



The Shakespeare OXFORD Newsletter



Vol. 37: No. 3

"The mind, once expanded to the dimensions of a larger idea, never returns to its original size." Oliver W. Holmes

Fall 2001

Carmel Hosts SOS Conference Marathon Play Day and Debate Highlighted

In the first week of October nearly one hundred Oxfordians converged on Carmel, California for the 25th annual SOS Conference. Stephen Moorer, the Oxfordian director of the Carmel Shakespeare Festival, hosted the event, as he had in 1994.

Conference activities were set in and around the Golden Bough Theater, home of the Pacific Repertory Theater, which launched its 2001 Carmel Shakespeare Festival with the first three English history plays in its "Royal Blood" series – *Edward III*, *Thomas of Woodstock*, and *Richard II*. All papers were presented in the theater, and the Conference finale was a fascinating debate between Prof. Alan H. Nelson (UC Berkeley) and David Roper (Wiltshire, England) about the date of the Henry Peacham document.

The Conference opened with a public introductory talk on the Shakespeare Authorship Question by General Jack Shuttleworth, a retired English professor of the U.S. Air Force Academy. For Gen. Shuttleworth, a major problem with Shakespeare's biography involves his final years. Faulkner, Fitzgerald, Hemingway, and Mozart, to name a few, all kept writing and composing until their deaths – but not Shakespeare. He instead abandoned his creative life at the peak of his powers and retired to Stratford to speculate in grain, sue people, and dabble in real estate. After presenting Oxford's overwhelming case for authorship of the plays, Gen. Shuttleworth concluded with the statement that the Stratford myth is anti-intellectual, scorning the results of education. Why attend school or college when the greatest writer of all

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The Peacham Chronogram

Compelling Evidence Dates *Titus Andronicus* to 1575

By David Roper

Was the Peacham Document – a hand-drawn scene of Shakespeare's Titus Andronicus with a partial transcript and signed "Henricus Peachum" – actually dated 1575? An edited version of David Roper's presentation at the Carmel Conference follows.

The Peacham Document, an Elizabethan manuscript which features a drawing of a scene in Shakespeare's *Titus Andronicus* and some text, takes its name from the signature on the left side. Two other hands have added to it in the recent past, particularly during the 19th Century. At the top you may just be able to see Canon J. E. Jackson's note claiming that the document was

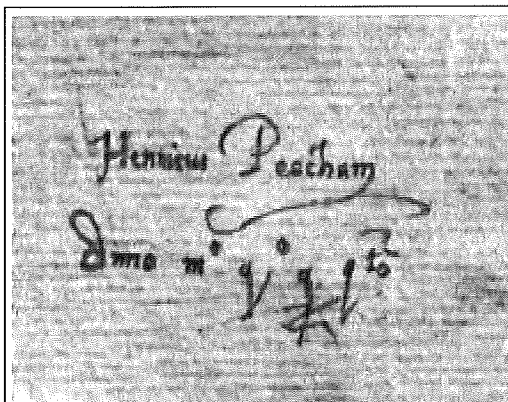
"Written by Henry Peacham, author of the Complete Gentleman." Canon Jackson was at one time the acting archivist for the 4th Marquess of Bath. On the right side, running vertically downwards, is the hand of John Payne Collier. He has written, "Henry Peacham's Hande 1595." Then beside the text there is another note, "So far from Shakspear Titus Andronicus Sc. 2." This note refers to a scene division which Collier adopted in his own edition

of the play. Collier was later denounced as a forger of Shakespearian evidence. His mission in life seems to have been to provide spurious annotations and forged entries to compensate for their obvious lack when researching Shakespeare's literary background.

At present, the Peacham Document is part of the Longleat Portland Papers, and was acquired from the 1st Marchioness of Bath, Elizabeth Cavendish Bentinck, the daughter of the Duchess of Portland. It was Lady Portland who, as Margaret Harley, had been heiress to the collections of the earls of Oxford of the second creation, which was re-established in 1711 with Robert Harley. The Peacham Document is therefore part of the Portland collection that

originated from the Harley Manuscripts, and which included the political papers of Sir Michael Hicks, the principal secretary to Lord Burghley. It was from among Hicks' papers that the Peacham Document first emerged.

Now look at the finely executed ink drawing at the top. The caption beneath it explains the scene. "Enter Tamora pleading for her sons going to execution." Because



Detail of the Peacham Document, showing the Latin "chronogram" or abbreviation that dates it

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First Folio Fetches \$6 Million

On October 9, a first edition copy of *Shakespeare's Comedies, Histories and Tragedies*, published in 1623 and known today as the "First Folio," sold at auction for \$6,166,000 at Christie's, New York. It sold for nearly twice as much as its estimate, and set a world record for the highest price paid for a work by Shakespeare and for a 17th Century book sold at auction.

*"The First Folio has been
dubbed the most important
book in English literature..."*

Although approximately 300 copies of the First Folio survive, relatively few are complete and in fine condition, and even fewer of such copies (about sixteen) are in private hands. That is why this particular edition, owned by rare book collector Abel E. Berland, commanded such a high price. Only one page of the Berland Folio was not original – the Droeshout engraving of Shakespeare – added in 1913 by a bookseller.

The entire Berland book collection was auctioned over a two-day period and earned over \$14 million. The sale also included copies of the Second, Third and Fourth Folio editions, and before the auction, all four were exhibited together at London's New Globe Theatre.

Shakespeare's First Folio has been dubbed the most important book in English literature and one of the most important books in all of literature, primarily because

it was the first time that eighteen Shakespeare plays had appeared in print.

The First Folio is also the genesis of the attribution of Shakespeare's authorship to the Stratford Man. The engraved portrait after the title page was the first visual image of the playwright, and he was dressed as a commoner. In the prefatory material, Shakespeare was referred to as the "fellow" of actors Heming and Condell, dubbed "the sweet swan of Avon" by Ben Jonson, and the poem by Leonard Digges made reference to "thy Stratford monument." At about the same time the Folio was published, a monument to "Shakespeare" was erected in Holy Trinity Church, Stratford. These five elements contributed to the impression that Shakespeare was a commoner who hailed from Stratford-upon-Avon. And so the myth was born.

Affirmation in print of the myth appeared only seven years after the Folio publication, in *A Banquet of Jests* by Anonimos.

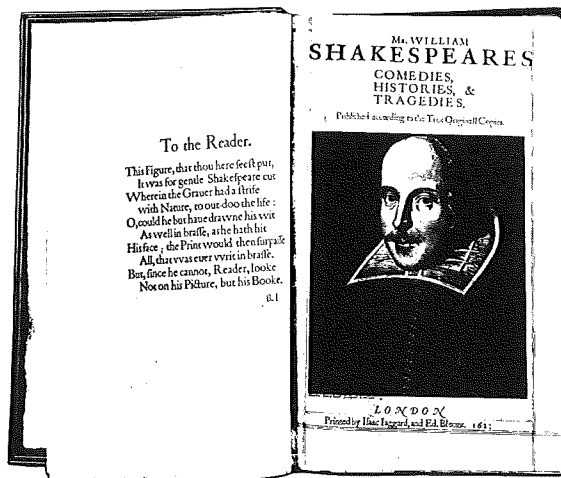
Stratford upon Avon. One travelling through Stratford upon Avon, a town most remarkable for the

birth of famous
William
Shakespeare...

It is entirely possible that if the First Folio had been published without the engraving and prefatory material, then posterity would have never connected Shakespeare with Stratford-upon-Avon.

Shakespeare's status in Britain as

"Man of the Millennium" was certainly reflected in the price of this edition of his collected works. A similarly "immaculate" copy of the First Folio sold for £155 at a Sotheby's auction in 1847.



*A copy of the First Folio,
reproduced by permission of
The Huntington Library, San Marino, CA.*

SOS Conference (cont'd from front page)

time achieved his genius by osmosis, and the so-called "tavern of universal knowledge"?

Barbara Burris presented new information on the Ashbourne portrait of Shakespeare, obtained from a 300-page document on the portrait's restoration at the Folger Shakespeare Library. Based on this evidence, Burris believes that the portrait was not legitimately restored, but was repainted to prove that Sir Hugh Hammersley – and therefore not Oxford – was the sitter. The coat of arms had been uncovered and then covered again, and restorer Peter Michaels apparently was ordered not to remove the overpainting on the forehead of the sitter, which would have revealed a full head of hair. Also, restoration photos, Charles Barrell's x-rays, and Mr. Michaels' own examination reveal that the key evidence pointing to Hammersley – a surviving portion of the motto on the coat of arms – was a complete fabrication, as all lettering had been obliterated. The fact that Michaels was found murdered on a Baltimore street during his Folger employment added further



*The Horatio Society came out in full force at Carmel (L to R):
Randall Sherman, Katherine Chiljan, John Hamill, Joan Leon,
Ramón Jiménez, Sandy Hochberg, Scott Fanning*

directly to the Barons Digby via Southampton's granddaughter, Elizabeth Wriothesley, and that he is the figure in white, known as the "bridegroom."

Dr. Paul Altrocchi presented a fascinating analysis of the Elizabethan portrait known for centuries as "Queen Elizabeth in a Fantastic Habit," but later retitled "Portrait of a Woman . . . in a loose white Oriental dress richly embroidered," now hanging at Hampton Court Palace. Although the portrait has never been x-rayed, most scholars agree that the sitter was depicted as pregnant, and that it had been extensively overpainted. Dr. Altrocchi theorized that the overpainting was meant to minimize the obviousness of her pregnancy, and to cover all signs that she was the "Virgin Queen." An "R" for *regina* on the sitter's veil had been wiped out, as well as a building that was probably a recognizable royal residence. In pointing out several curious elements in the painting – a walnut tree, pansies, three Latin phrases, a weeping stag, and wedding rings on the sitter's chain, among others – Dr. Altrocchi asserted that the portrait supported the theory proposed by Dorothy and Charlton

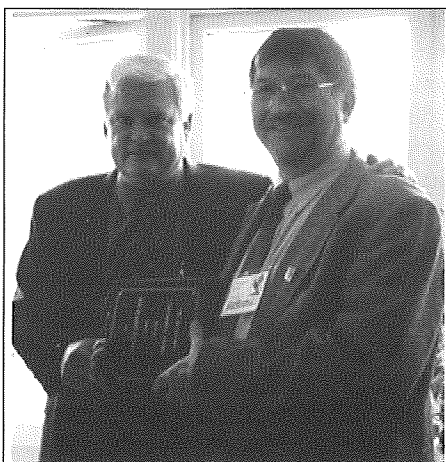
Ogburn, Sr. that Oxford and Queen Elizabeth were betrothed and had produced a child, which was then given up for adoption by a noble family. The painting – dated c. 1594 and attributed to Marcus Gheeraedts the younger – would have been commissioned by Oxford to express his ever-suffering grief at the Queen's injustice, and perhaps to record it for posterity. The painting also features a poem on the lower right that echoes Oxford's early poetry.

Scott Fanning's talk focused on Shakespeare's understanding of pre-scientific psychology by the use of shadows and ghosts in *Hamlet*. Fanning sees Horatio as a clear example of a modern scientist, one who doesn't believe that a non-material entity can influence a material world, like Sir Francis Bacon. Hamlet was compelled to prove to Horatio that the irrational exists, that the "emotions of the soul" create

human action, a concept important to the Italian Renaissance artists, who first captured human emotion on canvas. Oxford may have gleaned these concepts from his extensive travels in Italy.

Stephanie Hughes' talk took a close look at the connection between Hamlet's knowledge of the Copernican theory and Oxford's proximity to the sources that could have provided Hamlet with his knowledge: books in Sir Thomas Smith's library, and a close connection, through Burghley, with the translator of Palingenius, the first work in English to describe the cosmos as infinite.

Charles Boyle's talk rebutted Diana Price's 1996 *Elizabethan Review* article that attempted to refute the theory that the Earl of Southampton may have been the child of Oxford and Elizabeth I. Boyle drew on the 1997 SOS Newsletter article, "Writing History" in making the case that Price herself interpreted history every bit as much as those whom she takes to task in her article by preferring what she calls "interpretive evidence" over "documentary evidence." Prof. Ren Draya's paper was a survey of games and gaming in Elizabethan



*Aaron Tatum presents the President's
Award to Richard Desper*

intrigue to the portrait's history. Burris also believes that the sitter's dress dates the portrait about twenty years earlier than supposed.

SOS Conference (cont'd from p. 3)

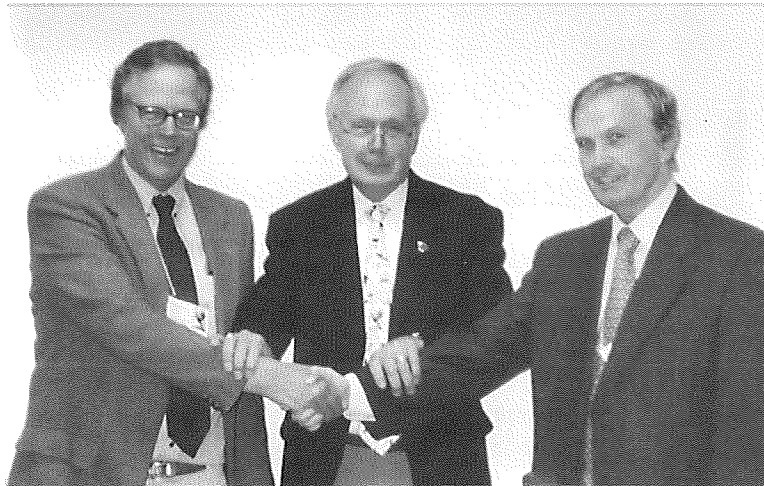
times, which noted that Shakespeare's depiction of Prince Hal enjoying games made him appear more human, unlike his previous images as either a hero or a tyrant. Bill Farina presented a slide show highlighting Oxford's Italian journey, noting the likelihood that Oxford had visited Titian's house where hung his famous painting of the Rape of Lucrece, which is clearly described in Shakespeare's poem.

Prof. Alan H. Nelson presented excerpts from his biography of Oxford, which will be published in 2002. He focused on Oxford at the time of Queen Elizabeth's death in March, 1603. The Queen's inability to name a successor necessitated the formation of a "Great Council" to proclaim the succession of James VI of Scotland. The Lord Mayor, all peers and bishops assembled at Westminster, but Oxford wasn't there. Neither the handwritten draft proclamation nor its first printed issue were signed by Oxford. It was only on the second printed issue – a few days later – that Oxford's name appeared. Prof. Nelson theorized that Robert Cecil had signed Oxford's name, written unlike his previous signatures, to give the appearance of unity. Oxford's alleged plan to thwart James' succession (as described by Sir John Peyton and the Earl of Lincoln) could explain why his name was absent from the royal proclamation. Prof. Nelson also stated that Oxford did not die of the plague, as there were few outbreaks at the time of his death, but he was dead as of June 27, 1604 because his name did not appear on the list of peers eligible to sit in the House of Lords.

Brian Hicks, President of the De Vere Society, presented plans for the 400th anniversary of Oxford's death, in 2004. The facilities at St. John's College, Cambridge, where Oxford attended, have been secured as the venue. The estimated cost will be \$130 per day for attendees. The convergence of this event and the scheduled release date of Michael Peer's feature film portraying Oxford as Shakespeare is indeed auspicious.

Charles, Earl of Burford, regrettably unable to attend the Conference, sent his greetings and a brief message in a video that was shown at the Friday evening banquet. The video opened with a tour of Otley Hall, a beautifully preserved early Tudor mansion, hosted by the present owner, Nicholas Hagger. The Earl of Oxford was related to its former owner, Bartholomew Gosnold, and Hagger theorized that he may have had a hand in the building of the Hall's playhouse in 1588. Today the Hall is both a residence and commercial meeting place, and houses the De Vere Society library.

In his message, Lord Burford stated that



Alan H. Nelson (l) and David Roper (r) join hands with moderator Jack Shuttleworth after their debate on the Peachan Document

for him the tragic events of September 11 brought Shakespeare's concept of sovereignty – the force of individual destiny, be it people or nations – into clearer focus. Sovereignty is a strong theme in Shakespeare's plays, and the characters that either possess it or win it usually do so by sacrificing the ego to the spirit, like Prospero, Hamlet, and Lear. "Imperialism exalts the ego at the expense of the individual and brings terror in its wake," said Burford. Shakespeare's usurpers – Edmund, Claudius, Angelo, Richard III – exemplify imperialism, but even their most destructive acts end up working toward the renewal of society. "There is some soul of goodness in things evil with men observing to distill it out" (*Henry V*). Burford ended his talk by announcing the formation of the Renaissance Institute, which will promote the publication of Oxfordian and

Shakespeare Authorship-related material (submissions of fiction and non-fiction are encouraged, c/o Otley Hall). Randall Sherman, Leonard Holihan, Lord Burford and Mr. Hagger formed the Institute on September 11.

On Saturday conferees were treated to the first round of the Pacific Repertory Theater's four-year "Royal Blood" series of ten plays depicting the century-long struggle for England's crown, nine of them by Shakespeare and the tenth still in dispute. The marathon day started with an introductory talk by Richard Desper, and then a stunning performance of *Edward III*

in the intimate Circle Theater. With none of the one hundred seats more than three rows from the stage, the audience – nearly all of them Oxfordians – enjoyed a close-up view of Edward's successful invasion of France and his unsuccessful attempt to seduce the Countess of Salisbury. All the principal roles were expertly played in this rarely produced three-hour drama of ringing Shakespearean dialogue, punctuated by tender wooing, clanging sword-fights, and comic relief.

After lunch and an introductory talk by Stephanie Hughes, conferees were entertained in the Golden Bough Theater by a spirited performance, complete with a horse on stage, of the even more rarely produced *Thomas of Woodstock*. This anonymous play about the early years of Richard II's reign and the murder of his uncle, Thomas Woodstock, Edward III's youngest surviving son, fits neatly into the gap in the Shakespeare histories between *Edward III* and *Richard II*. Most Oxfordians would place it within the Shakespearean canon, although not among the first rank of history plays.

That same evening, the only play of the three to appear in the First Folio, *Richard II*, was offered in the open air Forest Theater after the audience had enjoyed a roast beef dinner under the stars. The story of the young King's struggles with his uncles and

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SOS Conference (cont'd from p. 4)

their sons, and his final deposition and death was a fitting climax to a full day and seventy-five years of English history. If conferees thought their stamina would be tested by three plays in one day, they could only admire the company's talented members, most of whom appeared in all three plays, several in leading parts. The Pacific Repertory Theater's innovative and ambitious "Royal Blood" series will continue for three more seasons, and its opening trio of plays was the perfect accompaniment for the presentation of scholarly papers on the Authorship Question.

The Conference concluded with a stimulating debate between Prof. Nelson and David Roper about the date, the signer, and the significance of the so-called "Peacham Document," a transcription and drawing related to *Titus Andronicus* that has long been accepted as the first illustration of a Shakespeare play. Roper asserted that the document was signed by the scholar and clergyman Henry Peacham the elder, and that he used a standard Latin chronogram, or abbreviation, to indicate a

date of 1575. Although the drawing appears to illustrate the text written below it, neither the text nor the drawing comports with the



*Conference chairman Stephen Moorer
is the director of the Carmel
Shakespeare Festival*

printed version of the play, so they must reflect an earlier version.

Prof. Nelson countered that the signature was that of Henry Peacham the younger

(1576?-1643?) because it matched one of several he used throughout his life, and that the chronogram indicated a date of 1594. He did not dispute the origin of the document, but said that it was not a play manuscript and may have been only a faulty recollection of the play that Peacham the younger had seen or read in 1594 or later. The play's first recorded performance and first printing were in 1594. Peacham the younger was also known as an illustrator.

The correct date of the manuscript, 1575 or 1594, which has obvious significance for the Authorship Question, seemed to depend on the third figure in the chronogram. Roper claimed it was a "g" – a standard abbreviation for anything in the seventh place, such as a "7," deriving from its position as the seventh letter in the alphabet. He interpreted the fourth figure, a "q" followed by a superscript "to," as "quinto," or "five," thus yielding a date of 1575. Nelson's position was that the third figure was not a "g," but a "q," and that it matched the "qs" in the written text, but did

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The Trout De Vere Album

Rare Book Collector Made Rare Find

By Katherine Chiljan

Discovered at a New York city auction several years ago was a curious scrapbook with the handwritten title, *The De Veres, Earls of Oxford, 1066-1703. Their Homes, Associates, etc. during the lives of twenty earls in succession. Shewing their close relationship with the dramatis personae of the writings currently known as "The Plays of William Shakespeare;" the court of Queen Elizabeth; with portraits of some of the sovereigns under whom they served; historical characters, literary men, actors, etc., particularly those who under the Queen followed the leadership of Edward de Vere, 17th Earl of Oxford (1550-1604).* Beneath the title is a color drawing of the Oxford shield, with blue boar and motto, "Vero Nihil Verius." The album is folio size with leather binding and holds 104 pages.

Leonard Hansen, a rare book collector, purchased the album for \$20. He knew nothing about the De Veres, but it had a lot of nice pictures and prints. He also was not familiar with the Shakespeare Authorship Question, or its leading claimant, the 17th Earl of Oxford.

The album sat in Hansen's collection (of several thousand volumes) for years, until a friend, a Shakespeare instructor, informed him about the Authorship Question. He warned Hansen against getting involved in it. Although eventually Hansen overcame his friend's advice (thanks to the Oxfordian case brought before Supreme Court justices in 1987), he still knew nothing about the man who compiled the album, R. Ridgell Trout. Still hoping for answers, Hansen brought the album, held in a brown paper bag, to the Carmel Conference; it caused a sensation, and he did find someone who had heard of Trout.

Capt. Ridgell R. Trout was an early Oxfordian who submitted several pieces to the *Shakespearean Authorship Review*, the quarterly publication of the English Oxfordian group, The Shakespearean Authorship Society. The Society was a 1959 reincarnation of the Shakespeare Fellowship, founded by Sir George Greenwood and B.R.

Ward in 1922. According to the *Review*, Trout was a "highly esteemed member" and "an authority on the family history of the De Veres."

Trout frequented the London book and manuscript auctions, and he owned several documents once in the possession of Shakespeare authority J.O. Halliwell-Phillips. The Spring, 1964, issue of the *Review* reported that when Captain Trout had become blind, he "regretfully decided to sell his remarkable collection of books,"



Ceiling boss that once decorated a favorite De Vere inn, the Black Boy

which included two bound volumes of his unpublished work, "and an album of type-written notes on the De Veres." Perhaps the album Mr. Hansen found was part of the sale.

The Trout Album consists of over 250 items relating to the De Veres and the Shakespeare plays that are, for the most part, glued or scotch-taped onto the album pages; Trout's handwritten commentary appears on several pages. Nearly ninety items are 18-19th Century engraved portraits of Renaissance figures, including several from John Thane's (died 1818) famous collection of portrait-autographs of "Royal and Illustrious Personages."

There are numerous photographs, including several old postcard photos of

Castle Hedingham and the Vere tombs at Bures, Suffolk. There is an original photo of a 14th Century helmet, originally fixed atop a Vere tomb, and a large photo of the Stratford monument, taken in 1864; underneath it, Trout wrote, "note the upright stone pen which was being examined by a youth from Oxford who dropped and smashed it. Subsequent photographs show the lead pen."

The album contains several unique items of interest: a small print of Oxford's crest that appears to have been cut out from a 16th Century edition of Anthony Munday's *Zelauto*, and several photostats of George Gascoigne's signature, as Trout believed that Gascoigne was one of Oxford's pen names. Trout's album contains numerous drawings that he made of De Vere houses, crests, churches, effigies and tombs. He also sketched a piece for a future oil painting, entitled, "Edward de Vere, Earl of Oxford, is brought armed into Queen Elizabeth's presence chamber by two ladies, after winning the tournament," an event known to have taken place.

Trout also found and photographed a carved wood ceiling boss from the original 14-15th Century hostel, the Black Boy, in Chelmsford, "where the Earls of Oxford stayed in semi-regal style when journeying to London. Pulled down many years ago. A new – the present – Black Boy was erected some distance away." As of 1953, the boss – decorated with a blue boar and seven Vere stars – was in the Chelmsford Archives.

The collection also includes original manuscripts: a 17th Century letter written by Anne, daughter of the 5th Lord Dudley, to her aunt, Lady Hatton, and an 18th Century receipt of £30 issued from the Crown to Vere, 1st Baron Vere of Hanworth, son of the 1st Duke of St. Albans and a famous captain.

When news of the Trout Album reached England, Charles Burford informed us that a similar album by Trout belongs to the Shakespearean Authorship Trust Library, which is housed together with the De Vere

(cont'd on p. 23)

Oxfordian News

A Second Oxford-Owned Book at the Folger

Washington D.C.

It has been confirmed that there is a second book once owned by Edward de Vere at the Folger Shakespeare Library, Francesco Guicciardini's *La Historia d'Italia*, 1565 (first published in 1561). Elizabeth Walsh, head of the Folger's reader services, said that the book "is a quarto-sized volume of approximately 475 pages bound in brown leather. On the front and back boards of the volume is stamped the insignia of the boar used by Edward de Vere, 17th Earl of Oxford. The volume was acquired by the Folger in 1975 from Henry Lyon, an antiquarian bookseller in London. Inside the front cover of the volume, a bookseller (not known if it was Lyon) has written 'the Earl of Oxford probably purchased this book on his famous journey to Italy 1575-6.' Also, in the same hand is noted that this was once in the Library of

the Duke of Newcastle. The book bears the bookplate of the Royal Society of Literature."

John R. Hale, editor of the 1964 English translation of the book, described Guicciardini as "the greatest historian between Tacitus in the first century and Voltaire and Gibbon in the eighteenth, and ... one of the greatest of all writers of contemporary history ... Study of his manuscript notes has shown him to be the first historian to have based his work on original documents and to have treated his sources in a critical manner ... Perhaps he will always remain an historian's historian – his mature work ... is ponderous, immensely detailed and without purple patches ... but we can at last bring a full understanding to bear on what is still [quoting another historian] 'from the point of view of intellectual power, the most

important work to have issued from an Italian mind.'" The discovery of this book adds to Oxford's picture as an immensely well-read man, one interested in the truth of events. The bloodthirsty wastrel playboy is beginning to fade. The other Oxford-owned book discovered at the Folger is a copy of the Geneva Bible. (Thanks to Nina Green and Prof. Alan Nelson for passing on this information.)

-Stephanie Hopkins-Hughes

Authorship Debate: The Smithsonian (Resident Associates) will sponsor a debate on the Authorship Question on the evening of January 29, 2002. Gail Paster, English professor (George Washington University) and editor of the *Shakespeare Quarterly*, is the advocate for Shakespeare, and Richard Whalen, former SOS president and author of *Shakespeare: Who Was He?*, will present the case for Edward de Vere. They will be cross-examined by two renowned trial lawyers, Robert S. Bennett (former counsel to President Clinton and Caspar Weinberger) and E. Barrett Prettyman, Jr., senior partner at Hogan and Hartson and recent inspector general of the District of Columbia. The moderator will be William F. Causey of Nixon Peabody LLP. A discussion and audience verdict will follow the debate. Jefferson Auditorium at the Department of Agriculture, 6:30-9:00 pm. For more information, visit <http://residentassociates.com/com/writer.asp>.

Chicago

Since its formation in April 2000 by Bill Farina and Marion Buckley, the Chicago Oxford Society has sponsored quarterly Oxfordian events. On September 8, Dr. Frank Davis, a retired neurosurgeon, spoke on "Shakespeare's Knowledge of Medicine: A Factor in the Authorship Question?" He demonstrated the extensiveness of Shakespeare's medical knowledge, and showed how Oxford would have had access to that same knowledge through his teachers and education. Dr. Davis' lecture was

(cont'd on p. 18)

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“Rebellion broachéd on his sword” New Evidence of an Early Date for *Henry V*

By Ramón Jiménez

Part two of Jiménez's three-part series on the Henry trilogy. This paper was presented at the SOS Carmel Conference.

For more than a hundred years, one of the anchor bolts of Stratfordian scholarship has been the conviction that the composition date of Shakespeare's *Henry V* can be fixed in 1599 – in the spring of 1599, to be exact. This is the moment, as it were, that orthodox critics claim that Shakespeare must have written the Chorus to Act V, in which appears the passage:

Were now the General of our gracious Empress,
As in good time he may, from Ireland coming,
Bringing rebellion broachéd on his sword . . .

It is claimed that this passage refers to Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex, who departed London in March of 1599 to put down a serious Irish rebellion. (*The Oxford English Dictionary* cites this use of the verb “broach” to support the definition, “To stick [something] on a spit or pointed weapon.”)

However, a reconsideration of the meaning and background of this passage reveals that it does not refer to Essex at all, and was not written in 1599, but at least fifteen years earlier, when *Henry V* was first seen by an Elizabethan audience.

The Cronicle History of Henry the fift was first mentioned in the Stationers' Register on August 4, 1600, and then printed in quarto form by Thomas Creede later in the month. Quartos Two and Three appeared in 1602 and 1619, and the play was next printed in the First Folio in 1623.

The Quarto versions are nearly identical to each other, but they are only about half as long as the Folio text. The Quartos eliminate or transpose several entire scenes; they cut or shorten all the longer speeches, and they cut the Epilogue and all five distinctive speeches by the Chorus that introduce and explain each act before the characters take the stage. In the last three hundred and fifty years, no company has acted the Quarto

version.¹

There is still some dispute about which was written first, the Quarto or the Folio version, but a consensus has emerged that the text printed in the First Folio was the author's original composition, and that the Quarto version was extracted from his copy, and then printed in 1600.² How, why, and by whom the Quarto version was derived from the original are also in dispute. The usual theories abound: playhouse piracy, memorial reconstruction, abridgement for playing on tour, etc. But for the present issue it does not matter. The best evidence is that the play was written, then cut, then played, and then printed in that order. The question is: When was all this done?

The orthodox dating of the composition of *Henry V* to the spring of 1599 is based upon a passage spoken by the Chorus prior to Act V, in which he describes the journey of Henry V from Agincourt, where he had just defeated the French, to Calais, to the English coast, and finally to London. The Chorus compares the crowds that poured out to meet him in London to those who swarmed after Julius Caesar when he returned victorious from Spain to Rome in 45 B.C. E.:

But now behold,
In the quick forge and working-house of thought,
How London doth pour out her citizens.
The Mayor and all his brethren in best sort,
Like to the senators of th'antique Rome
With the plebeians swarming at their heels,
Go forth and fetch their conquering Caesar in;
II. 22-28

The Chorus then introduces another comparison, one that might be similar, but that has not yet taken place:

As, by a lower but as loving likelihood,
Were now the General of our gracious Empress,
As in good time he may, from Ireland coming,
Bringing rebellion broachéd on his sword,
How many would the peaceful city quit
To welcome him!

II. 29-34

As T.W. Craik writes in the latest Arden



Thomas Butler, Earl of Ormond

edition of the play, “Nearly everyone agrees that in these lines ‘the General’ is Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, a popular figure because of his successful assault on Cadiz in 1596.”³ Another commentator states, “The likening of Essex to Henry V by Shakespeare himself in the chorus of the Folio version is indisputable.”⁴ Even the maverick scholar Eric Sams agrees that the passage refers to Essex, and adds that he was “the only living person to whom Shakespeare ever alluded anywhere in his work.”⁵ He seems to have overlooked the woman in the same line – Queen Elizabeth.

However, it is not only *not* indisputable that the passage refers to Essex, it is very likely wrong. There are at least five pieces of evidence to support this conclusion.

Evidence Against Essex as “the General”

It is true that in early 1599 Elizabeth faced the most serious Irish rebellion of her reign. It had been building for seven years under the leadership of the perennial rebel,

Hugh O'Neill, 2nd Earl of Tyrone, who had captured an English fort in August of 1598 and overrun the province of Munster in October.

It is true that early the next year, after much dithering, and in response to his own intense lobbying, Elizabeth placed Robert Devereux in charge of a large army and dispatched him to Ireland to finally put an end to the rebellion. In his usual flamboyant style, Essex left London late in March of 1599 with great fanfare and a huge retinue.

But Essex not only did *not* bring back rebellion on his sword, he failed of his mission entirely. After landing at Dublin in mid-April, he embarked on a stumbling and lackluster campaign in the southern counties, and returned to Dublin early in July with a sick and depleted army. A frustrated Elizabeth ordered him to march to the north and attack Tyrone, but when the Earl set out a month later, he had trouble finding him, and when he did, he was reluctant to attack because Tyrone's army was twice the size of his.

Finally, in early September, Tyrone proposed a truce and Essex agreed to it – an act that Elizabeth angrily repudiated. Essex hurried back to England, sneaked into London with a small party, and then burst unannounced into Elizabeth's bedroom to explain himself. She apparently received him amicably, but by midnight he was under house arrest, and he never saw her again. A few months later he was imprisoned, and then put on trial for his actions in Ireland, including bargaining with a traitor.⁶

Obviously this was not the episode the playwright had in mind when he suggested that the "General of our gracious Empress" may soon be coming from Ireland "Bringing rebellion broachéd on his sword." No one could have known what would happen in Ireland, but because of this embarrassing outcome, the period during which this passage would have to have been written was only about three months – from late March, when Essex departed for Ireland, to late June, when word began to reach London that his campaign was headed for disaster.

It strains credulity that a reference of this kind to a general who had set out with such fanfare, and then almost immediately come to grief – then scurried back to England

and had been arrested for his conduct, not to mention his attempted *coup d'état* the next year, followed by his execution – could have remained in the text, and allowed into print by the editors of the First Folio.

The second reason why it is most improbable that the passage was written in 1599 and refers to Essex is the printing history of *Henry V*. The First Quarto appeared in August of 1600, just about sixteen months after the alleged composition date. As already mentioned, the entire Chorus part and half the remaining dialogue in the Folio version were absent from the Quarto, making it, in effect, a two-hour version of a three-hour play. According to Andrew Gurr, its latest editor, the Quarto gives every appearance of a play that has been deliberately cut for performance by its owners, and its immediate printing is a mark of its authority as an official version.⁷

Thus, the Stratfordian theory produces the unlikely scenario of Shakespeare writing a three-hour play that is cut almost immediately for performance in two hours by his Lord Chamberlain's Men, and the cut version then printed. Surely the correct history of the composition, the staging, and the printing of Shakespeare's *Henry V* cannot be found in this sixteen-month period.

What is much more likely is that the longer Folio version was written, and probably performed, at some earlier date, perhaps for a private audience. When that version was found to be too long for popular consumption – and to have too many characters for the ordinary playing company – it was cut by a third for performance in the late 1590s, and then printed. The earlier and longer version survived in the author's cupboard, and then in the library of the Grand Possessors. As with so many other Shakespearean manuscripts, it only reached print in the First Folio.

The third reason why the passage does not refer to Essex in 1599 has to do with Queen Elizabeth's own feelings about the Earl. For all her attraction to him, the Queen's fifteen-year relationship with Essex was as stormy as her own temperament, and as erratic as his, and she was always suspicious of his potential claim to the throne. An example of this is what happened to the historian John Hayward,

who published a prose history of Henry IV early in 1599, to which he attached a fawning dedication in Latin to the Earl of Essex. The Queen took the words of the dedication to suggest that if Henry IV had had as strong a hereditary claim to the throne as Robert Devereux had now, he would have been more readily accepted as King after the death of Richard II. This, she said, was treason, and called for Hayward to be "racked."⁸ Her counselor, Francis Bacon, talked her out of it; but an order was issued that the dedication be cut out of the book. John Hayward was put under surveillance and the next year thrown in the Tower. He was still there when Elizabeth died three years later. Thus the political climate in the spring of 1599 was such that a playwright would take his life in his hands if he so much as mentioned the Earl of Essex in the same breath as Henry IV or Henry V.

The fourth reason why it is improbable that the passage, or any of the Chorus part, was written in 1599 is that its principal message was totally inappropriate to a Shakespeare history play at that time. Beginning with his very first line, and again

"The political climate in the spring of 1599 was such that a playwright would take his life in his hands if he so much as mentioned the Earl of Essex in the same breath as Henry IV or Henry V."

before each act, and finally in the Epilogue, the Chorus continually apologizes for the limitations of his stage, his players, and his theater. By the orthodox reckoning, this was the ninth or tenth Shakespearean history play to reach the stage – a vast panorama of the English past, filled with marches, voyages, scenes in foreign countries, and desperate battles – all reduced to the same modest stage, the same limited company, and the same compressed time period. As J. Dover Wilson wrote, ". . . why should the dramatist suddenly in 1599 begin apologizing

(cont'd on p. 10)

Rebellion (cont'd from p. 9)

for the incapacity of himself and his theatre to cope with a historical theme and battle-scenes, when such things had been one of their chief stocks-in-trade for the past half-dozen years?"⁹ Why indeed? Wilson's only answer to his question is the unpersuasive argument that in *Henry V* Shakespeare had "no ordinary theme."

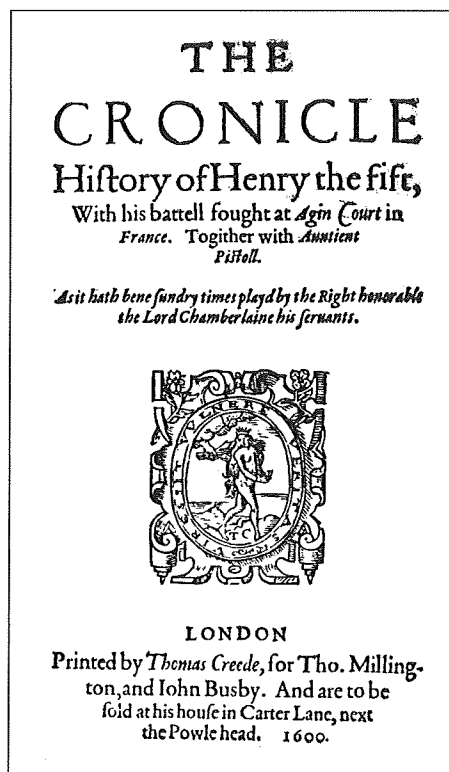
But the most convincing reason why it is unlikely that this passage was written in 1599 about the Earl of Essex has to do with its author.

Anyone who believes that Edward de Vere wrote what we call Shakespeare's *Henry V* may confidently rule out Robert Devereux as the subject of this passage. The long-standing enmity between Essex and the Cecils is a matter of record, and even if Oxford was not always happy with the Cecils, it is clear that by the mid 1590s he wanted nothing to do with Essex. In his October, 1595 letter to Robert Cecil, Oxford rejected a suggestion that he approach the Earl of Essex for a favor, saying that it was "a thing I cannot do in honour, sith I have already received diverse injuries and wrongs from him, which bar me from all such base courses."¹⁰ This makes it most improbable that less than four years later Oxford would refer to the "loving likelihood" that Robert Devereux "the General of our gracious Empress" may in good time be coming from Ireland "Bringing rebellion broached on his sword." But if it was not Essex in 1599, who was it, and when was it? The answer to that will lead us to the composition date of *Henry V*, and perhaps of the *Henry IV* plays.

Although orthodox scholars are unanimous in their dating of *Henry V* to 1599, non-Stratfordians have not agreed on a particular date. There are several allusions in the pamphlets of Thomas Nashe, and in Henslowe's Diary, during the early 1590s, to plays, and passages in plays, that may have been the Shakespearean *Henry IV* and *Henry V* plays. These allusions have been endlessly debated by Stratfordian and Oxfordian scholars, who have reached the usual impasse.

As long ago as 1931 Eva Turner Clark suggested that *Henry V* was written in 1586, and that if "Holland" were substituted for "Ireland," the phrase "returning general" would refer to Robert Dudley, Earl of

Leicester, whom the Queen had dispatched to the Low Countries with an army late in 1585 to counter the incursions by the Spanish.¹¹ But some delving into the history



of Irish rebellion during Elizabeth's reign produces a much more likely scenario.

The Second Desmond Rebellion

Before the protracted revolt of the 1590s, there were two serious uprisings in Ireland—known as the First and the Second Desmond Rebellions. The first took place in the 1560s, and the second developed in the late 1570s under the brothers James, John, and Gerald Fitzgerald, the leaders of the House of Desmond, an ancient Irish earldom in the southern province of Munster.

The Second Desmond Rebellion, also called the Munster Rebellion, was a major conflict that threatened the Crown's authority and possessions in Ireland, and required a substantial mobilization of England's military apparatus. It attracted foreign intervention in the summer of 1579, and again a year later, when small armies of continental troops, described as primarily "Italian swordsmen," landed on the southwestern Irish coast, having been dispatched by Pope Gregory XIII.¹²

In November, 1579, after several years of protracted fighting and unsuccessful attempts at negotiation, the English administrators of colonial Ireland declared the leader of the rebellion, the 46-year-old Gerald, 14th Earl of Desmond, a traitor.¹³ In her attempts to settle her Irish wars with as little expense as possible, Queen Elizabeth routinely offered pardons to even the most persistent rebels if they would lay down their arms and pledge their loyalty. But the Earl of Desmond had deceived and betrayed her too often. (She had pardoned him once before, and he had been in the Tower twice.) Finally conceding that he was an unreclaimable rebel, she declared him ineligible for a pardon, and offered what was called "head money," a thousand pounds for his head.

Over the next few years, several different English commanders led armies into Munster with varying degrees of success, gradually killing or capturing hundreds of the Desmond rebels.

In the summer of 1580, James Fitzgerald was captured, hanged, and drawn and quartered.¹⁴

By May, 1581, the English army in Ireland numbered more than sixty-four

"Queen Elizabeth... was so fond of [Butler] during the 1560s that 'the attentions she paid him ... gave rise to no little scandal.'"

hundred men, and in early January of 1582, the youngest brother, Sir John of Desmond, was ambushed and killed. His turquoise and gold ring was sent to Elizabeth, and his head to the Governor of Ireland, Lord Grey of Wilton, as "a New Year's gift." Grey displayed it on a pole on a wall of Dublin castle.¹⁵

In the summer of 1582, Lady Eleanor, the Countess of Desmond, traveled to Dublin and surrendered to Grey, but the Queen ordered that she be sent back to her husband, "unless she could induce him to surrender unconditionally."¹⁶

Nevertheless, the rebellion dragged on, and in December of 1582, on the advice of Sir Walter Raleigh, Elizabeth appointed Thomas Butler, 10th Earl of Ormond, as Governor of Munster, and her commanding general in Ireland.

Known as "Black Tom" because of his dark hair and complexion, Thomas Butler was the scion of one of the oldest and most prominent families in Ireland, and a major

*"According to tradition,
Queen Elizabeth 'would not
believe the news of
[Desmond's] death until she
saw his head, and when it was
brought to her, she stared
at it for hours...'"*

figure in Anglo-Irish relations throughout Elizabeth's reign. The Butlers had been in Ireland since the end of the twelfth century when Henry II had made grants of land to Theobald Fitzwalter, and given him the hereditary title of *Le Botiler*, the king's chief butler in Ireland—from which the family then took its name.¹⁷ Thomas Butler and Elizabeth Tudor were distant cousins, and were brought up together in the court of Henry VIII, Butler being six years older. Young Tom was a boyhood companion of Edward VI, and at age fifteen was knighted by Edward on his accession to the throne in 1547.

As a staunch supporter of the English colonial presence in Ireland, Butler carried out a variety of diplomatic and military missions there for Queen Elizabeth during the 1560s and 1570s. According to Sidney Lee, she was so fond of him during the 1560s that "the attentions she paid him . . . gave rise to no little scandal, and induced him to linger at court for the next five years."¹⁸

He was active in court politics, being favored by the Cecils and aligned with the Sussex faction against the Earl of Leicester, whom he despised. In this context, he would

have become acquainted with young Edward de Vere, who came to court in 1562.

When Thomas Butler arrived in Ireland in January 1583 to deal with the Desmond Rebellion, the situation in Munster had deteriorated badly. With two thousand men and two hundred horse, the Earl of Desmond was stronger than ever, threatening loyalist towns and ravaging the countryside.¹⁹ But a vigorous campaign by Butler during the spring and summer forced most of the individual rebel leaders to surrender, and reduced the rebellion to a small band of men loyal to Desmond.

By November Desmond had retreated into the area of Tralee in County Kerry, in the southwest corner of Ireland. Desperate for food and horses, twenty of his men raided the farm of the O'Moriarty family and stole some horses, household goods, and forty cows. The next evening two of the O'Moriarty brothers organized a posse of two dozen men and picked up the trail of the stolen cattle in pursuit of the rebels.

The following details are from a deposition taken a few days after this incident.²⁰

After following the trail by moonlight into the woods of Glenageenty, some six miles inland from Tralee, the pursuers spotted smoke coming from a cabin at the bottom of the glen. They waited until dawn and then crept down and burst into the cabin. All the men but one rushed away, and one of the pursuers struck him with his sword, wounding him severely.

"I am the Earl of Desmond," he cried. "Save my life."

"Thou hast killed thyself long ago," said Owen O'Moriarty. "And now thou shalt be prisoner to the Queen's Majesty and the Earl of Ormond, Lord General of Munster."²¹ They dragged him outside, but they had to carry him because he was unable to walk. Afraid of being captured because Desmond's men were nearby, they beheaded the Earl and made their escape.

Desmond's head was taken to Thomas Cheston, constable of Castlemaine, "who brought it on his sword point to the Earl of Ormond in Cork."²² In his letter to Lord Burghley recounting the death, Thomas Butler wrote, "So now is this traytor come to the ende I have longe looked for, apointed by God to dye by the sword to ende his

rebellion . . ."²³ The summary of Ormond's subsequent letter to Burghley contains the brief sentence: "Sends Desmond's head by the bearer."²⁴ According to tradition, Queen Elizabeth "would not believe the news of the earl's death until she saw his head, and when it was brought to her, she stared at it for hours."²⁵ In mid-December of 1583 she had it mounted on a pole and placed on London Bridge.²⁶ As we know, the heads of criminals on London Bridge were nothing unusual, but this rebel's head was sent from Ireland to London by a general who had been dispatched there to put down a rebellion.

What more striking metaphor could Oxford have used for this grisly incident than "Rebellion broachéd on his sword"?

Thus, all the elements in the famous passage are identified and associated with actual events and people. The "general of our gracious Emprress" being Thomas Butler, 10th Earl of Ormond, a favorite of the Queen, who appointed him Lord General of her forces in Ireland. "As in good time he may, from Ireland coming," referring to his

*"If this analysis is correct, it
places the composition
of the... Chorus role in
Henry V, and very
probably of the play itself,
not in 1599, but in the
winter of 1583/84..."*

mission in Ireland, and suggesting that he may yet come to London in triumph, as did Henry V. When he had not come by the end of January, Queen Elizabeth wrote him in her own hand on the 31st congratulating him on his success, and asking that he come to England to receive her thanks. For political reasons his return was delayed, but he finally returned to London about the middle of May, 1584.²⁷

If this analysis is correct, it places the composition of the Chorus's lines prior to Act V, and of the remainder of the Chorus role in *Henry V*, and very probably of the

(cont'd on p. 21)

Who is Buried in Shakespeare's Grave?

By John Hamill

I wish to relate a short story which should be of significance to Oxfordians. It demonstrates how easy it is to be misled and how easy it is to do some minimal inquiry to clarify an issue. I had simply questioned a small but significant Stratfordian point and attempted to get an answer. It is something that any of us can do and it does not take a Ph.D. or voluminous time to research.

Prior to this experience, I had believed, as most do, that Shakspeare was buried in an unmarked grave in the chancel of Holy Trinity Church, in his native Stratford-upon-Avon. This is what all the major biographies of Shakespeare state, yet it always had puzzled me – why would a supposedly famous and wealthy writer and merchant be buried in an unmarked grave? But, I accepted it. Peter Dickson did not. He raised the issue that there was some question as to who is buried in the unmarked grave that has the famous doggerel poem:

Good Frend for Jesus sake forbear,
to digg the dust enclosed heare.
Bleste be ye man yt spares thes stones,
and curst be he yt moves my bones.

Up until then, I had assumed that the Stratford Church had records, or some other evidence, proving that Shakspeare was buried there. Certainly, as a wealthy man, he could have afforded to be buried in front of the altar, as was the rest of his family. I had also understood that Shakspeare's wife and daughter were buried on either side of the unmarked grave, and that this reinforced



The gravestone of Shakespeare?

the belief that the tomb between them must be his. But Peter Dickson recently stated that while Anne Hathaway, Shakspeare's wife, is indeed buried on the left side of the unmarked grave, on the right side is buried *not* Shakspeare's daughter, but Thomas Nash, the husband of Shakspeare's granddaughter, Elizabeth Hall. So why is this unmarked grave necessarily Shakspeare's? I looked at the biographies by Schoenbaum and Rowse and could not find any evidence to support it. Plowing through other Shakespeare books, I couldn't even find a photograph showing these three graves. An SOS trustee suggested that I contact the Shakespeare Birthplace Trust in Stratford-upon-Avon for more information.

So I did. I emailed the Trust asking what evidence there is that Shakspeare is buried in the unmarked grave. Robert Bearman, Head of Archives and Local Studies from the Shakespeare Birthplace Trust, replied: "It is quite true that Shakespeare's grave does not bear his name, but, it forms part of a line of his family's ledger stones. It is also close to his monument, and was regarded as his from at least 1656, when antiquarians and travelers began to record their impressions of Stratford."

So the only evidence we have is tradition? And that the grave is close to the monument? There's no documentation? Amazed at this reply, and finding it wanting, I sent Mr. Bearman another email asking him who is buried on either side of the unmarked grave. Mr. Bearman replied: "Thank you for your most recent email enquiring about the graves on either side of Shakespeare's. Anne Shakespeare's grave lies between Shakespeare's and the wall, Thomas Nash's on the other side. Anne's bears the inscription:

Heere lyeth interred the body of Anne,
wife of William Shakespeare,
who departed this life the 6th day of
August, 1623,
being of the age of 67 years.
Ubera tu mater, tu lac, vitamque dedisti,
Vae mihi pro tanto munere saxa dabo,
Quam mallem amoueat lapidem bonus
Angelus ore,
Exeat ut Christi corpus imago tua;
Sed nil vota valent, venias cito Christe,
resurget,
Clausula licet tumulo mater et astra petet.

"This has been translated as:

Milk, life, thou gavest. For a boon so great,
Mother, alas ! I give thee but a stone.
O! might some Angel blest remove its
weight,
Thy form should issue like thy Saviour's
own.
But vain my prayers; O Christ, come quickly,
come!
And thou, my mother, shalt from hence
arise,
Though closed as yet within this narrow
tomb,
To meet thy Saviour in the starry skies.

"Thomas Nash's grave bears the inscription:

Here resteth ye Body of Thomas Nashe Esq.
He mar. Elizabeth the daug. &
Heire of John Halle gent.
He died Aprill 4 A. 1647. Aged 53.

This is all I received from Mr. Bearman.

(cont'd on p. 24)

Book Review

Origins of Genius: Darwinian Perspectives on Creativity. By Dean Keith Simonton, Ph.D. (Oxford University Press, 1999.)

By John M. Shahan

The idea that Shakespeare was a "genius" has long been a key argument for Stratfordians in the authorship debate. Unable to explain the enormous gap between the sublimity of the works and the mundane documentary record of their man, they can always fall back on their old, tried-and-true argument that conceals all faults: "He was a genius." In fact, this argument is circular. Yes, the author was a genius, but was Shakspeare the author? Pressed for evidence of his genius apart from the *assumption* that he wrote the works, they falter.

Yet the argument works for them because the nature of genius is regarded as mysterious and unknowable. Certainly the public seems to have little idea of what one would expect the profile of a creative genius to look like, nor do most well-educated persons. This is a major problem for Oxfordians. It tends to end the discussion just where it should begin. Genius is regarded as a "black box," so people just defer to traditionalists' "expertise." But now a landmark book is out that sheds new light on these mysteries, revealing a profile of artistic genius that seems to fit Oxford much better than Mr. Shakspeare.

Dean Keith Simonton, Professor of Psychology (U.C. Davis), is a leading expert on genius and creativity, with over 230 publications and numerous awards, including the Francis Galton Prize for outstanding contributions to the study of creativity. It is no accident that the title of his book echoes Darwin's *On the Origin of Species*. Creativity, Simonton argues, is the result of a secondary Darwinian process of variation and selection. Creative individuals generate a great wealth of ideas, virtually at random, from which they select a subset to develop – those judged to have the best chance to survive and flourish. Genius is defined not by IQ, but rather by the ability to bequeath an impressive and influential body of work to future generations. He also

uses Darwin, a man who he clearly holds in the highest esteem, as his prime example of a creative genius.

Another genius who he holds in the highest esteem is the author Shakespeare; but his references to Shakespeare are almost entirely to the works, and rarely to the man. He mentions the authorship issue just once, noting that "The best Galton could do for Shakespeare's pedigree is to dig up a lineage for Francis Bacon, a contemporary who some have unsuccessfully claimed to be the real author of the bard's works . . . [but] Shakespeare himself has no pedigree." So

if Simonton's work has implications for the authorship issue, as I believe it does, it is unintentional.

Authorship aficionados will be especially interested in Chapter Four on "Development" and the sections on "character," "personality" and "psychopathology" in Chapter Three. Turning to the findings on development, in the debate over "nature vs. nurture," Simonton comes down firmly on the side of nurture: "The picture looks 'pretty bleak'

(cont'd on p. 20)

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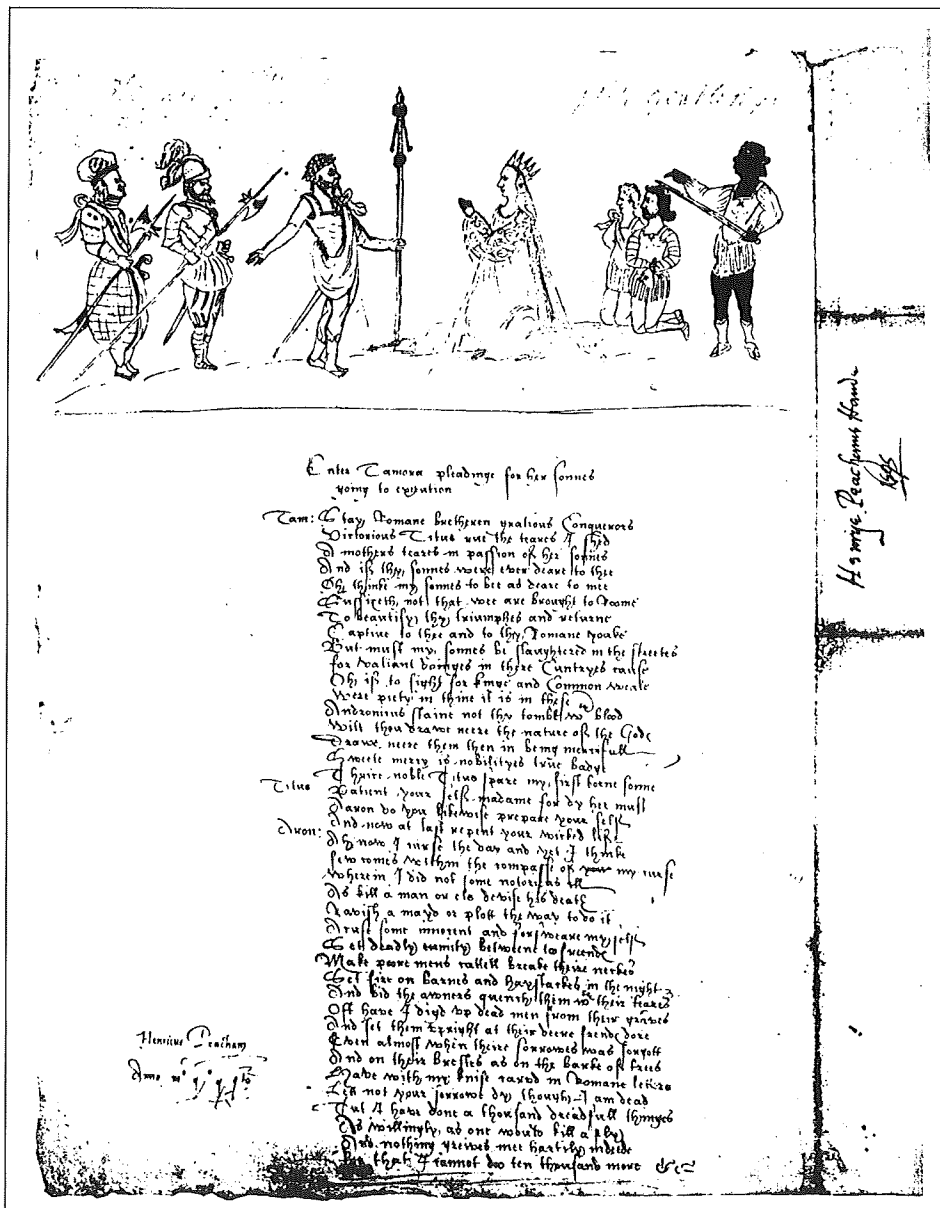
Chronogram (cont'd from front page)

the caption is also a stage direction, and one that aptly fits the action illustrated above, it is not to be confused with a compilation drawing, as some commentators have been compelled to suppose. A compilation drawing is easily recognizable by its attempt to capture the storyline of a play with one single scene. The drawing you see here is quite different, and does nothing whatever to suggest the revenge drama that is about to unfold. Furthermore, as we shall soon discover, the action in the drawing is both supported and described by the dialogue produced beneath it.

There is a problem with it, however: it portrays a scene that does not occur in that same detail in any edition of *Titus Andronicus* known to us. For example, when Tamora pleads for her sons, Aaron is still a prisoner of war, and should be absent from the scene. Yet, there he is on the right, pointing a sword at Tamora's sons. At the same time, Titus' own two sons should be on stage alongside him. In the drawing they are not there. The two figures on the left are merely soldiers, for they are not dressed in the gowns that would make them recognizable as sons of Titus.

This preliminary view of the sketch suggests, only tentatively, of course, that it was copied from a scene that was later altered. If, indeed, that were true, then it would imply a much earlier version of *Titus Andronicus* which has not survived, but from which the modern version of the play was derived.

Now look at the dialogue beneath the picture. The first seventeen lines are Tamora's plea for her sons going to execution – in fact, precisely what is described by the caption, and exactly what is described in the drawing above it. In the currently accepted version of the play, this speech occurs in Act One, Scene One. What follows immediately afterwards is the commencement of Titus' reply. In the play, as we know it, this extends to six lines of dialogue. But on the document, Titus' response appears only as a single line, of which the first three words, "Patient yourself, madam," are found in the first line, and the last three words, "die he must," are drawn from the fifth line. Titus then turns his attention to Aaron, who according to the drawing is on stage, but in the play, as we know it, he is still a prisoner-of-war. Titus then addresses him with two lines of dialogue that do not appear in any version of the play known to us. "Aaron do you likewise prepare yourself / And now repent your wicked life." Aaron replies to this charge made by Titus with a speech of twenty lines that correctly occurs in the modern play, but not until four acts later. And, even there, although Aaron is answering a similar accusation, "Art thou not sorry for these heinous deeds?," it is made this time by Lucius, not Titus. In fact, according to the Peacham Document, Lucius is not even on stage at the time. Then there is the peculiarity of Alarbus, the eldest son of Tamora. He is next to speak. But in each edition of the play, from its first printing in 1594 onwards, Alarbus is mute. He has no dialogue to speak. Yet the copyist of the Peacham Document is about to enter his speaking part, when, having reached the bottom of the page, and with no space left to complete Alarbus' opening remarks, he simply signals him to be the next speaker. This continuation of dialogue, commencing with Alarbus, has also been confirmed by the entry of "et cetera" preceding it. The



The Peacham Document (Longleat House)

words "et cetera" are of particular importance for they confirm the dialogue to be ongoing, as would be the case when a single and continuous extract was being copied from a more extensive script.

These factual discrepancies clearly point to a version of *Titus Andronicus* that is substantially different from all known publications that appeared from 1594 onwards, when the first bad quarto of the play was published anonymously. It therefore suggests, for a second time, that the Peacham Document was copied from a much earlier version of the play, one that is now lost but which predates 1594 by quite a few years.

Let us put the document aside for a moment and consider the possibility of an earlier version of the play from existing external evidence. *Titus Andronicus* was first published in 1594 as a pirated edition. No author's name was mentioned. But the play did claim to have been previously performed by three separate companies – those in service to the Earls of Derby, Pembroke and Sussex. This tends to suggest that the version in print, in 1594, had been around for some years, quite apart from an even earlier and significantly different version, which seems to have provided the subject matter for the Peacham Document.

We can add to this conclusion by repeating Ben Jonson's affirmation, written in 1614, which occurs in his induction to *Bartholomew Fair*: "He that will swear *Jeronimo* or *Andronicus* are the best plays yet, shall pass unexcepted at here as a man whose judgment shews it is constant, and hath stood these five and twenty, or thirty years."

Jonson's first thoughts are to link *Titus Andronicus* with Thomas Kyd's *The Spanish Tragedy* or *Hieronimo is Mad Again*, which was a topical play set at the time of Spain's conquest of Portugal in 1580. His belief that both plays dated back 25 years is then parried by second thoughts, and he quickly concedes that the time span may have been even longer – perhaps 30 years. Insofar as *The Spanish Tragedy* is concerned, this creates no problem, since Kyd's play is usually dated between 1585 and 1589. In fact, Jonson had already referred to this play in *Cynthia's Revels*, published fourteen years earlier: "The

Spanish Tragedy ... departed a dozen years since." In other words, it had completed its first wave of popularity by 1588. But if we link *Titus Andronicus* with Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy*, it starts to create a crisis of belief with regard to the conventional idea of Shakespeare having arrived unknown from a remote town in Warwickshire, and yet being able to have his play immediately performed by a succession of companies. It is not surprising, therefore, to discover that

*"...the Peacham Document was
copied from a much earlier
version of the play, one that is
now lost but which predates
1594 by quite a few years."*

conventional Stratford thinking decrees that Jonson was wrong to describe the play as being that old. This same style of thinking also maintains that the statement on the cover of the first edition of the play, which declared it to have been the property of three acting companies, has been falsely exaggerated. In other words, whenever evidence fails to support Shakespeare's literary connection with Stratford, then devalue the evidence. In modern language, I believe this is referred to as "damage limitation."

Before we look in detail at the date on the Peacham Document, please bear in mind that according to Ben Jonson, the version of *Titus Andronicus* to which he referred was written between 1584 and 1589, and that this time interval is in line with the published statement that this same play had formerly been the property of three separate acting companies prior to its publication in 1594. And do please further recall that the scene drawn at the top of the document, combined with the dialogue underneath, are sufficiently different in both substance and detail from the printed editions of the play as to imply that they were copied at a much earlier date from a pre-existing version.

I ask you to bear these facts to mind because if the sum of this evidence is correct, then the date on the Peacham Document is

likely to be considerably earlier than 1594, and would not be out of place in the early 1580s, or perhaps even the 1570s. We shall also need to give particular importance to the Latin form of dating on the document. This was a medieval response to the need for abbreviations. It required that the initial letter of a word be written in the normal manner, followed by the final letter, or letters as a superscript. Many examples of this practice subsequently found their way into the English language; one of the more interesting is the name William Shakespeare. This has been abbreviated to "W^m Sh^r" and occurs on the title page of a copy of Ovid's *Metamorphosis*, now in the Bodleian Library. Was some scholar from the past reminding himself of the translator, I wonder? Even in our own day it is still possible to find examples of N^o for Number, i.e., Numero. The date on the Peacham Document should therefore be an easy matter to interpret. Let us look at some of the possibilities.

Dates considered in relation to Peacham's chronogram:

1615	millesimo sexcentesimo quinto decimo m ^o s ^o q ^{to} d ^o
1614	millesimo sexcentesimo quarto decimo m ^o s ^o q ^{to} d ^o
1605	millesimo sexcentesimo quinto m ^o s ^o q ^{to}
1604	millesimo sexcentesimo quarto m ^o s ^o q ^{to}
1595	millesimo quingentesimo nonagesimo quinto m ^o q ^{to} n ^o q ^{to}
1594	millesimo quingentesimo nonagesimo quarto m ^o q ^{to} n ^o q ^{to}
1585	millesimo quingentesimo octogesimo quinto m ^o q ^{to} o ^o q ^{to}
1575	millesimo quingentesimo septuagesimo quinto m ^o q ^{to} s ^o q ^{to}
1565	millesimo quingentesimo sexagesimo quinto m ^o q ^{to} s ^o q ^{to}

To overcome the problem of distinguishing 1575 from 1565, it is necessary to change s^o. *The Oxford English Dictionary* states that "g is used to denote anything occupying the seventh place in a series." And since seventy is the seventh place in a series of tens, let g replace s^o, in which case, 1575, *millesimo quingentesimo septuagesimo quinto*, m^oq^{to} g q^{to}, conforms remarkably closely to the letters of the chronogram.

(cont'd on p. 16)

Chronogram (cont'd from p. 15)

The Stratfordian's response to this is easy to predict. In 1575 William Shakspeare was 10 years old, rising 11. A later date is therefore essential for them if this particular William is to continue as a serious candidate for authorship. Yet, none of the later dates correspond with the chronogram on Peacham's document. And, even if this difficulty is ignored, there is still the problem of the document having been copied from a different and apparently earlier version of the play to the one printed in 1594. With so many not insignificant difficulties surrounding a later dating, perhaps the time has come to begin questioning the intelligence of those who persist in denying facts whenever they fail to fit an accepted premise.

Who, then, was "Henricus Peacham," the man who signed the chronogram and gave his name to the document? I submit there is a clue to his identity in the manner he has written his name. Clerics were habitually writing church records in this form. Everyone will recall the often repeated record in the parish church of Holy Trinity at Stratford-upon-Avon: "Gulielmus filius Johannes Shakspeare," William, son of John Shakspeare. The Christian names are given in Latin and the surname in English. It is in this same manner that Henricus Peacham has identified himself. This, alone, may not prove the case, but it does suggest *prima facie* evidence for Peacham having held holy orders.

In 1575, at the church of St. Mary's in the parish of North Mimms at Hatfield, Hertfordshire, there was a cure named Henry Peacham. His responsibility was for the care of the souls of those in his parish, some of whom would have been employed at nearby Hatfield House, a favorite palace of Queen Elizabeth's and the first seat of her government. The grounds of Hatfield House run alongside the Parish of North Mimms, and it would have been wholly in the course of duty for Henry Peacham to have sometimes visited his parishioners at the House, and to be known and recognized there.

Henry Peacham was also an author. In 1576, just one year after the date on the Peacham Document, he published a book entitled, *The Garden of Eloquence, containing the figures of grammar and*

rhetoric, from whence may be gathered all manners of flowers, colours, ornaments, exornations, forms and fashions of speech, dedicated to John Aylmer, Bishop of London. In 1593, the book was reissued, this time with a dedication to Sir John Puckering. Three years earlier, he had also published a sermon concerning the three last verses of the first chapter of Job, which he dedicated to the Countesses of Cumberland and Warwick.

"Who, then, was
'Henricus Peacham' ?
... there is a clue to his identity
in the manner he has
written his name."

Quite clearly, Henry Peacham was a man of letters and learning, with a particular interest in grammar and the English language. We may also discern that he was very well connected among the upper levels of society, to which may be added that his interest in language extended to the theater, for it is on record that he attended performances by Richard Tarleton, the principal comedy actor of that time. With this background, it is entirely reasonable to assume that Henry Peacham would have been included among the gentlemen guests invited for a performance of any play put on for the Queen's entertainment at Hatfield House. The sketch illustrating a scene from *Titus Andronicus* which appears on the Peacham Document therefore strongly suggests that this was the man who drew it after having witnessed the play in 1575. And the most likely place for him to have seen it was as a guest at the Queen's great House in the grounds next to his parish.

Upon this basis, let us now consider how, and why, the Peacham Document came to be copied. As earlier mentioned, it first emerged from among the Harley papers that had been acquired from Sir Michael Hicks. In 1575 Michael Hicks was one of two secretaries employed by Lord Burghley. The knighthood he received was not bestowed on him until August, 1604.

At the beginning of 1575, Hicks was thirty-one. He had been educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, and from there, at age nineteen, he had entered Lincoln's Inn to study law. He was the eldest son of Robert Hicks of Bristol and his mother, Juliana, was the daughter and heiress of William Arthur, of Clapham, formerly in the county of Surrey. It seems that Sir William Cecil recognized Hicks' potential at an early age, for he became part of the Cecil household long before he began training for the position of secretary.

At court, Hicks was described as "very witty and jocose." He was also a noted collector of Roman memorabilia, and he filled many notebooks to that effect, for it was said of him that he "was well skilled in philological learning, and had read over the polite Roman historians and moralists; out of which authors he made large collections, especially of the moral and wise sentences out of which he filled diverse paper-books, still remaining in the family." The connections between Michael Hicks and Henry Peacham are now, surely, quite obvious. Both men shared the same interest in language and morality. Both men belonged to the same class of scholarly, landowning gentlemen. Hicks owned land at Ruckholt in Essex. Peacham owned a house and several fields in the parish of North Mimms. Both men belonged to the same age group. Hicks was thirty-two when Peacham's first son was born. And Hicks' death in 1612 was preceded by that of Peacham's just seven years earlier. But, just as importantly, both men were at Hatfield in 1575.

From these known facts, it is not difficult to conclude that Henry Peacham was requested by Michael Hicks to copy a particular scene from *Titus Andronicus*, which presumably both men had recently seen performed up at the House. Hicks would have wanted to add it to his growing collection of Roman memorabilia. Peacham, with his own book due to be published in the following year, and presumably with some ability in the art of penmanship, would have willingly obliged.

Stratfordians, who cannot be relied upon to even date the Peacham Document correctly, who have no convincing idea as to how Sir Michael Hicks came to possess

it in the first place, and who are wholly incapable of providing an intelligent reason as to why the illustration, together with the attendant dialogue, describe a scene and speeches that differ from the modern version of the play, are nevertheless united upon one point: Henry Peacham junior, the son of the reverend Henry Peacham of North Mimms, was the copyist. But, hold on a moment. In 1575, Henry Peacham junior was, at best, an embryo, still in his mother's womb. He was not born until 1576. Is that fact not important to the thinking of Stratfordians? Unfortunately, thinking is not the strongest weapon in the Stratford armoury. As the good Bishop said, who gave his name to Berkeley University, "Everyone will have an opinion, but few people think."

"De Vere could easily have written Titus Andronicus prior to 1575. This would then explain its Seneca-like characteristics. Before 1575, De Vere only had the classics to model his plays upon."

The nomination of Henry Peacham junior as the copyist is, of course, no more than a convenience for supporting the premise that William of Stratford wrote *Titus Andronicus*. It is unsupported by any genuine evidence, although some have thought to see a glimmer of similarity in style between the illustration at the top of the document and young Peacham's artwork in books later published by him. The support this gives, however, is solitary, speculative, and prone to value judgement. It is far outweighed by many contrary considerations, among which is the handwriting. Unlike William Shakespeare, who wrote prolifically throughout his life without leaving for posterity even a single sentence in his own hand, young Peacham, writing far less, has left behind several examples of

his handwriting. These, however, do not match, in style, the accomplished penmanship found on the Peacham Document, thus forcing young Henry's adherents to propose that he was adept at more than one style of writing, but not, one hopes, while still in the womb.

In the second place, young Peacham was a student at Cambridge from 1593 up until 1598, when he finally completed his Master of Arts degree. He then complained at being "Rawlie torn" from university and thrown on to his own resources. For want of a profession he became the master of a free school at Wymondham in Norfolk where he remained until his father's death in 1605. A distant prospect, one might say, for having then been the copyist of a scene from a play that so obviously differed from the one published and performed during the 1590s and thereafter.

In the third place, young Peacham was a student of mathematics. In his own words he was "ever naturally addicted to those arts and sciences which consist of proportion and number." He subsequently became a close friend of the mathematician Edward Wright, and mixed freely with other mathematicians of that time. The importance of this for the Peacham Document lies in the fact that mathematicians had long ago abandoned the use of Roman numerals, and Latin abbreviations, when working with and recording numbers. It was the Hindu-Arabic symbols that they used, and which today form our present number system. Hence, young Peacham would have been most unlikely to date a document using medieval Latin abbreviations. Instead, he would have written the date using the Hindu-Arabic numbers with which he was familiar, and which he would have used in discoursing with his mathematically minded acquaintances. It was his father, educated in late medieval scholarship and with a clerical background, that would have used the Latin abbreviations.

This same Peacham wrote another book, published in 1622, *The Compleat Gentleman*. In the chapter on poetry, he praised the age of Elizabeth as "a golden age (for such a world of refined wits and excellent spirits it produced whose like are hardly to be hoped for in any succeeding

age)." He then listed those "who honoured poesie with their pens and practice." At the head of his list of poets, all since dead, he placed Edward, Earl of Oxford, but William Shakespeare received not a single mention anywhere in the book. During Peacham's lifetime, he died in 1643, *The Compleat Gentleman* was reprinted twice, in 1627 and 1634. On neither occasion was any correction made to include Shakespeare among those who had made Elizabeth's age so golden. Yet this same Peacham is the professor's choice for having so lovingly and carefully copied a scene from Shakespeare's *Titus Andronicus*.

And finally there are the epigrams. The younger Peacham wrote many. Among them were ones he addressed to the leading poets and musicians of the time: Ben Johnson, Michael Drayton, John Seldon, William Byrd, John Dowland – but not William Shakespeare. Yet, Henry Peacham junior is still endorsed by the Stratford professorship as the man who copied the dialogue from Shakespeare's *Titus Andronicus*.

Let me conclude with a paradoxical situation. If it still be insisted that the younger Henry copied the Peacham document, then the date cannot be explained rationally, except as a wholly unbelievable mental aberration on the part of the copyist three-quarters of the way through the chronogram, and from which he instantly recovered to perfect the final abbreviation; and, of course, then failed to notice that he had just made an error. Even if, as a committed Stratfordian, you have no other alternative but to accept this, there is still the unanswered questions concerning the text and illustration on the document, which do not relate to any known printed version of the play. And why should Michael Hicks be interested in collecting this document if it failed to accurately portray any known scene occurring in *Titus Andronicus*?

Alternatively, if you accept that the elder Peacham was the copyist, and that he penned it in 1575 at Hatfield for his friend, Michael Hicks, then William Shakespeare of Stratford-upon-Avon cannot have written *Titus Andronicus*. Even the most devout Stratfordian will concede he was too young. But Child William was not alone in being underage. Every poet and writer, bar one,

(cont'd on p. 21)

Oxfordian News (cont'd from p. 7)

preceded by Farina's slide show, "Snippets of Shakespeare: *Richard II* and Oxford," offering an Oxfordian view of that play which was being performed at the Chicago Shakespeare Theater. The next day, the group presented "Snippets of Shakespeare: A Brief History of the Oxfordian Movement," followed by a screening of the 1989 *Frontline* documentary, "The Shakespeare Mystery." Afterwards, Constance Charles was awarded a lifetime COS membership and was presented an engraved bookmark in recognition of her devotion to the Oxfordian cause. Ms. Charles became an Oxfordian in 1959 after reading the famous article in the *American Bar Association Journal*, and then corresponding with Dorothy Ogburn. She was an early member of the Shakespeare Oxford Society, and later joined the Shakespeare Authorship Roundtable. About 50 people attended these events, which took place at the Chicago Public Library (Harold Washington Center) and the River Forest Public Library. Upcoming event: February 2-3, 2002, theater professor Felicia H. Londre (Univ. of Missouri, Kansas City) and Farina's "Snippets" of Oxfordian allusions in *Romeo and Juliet* as a precursor to the staged reading of the play on February 9-10 by The Shakespeare Project of Chicago.

Salzburg

The official program book of the 2001 Salzburg Festival, which occurred last summer, featured a lengthy article on the Authorship Question, "The Brontosaur's Secret," by Walter Klier. Author of *The Shakespeare Conspiracy* (in German), Klier opened with a summary of the controversy, quoting from Twain and Freud, and then pitted Oxford against the Stratford Man. Klier emphasized that there were two Shakespeares, the businessman "collecting debts and purchasing land," and the "polymathic aristocrat accustomed to talking on equal terms with kings." Klier then attempted to put *Macbeth*, which played at the Festival, in its historical context. Orthodoxy has assumed that because the play deals with Scottish succession, and has a possible reference to the Gunpowder Plot, that it was written in 1605, a "kind of welcome for Elizabeth's successor." Klier dismissed this because it was no honor to

see James's "country of origin as a completely lawless realm." Klier then suggested that the assassination of the Duke of Guise, the Bartholomew Day's Massacre, and the murder of Lord Darnley could be contemporary references in the play, and all had occurred before 1590. Klier concluded his article with evidence of a potential smoking gun: the Elizabethan manuscript containing a handwritten portion of *Twelfth Night*, now in the Duke of Rutland's archives. Derran Charlton was the first to suggest that the hand was similar to that of Oxford's. The 260-page program book was written in German with English text alongside of it.

London

The New Globe Theatre in London has just published the guidebook to Shakespeare's Globe Exhibition, which is a cathedral-sized space underneath the Theatre. The several exhibits inside explore Shakespeare's London, the actors and audience, the story behind the new Globe Theater, etc., as well as an exhibit on the Authorship Question; the Oxfordian presentation was provided by the De Vere Society. The guidebook covers the controversy in three pages, listing five points against the "Stratford Man," followed by the cases for Oxford, Bacon and Marlowe, in that order. The text on Oxford is as follows:

Edward de Vere, 17th Earl of Oxford; *Dates*: 1550-1604; *Background*: aristocratic, educated at Cambridge; a prominent courtier, he toured the continent in 1575, spending nearly a year in Italy; *Famous for*: His marriage to Lord Burleigh's daughter, numerous celebrated quarrels (with Sir Philip Sidney and others), as a patron to poets, playwrights and acting companies, and for fifteen or so surviving poems of his own; *The case*: De Vere was a great lover of falconry, music, and Italian culture, all of which feature highly in the Shakespeare plays and poems. There are clues in the plays themselves linking them to his life, most prominently a dislike of Lord Burleigh, who may be satirized as

Polonius in *Hamlet*; and there are others that may be references to his name. He had easy access to Lord Burleigh's library and his own. For de Vere it would have been politically dangerous – and social suicide – to be known as a playwright.

National

The December, 2001 issue of *Vanity Fair* has an article by leading Shakespeare scholar Harold Bloom on the newly discovered portrait of Shakespeare. Bloom purports to write about the painting – impossible, he says, to know for certain who it portrays – but instead jumps into a defensive discussion on what we do or don't know about Shakespeare. He admits to the "total lack of authentic knowledge as to his personality and character." From this admission, Bloom attacks two controversies that have recently taken serious root in Shakespearean studies – homosexuality and the authorship. Bloom dismisses the centuries-old controversy on Shakespeare's bisexuality by saying that "there is no evidence for that beyond the highly equivocal sonnets" which are "profoundly detached in regards to its speaker." He then attacks the authorship controversy: "Since we know nothing but the public facts about Shakespeare, we are ever vulnerable to fresh 'discoveries' that are not invariably reliable. A perpetual barrage is maintained by the Oxfordians, for instance, a fierce coven who insist that the Earl of Oxford wrote all the plays attributed to the actor they dismiss as the 'man from Stratford.'" Bloom ends with wistful, but erroneous, statements on the greatness of Shakespeare as an actor: "Evidently he was what we now call a 'character actor.' He played many roles, but the ones we definitely assign to him are the Ghost in *Hamlet* and old Adam the servingman in *As You Like It*." There is no evidence for these statements, but it's a good fantasy when one has no facts to rely on. Bloom then makes one final subtle blow at Oxfordians: "Shakespeare invested himself more heavily in *Hamlet* than in any of his other characters, but not in the mode of self-portraiture." Like the sonnets, *Hamlet* cannot be autobiographical, because then, even with the lack of knowledge we

have about Shakespeare, the facts point to someone else, and that someone seems to be Oxford. So much for Bloom's review of the painting. The fact that he feels forced to address these issues, even in such a short article, demonstrates how firmly they have taken hold. Perhaps members of our "coven" would like to read Mr. Bloom's article and reply with a letter to the editor of *Vanity Fair*.

- John Hamill

Los Angeles

On October 14, Diana Price gave a riveting presentation based on her book, *Shakespeare's Unorthodox Biography* (Greenwood Press) at California State University at Los Angeles. About 100 people attended. The talk, which received rave reviews, was followed by a book signing and reception. Others interested in engaging Diana Price as a speaker should visit her web site at www.shakespeare-authorship.com.

- John Shahan

San Francisco

The Horatio Society will attend the new Authorship comedy, *The Beard of Avon*, by Amy Freed. It will be performed by the American Conservatory Theater at the Geary Theater. The Society will attend the Sunday matinee on January 27, 2002 and will meet afterwards for dinner. For more information to attend the event, please contact John Hamill, 415-255-6456, hamillx@pacbell.net

Oxford Document to be Auctioned

On December 13, Sotheby's London will auction a document signed by Edward de Vere, 17th Earl of Oxford. The document is estimated to sell at £2500-3000. Other manuscripts in the sale include autograph letters of Lord Horatio Nelson and Lady Emma Hamilton, estimated at £800-1000 each, and three love letters written by John Constable, estimated at £5-7000. The following text appears in the catalogue:

"...a Letters Patent addressed 'To all xpian [Christian] people' in which 'Edward De Vere Earle of Oxenforde Vicount Bulbeck Lord of Bladesinere and Scales and Lord great Chamberlaine of Englande' releases Anthony Everrard from services of Homage Fealty and Knight's Fee relating to the manor of Sandon in Essex, which he is henceforth to hold of the Earl by fealty in name only, written in the Secretary hand of an accomplished professional scribe, the initial letter engrossed with decorative cross-hatching, some other dozen words in the text engrossed, on vellum (c.205 x 440mm.), fair impression of armorial seal in greater remaining part of red wax pendent seal, contemporary endorsements including 'Sealed and delivered in the presens of Nicholas Mynne Ed: Fraunceye,' mounted in a modern large red cloth fitted box with gilt lettering, May 1592, small hole in text, minor spotting and soiling, otherwise fresh condition.

"Edward de Vere, [seventeenth] Earl

of Oxford (1550-1604), is remembered as a prominent Elizabethan courtier and poet (author of at least sixteen poems) and also as an extremely quarrelsome and violent character. Recent scholarly research has tended to confirm his sociopathic personality, making him an object of considerable interest, the perfect exemplification of the troubled Elizabethan courtier so aptly defined in Laurence Stone's celebrated *Crisis of the Aristocracy*. Since 1920 Oxford has also received much attention among literary amateurs and occasionally in the popular press as being the real author of the works attributed to Shakespeare, a belief sustained today by the De Vere Society in Britain and by the Shakespeare Oxford Society in the United States.

"Among other things, Oxford's career was marked by huge profligacy, and an aspect of particular interest to historians is the ways the Crown used to recover his debts to them when it became apparent that the usual recovery method, sale of assets following death, would be impossible in his case; thus the Crown extorted fines from those to whom the Earl's estates had previously been sold, although they had no hand in incurring the debts themselves. It is against this background that the present document may be viewed, relating to Sandon, probably one of the parcels of land sold in 1592 with Castle Hedingham, seat of the Earldom of Oxford."

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.

Dues, grants and contributions are tax-deductible to the extent allowed by law: IRS No. 13-6105314; New York 07182.

Most Greatly Lived

*A biographical novel of
Edward de Vere, 17th Earl of
Oxford, whose pen name was
William Shakespeare*

by

Paul Hemenway Altrocchi

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Book Review (cont'd from p. 13)

for the doctrine that genius is born and not made. A large number of environmental factors seem to nurture the cognitive and dispositional attributes required for Darwinian creativity." The following are the main environmental factors that he found to be associated with creative genius, with excerpts from the book.

1. Enriched home environments: The "development of creative talent *requires* that the home feature enriching experiences that encourage the diversification of the intellect. *The most diverse environments will be those of artistic creators.*" (emphasis added)

2. Childhood in diverse locales: "Artistically talented teenagers were... more prone to have traveled to various parts of the country, and to have visited more distant locales. In addition, [they] were more likely to have lived in more than one state during their childhood and adolescence."

3. Family reversal of fortune: "There is empirical reason for believing that the development of genius may sometimes be enhanced by traumatic or adverse experiences in childhood and adolescence. An example is a tendency for eminent personalities to come from homes that have experienced economic reversals or changes of fortune."

4. Loss of a parent, orphanhood: "The type of adversity that has attracted the most scientific research is early parental loss, or orphanhood. This literature has found a tendency for geniuses of all kinds to have experienced the death of one or both parents at an early age... The results for creative writers are dramatic, for 55% were found to have lost a parent before age 15... The incidence of orphanhood for recipients of the Nobel Prize for literature is over eight times higher than that for winners of the Nobel Prize for physics."

5. Self-educated, broad interests: "Creative genius is not necessarily associated with attaining high levels of formal education... The irrelevance of advanced degrees in artistic endeavors is conspicuous... Empirical research has often found that formal education first increases the probability of attaining creative success, but after an optimum point, additional formal education may actually lower the odds."

6. Multicultural, bilingual: "Persons who have been uprooted from traditional culture, or who have been thoroughly exposed to two or more cultures, seem to have an advantage in the range of hypotheses they are apt to consider, and through this means, in the frequency of creative innovation... The historian Arnold Toynbee spoke of the 'creative minority' who further human progress by their 'withdrawal and return' relative to the majority culture... Research has shown that intensive exposure to two or more different languages helps build the cognitive basis for creativity... concepts will be coded in multiple ways, enriching the associative interconnections among various ideas."

7. Birth order: Birth order has powerful effects on the development of creativity. Its effects are mediated through family dynamics, and it is "functional" birth order that counts. The key point, for current purposes, is that although firstborns are more likely to achieve genius status, especially in scientific fields, "creative writers are more likely to be later-born children."

Looking over these characteristics, it appears that Mr. Shakspeare has none of them. He was a functional firstborn, his two older siblings having died before his birth. There is no evidence of an enriched home environment. His childhood appears to have been spent entirely in Stratford. There was no great reversal of family fortune during his childhood. Both of his parents survived into his adulthood. He was not multicultural; he probably never left England. Apart from the works, there is no evidence that he was bilingual. Some will say that he "must have been" self-educated, but there is no evidence for this.

Oxford presents no such problems. He was a middle child, with older and younger sisters. His home environment was very enriched. He lived in multiple locations during childhood. He was orphaned when his father died, his mother remarried and he became a Royal Ward. Others controlled his earldom during his minority, and his legitimacy was once challenged. Oxford was so enamored of Italy that he was ridiculed for his Italian clothes and manners. He was multilingual, and he was known to pursue a broad range of intellectual interests. Finally, Prof. Alan Nelson tells us that he

did not actually spend much time receiving formal education at Oxford, Cambridge, and Grey's Inn, so presumably they did not stifle his creativity.

Highly creative individuals are "independent, autonomous, unconventional, and perhaps even iconoclastic, [and] they may also, at times, exhibit a pronounced rebellious streak." Oxford was fiercely independent (e.g., his letter to Burghley objecting to being spied on); and he was, at times, rebellious (e.g., his unauthorized flight to the continent). I do not recall that Mr. Shakspeare was ever accused of having an excess of such qualities.

Finally, Simonton focuses special attention on the relation between genius and madness, using results from three types of studies. One study of over a thousand eminent personalities found "a positive association between the presence of pathological symptoms and magnitude of achievement." But there was great variation across domains of creativity. While only 28% of natural scientists experienced some mental disorder, the rates were 60% for composers, 73% for visual artists, 74% for playwrights, 77% for fiction writers, and 87% for poets. Psychiatric studies of eminent contemporaries tend to support these findings. Such studies have focused mainly on writers and artists, and "within this group the inclination toward affective disorders (including bipolar or manic-depressive) is conspicuous, along with corresponding tendencies toward alcoholism, drug abuse, and suicide."

Simonton also cites psychometric research on eminent contemporaries at the Institute for Personality Assessment and Research at U.C. Berkeley, where an association was found between symptoms of mental illness and achievement. "Creative writers, for example, scored higher than normal on all of the clinical subscales of the MMPI," (which includes depression, schizophrenia, paranoia, hysteria, and hypochondria).

Simonton concludes that "the association between creativity and (symptoms of mental illness) is particularly prominent in those domains where the creative process must be the most

(cont'd on p. 22)

Rebellion (cont'd from p. 11)

play itself, not in 1599, but in the six month period between mid-November, 1583 and mid-May, 1584, just a few months after the 33-year-old Edward de Vere had regained the favor of the Queen, and returned to his place at court. A patriotic play about an English king's victory in France would have pleased her greatly – and a reference to the recent conclusion of a lengthy rebellion in Ireland by one of her favorite generals would have been doubly satisfying.

It hardly need be mentioned that in this same period the 19-year-old William Shakespeare was living in Stratford-upon-Avon with his wife and infant daughter, probably with his parents. Their twins would be born in February, 1585.

There are several other indications that *Henry V* was written early in the 1580s, and striking evidence that Oxford took the opportunity in this play to mock the complaints that Philip Sidney made in 1582 in *The Apology for Poetry* about the excesses of English dramatists. That evidence will be the subject of the last article in this group.

Notes

1. Andrew Gurr (ed.), *The First Quarto of King Henry V*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2000, p. 4.
2. *ibid.* pp. 6-7.
3. T. W. Craik (ed.), *King Henry V*, The Arden Shakespeare, Third Series. London, Routledge, 1994, pp. 1-2.
4. Evelyn M. Albright, "The Folio Version of *Henry V* in Relation to Shakespeare's Times," *PMLA*, v. 43, 1928, p. 729.
5. Eric Sams, *The Real Shakespeare*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1995, p. 112.
6. John Guy, *Tudor England*, Oxford, 1988, p. 447.
7. Gurr, op. cit., pp. ix, 1.
8. Lytton Strachey, *Elizabeth and Essex*, Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books, reprint 1971, p. 125.
9. J. Dover Wilson, "Introduction," *King Henry V*, Cambridge, 1947, p. xiv.
10. Katherine Chiljan (ed.), *Letters and Poems of Edward, Earl of Oxford*, 1998, p. 53.
11. Eva Turner Clark, *Hidden Allusions in Shakespeare's Plays*, New York, 1931, p. 664.
12. Colm Lennon, *Sixteenth Century Ireland: The Incomplete Conquest*, New York, St. Martin's Press, 1995, pp. 222-4.
13. Richard Bagwell, *Ireland Under the Tudors*, London, v. III, p. 30-1. Volumes II and III of Bagwell are the best general account of the Irish

rebellions during Elizabeth's reign.

14. Bagwell, op. cit. III, p. 55.
15. *ibid.* p. 94.
16. *ibid.* p. 96.
17. Ida Grehan, *Irish Family Histories*, Toronto, Key Porter Books, 1993, p. 20.
18. *Dictionary of National Biography*, Article on Thomas Butler by Sir Sidney Lee.
19. C. B. Falls, *Elizabeth's Irish War*, London, 1950, p. 149.
20. "Deposition of Owen Mac Donnell O'Moriarty," *Kerry Magazine*, v. 1, no. 7 (July, 1854), pp. 97-102.
21. Anthony J. Sheehan, "The Killing of the Earl of Desmond," *Cork Archaeological and Historical Society Journal*, ser. 2, v. 88 (1983), p. 107.
22. *ibid.* p. 108.
23. Great Britain. Public Record Office. *Calendar of the state papers relating to Ireland, of the Reign of Elizabeth, 1574-1585*. London, 1867, vol. cv, p. 478.
24. *ibid.* p. 480.
25. Sheehan, op. cit. p. 108.
26. John Stow, *Annales of England*, London, 1600, p. 1176.
27. Thomas Carte, *The Life of James, Duke of Ormond*, Oxford, 1851, v. 1, pp. cv-cvi.

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SOS Conference (cont'd from p. 5)

not match the "gs". This "q," standing for "quingaginta" or "fifty," and the fourth figure, the "q" followed by a superscript "to," which he interpreted as standing for "quadragintaquarto" or "forty-four," combine to mean fifty plus forty-four, or ninety-four, thus yielding the date 1594. Both speakers cited academic authorities supporting their positions.

The Conference concluded with a luncheon banquet at which the President's award was given to Richard Desper, the Charlton Ogburn Life Achievement Award was given to Katherine Chiljan, and Joe Peel was recognized a second time with the James Hardigg Award. At the Society's annual meeting seven new trustees were elected to the SOS board. They are: Wayne Shore (Texas), John Hamill (California), Marion Buckley (Illinois), Jim Shore (New York), Dr. Frank Davis (Georgia), Joe Peel (Tennessee), and Barbara Flues (Virginia). Charles Boyle was elected as lifetime honorary trustee and a resolution was passed on term limits for trustees.

Chronogram (cont'd from p. 17)

who has been seriously proposed as the real Shakespeare was, at the time, either in his boyhood or an adolescent. Shakespeare cannot have been Bacon, then aged 14; nor can he have been Marlowe who was only 11; he certainly cannot have been Roger Manners who was just 3 years old; and William Stanley like Bacon was also a 14-year-old. The one exception was Edward de Vere, aged 25, whom young Peacham placed first in his list of poets who had made Elizabeth's reign glorious. De Vere could very easily have written *Titus Andronicus* prior to 1575. This would then explain its Seneca-like characteristics. Before 1575, De Vere had only the classics to model his plays upon. But after he returned from a year on the continent, and with a mind filled by the experience of Renaissance Italy, his outlook would have been completely different. I therefore suggest that *Titus Andronicus* was written by Oxford before he left for Italy, and that the reverend Henry Peacham saw the play, probably at Hatfield House, where after, in response to a request from Michael

Hicks, he drew a scene from the play, together with its attendant dialogue.

Some years later, after Oxford had returned from his European tour, he refashioned the play and released it to the Earl of Derby's players, from whom it passed to those of Pembroke and then to Sussex. On that basis, all mysteries are dispersed, and Ben Jonson's claim in 1614 that the play was 25 to 30 years old need not be doubted.

Mr. Roper's complete article is at: www.dlroper.shakespeareians.com

**The SOS Newsletter
welcomes your thoughtful
letters and comments.
Because of space limitations,
we reserve the right
to edit them.**

Letter:

To the Editor:

As the third anniversary of Charlton Ogburn's death approaches, I wish to share the brief but deeply moving correspondence I had with him in 1993. As a subscriber to *National Review*, I regularly read Joseph Sobran's column, which would occasionally make reference to the authorship controversy, recommending *The Mysterious William Shakespeare*. I had little interest in Shakespeare and was unfamiliar with the controversy, but I decided to see for myself what he was so excited about. I ventured to my library and brought home the ponderous and intimidating 800-page book.

My life has not been the same since. I was stunned by the lack of evidence supporting Shakspeare of Stratford's authorship, and was equally stunned by the preponderance of evidence supporting Oxford. I immediately joined the SOS, and decided to contact Mr. Ogburn to inform him personally of my enthusiasm for his book. The book jacket said he lived in Beaufort, SC, so I got his phone number from directory assistance. Minutes later, I was speaking to Mr. Ogburn himself. I relayed to him my gratitude, and I remember how genuinely appreciative he was for my call. Afterwards, I remember the feeling of elation, that I had just participated in something special.

Two years later, I purchased the second edition of *Mysterious* and read it again. This time I wrote a letter to Mr. Ogburn, concluding with: "I trust you'll agree that the tide seems to be slowly but surely moving in our direction. Certainly the *Atlantic Monthly* exposure greatly aided the cause. I feel that your book may some day be regarded as one of the greatest contributions to the Western literary world. I'm certain that the resolution of this monumental question is on the horizon. My prayers are that the recognition and adulation due to you and to your parents for this achievement will be forthcoming in your lifetime. Those of us with no vested interest other than the pursuit of the truth are eternally grateful to you."

Two weeks later, Mr. Ogburn replied, including a requested autograph: "Whether a general acceptance of Edward de Vere as

Shakespeare will come in my lifetime – and I agree that the tide is surely moving in our direction – is problematic, but your letter has; and that, you may be confident, is inexpressibly important to me. I should like to wave it at St. Peter as assuring my admittance. As it is, I have already waved a copy in my publisher's direction. I shall have to rely on your imagination – which I can tell can be counted on – to give you an idea of what it must mean to a writer to receive such a letter about a book in which he has put so much time and work and what it must mean to a devoted son to have his parents remembered as you have. You give me the incentive to pray, too, that their work may be appreciated, and if I do, I shall mention your name!... I shall never forget your writing as you so wonderfully did. And your compliments, coming in the distressful aftermath of six abdominal surgeries (primarily for osteomyelitis) could not have come at a better time, nor your good wishes, both of which I took great pride in showing to Vera. With warm reciprocation of those wishes, Yours ever, Charlton Ogburn."

I was floored by his response. Three weeks later, Mr. Ogburn sent me a copy of his new article, "The Turning of the Tide in the Shakespeare Controversy." After reading it, I was inspired to submit a small piece to the SOS Newsletter. Ogburn responded again:

"With what delighted joy and amusement I read your most remarkable letter in the Shakespeare Oxford Society Newsletter... It can only be that you are right in what you wrote, that the tide is turning in our favor, and I do expect the shift to accelerate; such a phenomenon, arising from the discovery of a truth, surely gathers momentum until the psychological moment is reached when only the bittersweet diehards are unwilling to be caught on a limb. I expect you to help hasten the coming of that time... Thank you for your good wishes about my health. I'm to report to the Mayo Clinic in Jacksonville in a month and hope for improvement. What the hell is the matter with the universe that I should be in pain? With most appreciative regards, Charlton Ogburn."

That was my last correspondence with Mr. Ogburn. I will always treasure these letters from him, and I feel deeply honored that he took the time to write them to a grateful stranger who had merely read his book.

Gary L. Livacari, Skokie, IL

Charlton Ogburn died on October 19, 1998. The Newsletter welcomes other remembrances of Mr. Ogburn by our readers, as well as personal accounts as to how they became aware of the Authorship Question and why it is important to them.

Correction: In the Summer 2001 issue, there was an editing error in "Review of Journals." In the paragraph at the top of page 6, "Peacham used..." should have started, "David Roper analyzes Henry Peacham's chronogram, which uses the letters m, q, and gq instead of Roman numerals, on the so-called Peacham Document at Longleat House. Peacham used..." The second paragraph should end, "...number of plays – again dating plays when the Stratford man was too young to have written them."

Book Review (cont'd from p. 20)

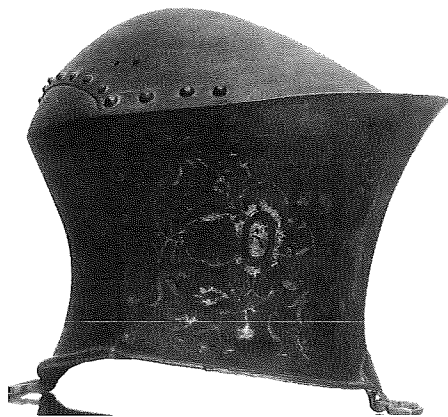
Darwinian, as in poetry, fiction, and the visual arts – and especially in the most intuitive, subjective and emotional styles of artistic expression."

Can anyone doubt that the creator of such characters as Titus Andronicus, Hamlet, King Lear and Edgar knew first hand what it meant to struggle against madness? Yet I know of nothing to suggest that Mr. Shakspeare experienced any significant mental disorder. Oxford, on the other hand, was a volatile and temperamental personality. His behavior was at times regarded as erratic, perverse, rebellious and self-destructive; and it is not difficult to identify events in his life that may have caused depression. His detractors have no difficulty identifying instances of behaviors that they regard as inconsistent with him having been the author. Little do they seem to know that these same behaviors are often the very signposts of genius. The fact that Oxford has so many characteristics associated with creative genius (especially those most typical of literary and poetic genius), while Mr. Shakspeare has few, if any, of these same characteristics, raises troubling questions for Stratfordians.

Trout (cont'd from p. 6)

Society Library at Otley Hall. "The album is, I think, about 100 pages and contains notes on the twenty Earls of Oxford, which are typed on slips of paper and stuck onto the pages," said Burford. "There are also four or five bound volumes (typescript) of the life of Edward de Vere, also by Trout, one of which includes all twenty earls."

Only an expert could determine the exact value of Trout's extraordinary collection, but to Oxfordians it is priceless for the subject matter, Trout's insights, and as a relic of an early member of the Oxfordian movement. Certainly Trout's works merits further investigation.



According to Trout, this helmet, and a now lost pair of gauntlets, rested above the tomb of the 15th Earl of Oxford in St. Nicholas Church, Castle Hedingham. It was stolen, and eventually traced by Trout to Bergamo, Italy.

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BB010 "Shakespeare's Law" by Sir George Greenwood (M. Alexander ed.) (no. ordered) ___ at \$10.00

BB011 "The Relevance of Robert Greene" by Stephanie Hughes (no. ordered) ___ at \$10.00

BB012 "Oxford & Byron" by Stephanie Hughes (no. ordered) ___ at \$8.00

BB013 "The Conscience of a King" by Charles Boyle (no. ordered) ___ at \$5.00

BB014 "Hedingham Castle Guide," brief history of Castle and Earls of Oxford (no. ordered) ___ at \$3.50

BB015 *Firing Line* VHS videotape, 1984, Charlton Ogburn, Wm. F. Buckley (no. ordered) ___ at \$35.00

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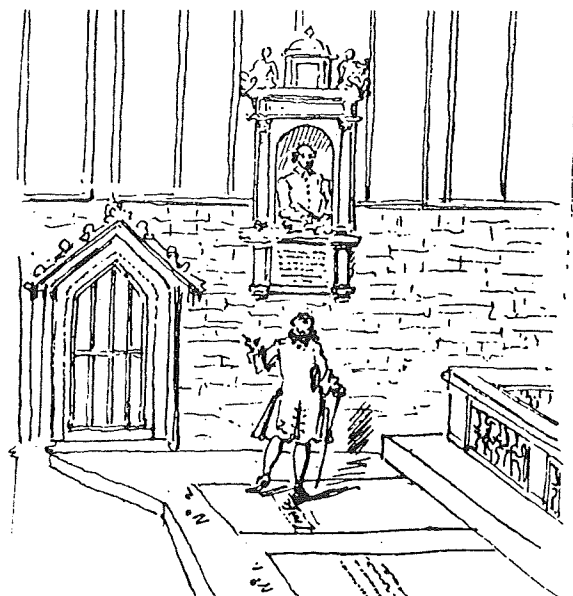
Grave (cont'd from p. 12)

In Schoenbaum's biography of Shakespeare I found that John Hall is buried to the right of Thomas Nash, and that Susanna Hall is buried to the right of John Hall. We thus have a monument and a line of five graves, as follows: Anne Hathaway in 1623, the unmarked grave supposedly of Shakspeare in 1616, Thomas Nash in 1647, John Hall in 1635, and finally Susanna Hall in 1649. This seems to be an odd placement of graves, and leads to several questions. Why was Anne Hathaway's grave placed immediately next to the monument on the north wall instead of Shakspeare's? Why was a space left next to Shakspeare's grave when John Hall was buried in 1635? Why was this space given to Thomas Nash instead of Shakspeare's daughter Susanna? Could it be that this "unmarked" grave is an older unknown grave? And how strange it is that Shakspeare's is the only grave of the five without a name or date!

The monument nearby states that "Shakspeare" is buried "within this

monument." Even Schoenbaum stated that this is a "serious blunder" and is obviously in error since there is no space for a body. Could it be that Anne Hathaway was buried next to the monument because Shakspeare did not have a grave in the church? And that once she was placed there, people started thinking that the unmarked grave was Shakspeare's? Maybe Ben Jonson was correct when he stated in his 1623 eulogy to Shakespeare in the First Folio: "Thou art a Moniment, without a tomb."

So the answer to the question of who is buried in Shakspeare's grave is that we don't know. A simple email question confirmed this response.



George Vertue's drawing of Shakespeare's monument and tomb (18th Century). The human figure is standing on the grave of Anne Hathaway, with the unmarked grave of Shakespeare next to it.

Shakespeare Oxford Newsletter

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Address correction requested

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