



The Shakespeare OXFORD Newsletter



26th Annual SOS Conference Held in Nation's Capitol

Library of Congress Talk, Folger Tour Highlighted

On October 10-13, the Shakespeare Oxford Society held its 26th Annual Conference at the Crystal Gateway Marriott in Arlington, Virginia, adjacent to Washington D.C., where the society's new headquarters are located.

Sponsored by the Gertrude C. Ford Foundation, the conference opened with a public forum on the Shakespeare authorship question at the Library of Congress. Jack Shuttleworth gave a general introduction to the Shakespeare authorship problem, beginning with the holes in Shaksper of Stratford's biography and proceeding to the complete lack of corroborating evidence linking the Stratford man to the plays themselves. Writer Joseph Sobran spoke of his introduction to the Shakespeare mystery, which began when he was asked to review Ogburn, Jr.'s book for the *National Review*. This led to an obsession with investigating the topic, and eventually to his own book, *Alias Shakespeare*. Washingtonian Peter Dickson, the former intelligence analyst and noted researcher in the mysteries of Columbus as well as of Shakespeare, described in detail the peculiar anomalies of the burials in Trinity church at Stratford-on-Avon, including the lack of Shakespeare's name on the floor marker, the vexing question of whether the body or bones are interred in the floor or in the wall, and the significant differences between Shaksper's monument and the memorials

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Camden, Drayton, Greene, Hall, and Cooke: Five Eyewitnesses Who Saw Nothing

By Ramón Jiménez

It is well known that the first references in print that connect William Shakespeare of Stratford-on-Avon to the playwright Shakespeare appeared in the First Folio, seven years after his death. On the other hand, several literary men and others wrote about Stratford the town, and knew the Shakespeare living there, but never connected him to the playwright Shakespeare, with whom they were also familiar.

William Camden, born in 1551, was the most eminent historian and antiquary of the Elizabethan age, and was deeply involved in the literary and intellectual world of his time. He knew Philip Sidney, was a valued friend of Michael Drayton, and is said to have been a teacher of Ben Jonson. His most famous work was *Britannia*, a history of England first published in Latin in 1586. He revised it several times

before his death in 1623, and it was frequently reprinted.

Another of Camden's books was *Remaines Concerning Brittain*, a series of essays on English history, English names, and the English language that he published in 1605. Camden wrote poetry himself, and in the section on poetry, he referred to poets as "God's own creatures." He listed eleven English poets and playwrights who he thought would be admired by future generations – in other words, the best writers



William Camden

of his time.¹ Among the eleven were six playwrights, including Jonson, Chapman, Drayton, Daniel, Marston, and William Shakespeare.

Two years later, in 1607, Camden published the sixth edition of his *Britannia*, which by then had doubled in size because of his extensive revisions and additions. He arranged the book by shire or county, with his description of

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Gheeraerts Exhibit Featured at the Tate

By Gerit Quealy

The Tate Britain has been holding a special exhibition featuring select paintings of Marcus Gheeraerts the Younger, 1561/2-1636, an artist of special interest to Oxfordians for the portrait of the Earl of Oxford holding a boar medallion attributed to him. Though the show does not feature this portrait, dated c. 1586 (currently in the possession of Judge and Mrs. Minos D. Miller of Louisiana), the small retrospective is of interest to Oxfordians on myriad levels. Mounted to coincide with the 400th anniversary of the death of Queen Elizabeth, his most famous sitter, the show also does not include the Ditchley portrait (hanging in



Woman in Persian Dress by Gheeraerts

the National Portrait Gallery, London), but emphasizes how Gheeraerts defined the public images of many of leading Britons of the era, including Robert Devereux, the Earl of Essex. Employed by the Queen to memorialize Devereux, Gheeraerts was subsequently co-opted by the earl to deliberately craft his public image. Another portrait of interest to Oxfordians is identified as *Portrait of a Man in Classical Dress, probably Philip Herbert, 4th Earl of Pembroke*. Apparently there is a companion painting of his brother, William Herbert, in the same style, currently at the Center for Visual Arts, Stanford University.

Gheeraerts came to England from Bruges in 1568 with his father, an engraver and portraitist. The Tate show features a rather pensive portrait of Queen Elizabeth attributed to Marcus Gheeraerts the Elder as well as paintings by the famous miniaturists Nicholas

Hilliard and Isaac Oliver, the latter who became the portraitist's brother-in-law in 1602 when he married Gheeraerts's half sister.

One of the most interesting features of the retrospective is a focus on the artist's "pregnancy portraits."

The younger Gheeraerts painted a number of these portraits, a unique feature of late Elizabethan/early Jacobean life, and they are thought to be one of his specialties. Paradoxically, developing in popularity during the reign of the Virgin Queen, these portraits were commissioned for a number of reasons: because many 16th century women

spent much of their adult life in a state of pregnancy; because many families were moving rapidly up the social ladder and the portraits evidenced the family's imminent dynastic success; because so many women died around childbirth, the portraits became, in essence, a visual parallel to the "mother's legacy" – text written by the mother for the benefit of her unborn child. Contemporary anatomical illustrations of pregnant women, as well as a pregnancy jacket (with a pattern recalling the controversial "Persian lady" portrait) are also displayed.

To accompany the exhibition, running through April 20, the Tate has produced a book to further elucidate the artist's life and work. Entitled *Marcus Gheeraerts II, Elizabethan Artist, In Focus*, by Karen Hearn, it can be ordered from their website: <http://www.tate.org.uk/shop/>.

University of Toronto Hosts “Picturing Shakespeare” Symposium

By Sue Sybersma

At a well-attended symposium at the University of Toronto on November 14 and 15, 2002, a distinguished group of university professors and art experts presented a multi-disciplinary analysis of the “Saunders Portrait,” which has been claimed to be a portrait of William Shakespeare. Their tentative conclusion was that although it may have been painted during his lifetime, it is probably not a portrait of the dramatist.

Owned by Mr. Lloyd Sullivan and displayed in the Toronto University Art Gallery, the portrait has been a subject of widespread speculation since its “discovery” in May 2001, and is the subject of a book – *Shakespeare’s Face* – by Stephanie Nolen.

Scientific analysis of the portrait by the Canadian Conservation Institute revealed that the painting’s oak panels, and the paper label pasted on the back, are consistent with a date of 1603, according to the Institute’s Marie-Claude Corbeil. She also said that there were no anomalies of overpainting or anachronisms of pigments. Oxfordians in the audience asked if there had once been a narrow, third oak plank at the right margin that might have borne the sitter’s age, as was the custom in the period. Mme. Corbeil replied that the existing panel was brittle, worm-eaten, and cracked off, but there was no evidence of tampering in the beveling of the wood.

On the other hand, Professor Alan Somerset, from the University of Western Ontario, questioned the reliability of the label on the back of the painting, which reads in part “Shakspere, Born April 23 1564.” He noted the anachronistic birth date and placed the handwriting after 1773, when biographer George Steevens first published Shakespeare’s “official” birth date. This theory conflicts with that of some of his colleagues, who have dated the label

100 years earlier, but it is supported by the fact that the name “Shakspere,” as it was spelled in the Stratford parish records, was first published by Steevens in the same biography. Somerset also



The Sanders Portrait

said that radiocarbon analysis indicated that the paper was made from recycled linen rags of many different ages, and that the signs of overwriting on the label were the result of the quill pen running out of ink.

Art historian Taryna Cooper, from London’s University College, said that the portrait, a modest depiction of a middle-class sitter, was probably the work of two artists in the same studio, one a drawer of some skill and the other perhaps an apprentice. She then startled the audience with a slide of another portrait, dated 1604, which she had found documented in the archive of the National Portrait Gallery. This portrait of a younger, darker-haired man, identified (perhaps erroneously) as Thomas Overbury, bore a striking resemblance to the Saunders portrait, having the same

facial expression, hair, and clothing treatment. Cooper speculated that the resemblance suggested formulaic portraits of two sitters, probably painted by the same artist. Unfortunately, the NPG has only a colored photograph of the Overbury. The portrait’s last known location was Dresden, in 1939.

A comprehensive costume analysis, including details of the hair, collar, and doublet was presented by Susan North, of the Victoria and Albert Museum, and Jenny Tiramani, from the Globe Theater, London. Their impression of the sitter was that he had a social status that allowed him to wear a showy, silk/satin doublet trimmed in silver-wire laces, but that his collar and haircut were more modest and conservative. Since players were allowed to break the sumptuary laws on stage to depict the nobility, this doublet might have been a costume belonging to one of the companies of players.

Alan Nelson, an English professor at University of California, Berkeley, disputed Stephanie Nolen’s claim that King James’ elevation of the Chamberlain’s Men to the King’s Men in 1603 made Shakespeare and his fellow sharers courtiers in the Stuart court. Supposedly, the desire to memorialize this new status led Shakespeare to have his portrait painted in a sumptuous doublet. Nelson pointed out that Shakespeare, as a player-groom, would still have had the status of a servant. Besides the sharers, eleven hundred other servants were issued red cloth for the coronation, so it was no special honor. Ms. Nolen, who was present, was the journalist responsible for helping Mr. Sullivan bring his portrait to public attention in Toronto’s *The Globe and Mail*.

A panel of three researchers,
(cont’d on p. 16)

Oxfordian News

Washington D.C.

Edward de Vere's personal copy of *Geneva Bible and Holy Scriptures* (published in 1570) is currently on display at the Folger Shakespeare Library in a special exhibit called "Thys Boke Is Myne," a phrase written by a young Henry VIII in his copy of Cicero. The exhibit reveals how various owners marked personal copies of favored volumes, and runs through March 1. Oxford's Bible, with its timeworn, burgundy cover and engraved heraldic boar, is displayed closed. The description accompanying it reads:

This copy of the Geneva Bible was owned by Edward de Vere, Earl of Oxford. His crest is engraved on the oval plate on the top cover. For those who believe the Earl of Oxford is the author of Shakespeare's plays, this Bible is a central piece of evidence. They claim, for example, that lines and phrases in the plays can be traced to underlined passages in it. Others question underlining as evidence of anything. The authorship debate began over 200 years ago, when an 18th century academic, James Wilmot, first constructed the theory that Francis Bacon was "the Stratford man." Dozens of names have been put forward since, including Raleigh, Marlowe and Elizabeth I.

Across the exhibit hall, Walt Whitman's *November Boughs*, 1888, is open for all to see. Whitman's essay contains his provocative comments on the authorship of Shakespeare's history plays, including his belief that a "wolfish earl" wrote them.

Following this exhibit is one that commemorates the 400th anniversary of Queen Elizabeth's death entitled, "Elizabeth I, Then and Now," from March 21 through August 2. This

thorough examination of the reign of Elizabeth I is drawn exclusively from the Folger's holdings, which are the largest collection of items by and about Elizabeth in North America. From Court entertainments and Elizabeth's Men, to foreign ties and inventories of her wardrobe, all aspects of her sovereignty will be displayed. A special section will look at her extensive legacy, from pamphlets, plays, and novels of the seventeenth century to mysteries, movies, and merchandise of our own. Among the 85 treasures on display will be the "Sieve" portrait of Elizabeth and her letters, personal Bible, and New Year's Gift Roll.

Massachusetts

More than fifty Oxfordians enjoyed three days of lectures, debates and shows at the first annual conference of the Shakespeare Fellowship last October 18-20 at the Royal Sonesta Hotel, Cambridge. A reception and panel discussion of "Shakespeare & the Rule of Law" was held at the Social Law Library, Boston, featuring the Honorable William Bulger, Chancellor of the University of Massachusetts, the Honorable John Greaney, Associate Justice on the Massachusetts Supreme Court, and County District Attorney Martha Coakley. The session was moderated by Dr. David Lowenthal. A narration, in costume, by Hank Whittemore served as a prologue to video scenes from *Measure for Measure*. The opening address of the conference was given by SF president Dr. Charles Berney. Richard Whalen then gave the keynote address on the "State of the Debate." There were detailed presentations on the Ashbourne portrait research of Barbara Burris by Dr. Gordon Cyr and William Boyle. Dr. Sarah Smith suggested a reattribution of Munday's *The Paine of Pleasure* to Oxford. Participants enjoyed excellent presentations from Drs. Eric Altschuler, Richard Desper, Ren Draya, and Dan Wright. Ron Halstead presented a chronology linking *Merry Wives of*

Windsor to the life of Edward de Vere. Other presenters included Hank Whittemore, who presented a chronological reconstruction of the entire Sonnet series based on his forthcoming book; *The Oxfordian* editor Stephanie Hughes spoke on Oxford's legal education, and Alex McNeil gave a very humorous presentation called "What's in a Nym?" The Saturday banquet featured Michael Dunn in costume as Sherlock Holmes with a power-point presentation that drew standing ovations. Sunday lectures included a paper prepared by Barbara Burris on *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, and Gerit Quealy's "Crime of the Millennium" with props and impeccable comic timing, visually underscoring the shift of weight in circumstantial evidence to the Earl of Oxford. The most anticipated event was a debate between Stratfordian Terry Ross and Dr. Roger Stritmatter, where Ross tried to confuse the issues involved with Dr. Stritmatter's Geneva Bible thesis, attacking the mathematics and denying substance; but Ross was held accountable for his own positions, and lost.

California

Also commemorating the 400th anniversary of Queen Elizabeth's death is the Huntington Library in San Marino with an exhibit entitled, "'Gloriana!' A Celebration of Elizabeth I." On display now, the entire exhibit consists of materials in the Huntington's collections, including original letters and documents bearing Elizabeth's signature, rare books and early prints of the period, and a miniature of the queen by Nicholas Hilliard. The exhibit is located in the West Hall of the Library, and runs through June 15.

On March 22, the Beverly Hills Public Library will feature Oxfordian Sally Mosher, who will present a multimedia lecture called, "Music at the Courts of Henry VIII and Elizabeth I." Mosher will discuss the social status and daily lives of musicians at this time, both court musicians and

working musicians outside the court sphere. It will be a considerable enlargement on Mosher's article in the *Southern California Early Music News*, later reprinted by the San Francisco *Bay Area Early Music News*. Sponsored by the Shakespeare Authorship Roundtable, the event is open to the public. On Saturday, April 26, Mosher will offer a similar program at First Congregational Church in Cambridge, Massachusetts, playing one of Peter Sykes's harpsichords. This event, sponsored by the Shakespeare Fellowship, is also open to the public.

Chicago

On Sat., May 17, 2003, from 10 a.m. to 2 p.m., the Chicago Oxford Society is sponsoring a conference at the Chicago Adler Planetarium titled "Shakespeare and the Stars." Dr. Peter Usher will be keynote speaker and William Farina will be giving a presentation on *King Lear*.

England – DVS News

The De Vere Society convened its annual meeting on January 11 at Shakespeare's Globe Theater in London. Presenters included Mike Llewellyn on *The Death of Edward de Vere*, underscoring that the earl did not, in fact, die of "ye plague," explaining how numerous Oxfordian researchers labored under this misapprehension (originally from a misreading of the Newcombe manuscript), and clarifying that some plague victims were indeed buried in church, the Privy Council's order not taking effect until May 1666. He also speculated on the possible location of De Vere's tomb. Elizabeth Imlay then championed the recently deceased Edward Holmes's book *Discovering Shakespeare*, refuting some reviewers by outlining some of the valuable information contained in the book. Ms. Imlay particularly focused on the financial information, including Oxford's vast land holdings in the then "theater district" of London, the ensuing legal battles, and positing that this may have been part and parcel to his financial ruin. Charles Bird

proposed that a beautiful rood screen in Castle Hedingham might have inspired the writing of *Edward III*. The afternoon hours were spent with all assembled working out the logistics of the 2004 Conference in Cambridge. The morning session was attended by the society's patron, Sir Derek Jacobi, who then had to rush off for a rehearsal of *The Tempest*, playing at the Old Vic in London from January 13 to March 15, 2003.

Marlowe Lives – Again

On January 2, 2003, the PBS program *Frontline* aired Mike Rubbo's "Much Ado About Something," a documentary that addresses the authorship problem from a Marlovian point of view [see review in *SOS Newsletter* 38-1, Winter, 2002]. It was the second time that *Frontline* has taken on the Shakespeare authorship question, having first aired "The Shakespeare Mystery," a documentary with an Oxfordian point of view, in 1989. PBS created an Internet forum to discuss Rubbo's film, and participants have included Rubbo, Dr. Alan Nelson, Diana Price, Wayne Shore and others. The forum also conducted a poll for the question, "Does the author matter, or is the play the thing?" Sixty-one percent responded that "it's the author." One can read the archived posts and join in the debate at www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/muchado/.

Upcoming Events

Smithsonian to Feature Authorship Seminar

For the second year in a row, the Smithsonian Resident Associates will sponsor a Shakespeare Authorship program. "Shakespeare or De Vere: That is the Question" will be the subject of an all day seminar on Saturday, April 19th, in Washington D.C. The featured panelists are Oxfordians Joseph Sobran, W. Ron Hess, and Katherine

Chiljan, and Stratfordians Prof. Stephen May, Prof. Alan Nelson, and Irvin Matus. Diana Price, author of *Shakespeare's Unorthodox Biography*, will open the program with an overview of the authorship question. The program coordinator, William F. Causey, of the law firm of Nixon Peabody LLP, will serve as moderator. Panelists will be available after the program for book signings. For more information, view the Resident Associates website at www.ResidentAssociates.org/com/devere.asp.

27th Annual SOS Conference to be held in New York City

Plans are underway to hold the Shakespeare Oxford Society's 27th Annual Conference in the Big Apple over St. Crispin's Day, October 23-26th. Conference organizers believe they will be able to keep costs in line with recent conferences held in Washington D.C. and Carmel. The theme for this year's conference is tentatively planned to be "Performance and Publishing," as the City is unarguably the capital for both industries in this country. Some of the leading lights in both industries have already agreed to participate in the conference. A call for papers will go out in the next newsletter. Please mark your calendars for this exciting event.

New Biography of Oxford To Be Published

Professor Alan Nelson's long-awaited biography of the 17th Earl of Oxford by will soon be available. Bearing the title *Monstrous Adversary*, the book carries the imprimatur of the University of Liverpool, but is being published in the United States by isbs.com. It will be the first major biography of Oxford since B.M. Ward's 1928 work, *The Seventeenth Earl of Oxford*.

One can pre-order the book at www.isbs.com/r21.asp?Lc=0853236887.

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Oxfordian News (cont'd from p. 5)

Oregon De Vere Conference

The annual Edward de Vere Studies Conference is scheduled for April 10-13, 2003, at Concordia University in Portland. Hosted by Dr. Daniel Wright, the conference is in its seventh year. Featured speakers include Prof. William Rubinstein of the University of Wales, Dr. Michael Braeme of University of Washington, Seattle, William Niederkorn of *The New York Times*, Richard Whalen, Dr. Paul Altrocchi, Dr. Eric Altschuler, and Randall Sherman. Entertainment will include a performance of Oscar Wilde's *The Importance of Being Earnest*. For more information, see the conference website, www.deverestudies.org.

DVS 2004 – Call for Papers

The DVS will be holding a major conference at Queens' College, Cambridge from July 7-10, 2004, marking the 400th anniversary of the death of Edward de Vere. The conference will focus on the Oxford solution to the authorship problem as a subject worthy of serious study, based on facts rather than disproved speculation. The Society is seeking contributions from those with specialist knowledge, especially academics, historians and writers, and those who can present new approaches to the Oxford theory substantiated by primary sources of evidence. All papers should be fully referenced with works cited. Acceptance of a paper will assume

the attendance of the contributor at the conference to read the paper and answer questions. Speakers will be allotted a maximum of 50 minutes each, to be used in any way they choose. The closing date for synopses is July 31, 2003. As the DVS intends to publish accepted papers in book form, to be on sale at the conference, the full and final text must be submitted by February 1, 2004. A synopsis of the proposed paper should be submitted, preferably by e-mail, to Christopher Dams: christopher@dams34.fsnet.co.uk or by mail to, New Orchard House, Glebe Yard, Long Sutton, Langport TA10 9HU. For advance conference payments, which would be much appreciated by the Society, please contact Mr. Dams.

Gloriana Miscellania

An unprecedented exhibition of paintings, manuscripts, art, and personal items relating to the life of Elizabeth I opens on May 1, 2003, at the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, commemorating the 400th anniversary of her death. Created by guest curator Dr. David Starkey, the exhibition brings together the largest collection ever of the private life of Elizabeth.

Both Elizabeth and her father, Henry VIII, were born at Greenwich Palace on the site of what is now the Maritime Greenwich World Heritage Site.

There are 350 items in the display, many of which have never been seen before by the public. The treasures include a mother-of-pearl, ruby, and diamond ring containing miniature busts of the Queen and her mother, Anne Boleyn, love letters to Elizabeth from her suitors, and rarely seen portraits of the Queen and her courtiers, including works by Hilliard, Gheeraerts Younger and Elder, and Isaac Oliver. The exhibit runs through September 14, 2003. For more information see: <http://www.nmm.ac.uk/>.

The BBC series *Elizabeth R* has been released on DVD. It contains the reading of historical documents by Glenda Jackson and commentary by historian Alison Weir.

Benjamin Britten's opera *Gloriana* had its first production by an American company during the summer of 2001 at the Central City Opera in Colorado. The role of Elizabeth was played by Joyce Castle.

Gail Kern Paster at the Folger

Gail Kern Paster is the Folger's fifth Director. An interview with Ms. Paster appeared in *The Key Reporter*, Fall 2002. Asked if Shakespeare really *was* Shakespeare, Paster answered the question directly; it is an issue she has written about and debated, most recently at the Smithsonian. Paster says,

There's a solid documentary evidence of his life at Stratford, and of his acting life," she said. "There's a clear record. The conspiracy theorists deny him his life's work – they see what they want to see. They don't use the canons of

evidence that literary scholarship uses. Of course I speak only for myself as a Shakespearean scholar. The Folger has always opened its doors to people doing research on the authorship question – and will continue to do so.

Is Shakespeare But the Fifth Greatest Briton?

The BBC ran a *Greatest Briton* contest, with voting and ongoing results posted on their website. The final results are in. Winston Churchill was voted "Greatest Briton of all time." Shakespeare came in fifth. The top ten are:

1. Winston Churchill;
2. Isambard Kingdom Brunel;
3. Diana, Princess of Wales;
4. Charles Darwin;
5. William Shakespeare;
6. Sir Isaac Newton;
7. Queen Elizabeth I;
8. John Lennon;
9. Lord Nelson;
10. Oliver Cromwell.

Complete results, including the top 100, can be seen at: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/programmes/greatbritons/>.

Call for Papers

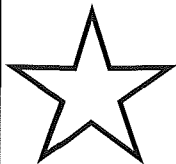
For the 27th Annual Conference of the Shakespeare Oxford Society, sponsored by the Gertrude C. Ford Foundation, members are especially invited to submit papers (30-45 minutes in length) for presentation in New York City, October 23-26, 2003.

The theme for this conference is: **Performance & Publishing**

Since New York City is the capital of these two industries in this country, papers with a particular focus on one of these subjects is preferable. Suggested topics include: research into characters, language, and themes from the plays – clarifying how knowledge of the author illuminates the text; analyses of theater companies of the time or an examination of the court revels; papers which elaborate the Elizabethan publication process and clarify the role of the Stationers' Company, the ownership rights of theater companies, the significance of dedicatory material, and the dating of the plays.

As 2003 is the 400th anniversary of Queen Elizabeth's death, a paper incorporating this theme is encouraged, as is something acknowledging St. Crispin's Day, such as an examination of Oxford's military activities, since this conference falls on that date (October 25th). And of course all smoking guns are most welcome.

We welcome scholars from other fields and disciplines who can provide context or questions for the study of Oxford's role in Elizabethan society. Any questions or submissions should be directed to Gerit Quealy, 698 West End Avenue, 11B, New York, NY 10025-6827. Telephone: 212-678-0006. E-mail: MissGQ@aol.com. The deadline for final submissions is June 15, 2003 although outlines of your topic are encouraged well prior to that date.



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Revisiting the Dating of *Twelfth Night*

By Dr. Frank Davis

Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* is as popular today as it was in the Elizabethan and Jacobean eras. But when was the play actually written? Most Oxfordians are familiar with the traditional arguments for dating the play to 1601. However, a review of both the Stratfordian evidence for that date and the Oxfordian basis for an earlier dating seems worthwhile.

The characters in this comedy are familiar to all those who enjoy Shakespeare, but it rests mainly on the shoulders of Oxfordians to point out the many topical allusions in the play. Stratfordians tend to miss these because of the fictitious timeline they must establish while attempting to mesh the play with the life of the man from Stratford.

Twelfth Night was first published in the First Folio, where it is found as the 13th of the 14 comedies (*Winter's Tale* being the 14th). However, *Twelfth Night* traditionally has been considered the last comedy written by Shakespeare. The text in the First Folio is essentially errorless.

E. K. Chambers and other Stratfordians typically date the play to 1601-2, largely because the first record of a production of the play is found in a diary of one John Manningham which was discovered in 1828 by Joseph Hunter. In the entry of interest, dated Feb. 2 1601 (old, 1602 new), Manningham recorded,

At our feast [of the Middle Temple, which Manningham had recently joined] we had a play called Twelfth Night or What You Will. Much like the Comedy of Errors, or Menaechmi in Plautus; but most like and near to that in Italian called Inganni. A good practice in it to make the steward his lady widowe was in love with him, by counterfeiting as from his lady in general terms, telling him what she liked best in him, and prescribing his

gesture in smiling his apparel, etc. and then he came to practise, making him to be mad. [BLMS Harley 5353]

Twelfth Night was not mentioned by Francis Meres in his 1598 *Palladis Tamia*, so it is traditionally assumed that the play had not yet been written—likely a fallacious assumption, as we will see. Also, the play contains fragments of a song, “Farewell, dear heart, since I must needs be gone,” which is found in Robert Jones’s *Book of Ayres*, published in 1601. Derran Charlton has located a variation copy of this song, in manuscript, among George Puttenham’s family archives. Derran dates it to 1578, because it was lying next to a letter to Throckmorton and other documents dated that year.

Regardless, ayres like this in books like Jones’s were neither always by the author nor were they necessarily new. A prime example is Oxford’s poem “My mind to me a kingdom is,” which was plagiarized many times and was set to music by both Orlando Gibbons and William Byrd.¹ And there are other such examples. Simply put, the song in Robert Jones’s book cannot be considered a reliable source for dating the play.

According to Professor Leslie Hotson, *Twelfth Night* was one of four plays given at Christmas, 1600/1, during court at Whitehall, and played by the Chamberlain’s Men. According to Hotson, it was Professor J. W. Draper who first recognized that *Twelfth Night* was played on January 6, 1600/1, for the occasion of the visit to Queen Elizabeth’s court by Orsino, Duke of Bracciano (recalling that the Duke, Orsino, was one of the main characters featured in the play).²

Stratfordian A. S. Cairncross deviated from the traditional dating of 1601 by placing *Twelfth Night* in 1593. He believed that Maria’s comment referring to Malvolio (III. ii), “he does smile his face into more lines than is in the new map with the augmentation of the Indies,” referred to the Molineux map of 1592,

which happened to be in the Middle Temple, where Manningham saw the play in 1601/2.³ But in 1587, a map had already been printed in France and dedicated to Hakluyt that contained the West Indies, Mexico, etc., and the Mercator chart had been printed back in 1568 by Flemish geographer Gerhard Kremer, which, with its criss-crossing rhumb lines, would also suffice for this allusion.

Sources

As was mentioned by Manningham, one source for *Twelfth Night* could have been the Italian play *Gl’Inganni*, which means “the cheat,” or “the deceived.” Actually, there were three plays by this name: one by Nicolo Secchi, dated 1562; another by Curzio Gonzalo, 1592; and a third, anonymous one in 1537, titled *Gl’Inganne*.⁴

The 1592 *Gl’Inganni* has in it the name “Cesare,” which could be the source of the name “Cesario,” taken by Viola. The 1537 play has in its introduction the name “Malevolti.” The character of Malvolio in the play has universally been considered a pure invention of Shakespeare. But if Shakespeare did derive the name of Malvolio from this 1537 play, he would have had to be able to read Italian, because the play wasn’t translated into English by Peacock until 1862. Matteo Bandello’s collection of short stories in his *Novelle* (1554) offers a similar theme of *Gl’Inganni*. It was passed into Belleforest’s *Histoires Tragiques* (1571) and later into Barnaby Rich’s *Farewell to the Military Profession* (1581). All of these include a theme similar to *Twelfth Night*’s.

Though not a source for the play’s plot, the Geneva Bible is an important reference source. It has long been considered a prominent source for the many biblical references found throughout the Shakespeare canon. *Twelfth Night* is no exception, having at least a dozen such references, and Roger Stritmatter has identified several of

these as having been annotated in Oxford's own personal Geneva Bible.⁵

Oxfordian Dating

In 1596, Dutch Canon Johannes De Witt wrote about his trip to London, including his attendance at several plays. In this manuscript is a detailed drawing of the interior of the Swan Theatre, with a play in progress. Orthodox scholar H. Logemann in 1897 identified this picture as a scene (III. iv) from *Twelfth Night* depicting Malvolio, Olivia, and Maria. Although this important drawing is reproduced in many Shakespeare books (e.g., *The Riverside Shakespeare*) because it is the first drawing of the interior of an Elizabethan theater, modern scholars do not identify this scene as being from *Twelfth Night*, because that would conflict with the traditional dating of 1601. E. K. Chambers contradicts Logemann by simply saying that "*Twelfth Night* would not have been played at the Swan."⁶

Francis Peck made an interesting note in his *Desiderata Curiosa* (1732). He proposed in volume one to publish in his next book a manuscript that he described as "a pleasant conceit of Vere, Earl of Oxford, discontented at the rising of a mean gentleman in the English Court, circa 1580."⁷ If one considers who was most likely the "mean gentleman rising in court" in about 1580 with whom Oxford would have been "discontented," one would have to think first of Christopher Hatton. Was perhaps this "pleasant conceit" an early rendition of *Twelfth Night*, as has been suggested by Clarke, the Ogburns,⁸ and others? More will be said about this later.

The references in *Twelfth Night* to the ships, "Tiger" and "Phoenix," offer contemporary allusions to the early 1580s. The ship "Tiger," you might recall, was also found in *Macbeth* (I.iii.7). Also, there is the interesting

allusion to the Bells of St. Bennet in *Twelfth Night*, as given in Ruth Miller's edited edition of E. T. Clark's *Hidden Allusions*.⁹ H. H. Holland discovered that the allusion of "three" to "bells of

a call to the plays. In 1574, a law was passed against play acting on Sunday, but it was not enforced. The passage of this law did initiate the building of playhouses outside the city – the Curtain in 1577, the Theatre in 1576, and one at Newington Butts by 1580. However, in 1581 Lord Berkley brought the "wrath of the city fathers" on the theater people, resulting in many to be imprisoned. The issue was settled by allowing plays to resume but not on Sunday. Therefore, the ringing of church bells (of St. Bennet) would no longer be applicable after 1581.

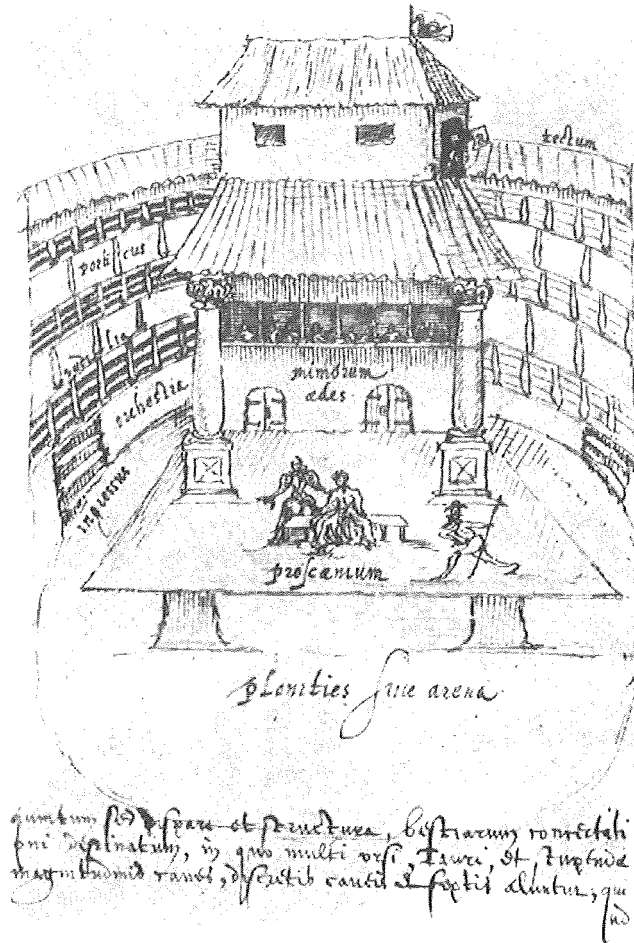
"Primo, secundo, tertio, is a good play" could also be a reference to a child's game; it was mentioned in Reginald Scott's *Discovery of Witchcraft* (1584), where it is said "and like unto children's play at Primus, Secundus."¹⁰ It appears that Shakespeare was punning on a child's game play with theater play.

Another early 1580 reference is the statement by Sir Andrew (III.ii.32): "I had as lief be a Brownist as a politician." Robert Browne, a relative of Lord Burghley, founded this strict Puritan religious separatist sect, called "Brownists," in 1580.

A most interesting and important allusion relating to 1581 has been noted by Richard Desper in his articles in *The Oxfordian* (Volume IV, 2001), and in the Spring 1995 issue of *The Elizabethan Review*. Desper reports that the Clown's statement in *Twelfth Night* (IV. ii) is a clear reference to Edmund Campion, who was captured, called before Elizabeth, and executed that year. This important allusion by the clown is,

Bonos dies, Sir Toby: for, as the old hermit of Prague, that never saw pen and ink said to a niece of King Gorboduc, "that that is, is"; so I, being master Parson, am master Parson; for, what is "that" but "that," and "is" but "is"?

(cont'd on p. 10)



De Witt's illustration of the Swan Theatre

St. Bennet," signifying "a call to the play," came from the fact that there were *three* churches of St. Bennet surrounding the district where plays were put on *prior* to 1581. This important passage by the clown (V.i.39-43) is,

Primo, secundo, tertio, is a good play; and the old saying is, The third pays for all." The triplex, sir, is a good tripping measure; or the bells of St. Bennet, sir, may put you in mind – one, two, three.

Plays were typically acted on Sunday, so the call to worship by the bells was also

Twelfth Night (cont'd from p. 9)

This statement clearly represents “equivocation” and might even remind us of President Clinton when under oath he questioned “what the meaning of is, is.” Desper points out in his article that Edmund Campion had served as professor of rhetoric in Prague, hence the clown’s reference to the “hermit of Prague.” Queen Elizabeth is easily recognized as the “niece of King Gorboduc” and master Parsons as the papist Robert Persons, which was pronounced “Parsons” and sometime spelled that way. But even more compelling is Desper’s note that Campion was refused when he asked for “pen and ink” at his deposition in order to defend himself against the charges – thus, we have a clear allusion to Campion in the phrase “that never saw pen and ink.”

Another possible 1581 allusion is the “garter” of the cross-gartered yellow stockings. In April, 1581, there took place on Drake’s ship, “The Golden Hind,” the knighting of Francis Drake. “The Golden Hind” (previously called the “Pelican”) was named in honor of Sir Christopher Hatton, as his coat of arms bore a golden hind. While boarding the ship for the ceremony, Queen Elizabeth lost one of her garters. It was retrieved by Marchaumont, the French ambassador who was given the sword by Elizabeth to do the knighting. The incident was recorded in a letter by the Spanish ambassador, who also was present. Would that we could find that Elizabeth was wearing *yellow* stockings that day!

Malvolio

The characters in the play have been identified by different authors as characterizations of contemporary persons. The most important for this paper is, of course, Malvolio. The name can mean “ill will” or perhaps “willing to be bad.” Charlton Ogburn, Jr., considered the identification of Malvolio with Hatton as “incontrovertible.” Professor Leslie Hotson, however, thought him to be a characterization of Sir William Knollys. Other Stratfordians are not

so willing to identify real-people prototypes for characters. Anne Barton makes the remarkable statement in *The Riverside Shakespeare*,¹¹ “As for Malvolio, to identify him with a real person and suggest that this is the key to the character is to limit his function and impact and sadly to inhibit that complexity of response which an audience normally feels towards him in the theater.”

Isn’t that profound?

Leslie Hotson, in his *The First Night of Twelfth Night*, makes a good case for Malvolio being a characterization of Sir William Knollys.¹² Knollys was a Puritan, and he was enamored with and “gulled” by Mary Fitton, a lady-in-waiting of Queen Elizabeth – hence, we have the reference in the play to “Mistress Mall,” which was a nickname for Mary. Mary Fitton became pregnant by the young William Herbert (who later became the Earl of Pembroke), causing her to be banished from court by the Queen. Therefore, in the play, we have “are they to take dust like Mistress Mall’s picture?” Hotson points out that “Malvolio” could be read as “Malvoglio,” which means “I want Mall.” And Knollys was the Earl of Branbury, a Puritan place famous for “cakes and ale,” also referred to in the play.

Edward Holmes considers Malvolio to be a composite of both Hatton and Knollys.¹³ De Vere Society’s Kevin Gilvary states that Hatton is depicted in a miniature in the Victoria and Albert Museum as wearing yellow stockings.¹⁴ A reproduction of this miniature does not seem to bear this out, however.

Although Malvolio’s part is generally considered to be secondary to the main theme of the play, even Manningham, who first described the play, commented mostly on the escapade with the trick played on Malvolio. Malvolio’s characterization and mistreatment clearly represent two of the main foci in the play. This is supported by the Master of Revels, who wrote in 1623, “At Candlemas, Malvolio was acted at court.” Then, too, a poem by Leonard

Digges that was printed in 1640 said,

The cock-pit, galleries, boxes,
arefull
To hear Malvoglio, that cross-
gartered gull.

Note that here Digges uses “Malvoglio” (“I want Mall”), as was mentioned earlier regarding Hotson’s remarks. “Malvolio” and “Malvoglio” would have been pronounced the same. In addition, Charles I himself, in his own copy of Shakespeare’s plays, altered the title of *Twelfth Night* to *Malvolio* – just as he changed *Henry IV* to *Falstaff*.

If Oxford were Shakespeare and wrote *Twelfth Night*, and Malvolio represented Hatton, there must have been close ties between the two, and understanding this connection seems crucial to understanding the play.

Oxford versus Hatton

Christopher Hatton, ten years older than Oxford, first became significant at court in 1572, when he was made Captain of the Bodyguard. Hatton caught the Queen’s eye because of his dancing, and he was later referred to by other courtiers as the “dancing chancellor.” Evidence that Oxford was also in favor with Elizabeth and acclaimed for his dancing is demonstrated by a letter from Gilbert Talbot to his father (May 11, 1573): “My Lord of Oxford is lately grown into great credit; for the Queen Majesty delighteth more in his dancing and his valiantness than any other.” We also have grounds for adducing jealous competition between the two. In October 1572, Edward Dyer responded to Hatton in a letter regarding Hatton’s questions on how to gain more favor at court:

But the best and soundest way
in my opinion is to put on another
mind, to use your suits towards
Her Majesty in words, behavior
and deeds...hating my Lord Ctm
in the Queen’s understanding
for affections sake, and blaming
him openly for seeking the
Queen’s favour....¹⁵

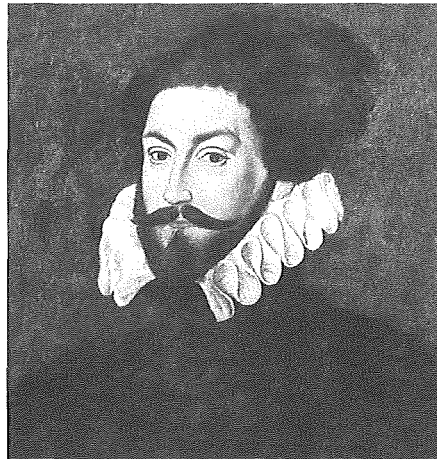
Clark says in her *Hidden Allusions* that in Sir Harris Nicolas's biography of Hatton (*The Life and Times of Sir Christopher Hatton*), it is stated "quite unequivocally" that "Lord Ctm" refers to the Lord Great Chamberlain, Oxford.¹⁶ However, although Nicolas writes considerably about the competition between Oxford and Hatton, what he says regarding "Lord Ctm" is only footnoted, "Query, Oxford?" This implies that Nicolas considered "Ctm" likely an abbreviation of "chamberlain" [it could be "Chm" or "Crm"] and that he thought Oxford was a probable candidate; but Nicolas did not make such a strong statement, as prior Oxfordian literature tends to imply.¹⁷

But the *prima facie* evidence, evidence that Ogburn considers "incontrovertible," comes from the posy signature of Hatton, "Si Fortunatus infoelix." This posy is found on numerous poems in the anthology *A Hundreth sundrie Flowres* (1573). It is believed by Miller, the Ogburns, and others that this book was printed at the direction of Oxford and that it caused much embarrassment for Hatton, as it was known that Hatton had written poems to Elizabeth.

That "Si Fortunatus infoelix" was a posy of Hatton was contemporaneously confirmed on two occasions by Gabriel Harvey. First, in his own copy of the book *The Posies*, by George Gascoigne, which was a 1576 reprint of *A Hundreth sundrie Flowres*, Harvey wrote in the margin "Fortunatus infoelix, lately a posy of Sir Christopher Hatton." Second, Harvey repeated this in his 1578 Latin address *Gratulationes Valdinenses*, given before the Queen at Audley End. The translation of the posy is "If fortunate unhappy," which is the signature used by Maria for her forged letter that led Malvolio to believe that Olivia (a.k.a. Elizabeth) was in love with him.

The ill feeling between Oxford and Hatton was mutual, as evidenced by a letter Hatton wrote to Queen Elizabeth in 1573. There he said, "God bless you forever. The branch of the sweetest bush I will wear and bear to my life's end: God witness I feign not. It is a gracious favor most dear and welcome unto me; reserve

it to the Sheep, he hath no tooth to bite, where the Boar's tusk may both raze and tear." Elizabeth's nickname for Hatton was "mutton" [hence, "sheep"], or "lyddes," whereas Oxford is easily recognized as the "boar" due to his coat of arms. Sir Toby's statement to Fabian about Malvolio in *Twelfth Night* (II.v.4-5) might be significant in view of this letter: "Wouldst thou not be glad to have the niggardly rascally **sheep-biter** come by some shame?" [*Emphasis added.*]



Sir Christopher Hatton

Now we can return to Francis Peck's *Desiderata Curiosa* and more fully appreciate the possibility that the "pleasant conceit" of Oxford might well have been the play that was subsequently called *Twelfth Night*. But we must note that a "conceit" does not have to specifically refer to a play but could represent a poem or other epistle. [*See Note, below*]

Conclusions

It should be evident that the traditional Stratfordian dating of 1601/2 can only mean that the play had to have been written by that time. But if De Witt's drawing is accepted as showing a scene from *Twelfth Night*, then the play had to have been written by 1596. If Cairncross is correct regarding the Molineux map allusion, then it might have been around 1593.

But there is good evidence of allusions referring to the 1570s and early 1580s – there are more than I have presented here – and strong evidence exists that Hatton was represented in the play as Malvolio.

This suggests that the play was written at a time when Hatton would have been a target of Shakespeare.

It is hardly believable that Shaksper of Stratford would have been allowed to ridicule Hatton – at any time! But there was a definite time in the 1570s and early 1580s when Oxford was in competition with Hatton, and great laughter at court would have been evoked with a presentation of such a play – possibly the "pleasant conceit" by Oxford that Francis Peck was referring to. The date "circa 1580" mentioned by Peck correlates well with the knighting of Hatton in 1578 – marking his "rise in court."

It is also important to ask: why would attempts be made to ridicule Hatton in 1601 (if the play were new then) when Sir Christopher Hatton had been dead for ten years, since 1591?

It is my opinion, as well as that of some other Oxfordians, that *Twelfth Night* was originally written about 1581 but was revised in December, 1600, for the occasion of the visit to Elizabeth's Court by Orsino, Duke of Bracciano. As pointed out by Edward Holmes¹⁸, the Archduke Charles of Austria, who was a suitor of Elizabeth for 15 years, was, in fact, the Duke of Illyria, the location of the play. Thus, this allusion of Illyria was appropriate for the 1570s.

Also, there were ties to Illyria from Count Orsino's family, making it appropriate for 1600, as well. It has been a concern of scholars that, because of the short notice of only 10-11 days given to Elizabeth before the arrival of Orsino, little time was allowed for writing and producing a play for entertainment. But having the play already written, and its requiring but a quick rewrite with the insertion of contemporary topical allusions, could account for preparation of the play in short order.

Furthermore, rewriting could well explain a dual character of Malvolio-Hatton for the original, Knollys for the rewrite, along with other 1600 allusions, such as the reference to Mary Fitton.

I do not think it unreasonable to propose that the revision of this play explains why it is the only play in the First Folio that is given two names,

(cont'd on p. 24)

Five Eyewitnesses (cont'd from p. 1)

each beginning in the pre-Roman period and extending to contemporary people and events. With Camden's interests and previous work in mind, it is surprising to find that in this 1607 edition, and in his subsequent editions, in the section on Stratford, he described this "small market-town" as owing "all its consequence to two natives of it, John de Stratford, archbishop of Canterbury, who built the church, and Hugh Clopton, mayor of London, who, at great expense, laid a stone bridge of 14 arches across the Avon."² In the same paragraph, Camden called attention to George Carew, Baron Clopton, who lived nearby and was active in the town's affairs.

There is no mention of the well known poet and playwright, William Shakespeare, who had been born and raised in Stratford, whose family still lived there, and who probably by this date had returned there to live in one of the grandest houses in town. Elsewhere in *Britannia*, Camden noted that the poet Philip Sidney had a home in Kent. And we know he was familiar with literary and theatrical affairs because he was a friend of the poet and playwright Michael Drayton,³ and he noted in his diary the deaths of the actor Richard Burbage and the poet and playwright Samuel Daniel in 1619.⁴ He made no such note on the death of William Shakespeare of Stratford in April, 1616.

It might be suggested that Camden was unfamiliar with the Warwickshire area and wasn't aware that one of the leading playwrights of the day lived in Stratford-on-Avon. But could this be true? In 1597 Queen Elizabeth had appointed Camden to the post of Clarenceaux King of Arms, one of the two officials in the College of Arms who approved applications for coats of arms. Two years later, John Shakespeare, William's father, applied to the College to have his existing coat of arms impaled, or joined, by the arms of his wife's family, the Ardens of Wilmcote.⁵ Some writers have asserted that William Shakespeare himself made this application for his father, but there is no evidence of that. What is likely is that William paid the substantial fee that

accompanied the application.

The record shows that Camden and his colleague William Dethick approved the modification that John Shakespeare sought. However, in 1602 another official in the College brought a complaint against Camden and Dethick that they had granted coats of arms improperly to twenty-three men, one of whom was John Shakespeare. Although Camden and Dethick defended their actions, there is no record of the outcome of the matter, and the Shakespeare coat of arms, minus the Arden impalement, later appeared on the monument in Holy Trinity Church in Stratford. Because of this unusual complaint, Camden had good reason to remember John Shakespeare's application, and it is very probable that he had met both father and son. At the least, he knew who they were and where they lived.

William Camden had another occasion to come in contact with the Shakespeares. In the summer of 1600, when the famous Sir Thomas Lucy died, Camden bore the coat of arms in the procession and conducted the funeral at Charlecote, only a few miles from Stratford-on-Avon.⁶ Thomas Lucy also knew the Shakespeares. When he was a justice of the peace in Stratford, John Shakespeare was brought up before him more than once. John may even have attended his funeral, but it seems likely that William was too busy to go. During 1600, seven or eight of his plays were printed for the first time, and according to most orthodox scholars, in the summer of 1600 he was hurrying to finish up *Hamlet*.

So, even though William Camden revered poets, had several poet friends, and wrote poetry himself, even though he knew the Shakespeares, father and son, and even though he mentioned playwrights and poets in his books and in his diary, he never connected the Shakespeare he knew in Stratford with the one on his list of the best English poets.

Another interesting eyewitness was Michael Drayton, who was born and raised in Warwickshire, only about twenty-five miles from Stratford-on-Avon. It is hard to imagine that Michael

Drayton was unaware of Shakespeare. The two were almost exact contemporaries, they both wrote poetry, and many critics have even found the influence of Shakespeare in Drayton's poetry.⁷ Also, they both wrote plays that appeared about the same time on the London stage in the late 1590s. In fact, in 1599 Drayton, along with Anthony Munday, Robert Wilson, and Richard Hathaway, wrote a play – *Sir John Oldcastle* – that was supposed to be a response to Shakespeare's plays about Falstaff.⁸

In 1612 Drayton published the first part of *Poly-Olbion*, a series of poems comprising a topographical description of England and a county-by-county history that included well-known men of every kind. In it were many references to Chaucer, to Spenser, and to other English poets. But in his section on Warwickshire, Drayton never mentioned Stratford-on-Avon or Shakespeare, even though by 1612 Shakespeare was a well-known playwright. It seems that he never connected the writer to the William Shakespeare he must have known in Stratford.

How do we know he knew him? Many Stratfordians think so. Charlotte Stopes speculated that Drayton used to visit New Place for chats with Shakespeare.⁹ And Samuel Schoenbaum thinks it "not implausible" that Drayton and Shakespeare, and Ben Jonson as well, had that "merry meeting" reported in the 1660s by John Ward, the vicar of Stratford.¹⁰ In fact, more than one scholar has found evidence that Michael Drayton was the "Rival Poet" of the sonnets.¹¹ But we have better evidence than that.

Drayton's life is well-documented. He had a connection to the wealthy Rainsford family, who lived at Clifford Chambers, a couple of miles from Stratford-on-Avon. Drayton had been in love with Lady Rainsford from the time she was Ann Goodere, a girl in the household in which he was in service in the 1580s. She was the subject of his series of love sonnets, *Ideas Mirrour*, published in 1594. Although she rejected him and married Henry Rainsford in 1595, Drayton hung around their household

and made himself a friend of the family. He apparently never stopped loving her, and from the early 1600s until his death in 1631 he made frequent visits to their home at Clifford Chambers, sometimes staying all summer.

Charlotte Stopes was certain that Shakespeare would have been “an honored guest” at the Rainsford home because of the family’s literary interests, but there is no record of such a visit.¹² But even if Shakespeare may never have visited the Rainsfords, the man who married his daughter certainly did. Dr. John Hall, Shakespeare’s son-in-law, was the family doctor for the Rainsfords and once treated Drayton for a fever, probably at the Rainsford home. The doctor made a record of it in his case book and even noted that Drayton was an excellent poet.¹³ His treatment for Drayton’s fever was a spoonful of “syrup of violets,” but he recovered just the same.

Another reason that Drayton must have been aware of a playwright named Shakespeare was that in 1619 *Sir John Oldcastle*, the play Drayton had written with three others, was printed by William Jaggard and Thomas Pavier with Shakespeare’s name on the title page.¹⁴ This is certainly something an author would notice.

It is very probable that if Drayton thought that Dr. Hall’s father-in-law was the famous playwright and poet, he would have written or told someone about him. But there is no mention of him anywhere in his substantial correspondence. In all his writings – the collected edition is in five volumes – despite his mention of more than a dozen contemporary poets and playwrights, Drayton never referred to William Shakespeare at all until more than ten years after his death. When he finally did, he wrote four lines about what a good comedian he was. It is unclear whether he was referring to him as a playwright, an actor, or a person in some other capacity.

Our third eyewitness connects Michael Drayton and William

Shakespeare of Stratford even more closely. In the 1603 edition of one of Drayton’s major poems, *The Barons’ Wars*, there appeared a commendatory sonnet – a Shakespearean sonnet – by one Thomas Greene.¹⁵ Also in 1603, the bookseller and printer William Leake published a poem by this same Thomas



Michael Drayton

Greene titled *A Poet’s Vision and a Princes Glorie*. In seventeen pages of forgettable verse, Greene predicted a renaissance of poetry under the new King, James I. (For more than twenty years, beginning in 1596, William Leake was the holder of the publishing rights to *Venus and Adonis*.)¹⁶

Orthodox scholars agree that this Thomas Greene was none other than the London solicitor for the Stratford Corporation, and the Town Clerk of Stratford for more than ten years.¹⁷ He had such a close relationship with the Shakespeares that he named two of his children William and Anne,¹⁸ and he and his wife and children lived in the Shakespeare household at New Place for many months during 1609 and 1610.¹⁹ He was also the only Stratfordian contemporary of Shakespeares to mention him in his diary. This was in connection with the Welcombe land enclosure matter, where he referred to

him as “my cosen Shakspeare.”²⁰

Thomas Greene was also a friend of John Marston, the dramatist, and they were both resident students at the Middle Temple during the mid-1590s.²¹ Yet nowhere in his diary or in his letters that have survived does Thomas Greene – apparently the author of a Shakespearean sonnet himself – mention that the Shakespeare he knew was a poet. What a shame that Greene made no comment in his diary about a book called *Shake-speare’s Sonnets*, with its strange dedication to “our ever-living poet,” that was published in London in 1609, about the time he was living in the Shakespeare household. Nor does Thomas Greene mention in his diary the death of the supposedly famous playwright in the spring of 1616. Mrs. Stopes wrote, “It has always been a matter of surprise to me that Thomas Greene, who mentioned the death of Mr. Barber, did not mention the death of Shakespeare.” For this she offers the astounding explanation – “Perhaps there was no need for him to make a memorandum of an event so important to the town and himself.”²²

Our fourth eyewitness is that same Dr. John Hall who came to Stratford from Bedfordshire in the early 1600s and married Susanna Shakespeare in 1607. During his more than thirty years of practice in Warwickshire, Dr. Hall was esteemed one of the best physicians in the county, and was called often to the homes of noblemen throughout the area. As a leading citizen of Stratford, he was elected a burgess to the City Council three times before he finally accepted the office. On the death of his father-in-law in 1616, Dr. Hall, his wife Susanna, and their eight-year-old daughter Elizabeth moved into New Place with William Shakespeare’s widow Anne.

A few years after Dr. Hall’s death in 1635, it transpired that he had kept hundreds of anecdotal records about his patients and their ailments – records that have excited the curiosity of both literary and medical scholars. Two notebooks were recovered, and one containing about 170 cases was translated from the Latin

(cont’d on p. 14)

Five Eyewitnesses (cont'd from p. 13)

and published. The other, possibly once in the possession of the Shakespearean scholar Edmond Malone, has, unfortunately, disappeared. In the single surviving manuscript are descriptions of dozens of Dr. Hall's patients and their illnesses, including his wife Susanna and their daughter Elizabeth. Also mentioned are the Vicar of Stratford and various noblemen and their families, including Michael Drayton's friends the Rainsfords, and of course Drayton himself. In his notes about one patient, Thomas Holyoak, Hall mentioned that his father Francis had compiled a Latin-English dictionary. John Trap, a minister and the schoolmaster of the Stratford Grammar School, he described as being noted "for his remarkable piety and learning, second to none."²³ Nowhere in the notebook that has survived is there any mention of Hall's father-in-law William Shakespeare.

This, of course, has vexed and puzzled scholars. Dr. Hall surely treated his wife's father during the ten years they lived within minutes of each other. Why wouldn't he record any treatment of William Shakespeare and mention his literary achievements as he had Michael Drayton's and Francis Holyoake's? The accepted explanation has always been that of the few cases in Dr. Hall's notebook that he dated, none bears a date earlier than 1617, the year after Shakespeare's death. For decades scholars have assumed that any mention of Shakespeare was probably in the lost notebook.

But recently this assumption came unraveled when a scholar found that at least four, and as many as eight, of the cases Hall recorded can be dated before Shakespeare died, even though the doctor didn't supply the dates himself. Because Dr. Hall nearly always noted the age and residence of his patients, most of them have been identified and their birth dates found in other sources. The earliest case in the existing manuscript can be dated in 1611, others in 1613, 1614, and 1615, and another four in 1616, the very year of Shakespeare's death.²⁴

It appears that Dr. Hall made his notes shortly after treating his patients, but didn't prepare his cases for publication

until near the end of his life. Hall was aware and admiring of his patients' status and achievements, especially their scholarly and literary achievements, as his comments about Drayton, Holyoake, and others reveal. By 1630 William Shakespeare was well-known as an outstanding, if mysterious, playwright.

Select Observations
ON
ENGLISH
BODIES:
● R,
Cures both Empericall and
Historicall, performed up-
on very eminent Per-
sons in desperate
Diseases.
First, written in Latine
by Mr. John Hall Physician,
living at Stratford upon Avon
in Warwick-shire, where he
was very famous, as also in
the Counties adjacent, as ap-
peares by these Observations
drawn out of severall hun-
dreds of his, as choyleft.
Now put into English for com-
mon benefit by James Cooke
Practitioner in Physick and
Chirurgery.
London, Printed for John Sherley at the
Golden Pelican, in Little-Britain. 1657.

Dr. John Hall's book

In 1632 the Second Folio appeared, and there had been, of course, many plays issued in quarto, as well as several printed tributes. Thus, there is good reason to expect that Hall would have noted his treatment of William Shakespeare of Stratford during the ten years he knew him if he thought he were someone worthy of mention. It is indeed strange that in the early 1630s, as he was collecting the cases he wished to publish, he should neglect to include any record of his treating his supposedly famous father-

in-law. Mrs. Stopes called it "the one great failure of his life."²⁵

Our fifth eyewitness is Dr. James Cooke, a surgeon from Warwick, who was responsible for the publication of John Hall's casebook. Although he was about twenty years younger than Hall, Cooke was acquainted with him from the time they both attended the Earl of Warwick and his family. In the 1640s a Parliamentary army was contending with the Royal army of Charles I in a civil war that would end with Charles' defeat and eventual beheading in 1649. The war ranged all over the western counties, and both royalists and rebels occupied Stratford-on-Avon on different occasions. In 1644 Dr. Cooke was attached to a Parliamentary army unit assigned to guard the famous Clopton Bridge over the Avon at Stratford.

At this date Dr. John Hall had been dead nine years and, according to Cooke's account, a colleague of his who had also known Hall suggested that they visit his widow Susanna "to see the books left by Mr. Hall."²⁶ When they arrived at New Place and met Susanna, Cooke asked if her husband had left any books or papers that he might see. She replied that she didn't think she had any, but there were some books and papers in the house that another person had given the doctor as payment for his services. When she brought them out, Cooke was surprised to see two manuscript notebooks handwritten in a Latin script that he recognized as Dr. Hall's. Susanna was confident that it wasn't her husband's handwriting, but when Dr. Cooke insisted, she agreed to sell him the manuscripts, and he carried them away with great satisfaction.

He eventually translated one of the notebooks, added some cases of his own, and published it in 1657 under a very long title that is commonly shortened to *Select Observations on English Bodies*. On the title page John Hall is described as a "Physician, living at Stratford upon Avon, in Warwickshire, where he was very famous."²⁷ In his introduction to the book, Cooke described his conversation with Susanna, during which neither of them

referred to her supposedly famous father, nor to any books or manuscripts that might have belonged to him. In fact, from Dr. Cooke's report of the meeting, neither Susanna Shakespeare nor the Doctor himself was aware of any literary activity by the William Shakespeare who had lived in the very house they were standing in.

As is well known, Shakespeare of Stratford left no books, papers, or manuscripts in his will. After certain specific bequests, he left the rest of his goods and "household stuff" to John Hall and Susanna. In contrast, Hall referred to "my study of books" and "my manuscripts" in his will, and left them to his son-in-law Thomas Nash.²⁸

Thus, we have five eyewitnesses – four who knew Shakespeare, and a fifth who visited his daughter in his house. At least three of them, and possibly all of them, were aware of a William Shakespeare who was counted among the leading playwrights in the country. Each of them left us published books, poems, letters, notebooks, or diaries, some of which refer directly to events and people in Stratford. Yet none of them made a connection between this playwright and the man with the identical name living in their midst.

This is a striking absence of evidence that the people who knew Shakespeare of Stratford thought he was a poet, a playwright, or anything resembling one. In a court of law such facts would probably be enough to prove that Shakespeare of Stratford had nothing to do with the Shakespeare canon, but in the court of literary history they are ignored. Nevertheless, their damaging impact on the shaky Stratfordian authorship theory is obvious.

Given the mystery of William Shakespeare of Stratford, it is instructive to recall a similar instance of negative evidence in the well-known mystery story "Silver Blaze," by Sir Arthur Conan Doyle. In this case, Sherlock Holmes was called to a small town in Dartmoor where a racehorse had been stolen, and

its trainer murdered. One of the clues that enabled Holmes to solve the case was his observation that at the time of the theft the dog guarding the stable failed to bark. In the usual run-up to the solution, the horse's owner became impatient with Holmes and asked him,

"Is there any point to which you would wish to draw my attention?"

"To the curious incident of the dog in the night-time," Holmes replied.

"The dog did nothing in the night-time."

"That is the curious incident," remarked Sherlock Holmes.

Holmes deduced that the silence of the dog meant that the horsethief was familiar to him, that there was nothing unusual about him – nothing to bark about. The silence of the five witnesses described above tells us the same thing. To them, there was nothing about William Shakespeare of Stratford that was worthy of note – nothing to bark about.

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Five Eyewitnesses (cont'd from p. 15)

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Picturing Shakespeare (cont'd from p. 3)

including militant Stratfordian David Kathman, reported on their search of documents in England for traces of a Saunders who was a player or drawer ("painter" or "artist") around 1603. None of them found a Saunders of suitable age and aptitude. They stressed that in their discipline, lack of a documentary record does not mean that such a person never lived, but does prohibit proof of it.

From the audience, Oxfordian Lynn Kositsky put a direct question to the panel: Is the Saunders portrait a representation of Shakespeare? The panel answered that, at present, they felt it was not. The symposium ended on this note, with the chairman inviting all present to walk over to the Gallery in the snowy twilight of a Canadian November evening, and raise a glass to "Whoever he was."

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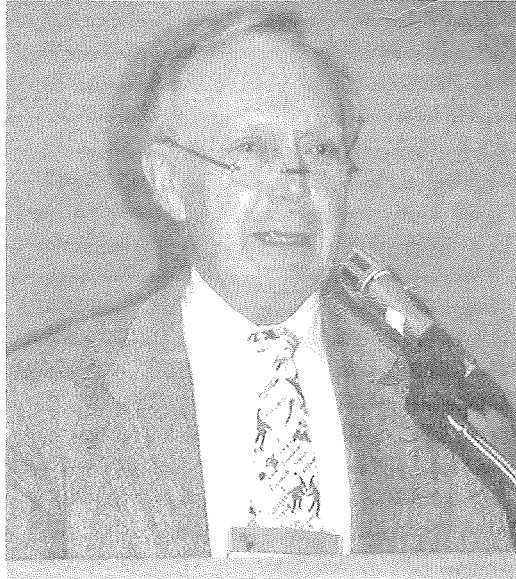
SOS Conference (cont'd from p. 1)

to his family and his wife's family. The ultimate solution, Dickson suggests, would be a scientific disinterment and archaeological profile of Trinity Church, or failing that, high-tech scans of all walls, floors, and monuments.

SOS President Aaron Tatum officially opened the conference on Friday morning, dedicating the event to the late Vincent Mooney, a Baconian who was highly sympathetic to the Oxfordian movement, and who generously shared his library with his fellow Anti-Stratfordians. Cheryl Sims, Trustee of the Ford Foundation, spoke to the attendees about the funding challenges faced by nonprofits under current economic conditions. She encouraged the Society to explore and develop its fundraising opportunities to meet its future needs. She especially noted that the Society should continue to build its endowment to sustain the Society's programs and encouraged member support. She urged all Oxfordians to unite in common cause to pursue the Society's fundraising possibilities.

Ramón Jiménez delivered the first research presentation, on five Stratfordian eyewitnesses who saw nothing – that is, five people who left evidence of their familiarity with William of Stratford or his family, but who never associated him with the well-known author with the same name [see cover story]. Ron Hess found a clue relating to the pen name “Shakespeare,” in *Palladine of England*, a novel translated from French by Oxford's secretary Anthony Munday. The name “Palladine,” which suggests “spear-shaker,” was bestowed on the hero of the book in honor of Pallas, the Greek goddess of war, wisdom, arts and literature. The second edition of Munday's *Palladine* featured a woodcut of the knight Palladine on his horse, holding a boar's head mask on a stick in front of his face. A lion trotting alongside the horse suggested, perhaps, that Munday intended the “spear-shaker” to be identified with his patron, Oxford. Sidney Lubow speculated that *A Lover's Complaint*,

the supplemental poem printed in *Shakespeare's Sonnets* in 1609, is a Rosetta stone for understanding the *Sonnets*. Lubow proposed that the narcissistic youth, Edward de Vere, quite literally in a trance of self-love, sat facing a mirror and wrote the famous sonnets to himself, inspired by the myth of Narcissus and Echo.



Jack Shuttleworth

At the Banquet lunch, Brian Hicks, Chairperson of the De Vere Society of Great Britain, outlined the DVS's plans for its 2004 conference, honoring the 400th anniversary of the Earl of Oxford's death in June, 1604. Queens' College, Cambridge, will be the idyllic setting for the conference, making use of such historic rooms as the Old Hall, the Old Kitchens and the Erasmus room for lectures, displays and seminars. Queens' College also holds the papers and books of Sir Thomas Smith, a tutor to De Vere. Marjorie Dams is the conference organizer. Hicks requested preliminary registrations by Spring 2003. [For further information see related article on page five.]

Several research papers focused on Shakespeare's play *The Winter's Tale*, which many conference attendees saw performed at the renowned Shakespeare Theatre in downtown D.C. Oxfordians in the audience were delighted when actor

Philip Goodwin, playing Leontes, acquired a limp in the second act, unaware how appropriate this was, Oxford himself being lame in the later part of his life. William Farina, of the Chicago Oxford Society, narrated a multimedia presentation linking *The Winter's Tale* with Oxford. The primary source for *The Winter's Tale* was the novel *Pandosto*, 1588, by Robert Greene. Four years previously, Greene's *Gwydonius or The Card of Fancy* was published with an elaborate dedication to Oxford. Another source for the play was the 1587 translation of *Daphnis and Chloe* by Angel Day, De Vere's personal secretary. Day had dedicated *The English Secretary* to Oxford in 1586, describing him as “ever sacred to the Muses,” a phrase echoed in another dedication to Oxford by Edmund Spenser. Dr. Richard Desper pointed out the significant parallels between the text of *The Winter's Tale* and Oxford's life, beginning with the title: in French it is “Le Conte d'Hiver,” which suggests both “The story of De Vere” or “The Count De Vere.” Desper found the infidelity of Hermione and the question of paternity of the King's children to have precise parallels in Oxford's life. He suggested that the painted lifelike statue of Hermione is reminiscent of the painted effigy of Anne Cecil de Vere at Westminster Abbey. Utilizing the “Null-hypothesis” theory, a statistical framework for analyzing cause and effect relationships, Dr. Desper believes the probability that all these parallels between Oxford and *The Winter's Tale* being merely coincidence is infinitesimally small. In fact, the parallels strongly suggest a causal connection.

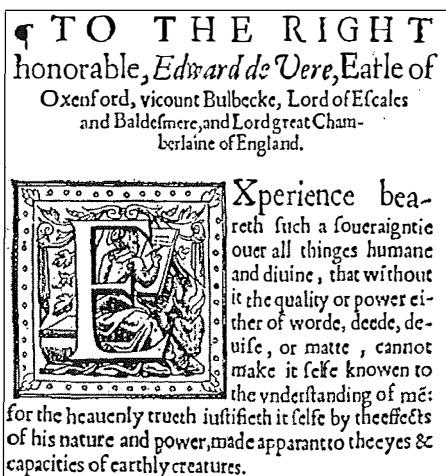
Katherine Chiljan discussed the dating of the controversial Ashbourne Portrait at the Folger Shakespeare Library. She emphasized the fact that the painting has yet to be analyzed by art experts to establish the artist, or to be scientifically dated – two elements that would help firmly identify the sitter. Chiljan agrees with Barrell's original research that it is a portrait of Oxford by

(cont'd on p. 18)

SOS Conference (cont'd from p. 17)

Cornelius Ketel, and prefers a dating of circa 1592, coinciding with Oxford's marriage to Elizabeth Trentham. Although she praised Barbara Burris' recent Ashbourne research, Chiljan stated that her circa 1580 dating of the portrait is not realistic, especially in comparison with the Welbeck and Chiljan portraits of Oxford, dated 1575 and 1581 respectively. The Ashbourne sitter clearly looks much older, and the Trentham coat of arms would be an unlikely addition to a portrait of Oxford painted while he was married to Anne Cecil. Although Ketel only resided in England until 1581, he apparently made at least one trip back to paint the Sieve Portrait of Elizabeth I, dated 1583, making it at least a possibility that Ketel returned again to paint Oxford.

Robert Brazil focused on the anonymous 1581 translation of Chrysostom's sermons on the Ephesians that was dedicated to Anne Cecil de Vere, the Countess of Oxford. [See Summer, 2002 Newsletter]. Brazil displayed illustrations from the book, suggesting that one in particular, a woodcut initial E that features a man at a writing table with a recumbent winged ox at his feet, was used by Edward de Vere. The woodcut, originally from a series of initials featuring Saints, depicts Saint Luke, whose personal symbol was the winged ox. Yet we find the emblem on an earlier Oxford-dedicated book, *The Defence of Militarie*



The Defence of Militarie Profession, 1579, dedication to Oxford with woodcut "E"

Profession, 1579, by Geoffrey Gates. Brazil also showed the peculiar resemblance of a title page ornamentation on Watson's 1582 *Hekatompathia* to an identical graphic placement on the first quarto of *Merchant of Venice* in 1600.

Conference attendees were treated to a special, all-doors-open, guided tour of the Folger Shakespeare Library on Friday afternoon, with Librarian Richard Kuhta delighting Oxfordians in affirming that Folger policy, with respect to all readers and researchers, was one of openness, and he expressly welcomed Oxfordians. Mr. Kuhta disclosed that the Ashbourne Portrait had just been to Canada for scientific testing and that the results would be announced shortly. Oxfordians learned that the Folger is taking "a neutral position on the authorship issue" and that, as an open institution, library, and research resource available to all, interpretation of their holdings is left to scholars.

Sally Mosher spoke on "Shakespeare's Knowledge of Music," with an accompanying soundtrack. There are a number of references in the Shakespeare plays to tuckets and sennets, which were used to announce the arrival of traveling dignitaries at towns, cities, and palaces, such as during Elizabeth's progresses. Mosher suggested it is conceivable that the stirring tune best known as "The Earl of Oxford's March" was initially the melody of Oxford's tucket, or personal fanfare. Less exalted personages used a generic fanfare, called the sennet. Contrary to legend, Oxford did not write the March; it was a harpsichord piece composed by William Byrd. Putting a patron's name on a composition was standard practice in the Renaissance, and Oxford was Byrd's patron for perhaps as long as 15 years.

In his talk, "The Sonnets Explicated," Joseph Sobran reiterated his thesis that the *Sonnets* author had a romantic or sexual interest in the "Fair Youth," and he explained why he thought Oxford, rather than Shaksper, fit this profile. The talk sparked a heated question-and-answer session. Sobran could not explain how a man who fathered seven children over

a lifetime of well-documented affairs with numerous women and two long marriages could be considered gay or bisexual.

Professor Peter Usher of Pennsylvania State University gave a fascinating audio-visual presentation entitled "Shakespeare and Astronomy: New Observations." Usher argued that Shakespeare's works demonstrate that telescopic astronomy was practiced in England decades before it was publicly acknowledged. He finds metaphors in *Hamlet* that signal the end of the old cosmology, and the beginnings of the Copernican heliocentric model. In *Hamlet* [I, 3,11], he sees an allusion to the changing phases of Venus, a phenomenon only visible telescopically, and first reported by Galileo in 1610. He also interprets the name Ophelia as "Op-Helios" – opposition to the heliocentric theory. "Disasters in the sun" may refer to sunspots – ahead of Galileo by several decades. Oxford's inside information could have come from Thomas Digges (c.1546-1595), who published an astronomical treatise in 1573 and dedicated it to Lord Burghley. His son Leonard Digges wrote a commendatory verse affixed to the First Folio of Shakespeare's plays in 1623.

Drawing on his own extensive experience in theatrical productions, Edward Gero, an actor and teacher at the Shakespeare Theater, entertained a luncheon audience with his talk, "On Performing Shakespeare." Stephanie Hughes' paper focused on her intriguing identification of the Countess of Pembroke (Mary Sidney Herbert) as the author of several plays attributed to John Webster. Pembroke's biographers all believe that she must have written more works than those for which she has been credited, and Hughes finds strong similarities between the style of her published work and that of Webster's plays. The plot of *The Duchess of Malfi* seems to reflect Pembroke's personal issues with her sons, while the plot of *The White Devil* may portray the Court scandal that put the incomparable pair (William and Philip Herbert) into positions of power in the Jacobean government.

In her talk on the sales of Oxford's lands, Dr. Daphne Pearson asked, How did Oxford, who inherited his title along with around £3,500 annual income, come to die 33 years later worth only £20 annually? Oxford began to sell land when he regained control of his estates at age 21; larger sales began when his travel expenses mounted. Pearson summarized Oxford's many subsequent land sales, pointing out that knowledge of the wardship system is essential to understanding these transactions. Failure to pay livery fines triggered punitive bonds; eventually this debt



Gordon Cyr

would have been recouped by the crown from Oxford's available lands and assets after his death. In Oxford's case, it became obvious, by the late 1580s, that there would be no estates to levy following his death, due to the alienation of his lands. Elizabeth took steps to recover the debt through her court of wards. Pearson feels that Oxford abrogated the concept of honor through his acceptance of the payment of his debts by those of lesser rank.

Peter Dickson examined the history of the question of Shakespeare's religion (as deduced from the plays and poems) and Shaksper's religion (as deduced from historical facts in the public record). The more historians dig, the more it appears that the Stratford man was a secret Catholic, and as such, even less likely to have written the Shakespeare plays, which demonstrate an almost unwavering allegiance to Protestantism in general, and the Church of England in particular. Peter and Syril Kline presented, and performed, "On *Master F.I.: A Reading.*" *The Adventures of Master F. I.* has been called the first English novel. Originally a part of A

Hundreth Sundrie Flowres, 1573, the gossipy narrative, the Klines believe, seems to depict a clandestine affair between Oxford's rival, Christopher Hatton, "the Fortunate Unhappy" (*Si Fortunatus Infelix*), and Queen

Elizabeth, or "Mistress Elinor." In place of an author's name on the first edition, the title page bears the Latin motto *Meritum petere, grave* ("it is a [gravely] serious thing to seek merit"). The work has many stylistic similarities to Shakespeare, such as Lady Pergo's line, "I am afraid my marriage will be marred, and I may

go lead apes in hell," echoing *Shrew's*, "She is your treasure, she must have a husband; I must dance barefoot on her wedding day, And, for your love to her, lead apes in hell."

The Saturday evening banquet was enlivened by a fascinating talk by William Niederkorn, a cultural editor at *The New York Times*. Niederkorn traced the history of his own interest in the Shakespeare authorship question, which began some decades ago with a casual reference by one of his college professors. He outlined all of the books he read in preparation for his February 10, 2002,

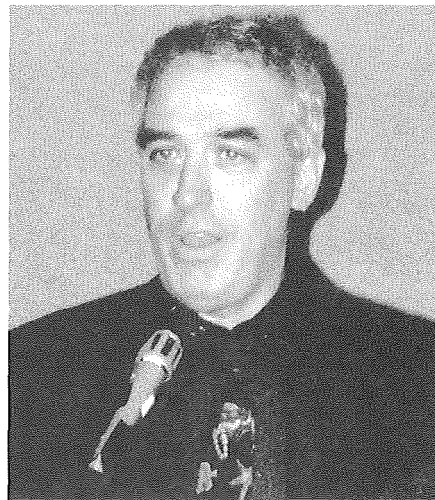
article on the authorship question for the *Times*. Noted composer and past president of the Shakespeare Oxford Society, Gordon Cyr, gave a detailed

history of the beginnings of the present-day Oxfordian movement, where many attendees at their annual conferences are now famous names in the history of this endeavor, such as Charlton Ogburn, Jr., William Plumer Fowler, and Ruth Loyd Miller.

Dr. Frank Davis presented evidence that the play *Twelfth Night* was probably written by Edward de Vere and performed in the early 1580s [see article on page eight]. In the "Origins of Rosenkrantz and Gildenstern," Jim Swank discussed an article by Palle Rosenkrantz titled "*Rosenkrantz og Gyldenstjerne I Hamlet*" from the 1909-10 issue of the Danish journal *Gads Dansk Magazin*. The article describes the 1592 visit to England of two students from Wittenberg University, Frederik Holgerson Rosenkrantz and Knud Henriksen Gyldenstjerne, both from prominent Danish families. Swank also mentioned a Ruth Loyd Miller article about an alleged visit of a Guildenstern to Castle Hedingham. Professor Albert Burgstahler of the University of Kansas proposed that "Vere/Ever" acrostics were used as an identifying device by Edward de Vere, especially in the Sonnets. Dr. Burgstahler reported on

his research into the possibilities of acrostic signatures in important Elizabethan and Jacobean books.

Derran Charlton of South Yorkshire, England, presented new evidence for Oxford's authorship of *The Taming of the Shrew*. Focusing on curiosities of the induction scene, with bumpkin Christopher Sly as



William Niederkorn

Lord-for-a-Day, Charlton outlined the differences between the anonymous 1594 *Taming of A Shrew*, and the First Folio's *The Taming of the Shrew*. The latter

(cont'd on p. 20)

SOS Conference (cont'd from p. 19)

play abridges the induction, and Sly is never seen again. In *A Shrew*, Sly and his keepers have scenes of comment and comedy throughout the play. Charlton also discussed a ballad found in *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*, 1765, that tells a very similar story to that of the *Shrew* induction. The ballad, *The Frolicksome Duke*, or *The Tinker's Good Fortune* seems to reflect a real-life incident involving a jest played upon a tinker by a nobleman who is identified as having the emblem of a star on his rich suit. Elsewhere, the nobleman's entourage is described as dressed in blue and scarlet. Oxford's men wore blue; he himself wore scarlet as Lord Great Chamberlain; the single star was the De Vere emblem.

SOS Elections

At the Annual General Meeting, Gerit Quealy, Dr. Jack Shuttleworth, Edward Sisson, Ramón Jiménez, and James Sherwood were elected to the Board of Trustees. Dr. Shuttleworth was elected as President at the first meeting of the Board, however, three weeks after the Conference, Dr. Shuttleworth had to resign from the Board for personal reasons and was succeeded by Dr. Frank Davis. Former Trustee Bob Barrett was appointed to

fill the vacancy. The Board officially commended Aaron Tatum for his years of fine service to the Society both as trustee and as president, and awarded him the title of President Emeritus.

SOS Dinner Honors Ambassador Nitze

Just prior to the kick-off of this year's conference at the Library of Congress on October 10, a special dinner was held as a tribute to the Honorable Ambassador Paul Nitze. The dinner was held at Bullfeather's restaurant on Capitol Hill, where Ambassador Nitze was named honorary chairperson of the 2002 conference by the Society's board, of whom most were in attendance, and applauded as President Aaron Tatum presented the ambassador with a plaque honoring Nitze's commitment to the Oxfordian movement throughout his life. Ambassador Nitze's contribution to international arms limitation treaty negotiations is an historic part of the Eisenhower administration's legacy. Other guests included friends of the ambassador as well as Mrs. Cheryle Sims of the Gertrude C. Ford Foundation. Limousine service and all expenses incurred were provided by the board

members individually. Ambassador Nitze demonstrated that his keen wit remains undiminished, proposing a toast to the Earl of Oxford, declaring, "His time has come."

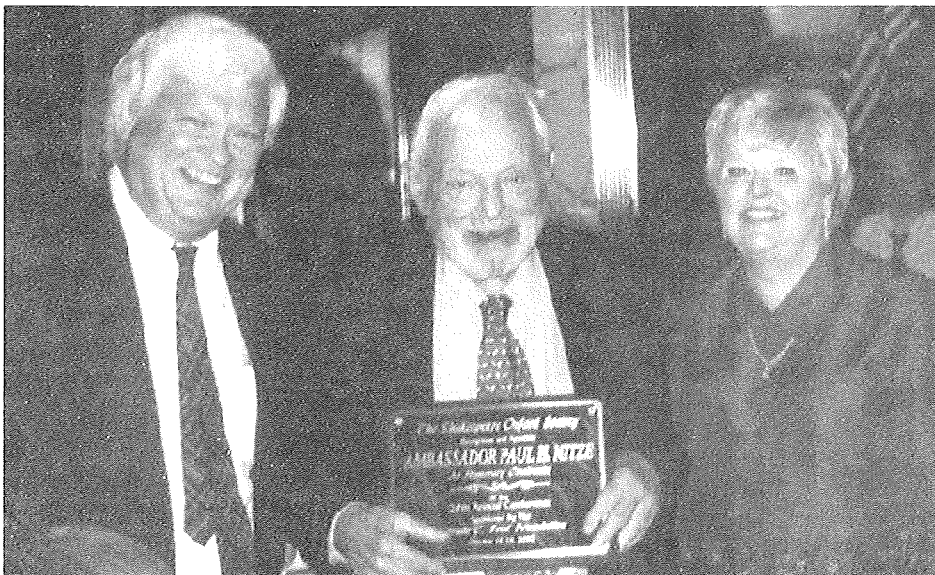
Educators' Workshop

Many have commented that the next turning point for the Oxfordian movement might not come from a "smoking gun" of incontrovertible evidence but rather through a groundswell of young people who force the issue through their agreement that there is indeed a problem with Shakespeare attribution and their appreciation of the case for Edward de Vere as "Shake-speare." Conference organizer Jack Shuttleworth, retired Air Force Academy English professor, presided over an enthusiastic gathering of educators for a special workshop. Flanking Prof. Shuttleworth were high school teachers Elaine MacFarland Radney and Bob Barrett.

Prof. Shuttleworth spoke to the need for Oxfordian teachers to "know the enemy," much as a military strategist would. For example, an effective approach in the classroom is to have students develop a position contrary to their personal stance on the authorship question, be it Stratfordian, Oxfordian, or other. He provided the attendees several useful handouts, including the April 1999 issue of *Harper's*, an annotated bibliography for the Oxfordian teacher, and copies of Richard Whalen's *Shakespeare: Who Was He?*

Ms. Radney previewed a remarkable book-length compendium of materials and methods for teaching the Shakespeare authorship question in a high school setting, though its usefulness could easily be extended both above and below that age group. She hopes to see this compendium published in the near future. She also talked about the small measures that can excite student interest in authorship issues, such as room decoration. Her classroom's bulletin board, for example, holds a large, prominent poster of the Droeshout engraving from the 1623 First

(cont'd on p. 22)



From left to right: Aaron Tatum, Ambassador Paul Nitze, Cheryle Sims

Books in Brief

By Robert Brazil

Infinite Variety, Exploring the Folger Shakespeare Library, Esther Ferington, Editor, Published by the Folger Shakespeare Library, 2002

This latest book from the Folger offers descriptions and beautiful color images of extraordinary items from their diverse collection of books, paintings, and manuscripts. Of particular interest to Oxfordians is a large color photograph of the Ashbourne Portrait, as it appears today, and a one-page recapitulation of the history and controversy over the painting. A short section also describes the Oxford attribution:

Some of those who argue that Shakespeare's works were actually composed by Edward de Vere, the seventeenth earl of Oxford, however, contend the Ashbourne portrait originally depicted Oxford Himself. The question of whether it was Shakespeare who wrote the works attributed to him, often called the authorship controversy, existed well before the Folger was founded, although in the early 1900s the leading alternative was still Sir Francis Bacon. The Folger itself takes no position on the question; as a library open to scholars, it supports freedom of inquiry on any topic. Its holdings include extensive materials from the nineteenth century onward dealing with such proposed authors as Oxford; Bacon; William Stanley, sixth earl of Derby; the literary patron Edward Dyer; the playwright Christopher Marlowe; and many others.

The Bedside Bathtub & Armchair Companion to Shakespeare, Dick Riley & Pam McAllister, Continuum International Publishing, NY, 2001

This is one of those friendly format "everything-about-Shakespeare" books and, fortunately, it is not a dumbed-down affair. The authors present myriad Shakespeare-related

facts and fancies, with informative sections on Elizabethan customs, holidays, women in Shakespeare's time, and sections on all of the plays and poems. The book devotes eleven pages to the authorship question, and treats the material fairly, neither belittling the case against the Stratford man nor casting aspersions on suggested alternatives. Though a few other candidates are mentioned briefly, the authors devote their principal focus on the extensive case for the Earl of Oxford, which clearly impressed them. This is perhaps one of the most pro-Oxford pieces featured in a book marketed to a mainstream Shakespeare audience. The authors conclude with Dickens' appropriate line, which perhaps sums up the authors' own feelings: "The life of Shakespeare is a fine mystery and I tremble every day lest something should turn up."

The Real Shakespeare

Marilyn Savage Gray
Writers Club Press, 2002

Marilyn Gray's fascinating book adds vertical depth to the case for Oxford, through an in-depth analysis of the many French "ver..." words which appear as inter-language puns throughout the Shakespeare plays. Edward de Vere was educated in French from childhood; it was his natural second language. He may have had these French words and phrases, and their English equivalents, floating around his head all his conscious life. French was the intellectual language in Shakespeare's day. Thus, examples of sophisticated French puns in Shakespeare texts cannot be ignored. In the first part of her book, Gray presents an overview of the Oxford connection to the Shakespeare plays in the form of a tale or novella. In part two, we are presented with the relevant *ver* words from 16th century French dictionaries, which were all printed in, or available in England. One useful feature of *The Real Shakespeare* is Gray's reprint of four pages from

Claude Desalinliens' *A Dictionary French and English*, 1593. Part three examines *Hamlet* as a vertigo of punning verse. In *Hamlet*, Gray finds every French *ver* word listed in the contemporary dictionaries expressed in English, in both outright and convoluted fashions. Whether the phenomenon is genuinely probative of Oxford's method, or a tribute to Gray's creativity is for the reader to decide. Comparative studies with other Elizabethan writers would be a useful project for the future. Can the same obsession with this very set of words be found in Sidney, Spenser, Marlowe, Whitgift, or Middleton? Regardless, Gray's book succeeds in presenting a "big concept" – that there are important French underpinnings even in the English portions of 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.

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SOS Conference (cont'd from p. 20)

Folio, its peculiar ugliness and incongruities being just the ticket for bringing forth student questions that can lead to authorship discussion.

Mr. Barrett keeps in his classroom a large library of some 75 authorship titles, some quite rare and expensive, that he freely makes available to students and faculty throughout his school district. Barrett also reported on his district's strong and generous support for his authorship question curriculum.

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S. Hughes, editor:

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Letters:

To the Editor,

It is always a great pleasure to receive the SOS Newsletter. Your Spring, 2002 issue has a puzzling date accompanying the sketch by George Vertue on page 4. If New Place was pulled down in 1702, and Vertue had drawn it from memory, then Vertue gained this memory by the age of 18, his age in 1702. Alternatively, he drew it after his 1737 visit to Stratford, since Chambers indicates New Place was pulled down in 1759, "in a fit of pique" (Chambers, *William Shakespeare*, vol. II, p. 99). Evidence for an earlier date of destruction would be very interesting.

E. M. Jolly
London, England

Editor's Reply: The source was *Shakespeare, A Pictorial Biography* by F.E. Halliday (1956), p. 147:

NEW PLACE. The original 'grete house,' built by Sir Hugh Clopton and bought by Shakespeare, was pulled down about 1702. This drawing, the only known authentic illustration, was made by George Vertue 'by memory' in 1737, and represents the Church Street front, 'a long gallery &c and for servants,' the 'real dwelling house' being behind. British Museum.

Halliday's point is that there was a "Great House" on the main street, and the dwelling was a second building, behind. The Great House was demolished in 1702, and the dwelling in 1759. In another Halliday book, *A Shakespeare Companion* (1964) he writes: In 1737 George Vertue made a sketch of the original New Place, possibly from a description by Shakespeare Hart, who was then "about 70." So it wasn't Vertue's recollection at all, but a second-hand reconstruction, like a police sketch.

To the Editor,

An amusing footnote to the calendrical calculations expounded by R. Brazil in the Spring 2002 SOS Newsletter article is provided by the tiny Welsh community of Gwaun

Valley, near Fishguard, which celebrates the New Year 13 days later than the rest of Britain. The reason is that they still calculate it according to the Julian calendar, and have done so for 250 years. Although the adoption of the Gregorian calendar involved "losing" 11 days in 1752, when September 2nd was followed by September 14th, the discrepancy has now crept forward to 13 days (because of leap years), so that their New Year's Eve is now what is January 13th for the rest of us, and their Millennium began on January 14th 2000. Not to miss out, the community also celebrates on December 31st, so they have two New Year's Eve's rave-ups. Over the years the neighboring populace have caught on, and crowds of visitors from the surrounding area often descend to join in. A local historian says "This is an isolated community of independent Welsh-speakers, with a strong sense of their own identity." That explains it, then.

John M. Rollett
Ipswich, England

To the Editor,

Reading through the Spring, 2002 newsletter, I found Ramón Jiménez's article of interest. Gerit Quealy did a good job with the Portland conference. One little correction: in R. Brazil's article on Oxford's Birthday it is stated that King Edward VI was seventeen in 1550. He was thirteen.

Stephanie Hopkins Hughes
Nyack, New York

Editor's Reply: Stephanie is right, a math error crept into the calculation of the age of young King Edward.

To the Editor,

Thanks to Gerit Quealy for the nice write-up of our conference in the SOS Newsletter; it was very good. I'm sorry there was no room for a few words about Jason Moore and his Oxfordian high school students from Vancouver – their closing presentation was a marvel – but I know that space has its limits.

Robert Brazil's article on Oxford's birthdate was well done. I'm glad to see that he expanded his work from that which he posted some time ago, and that his research is now in the hands of a wider audience.

Daniel Wright, Ph.D.
Portland, Oregon

Historical discovery!

Three hundred coded signatures have been found in *Hamlet* identifying De Vere as author!

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Contributions should be reasonably concise and when appropriate validated by peer review. Submissions must include the author's contact information and may be subject to editing for content and length.

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Twelfth Night (cont'd from p. 11)

notwithstanding that *Henry VIII* might have been *All is True*, based on the letter of Wotton describing the burning of the Globe Theater in 1613. It seems possible that *What You Will* was the original title, and, if true, this could also explain why *Twelfth Night* was not mentioned by Meres in 1598. If the play was named *What You Will* and was by Oxford, it would have been considered part of his “best for comedy” as stated by Meres.

I propose that the original play of circa 1581 was revised and put on in 1600/1 for the celebration of the twelfth night of the Christmas holiday; and that, therefore, the name “Twelfth Night” was added to the original title *What You Will*. (Although I came upon this conclusion independently, subsequent to writing this paper, I found that Kevin Gilvary has written the same opinion for the De Vere Society.)¹⁹

Note

In view of the importance of this “missing document,” an effort is being made by the author to look for it. We know it survived the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods and was extant in 1732, assuming we can trust Francis Peck – and I believe we can. I have identified Oxford’s

“pleasant conceit” as a manuscript transcribed by Abraham Fleming (1551-1607), who was a “corrector” (i.e., editor) until 1588, when he took Holy Orders. He spent his last years as a private chaplain to the 1st Countess of Nottingham. The 1st Earl of Nottingham was Charles Howard, the Lord Admiral of the Admiral’s Men fame. Through Robert Brazil, I have learned of a connection between Fleming and Oxford. In 1580, Abraham Fleming wrote a translation of Niel Hemmingsen’s sermons on St. Paul’s letters to the Ephesians, which he dedicated to Anne, Countess of Oxford. The search is a daunting task, but it’s a necessary one.

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