



# The Shakespeare OXFORD Newsletter



Vol. 38: No. 3

"What news from Oxford? Do these justs and triumphs hold?" *Richard II* 5, 2

Summer 2002

## Stylometrics and the *Funeral Elegy* Affair

By Robert Brazil and Wayne Shore

Stylometrics refers to a growing body of techniques for analyzing written material assisted by numerical analysis. Stylometrics has been applied in making and refuting attributions of authorship.

Comparative study of Elizabethan texts began after concordances of Shakespeare and his contemporaries were widely published in the early 20<sup>th</sup> Century. But it was not until the advent of home computing that these databases could be effectively compared with each other. Vocabulary, word usage, grammar preferences, and habitual usage of certain constructions all have to be quantified.

An important exclusionary rule applies here: *Similarities* between contemporary texts are taken for granted. It is the *differences* that are probative.

When a stylometric study is discussed, a comment is sometimes made about what computers can or can't do in this area. Framing the issue this way is misguided, and leads away from constructively evaluating a stylometric process. Computers add nothing to the stylometric process but speed and efficiency in gathering and manipulating data. The same studies can be done without computers, if one had enough time, and a big enough team. What's important is the

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## This Strange Eventful History Oxford, Shakespeare, and The Seven Ages of Man

By Christopher Paul

"All the world's a stage" begins one of the most famous of Shakespeare's monologues, the "Seven Ages of Man" speech voiced by the acerbic courtier Jaques in *As You Like It*, Act 2, scene 7. As Jaques continues, he dryly and entertainingly catalogs the ages, beginning with the mewling infant, followed by the whining school-boy, the sighing lover, the quarreling soldier, the prosing justice, the shrinking pantaloon, and ending with extreme old age, or "mere oblivion." While critics agree that the metaphor

of dividing human life into periods had long been common, the exact inspiration for Shakespeare's version of the "Ages" is still debated. Now it can be shown that three primary sources for the Seven Ages speech are linked to the seventeenth Earl of Oxford. One leg is Oxford's likely first hand witness of the renowned Seven Ages of Man mosaic at the cathedral in Siena, Italy. Additional footing comes through a 1575 book by Sir Geoffrey Fenton, a translator and statesman long established by the orthodoxy as one of Shakespeare's sources, and a man with close connections to Edward de Vere. The third prop is found in the 1592 publication *Axiochus*, which describes the successive

miseries of human life in much the same manner as Jaques, in a book which names the Earl of Oxford on the title page.

Let us first begin with a brief overview of the origins of Jaques' speech. [Printed in full on page 15.] The iconography of the Ages of Man was quite diverse, often evidencing conflation with the Ages of the World, the planets, the Deadly Sins, the days of the week, the seasons, Fortune's Wheel, the Pilgrimage of Man, the Danse Macabre, etc. The range of divisions has varied from three, four, five, six, seven, eight,

ten, all the way to twelve ages.<sup>1</sup> Hippocrates, Proclus, and Censorinus are all said to have divided human life into seven ages, while Isidore of Seville favored six. An illustrated poem, along with the morality play *The Castle of Perseverance*,



Juventus, the Fourth Age, with falcon, from Siena

both in unique manuscript from the first quarter of the fifteenth century, are among the earliest [Middle] English renditions touching on the Ages of Man.<sup>2</sup> The late morality play *Mundus et Infans*, which followed almost a century later and survives in a single print, also adapted this theme. A number of illustrations in illuminated medieval manuscripts depicting various Ages of Man are still

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

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## The Shakespeare Oxford Society Convenes in the Nation's Capitol Outstanding Offerings at the 26<sup>th</sup> Annual Conference

The Shakespeare Oxford Society will be returning to the nation's Capitol to hold its 26th Annual Conference, October 10-13, 2002.

Washington, D.C. has hosted the Society's Annual Conference six times in the past – in 1980, 1982, 1983, 1984, 1985 and 1987. In 1987, David Lloyd Kreeger, a Washington lawyer, businessman, philanthropist, and fellow Oxfordian, organized a moot court debate on the authorship question which was presented before a panel composed of his old friends Harry Blackmun, William Brennan and their fellow Supreme Court Justice John Paul Stevens.

Several themes pervade the 2002 conference topics: (1) *The Winter's Tale*, its performance and significance; (2) Shakespeare-Oxford's milieu, including astronomy of the period, the politics of the court and Oxford's part therein, Shakespeare's religion and its effects, Oxford's music, finances, and publications; (3) interpretive and speculative papers on the sonnets, *Hamlet*, and anonymity.

Featured speakers include Prof. Peter Usher (Pennsylvania State Univ.) on astronomy and *Hamlet*; Dr. Frank Davis on the dating of *Twelfth Night*; Bill Farina and Dr. Richard Desper, each speaking on *The Winter's Tale*; Stephanie Hughes on John Webster and *The Duchess of Malfi*; Robert Brazil on Oxford's Books. Peter Dickson will speak on the curious Stratford tombs and also on the Catholic controversy. Prof. Alan Nelson will preview his upcoming biography of Oxford. Katherine Chiljan will discuss the dating of the Ashbourne Portrait. Sally Mosher will present "Shakespeare's Knowledge of Music," and Jim Swank will talk on the origins of Rosenkrantz and Gildenstern. Ramón Jiménez will present two papers: "Oxford and Lyly" and "*Henry the Fifth*." Dr. Daphne Pearson will elucidate Oxford's financial woes. Ron Hess will present "Oxford the

Kingmaker," and Sidney Lubow will speak on the "Internal Triangle" of *Shakespeare's Sonnets*. Edward Gero will speak on "Performing Shakespeare." Other presenters include Prof. Albert Burgstahler of the Univ. of Kansas, British researcher Derran Charlton, and Peter and Syril Kline speaking on the novel, *The Adventures of Master F.J.*

Also speaking will be SOS President Aaron Tatum, past president Gordon Cyr, columnist and author Joseph Sobran, Cheryle Sims, Trustee of the G.C. Ford Foundation, and Brian Hicks, President of the DeVere Society of England. There will be news of the Society, its plans, its new headquarters, and publications.

A workshop and panel will be offered for local teachers to help stimulate interest in teaching the Shakespeare authorship at the school level. There will also be an open session of an Introduction to the Authorship Question for interested locals in the D.C. area.

A special guided tour of the Folger Museum will be offered to conference participants.

Sponsored by the Gertrude C. Ford Foundation, the 26th Annual Conference will be held at the Crystal Gateway Marriott in Arlington, Virginia, which is conveniently located near a subway stop for easy access to downtown D.C. The Crystal Gateway is the site of many national conventions, often televised by C-Span. Conference planning is still in progress, but points of interest will include the Folger Shakespeare Library and Theater, the Library of Congress, and the Kreeger Museum. The Shakespeare Theater, internationally recognized as one of America's foremost classical theaters and located in downtown D.C., will be presenting *The Winter's Tale* in October. The Conference promises to be an exciting event in the Authorship Debate.

## The View from Santa Cruz

*The Santa Cruz Sentinel ran a story on July 14, 2002 entitled "The debate plays on: Oxford vs. Stratford" by Kurt Hartmann. As the SOS is featured prominently in the piece we offer the entire story.*

Although the numbers are less than fully reliable, a decent regard for historic truth permits them to be employed when contemplating a centuries-old literary dispute that has split much of the English-speaking world into three disparate groupings.

The first, and immeasurably largest, is comprised of untold millions who are either oblivious to the issue, or, in any event, could not care less about a donnybrook – basically over who wrote what – that had its blurry beginnings more than 200 years ago, in a country that was then forever fighting about something or other, and with weapons other than words - the United Kingdom.

The second group, although lilliputian compared to the first, nevertheless numbers multi-millions. No doubt it contains more book readers, occasional theatergoers and probably greater numbers of parents who pay attention to what their offspring are learning in school. It is this segment of men and women in Europe, North America and a sprinkle elsewhere who tend to feel, however vaguely, a sense of respect, perhaps even awe when the name of that giant amongst giants of the English language is mentioned. His name has come down the ages as that of William Shakespeare – or Will Shakspeare, as his name often was given during his lifetime from 1564 to 1616.

However there now exists a third element. Still minuscule in numbers – perhaps, as an identifiable organization, no more than a thousand – but growing slowly, whose avowed purpose is to convince the world that it was not the man from Stratford, Shakspeare, who wrote the immortal sonnets and plays,

but an English nobleman, Edward de Vere, 17<sup>th</sup> Earl of Oxford.

They call themselves the Shakespeare Oxford Society and last October some 100 of them (two from as far away as Vermont) assembled in Carmel for their 25<sup>th</sup> annual conference. Convening in a former movie palace, the Golden Bough Theater, the conference was hosted by society member Steven Moorer, artistic director of the Pacific Repertory Theater.

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As far as is known, the authorship dispute began in the 1780s when an Anglican churchman, the Rev. James Wilmot, came to Warwickshire to gather biographical material on one Wm. Shakespeare, who at one time had resided in the area. After examining every bookcase "within a 50-mile radius" and finding nothing – no book, no manuscript, no journal having belonged to Shakespeare – Wilmot gave up his quest and concluded that the works attributed to his quarry had actually been written by "some other person."

Once the seed of doubt had been planted, the wrangling, though sometimes quiescent for decades, would never be laid to rest. Over years, then centuries, some sixty substitute

candidates have been forwarded, including Francis Bacon, the philosopher-statesman, and even Elizabeth I herself. Beyond question, it has been Edward de Vere whose candidacy has gained the greatest plausibility and endurance.

Like Ralph Waldo Emerson, who a century ago declared that he could not "marry" Shakespeare's life to Shakespeare's work, modern Oxfordians base much of their case on their contention that the author of the plays experienced military and naval life, and was familiar with the law courts as well as the royal court. He would have had to be an accomplished horseman and falconer, and familiar with life on the continent of Europe. Oxford has all these qualifications and experiences, while Shakspeare seemed to have none.

In fact, he [Shakspeare] apparently emerged from illiterate antecedents and it was said that Shakspeare's wife, Anne Hathaway, as well as their two daughters, could barely write their signatures. All five or six of the purported scribe's own surviving signatures are penned in a crabbed, hesitant hand.

De Vere, on the other hand, was known as a brilliant and prolific writer, and it is undisputed that his foster father, William Cecil, the queen's chief minister, served as the model for the pompous Polonius in *Hamlet*.

These arguments largely were "old hat" to the Carmel conferees. Their seminars, lectures and polite debate tended to focus on more arcane aspects of their cause, as for example, a debate on the dating of Henry Peacham's [sketch of] *Titus Andronicus*. Most Oxfordians concede that a conclusive resolution of their cause probably rests on two possibilities: That a musty English attic, at some unknown future date, will reveal long-hidden manuscripts that will settle the thing, or that galloping science, via DNA or other means will prove to be the final arbiter.

# Shakespeare News

## Hamlet's Star

An article by Leon Jaroff appeared in *The New York Times* on July 16, 2002 entitled "By Yonder Blessed Moon, Sleuths Decode Life and Art." Featured is the work of Dr. Donald Olson, an Astronomer whose passion lies in determining dates inherent in works of Art and Literature through references to events in the sky, drawn or described. For example Olson dates Van Gogh's "White House at Night" to June 16, 1890, by comparing Van Gogh's sketchy biography with sky charts and concluding that the bright object above the house must have been Venus.

With Shakespeare's works, Dr. Olson became fascinated by a detail in *Hamlet*, in the discussion at the beginning of the play between Horatio, Bernardo, Marcellus, and Francisco.

Bernardo: Sit down awhile, and let us once again assail your ears, that are so fortified against our story, what we two nights have seen.

Horatio: Well, sit we down, and let us hear Bernardo speak of this.

Bernardo: Last night of all, when yond same star that's westward from the pole had made his course 'illuminate that part of heaven where now it burns, Marcellus and myself, the bell then beating one . . . . *Hamlet* Act I sc. 1

Although there had been prior speculation about Bernardo's "star that's westward," Dr. Olson calculated that the constellation Cassiopeia was the designated area, though there are no brilliant naked-eye stars to be seen there today. Olson was reminded of Tycho Brahe's (1546-1601) observations of the spectacular supernova in Cassiopeia in November 1572, now called SN1572A, or "Tycho's star" for that famous Danish astronomer. Olson then figured that William Shakespeare, eight years old in 1572, must have seen the supernova and recalled it decades later for his play. This theory was first aired in 1998 as "The stars of *Hamlet*" in *Sky & Telescope* 96, pp. 68-73, by D.W. Olson, M.S. Olson & R. L. Doescher.

One of the people who read the article in *Sky & Telescope* was Dr. Eric Altschuler, then a physicist who was attending medical school at the University of California, San Diego. Dr. Altschuler was already preparing a paper on the knowledge of astronomy shown by the author of the Shakespeare plays, and demonstrated how Oxford was the most likely candidate, when the data was considered. Altschuler tallied references to the stars and planets in the Works of Shakespeare and compared them with astronomical events from the contemporary record. All the references to astronomical events could be dated to the Elizabethan era (1558-1603). Astronomical discoveries and events from after 1604, coincidentally the year Oxford died, do not appear in the Shakespeare plays, though clever critics often find ways to update Shakespeare's original allusions to Jacobean events. It is perhaps another coincidence that there is an illustration of Tycho Brahe, portrayed with the coats of arms of his ancestors, amongst which can be found the names of "Rosenkrans" and "Guldensteren." [O. Gingerich, "Great conjunctions, Tycho, and Shakespeare," *Sky & Telescope* 59, 1981, pp. 394-395.]

Dr. Altschuler posted his paper "Searching for Shakespeare in the Stars" in 1998 on the Los Alamos National Laboratory preprint site. It can be seen at: <http://arxiv.org/pdf/physics/9810042>.

## Elizabeth's Ring

When Queen Elizabeth I died in 1603, a diamond, ruby, gold and mother-of-pearl ring was apparently taken from her body. It is slated to be displayed, for the first time in 400 years, starting May 2003, at England's National Maritime Museum, which is built on the south London site of the former Greenwich Palace.

Behind an initial, the ring conceals a secret compartment with a portrait of Elizabeth's mother Anne Boleyn, who lost her head as part of the sweeping collateral damage in Henry VIII's campaign to have a male heir. Young Princess Elizabeth was later declared a bastard by her brother Edward, the boy

king, and was imprisoned and threatened with death when her sister Mary sat on the throne of England.

Legend has it that a ring was taken from Elizabeth's finger when she died by Robert Carey, who then rode non-stop for three days to bring the news to James VI of Scotland, informing him of the Queen's death and telling him that he was now King James I of England.

The 2003 exhibition will include other personal objects belonging to Elizabeth including an opharion, a lute-like instrument which was made especially for her and is the only surviving example in the world. Also to be exhibited is a plaster Tudor rose, excavated 30 years ago though never displayed, a rare relic of the palace of Greenwich, the birthplace of both Henry VIII and Elizabeth I which was destroyed in the 17th Century.

But is the aforementioned ring actually the ring removed from Elizabeth's finger at her demise? Oxfordian researcher Nina Green noticed that in Robert Carey's memoir he wrote of his discussion with the new King James I in Scotland:

After he had long discoursed of the manner of the queen's sickness and of her death, he asked what letters I had from the Council. I told him, none: and acquainted him how narrowly I escaped from them. And yet I had brought him a blue ring from a fair lady, that I hoped would give him assurance of the truth that I had reported. He took it and looked upon it, and said, 'It is enough; I know by this you are a true messenger.' [F. H. Mares (ed.) *The Memoirs of Robert Carey*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972, pp. 63-4.]

The ring, which will be displayed next year, is described by Maev Kennedy in an article in the *Guardian* as "diamond, ruby, gold and mother-of-pearl." The ring described by Robert Carey was "a blue ring from a fair lady." Perhaps the diamonds and mother-of-pearl give a blue appearance overwhelming the rubies and gold. Soon we will find out if *this* ring was the thing that caught the conscience of *that* King.

## Blackfriars Playhouse

The Blackfriars Playhouse in Staunton, Virginia is a stunning tribute to the original Blackfriars, the stage where many Shakespeare dramas were first performed. The new Blackfriars, commissioned by the well-known theatrical company Shenandoah Shakespeare to be their new home, opened in September 2001.

The two-story theater is constructed with heavy oak beams and posts, and the interior is lit only by glass-filament sconces which replace the dangerous candle-powered originals. The lights are left on during performances echoing the original Elizabethan tradition where open-roofed theater was a daylight-only affair, and indoor theater was uniformly lit. There are 300 seats and standing room for twenty "groundlings." The architect for the new Blackfriars Playhouse, Tom McLaughlin, did extensive research to ensure authenticity. He chose the second Blackfriars theater, circa 1608, as his model.

Shenandoah Shakespeare, under the Artistic Direction of Jim Warren, performs Shakespeare's works under their original staging conditions – on a simple stage, without elaborate sets, and with the audience sharing the same light as the actors. The Blackfriars is open year-round for Shakespeare productions, musical and theatrical events. Shenandoah also plans a recreation of the 1614 Globe.



*The Blackfriars Playhouse in Staunton Virginia*

### **The Earl of Oxford and the First Blackfriars Theater**

In the years 1584-86 the Earl of Oxford arranged to lease a large hall in London's Blackfriars for use as a playhouse. Oxford also leased the downstairs for a fencing school. A complicated paper trail on this still exists, and payments connect Oxford as the patron, John Lyly, Oxford's secretary in the early 1580's as go-between and proprietor, and Henry Evans as theater manager. [See E. K. Chambers *Elizabethan Stage* 2: 496-498; Ruth Miller's *Oxfordian Vistas* 2: 139.]

### **Mr. Who He?**

An Article in The London Review of Books, August 8, 2002, by Stephen Orgel, "Mr. Who He?" reviews the latest compilation of Shakespeare's verse: *Complete Sonnets and Poems of William Shakespeare* by Colin Burrow. [Oxford Press, 2002, 750 pages]. In spite of the provocative title of his review, Orgel does not discuss the authorship question. Rather, he gives an excellent synopsis of the history of the publication of Shakespeare's poetry, elucidating the complex textual problems deriving from the variant extant editions. For example, the 1640 edition of Shakespeare's Sonnets was rather radically modified by editor John Benson.

In Orgel's opinion:

Burrow writes wonderfully about the interplay between the various

poems and genres, and is especially good on the implications of the sonnets' original mode of circulation, in manuscript among Shakespeare's 'private friends,' where both the mystification and the playfulness that have so frustrated later readers were entirely appropriate. He briskly and amusingly disposes of Mr. W. H., observing that all the proposed candidates are nonsensical, and offers instead "Who He?" This seems to me probably correct: the great bibliographer Arthur Freeman has suggested to me that the initials stand for "Whoever He (may be)," and has found a parallel in a contemporary pamphlet. . . . Burrow does not include the notorious Funeral Elegy for William Peter, now ignominiously demoted to a poem by John Ford: Burrow never believed in it, nor did I.

*(cont'd on p. 23)*

## Oxfordian News

### Biography Magazine on the Authorship

Biography Magazine featured an article on the authorship question in its August 2002 edition, called "The Bard or Not the Bard: Who Wrote Shakespeare's Plays?" Using the springboard of the recent film documentary on the Marlowe theory, Michael Rubbio's *Much Ado about Something*, author David Goldman reviews the problems with the traditional Shakespeare attribution and gives a condensed history of the debate. Goldman gives equal space to Marlowe, Bacon and Oxford, though he seems to show a slight bias against the case for Edward de Vere. Goldman, explaining the overall problem, says: "It's the biggest cover-up in literary history, a scam perpetrated on generations of unsuspecting readers. At least that's the opinion of a growing group of authors and scholars, who say the man known as Shakespeare was a fake." He concludes, "So the debate rages on. To the doubters, there's a method to their madness, while the Stratfordians insist the whole thing's just a tale told by an idiot. But whatever the truth may be, in the end, the play's the thing."

### England - DVS meeting at Henley

On July 20, a beautiful, sunny (for England) day, DVS chairman Brian Hicks drove me and local authority PR consultant Sean Gallagher from Cambridge through very lush, green countryside to Henley-on-Thames for the DVS summer meeting. About forty members responded to Brian's call for a strong turnout to help plan the 2004 conference in Cambridge. SOS and Horatio Society members Ramon Jimenez and Joan Leon of Berkeley, California, also attended.

DVS member Kevin Gilvary first gave a fascinating, well-prepared presentation on "Shakespeare and the Commedia dell'Arte." He was able to show clear and strong connections between standard characters and themes from the Italian dramatic tradition, as it existed during the time

Oxford was in Italy, and their appearance in many of the Shakespeare plays. Hopefully we will be hearing much more from Kevin on this front in the future.

Brian Hicks reviewed plans for the 2004 conference. Meeting the Cambridge minimums and deadlines will be a challenge. Sean Gallagher outlined a potential strategy for a media campaign in 2004, and Brian invited the reactions of those present. A lively, thoughtful discussion ensued. People offered many views, pro and con, about the likely success of such a strategy. One well-received speaker emphasized the need to focus on the fact that Stratfordians are suppressing academic freedom.

Daphne Pearson had planned to talk on "the Catholic connection and its influence on Oxford's life;" but sadly, she broke her ankle the day before and was unable to attend. Please join me in wishing her a speedy recovery.

— John Shahan

### Nashville

On July 20<sup>th</sup>, the Nashville Chapter of the Shakespeare Oxford Society had a friendly two-hour meeting at the Sherlock Holmes Pub. SOS president Aaron Tatum related plans for the upcoming 26<sup>th</sup> Annual conference sponsored by the Gertrude C. Ford foundation. Nashville chapter member and local playwright Bill Dorian will be one of the featured speakers. Dorian will be describing the details behind his

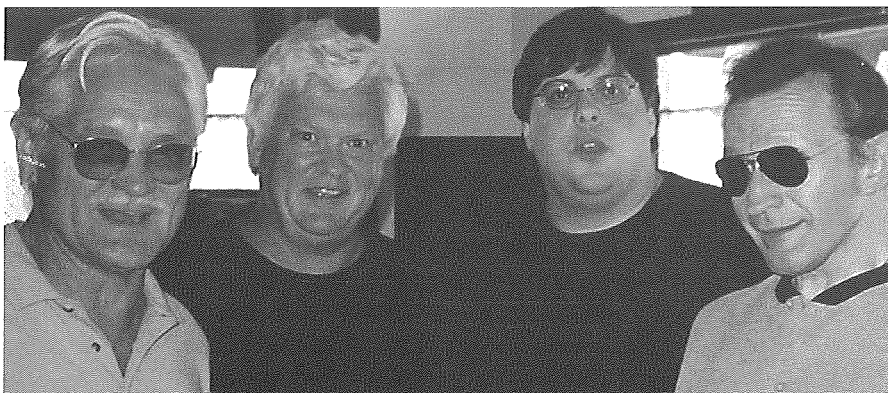
play, produced two years ago, which focused on the authorship debate, and revealed Oxford as true author.

Nashville chapter member and former *Nashville Banner* reporter Evans Donnell agreed to chair a special press relations committee at the conference, assisted by Dorian. The head of the Nashville Sherlock Holmes Society group, the Three Pipe problem, Gael Stahl also attended and offered a brief "devil's advocate" review on behalf of the man from Stratford. The game is afoot. The Nashville Chapter will meet again in September.

### Chicago

The Chicago Oxford Society (COS) is proud to announce Marion Buckley, President of COS, has been awarded the third place prize (out of more than 1,200 entries) in the American Screenwriters Association (ASA)/Writers Digest international screenplay competition. Marion's screenplay, "By Any Other Name," is a humorous dramatization of the life and times of Edward de Vere. Marion received her award on August 3 at the ASA annual awards banquet in Universal City, California, where she was joined by Shakespeare Authorship Roundtable founder Carol Sue Lipman.

On June 19 at the Goodman Theatre in Chicago, COS and the Goodman co-sponsored a discussion of the Shakespeare authorship question between Oxfordian Felicia Hardison Londre, Curators' Professor of Theatre



In Nashville, left to right, Gael Stahl, Aaron Tatum, Evans Donnell, William Dorian



at the University of Missouri-Kansas City, and David Kathman, co-author of the Shakespeare Authorship web page. The discussion was moderated by Goodman Dramaturg Tom Creamer and Goodman Dramaturgy Intern John Hanlon, who is pursuing his M.F.A. at the Yale Drama School. Excerpts from this discussion will appear this September in the Goodman newsletter promoting their production of Amy Freed's "The Beard of Avon." Marion Buckley and COS co-founder Bill Farina were allowed to sit in as observers during the taping. Professor Londremore than held her own during the proceedings and should be congratulated for an excellent performance in promotion of the Oxfordian theory.

Lastly, we are pleased to announce Bill Farina has been invited to speak before the DePaul Geographical Society on September 14 for the kick-off event of the society's 42<sup>nd</sup> annual lecture series at DePaul University. Bill will present a one-hour slide

show titled "Shakespeare's Geography Lesson: The Travels of Edward de Vere."

For details, check the COS website at: [www.chicagooxfordociety.org](http://www.chicagooxfordociety.org).

### Anne Rice on Oxford and Shakespeare

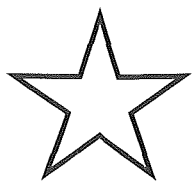
Although this "news" may be a few years old, noted fiction writer Anne Rice's opinions on the Authorship of Shakespeare are not widely known. Here is what is posted on her website:

Good writing news for me . . . in the peace and quiet of my crazy room full of busts of Beethoven and Shakespeare and stuff like that. And, by the way . . . I mentioned that I had seen Kenneth Branagh's *Hamlet*. Still think it's absolutely brilliant. I've been reading a whole lot of books on Shakespeare and apparently there are a lot of theories that Shakespeare wasn't written by Shakespeare. And I'm falling in love with this idea that the real

Shakespeare was Edward de Vere, the Earl of Oxford. So I'd love to hear any of your opinions out there, you Shakespearean scholars, and you've got a one minute message time. Give it to me, man, tell me what you think about this. It is astonishing what the Edward de Vere camp has turned up in the way of research to explain all kinds of mysteries of the plays and the life of the so-called Shakespeare. Very, very interesting stuff. And also Queen Elizabeth had a very strange relationship with Edward de Vere. She really pardoned him for things that she would have just, you know, decapitated other people and there's strong evidence that he was Shakespeare, and that a lot of the plays were published after his death. Okay, that's it. I just wanted to throw that out.

Source:

[http://www.annerice.com/ph\\_aug28.htm](http://www.annerice.com/ph_aug28.htm).



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*Stylometrics (cont'd from p. 1)*

validity of the research design, and the proper analysis of the resulting data.

***A Funeral Elegy***

Vassar English Professor Donald Foster has been in the news lately, as the result of a stylometric disaster. In 1995, Foster used his "Shaxicon" database (of texts of Shakespeare and other Elizabethan writers) to perform a stylometric analysis of *A Funeral Elegy*, a 1612 poem credited to "W. S." Foster claimed the poem as Shakespeare's, and this "new Shakespeare work" made front page news throughout the world, bringing fame and book deals for Foster, resulting in the subsequent inclusion of the *Elegy* in several prominent collected works of Shakespeare. Shortly thereafter Foster gained even more visibility by publicly weighing in on the authorship mystery of the political novel *Primary Colors* (by Anonymous), identifying the author as Joe Klein, as well as asserting his opinion in various tabloid-friendly kidnap and murder cases. In the last several years, Foster's house of cards has been crumbling. It has been suggested that he had inside knowledge of Joe Klein's involvement in *Colors*, and thus was able to bend his stylometric tests accordingly. This year, the published analyses of two major scholars have sunk the *Elegy's* attribution as a work of Shakespeare.

Gilles D. Monsarrat, professor of languages at the University of Burgundy, is a translator and editor of Shakespeare into French, and was the co-editor of *The Nondramatic Works of John Ford*. Monsarrat's study, in the May issue of *The Review of English Studies*, used the accepted practice of detailed literary and textual analysis. He presented a strong case that Ford had authored the *Elegy*, and that Don Foster was mistaken. In a forthcoming book by Brian Vickers (Cambridge University Press) is an in-depth analysis of Ford's authorship of the *Elegy*. The twin punch of Monsarrat and Vickers forced Foster to recant his *Elegy* thesis, and publicly admit that his Shaxicon based method was flawed.

Even the mighty Harold Bloom was humbled. Bloom had included the *Elegy* in *Shakespeare: The Invention of the Human*, and proposed that *Elegy* has "an affinity" to *Henry VIII*. In *The New York*

*Times* Bloom is quoted:

Like them, I made a mistake. I agree that it is by John Ford. I was persuaded by Foster, though like everyone else in the world I felt it was the worst thing Shakespeare had ever written if it were by him.

The flaw in Don Foster's study of *Funeral Elegy* was not with his computer or his Shaxicon database, but in his lack of awareness of proper research design and inferential statistics. Therefore he, perhaps inadvertently, reported those stylometric tests which supported his thesis while overlooking those that did not. Obviously, the fault lies not in the computer, but in Foster himself.

Another misconception about stylometrics is thinking of it dichotomously as either generally effective or ineffective. The answer to the question of stylometrics' effectiveness is that it sometimes works. It worked exceedingly well when employed by Mosteller and Wallace to determine the authorship of some of the *Federalist Papers*. Elliott and Valenza have done a great deal of successful stylometric research, including the development of evidence that Shakespeare didn't write *A Funeral Elegy*.

An analogy to the effectiveness of stylometrics is that of medicine. Does medicine work? Sometimes, in some doses, for some illnesses, to varying degrees. An example of an illness not yet treatable with medicine does not constitute evidence that all medicines are always ineffective. Likewise, one failed stylometric study does not mean that stylometrics never works. Perhaps the research design was flawed, or the data were improperly analyzed, or the sample was too small, or the differences between authors was too slight to be detected by the methods used.

Can stylometrics be useful in helping us resolve unanswered authorship questions from Shakespeare's era? To a considerable extent, yes. Elliott and Valenza have documented many stylometric distinctions between Shakespeare and other playwrights. Jonathan Hope, in his book *The Authorship of Shakespeare's Plays*, has successfully used a variety of

stylometric techniques to make useful distinctions between playwrights. Several other smaller studies have successfully employed stylometrics to evaluate authorship of plays.

**What Has Yet To Be Done?**

In spite of the success of some studies, there remain many questions about authorship that have no definitive answer. Regarding Shakespeare, there are some studies which suggest that other authors wrote small sections of about ten canonical plays. Other studies suggest those "odd" sections simply reside within Shakespeare's wide palette. There have been continuous attempts to expand the accepted Shakespeare canon. The authorship of several anonymous plays remains in doubt. There is much more work to be done comparing the growing database of Oxford's authentic writing with Shakespeare plays, and with anonymous material such as the repertory plays of the Children of Paul's, several still extant.

One approach that remains to be tried would be a mega-stylometric study, simultaneously using all useful measurements of style. One might think of it as an expansion of the Elliott and Valenza approach, but with the use of many more techniques and the closer examination of all playwrights of the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods. The baselines for each of these writers are only now being established. Any study that produces strong evidence for exactly who wrote what should provide a better factual base upon which to make inferences concerning the person who wrote under the name Shakespeare.

### The purpose of the Shakespeare Oxford Society

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

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

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# The Sanders Portrait Revisited

## Could the “newly discovered Shakespeare portrait” be John Fletcher?

By Sue Sybersma

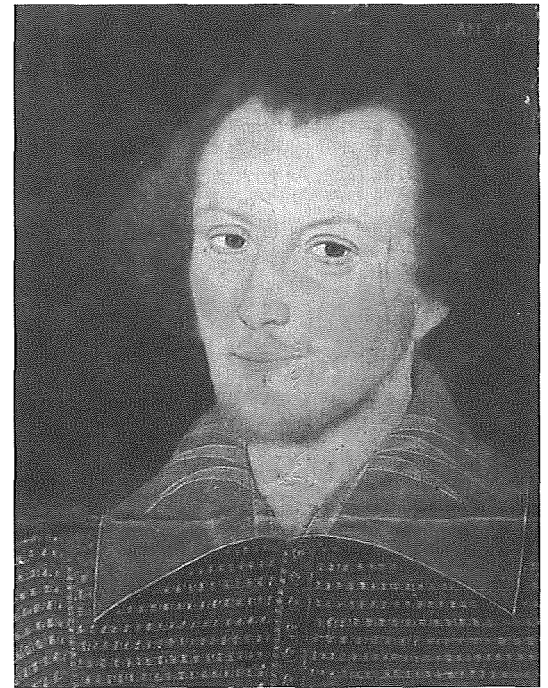
The Sanders Portrait, claimed to be an authentic representation of William Shakespeare, may not be the marvel first announced by its owners and supporters. The alleged portrait first hit the news on May 12, 2001 and was discussed briefly in our *Shakespeare Oxford Newsletter* of Spring 2001. *The Shakespeare Newsletter*, Winter 2001-02, volume 51:4, featured a lead article on the painting by Jeffrey Kahan: “Is the Sanders Portrait Genuine?” If proved authentic, this would be the only portrait of the “Millennium Man” painted from life. According to Sanders’ family tradition the portrait was painted by their ancestor John Saunders who was said to be Shakespeare’s friend and fellow actor in 1603. The painting stayed with the branch of the Sanders family who emigrated from England to Montreal in the 1880s. It was Mr. Hale Sanders who brought the portrait to Canada in a collection of 300 other art works. In 1909 the portrait was sent briefly back to London for authentication. At that point it became known as “The Sanders Portrait”. It was deemed to be a genuine antique belonging to the Centenary period or the Garrick Jubilee circa 1769 but not a portrait of Shakespeare as its labels claim. In a 1909 issue of *Connoisseur Magazine*, the art expert who examined the Sanders Portrait, A.M. Spielmann, wrote that it had a resemblance to the Droeshout engraving found in the *First Folio* of Shakespeare’s plays, implying that it was copied from that likeness. A photograph of the Sanders was included in a 1915 book, *The Greatest of Literary Problems* by James Phinney Baxter, in a discussion of non-authenticated portraits of Shakespeare. Baxter called the claim for Sanders “unworthy” of attention and identified the paper label as a late addition by a nineteenth century dealer. The Sanders family does not have any records to verify how long the portrait has actually been in their possession, just the oral family tradition. The portrait’s

claim to be Shakespeare rests on a linen label, which is illegible today but readable under fluoroscopic light. The inscription is as follows:

Shakspeare  
Born April 23-1564  
Died April 23-1616  
Aged 52  
This likeness is taken in 1603  
Age at that time 39 yrs.

The family’s theory is that the artist Sanders penned the inscription at the time of the painting and added the death date and age of death into a blank space after 1616. Another paper label on the back of the portrait gives the same information in 19<sup>th</sup> century penmanship and is not part of the authentication.

The wording of the linen inscription casts severe doubt on its provenance of 1603. No serious scholar assigns Shakespeare’s birth date to 23 April 1564 with any certainty. The only extant document regarding his birth is a 1600 copy of the earlier parish register of Holy Trinity Church in Stratford-upon-Avon, which records the baptism date on 26 April 1564. Early Shakespeare biographers did not mention a birth date until 1773 when the scholar George Steevens adopted the date of April 23<sup>rd</sup>, the feast of St. George, for his Shakespeare biography, and editors and biographers have followed his lead ever since. In Victorian times Halliwell-Phillips suggested that it was usual for Elizabethan baptisms to occur three days after birth and this has hardened into a positive assertion although there is no proof of this practice. *The Book of Common Prayer* suggested that baptism should occur on the closest Sunday or Holy Day to the birth. In 1564, April 23 fell on a Sunday; the next Holy Day would have been Saint Mark’s Day on Tuesday April 25<sup>th</sup>. Baptism on an unremarkable Wednesday the 26th would



*The Sanders Portrait*

have been quite unusual so scholars have posited that St. Mark’s Day was considered unlucky in some districts.

### Age Discrepancy

The second problem is the assertion on the inscription of Shakespeare’s age at death as 52 years. The Latin inscription (obit ano doi 1616 Aetatis. 53 die 23. apr.) on the tablet on Shakespeare’s monument in Stratford’s Trinity Church gives the date of death and age at death as 53 years leaving the birth year to be calculated by the observer as 1563. This implies that he may have been born earlier than the traditional date, which would have made him age 52 as the inscriber of the Sanders Portrait has so carefully calculated. The Stratford registry records the burial as 25 April 1616. The first published instance of the death date appears in 1691 in Gerard Langbaine’s *An Account of English Poets*. If the monument, presumably verified by the Shakespeare family, is to be believed, the date of Shakespeare’s birth date becomes even

(cont’d on p. 10)

*Sanders Portrait (cont'd from p. 9)*

more difficult to pin down with certainty. Had he turned 53 or was he just entering upon his fifty third year?

If the inscription were authentic, it would provide the one and only written documentation of Shakespeare's date of birth. If the inscription was written after 1773, when the official birth date was first announced to the public, then it has no probative value.

In a letter printed in the *Globe and Mail* in May, Hugh MacCallum cast doubt on the language of the label.

The writing on the small piece of rag linen that identifies the engaging portrait of "Shakespeare" does so in a phrase that, according to the OED, became current in the second half of the 18th century: "This Likeness taken 1603." Early uses of "take" (in the sense of "make a portrait") and "likeness" together are by Walpole, 1762-71, Goldsmith, 1766, and Austen, 1815. The linen has been carbon dated, but the inscription could have been made later. Hugh MacCallum, Toronto.

The search for the actor-artist John Sanders continues. The on-line international genealogy index lists a record of a christening of a John Sanders in Worcester March 1575. However there are no records from the London theater of anyone by that name as an actor or company member. The Sanders can trace their family in England back to 1680 but do not have a link to Shakespeare's time of 1603.

### Scientific Evidence

The family tried once more in 2001 to authenticate their heirloom by modern scientific methods at the Canadian Conservatory Institute and came up with the same interesting results. The age of the oak board on which it was painted was analyzed by dendrochronological analysis and found to be no earlier than 1597. However this does not give a date of the actual painting on that piece of wood. The analysis of the paint pigments by X-ray spectrometry finds no anomalous 19th or 20th century pigments. The radiocarbon dating of the rag linen label dates from 1475 to 1640 for its manufacture but not its

use as a label. Radiography and infrared scan show no overpainting of either the portrait or its date of 1603 at the top right corner but cannot state that this is the true date of its painting. In short, although there was nothing to disqualify its authenticity, there is also nothing to authenticate its claims for its subject.

Scientists have not disqualified the claim, but neither can their techniques authenticate the subject as Shakespeare. The historians cannot locate the artist near the London theater, and surely Shakespearean scholars would question the period of the label bearing the birth date. Some of the experts who examined the portrait grew skeptical about the identification. Aileen Ribeiro, a costume specialist at the Courtauld Institute of Art in London, concluded that the sitter could not be Shakespeare. Her objection centers on the hairstyle of the sitter, who sports a rather trendy hairdo, not easy to reconcile with the fact that Shakespeare of Stratford was a 39 year old businessman aiming for social respectability in 1603. To Ribeiro, the fluffy hair appears in the style of a young fop, as does the fine linen collar, too easily torn and ruined to be worn by a man on a budget.

### Enter Fletcher?

Scholar Jonathan Bate has also weighed in on the topic. Interviewed for a new book, *Shakespeare's Face*, by writer Stephanie Nolen, Bate argues that the sitter in the Sanders portrait is probably the young playwright John Fletcher:

The more I looked at the portrait, the more it started reminding me of someone. A figure engraved on the frontispiece of an influential First Folio of plays. Not, however, the Shakespeare First Folio of 1623, but the Beaumont and Fletcher First Folio of 1647. The long face, the thick curly hair receding at the temples, the cut of the beard and mustache, the rounded eyebrows: everything about this face seems to me more like John Fletcher than William Shakespeare. I find it hard to believe that the Sanders portrait shows a man of thirty-nine,

Shakespeare's age in 1603. It looks to me more like a man of twenty-four: Fletcher's age in 1603. Furthermore, the surviving images of Shakespeare suggest that such hair as he had was very dark, whereas the portraits of John Fletcher that now hang at Knole House in Kent and at Montacute House in Somerset reveal him to be red-haired, as is the man in the Sanders portrait. . . . I do not want to go so far as to propose decisively that this is an authentic image of John Fletcher. I wish only to suggest that a possible explanation for the oral tradition associating the image with Shakespeare is an indirect connection of this sort: by a "Chinese whisper" effect, a close associate of Shakespeare may have been metamorphosed into Shakespeare himself."<sup>1</sup>

An X-ray of the Sanders painting presented by Nolen does bear a remarkable resemblance to Fletcher from contemporary portraits and illustrations. A symposium is to be held at the University of Toronto in November 2002 to 'weigh the evidence' for the so-called new Shakespeare portrait.

### Endnotes

1. Stephanie Nolen, *Shakespeare's Face*, Random House, 2002. In this passage, Bate refers to "surviving images of Shakespeare" with regard to the Stratford man's possible hair color. There are, in fact, no known authentic portraits of William Shaksper, painted from life, thereby making such a comparison is impossible.

The Sanders family used to spell their name Saunders. In a strange coincidence, Shakespeare created a character called "Saunders Simpcox, an Impostor" who pretends to be what he is not, in *2 Henry VI*.

GLOUC: What's thine own name?

SIMPCOX: Saunder Simpcox, an' if it please you, master.

GLOUC: Then, Saunder, sit there, the lying'st knave in Christendom.

*2 Henry VI. Act II Sc. 1.*

# WOTS-UP – Analysis for Oxfordians and Stratfordians

## (Weaknesses, Opportunities, Threats and Strengths Underlying Planning)

By John Shahan

### WOTS-UP for Oxfordians

#### Weaknesses

- \* No “smoking gun” evidence
- \* Difficulty getting our message out
- \* Public ignorance, confusion and apathy
- \* Shutout from mainstream academic forums
- \* Lack of perceived legitimacy in academia
- \* Lack of a strong institutional base and resources
- \* Divisiveness among Oxfordians, anti Stratfordians

#### Opportunities

- \* 2004 anniversary – an historic occasion to mobilize resources and focus efforts
- \* Cambridge University – the DVS should fully exploit this venue’s potential
- \* Revival of public interest in Shakespeare in recent years
- \* Increased coverage and awareness of authorship issue
- \* Decline in public confidence in traditional institutions

#### Threats

- \* A missed opportunity in 2004 would be demoralizing
- \* More fragmentation, divisiveness, loss of momentum
- \* Loss of credibility, ability to undertake new initiatives
- \* Vulnerability to further stigmatization by Stratfordians

#### Strengths

- \* Strong knowledge base and understanding of the authorship issue
- \* Good internal communications via newsletters, other publications
- \* Good books in print, most recently Price’s *Unorthodox Biography*
- \* Geographically widespread membership base, interested followers
- \* High profile supporters: Justice Stevens, Jacobi, McCullough, etc.

#### Analysis

Cambridge University is a prime venue for the presentation and discussion of

authorship research. However, important new discoveries are rare and the timing of any breakthroughs is unpredictable. History suggests that Stratfordians will be unmoved by anything less than “smoking gun” evidence.

Rather than focusing the entire conference on internal communication among conference attendees, the occasion also presents an opportunity to increase public awareness of the weakness of the case for Mr. Shakspeare, taking advantage of the changed social climate, and our high-profile supporters. “Smoking gun” evidence could turn up at any time, or never. We should try a media campaign, too. Getting a clear message out could begin to rouse the public, and put Stratfordians on the defensive.

### WOTS-UP Analysis for Stratfordians

#### Weaknesses

- \* Wrong on the facts (i.e., backing the wrong man)
- \* “No room for doubt” claim makes them vulnerable
- \* Decline in public confidence in traditional institutions
- \* Complacency makes them vulnerable to a strong attack

#### Opportunities

- \* Slip safely past 2004 anniversary with only minimal harm
- \* Focus their attacks on Oxford, putting us on the defensive
- \* Sow dissension in ranks of Oxfordians, anti-Stratfordians
- \* Maintain de-legitimization and stigma of authorship issue

#### Threats

- \* Oxfordian research produces a “smoking gun” discovery
- \* Oxfordians coalesce around an effective plan during 2004
- \* Oxfordians get a clear, credible message out to the public

- \* High profile supporters debunk “no room for doubt” claim
- \* Price’s *Unorthodox Biography* gains widespread attention
- \* Stratfordians lose credibility, authorship issue legitimized
- \* Big revival of public/academic interest in authorship issue

#### Strengths

- \* Well-established, centuries-old institutionalized tradition
- \* Strong institutional base, resources, perceived legitimacy
- \* Near monopoly on mainstream avenues of communication
- \* Media deference to perceived academic expertise, authority
- \* Public perceptions of the authorship issue’s impenetrability

#### Analysis

Second only to a “smoking gun” discovery, the greatest threat to Stratfordians is a highly credible, widely-disseminated communication increasing awareness of the legitimacy of the authorship issue. Focusing on the case *against* Shaksper, rather than *for* Oxford, puts Stratfordians on the defensive. It exploits Stratfordians’ vulnerability due to their long insistence that there is “no room for doubt.” Emphasizing the weakness of the case for Shaksper unites Oxfordians and other anti-Stratfordians.

Diana Price’s *Unorthodox Biography* makes a very powerful, credible case against Mr. Shaksper. A brief summary of this case against Mr. Shakspeare can be prepared for widespread dissemination, with the book itself available as back-up for anyone interested in examining the case in its entirety. Our high profile supporters can be enlisted to help call attention to the summary, and Price’s book.

The first day of the conference could be an “Anti-Stratfordian Day,” targeted mainly at the media. A morning press conference would be followed by presentations selected to reinforce the message.

*Seven Ages of Man (cont'd from p. 1)*

extant, and the first printed woodcut depiction was seen in 1482 in Bartolomeus Anglicus's *De Proprietatibus Rerum*.<sup>3</sup> Stephen Bateman presented an English translation of this book in 1582 under the title *Batman Uppon Bartholome His Booke De Proprietatibus Rerum*. John W. Draper, indicating Bateman's book as Shakespeare's probable source for Jaques' speech, rejected the notion that the idea of the seven ages was a commonplace of the period. While this was true to some extent, Draper was ironically mistaken when he wrote "Although Isidore, who is repeatedly cited as the source, divides life into six parts, *Batman upon Bartolome* gives seven . . ." <sup>4</sup> On the contrary, the chapter on the Ages of Man in Bateman's book, consisting of slightly less than 1,000 words, is entirely faithful to Isidore's model of six ages. Draper was either not a very careful reader, or was simply desperate to find Shakespeare's source. <sup>5</sup> In any case, Bateman was not the first Elizabethan to offer a treatise on the Ages of Man in what was then contemporary English. An

account by Geoffrey Fenton preceded Bateman's by seven years. <sup>6</sup>

The *Dictionary of National Biography* indicates that Geoffrey Fenton (c.1539-1608) "seems to have been connected in some way with the families of Lord Burghley and the Earl of Leicester" and that "on 22 July [1581] Fenton writes from Limerick to Burghley that he has been sworn her majesty's secretary in Ireland, chiefly upon the latter's recommendation." <sup>7</sup> In 1574, Fenton dedicated *A forme of christian pollicie drawne out of French* to William Cecil, Baron of Burghley, wherein he refers to "the dutifull effectiō I haue alwaies borne to your Honor. . ." This indicates some background between the two men even then, and it is a virtual certainty that Fenton and Edward de Vere were also acquainted. <sup>8</sup> Fenton's very next production, the 1575 *Golden Epistles, Contayning varietie of discourse both Morall, Philosophicall, and Diuine: gathered as well out of the remainder of Gueuaraes workes, as other Authors, Latine, French, and Italian*, was dedicated to Burghley's daughter, Oxford's wife, "the right Honorable and virtuous Lady,

Anne Countesse of Oxenford," of whom he wrote:

And above all others of our time, your honour hath bene alwayes rightworthely noted a diligent follower of those Artes and studies which best serue to the declaracion and glory of true virtue and pietie : So at the contemplation of the same, I am bold to bring forth (under the protection of your Ladiship) this treatise containing morall discourse sorted with Philosophie, & some texts of Diuinitie : Not that I hold it worthy your view and iudgement, but (according to good meaning,) to use it as an interpreter of the deuocion and service wherein I am vowed to your Ladiship and your honorable house and parents.

Orthodox scholars such as Geoffrey Bullough have pointed out Fenton's earliest work, the 1567 *Certaine Tragical Discourses* as one of Shakespeare's possible sources for *Othello* and *Macbeth*. <sup>9</sup> Charles Boyce writes in *Shakespeare A to Z* that "Fenton wrote English versions of thirteen of Matteo Bandello's Italian tales, working from

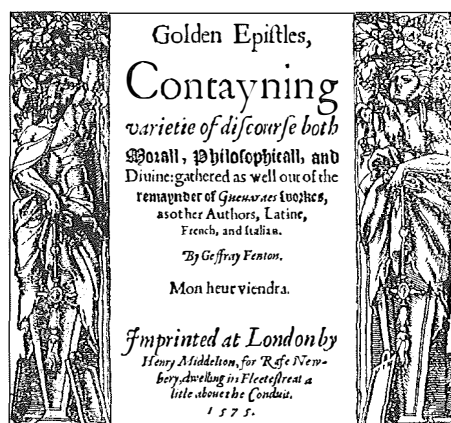


*The Seven Ages of Man floor design, Siena. From Top to Bottom, l. to r.: Adulescentia, Iuventus, Puerita, Decrepitas, Virilitas, Infantia, Senectus*

the French translations of Pierre Boaistuau (d. 1566) and Francois Belleforest. The resulting book, *Certaine Tragicall Discourses* (1566), was very popular, and Shakespeare almost certainly knew it. He may have been influenced by it when he wrote *Hamlet*, *Titus Andronicus*, and *Twelfth Night*, all of which were based on tales that appear in Bandello, though which of several possible versions was used by the playwright is in each case uncertain.<sup>10</sup> Although there are indications that Shakespeare did peruse Fenton's *Tragical Discourses*, it seems he also read the original authors in their mother tongues, since certain additional details found there, and not in Fenton, are also to be found in Shakespeare. This was of course no problem for the Earl of Oxford, who was fluent in French and Italian, among other languages, and had easy access to the originals in Burghley's library, if not his own, where Bandello, Belleforest and Boaistuau were all listed in their native languages.<sup>11</sup>

To date, however, it appears that no one has considered Fenton's *Golden Epistles* as another possible Shakespearean source. Fenton's book contains a chapter titled *A discourse of the Ages of mans lyfe*, which offers the opinion of various writers and philosophers regarding "an Ancient Question, what be the Ages of mans life, and whether there be five or seven of them." The chapter seems almost like a debate over whose estimation is the more valid, and despite the introductory sentence quoted above, extends to include an argument for seven, six, five, and even three ages, with the primary deliberation being between six and seven. While Fenton discourses extensively on seven ages ("a number universal and accomplished"), the opinion of Isidore of Seville prevails upon the author in the end with six ages, since, ultimately "the State decrepitate drawes another course, as having neither beeginning nor ende certaine and terminable, and therefore can not be called an age distinct, and of it selfe." There's no denying that the discussion is thoroughly pedantic, and while there are no exact verbal parallels with

Shakespeare's poetry, this chapter nevertheless contains the fundamental foundation for Jaques' speech, which starts "at first, the infant" – compared with Fenton's "Infancie, which is the first age, begins even from the birth of man." The treatise, covering each division of life, continues all the way through to "the yeares of olde age, being the last and extremest of all the other ages: for that, there remaynes no other thing to such as are come to it, but death." – familiar to us in Shakespeare's "Last scene of all. . ."



Fenton's *Golden Epistles*, 1575

Particularly noticeable is the parallel drawn between old age and childhood; the *Golden Epistles* has it that "old men having their blood cold, and young children in whom it is not yet hot enough, are not resolute in their judgements: so that it is no greater error to compare together old men and children, as equal in temperature. For, dotting olde men are foolish by the greatnes of their age, and in young children is no power of judgment by reason of their minoritie . . . one that approacheth Olde age . . . signifyeth one that is yet in hys chyldhoode. . . ." A similar concept indeed to Shakespeare's rendition of the pantaloone "Turning again toward childish treble" and "second childishness", of which we will see more.

Touching pantaloone, the *Oxford English Dictionary* defines it as "1. The Venetian character in Italian comedy, represented as a lean and foolish old man, wearing spectacles, pantaloons, and slippers." and lists Shakespeare's usage in *The Taming of the Shrew* (1596) and *As You Like It* (1600) [Stratfordian

chronology] among the earliest citations, preceded only by Thomas Nashe's *Pierce Penilesse* (1592) and a 1590 stage direction in an unidentified play.<sup>12</sup> Isaac Asimov writes "In Shakespeare's time there had arisen the custom in Italy of having traveling bands of actors give plays in different towns. These bands developed stock characters in standard masks and costumes, and one of the most popular of the stock characters was called Pantaleone . . . and is Pantaloon in its English version."<sup>13</sup> It stands to reason that the Earl of Oxford would have termed his old man a pantaloone, since he undoubtedly would have become familiar with this figure on the Italian stage during his 1575/6 tour of that country.

As to the philosophers' consideration of the number of ages, it seems the perceived wisdom in Shakespeare's day generally did not favor seven. Draper, while misguided about Bateman, points us to the 1592 *Most Excellent Booke of Arcandam*, in which three main divisions were delineated, with the subdivisions under these numbering five, and indicates L. Lemnie's 1581 *Touchstone of Complexions* and H. Cuffe's 1607 *Differences of the Ages of Mans Life* as enumerating eight ages.<sup>14</sup> Bateman's chapter, as noted, offered Isidore's model of six ages, and this was the view that reigned triumphant in Fenton's much lengthier discourse. Yet Shakespeare favored seven.

Surely the reason wasn't so inconsequential as to place an extra line of iambic pentameter into Jaques' mouth. Scholar Josephine W. Bennett wrote "critics have assumed that [Shakespeare's] lines were inspired rather by a picture of the seven ages than by a verbal account", an observation that may well have credence.<sup>15</sup> Whereas *Touchstone* has previously been offered as one composite of Oxford, the melancholy Jaques has been offered as another. Recall that this was the courtier who, among other aspects in common with Oxford, "sold [his] own lands to see other men's", which brings us to mind of Oxford's January 3, 1576 letter to Burghley, addressed from Siena, in

(cont'd on p. 14)



*Seven Ages of Man (cont'd from p. 13)*

which, to fend off his rapacious creditors, he instructed "that that land of mine which in Cornwall I have appointed to be sold (according to that first order for mine expenses in this travel) be gone through withal." <sup>16</sup>

In common with Jaques, it does seem that Oxford himself would have opted for seven ages over another number, since he very likely would have been impressed with the rendition depicted in a mosaic in that masterpiece of Italian gothic, the Duomo di Siena, which the utmost probability dictates he would have observed while visiting that city. It wasn't called a tour for nothing; and Oxford would certainly have taken in the culture of those cities he visited, particularly the famous Duomo, which occupied the center of Siena, and had engaged over forty artists for two centuries.



*Virilitas, the Fifth Age of Man, from Siena*

Samuel C. Chew writes in *The Pilgrimage of Life* that the Seven Ages of Man mosaic in the Duomo di Siena is "one of the finest of all versions of the Ages" and indicates that it is "Familiar to Shakespearean scholars because it has been cited as a parallel to Jaques' lines in *As You Like It* . . . The Ages are represented thus: Infantia rides upon a hobbyhorse, Pueritia is a schoolboy, Adolescentia is an older scholar garbed in a long cloak, Juventus has a falcon on his wrist, Virilitas is robed in dignified fashion and carries a book, Senectus, leaning upon a staff, holds a rosary, Decrepitas, leaning upon two staves, looks into his tomb." <sup>17</sup> Robert H. Hobart Cust writes in *The Pavement Masters of Siena (1369-1562)*, "All seven are treated with a naïveté and grace impossible to

surpass. Not only the figures themselves, but also their accessories; the budding blossoms, the over-blown flowers, and the handsome classical tomb to which 'Decrepitas' is tottering, show a taste and feeling beyond description." <sup>18</sup> The mosaic now visible in the Duomo, as depicted in Figure 1 [on p. 12], is not the original, although this replacement executed by Leopoldo Maccari and Giuseppe Radicchi is a fine copy. Elizabeth Sears describes it thus in *The Ages of Man, Medieval Interpretations of the Life Cycle*: "In Siena one section of the famous intarsia representing the first six phases of life, in octagons, surround a man representing the last age in a central diamond. Archival documents name Antonio Federighi as the artist responsible for the design and 1475 as its date of execution. The original panels, badly worn, are now set into the floor of the Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, a copy having been installed before the Chapel of the Madonna del Voto in 1870." <sup>19</sup>

Henry Green's *Shakespeare and the emblem writers* offers the following account of the original mosaic before it was removed from its original setting:

This mosaic is very curious, and is supposed to have been executed by Antonio Federighi in the year 1476. Martin's "SHAKESPERE'S SEVEN AGES," published in 1848, contains a little narrative about it, furnished by Lady Calcott, who shortly before that time had been traveling in Italy, –

"We found," she says, "in the cathedral of Sienna a curious proof that the division of human life into seven periods, from infancy to extreme old age with a view to draw a moral inference, was common before Shakspeare's time . . . in one of the side chapels we were both surprised and pleased to find seven figures, each in a separate compartment, inlaid in the pavement, representing the

Seven Ages of Man." <sup>20</sup>

Had any of the aforementioned individuals realized that Shakespeare had actually been there in person and seen the mosaic himself, they would have had

little doubt as to his source of inspiration. But that inspiration very likely took in some measure Fenton's work as well, if for no other reason than because it was on hand. Geoffrey Fenton's 1575 *Golden Epistles* was popular enough to have two more editions printed, one in 1577 (Newly corrected and amended), and again in 1582. Although Oxford was to remain separated from Anne until December of 1581, he would undoubtedly have been familiar with at least one of the three editions, each of which retained the dedication to his wife.

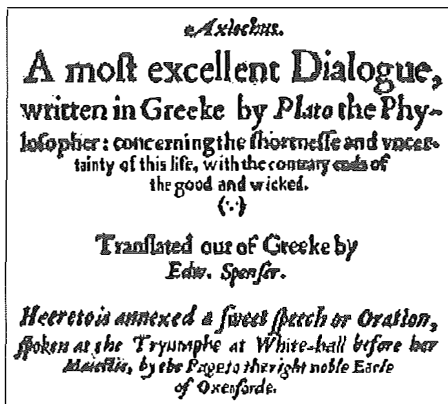
A third connection between Jaques' speech and Edward de Vere is found in the 1592 *Axiochus*, a dialogue attributed to Plato, published by Cuthbert Burby. The work was supposedly translated by Edmund Spenser, but is strangely attributed to "Edw. Spenser" on the title page, immediately followed by "*Heereto is annexed a sweet speech or Oration, spoken at the Tryumphe at White-hall before her Maiestie, by the Page to the right noble Earle of Oxenforde.*"

In the address to the reader, Burby again refers to the translator as *Edward Spenser*. Best known as the publisher of certain plays of Shakespeare, Burby was also responsible for such fair as Lyly's *Mother Bombie* and Meres' *Palladis Tamia*, not to mention Angel Day's *English Secretary* of 1595 and 1599, containing a lavish dedication to Oxford. <sup>21</sup> Spenser's authorship of the *Axiochus* has long been in doubt, superseded by Anthony Munday in the view of numerous scholars. <sup>22</sup> Munday, of course, is recognized as another Shakespearean source, and had strong ties to Edward de Vere. Editor F. M. Padelford, expounding on Burby in his edition of *Axiochus*, writes:

[Burby] must have regarded the publication of the *Axiochus*, bearing the name of Spenser, as a veritable triumph . . . what better fortune could have befallen a novitiate, eager to start on a publisher's career, than to gain possession of one of those very pamphlets for which Ponsonbie was searching? <sup>23</sup> The Earl of Oxford himself, the patron of poets, whom Spenser had praised in one of the



sonnets to noblemen annexed to the Faerie Queene “for the love which thou dost beare To th’ Heliconian ymps,” may have supplied the copy, which would perhaps explain the inclusion



*Axiachus*, 1592

under the same cover, of the *Axiachus* and an address to the Queen by Oxford's page.<sup>24</sup>

Aside from previous speculation that Oxford likely authored the “sweetspeech” attached to the *Axiachus*, it has further been suggested in Oxfordian circles that de Vere played a part in the translation of the text. Regardless of that possibility, it is fascinating to find in the *Axiachus* the following analogue to Jaques' speech:

dooth not the babe even taken fro[m] the mothers wombe, powre out plenty of teares . . . but onely with crying dooth show his minde, having no voice but that alone to bewray his griefe: [Shakespeare's mewling infant] and having through many woes waded to seven yeares of age, he is yet afflicted with greater griefes, being subject to the tyranny of the Schoolemaister and Tutor. [Shakespeare's whining and creeping school-boy] And as his yeares encreased . . . being afterwards in the handes of Censors, Philosophers, and Capitaines . . . For here vpon dooth a troope of euils accrew, as be the exploites of warfare, the bitterness of wounds, [Shakespeare's soldier, seeking reputation even in the cannon's mouth] . . . and then closely creepeth on olde Age, in which are heaped all the harmes that pertaine to mankinde . . . Nature euer waiting as a greedy vsurer, taketh

paynes aforehand, snatching and pulling from this man his sight, from that his hearing, from som both two senses. And if any fortune lo[n]ger then commonly is seene in this life to linger, Nature weakening hir powers, dooth loose, lame, and bow downe all partes of his body, but they whose bodies in old age long flourisheth in minde, as the saying is, become twice children. [Shakespeare's shrinking second childhood, sans teeth, sans eyes, sans taste, sans everything]<sup>25</sup>

The suggested Oxfordian dating for *As You Like It* takes into account at least two versions, the original having been written circa 1582-3 (at the pinnacle of the Alencon/Elizabeth courtship), with various revisions taking place in 1589, and possibly again in 1598.<sup>26</sup> The early 1580s construct is lent somewhat further corroboration in that Oxford's first two [recognized] encounters with the Ages of Man would have been freshest in his consciousness during that period, not to mention the 1592 *Axiachus*, publication date aside, is thought to have been translated c. 1580.<sup>27</sup> Even discounting *Axiachus*, between Fenton's chapter *A discourse of the Ages of mans lyfe*, and the impression of the Seven Ages mosaic in the Siena cathedral, there was arguably more than enough influence to serve as the springboard for Jaques' speech in *As You Like It*. Whereas none of the foregoing correlations, strictly speaking, were necessary for the author to compose Jaques' monologue, since the Ages of Man motif was in essence a commonplace, it is nonetheless gratifying to be able to position Edward de Vere in such definitive proximity to it. While the same cannot be said for the man from Stratford, it's always possible he could have been familiar with one of the various renditions that were available up to that point, yes, perhaps even those described in the *Axiachus* or the book dedicated to the Earl of Oxford's wife. That's assuming, of course, that he could read.

#### Endnotes

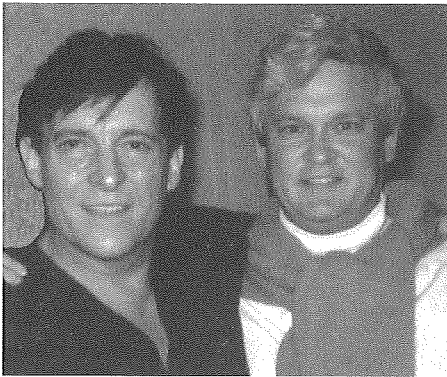
1. Cf. Elizabeth Sears, *The Ages of Man, Medieval Interpretations of the Life*

**JAQUES. All the world's a stage,**  
 And all the men and women merely players;  
 They have their exits and their entrances;  
 And one man in his time plays many parts,  
 His acts being seven ages. At first the infant,  
 Mewling and puking in the nurse's arms;  
 Then the whining school-boy, with his satchel  
 And shining morning face, creeping like snail  
 Unwillingly to school. And then the lover,  
 Sighing like furnace, with a woeful ballad  
 Made to his mistress' eyebrow. Then a soldier,  
 Full of strange oaths, and bearded like the pard,  
 Jealous in honour, sudden and quick in quarrel,  
 Seeking the bubble reputation  
 Even in the cannon's mouth.  
 And then the justice,  
 In fair round belly with good capon lin'd,  
 With eyes severe and beard of formal cut,  
 Full of wise saws and modern instances;  
 And so he plays his part. The sixth age shifts  
 Into the lean and slipper'd pantaloon,  
 With spectacles on nose and pouch on side,  
 His youthful hose, well sav'd, a world too wide  
 For his shrunk shank; and his big manly voice,  
 Turning again toward childish treble, pipes  
 And whistles in his sound. Last scene of all,  
 That ends this strange eventful history,  
 Is second childishness and mere oblivion;  
 Sans teeth, sans eyes, sans taste,  
 sans every thing. *As You Like It*, Act 2, sc. 7

*Cycle*, Princeton University Press, 1986; Samuel C. Chew, *The Pilgrimage of Life*, Yale University Press, 1962.  
 2. British Library MS. Add. 37049, fols. 28<sup>v</sup>-29<sup>r</sup>. Cf. Alan H. Nelson ““Of the seven ages”: An Unknown Analogue of The Castle of Perseverance,” *Comparative drama*, Vol. 8, 1974, pp. 125-138.  
 3. See Fig. 127 from Chew, *op. cit.*  
 4. J. W. Draper, “Jaques' “Seven Ages” and Bartholomaeus Anglicus,” *Modern Language Notes* 54, 1939, pp. 273-6.  
 5. Draper was not the only scholar in quest of Shakespeare's source. See also A. H. Gilbert, “Jaques' “Seven Ages” and Censorinus,” *Modern Language Notes* 55, 1940, pp. 103-5; D. C. Allen, “Jaques' “Seven Ages” and Pedro Mexia,” *ibid*, 56, 1941, pp. 601-3; J. W. Bennett, “Jaques' Seven Ages,” *Shakespeare Association Bulletin* 18, 1943, pp. 168-74.  
 6. Thomas Fortescue's *The Foreste or Collection of Histories*, 1571, from the French of Glaude Gruget, 1552 rather than from Pedro Mexia's original Spanish *Silva de varia leccion*, 1542, contained the only [contemporary] English treatise on the Ages of Man to precede Fenton's.

(Endnotes cont'd on p. 24)

## Meet the SOS Trustees



Aaron Tatum, right, with actor Jeremy Brett

### Aaron Tatum

Shakespeare Oxford Society President Aaron Tatum became interested in the authorship question in 1984 after reading Joseph Sobran's review of Charlton Ogburn Jr.'s *The Mysterious William Shakespeare* in the *National Review*. "I literally carried Ogburn's book with me everywhere for the six months I was reading it," says Tatum. In 1986 he joined the Society. "I promised myself I would enjoy the membership, and because I have a tendency to become politically active in anything I join, I swore not to get involved with the politics in the SOS."

Politics and government have always been a part of Aaron's life. After achieving a BA in a double major in history and political science at the University of Tennessee, he acquired a Masters in Public Administration from the University of Colorado. While at U.T. he interned one summer for Congressman Ray Blanton, who later became Tennessee Governor, and at C. U. he interned for U.S. Senator Gary Hart. Tatum's second job in Memphis, among many government jobs, was Conference Coordinator for Tennessee Governor Lamar Alexander. He eventually left government in the early 1980s to join Paul Revere Insurance Group's Memphis office where he has been ever since. In 1994 he finished fourth, out of seven, in the Republican

primary for the U.S. House 7<sup>th</sup> district.

For four years Aaron stayed at home looking after his late wife Maria, who died in November 2000. She had progressive supranuclear palsy, the same neurological disease that recently took the life of actor Dudley Moore. "My only breaks for two of those years were in attending the SOS conferences and I was in Stratford, Ontario the week before she died. I was close to physical exhaustion. I was so grateful to all the SOS members who sent condolences."

Aaron has contributed articles to the newsletter and a footnote or two to the *Oxfordian*, but has had short stories and feature articles appear in the daily *Memphis Commercial Appeal*, *Memphis Magazine* and the Dallas - Ft. Worth Press Service.

Outside of work, Aaron describes himself as a frustrated musician who plays and sings karaoke from time to time. He was in a rock band in the late 60s that once opened for B. J. Thomas and recorded a demo. Tatum remains an avid fan of "progressive rock," and says that how well he feels depends on how many *Yes* and *Tull* concerts he gets to each year.

Aaron, a noted admirer of Sherlock Holmes, feels his greatest achievement so far within the SOS was his original detective work that created the open communication between the Society and the Gertrude C. Ford Foundation. After hearing the story of Mrs. Ford and her legacy, Aaron sought out the Foundation and made the initial contact on behalf of the Shakespeare Oxford Society. Aaron says: "I am very grateful to this Board of trustees for supporting the move to Washington D.C. for the library. Our stable financial situation allows us to implement reforms to prevent any future problems. I thank everyone for supporting an endowment drive to make the society self sustaining."

### Gerit Quealy

Member of the Board since 1999.

Ms. Quealy dislikes tooting her own horn, preferring to remain a woman of mystery, however, here goes. . . She is a writer, editor, and actor living and working in New York City. She began her career in Europe, living in London, Paris, Italy, Spain, and Tokyo working and studying.

After studying Shakespeare, Ibsen, Chekov, and so on, she returned to New York to star in a daytime drama, *Ryan's Hope* (chagrined to find herself playing one of the non-Irish roles although she was one of the few with Irish ancestry), and reconciled herself to this with the realization that discovering that her husband, who fell off a cliff and returned unrecognizable, after radical plastic surgery, as her chauffeur was not SO far from discovering that your long dead wife has been a statue for 16 years (*Winter's Tale*).

Ms. Quealy has worked in a number of regional theaters around the country including the Goodman in Chicago and Florida's Asolo State Theater, as well as starring opposite Robert Sean Leonard in *Romeo & Juliet* Off-Broadway. In 1994, she returned to England for a post-graduate course at Balliol College, Oxford University, where she became an *Oxfordian* after a highly dissatisfactory visit to Shakespeare's birthplace (she demanded her £.6 back), coupled with seeing Tom Stoppard's *Arcadia* and reading A. S. Byatt's *Possession*. She returned again to NYC, only to land a Jell-O Pudding commercial with Bill Cosby (but it did provide her with health insurance for a few years).

Currently, Ms. Quealy works as Senior Editor at AKL Studio, and editorial content provider for books and magazines, shepherding *Flair*, a Hearst magazine with a circulation of 2.2 million young women across the country, even managing to get Diana

Price's book in their last book review column – an editorial triumph! She co-wrote a book on careers in the fashion industry, carried in schools and libraries across the country and has a second book under consideration at HarperCollins.

Ms. Quealy has written on a wide range of topics for American Express *Traveler's Collection*, Cornell University's *Women's Health Advisor* newsletter, PaineWebber's *Vantage Living*, *Manhattan Home*, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, etc. She has endured the slings and arrows of outraged Stratfordians in speaking engagements on the authorship question, often invoking Nietzsche for inspiration ("that which does not kill us makes us stronger"), has written numerous articles for the SOS newsletter, produced the Shakespeare-Oxford calendar, and is adamant about retaining her sense of humor and spirit of goodwill in the cutthroat world of Shakespeare scholarship.

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## **Book Review**

**By James Sherwood**

*Oxford, Son of Queen Elizabeth* by Paul Streitz (Oxford Institute Press, 2001) 325 pp.;  
*The Wonderful Shakespeare Mystery* by Warren Dickinson (Dickinson, 2001) 572 pp.

There is a cautionary tale to be read in the two books here reviewed in one space because of their authorial similarities. Beginning with a foundation of research which is vast and detailed, starting with a conclusion that the Earl of Oxford was the author known as Shakespeare, both writers have each displayed a chronology of facts already widely distributed through the original and seminal works of Looney, Ward, Clark, Fowler, and Ogburns, Sr. and Jr., adding no new research to that accumulation of facts, but a great deal of inspired fantasy. What they each bring to the subject is passion and a willingness to let their imaginations go wild. In their enthusiasm have they erred.

Paul Streitz embraces what is known as the Prince Tudor Theory which was presented a few years ago in a more concise text by Elisabeth Sears, but has gained no support among historians for lack of credible evidence. The theory lives on in modern confessions, drama and fiction.

Streitz, enjoying the luxury of speculation absent evidence that Edward de Vere was both the son of Queen Elizabeth and subsequently her lover, from which came the child Henry Wriothesley, 3rd Earl of Southampton, allows himself to throw ideas in the air on the chance some might fly. However, this is not new stuff. The senior Ogburns were interested in the incest theory. They toyed with the belief because it offered a scandal sufficient to warrant his heirs condemning Oxford forever to oblivion. Ogburn, Jr. was not so persuaded. So that debate, emerging from gaps in the historical record, will continue forever, an entertaining yes to the jaded reader, a convincing no to the more skeptical scholar.

Warren Dickinson conjectures that as Oxford was known to have had a bad leg, (though an apt dancer in his youth), clearly he fancied the jig in his declining years,

and so performed the Morris dance for thirty days and 97 miles in the springtime of his fiftieth birthday, but all under the name of the stage actor Will Kemp – and then wrote a pamphlet about it. Dickinson reasons that because Kemp's writing was clever, it too must have been by Oxford; hence, Oxford was really Will Kemp. The image of a jolly eccentric dancing with farm girls across the countryside evokes emotion, happiness and laughter, but not belief in his premise. Where is the proof for that?

In Streitz and Dickinson, the raw enthusiasm for their subject is palpable. They bring myriad documents to their cause and take off like novelists with the juiciest of tales while failing to recognize their texts are fundamentally flawed. Sometimes laughable, pathetic and colorful, but not to be believed, in the end they can be enjoyed only for their fun. Here is boundless fiction, and to Oxfordians hungry for more, with time to read about anything, that is excuse enough. In their humor, the true believers are a marvel.

Finally, buyer, beware: Streitz issues such a colossal number of typographical errors, jumbled paragraphs and errata that his publisher should be taken to task. The trouble is that Streitz was the publisher too, though cautious editor he was not. Dickinson the author spread himself too thin, reviewing the story in all sorts of detail, forgetting only to mention that Oxford, as a descendant of Charlemagne, might claim to be directly descended from Jesus. But Dickinson allows himself the luxury of being an expert on quality, an authority on forgery and is willing to give Oxford just about everything else that sounded good, so perhaps that claim will come later. Unfortunately, Dickinson treated the reader as if lecturing high school Lit. 101, exhorting the sleepy to wake up and the dull to pay attention.

For this eager reader, being taken on a hayride is fun only when the moon is full, the horse is plodding and the sweetheart has stars in her eyes. Oxfordians, trust not the inspired adventurer. The story of Edward de Vere is persuasive without an assist from the reckless. But some will read about this subject till the cows come home, so who is to complain about the other occupants of the barnyard?

## Countess Anne's Book

### New light on a 1581 Translation of Sermons on Saint Paul and the Ephesians

By Robert Brazil

On Christmas, 1581, a remarkable thing happened. After a five-year estrangement, Edward de Vere returned to his wife Anne, the Countess Oxford. They had been at odds ever since his return from the Continent in April 1576. On Christmas day they resumed their interrupted marriage and cohabitation. This was "celebrity news" in its day, and documented records of the event survive. We have the date in one example from a diary note of a clergyman, Rev. Richard Maddox, writing nine weeks later:

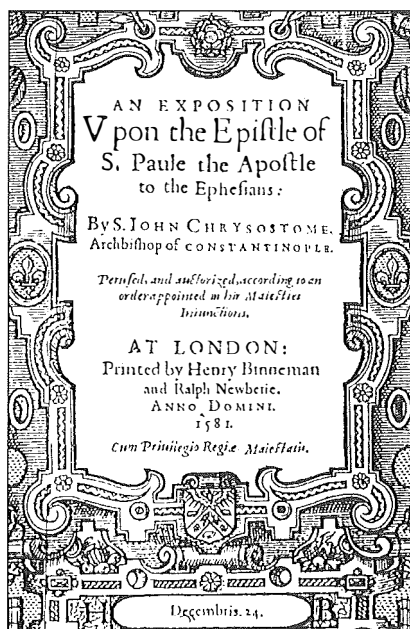
"My Lord of Oxford fought with Master Knyvet about the quarrel of Bessie Bavisar [Anne Vavasor] and was hurt, which grieved the Lord Treasurer the more, for the Earl hath company with his wife since Christmas."<sup>1</sup>

Further confirmation of what happened that Christmas may exist in a memento of their reconciliation; it appears Anne was presented with a book just off the press, a first translation of Greek sermons into English, called *An Exposition upon the epistle of St. Paul the Apostle to the Ephesians*: by S. John Chrysostome.<sup>2</sup>

This anonymous *Exposition . . . Ephesians* book is dated Dec. 24, 1581, and has a dedication to Countess Anne. I suggest there is a strong possibility that Oxford was involved in this book's publication and that he may have penned the introduction and dedication to his wife. There is the remote possibility that Oxford participated in the translation of the religious text, but it is more likely that the unattributed editor and compiler of the book commissioned the anonymous translation. Publishing details augment the book's connection to the Earl.

The larger context of events in which this book appeared is important. After a long separation, in which their private lives had become "the fable of the world,"<sup>3</sup> Anne wrote two letters to Oxford in December 1581, pleading with him to return to her, to trust her, and to believe that of any and all charges she was innocent. These are the only

surviving letters we have from Anne to Edward, and we have their texts only from copies in Burghley's logs.<sup>4</sup> We know that Oxford wrote back promptly to Anne after her first letter (dated Dec. 7, 1581) because in her second letter, of Dec. 12, she thanked him for his reply (which, unfortunately, was not copied). Anne's letter reveals that Oxford had complained about the uncertainties of the world, and treacherous friends. The dedication letter to Anne printed in the *Ephesians* book is dated Dec. 14, 1581. The date given on the introduction and on the title page is Dec. 24, 1581.



*An Exposition . . . to the Ephesians, 1581*

It appears that this book, certainly in production prior to December, was steered towards a Christmas delivery date, with special introductory material added for the occasion. We cannot know for sure if Oxford intended to return to Anne before December. Perhaps she convinced him with her letters, or her father Lord Burghley engineered it, or her godmother the Queen decreed it, in some sort of "arrangement" with Oxford.

The work itself, Chrysostom's sermons on Paul's letters, covers hundreds of

topics, but the main themes are forgiveness, redemption, and putting aside the sins of the Ephesians such as drunkenness and adultery. Little scholarship exists on this 1581 book as a literary work; it is known primarily to religious historians and admirers of Saint John Chrysostom.<sup>5</sup> Modern collections of Chrysostom's works exhibit only a passing awareness of this 1581 translation into English. The work is listed in the *Short Title Catalog* and other bibliographies under "J" for John Chrysostom. Modern English versions of Chrysostom's sermons can be found on the Internet. The Ephesians translations offered there clearly owe a debt to this first translation, even after many iterations through the centuries. The first scholarly edition in English, 1840, makes a brief reference to the anonymous prior translator of the *Ephesians* homilies.<sup>6</sup>

For the 1581 book there is no author, editor, or translator named anywhere, on the book itself, nor in the literature about it. Thus, the proposed identification of the prose introductions as Oxford's does not come at the expense of any other author. The entire book is over 350 pages. The introductions are followed by the translations of the twenty-four Chrysostom sermons. Finally, there is an amusingly arbitrary index, penned perhaps by the introduction writer.

The title page of the book features the highest possible State authorizations. It is printed with an official Stationers' Company woodcut border, which bears the Garter Arms and the Arms of the Stationers' Company. The work also carries two imprimaturs which suggest very strongly that the book was printed by special order of the Queen: "Perused, and authorized, according to an order appointed in her Majesty's Injunctions;" and "Cum Privilegio Regiae Maiestatis."

Here follow excerpts from the introductory sections of the 1581 text, in sequence and updated to modern spelling where appropriate for readability.

*An Exposition Upon the Epistle of S. Paul the Apostle to the Ephesians: By S. John Chrysostome. Archbishop of Constantinople. Perused, and authorized, according to an order appointed in her Majesty's Injunctions. At London: Printed by Henry Binneman and Ralph Newberrie. Anno Domini. 1581. Cum Privilegio Regiae Majestatis Decembris. 24.*

To the Reader: Good Reader, whereas the Author of this translation, hath a long time travailed in this excellent work, of that worthy Father, Saint John Chrysostome, purposing thereby, that the same might only serve to a private use, and for the behoofe of a few dear friends: the party notwithstanding hath been persuaded, to assent, that the same may now be made common, to the benefit of many. For, as the wise man saith, wisdom that is hid, and treasure that is not seen, what profit is in them both? And as the Sun giveth light to all and the beams thereof, the more clear they do shine, the greater is the glory of the Sun, and benefit of the creatures: even so the heavenly wisdom of God, giving light to our understanding, the more clear, and with the greater abundance it sheweth itself, the greater is God's glory, and our commoditie. And amongst many, there are two causes, which move to the publishing hereof: the one, the excellency of the work, the other, the public benefit by the translation . . . As the whole Epistle consisteth of two parts, that is, of doctrine, and exhortation: so doth the expositor S. Chrysostome follow the holy Apostle, in either of them: in doctrine, deep, and pithy in exhortation, vehement, & earnest: using in both, most pithy reasons, weighty arguments, large amplifications, apt similitudes, eloquent repetitions, most worthy examples. As for the translation, the benefit thereof shall easily appear, for as much as, that which before was the commoditie of a few, shall now redound to many. If it may please the diligent and learned reader, to confer the same with the



TO THE RIGHT  
Honourable Lady, Anne  
Countesse of Oxenforde,  
Grace and fauour from God.



ALOMON, that wife King (right Honourable Ladie,) amongst others, hath this golden prouerbe, *Fauour is deceitful, & beautie is a vaine thing: but a Woman that feareth the Lorde, shee shall be praysed.* VVhereby he sheweth, that all things in this worlde are vaine and transitorie: yea, *All the glorie of man to be but as a fading flowe* (as the Prophete cryeth:) But the grace and fauour of God, and his

Greek, he shall easily perceive, the labor taken herein: sometimes by correcting of the Greek copy, corrupted through negligence of the Printer: sometimes by adding to the Greek, some words, by a parenthesis, for the better opening of the sense: the quotations of the places of the Scriptures, cited by the author: notes also added in the margent, for the better understanding: and last of all, a Table annexed unto the same, after the order of the Alphabet, containing the principal matters, herein entreated. Thus, good Reader, thou hast, offered unto thee, in thy mother tongue, this golden work, of this godly and learned father. Read, and then judge . . . The 24. of December, in the year of our Lord Christ. 1581.

To the Right Honourable Lady, Anne Countess of Oxenforde, Grace and fauour from God: Salomon, that wise King (right Honourable Ladie,) amongst others, hath this golden proverb, *Fauour is deceitful, & beautie is a vaine thing: but a Woman that feareth the Lorde, she shall be praised.* Whereby he sheweth, that all things in this world are vaine and transitorie: yea, *All the glorie of man to be but as a fading flower* (as the Prophet cryeth:) But the grace and fauour of God, and

his true fear & service to be permanent and always to remain, to the praise and blessing, both of themselves, and their posterity. The worthy examples, and the famous memory, with praise of the godly in all ages, may be a proof hereof. The Translator of this work, having travailed in the Englishing of this godly, and learned Exposition of S. John Chrysostome, upon the Epistle of S. Paule to the Ephesians, being one, that wisheth unto you and yours, the continuance of God's grace, with the increase of all blessings, in token thereof, hath thought good to send the same unto you, as a mirror to behold true godliness and virtue, and to know how to serve and please God in all things. The 14. of December.

### The Publication

The two men who published this book were Henry Bynneman, printer, and Ralph Newbury, bookseller. Both men were involved with earlier works dedicated to Edward or Anne Oxford. Newbury was the publisher of all three editions of Geoffrey Fenton's *Golden Epistles*, dedicated to Anne. [See Christopher Paul's cover feature.] The third edition of *Golden Epistles*, 1582, was printed by Bynneman, who was the first choice when works of Greek or Latin or translations were involved. In the 1570s he held exclusive licenses for select Classics.<sup>7</sup> Moreover, Bynneman had printed the massive 1578 *Gratulationis Valdinensis*, by Gabriel Harvey, featuring Latin tributes to the Queen and ranking nobility. There we find Harvey's speech to Oxford containing the famous line "vultus tela vibrat" which may be translated as "Your look shakes spears" or "Your will shakes spears." Bynneman also printed the first edition of Holinshed's *Chronicles*, 1577, the source of much detail in Shakespeare's history plays. Bynneman's first connection to Oxford was in 1570 when he printed the curious book of verse, *The . . . metaphoricall historie of Peisistratus and Catanea*, by Edmund Elviden, dedicated to Edward de Vere. Elviden was apparently one of Oxford's classmates at Gray's Inn in 1566-7.<sup>8</sup> Bynneman also printed the second edition of Bartholomew Clerke's  
(cont'd on p. 20)

*Anne's Book (cont'd from p. 19)*

translation of *The Courtier*, 1577, with an introduction in Latin by Oxford.

Two variant editions of *Exposition... Ephesians* were published simultaneously, one with the dedication to Anne, and one without. The wording on each of the title pages differs slightly. It appears Oxford had a special edition prepared just for Anne, while a commercial edition also went out, sans dedication, for sale to the public.<sup>9</sup>

### Oxford and Anne

After Dec 24, 1581 things did change for the celebrated couple; their marriage was restored, and they were once again welcome at the Royal Court. Though they had to weather Oxford's troubles with the *Romeo and Juliet*-style street fighting that occurred in 1582, and the death of their first and only son in 1583, they persevered, having two more daughters, Bridget, born April 6, 1584, and Susan, born May 26, 1587. Ruth Loyd Miller hears the echo of the Oxfords' reconciliation in Shakespeare's *Sonnets* 116 - 119.<sup>10</sup>

Prior circumstances in the lives of Anne and Edward may bear upon this 1581 translation of Greek sermons on *New Testament* Epistles. There is some evidence that Oxford had sent Anne, from Italy, a *New Testament* in Greek. Anne could actually read Greek as her mother, Mildred Cecil, Lady Burghley, was an avid proponent of the Greek language and had raised her children to read the ancient tongue.

In 1580, a different book of sermons on the Ephesians had been published, also with a dedication to Anne, Countess Oxford. These sermons were by Niels Hemmingsens (1513-1600), a Dutch theologian. The translations were by Abraham Fleming, and Oxford's influence may be suspected in the production of this earlier work as well.<sup>11</sup>

On March 23, 1581, Oxford was thrown in the Tower of London, after Anne Vavasor gave birth to their son, Edward. Oxford's imprisonment, until June 8, 1581, was followed by house arrest. In July 1581 Secretary of State Walsingham attempted to gain Oxford's freedom, but was unsuccessful in his negotiations with

the Queen on Oxford's behalf. We have this from his letter of explanation to Burghley.<sup>12</sup>

### The Ephesians

The Apostle Paul wrote his *Epistle to the Ephesians* around 62 AD while in a Roman jail. The title of the 1580 Ephesians book dedicated to Anne was "*The Epistle of the Blessed Apostle Saint Paule, which he, in the time of his trouble and imprisonment, sent in writing from Rome to the Ephesians.*" Perhaps Paul's famous jailhouse writings served as some inspiration for these two 1580-81 *Ephesians* books, in the very years that Oxford was in and out of trouble, prison and house arrest.

The ancient Greek city of Ephesus, one of the richest in Asia Minor, was famous throughout the Mediterranean for its wondrous temple of Artemis, or Diana to the Romans. The Temple was used as a place of worship as well as a central bank. Ephesian money bore the image of a stag, recalling the myth of Actaeon and Diana. In Paul's day, Ephesus was a major trade center, though at that precise time the city was in a severe economic downturn due to the silting of its important harbor. Ephesian businessmen began selling statues of Artemis and Diana, as well as reproductions of the Temple to the many pilgrims visiting the city. Paul incited a riot by lecturing inhabitants and tourists not to buy idolatrous Ephesian images. [See *Acts* 19.]

Ephesus was a place of magic, where only a few adventurous souls had adopted early Christianity, but interpreted the *agape*, or love-feast, too literally. Paul's letters to the Ephesians bade them give up earthly pleasures for the promise of heavenly ones. Paul's *Epistle* is also known for its demand that everyone should return to what we now call "traditional family values." Quoting Paul: "Wives, submit unto your husbands, as unto the Lord . . . Husbands, love your wives . . . let every one love his wife, even as himselfe, and let the wife see that she fear the husband." [*Ephesians* 5, 22-33.]

Shakespeare was apparently fascinated with Ephesus, and like other

writers, used pagan settings as framing devices, with which one could allude to sins and debaucheries without actually mentioning such things.

*The Comedy of Errors* is set in ancient Ephesus, and the confusing comic problems created by the misadventures of two sets of identical twins are blamed by the citizens on enchantment. In Act 4, scene 4, Adriana takes her husband's identical twin Antipholus [of Syracuse] to schoolmaster and exorcist Dr. Pinch because she believes possession is the only explanation for his peculiar behavior. In Shakespeare's main source for *Errors*, Plautus' *Menaechmi*, the setting of the action was the city Epidamnium. Shakespeare changed the location to Ephesus and added the theme of magic and the scandalous marital problems of Antipholus and Adriana. Balthazar tells the cuckolded Antipholus of Ephesus:

Have patience, sir; O, let it not be so!  
Herein you war against your reputation,  
and draw within the compass of suspect  
th' unviolated honour of your wife.

*Comedy of Errors* Act 3, scene 1.

### Vocabulary of the 1581 Writer

Many of the phrases found in the 1581 introductions can be found in Oxford's Letters. I offer several examples here, with boldface added to highlight the words and phrases in question. Refer back to the text for the writer's use of *perceive*, *notes*, *travailed*, *the better understanding*, *causes*, *grace and favour*, *party notwithstanding*, *vain thing*, and *proof hereof*.

"I do well **perceive** how your Lordship doth **travail** for me in this **cause** of an especial **grace and favour**, **notwithstanding** the burden of more importunate and general affairs . . ."

[To R. Cecil; 6/19/1603; Nelson #43]

"I have included herein these **notes** as briefly as I may which also I have sent unto her Majesty for **the better understanding** how to give me remedy." [To Burghley; 6/30/1591; Nelson #20]

"how hard my fortune is in England, as I **perceive** by your Lordship's letters, but knowing how **vain a thing** it is to linger a necessary mischief . . ."

[To Burghley; 1/3/1576; Nelson #9]



"I leave it to Caulie who can make **proof thereof**."

[Cecil Papers 146/19, ff. 146/19; Nelson #50]

"unto the **parties themselves** from whom he hath drawn money to his own **behoof**, whose confirmations . . . shall be delivered . . ."

[To Burghley; 5/18/1591; Nelson #19]

Shakespeare uses the rare "behoof" just three times; for example: "This tongue hath parley'd unto foreign kings for your **behoof**." 2*Henry VI* Act 4 sc. 7

The 1581 writer uses the comparative phrase: "**the one**, the excellency of the work, **the other** the public benefit. . ." Oxford says:

"for the farm of her Tin by two sorts of suitors, **the one** sort were many, **the other** was only my self. They. . . gave her with much ado a thousand Marks by year . . ." [Huntington Lib. EL 2337; To Egerton; Nelson #68]

### Commodity Exchange

The 1581 writer says: "that which before was the **commoditie** of a few, shall now **redound** to many." For the Earl of Oxford, "commoditie" was an obsession; the word is found over 80 times in his letters. There are several instances where Oxford uses "commoditie" and "redound" together, as in the 1581 book. Here are two examples:

"to your Majesty's concerns, your whole profit which is to **redound** unto you by this **Commoditie**."

[Huntington Lib. EL2338; Nelson #74]

"when her Majesty would look into this **Commoditie**, & to see what stock were sufficient to employ that the whole **commoditie** might **redound** to herself, then the Merchant, to blind such as she employeth in such **causes**, straight at their pleasure raise the price . . ."

[Huntington Lib. EL2344; Nelson #75]

Shakespeare uses "redound" once: "I will, my lord, and doubt not so to deal as all things shall **redound** unto your good." [2*H6* Act 4, scene 9] Shakespeare uses "commodity" 23 times, and once more, if you add the *Troilus & Cresida* preface:

were but the vain names of comedies changed for titles of **commodities**, or of plays for pleas, you should see all

those grand censors, that now study them such vanities, flock to them . . .

Shakespeare's most famous "commodities" allusion is in *King John*, where the Bastard rails at the end of Act 2:

That smooth-fac'd gentleman,  
tickling commodity, Commodity,  
the bias of the world . . .

The 1581 writer says: "containing the principal matters, herein **intreated**." Oxford says:

"I will not **intreat** that you suffer it your self thus to be abused, but that you will not suffer me thus to be flouted scorned & mocked." [Cecil Papers 71/26; Oxford to Elizabeth; June 1599; Nelson #67]

In Shakespeare, a single instance of the archaic spelling **intreat** survives:

ISABELLA. I have no tongue but one;  
gentle, my lord, let me **intreat** you  
speak the former language.

ANGELO. Plainly conceive, I love you.

*Measure for Measure* Act 2 scene 4

### Concluding the Account

Could Oxford have produced this 1581 *Ephesians* book? Certainly the motive, means and opportunity existed. Perhaps Oxford began the project when he was in the Tower, thinking of repentance, and what he might do to rehabilitate his reputation. With this book, dated Christmas Eve, Oxford could present a copy to his wife saying, in effect: Honey, forgive me! Or, Honey, I forgive – you! The interpretation can go either way.

It may have been unseemly for him to overtly put his name on the work, but there *is* an odd typeset "signature," at the end of the book, that may be illuminating. There we find a "Table of Principall matters" which seems, in part, designed to amuse Anne or himself. The editor of the Table chose the first entry to be the word "Account." Then with peculiar typesetting we see:

#### Account.

**E** Verie one shall give an account for himselfe.

The unusual "Drop Cap" gimmick is not repeated. "Account" indicates a story while punning "A Count." A *Count* is the French version of an Earl.

The 1581 introductions show a style, vocabulary and spelling similar to Oxford's own. The *Ephesian* theme which later fascinated Shakespeare can be historically associated with Countess Anne through the two *Ephesians* books dedicated to her. If generally accepted, these 1581 introductions add to the collection of Oxford's known prose writing. The work displays rare vocabulary later used by Shakespeare, and enlarges the number of Oxford-Shakespeare parallels. It adds some color and depth to the growing biographies of Edward and Anne de Vere. The work is consistent with the hypothesis that we are reading something from the man who later wrote as "Shakespeare."

### Endnotes

1. Charlton Ogburn Jr., *The Mysterious William Shakespeare*, New York, Dodd Mead and Company, 1984, p. 650, Diary note from Rev. Richard Maddox, March 3rd, 1582: Cotton MSS, Appendix 47.
2. *An Exposition upon the epistle of St. Paul the Apostle to the Ephesians: by S. John Chrysostome*. Printed by Henry Bynnenman and Ralph Newberry. STC #14632a. The variant version, without Anne's dedication, is #14632. That public edition has an additional single line on the title page: "Truely and faithfully tr. out of Greeke."
3. Oxford's letter to Burghley dated April 27, 1576. In Fowler's collection this is 1.15.

This might have been done through private conference before, and had not needed to have been the **fable of the world** if you would have had the patience to have understood me; but I do not know by what or whose advice it was, to run that course so contrary to my will or meaning, which made her so disgraced, to the world . . .

(cont'd on p. 22)

A.  
*Account.*  
**E** Verie one shall giue an account for  
himselfe. 155.18  
Howe farre foorth the Pastor shall  
giue account for foules. 155.22  
Looke Pastor and Preacher.  
*Admontrie.*

*Anne's Book (cont'd from p. 21)*

4. Ogburn, *op cit*, p. 649. The Burghley copies of Anne's letters are: Lansdowne MSS. 104/63 & 104/64. Conyers Read, in *Lord Burghley and Queen Elizabeth*, NY, Knopf, 1960, p. 557, discusses the two Anne letters in Note 73. One of the two letters has cross-outs and interlineations and looks more like a kept draft version than a copy.

5. Chrysostom, "The Golden Mouth," (c. 347-407 AD) was known for his amazing oratorical skill. He visited Ephesus in 401 on Church business. An excellent website on the Saint is: [www.chrysostom.org](http://www.chrysostom.org).

6. Cardinal John H. Newman, *Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians and . . . Ephesians of S. John Chrysostom, Archbishop of Constantinople. Translated, with notes and indices.* [Printed by Parker and Rivington, 1840] Cardinal Newman, in his Preface, alludes to the only known prior translation into English as "the former by a friend who conceals his name." This refers to the anonymous 1581 edition. The second man mentioned, Rev. Copeland, was the translator of the edition Newman edited. The direct quote from Newman:

As to the Translations, the Editors have been favored with the former by a friend who conceals his name; and with the latter, by the Rev. William John Copeland, M.A., Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford." – J.H. Newman.

7. *Dictionary of National Biography*, Reprinted at the University Press, Oxford 1921-22, "Bynne, Henry."

8. Elviden's book is STC #7624. The information on Elviden at Gray's inn is from Katherine Chiljan (ed.) *Dedication Letters to the Earl of Oxford*, 1994, p. 11.

9. Pollard & Redgrave, *A Short title catalogue of books printed in England, . . . 1475-1640*, London, Bibliographical Society, 1976, Vol. 2, p. 28.

10. Ruth Loyd Miller, *Oxfordian Vistas*, Kennikat Press, Port Washington, 1975, Vol. II, pp. 74-77

11. *The Epistle of the Blessed Apostle Saint Paule, . . . translated . . . by Abraham Fleming*. Printed by T. East, 1580. Registered 7/27/1580. STC #13058, #13057.8, and formerly #2986. Ded. to Anne Countess of Oxenford." Fleming later became one of the editor-revisors for the 1587 edition of *Holinshed's Chronicles*.

12. Ogburn, *op cit*, p. 648

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*Shakespeare News (cont'd from p. 5)*

### Quoting Shakespeare

*When the going gets tough, and the world is watching, quote Shakespeare.*

On July 25, 2002 the only man charged in the "9-11" terror attacks, Zacarias Moussaoui, dropped his guilty plea in a surprise last-minute move. U.S. District Judge Leonie Brinkema had carefully explained to Moussaoui that by continuing to plead guilty to the charges he could face capital punishment. Apparently realizing for the first time the extreme danger he was in, Moussaoui withdrew his plea, quoting Shakespeare's *Hamlet* in the process. These are Moussaoui's words: "Hamlet said: 'To be or not to be, that is the question.' I say: To plead guilty or not to plead guilty, that is the question . . . As a Muslim, I cannot endorse anything with the condition of death."

On August 9, 2002, Charlton Heston announced that he has symptoms consistent with Alzheimer's disease. The 78-year-old actor, in a taped statement played at a news conference at the Beverly Hills Hotel, quoted a long passage from *The Tempest* to end his presentation.

"William Shakespeare, at the end of his career, wrote his farewell through the words of Prospero, in *The Tempest*. It ends like this: "Becheerful, sir. Our revels now are ended . . . We are such stuff as dreams are made on, and our little life is rounded with a sleep. Thank you, and God bless you, everyone."

Earlier this year Heston made some comments on the History Channel touching on the Authorship question. He defended the Stratfordian position.

The anti-Stratfordians are elitists. They can't bear the idea that a man of no particular public identity from an obscure Stratford family should somehow be The Genius of the World. They hate that! The Earl of Oxford is a much more attractive figure. He was a dashing fellow, an important guy on the court. He traveled and even wrote a little bit. But he wasn't Shakespeare. He didn't write Shakespeare . . . you can't create a

play on the page. The play exists in the air, in spoken words, in light, in darkness, and none of those plays works on the page.

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*Seven Ages of Man (cont'd from p. 15)*

7. *Dictionary of National Biography*, Vol. 6, Reprinted at the University Press, Oxford, 1921-22, pp. 1187-88.
8. Geoffrey Fenton, *A forme of christian pollicie drawne out of French*, STC 10793a. It's also possible that Oxford borrowed Fenton's name for a character in *The Merry Wives of Windsor*. Cf. Robert Brazil's "Unpacking *The Merry Wives*". *The Oxfordian*, Vol. II, 1999, pp. 127-8; and *The True Story of the Shakespeare Publications*, 2000, pp. 28-9. See also Geoffrey Fenton, *Golden Epistles, Contayning varietie of discourse both Morall, Philosophicall, and Diuine: gathered as well out of the remainder of Gueuaraes workes, as other Authors, Latine, French, and Italian*. STC 10794.
9. Geoffrey Bullough. *Narrative and dramatic sources of Shakespeare*, London, Routledge and Paul; New York Columbia University Press, 1957-75, Vol. 7, pp. 202-5, 235, 469 fn.
10. Charles Boyce, *Shakespeare A to Z*, New York, Facts on File Publications, 1990, p. 190.
11. Cf. Eddi Jolly, "Shakespeare" and Burghley's Library," *The Oxfordian*, Vol. III, 2000, p. 12.
12. *Oxford English Dictionary*, Compact

- Ed., Oxford University Press, 1986, p. 2066.
13. Isaac Asimov, *Asimov's Guide to Shakespeare*, New York, Avenel Books, 1970, p. 568.
14. Draper, *op. cit.*, p. 274.
15. J.W. Bennett, "Jaques' Seven Ages," *Shakespeare Association Bulletin* 18, 1943, p. 169. Bennett reveals some interesting parallels between Jaques' speech and the *Onomasticon* of Pollux and concludes "What we can be reasonably sure of is that [Shakespeare] was following a verbal rather than, or in addition to, a pictorial tradition . . ." Bennett is assuming, of course, that Shaksper could read Greek and/or Latin, which were the only languages in which this work was available in the sixteenth century, the latest edition having been published c. 1541. It's certainly plausible that the multi-lingual Oxford, on the other hand, had access to Pollux.
16. Katherine Chiljan, *Letters and Poems of Edward, Earl of Oxford*, 1998, p. 22.
17. Samuel C. Chew, *The Pilgrimage of Life*, Yale University Press, 1962, pp. 150-1.
18. Robert H. Cust, *The Pavement Masters of Siena (1369-1562)*, London, 1901, p. 84.
19. Sears, *op. cit.*, p. 137.
20. Henry Green, *Shakespeare and*

*the emblem writers*, London, Trübner, 1870, p. 407.

21. Cf. Brazil, *True Story*, *op. cit.*, pp. 43-5.
22. Cf. Frederick Morgan Padelford, *The Axiochus of Plato*, Baltimore., Johns Hopkins Press, 1934, pp. 2-3.; D.A. Carroll, *Greene's Groatsworth of Wit*, Binghamton, Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1994; M. W. H. Swan, *English Literary History* 11, 1944, pp. 161-81; C.T. Wright, *PMLA* 76, 1961, pp. 34-39.
23. Ponsonbie had written in the 1591 *Complaints*: "Since my late setting forth of the Faerie Queene, finding that it hath found a favorable passage amongst you; I haue since endeouored by all good meanes . . . to get into my handes such smale Poemes of the same Authors; as I heard were disperst abroad in sundrie hands . . ." (Padelford, *op. cit.*, p. 8).
24. Padelford, *op. cit.*, pp. 8-9.
25. Padelford, *op. cit.*, pp. 46-8.
26. Cf. Eva Turner Clark, *Hidden Allusions in Shakespeare's Plays*, 3<sup>rd</sup> Revised Edition, 1974, by R. Miller, pp. 508-28; Dorothy and Charlton Ogburn, *This Star of England*, 1952, pp. 443-67.
27. Cf. Padelford, *op. cit.*, p. 12; additionally, Oxford's "sweet speech" was written circa January 1581.

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