wish all fortune that in Cynthia's eye
Cynthia the glory of the Westerne world,
With all the starres in her faire firmament,
Bright may he rise and shine immortally.
(lines 214-18)

These lines are introduced in the midst of recalling the 26 founding members of the Order from centuries earlier, and are clearly an anomaly in the middle of this nearly 400 line poem. In fact, as Rollett points out, the mention of Southampton in this poem is only made possible by bumping any reference to the actual seventh founding member of the Order (the Earl of Salisbury) with the name

of "Southampton,"—and yet there were no "Southampton" founding members of the Order. This change then forms a bridge to the clearly contemporaneous reference to the 3rd Earl and the wish that he may "... rise and shine immortally" in Cynthia's [i.e. Elizabeth's] eye. The poem then returns to listing—correctly—all the other founding members of the Order.

Equally intriguing was a mention of Southampton the previous fall in the poem "The Idylls of Apollo and the Muses," written in Latin by the Chaplain of Magdalen College upon a visit by the Queen to Oxford University in September 1592. Here the teenager is referred to in Latin as a "Dynasta":

Post hunc insequitur clara de stirpe Dynasta,
Iure suo dives quem South-Hamptonia magnum
Vendicat heroem[.]

Rollett showed how the translation of these lines by such noted Southampton biographers as Stopes ("...Prince of a distinguished race...") and Akrigg ("...Lord of lofty line...") had both, in effect, ducked the true meaning of "Dynasta," which is: "a lord of great power, a prince, a ruler" (*Bibliotheca Eliotae*, 1545). The word "dynasty," meaning "a line of kings or princes," had already entered the English language by 1460 (*OED*), so it would seem that the Chaplain, John Sanford, is referring to Southampton as a hereditary prince, or ruler, or "lord of great power." The word "dynasta" was rarely used in Classical times, Rollett continued, but he believed that we must assume that John Sanford knew his Latin and used it correctly, with its precise meaning in mind. So a proper English version of the Latin above might read:

"After him there follows a hereditary Prince of illustrious lineage, whom as a great hero the rich House of Southampton lawfully lays claim to as one of its own."

In conclusion, Rollett stated, these events surrounding the Garter elections of 1593 can only be interpreted to indicate that Southampton already had at this point in time a very special status among his countrymen before he had, in fact, accomplished a single thing in his life.

Although he wasn't actually nominated for the Garter that year, the rumor documented in Gawdy's letter, plus the two poems—one directly about the 1593 Garter elections and the other published in conjunction with a visit by the Queen, with both poems going out of their way to extoll the young Earl—all indicate that he was perceived as a most special—if not royal—individual in the early 1590s.

Shakespeare and Religion

Conference panel highlights sticking points for all Shakespeare scholars

In a significant departure from customary patterns of engagement with Shakespearean orthodoxy, three Oxfordians joined two Boston College Professors on the Boston College campus in a discussion of the topic “Shakespeare and Religion,” under the joint auspices of the 23rd Annual Shakespeare Oxford Society Conference and the St. Thomas More Society of Boston College. This mutual assent resulted in exchanges focused less on the question of “Who was Shakespeare?” than on the question of “What was Shakespeare’s Religion?” or “What sort of a man was Shakespeare?”—“and how do we know?”

The large crowd, estimated at well over one hundred, listened to almost two hours of give-and-take among the panelists in a good-natured and non-acrimonious but vigorous debate regarding the religious faith of Shakespeare and the dogmatic content of Shakespeare’s works. The discussion was ably moderated by Richard Whalen, author of *Shakespeare: Who Was He?*, and a former president of the Society.

Representing Oxfordians were Shakespeare Oxford Society trustee Dr. Daniel Wright, author of *The Anglican Shakespeare* and Chair of the Humanities Department at Concordia University (Portland, Oregon), who was joined by independent scholar Peter Dickson, currently completing a book on the Spanish Marriage Crisis and the Shakespeare First Folio, and Ph.D. candidate Roger Stritmatter.

The “orthodox” side was ably represented by two informed and articulate Boston College professors: English Department Professor C. Dennis Taylor, who is currently preparing a book on Catholic influences on Shakespeare, and philosophy Professor Emeritus David Lowenthal, author of *Shakespeare and the Good Life: Ethics and Politics in Dramatic Form* (1997).

Prof. Taylor represented the emerging view which is rapidly gaining endorsement in this post-Ogburn era among a number of putatively radical mainstream scholars that Shakespeare (i.e. of Stratford) was a Catholic—a subject that has been in the news

lately—while Prof. Lowenthal argued for a more existential view of Shakespeare’s religious views.

Although panelists’ views on Shakespeare and the religious question tended to divide along the same lines as those on authorship—with Oxfordians supporting a more traditional view of Shakespeare as a conforming Anglican and Taylor advocating the currently popular revisionist theory of Shakespeare’s secret non-conformism—the panel supplied abundant opportunity for thoughtful divergence, polite challenge, and rethinking of attitudes.

Prof. Lowenthal, for example, challenged the entire concept of Shakespeare as a Christian thinker. Lowenthal noted that the plays are not primarily concerned with traditional religious issues such as the afterlife. Instead, he said, they deal prominently with the ethical dilemmas of political and social life in terms which indicate the author’s close familiarity with classical works of philosophy such as Aristotle and Plato, which are concerned with the political problem of how to create “the good life” in society.

Lowenthal’s point was underscored by Stritmatter’s recitation and analysis of Sonnet 94. The Sonnet, argued Stritmatter, involves a self-conscious inversion of the beatitudes of Christ’s sermon on the mount, so that those who will “inherit heaven’s graces and husband nature’s riches from expense” (6) are not the poor or meek, but “those that have the power to hurt, and will do none” (1) — men of wealth and power such as the still “wolfish” Earls of the Tudor State. The inspiration for this inversion was, of course, Aristotle’s doctrine of the “great-souled” man in the Nichomachean Ethics. “Is this religion or is it political and social life?” wondered Stritmatter.

To Prof. Taylor’s assertions that the plays reveal Catholic sensibilities on the part of the writer, and that Shakespeare himself may have been a Lancashire Catholic also known as “Shake-shafte,” Peter Dickson noted the fiercely Protestant character of Shakespeare’s supporters in the Folio project of 1622/23 as well as the com-

plete lack of evidence that the Stratford man ever was in Lancashire and involved in the kinds of religious activities associated with the mystery man Shake-shafte. Dickson voiced the query as to whether the basis for orthodoxy’s revisionism consisted in any evidence from the Shakespearean works *per se*, or whether this was just the next step in the eternal process of reinventing Shakespeare to keep him from being someone else.

Dickson, who has closely followed the development of the current revisionist trend among orthodox Stratfordians to resolve longstanding enigmas of Shakespeare scholarship by reinventing the bard as a secret Catholic, pointed out that there is a striking hiatus between the internal evidence of the works themselves, which exhibit an Anglican character tinged with philosophical skepticism, and the biographical record of the Stratford man himself, which is in fact strongly suggestive of a recusant Catholic position. Dickson predicted that this hiatus will eventually lead to a confrontation within the orthodox camp which will hasten the decline of the dominant Stratfordian paradigm when the full extent of the contradiction is finally acknowledged.

Roger Stritmatter echoed Dickson’s point regarding the Anglican character of the Shakespearean corpus and wondered how Stratfordians can possibly contend that Shakespeare would have been a Catholic when his Bible of choice, agreed upon by almost all Shakespeare scholars, was the “radically Protestant” Geneva Bible.

Professor Wright, author of the book *The Anglican Shakespeare*, pointed out that religious profession in the age of Shakespeare was a political as well as religious act. Nowhere do the plays of Shakespeare suggest that the writer is an enemy of the Reformation or the Crown.

Moreover, Wright argued, a writer who would incorporate into his plays the abundance of Anglican liturgical formulae and other Anglican sources that Shakespeare does would be a curious writer indeed if he were, in fact, an enemy of the Elizabethan Church (see page nine for the text of Wright’s

opening statement on these issues).

Wright, whose book exposes the intrinsically Anglican character of the Shakespearean Lancaster cycle, also drew attention to the Anglican nature of Henry Le Roi's rhetoric in his eleventh hour theological discussion with William and Bates in *Henry V* on the eve of Agincourt (the famous scene in which Henry—in disguise—talks with some of his soldiers on the eve of the great battle).

Henry's doctrine that "every subject's soul is his own," argued Wright, was a direct repudiation of the doctrine then promoted by Cardinal William Allen from the Jesuit seminary, in which he argued that any soldier who raised arms in a heretical cause such as the defense of England against Counter-reformation would be forever damned.

Such exchanges brought the panel back

to what seemed to be the basic problem in trying to deduce Shakespeare's true religious convictions from his works: how does one reconcile his works with the political world in which he lived?

Stritmatter, asking why at this particular moment in intellectual history there is such a great and growing interest in Shakespeare's religious conviction, quoted the opening lines from Peter Milward's most recent book, *The Catholicism of Shakespeare*, which openly acknowledges that the Catholic revisionist theories are, in effect, a form of surrogate discourse.

Overall, the panel opened new channels of inquiry into the mystery of Shakespeare, and the consensus among Oxfordians and others in attendance was that the Oxfordian trio acquitted themselves especially well. The Shakespeare Oxford Society looks forward to similar venues in the future where

questions associated with Shakespeare and his works can be explored in receptive, ecumenical surroundings.

Father Ronald Tacelli, the Boston College co-organizer of the event, remarked that the panel had been "a resounding success" exceeding his expectations—an assessment, he said, also shared by others on campus.

The panel format, Father Tacelli agreed, with its focus on exploring intellectual areas of mutual concern rather than just a "my guy vs. your guy" slugfest, was clearly useful and productive, and he looked forward to bringing the authorship issue back to the Boston College campus sometime in the 2000-2001 academic year.

The event was also declared, both by panelists and the very active audience, a lively and intellectually stimulating experience.

—RS/DW/WB

Shakespeare's Religion

By Dr. Daniel L. Wright

The personal religious convictions of Shakespeare are unknowable. The private side of the poet's religious faith is likely lost to us for all time. We cannot, however, say the same of Shakespeare's public theology. In the theological face that he turns toward his audience—especially in the history plays—Shakespeare reveals to us a writer who is an ardent Protestant, an apologist for the Reformation, a nationalist and a propagandist for the Crown.

In any discussion of Shakespeare's religious convictions, it is absolutely essential to acknowledge that confession of one's adherence to a particular faith tradition in Tudor England was not a mere declaration of one's acceptance of a set of purely metaphysical beliefs. Subscription either to Anglicanism or Roman Catholicism was a political act. Implicit in an Englishman's embrace of Roman Catholicism in Elizabethan England was repudiation of more than the eclectic Luther-Calvinism of early Anglican theology; it constituted repudiation of the Crown's claim to supremacy over the English Church.

Endorsement of Roman Catholicism, therefore, did not just express an individual's preference for praying the Rosary as opposed, perhaps, to the Psalter. Fidelity to the Roman See's claims to authority over the English Church meant affirmation of Rome's maintenance that Elizabeth I of England was a usurper as well as a heretic whose reign over English subjects was anathema to God. It implied denunciation of the

Crown's seizure of Church lands and assets and condemnation of the Crown's decision to bestow those confiscated properties on loyal Anglican gentry and peers. It implicitly challenged the legitimacy of the 1559 Act of Uniformity.

Shakespeare's plays, however, are not plays that challenge the authority of the English Crown or the Tudor dynasty. They are nationalist vehicles of vigorous Protestant conviction, although they lack the savage and shrill anti-Catholic invective of dramatists such as John Bale, and individual Catholics, as well as many of Catholicism's metaphysical convictions, are often treated with reverence and respect by Shakespeare.

However, his copious use of Anglican rhetoric and source materials—most notably the 1559 Book of Common Prayer and the Protestant Geneva Bible—reinforce our sense—one shared by a plenitude of scholars—that the Shakespeare playwright was a learned, erudite and articulate exponent of Elizabethan religious orthodoxy.

The transformation of Henry V from dissolute youth to regal emblem of sacred monarchy is depicted by Shakespeare, for example, in regenerative terms that artfully evoke the transfiguring rhetoric of the Rite of Holy Baptism derived from the 1559 Book of Common Prayer. The play trumpets the commonplace Protestant proposition that one's justification is not accomplished through works (IV.i.302-03)—a distinctively Protestant argument echoed, among other

places in Shakespeare, in Falstaff's comic lament over Poin in *Henry IV, Part One*: "O, if men were to be sav'd by merit, what hole in hell were hot enough for him?" (I.ii.107-08) Moreover, the plays' reliance on such features of Anglican liturgical literature as the Collects, the Catechism, the Rite of Confirmation, the Litany, the Exhortation from the Communion Service (and the Communion Service proper) long has been recognized by scholars such as Roy Battenhouse, Stella Brook, Herbert Courson and Christopher Baker.

Perhaps Shakespeare profusely utilized Anglican source materials and suffused his plays with Anglican precepts and rhetoric merely to ornament works that were intended to be indifferent, non-ideological accounts of human affairs and English history, but I don't think anyone seriously believes that.

Surely Shakespeare's beloved friend, the 3rd Earl of Southampton, and the aggressively Protestant faction of English nationalists (including the 3rd Earl of Pembroke, the 4th Earl of Montgomery and the 18th Earl of Oxford) who were behind the publication of Shakespeare's works in 1622/23 didn't think that—and neither, would I suggest, should we.

Dr. Wright is a Professor of English Literature at Concordia University in Portland, Oregon. This statement on "Shakespeare's Religion" was read by him at the opening of the Nov. 9th, 1999 panel discussion on "Shakespeare and Religion."

Brazil (Continued from page 1)

A Pleasant Conceited Comedie called Loves labors lost.
As it was presented before her Highnes this last Christmas.
Newly corrected and augmented
By W. Shakespere.
Imprinted at London by W.W. for Cutbert Burby. 1598.

It is not possible to verify that *LLL* was played for the Queen at Christmas of 1597, as implied by the title page. The advertisement is the sole evidence. One standard scholar (Wilson) dated the original performance of *LLL* as a 1593 private performance for the Earl of Southampton. But *Loves Labors Lost* has no history on the public stage whatsoever, until 1839. In the standard paradigm of authorship it is very hard to explain how Shaksper of Stratford, who had retired to the country, was induced to rewrite, expand or revise this play for publication, when it had no particular market, and Shakespeare's name had never even appeared on a play before. Interestingly, in 1598 Cuthbert Burby also published *Palladis Tamia*, the book that in one breath praises the Earl of Oxford as the best of the comic dramatists, and in another whisper, launches the name "Shakespeare."

But with the appearance of this first play to be published with the name "Shakespeare" on it we also come across one of the interesting pieces of the Shakespeare quarto publication puzzle. In 1595, Cuthbert Burby had obtained the rights to *The English Secretary* by Angel Daye, a work originally published in 1586, with a lavish dedication to the Earl of Oxford and a full page block print of the Vere coat of Arms (in its most complex form with a Harpy and a Blue Boar as supporters, and an elaborate falcon crest). Burby published a reprint of *The English Secretary* in 1595 (the Q3). A few years later, someone apparently commissioned Angel Daye to revise and expand the book, because in 1599, *The English Secretary* was published by Burby in an all new expanded edition, featuring a new dedication to the Earl of Oxford. It is likely that some Oxford money passed into the hands of Burby and Daye in 1599.

In addition to *Palladis Tamia* which mentions Oxford, and *The English Secretary*, Burby had also published—earlier in the 1590s—a third work with an overt de Vere connection. The book was *Axiochus*, credited to "Edw. Spenser" in 1592. The printers were Danter & Charlewood and the publisher was Burby. The title page says:

"Heereto is annexed a sweet speech or Oration, spoken at the triumphe at White-Hall before her Majestie, by the page to the right noble Earle of Oxenforde." This speech actually dates from a Tournament in the 1580s. (Ed. note: this speech was the subject of an article by Dr. Daniel Wright in the Summer 1998 *Shakespeare Oxford Newsletter*).

The 1598 publication of *Loves Labors Lost*, which boasts revisions by Shakespeare, cannot be adequately explained using the standard framework, as the Stratford man

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was in the country, and the play was not currently popular, on stage or on the printed page. But the publisher of the book was Cuthbert Burby, who can be easily linked to the Earl of Oxford in publishing projects of the same time period.

Henry the Fourth, Part 1 Q2

The Q1 of *Henry IV, Part 1* had been printed by Short for Wise in February 1598. That first quarto was anonymous. There is nothing about it that identifies the work as related to Shakespeare. *Palladis Tamia* wasn't registered until September 1598, and presumably appeared in bookstores that fall. In that book, *Henry IV* is attributed to Shakespeare. Wise, in his second edition, printed by Simon Stafford in 1599, assigned the play to this mysterious new playwright, Shake-speare. The title page says :

The History of Henrie the Fourth;
With the batell at Shrewsburie, betweene the
King and Lord Henry Percy,
surnamed Henry Hotspur of the North.
With the humorous conceits of Sir John
Falstaffe.

Newly corrected by W. Shake-speare.
Printed by S. S. for Andrew Wise ... 1599

The Q2, or "Shakespeare corrected text," is really not that different from the Q1. Standard scholars do not conjecture that the publisher Wise contacted Shakespeare for

a rewrite. The peculiar statement, "Newly corrected by W. Shake-speare" was either a marketing gimmick, or a statement of veiled fact. It is possible that the new printer knew the author or had access to his manuscripts.

The printer, Simon Stafford, who brought out this Q2 of *Henry IV*, was born around 1561. He was apprenticed to the famous Christopher Barker. Barker had managed to abandon draping for printing; he achieved a rare full transfer to the Stationers' Guild, and he became the Queen's printer. So Simon Stafford, a relative of Sir Edward Stafford, was a student in one of the busiest and best financed shops in London. Like his master, Stafford wished to become a printer in his own right. In 1597, Stafford obtained an inexplicable grant from the Archbishop of Canterbury, including funds from the legacy of Sir Richard Champion. Stafford bought a printing press, and applied for a permit from the Stationers.'

Because Stafford was a freeman of the Drapers guild, the Stationers' refused. On March 13, 1598, Stafford was raided in his home by a team of Wardens of the Stationers' Company, led by none other than Cuthbert Burby! Stafford's press, type, stock, and books were all confiscated, and he was prohibited from further printing. Amazingly, because of Stafford's connections in the aristocracy, he was granted appeal after appeal, and after several months of legal maneuverings and court appearances, Stafford was granted the right to print and admittance into the Stationers' Company. The document granting Stafford his rights begins:

The copie of the Counsells order sett
downe touchinge Stafford - 10 Sept. 1598.
Sunday - At the Court at Greenwich the 10
of September present:

Lord Keeper, Lord Admiral, Lord Chamberlain,
Lord North, Lord Buckhurst, Master
Comptroler, Master Secretary, Sir John
Fortescue

That's a rather high powered bunch presiding over a minor guild affair, normally settled out of court. It was Burby who originated the lawsuit against Stafford and personally led the high-handed raid confiscating Stafford's gear. But immediately after the high court ruled in Stafford's favor, Burby about-faced and hired Stafford to do the printing on several interesting works. Stafford & Burby issued *George a Greene the Pinner of Wakefield* in 1599. They also brought out the second edition of *King Edward the Third* in 1599. This anonymous play is only now gaining acceptance as a

true Shakespeare play, 400 years later. And within months of his settlement, Stafford's *Henry IV, Part 1* Q2 "Newly corrected by W. Shake-speare" also appeared.

The fascinating Oxfordian connection to this is that Simon Stafford was the printer of the peculiar publication *Anagrammata* which appeared in 1603. *Anagrammata* honors thirteen leading noblemen of the time, including Oxford. The men were:

Lord Keeper Thomas Egerton; Charles Howard, Earl of Nottingham; Thomas Sackville, Lord Buckhurst; Charles Blount; John Fortescue; Gilbert Talbot, (Shrewsbury); Henry Percy, (Northumberland); Edward de Vere, Earl of Oxford; Henry Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton; John Stanhope; Sir Julius Caesar; George Carey, L. C. of the Household; John Swinnerton (Sheriff of London)

It is interesting that several of the men honored in this publication were the high commissioners who granted Stafford his full rights, and caused him to be finally admitted as a freeman of the Stationers' Guild. And, of course, the juxtaposition of Oxford and Southampton, in the company of Julius Caesar brings us into Shakespeare country.

Simon Stafford also printed *Summers Last will and Testament* (1600), the apocryphal *King Lear* (1605) and the Q2 of *Pericles* in 1611. It is my hypothesis at this point that Oxford knew Stafford and had pulled some strings for him. Stafford, as a "made man" in the Guild, was then a trusted conduit for sensitive manuscripts.

***Romeo & Juliet* Q2**

This example of a "Shakespeare edited quarto" is particularly poignant because Shakespeare's name is nowhere to be found. The first quarto of *R&J* was the notoriously "bad" pirated version issued by John Danter in 1597.

Two years later Cuthbert Burby somehow got a hold of a much better text. Perhaps it was obtained by the printer he brought in for the Q2, Thomas Creede. The title page reads :

The Most Excellent and lamentable Tragedie,
of Romeo and Juliet
Newly corrected, augmented, and amended:
As it hath been sundry times publiquely
acted,
by the right Honourable the Lord
Chamberlaine his Servants.
Printed by Thomas Creede for Cuthbert
Burby ... 1599.

Incredibly, neither this first edition in 1597—nor Q2 in 1599, which claims to be "Newly corrected, augmented, and amended," and is in fact the authentic text of *R&J*—give Shakespeare (or anyone) credit, in spite of the fact that *Palladis Tamia*, published by Burby himself the year before, claimed *R&J* as a Shakespeare play.

This boggles the mind. Meres couldn't have based his statement on the evidence of the existing books or manuscripts, and Burby, for some reason, did not take the

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advice of his own sister publication. This fact bears repeating: Cuthbert Burby, the publisher of *Palladis Tamia*, 1598, which first credits Shakespeare with *Romeo & Juliet*, did not credit the play to Shakespeare when he himself obtained the true text in 1599!

If Shakespeare's name had a commercial cachet associated with it, why was his name not used on this publication? If Shaksper of Stratford, the man allegedly eager for fortune and fame, took the time to provide Burby or Creede with his complete manuscript, why was he not at least acknowledged in the publication? It makes no sense unless someone other than Shaksper or the theater owners was providing real texts to the printers.

***Richard III* Q3**

The first quarto of *Richard III* came out anonymously in 1597. The printer was Valentine Simmes and the publisher was Andrew Wise. The Q2 (1598), also produced by Simmes and Wise, is essentially the same as the first, but with one key change. On the title page is added the credit: "By William Shake-speare."

In the case of *Richard the Third* (Q3, 1602) we have the statement that the text was "Newly augmented," and the text does vary minutely from the two earlier editions. *The Readers Encyclopedia of Shakespeare* does

state that the Folio version of *Richard the Third* was influenced by the Q3, and the Q6 of 1622.

Richard the Third Q3, which claims to be augmented by the author in 1602, is in fact a definitive edition. The printer was Thomas Creede and the publisher was Andrew Wise, who effectively owned the rights to the play. But it is fascinating that in two of the five instances where a Shakespeare publisher switched printers and coincidentally obtained a true text of the play, the printer involved was Mr. Creede. We have the insinuation of a direct connection to the author of the Shakespeare plays (see the separate sidebar article on Creede, pages 12-13).

***Hamlet* Q2**

Hamlet was officially entered in the Stationers' Register by printer and agent James Roberts on July 26, 1602. The wording of the entry indicates that the item Roberts brought in and deposited was a book or bound manuscript, already pre-existing: "...James Robertes. Entered for his Copie under the hands of master Pasefield and master Waterson, warden, a booke called the Revenge of Hamlet Prince Denmark as it was lately acted by the Lord Chamberleyne his servants." James Roberts is another quarto publisher with some interesting and important connections to Oxford (see the sidebar article on page 14).

Hamlet first appeared in Quarto in 1603, published by Ling & Trundell. This Q1 is almost universally considered a "bad" quarto because it does not contain the full text as presented in the Q2 of 1604. Many passages are also mangled. But it is possible that the Q1 *Hamlet* is not really "bad" so much as old. There was clearly an older, shorter play, current in the late 1580s, but played at the Universities, and not on the London Stage. The Q1 title page says *Hamlet* was played at Oxford and Cambridge, so the standard story is that it must have been played at the schools circa 1601-1602. It may have, but other than the title page statement, there isn't any corroborating evidence.

Many argue that *Hamlet* Q1 is a pirated text, a misheard and misremembered aberration of the full, real *Hamlet*, then current. But in comparing *Hamlet* Q1 and Q2, there is too much additional material in Q2 for Q1 to be simply a misremembering. Q1 is a faulty text perhaps, but not of the full and final *Hamlet*. If the publisher Ling had committed a crime, legal or artistic, why did the author reward

(Continued on page 14)

The Thomas Creede connection

From Oxford, to Shakespeare, to Shakespeare's sources, he was ever-present

Thomas Creede is crucial to this study because he is connected to accepted Shakespeare material, apocryphal Shakespeare material, and books linked to the Earl of Oxford. The most extraordinary example is *The Weakest Goeth to the Wall* printed in 1600 by Creede. The title page blurb says:

"The Weakest Goeth to the Wall As it hath bene sundry times played by the right honorable Earle of Oxenford, Lord great Chamberlaine of England his servants."

The play is anonymous. This is a key item of evidence because it clearly states that this is a play from Oxford's company's repertoire. The coincident registration and publication of *Weakest* with the play *The Wisdome of Dr. Dodypoll* suggests they came from the same source. Although Oxford's name appears as a dedicatee in the very earliest of Creede's printed quartos (*Card of Fancy*), this is the first—and I believe—the only instance in which Oxford's name ever appears anywhere overtly on the title page of a printed play. The third play from this batch that were registered together was called *The History of George Scanderberg* and is credited as an Oxford Company play, but all copies are lost, so we don't know what the printed work looked like or how good the play was.

Thomas Creede used a unique block-print emblem or device for many—but not all—of his books. The dominant image is a naked, crowned Goddess. A hand from a cloud above scourges her and goads her onward. She holds a book protectively in her hands. From the Latin motto we learn this Goddess is named "Truth" (Veritas). The inscription reads: VIRESSIT VVLNERE VERITAS

Possible translations of this motto are:

"Through Wounding, Truth is renewed"
"Truth sprouts from her wound"

The "Vir" in Virescit is "maleness" or "green." "Virescit" derives from "vireo" (to be green), and "viresco" (becoming green, sprouting). And "Ver" is "Spring" or "True." Both words are extremely suggestive of Edward de Vere, whose motto of course was *Vero Nihil Verius*. The double appearance of the "Ver" pun in "Viressit Vulnere Veritas" cannot be easily ignored.

Thomas Creede (c. 1558-1616) was one of the best of the Elizabethan printers. He

apprenticed with Thomas East, beginning his indenture-training October 7th, 1578. East had a long career as a London printer, his name appearing on books from 1576 to 1608. In the 1580s and 1590s East was a prominent music publisher, printing works by William Byrd, Thomas Watson, and Thomas Morley.



Creede used the "Wounded Truth" emblem on most of his quartos, including all his good Shakespeare quartos, and some notable examples of Shakespeare "apocrypha" or Shakespeare source material.

These three men all are linked to Oxford and incorporated some of his lyrics and poems into their own works. Thomas East printed no less than fourteen books linked to Oxford or his wife Anne over a period of twenty years. The books include *Psalms of David*, tr. by Arthur Golding (1571); *Euphues and his England* (Q1-Q6, 1580-1588); *Gwydonius*, *Card of Fancy* (Q1, 1584); *Psalms Sonets & Songs of sadness & piety* by William Byrd (1588, which contains an Oxford Poem set to music for 5 voices); and *Plainsong (Diverse and sundry ways)* by John Farmer, 1591. There are only two books by Farmer, and both are dedicated to Oxford. It would be very hard to argue that Thomas East never came to the attention of the Earl of Oxford.

An apprenticeship would normally last only seven years, which means that Creede probably became a full printer around 1585.

Creede's name does not appear on books however, until 1593. Nevertheless, he was in the employ of East all those years and cut his teeth on such books as *Gwydonius*, *Card of Fancy*, which also became the first book that Creede printed under his own name, as a revival publication in 1593.

Creede graduated to his own print shop in 1593. In that year he registered a ballad and printed two books. Neither book has the Creede "Truth" emblem, so both McKerrow and I agree that the emblem had not been cut yet. What is significant is that Creede's first paid job, as an independent contractor, was the printing of two Robert Greene reprints: *Mamillia* and *Gwydonius*, *The Card of Fancy*. The second bearing a lavish dedication to Edward de Vere. Greene had "died" to the public the year before, and with *Groatsworth of Wit* and related books still fresh in the reading public's mind, someone chose to re-issue these decade old satires. As one book is prominently dedicated to Oxford, and both texts seem to refer to the Vere social universe, it is not impossible that Oxford paid or persuaded Ponsonby or Creede to have the books re-set.

The text of *Gwydonius*, *The Card of Fancy*, 1593, follows the original which was printed in 1584 by Creede's master Thomas East. The publisher is the same, William Ponsonby. *Card of Fancy* was reprinted in 1587 by James Roberts for Ponsonby, and then in 1593 by Creede. The text is virtually the same but the type setting and line lengths are different. All three printers who worked on this book (East, Roberts, and Creede) are associated with other projects linked to Oxford.

In 1594, Creede emerged as a "major" printer; he acquired the "Wounded Truth" emblem and began to use it. What follows are some of the Creede quartos from 1594:

The First part of the Contention (the primitive Henry the 6th, Part 2) 1594. Anonymous. (This is either one of the earliest "Bad Shakespeare Quartos," or a decent script of an early touring version of the play.)

A Looking Glasse for London and England, 1594. "Made by Thomas Lodge Gentleman, and Robert Greene."

The True Tragedy of Richard III, 1594. Anonymous. (This is a hotly debated early Richard III play. Clear Oxford links have been argued by others.)

The First part of the Tragicall raigne of Selimus, sometime Emperor of the Turkes ... as was played by the "Queens Majesties Players," 1594. Anonymous. (This play is

often attributed to Greene, and is a near-Shakespeare-quality drama that some believe was written by de Vere.)

Arisbas, Euphues amidst his slumbers by "I. D." 1594. This work is variously attributed to John Davison or John Dickenson. (The book is a satellite or late cousin to the other "Euphues" books of the 1570s and 1580s, which were overtly Oxford related.)

So quite a few of the books printed by Creede in his debut season 1593-1594 are part and parcel of the Oxford-Shakespeare literary world. Oxford's name is mentioned several times, "Shaksper's" never.

The Creede publishing venture continued in earnest through 1617, although the nature of new works published changed dramatically after 1604.

Following is a short list of other Creede press quartos (from the years 1595-1605) that intersect with the Oxford-Shakespeare world. They all—with the exception of the bad quarto of *Merry Wives*—featured the Wounded Truth Emblem:

The Lamentable Tragedie of Loocrine by "VV.S." 1595. This is an apocryphal "Shakespearean" play with claimed revisions by "VV.S."

Colin Clouts Come home again by "Ed. Spencer" (spelled wrong on purpose?), 1595. This is an odd and important book as it seems to reflect a real or imagined conversation between "Spenser," Raleigh, Oxford, and others. Oxford is thought to be the character "Cuddie."

Menaechmi of Plautus, translated by "VV. VV." 1595. This is usually attributed to William Warner. *Menaechmi* is the primary "source" for Shakespeare's *Comedy of Errors*, and the publication followed a stage production of *Errors* at Grays Inn around Christmas of 1594.

Greenes Groatsworth of Wit, Q2, 1596. This was the first reprint of the infamous 1592 book, which contains the lines about "an upstart crow" & "Shake-scene" that are erroneously described by the orthodoxy as the first known criticism of Shakespeare the actor-playwright.

The Shepherds Calendar, 1597. A reprint of Spenser's 1579 work. The allusions to Vere are intact.

The Mirror of Alchimy, 1597. Indexed as a work of Roger Bacon, the 14th century Magus. This version also contains contemporary (1590s) material that remains anonymous or un-attributed. I have a hunch that this book was another example of Oxford's contribution to the field of Alchemy, whether he actually wrote parts of it or merely commissioned it to be published. Interestingly, there is a discussion of the *Mirror of Alchimy* and the Creede emblem in a modern book by Charles Nicholl called *The Chemical Theater*

(1980). Nicholl has also written about Marlowe and Nashe. Nicholl is apparently unaware of the broader history of the emblem, and conveniently unaware of the Shakespeare authorship problem, but this is what he writes concerning the emblem's meaning, inspired by its appearance on an alchemy book:

"... this virgo redimata represents Truth, as the surrounding legend makes clear. "Viressit vulnere veritas" means, literally, "truth grows green through injury." Truth, in other words, is refreshed and fortified by the trials it must

***"So quite a few of the
books printed by
Creede in his debut season
1593-1594 are part and
parcel of the Oxford-
Shakespeare literary world."***

undergo (as a plant "grows green" by being cut back). The device expresses this visually by the divine hand, issuing from a cloud to whip the princess: Truth with a scourge. This is, one suddenly sees, an image at the heart of *King Lear*. Cordelia is this Mercurial princess; she is actually described in the play as "truth whipped out" (*KL 1/4/117*...) (Nicholl, *Chem. Theater*, pages 223-4)

Nicholl has the metaphor right but has taken liberty with his quote. The exact passage from *Lear* reads:

FOOL: "Truth's a dog must to kennel, he must be whipt out, when Lady the brach may stand by the fire and stink."

And a bit later in the same scene:

FOOL: "I marvel what kin thou and thy daughters are: they'll have me whipt for speaking true ..."

Parismus, the Renowned Prince of Bohemia, 1598. This is a long forgotten work, and seems as if it emerged from the "School-of-Shakespeare." It is credited to "E. Forde," a non-existent person whose name seems to be yet another pseudonym for Edward OxenForde. Read the *DNB* article on Emmanuel Forde and marvel at the lack of any biographical footprint. The man is only a name. Geoffrey Bullough cites *Parismus* as a possible or likely "source" for *Twelfth Night*. *Parismus* contains an opening poem that could easily be from Oxford's youthful portfolio.

The Famous Victories of Henry the Fifth, 1598. This anonymous "proto-*Henry the Fifth*" play was registered in 1594, but the

1598 quarto is the earliest surviving edition. This is another hotly debated play that has deep connections to the Earl of Oxford.

Richard the Third, Q2, 1598. "by William Shake-speare" (discussed on page 11).

Romeo and Juliet, 1599. Anonymous. This is the Q2, but is the first "Good" or complete Quarto version of the play attributed by others to "Shakespeare." As described above, the procurement of the true text of *R&J* argues that Creede had access to real sources, and was not merely relying on actors' remembrances or prompt books.

The Wisdome of Doctor Dodypoll, "As it hath bene sundry times acted by the Children of Paules," 1600. There is no space to explain here, but I have argued, and other leading Oxfordian researchers agree, that *Dr. Dodypoll* is a very funny Oxford comedy that belongs in the Shakespeare Canon.

The Weakest Goeth to the Wall, 1600, "As it hath bene sundry times played by the right honorable Earle of Oxenford, Lord great Chamberlaine of England his servants." Anonymous. This quarto, like all the others on this list, features the "Wounded Truth" emblem. The coincident publication with *Dr. Dodypoll* suggests they came from the same source. Unfortunately, *Weakest* is a weak play by strict standards, and I'm not advocating it as emerging from the mature Oxford's pen. There is a lost play attributed to Munday that bears the same title. It is possible that this is the same play. One possibility is that *Weakest* is something that Oxford wrote in the 1570s and desired to see in print in 1600. Some of Oxford's friends (and enemies) were "gone to the wall" in 1600 and this may have prompted the printing. There is virtually no scholarship on the content of *Weakest*, only minor discussions about its curious existence.

The Chronicle History of Henry the Fifth, 1600. Anonymous. This is the Q1 and so-called "bad" quarto of "Shake-speare's" *Henry the Fifth*.

Merrie wives of Windsor... "by William Shakespeare," 1600. This is the "bad first quarto" of *Merry Wives*. The interesting thing is that Creede does NOT use the "Truth" emblem on this quarto.

Richard the Third, Q3, 1602. "Newly augmented" "By William Shake-speare."

The London Prodigall, 1605. The author credit is "by VVilliam Shakespeare." This is an apocryphal play, and is so bad nobody wants to call it authentic. Perhaps Creede got desperate in 1605 with his prime source dead, and nothing new to print.

In summation, Thomas Creede's links to the Earl of Oxford dovetail with his ability to obtain true texts of Shakespeare, manuscripts of "Shakespeare Apocrypha," and works cited by historians as the sources that Shakespeare must have used.

—R. Brazil

Brazil (Continued from page 11)

him with the new complete manuscript? If Roberts and Ling possessed the full text all along, why did Ling publish the limited Q1? If Roberts & Ling had only the Q1 text in 1602 and 1603, then they probably published what they had. In 1604, in my estimation, the author—sparked by the play's reception, the Queen's death, and his own mortality looming—either rewrote the play or released the full text for the first time to Roberts & Ling now that the political climate had changed.

Amazingly, *Hamlet* has no verifiable stage history—neither at Court, at the Universities, nor on the public stage—until 1637. There is a vague reference to a private performance on a boat in 1607, and to a possible Court performance in 1619. Henslowe's diary, which recorded all the other popular plays meticulously, never mentions *Hamlet*. The performances mentioned on the first quarto may or may not relate to the 1590s... it's unverifiable.

The title page blurb was rewritten for this second edition of *Hamlet*. It claims: "Newly imprinted and enlarged to almost as much againe as it was, according to the true and perfect Copie."

Everyone agrees that *Hamlet* Q2 has a text that is completely from the pen of Shakespeare (whoever he was). This rewrite, dated 1603-1604, is the last time that the author interacted directly with the printers in the name of Shakespeare.

Conclusion

In the five instances we have looked at, either the author Shakespeare appears to have contributed true texts to the printers—or the theaters did, in his name. However, if one takes the cynical approach that such apparent contact with the author was only a marketing gimmick, one cannot then explain why *Romeo & Juliet* Q2 fails to mention Shakespeare.

Further, in concentrating on this brief period of 1598 to 1604, it becomes apparent that the printers and publishers involved with Shakespeare quartos were, in fact, a small sub-set of the overall Elizabethan publishing world, and that these individuals all were connected in some way to each other and/or to previous publishing ventures involving Oxford. Thomas Creede, Cuthbert Burby and James Roberts are the most prominent examples of such connections.

And it is especially interesting to note the strange circumstances in 1598 involving Simon Stafford, the recipient of a favorable

James Roberts and Oxford

Another key publishing relationship

James Roberts (1564-1606), a prolific printer, held the unique royal monopoly on the printing of Astrological Almanacs and Prognostications. His patent was granted on May, 12, 1588, and lasted throughout the reign of Elizabeth. In May of 1594, James Roberts took over the business of John Charlewood, a man known to the Earl of Oxford from as early as 1580, when Charlewood printed the lavish and well-financed *Zelauto*, which is dedicated to Oxford and bears the marks of his personal interest. Charlewood printed *Pandora*, 1584, by Oxford's servant John Southern which is dedicated to the Oxfords and contains verses written by Anne, the Countess of Oxford. Charlewood was a key figure in the Marprelate controversy, and is mentioned by Martin in two of his tracts, *Oh Read over* and *The Epistle*. Martin claims that John Charlewood was "the Earl of Arundel's man." In 1595 James Roberts married the widow Alice Charlewood, and cemented his hold on Charlewood's former customer base and his patent rights. Roberts gained the lucrative patent on the printing of all theatrical Playbills.

The man who registered *Hamlet* and printed the *Hamlet* Q2 1604 masterpiece also printed these Shakespeare books:

Hamlet Q3 1605 (Good)
Merchant of Venice Q1 1600 (Good)
Titus Andronicus Q2 1600 (Good)

One of my discoveries is that Roberts was involved with no less than six books that feature Edward De Vere in some way:

Gwydonius, Carde of Fancie Q2, by Robert Greene, 1587, printed by James Roberts for William Ponsonby. This has a classic dedication to the Earl of Oxford. Here Roberts is working for Ponsonby, just as Creede would be doing after him.

Paradyse of Dainty Devises Q7, by R. Edwardes, EO, etc., 1600, printed by James Roberts for E. White. In 1585 the bookseller Edward White purchased the rights to *Paradyse* from the original owner Henry Disle. White brought out reprints every few years changing printers as needed. Thus in 1600, while Roberts was printing pages of "Shakespeare" (*Merchant and Titus*) he was also printing Oxford's poems in the revival edition of *Paradyse*.

Euphues and his England Q8, 1597 and Q9, 1601, printed by James Roberts for Gabriel Cawood. These were revival printings of a perennial best-seller that also has a long fawning introduction to Edward de Vere.

England's Helicon, 1600, credited to J. Bodenham, printed by James Roberts for John Flasket, contains the "Ignoto" poems and one poem directly credited to Oxford: "What shepherd can express..."

In 1602 James Roberts registered *Hamlet* and *Troilus and Cressida*, but both were delayed significantly. If Roberts didn't know Shakespeare, but received the texts in a straightforward deal with a theatrical person, there would be no reason for him to delay publication.

The facts in the case suggest that Roberts knew the author personally, and was requested to hold the press on these books until further notice. Though Roberts copyrighted *Hamlet* in 1602, he disavowed or refused participation in Nicholas Ling's bad Q1 of 1603. When the good text turned up, Roberts printed the Q2, 1604, and proudly put his name (well, his initials) on it.

Since James Roberts was, of course, a man known and trusted by the Earl of Oxford, this last sequence of events involving *Hamlet* underscores the significance of Oxford-related printers intersecting with good Shakespeare text.

decision involving a half-dozen of the some of the most prominent political authority figures of the time; within months of this decision, he is suddenly one of those publishers with access to Shakespeare material.

Under the standard story of Shakespeare of Stratford, it is hard to explain any of these connections, or to explain why the author would suddenly disappear from the publishing world at the peak of his renown, and live in invisible retirement for twelve more years, writing classic plays that were neither performed nor printed. It is also hard to explain how there could be thirteen quarto publications from 1617-1623—only one of which was a first quarto—without any of

them alluding to or trying to capitalize on the recent death of the author. If, that is, Shaksper's death in 1616 really had been noticed by *anyone at all* in the literary or publishing worlds.

In the Oxfordian scenario, however, Edward de Vere's death in 1604 is the reason that the author "Shakespeare" was "out of the loop" after 1604. The majority of Shakespeare first quartos and corrected quartos occurred during the final decade of Oxford's life. After 1604 the pipeline to Shakespeare was shut off.

And thereby hangs a tale.

(See page 22 for a notice on how to purchase Robert Brazil's work-in-progress, "The True Story of the Shakespeare Publications.")

1622 *Othello* cracks a frozen Shakespeare market

by Peter W. Dickson (©1999)

Consistent with Robert Brazil's work—published in the last two *Shakespeare Oxford Newsletters*, and presented at the 23rd Annual Conference—a close examination of the pattern of publication and ownership to the some 20 Shakespeare plays printed in quarto form underscores the startling fact that no more than four of the thirty-seven plays attributed to Shakespeare (the thirty-six in the First Folio plus, much later, *Pericles*) were made available for publication as quartos after 1603.

In my recent research on Shakespeare publications, I can add to this a second, equally startling fact: that in addition to the well documented post-1604 contraction in the supply of new Bard plays for publication, the titles of ownership to those quartos already in print as of 1603 *never changed hands* for a period of nearly twenty years *unless there was an estate sale* upon the death of the owner.

Most Oxfordians are generally aware of the severe drop-off in the publication of quartos after Oxford's death in 1604, but the actual contraction is more stark when we exclude reprints and just focus on which plays were registered and/or printed for the first time after his demise. There are only four registered and one was never printed until the First Folio. The four in question are:

1) Nathaniel Butter's registration of *King Lear* for publication on November 26, 1607, with publication in 1608. It is possible that this play was identical to the one registered by Edward White under the name "King Leir" on 14 May 1594, the same day Thomas Pavier registered *Henry V*. In any case, a copy of the 1594 "King Leir" does not survive and from whom Butter obtained his play is unknown.

2) Edward Blount registered both *Anthony and Cleopatra* and *Pericles* on May 20, 1608 but

The frozen Shakespeare quarto market 1603-1621

Arthur Johnson
obtained on
11 January 1602

*Merry wives of Windsor** (15 Jan 1602)
(Note: all bracketed play dates signify earliest known registration with Stationers' Co.)

Thomas Pavier
owned/obtained
in 1600-1602

*Henry V** (14 May 1594)
Titus Andronicus (6 February 1602)
*Henry VI part two** (12 March 1594)
*Henry VI part three** (12 March 1594)

Matthew Law bought
from Andrew Wise in
1602-1603

Richard II (29 August 1597)
Richard III (19 June 1594)
Henry IV part one (23 February 1594)

William Aspley full
rights from Andrew
Wise in 1603

Henry IV part two (21 February 1600)
Much Ado About Nothing (4 August 1600)

Nicholas Ling bought
from James Roberts in
1603

Hamlet (26 July 1602)

Cuthbert Burby
owned in 1603 these
plays, which passed to
Ling upon Burby's
death in 1607

Romeo and Juliet (15 November 1597)
Love's Labour Lost (Printed in 1598)
The Taming of a (the?) Shrew (2 May 1594)

(Note: John
Smethwick obtains
title to the previously
listed four plays from
the estate of Nicholas
Ling on 19 November
1607)

Thomas Fisher owned
in 1600

*Midsummer's Night Dream** (8 October 1600) Fisher's death evidently permitted William Jaggard/Thomas Pavier to lay claim in 1619.

James Roberts owned
in 1603

Troilus and Cressida (7 February 1603) Jaggard laid claim in 1623 that he had purchased Robert's business in 1608 after his death, but Henry Walley had printed a quarto in 1609. Dispute resolved during the First Folio project.

James Roberts sold to
Thomas Hayes on 22
July 1600

*The Merchant of Venice** (22 July 1598) Jaggard in 1619 tried to lay claim given that he had purchased Roberts business but Hayes' son (Lawrence) filed a lawsuit, The Stationers' Company sided with Hayes but he permitted Jaggard to include this play in the First Folio (1623).

Nathaniel Butter

Registered *King Lear** with the Stationers' Company on 26 November 1607.

*plays included in the Jaggard-Pavier quarto reprint project in 1619.

King John—in print in several forms—was a derelict play since no firm copyright was ever established prior to the FF. James Roberts registered *As You Like It* on 4 August 1600 but never printed it as far as we know; Jaggard evidently laid claim to the title because he purchased Robert's business from his heirs, Thomas Pavier registered *Henry VI* (I and II) on 19 April 1602, but no version of the former (at least the portion we know as part one) is known prior to the First Folio.

only published the latter in 1609. He participated in the First Folio project but did not permit the inclusion of *Pericles* for some mysterious reason.

3) Thomas Walkley registered *Othello* on October 6, 1621 and published it as a quarto in early 1622, just as the First Folio project was getting underway. The sudden release of this remarkable play for publication—the first in 13 years—raises important questions as to why it was made available and then published separately on the eve of the large folio project.

Before addressing the strange circumstances surrounding this sudden 1622 appearance of *Othello*—a play which had been performed during Oxford's lifetime—let's first step back to obtain a broader perspective on the ownership and disposition of all the Shakespeare plays in the canon as established through the publication of the First Folio in 1623.

Most Oxfordians are aware that among the thirty-six plays included in the First Folio sixteen had never appeared in print prior to that time. Most may not be aware that William Jaggard registered those sixteen plays at the Stationers' Co. for inclusion in the Folio project on 8 November 1623, just a few weeks before the massive anthology was distributed to London book stores. Thus, a large cache of Shakespeare plays (nearly half the canon) had been held off the market for a very long time, and registered for legal purposes only at the last split second.

Whatever Jaggard's motives for delaying registration until the very end of the project, the twin facts that the supply of plays for publication dried up after 1603, with nearly half the canon stashed away as far as covetous London publishers were concerned, poses an awkward

(Continued on page 23)

Oxfordian News

Authorship Roundtable hosts lectures about recent research on Oxford and about Giordano Bruno; in England, an Oxfordian theater debuts in London

California

The Shakespeare Authorship Roundtable in Los Angeles, California opened their 1999-2000 season with two very interesting talks. In September, Professor Alan Nelson from the English department at UC Berkeley spoke about his recent year of research in England offering some tidbits about Shakespeare, the First Folio and his biography in progress of Edward de Vere.

Among the highlights of his talk were remarks about the printing of the First Folio not being so unique, since the Frankfurt *Book Fair Catalogue* edition of April 1622 had advertised other Edward Blount folios coming on the market. In 1622/23 Blount published *The Rogue Life of Guzman Alenon* in Spanish and *Gerardo, The Unfortunate Spaniard*, both of which were also dedicated to the Earls of Pembroke and Montgomery. These folios followed a format similar to the First Folio, and had poems of dedication written by both Leonard Digges and Ben Jonson.

Nelson also presented a letter of correspondence to William Baker at Oxford University from two graduates—Leonard Digges and James Mabbe—who were travelling in Spain c1613. This letter mentions “our Will Shakespeare” and the Spanish poet Lope de Vega.

Professor Nelson clarified some points about de Vere’s biography, including the fact that his early tutors at Burghley’s house were Sir Thomas Smith, and then Alexander Noelle, rather than de Vere’s famous uncle Arthur Golding. He also spoke of the fact that since earls could not be put in debtors prison and de Vere had not paid his debts, several others went to prison in his place.

Nelson sees one of the main problems in claiming de Vere was the Bard is evidence that confirms that the Oxford Players were active from 1580-1602, so he can’t imagine why de Vere would be writing for the Lord Chamberlain’s Men under the name of Shakespeare instead of for his own players. He spoke further about the common practice of interlineations in historic wills, and also discussed points regarding sonnet writing



Dr. Daniel Wright poses in front of Glebe House (in Langsport), home of the De Vere Society and its library. Dr. Wright, and a number of Concordia University exchange students, spent the fall semester at Oak Hill College in London.

of the period.

At the next Roundtable gathering in early December Roundtable member Julia Jones gave an enlightening talk about the influence of Giordano Bruno’s ideas on the Shakespeare works, in particular *Hamlet*. Jones is a writer whose study of Shakespeare began as an undergraduate at Harvard where she earned her BA in Literature. She has had a screenplay made into a movie (*Discretion Assured* starring Michael York), and is currently working on a film project about Bruno which will take her to Rome for the 400th anniversary celebration of his martyrdom on February 17th, 2000.

Giordano Bruno was born near Naples in 1548 and entered the Dominican Order at fourteen, where he was ordained a priest and became known for his powers of memory after several years of study. He was charged with heresy in 1578 after becoming known for his unconventional ideas. After being ex-communicated, he spent years wandering Europe, never spending more than two years in any one place. He obtained a doctorate in philosophy from the University in Toulouse and then became the tutor to King Henry of France until he was dismissed and sent to England for safe haven, arriving there in 1583.

During his brief stay in England from 1583-85 Giordano Bruno presented controversial debate among the best minds of

England, separating and dividing thinking men and women, fermenting change and upheaval wherever he went. Bruno preached a doctrine of divine unity, brotherhood and peace that threatened the church and the hierarchal underpinnings of Elizabethan society.

A well-documented debate at Oxford University caused a near riot and Bruno escaped to London, where he wrote six of his greatest works in just a few years. All were published by J. Charleswood and dated 1584 or 1585. Although he usually wrote in Latin, these were written in Italian. Three are dedicated to the Ambassador Mauvissiere and two to Philip Sidney. His play *Il Candelaio* seems to have had the greatest influence on the philosophic ideas in *Hamlet* and Jones gave many details demonstrating this influence.

Bruno’s presence in London is well-documented, especially his connection to the Northumberland Circle that included Thomas Herriot, Walter Warner, Nicholas Hill, John Florio, Sir Philip Sidney, Fulke Greville, Sir Walter Raleigh, Thomas Watson and Christopher Marlowe.

After years in prison in the 1590s, this little known, ex-communicated, wandering friar was burned at the stake in 1600 for his belief in an all potent deity mirrored in an infinite universe.

Jones believes that one key to the authorship question lies in exploring such Bruno-related ideas in the plays as: destiny vs. free will; Shakespeare’s concept of the universe vs. infinity; and death as the final end vs. “there is more in heaven and earth than can be dream’t of...” She recommends Hilary Gatti’s *The Renaissance Drama of Knowledge*, which lists over 31 books written since 1846 that explore the relationship between Bruno and Shakespeare.

No thinker has been more controversial in his time—or more suppressed—than Bruno, and even today his work is still on the Church’s index of forbidden books.

For a copy of Jones’ paper, contact the Roundtable via email (cslipman@jeffnet.org) or by calling (541) 488-2475. Julia Jones can be reached at: juliabruno@juno.com

—C.S. Lipman

Massachusetts

As part of the publicity leading up to the 23rd Annual Conference in **Newton** last November, newsletter columnist Mark Anderson scored a major coup when *The Boston Globe* published his article on the authorship on the front page of the Sunday Focus section, one of the paper's most popular sections (it's where the Sunday editorials, plus various opinion columns and other major features appear, and is always heavily read).

The headline "Who Was Shakespeare?" appeared on the upper left of page one, with the article continuing inside, including a prominent graphic of the Ashbourne portrait as an illustration of the possible "true" Shakespere.

The article itself was an excellent introduction to the basics of the authorship debate, with Anderson skillfully marshaling all the basic arguments and counter-arguments into just a few thousand words, touching on the recent *Harper's* articles and *Shakespeare in Love*, not to mention the evolving debate over the author's Anglican and/or Catholic leanings, and the First Folio.

Since the upcoming conference panel on Shakespeare and Religion was also mentioned in the article, it provided some excellent advance publicity, and Boston College received a number of phone calls the following day inquiring about the event.

Oxfordians in New England, and the northeast, should mark April 21st on their calendars, the date for the **13th Annual Oxford Day Banquet** which will be held—as usual—at the Harvard Faculty Club in **Cambridge**. Dr. Daniel L. Wright will be the featured speaker.

For further information call 617-628-3411.

England

Oak Hill College in north London offered a class on the Shakespeare Authorship Question in their curriculum for the 1999-2000 year. The class was taught by Dr. Daniel Wright (Concordia University, Portland, Oregon), who was at Oak Hill College during the fall 1999 semester as Visiting Professor of Victorian Literature, teaching *The 19th-Century British Gothic Novel*.

On an earlier trip to England Dr. Wright had garnered such interest from students in his advancement of the proposition that the 17th Earl of Oxford was the author of the works of Shakespeare that several students

requested—and approval was given—for a class on the question "Who Wrote the Works of Shakespeare?" to be offered.

Dr. Wright thus joined Angela McGarry, who was offering a similar 10-week course in the Authorship Question at the **University of Warwick in Coventry** for the 1999-2000 academic year, in bringing the Shakespeare authorship issue into British classrooms.

In addition to their studies of the plays and sonnets, Dr. Wright's students in London also visited such sites of popular Oxfordian appeal as the Globe Theatre, Heddingham Castle in Essex, Otley Hall in Suffolk, St. Augustine's Church in Hackney (a possible burial site of the 1711, Earl of Oxford), and Wivenhoe.

The students have also enjoyed presentations on the Authorship Question from such British Oxfordians as Lord Charles Burford, Eddi Jolly and Kevin Gilvary—the latter two of whom are Oxfordian English instructors at Barton Peveril College in Southampton. Among their other projects, Jolly and Gilvary are engaged in important research on dating the Shakespeare plays.

Concordia University, the home of the largest College of Education in Oregon, has graduated scores of students under Dr.

Wright's tutelage who have taken their places as English teachers in the public and private secondary schools of America. Now, at the dawn of the 21st century, students outside of Concordia who are planning to become teachers are being prepared to introduce the Oxfordian thesis of Shakespearean authorship on the other side of the Atlantic as well.

In **London** a new theatre group—**United Spirits Theatre**, under the direction of artistic director Martin Scott Gilmore—made its debut last fall, at the Westminster Theatre, and they made no secret of their Oxfordian beliefs. Gilmore is a 1994 graduate of the Bristol Old Vic Theatre School.

The program cover for their production of *MacBeth* stated clearly "By William Shakespeare (Edward de Vere, 17th Earl of Oxford)," and included inside a one-page message on the authorship question from the De Vere Society. They also presented *Romeo and Juliet* this winter, with the same authorship message on the program cover.

Last October a *Daily Telegraph* preview article remarked that, "Braver yet, advertising material for a new production of *MacBeth* at the Westminster Theatre credits Edward de Vere as author..."

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Book Reviews:

BOOKS IN BRIEF

Inscribing the Time: Shakespeare and the End of Elizabethan England (1995) by Eric S. Mallin of the University of Texas, Austin.

Unlike many academics Professor Mallin studies plays "in their contemporary historical context." *Troilus and Cressida* reflects the battle between the Essex and Burghley factions; Essex is Achilles. Lord Darnley's murder is reflected in Hamlet. The final footnote of several hundred cites Oxfordian Eva Turner Clark's dating the events of *Twelfth Night* around 1580.

Mallin recognizes these events but nevertheless dates the play around 1601. For him it is a "remembrance" play written twenty years later. In concert with Oxfordians, Mallin sees the politics of Elizabethan times in these three plays but avoids the dating problems and does not mention the more likely author, the 17th Earl of Oxford.

Bloody Constraint: War and Chivalry in Shakespeare (1998) by Theodor Meron of New York University School of Law.

For Professor Meron Shakespeare is a defender of feudal chivalry that has shaped today's international law. Shakespeare had "an acute understanding of the affairs of state and war," and the plays contain "a plethora of fascinating texts illuminating chivalry and the humanitarian ideal." He describes Shakespeare as a writer who "recognizes the continuing pertinence of ethical and protective values of chivalry."

While praising Shakespeare's knowledge of the law and ethics, Meron omits any mention of the mundane, a moral biography of the Stratford man he assumes to be the author.

Shakespeare's Shakespeare: How the Plays Were Made (1997) by John C. Meagher of St. Michael's College, University of Toronto.

Shakespeare's dramaturgy is the subject of this curious, sometimes self-deprecatory book. Professor Meagher seeks to provide insights into the plays by explaining the stage directions, scene sequences, actor doubling of roles and the use of expanded time, condensed time and displaced time. Stage presentation, not content, is his primary concern. He hopes the general reader will appreciate his insights, but they are probably more valuable for theater professionals. In fact, at several points he invites the uninterested to read no farther. Even his footnotes are ranked by four levels of interest; the first three can be ignored. But check out those carrying an exclamation point!

The Heart and Stomach of a King: Elizabeth I and the Politics of Sex and Power (1994) by Carole Levin of the State University of New York.

In this meditation on the implications of an unmarried woman being England's ruling monarch, Professor Levin sees Elizabeth I as an effective ruler and iconic Virgin Queen despite the constant pressure on her to marry and produce a male heir. Levin details the widespread gossip and rumors about supposed love affairs, pregnancies and illegitimate children. (Oxford is not mentioned.) "Of course there was no child born of her body," Levin asserts.

At the same time Elizabeth was the traditional "sacred monarch" who knew how to use spectacle and drama to celebrate her royal glory, including even the traditional rite of touching to cure the king's evil, scrofula; and she could manipulate marriage proposals to keep suitors and rival factions off balance and herself alone firmly in power with neither consort nor child. Levin notes parallels between characters in Shakespeare and the Queen but does not expand on them. In the end she offers no startling insights, concluding simply that Elizabeth was ever her own mistress.

—RFW

Excerpts from the reviews of a new Shakespeare biography

William Shakespeare. By Anthony Holden (Little, Brown, 1999)

From Peter Ackroyd's review (November 11th issue of the *London Times*):

"Every biography of Shakespeare creates a different writer and a different man. The principal facts are not in doubt, and are plausibly retold here. Holden goes further than some biographers, however, in claiming 'Shakespeare's father brought him up as a secret Catholic, obliged to conform outwardly to Protestant orthodoxy'.... At the time, he passed largely unremarked. But that might be the most important token of his genius. Holden also points out that the dramatist's vocabulary consisted of 'more than 21,000 words' compared with the three or four thousand 'of today's Ox-bridge undergraduates.'"

From Kiernan Ryan's review (November 14th issue of *The Independent*):

"In Holy Trinity Church in Stratford, beneath the cartoon bust of the Bard that makes him look (as Anthony Burgess observed) like a 'self-satisfied pork butcher,' lie the mortal remains of the Man of the Millennium.... His curse [on his gravestone] dooms the biographer of the Bard to shroud the fact that we know next to nothing about him in a fog of supposition... Were it not for 'perhaps' and 'probably,' to say nothing of 'surely' and 'might have been,' the covers of this book would be a lot closer together than they are... Undaunted by the absence of evidence, Anthony Holden sets about roasting all the old chestnuts again."

From Garry O'Conner's review (November 14th issue of the *Sunday Times*):

"Anthony Holden, to his credit, claims no great discoveries, no originality of approach. The erstwhile biographer of Prince Charles and Laurence Olivier, Holden rests his own case as to who Shakespeare was on the other cases. Most of them, at any rate: for thankfully he does not explore the new rash of claims that Shakespeare was another:

'What if we've actually been tracking the wrong Englishman?' asked a headline in *Newsweek* earlier this year ... Desmond McCarthy, the theatre critic, wrote that trying to work out the personality of Shakespeare was like looking at a very dark picture under glass ... Nothing stands out enough, however, to make this biography a distinctive portrait ... Shakespeare and his contemporaries lived in extreme danger, and often had slippery, provisional selves."

From John Mortimer, author of the Rumpole series and other stories, (November 14th issue of *The Observer*):

"The mystery begins with the dedication [of the *Sonnets*] to Mr. W.H., 'The Onlie Begetter.' Holden argues ... cogently, that this is the printer's dedication to whoever got hold of the poems Shakespeare hadn't written for publication ... Yet Southampton was undoubtedly the fair friend to whom many of the sonnets are addressed, and Shakespeare's patron to whom he had written the ornate dedication of *Venus and Adonis*.

"The story of the *Sonnets* seems to be the devotion of the poet to both the fair youth and the dark lady, until the friend seduces the lady and bitterness and disillusion set in. This may even make sense without predicating a homosexual relationship between Shakespeare and the Earl of Southampton. Unlike Auden and Wilde, Holden will have nothing to do with a homo- or even bi-sexual Shakespeare.

"We know more than enough to see off Bacon or the Earl of Oxford or whoever else is being promoted by those who think genius goes with being an aristocrat or a lawyer. But Shakespeare managed to live through an exciting age without falling foul of the authorities."

Dr. Daniel Wright, who sent along these excerpts to us last fall, also informed us that advertisements in the British press invited viewers to watch SKY News' program, "The Man of the Millennium: Who Is He?" at 9:30 pm on Christmas Eve.

The program was to feature Anthony Holden, author of the new biography *William Shakespeare*, and Jonathan Bate, King Alfred Professor of English Literature at the University of Liverpool and author of the recent book, *The Genius of Shakespeare*.

Research Notes

Was the *Troilus and Cressida* Preface written in 1602-1603?

Both Oxfordians and Stratfordians engaged in the authorship agree that the extraordinary preface to the 1609 quarto of *Troilus and Cressida* ("A Never Writer to An Ever Reader. Newes") is extremely important for several reasons. The Stratfordian believe that the passage "and when hee is gone" is conclusive proof that Shakespeare was still alive in 1609, which would eliminate Oxford as the real Bard.

Oxfordians counter by noting that the publisher is lying when he asserts that *Troilus and Cressida* is a brand new play, and one which had never even been performed publicly before, a circumstance which is highly improbable given the need to extract commercial value on the stage before selling plays for publication. In any case, *Troilus and Cressida* definitely was not a new play, because James Roberts had registered it for publication with the Stationers' exactly six years earlier (February 7, 1603).

There is, however, evidence within the preface itself which confirms Oxfordian suspicions that it was composed in the 1602-1603 period: namely, the statement "and when hee is gone, and his commedies out of sale." The reference to "comedies" going "out

of sale"—seemingly a prompt to the reader to buy—is in fact incontrovertible evidence that the preface was actually composed in 1602-03 and simply carried forward to 1609 with no significant revisions.

The reader should know that, of the fourteen Shakespearean comedies in the First Folio, eight were never printed prior to 1623. Among the remaining six, *The Taming of the Shrew* was printed in 1607 but anonymously. Among those five comedies with Shakespeare on the title page, only one was printed after 1600: *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, registered for publication on January 15, 1602.

The inescapable conclusion—which has awesome implications for the authorship debate—is that the *Troilus and Cressida* "Never writer..." preface must have been composed in 1602-1603 when those "comedies" were still available, and while Oxford was still alive.

Thus, the preface reflects the historical context of *that time*, and not early 1609, when the "comedies" were long out of print and, as Oxfordians maintain, the real Shakespeare no longer alive.

Peter W. Dickson (©1999)

No New Play?

Oxfordian researcher Nina Green, writing on the internet discussion group Phatton, brought to light an interesting fact revealed in a letter to Robert Cecil in 1604.

The letter, from Sir Walter Copeto Cecil, is cited in passing in Akrigg's *Shakespeare and Southampton* (page 255), but only to comment upon Southampton's relationship with Shakespeare in the new era under James.

However, as Green observed in her comments upon this letter, it can actually be seen as yet another piece of strong evidence about whether Shakespeare was even around in late 1604 to have a relationship with anyone.

The letter is question reads:

...Burbage is now come, and says there is no new play that the Queen (Anne) has not seen; but they have revived an old one called Love's Labour Lost, which for wit and mirth

he says will please her exceedingly. And this is appointed to be played tomorrow night at my Lord of Southampton's unless you send a writ to remove the corpus cum causa to your house in the Strand.

As Green observes, on May 19th, 1603, King James had conferred special status on the Lord Chamberlain's Men, creating them the King's Men in virtually one of his first acts on his arrival in London. And yet Shakespeare, then supposedly at the height of his powers, had no new play available for performance before Queen Anne in 1604.

It does seem inconceivable that Shakespeare, prolific writer that he was, wouldn't have made a point of having new plays available for Queen Anne's pleasure in the first year of the King's Men's new incarnation ... unless, of course, he was unavailable for such work ... being dead of late.

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Shakespeare Oxford Society

The newsletter welcomes articles, essays, commentary,
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should be reasonably concise and, when appropriate,
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From the Editor:

The Board of Trustees

The elections for the Board of Trustees at this year's Annual General Meeting brought a total of six new members to the Board, marking one of the more significant changes in the overall makeup of the Society's Governing Body in recent years.

New members elected were: Dr. Jack Shuttleworth, the former Head of the English Department at the Air Force Academy; Robert Barrett, an English teacher from the state of Washington; Dr. Ren Draya, an English professor at Blackburn College in Illinois; Joe C. Peel, an attorney in the Attorney General's Office in Tennessee; Susan Sybersma, a long-time Canadian Oxfordian who will be managing our next annual conference in Stratford, Ontario; and Gerit Quealy, a writer/editor/actor from New York City. Aaron Tatum was also re-elected to another three-year term at the AGM.

At the Sunday Board meeting following the Saturday AGM and Board elections, Aaron Tatum was selected to remain the Society's President for another year,

while Joe C. Peel was selected to be first Vice-President (with Jack Shuttleworth serving as second Vice-President and Charles Boyle serving as third Vice-President). Other key Board offices were all filled by new Board members, with Joe C. Peel now serving as Treasurer, Susan Sybersma as Membership Secretary, and Ren Draya as Recording Secretary.

Leaving the Board after six years of service was Tim Holcomb, of Northampton, Mass. We wish to thank Tim for his years of service, especially for all his help and good advice during the past two years.

And a special mention is due for his excellent work in producing and directing, under the auspices of the Hampshire Shakespeare Company, the wonderful entertainment on Friday evening at the conference—a production that did justice to the five Shakespeare play scenes first selected by Charles Boyle in 1996 to illustrate his narrative about "The Court of Elizabeth in Shakespeare."

Thanks Tim.

The Oxfordian

The 1999 issue of *The Oxfordian* was completed in time to be distributed at the Conference, and mailed to all subscribers by the end of November. If there is anyone who subscribed last year, or believes they subscribed at the 1998 conference, and did not receive the 1999 issue last December, please let us know so that we can update our records and send out your issue.

With its second year now completed our new annual journal will clearly be a permanent, important part of the Society's publications. The 1999 issue was 60% larger than the first issue in 1998, and as the authorship issue continues to build and attract more and more people, including academics, researchers and writers, the need for a professional journal that can print longer papers will only increase.

The success of *The Oxfordian* is due in large part to the tireless, selfless efforts of editor Stephanie Hughes, who not only seeks out the papers to be published, but also edits the copy, and then produces the whole publication on her computer, ready

for printing. As anyone involved in publishing knows, that is a great deal of work and responsibility for just one person, and the final product shows just how well Stephanie has done it.

One thing we have learned after publishing the first two issues of this journal is how much it costs to produce, print and mail. These issues were paid for in large part by donations in both 1998 and 1999, but donations dedicated to just this publication cannot continue indefinitely.

Therefore, effective this year we have incorporated the subscription costs into our membership dues, with *The Oxfordian* now automatically included for all who join the Society as either Sustaining or Family members. This represents a \$5 increase in the cost to receive the journal this year for those who had subscribed last year at the \$10 rate.

This change will both simplify our book-keeping and increase our revenues a bit to help pay the editorial and printing costs. Subscriptions to the journal will no longer be separate.

Letters:

To the Editor:

With the object of making fifteen more people aware of the Shakespeare-Oxford question, I introduced the debate to a continuing education literature class at a small New England college last month. This humanities class was required for their degree, and since most of the students preferred debating to writing a research paper, I decided to introduce them to the Shakespeare authorship debate.

Ideally, of course, a teacher doesn't let the students know which side he or she favors. But that would have meant eliminating *The Wall Street Journal* debate on this issue of several years back in which their teacher had taken part. Still, they knew they would be graded merely on contributing to the arguments, not on which man they championed.

Since only half of the class had computers at home, I repeatedly emphasized that the April 1999 *Harper's* magazine would be essential for those on the Stratford side, since few facts about Shakespeare's life were available. The Stratford scholars in the *Harper's* debate, I explained, might give them more ammunition. Finally, even though facts in the *Harper's* pro-Stratford essays were not plentiful, I xeroxed those pages myself and handed them out to everyone.

In the end, several of the class on both sides performed well, but I was amused by one comment in my class evaluations, namely that there was too much material from the Oxfordian point of view and not enough from the Stratford side.

But, of course, were there more evidence of authorship from the Stratford side, we would not have been presented with this dilemma in the first place!

Nancy Ann Holtz
Londonderry, New Hampshire
6 September 1999

To the Editor:

Katherine Chiljan's article *Oxford and Palamon* in the Spring *Shakespeare Oxford Newsletter* was most interesting, particularly Oxford's association with Richard Edwards and the connecting of *Palamon and Arcite* with *The Two Noble Kinsmen*. However, I cannot accept that the use of the single word "Ver" in line seven of *The Two Noble Kinsmen* is de Vere's signature.

As I show in my book *De Vere is Shakespeare* each episode of dialogue in the Shakespeare plays was constructed around two, three, four or more words, each of which was repeated at least once, within the space of ten or twenty lines. When these words are translated into Latin, or occasionally French or Italian, a word which contains the compound "ver," or a "ver" sound (e.g. *vir*), can be found. There is an average of one of these "ver" words in every one and a half lines of every Shakespeare play. As Shakespeare wrote in sonnet 76: "That every word doth almost tell my name."

When these clusters of repeated words also contain within them the words "nothing" or "yet," a pun on the Earl of Oxford's motto of "Vero Nihil Verius" is created by translating the English into Latin: "nothing" is the Latin "nihil," and "yet," or "nevertheless" is "nihilominus." There is an average

of twenty-six of these hidden puns on the Earl of Oxford's motto in each and every one of the Shakespeare plays. Some of the plays like *Hamlet* and *Antony and Cleopatra* contain more than forty motto puns.

I have done some research into how many motto puns can be found in modern plays, i.e. plays written within the last one hundred years, and the answer is just under two. As the authors of these plays would not have known that they were writing puns on the Earl of Oxford's motto, this figure of two is what constitutes coincidence. So the average of twenty-six motto puns in the Shakespeare plays is not coincidence—they were written intentionally.

Therefore, de Vere's signature is actually the total number of motto puns that are hidden in each of the Shakespeare plays.

There are twenty-five motto puns in *The Two Noble Kinsmen* which identifies it as having been written by de Vere. These motto puns are distributed evenly throughout the play which shows that the play was not written in collaboration with anyone. In fact I do not think de Vere collaborated with anyone in the writing of any of his plays.

If there is just one motto pun in *The Two Noble Kinsmen* which does act as de Vere's signature, it can be found in the second sentence of the Prologue:

...and a good play
(Whose modest scenes blush on his marriage
day
And shake to lose his honour) is like her
That after holy tie and first night's stir,
Yet still is modesty, and still retains
More of the maid to sight than husband's
pains.

The Latin "VERECUNDUS" means modest, "VERECUNDIA" means modesty, "VERECUNDUS ORIS" means a blush, "COMMOVERE" means to shake, "MOVERE" means to stir, "VIRGO" is a maid, and "VIR" is a man or husband; "Nihilominus" means nevertheless yet, or still.

Therefore this sentence was constructed around the words *verecundus*, *verecundus oris*, *commovere*, *movere*, *nihilominus*, *nihilominus*, *verecundia*, *nihilominus*, *virgo*, *vir*—which is an elaborate pun on the motto "Vero Nihil Verius."

That is what I call a signature.

Dennis Barron
Clitheroe, Lancs, England
29 September 1999

Subscriptions to the *Shakespeare Oxford Newsletter* are included in membership dues in the Shakespeare Oxford Society, which are \$35 a year, or \$50 a year for a sustaining membership. Dues are \$15 a year for students and teachers. Dues and requests for membership should be sent to:

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The purpose of the Shakespeare Oxford Society is to establish Edward de Vere, 17th Earl of Oxford (1550-1604) as the true author of the Shakespeare works, to encourage a high level of scholarly research and publication, and to foster an enhanced appreciation and enjoyment of the poems and plays.

The Society was founded and incorporated in 1957 in the State of New York and was chartered under the membership corporation laws of that state as a non-profit, educational organization.

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Southampton, Sonnets, (Cont'd from page 7)
of all of them (nos. 27-125) are all about the brief, intense period starting with the Essex Rebellion (treason, the death penalty, reprieve, prison) and ending with the death of the Queen herself, and Southampton's release from the Tower by King James.

Whittemore's thesis was published in our last newsletter, so we needn't repeat too much of it here. His basic take on the *Sonnets* is like Rollett's and others who believe that Southampton might have been the son of the Queen, i.e. that the pervasive theme of these poems is dynasty and paternal love, not sexual passion.

And of course his new contribution to the *Sonnet* scholarship—that most of them are about the treason of the Essex Rebellion, its aftermath and the Youth's predicament in his "confined doom"—represents these poems not as a warning away from treason, but rather as bemoaning his "trespass" in already having committed it, and interestingly perhaps also giving us a glimpse of the author's own shared guilt and shame in the situation, since he says of himself in Sonnet 35, "All men make faults, and even I in this / Authorizing thy trespass with compare."

At the conclusion of these presentations we asked one prominent Oxfordian in attendance for his assessment of the various presentations.

"No minds were changed," he answered, "and none ever will be."

Only time will tell on that point, just as it will with the authorship question itself and the Oxfordian claim for Edward de Vere.

But if there was anyone in attendance who didn't enjoy the afternoon's work of tackling the *Sonnet* enigma, an enigma wrapped up within the Shakespeare authorship mystery itself, which is in turn wrapped up inside the puzzle palace of Elizabethan history—well, then, they're missing out on a lot. —W. Boyle

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Item SP4. \$20.00

Shakespeare Oxford Society Newsletters. (1965-1995). 2 Volumes, 1270 pages, soft-cover, plastic spiral binding. Photocopy edition of the first thirty years of the Society's newsletters. Item SP 23. \$105.00 (Price includes P&H).

Shakespeare: Who Was He? The Oxford Challenge to the Bard of Avon. By Richard Whalen. Item 123. \$19.95

To Catch the Conscience of the King. Leslie Howard and the 17th Earl of Oxford. By Charles Boyle. Item SP16. \$5.00

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Video

Firing Line interview with Charlton Ogburn, Jr. (12/11/84). William F. Buckley, host; Prof. Maurice Charney (Rutgers) represents the Stratfordian side. 1 hour, VHS. Rarely seen interview with Ogburn upon publication of *TWWS* in 1984. Item SP 27. \$35.00

Gift Items

Coffee Mug. Imported from Hedingham Castle. Blue on white, with a wrap-around sketch of the Castle and its environs and "Hedingham Castle" printed around the bottom. Item SP 25. \$12.00

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T-Shirts. All cotton, beige, with Oxford shield (in color), quill pen, and "Shakespeare Oxford Society" imprinted. Sizes L, XL only (remainders from 1998 conference). Items SP29-L, SP29-XL. \$10.00 each

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Shakespeare Oxford Society Newsletters
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Dickson (Continued from page 15)

ward reality for traditional Shakespeare scholars. The bottom line is that for nearly nineteen years—from the registration of *Troilus and Cressida* in February 1603 to that for *Othello* in October 1621—only two new canonical plays (*King Lear* in 1608 and *T&C* in 1609) were published in quarto form (*Pericles* is not included in this count).

Stratfordians have no credible explanation for this long drouth in the availability of works of a popular dramatist, especially when seventeen Shakespeare plays were released to publishers between 1594-1603; this is roughly at the rate of two per annum.

The traditional view that the London acting companies usually sold off old plays to obtain revenue, cover the rent, or purchase new curtains, costumes and the like naturally would lead us to expect a steady, actually an increasing “sell off” or release of “old” Shakespearean plays to the book market, rather than this severe drop-off. All the more so, when we consider that the research of Leads Barroll (in *Politics, Plague and Shakespeare's Theater*, 1991) shows that the London theaters were closed for nearly two-thirds of the period from 1603-1613.

Who can deny that this situation (closed theaters) must have translated into severe financial pressure on an acting company? Yet no significant sell-off of Shakespeare

play manuscripts happened after 1603, and equally noteworthy is the fact that the handful of book publishers who did hold title to Shakespearean plays already in print as of early 1603 held on to their ownership rights very tightly, with the transfer of ownership usually requiring an estate sale (see the table on page 15).

Thus, not only did the supply of plays for publication dry up almost completely after 1603, but the resale market for those plays already in print “locks up” or freezes at about the same time—not long before Oxford's death.

While some may caution against categorical conclusions, this pattern is powerful evidence that the so-called “Grand Possessors” of the unpublished plays—as described in the preface to *Troilus and Cressida*—did not wish to release any new plays, and, further, apparently faced no financial pressure to sell any plays after 1603. Those publishers fortunate enough to hold title to those Shakespearean plays already in print were extremely reluctant to part with their ownership after 1603.

Most held on to them for dear life, and most of these plays exchanged hands only when a printer or publisher died, such as James Roberts in 1606, and Cuthbert Burby and Nicholas Ling in 1607. As Robert Brazil has observed in *The True Story of the Shakespeare Publications* (1999), printers

in particular could not pass titles to plays to their children, only to their wives, who—if they were not prepared to continue the business themselves—either remarried another printer eager to acquire more titles, or sold the plays.

Excluding these estate sales or transfers, Edward Blount and Nathaniel Butter were the only publishers able to acquire Shakespearean plays after February 1603 and—prior to Walkley in late 1621—both Blount and Butter retained ownership for roughly another 15 years until they were persuaded to contribute to the First Folio project.

This pattern of a tight or frozen market with little new supply and virtually no resales for nearly two decades is highly suggestive of a situation where few persons expected more plays to be produced by the great Shakespeare—whoever he was.

Oxford's death in 1604 is obviously more compatible with this clear pattern of evidence rather than the Stratford man, who still had twelve more years to live. Some traditional scholars try to side-step this evidence, and also the fact that no post-1603 work is known to have been used as source material by the Bard when composing his dramas. These scholars argue that the incumbent Bard simply had decided to retire to his home in Stratford in 1603 or thereabouts,

(Continued on page 24)

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Dickson (Continued from page 23)

But this strange notion requires us to having Shakespeare “tanking it” at the height of his literary powers in favor of retirement to a provincial backwater to live with his illiterate wife and daughters. As all anti-Stratfordians scholars have emphasized, such an argument strains the powers of credulity.

The nearly twenty-year freeze in the Shakespeare quarto market suddenly cracked on 6 October 1621 when Thomas Walkley registered *Othello* with the Stationers’ Co. in London. The quarto appeared early the following year, just as William Jaggard began to set the type for the First Folio project.

From whom and why was Walkley suddenly able to acquire title to such a remarkable drama? This is a great mystery, but one clue may be that only ten days earlier Mary Herbert, Lady Pembroke, died in London. She was the sister of the famous poet-knight Sir Philip Sidney, and the mother of the Earls of Pembroke and Montgomery, the “Incomparable Paire” to whom the First Folio was dedicated in 1623. Montgomery was also Oxford’s son-in-law through his marriage to Susan de Vere.

Abundant evidence documents the close ties between the de Vere and Herbert families going back to at least 1597 when nego-

tiations for marriages between the children of Oxford and Lady Pembroke began. Furthermore, the third Earl of Southampton, Henry Wriothesley, to whom Shakespeare dedicated his first works—*Venus and Adonis* and *The Rape of Lucrece*—had bonded with the Herbert-Sidney-Leicester-de Vere clique no later than 1603 when King James released him from the Tower.

Did the Grand Possessors (the Herbert-de Vere families) release *Othello* to Walkley in the summer of 1621? Certainly they made *Othello* available to Walkley but why precisely then? Financial pressure could not have been a reason for the sudden decision, because the Herbert family was widely considered to be amongst the wealthiest in the entire realm.

Most likely the decision was connected to and served as a prelude to the comprehensive First Folio project which was underway in early 1622. These decisions coincided with the death of Lady Pembroke in late September 1621, and also the growing crisis over the Spanish marriage negotiations which the Herbert-Southampton-de Vere clique at court strongly opposed. There was a heightened sense of awareness and even paranoia among Anglicans and Puritans in the summer of 1621 that the Henrician-Elizabethan era was slipping away as evidenced in the “creeping Catholicism” asso-

ciated in the public mind with King James’ pro-Spanish foreign policy and plans for a dynastic union with that nation.

Thus it is reasonable to conclude that the dramatic political circumstances—and the death of Lady Pembroke—energized the Grand Possessors to launch the First Folio project in mid-1621 and to release an important, powerful play—*Othello*—in which the villain bears the name Iago. Even though the Earl of Pembroke (William Herbert) had, as Lord Chamberlain, considerable influence over the censorship review process, it was still a bold step and statement since the name “Iago” is the diminutive form for Diego—i.e. James—in Spanish.

This clever—yet still indirect and subtle—indictment of King James’ highly controversial efforts to marry Prince Charles to the sister of the Spanish King Philippe IV could not have been lost on too many theater-goers in the London of 1622-1623.

A year later, immediately following the collapse of the Spanish marriage negotiations, the appearance of the First Folio, with its dedication to the Herbert brothers, represented a political victory—though packaged in an inoffensive fashion to avoid further humiliation of the King—which would have been equally unmistakable to those spotting the Folio in London book stores in early 1624.

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