



The Shakespeare OXFORD Newsletter



Vol. 40: No. 2

"The history of the world is but the biography of great men." —Thomas Carlyle

Spring 2004

Edward De Vere Studies Conference at Concordia University

By Paul H. Altrocchi, MD

The 8th Annual De Vere Studies Conference took place in Portland, Oregon from April 15 to 18, 2004, against a stunning backdrop of bursting spring flowers, with 140 attendees and a formidable array of authorship experts. Highlights of the conference included the following papers:

Ramon Jimenez, by keen comparative analysis, convincingly made the case that *The True Tragedy of Richard III* was an immature effort of Edward de Vere, i.e. Shakespeare, written between the ages of 12 (1562) and 14 (1564), upon which the final version of *Richard III*, printed in 1597, was based. The two plays have similar wording and details, the same range of grammatical usages, the same important role for the 13th Earl of Oxford, the same differences from Hall's *Chronicles*, the same genealogical error, and a similar final cry for a horse by King Richard.

In his studies of early plays, Jimenez believes that *The Famous Victories of Henry V* is the earliest and most immature, *True Tragedy* is chronologically next, followed by *Edmund Ironside*. The key point is that Shaksper from Stratford wasn't even born when the first two were written, thus ruling him out as Shakespeare. Jimenez's quiet, thoughtful, penetrating logic was again impressive. Adding dramatic flair to Jimenez's talk was Michael Dunn's marvelous rendition of more than 150 lines from *True Tragedy*, a performance that delighted the audience.

Roger Strimatter, by clever sleuthing of
(cont'd on p. 10)

The Testimony of Ben Jonson in Redating *The Tempest*, *Othello*, and *Timon of Athens*

By Robert Detobel

Orthodox scholarship assigns dates of authorship for about a dozen Shakespeare plays to the period following the death of Oxford in 1604. Of these, Ben Jonson offers evidence that the dating for three of these plays should be much earlier, and thus consistent with the Oxfordian viewpoint.

Shakespeare and the Satirists

Shakespeare's poems and plays loom large in the satires of John Marston, in the early satirical comedies of Ben Jonson, and probably in the plays of George Chapman, between 1598 and 1602. The earliest known English satire is John Marston's long poem, *The Metamorphosis of Pygmalion's Image, and certain Satires* (1598), to be followed by Guilpin's *Skialetheia* (1598) and Marston's *Scourge of Villainy* (1599). The sculptor Pygmalion falls in love with his ivory statue of a woman, moving Venus to infuse real life into the object of Pygmalion's desire. The satire is leveled at the vogue of poetry in imitation of Shakespeare's *Venus and Adonis* after 1593 and, *ipso facto*, at Shakespeare's own poem, as appears most clearly from Marston's *Pygmalion* (35-6):

Then he exclaims, "Such red
and so pure white,
Did never bless the eye of
mortal sight!"

Exactly how long Shakespeare waited with his response is difficult to determine, but *Measure for Measure* contains a quip for Marston which has been often overlooked.

What, is there none of
Pygmalion's images, newly
made woman, to be had now,

for putting the hand in the
pocket and extracting it
clutched? What reply, ha? What
sayst thou to this tune, matter
and method? Is't not drowned
in the last rain, ha? (III.iii.43-
49)

Taken by itself, Lucio's interjection makes little sense. As an allusion to Marston's *Pygmalion*, however, it becomes understandable in the wider context of the Elizabethan literary world. The word "clutched" is one of the words Ben Jonson has Crispinus (Marston) spit out at the end of his play, *The Poetaster* (V.iii.507-9). Significantly, the word is twice used by Marston in connection with "vengeance" in his play *Antonio's Revenge*, the first time in III.i.45-6: "The fist of strenuous vengeance is clutched," the second time in V.i.3: "Of frowning vengeance with unpeised clutch." "Last rain" stands as an ironic substitute for "last fire" and likely referred to the order given on June 1, 1599 by the Archbishop of Canterbury to the Stationers' Company to burn a number of works, among them satires, and among these Marston's *Pygmalion* and *Scourge of Villainy*.

Marston, though, makes it clear that the actual butt of his satires are Shakespeare's slavish imitators, both poets and courtiers feeding their speech from plays, in particular from Shakespeare's plays.

Luscus, what's played to-day?

Faith now I know

I set thy lips abroad, from whence
doth flow

Naught but pure Juliet and Romeo.

(cont'd on p. 13)

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President's Letter

As the year 2004 continues, it seems appropriate as an Oxfordian to reminisce on the four hundredth anniversary of Oxford's death. If you believe, as I do, that Edward de Vere was the true force behind the writings of Shake-Speare, then we should give pause to reflect on all that has happened since 1604. Until 1920, the knowledge that Oxford was Shakespeare was (with perhaps a few exceptions) largely unknown. Progress in Oxfordian research has been slow, sometimes flawed, but now gaining new vigor and respectability.

We now see inroads into the academic world that has been so desperately fought by orthodoxy since 1920. We must remain hopeful that the day will come when the proof will be sufficient to convince even the most resistant of the orthodoxy—otherwise, we do nothing but waste our time. But if we persist in our study of the fascinating Elizabethan period, continue to search for previously unnoticed documents (and there are many), and correct many of the documentary errors that have been handed down to us, then our labors will not be in vain. To emphasize this thought I would like to share with you a quote from a note that I found in one of my books originally owned by Dorothy Ogburn:

"We've got to win this important case. And we will win it. Someone must keep active and be at the center of things. The research and the writing must go on. At any time some concrete evidence may appear which it will be impossible for the "authorities" to ignore. Once the iron curtain is pierced, the professors will have exciting work to do."

Truer words were never spoken. The work must go on. But we do need reminding from time to time that we need to be respectful of differing opinions whether they are among ourselves or with the orthodoxy. Even though we become frustrated by the resistances we encounter, we can only become respected when we show respect ourselves. Let the opposition be the ones to make the pejorative calling us "crackpots" or making remarks like "will this madness ever end?" Throughout history, the "establishment" that derides new ideas commonly becomes the looser in the end. "Truth" does not belong exclusively

to the current academic world (in any field) as changes constantly have to be made as new information and knowledge develops over time. And so I expect it to happen with us in our quest.

Now a few words about the SOS's 2004 annual conference, which will be held in Atlanta, Georgia on October 28-31 at the DoubleTree Hotel Buckhead. The research program is shaping up to be an exciting one. Among the planned presentations are papers focusing on the sonnets, the Italian influence on Oxford and the Shakespeare plays, as well as a seminar for teaching "Oxfordian Shakespeare."

Opportunities are still available for those who wish to present papers at the annual conference. Anyone interested should contact me at 9 Lakewood Retreat, Savannah, GA 31411, or by email at davisfm@bellsouth.net.

Another recent development has been the relocation of Society headquarters out of Washington DC to a more suburban locale in Maryland. Members and others wishing to contact the Society can do so with the following new contact information: Shakespeare Oxford Society, 11141 Georgia Avenue, Suite 503, Silver Spring, MD 20902. Tel: (301) 946-8333. Fax (301) 946-1313.

On another front, the Society continues to advance with the project to redevelop the Society website at www.shakespeare-oxford.com. The Board of Trustees selected a vendor this spring, and design work has been taking place on the graphic design, navigational aids and other elements needed to enhance the site for members, the general public and the news media. Plans are to unveil the site before the annual conference in October.

It has been a privilege working with so many dedicated people that share such a love and interest in history and the literary genius of Shakespeare. I encourage all of you to join in the investigative process that possesses such a gripping fascination. There are many ways to contribute. Your time, ideas and financial support are all important.

Sincerely,
Frank M. Davis
President,
Shakespeare Oxford Society

Fraud At Colne Priory

By Nina Green

In the title of an article in *The Shakespearean Authorship Review* in 1970, the Oxfordian researcher Gwynneth Bowen asked, "What Happened at Hedingham and Earls Colne?"

Wenow have the answer. What happened at Colne Priory was fraud.

Despite the fact that the only pleading which has survived in Oxford's fraud case against the Harlakendens concerning the sale of Colne priory is Oxford's replication,¹ by taking that document in conjunction with the interrogatories prepared by Oxford's lawyers and the witnesses' answers to them, as well as the judgement of the Court of Chancery, we can arrive at a fairly clear understanding of the case and of the issues at stake.

We know from these documents that in May 1591 Thomas Hampton and Edmund Felton were approached by Roger Harlakenden to act on his behalf in getting Oxford to appoint him as Oxford's steward, surveyor, and receiver. It seems all but certain that Harlakenden's motive in doing this was that he had heard that Oxford was going to sell Colne priory to the tenants, and he wanted to put himself in a position to control the sale and purchase all the Colne priory lands (on some of which he already held leases) at his own price. Hampton and Felton did recommend Harlakenden to Oxford, and although it seems Oxford did not appoint Harlakenden as his steward, he did appoint him in 1591 as his surveyor and receiver.

In January 1592, Oxford gave Harlakenden a commission to offer the Colne priory lands to the existing tenants and to get Oxford the best price he could for the lands. Contrary to the trust reposed in him, Harlakenden not only did not offer the lands to the tenants, but, even worse, actively slandered Oxford's title to the lands. Harlakenden then told Oxford that none of the tenants would buy the lands because of the encumbrances on the title, and that the most the lands were worth was £35 annual rent, which at twenty years' purchase, would yield a sale price of £700. Harlakenden said that he himself would buy them at that price. As an inducement to get Oxford to

believe that this extremely low valuation was a fair one, Harlakenden promised to reconvey the Colne priory lands to Oxford at any time after the purchase if it should turn out that his valuation of them had been too low. Harlakenden bribed Oxford's servant Edmund Felton to concur in the low valuation of the lands and to persuade Oxford that under the circumstances, considering the encumbrances on the lands and the tenants' unwillingness to buy etc., it was a fair price, and that Oxford could not do better.

On February 7, 1592, Oxford sold the monastery, manor, and rectory of Colne priory to Roger Harlakenden for £700. Although Oxford did not know it, Roger

Oxford initiated a lawsuit in 1593 alleging fraud against Roger and Richard Harlakenden for the conduct of the sale of Colne priory.

Harlakenden had the bargain of purchase and sale drawn up to include "general words" of conveyance whereby he could claim title to all the rest of the Colne priory lands and tithes, wherever situated, even though these additional properties were not named in the indenture of bargain and sale—and Oxford had not intended to sell them to the Harlakendens.

Roger Harlakenden did not include the purchase price in the indenture of bargain and sale, nor did he buy in his own name. Instead, he registered the conveyance in the name of his son, Richard Harlakenden. His motive for doing so appears to have been twofold. First, if the lands went into Richard's name, it would be that much harder for Oxford to enforce Roger Harlakenden's promise to reconvey the lands once Oxford found out, as he was certain to eventually, that Roger Harlakenden had not offered the lands to the tenants, that he had slandered Oxford's title to them, that the sale price of £700 was

a ridiculous undervaluation, and that the Harlakendens were claiming title to additional lands which Oxford had not intended to sell to them. Second, Roger Harlakenden had earlier made a secret agreement with the lawyer John Drawater that they would purchase the Colne priory lands jointly. By putting the lands in his son Richard's name, Harlakenden made it that much more difficult for Drawater to enforce Harlakenden's promise to purchase jointly.

Harlakenden's double-crossing of Drawater almost exposed the whole fraud, because once Drawater found out that the Colne priory lands had been sold to Roger alone and put in his son Richard's name, Drawater threatened to tell Lord Burghley that Harlakenden had defrauded Oxford. At this point the lawyer Thomas Hampton stepped in and smoothed things out between Drawater, Roger Harlakenden, and Edmund Felton. It was agreed that Drawater could purchase Oxford's manor of Inglethorpe, a manor which Harlakenden controlled the sale of, and that Harlakenden would secretly reimburse Drawater for the purchase price, so that Drawater in fact got Inglethorpe for nothing. Hampton's kickback was apparently a half interest in Harlakenden's 21-year lease from Oxford of Chalkney Wood, which was put into the name of William Hampton, doubtless a relative, and sold back to Harlakenden a year later. The transactions between William Hampton and Roger Harlakenden involving Chalkney wood took place on December 2, 1591 and November 15, 1592. It thus seems likely that Hampton's kickback represented payment by Harlakenden for Hampton's recommendation that Oxford hire Harlakenden as his surveyor and receiver.

Part of the original collusive scheme between Drawater and Roger Harlakenden involved purchasing the reversion of Colne priory from the Queen, so that when the two separate interests in the title (Oxford's interest in fee tail general and the Queen's interest in the reversion) were united in a single purchaser, that purchaser would own Colne property outright, in fee simple. When

(cont'd on p. 4)

Fraud (cont'd from p. 3)

Harlakenden double-crossed Drawater by purchasing Oxford's interest in his son Richard's name alone, the grant from the reversion had not yet come through, so Roger Harlakenden had a double problem with Drawater. He had to prevent Drawater from exposing the fraud to Lord Burghley, and he still needed Drawater's help in getting the grant of the reversion. As mentioned above, Thomas Hampton patched things up between Roger Harlakenden and Drawater by devising a scheme whereby Drawater would get Inglethorpe for nothing, and Drawater then carried out his part in obtaining the grant of the reversion to Colne priory from the Queen, which came through six weeks later. On April 14, 1592, at Sir John Norris's request, the Queen granted the reversion of Colne priory to Theophilus Adams and Thomas Butler, who then sold it to Drawater and Roger Harlakenden, who then conveyed it to Richard Harlakenden, thus uniting the two separate interests in Colne priory into a single fee simple title which Richard Harlakenden shortly thereafter entailed to his own heirs.

Oxford soon found out that he had been defrauded, and initiated a lawsuit in 1593 alleging fraud against Roger and Richard Harlakenden for the conduct of the sale of Colne priory and for the inclusion of "general words" of conveyance in the indenture of bargain and sale, whereby many more properties and tithes were being claimed by the Harlakendens than Oxford had intended to sell to them. In April 1594, depositions were taken from witnesses, and the case should then have been ready to go to trial.

For unexplained reasons, the trial did not take place until 1599, and judgement in Oxford's favour was rendered by the Court of Chancery on February 10, 1599. The court decreed that the "general words" of conveyance were fraudulent, and insufficient to pass to the Harlakendens the additional properties and tithes they were claiming.

Some of these additional properties had been sold by Oxford in the interim to other purchasers, and the Harlakendens were ordered to convey title to these purchasers immediately, free of any encumbrances they had placed on them, including Richard Harlakenden's entail. The court further

decreed that Oxford was to have the tithes and the farm of Playstowe which the Harlakendens were claiming had passed under the sale, unless and until the Harlakendens could prove to the court that they had any right to them. The court also ordered that both sides prepare further briefs on the issue of Roger Harlakenden's fraud in undervaluing the Colne priory properties, and Oxford's claim for either reconveyance or recompense for the undervaluation.

Though many loose threads remain, it may be possible to tidy them up via additional documents on the Earls Colne website. Nonetheless, the foregoing summary sets out the background to the case, the principal issues involved, and the court's judgement.

The Internet address for the Earls Colne

website, on which all the relevant documents can be found, is: <http://linux02.lib.cam.ac.uk/earlscolne/>

Endnote

¹ In Elizabethan court pleadings, the complainant first filed a bill of complaint. The defendant filed an answer. Then the complainant filed his replication, which was a reply to the defendant's answer.

Nina Green, formerly editor of The Edward De Vere Newsletter (March 1989 - September 1994), is moderator of the Oxfordian discussion group, Phaeton. Those interested in joining Phaeton should contact her at ninagreen@telus.net. Her website, the Oxford Authorship Site, is located at www3.telus.net/oxford/.

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Oxfordian News

By Gary Goldstein

German TV Airs Program on Oxford.

David Roper from England reports that the German TV network, WDR, devoted a special 30-minute program on its Breakfast Show to the authorship issue, entitled: "Looking for the Real Shake-Speare." It was shown on March 11 and again on March 18. Professor Stuart Marlow represented the case for de Vere, supported by Mark Rylance, director at the Globe Theatre in London, Charles Bird at Castle Hedingham, and Mr. Roper at Wilton House.

Videotapes are to be made of the program, and Professor Marlow has expressed an interest in presenting the video along with a talk to any interested conference gathering. He can be contacted at smarlow@hdm-stuttgart.de.

Alan Nelson's Oxford Bio Reviewed.

Reviewed in the Shakespeare Newsletter, Shakespeare Fellowship Newsletter, and the SOS Newsletter, Alan Nelson's biography of the 17th Earl of Oxford has recently been reviewed in the American Library Association's publication for academic libraries, *Choice* (March 2004, vol. 41, no. 7), as follows:

"Edward de Vere, Earl of Oxford (1550-1604), is best known as the leading candidate in the 'who wrote Shakespeare' debate. Thankfully, Nelson (Univ. of California, Berkeley) has not written propaganda for either side but instead produced a meticulously researched and detailed biography, the first since 1928. Oxford grew up in the household of William Cecil, Baron Burghley, one of the most important men in Elizabeth's court, and married his daughter, Anne. That connection, and his

own nobility, protected Oxford as he engaged in adultery, necromancy, murder, and treasonous plots, but it could not stop the extravagant spending that destroyed the Oxford holdings and bankrupted the earldom. Eschewing the current trend, Nelson relies on solid historical research rather than fictionalized re-creations or psychological explanations. This can occasionally be a problem — he explains few details of Elizabethan life and reproduces large chunks of documents without modernizing, making the book difficult for undergraduates. But for anyone interested in the authorship debate, Oxford himself, or life at the court of Elizabeth I, this book is a goldmine, with many documents and facts reproduced for the first time. Summing Up: Recommended. Graduate students through faculty.—A. Castaldo, *Widener University*."

New Title on Shakespearean Age.

Shakespeare scholar Frank Kermode has published a collection of essays on the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods titled, *The Age of Shakespeare*, issued by Modern Library in hardcover (\$21.95, 240 pages). A review will appear in the summer issue of the SOS newsletter.

New Oxfordian Play. Louise Young has written a play on Edward de Vere which takes a novel view of his life. Those interested can read excerpts of the play on her website at <http://louiseyoung.com/>.

Media Coverage on Authorship Issue.

The Edward de Vere Studies Conference, which took place in April at Concordia University, also generated some high profile media coverage, including a column by Bruce Kauffmann in the April 18th issue of

The Sunday Oregonian. A historian and former writer for CBS News anchor Dan Rather, Mr. Kauffman devoted his column, "Was 'Spear-Shaker' the Real Bard?", to debunking the Stratfordian case and advancing a detailed summary of the evidence for Oxford's authorship of the Shakespeare canon.

Oxford Goes Hollywood. On May 11th, *ScreenDaily* reports that filmmaker Roland Emmerich (*Godzilla*, *Independence Day* and *The Day After Tomorrow*) will next direct *The Soul of the Age*, a \$30 - \$35 million "intense 16th century drama about the question of the authorship of Shakespeare." The screenplay is by John Orloff (HBO's *Band of Brothers*).

Emmerich is reportedly scouting locations in the United Kingdom. The financing for *Soul*, however, is proving to be "a risky undertaking," Emmerich told *ScreenDaily*. "It's very hard to get a movie like this made and I want to make it in a certain way."

Orloff finished the script several years ago but put it aside after the movie, *Shakespeare in Love*, came out in 1998. Emmerich called *The Soul of the Age* "a very serious drama" and even compared it to *Amadeus*.

ScreenDaily says *Soul* "is the story of Edward de Vere, the 17th Earl of Oxford who lived from 1550 to 1604 and was considered one of the finest poets and dramatists in the court of Queen Elizabeth I. Only in the 20th century did theories emerge that he was the true author of the works of William Shakespeare."

Emmerich is also scheduled to direct the thriller *Anthem* for Sony Pictures.

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Letters to the Editor

Alan Nelson's *Monstrous Adversary*

Nelson's vivid depiction in his biography of Edward de Vere as egoist, thug, sodomite, atheist, vulture, traitor, murderer, etc., which would seem to disqualify him as the author of Shakespeare's noble *oeuvre*, reminds me of Professor Julius Held's documented description of the great seminal painter, Caravaggio (1573-1610):

"Caravaggio's life is a history of increasingly violent antisocial behavior. There is evidence, notably in his early works, of strong homosexual tendencies; toward the end of his life he was forced to leave Messina after assaulting a teacher who suspected the artist of molesting his school-boys. In Rome, Caravaggio was one of a gang of tough, sword-carrying, swaggering ruffians who appear frequently in his pictures. From 1600 on, despite his

professional success, his name began to appear in the police records. He was accused of attacking a man with his sword. Then there was a libel suit. Then arrest for showing disrespect to a police officer; for carrying arms without a permit; for breaking windows; for wounding a man after an argument over a prostitute. Finally, in 1606, he was forced to flee Rome after killing a man in an argument over a tennis game."

Does this sound a little familiar? Held continues:

"What is astonishing and wonderful is that a man so undisciplined and perverse could create beautiful, controlled masterpieces of the utmost refinement; that a man so brutal and violent could create some of the most profound religious paintings in the history of art...." (Held and Posner, *17th and 18th Century Art*, 1979, p. 76-7)

Is it possible that some artists become great precisely because of the dynamics of a violent and irascible temperament? In any case, Caravaggio, and perhaps the 17th Earl of Oxford, make it clear that there can be a wide divide between the artist's work and his known character.

Sincerely,
Allan R. Shickman
Professor Emeritus, Art History
University of Northern Iowa

Editor's Note: Those wishing to submit research papers to the newsletter should organize their work, especially references and endnotes, according to the rules established in the MLA Style Manual and Guide to Scholarly Publishing, by Joseph Gibaldi and Herbert Lindenberger, Modern Language Association of America; 2nd edition, 1998.

In Memoriam: Leonard Hansen, Avid Antiquarian and Oxfordian

By Gerit Quealy

"A room without books is like a body without a soul," said Cicero. If that is true, Leonard Hansen had plenty of soul to go around. Mr. Hansen, who died September 20, 2003, was an avid antiquarian, with rare old volumes filling over seven rooms in his house in Englewood, New Jersey.

After a precipitous purchase in the early '80s, he became an avid Oxfordian as well. The purchase was an extraordinary old scrapbook, one of two, he later discovered, compiled by R. Ridgill Trout, covering the family history of the earls of Oxford, complete with maps, drawings, crests, unique portraits and more. The other happens to be in the De Vere Society Library collection, in the process of being moved to Shakespeare's Globe in London. (See the excellent article on the scrapbook by Katherine Chiljan in the Fall 2001 edition

of the *SOS Newsletter*.)

Mr. Hansen, a warm, avuncular man with seemingly boundless energy and good humor, was very enthusiastic about the SOS conference being held in New York City and had been active in its planning and organization. He was also excited about having a number of books from his Shakespeare collection on display, including a 1577 *Holinshed's Chronicles*, with his Trout De Vere Album as the centerpiece of the display. Unfortunately, Mr. Hansen died of a sudden stroke just a month before the conference. Because of his generosity and enthusiasm for the movement over the years, the Board voted to dedicate the conference to him.

His son Erik, a resident of Massachusetts, made himself available to be there and have on display the Trout De Vere Album to fulfill his father's wishes. Many attendees

enjoyed the opportunity to see the remarkable volume in person.

This extraordinary scrapbook, including the 1577 Holinshed's *Chronicles* and the rest of Mr. Hansen's extensive collection of Elizabethan-era books, will be auctioned off in New York City over the next several months. Those wishing more information regarding the sale should contact Tobias Abeloff at the Swann Galleries: 212-254-4710 ext.18; or by email at tabeloff@swanngalleries.com.

A memorial service was held for Mr. Hansen on Saturday, November 8th, comprising tributes of all kinds—musical, Shakespearean, anecdotal—celebrating the life of this extraordinary man, punctuated by the resounding voices of the University Glee Club of which Mr. Hansen was member. He will be much missed by the many lives he touched.

Time To Declare Victory

By Gary L Livacari, D.D.S.

I wonder if other members of the Shakespeare-Oxford society are as frustrated as I am. Recently, I have been reviewing much of the information I've accumulated over the 15 years in which I have been following the Shakespeare-Oxford authorship question, including books, articles, commentaries, and newsletters.

As I was 15 years ago, I am again struck by the complete and utter lack of evidence supporting the contention that William Shakspeare of Stratford-on-Avon wrote the canon of works attributed to William Shakespeare. I am also overwhelmed by the preponderance of empirical evidence that supports Edward de Vere, the 17th Earl of Oxford, as the true author, writing under the pseudonym "*William Shake-speare*." Of course, now, 15 years later, the evidence has been greatly developed, expanded, and substantiated, proving the case for Oxford beyond any reasonable doubt. Our side has won this battle. The only thing we haven't done is to declare victory. I think that time has come.

If we are going to wait for the other side to suddenly declare one day—"You know, the Oxfordians are right, Edward de Vere really is Shakespeare"—we will be waiting a long time, indeed. It's just not going to happen. We seem to be searching for one more irrefutable piece of evidence that will finally bring the other side to its knees.

It won't happen because too many academic reputations and careers are at

stake. Those in the Stratfordian establishment are the literary heirs and protectors of all those Shakespearean authors and academics who have come before them. In other words, their heritage is threatened. As history has amply demonstrated, people will fight to the death for their heritage. As such, they have a vested interest in maintaining the *a priori* paradigm of William Shakespere as the author—a paradigm now sustained by their collective economic, social and emotional attachment rather than by empirical evidence.

It is time to move past these people. This battle has been won. They have become the "flat-earthers." At this stage, we need to mobilize our forces and announce to the world in no uncertain terms that Edward de Vere, the 17th Earl of Oxford "*is*" the author "*William Shakespeare*," not "*appears to be*." We seem to be hesitant to take this one, last bold step, afraid of what "they" on the other side might say. We must force the issue and put them on the defensive. Let's start funding the Edward De Vere-Shakespeare Library, Foundation, and Resource Center! We need to do things that cannot be ignored.

Each new issue of the Shakespeare-Oxford newsletter brings us further proof of the case and we have now reached the point of preaching to the choir. While discovery after discovery strengthens our resolve, the movement has stalled in its goal of sinking the fruits of our hard-fought

victory into the consciousness of the general public. This needs to be corrected.

In the early 1990s I was privileged to have a correspondence with Charlton Ogburn, Jr. At one point, I wrote to him saying that, "It's my prayer that the resolution of this monumental question will occur in your lifetime." I well remember the letter he wrote in response, expressing his doubts that it would occur. *He was right. It didn't happen.* If we don't force the issue, I doubt it will happen in our lifetime or in the lifetime of even our grandchildren. Quite frankly, I doubt it will ever happen.

We also have a heritage. We are the heirs of all the great literary minds who came before us, those whose intuition told them that something was amiss and who were bold and courageous enough to stand up against the status quo, often in the face of untold ridicule and slander. They sought only the truth. The time is long overdue to put to rest once and for all the absurd notion that the greatest literary canon the world has ever seen was written by William Shakspeare of Stratford-on-Avon. We must announce to the world that the true author is known beyond any shadow of a doubt, and his name is Edward de Vere, the 17th Earl of Oxford. To do less is to betray the legacy and the heritage that these heroic people have bequeathed to us.

This case has long since been solved. The evidence is on our side. The battle has been won. It's time to declare victory.

Historical discovery!

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

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Post Mortem on John de Vere, 16th Earl of Oxford

A debate among Carl Caruso, Nina Green and Christopher Paul about the circumstances surrounding the death of John de Vere, 16th Earl of Oxford, took place April 2, 2004 on Phaeton, the Oxfordian discussion group operated by Nina Green. They found a number of anomalies regarding the Earl's sudden demise that raise questions about his passing and the affect it may have had on his son, the 17th Earl of Oxford. – Editor.

Nina Green: On page 30 of his biography of the 17th Earl of Oxford (*Monstrous Adversary*), Alan Nelson writes:

"On 3 August [1562] John de Vere, 16th Earl of Oxford, died, in his mid-forties, at Castle Hedingham. From his arrangements for his son's future marriage on 1 July, his attempt to clarify the entail of the earldom, and his signing an elaborate will on 28 July, it is clear that he saw death coming."

Nelson ignores evidence that the 16th Earl was likely in very good health a month prior to his death, and not staring at the specter of death at all. I've reprinted below two entries from the Essex Records Office on-line catalogue at: <http://seax.essexcc.gov.uk/login.asp> (see below).

These entries show that at Easter 1562, the 16th Earl was taking a recognizance at the criminal justice sessions, and at midsummer (circa June 21, 1562) he was again involved in the justice sessions in the mundane activity of taking pledges and securities from alehouse-keepers. Does this sound like a man who "saw death coming" in a little over a month? Not to me.

Carl Caruso: Once again, it appears Nelson leaves so much out as to vitiate his method and the validity of his conclusions. Once again, trying to put the matter in the best light, maybe he cannot be blamed for embroidering upon the coincidence of the Earl's making of his will and his last breath.

Some of the future expectation to be found in the will may be merely conventional: i.e., he made up his will "as if" he would live to a ripe old age, even though, possibly, he knew otherwise.

Still the timing is striking, and one cannot help wondering if "someone else" knew that the 16th Earl's death was near. Or am I

being naive in not supposing that this is exactly where all the evidence is heading?

In any case, it's a most unpleasant thought. Unpleasant enough, perhaps, to have brought forth the greatest drama in the English language: the story of the Danish prince.

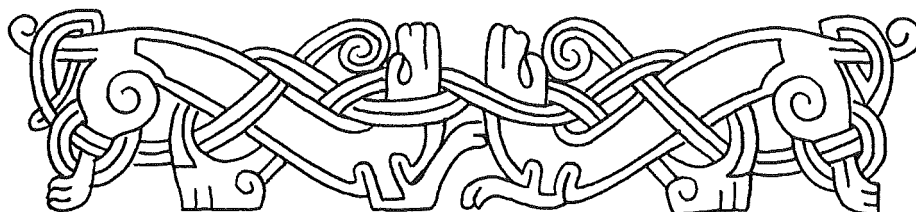
Christopher Paul: "He poisons him i' the garden for's estate." - Hamlet

That John de Vere was in perfectly good health prior to his death is furthermore indicated in his Indenture of 2 June 1562. The document is totally progressive, containing indications that the 16th Earl

(cont'd on p. 9)

THE OXFORDIAN/6

The Annual Journal of the Shakespeare Oxford Society



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Post Mortem (cont'd from p. 8)

expected to live for some time yet. In the first place, Nelson himself makes this note at the top of his transcription:

[NB: In the course of this Indenture mention is made of a Lady Bulbecke: by this is meant the wife of Edward Lord Bulbecke if he should marry prior to the death of his father. Since he did not marry before the death of his father, there never was a Lady Bulbecke. - AHN]

Did the 16th Earl, who "saw death coming" according to Nelson, think his 12-year-old son was going to get married within a matter of weeks?

Additionally, after each of several property succession lists in this Indenture, it is written that the 16th Earl is to enjoy them "for terme of his lyfe with out ympechement of any maner of wast and after his decease then to thuse of the said Edward Lord Bulbecke and of the heires males of his bodye lafullye begotten." In each instance, this statement continues "and for lacke of such yssue [of the said Edward] then to thuse of theires [=the heirs] males of the bodye of the said [16th] Erle lafully begotten..."

So the 16th Earl is to enjoy all his lands, etc., for term of his own life, and then they are to go to his son Edward as his heir apparent.

The next stipulation is that if Edward

should not have any male heirs of his own, then after Edward's death the lands were to go to his brother(s), that is, to the use of the heirs male of the body of the 16th Earl. What that means is that the 16th Earl fully expected to live long enough at the time of this writing on 2 June 1562 to have more male heirs. Now let's see, that would take, at the minimum, nine months, right?

The indenture wraps up by concluding "yt is the full true and playne meanyng and intente of the sayd Erle and also yt is fully graunted and agreyd betwene the sayd parties that the sayd Erle shall and may at his free will and pleasure lett and graunte for the t{er}me of twenty and one yeares or fewersuch parte of the p{re}misses... And also yt is the full and playne meanyng and intente of the sayd Erle and also yt is fully concluded graunted and agreydbetwene all and singuler the parties to these p{re}sent{es} that the sayd Erle shall and may at his free wyll and pleasure hereafter geve graunte assigne or appoynte thoffyce and Offices of Baylywycke and Baylywyck{es} of any & of so many of his sayd manors land{es} ten{emen}t{es} and hereditament{es}..." etc. etc. etc.

Does this sound like a man who was staring death in the face?

Nelson concludes the Indenture by kindly translating from Latin this sentence:

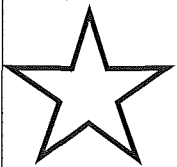
[Translation: And it is to be remembered that on the fifth day of July in the year abovewritten the aforesaid John de Vere Earl of Oxford appeared before the said Queen in her Chancery and acknowledged the aforesaid indenture and each and every thing contained and specified therein in the form abovewritten.] [NB: All this is a legal formula: the 16th Earl would have appeared before the Queen's officers in the Court of Chancery, not before the Queen herself.]

Three weeks after appearing in Chancery, John de Vere made out his will. Nor is there any indication in the will that he was in ill health; but then, within a week of signing it, John de Vere was dead.

How on earth Nelson can claim that these arrangements reveal that "it is clear he saw death coming" is a mystery. Well, I withdraw that; it's no mystery at all.

Documents:

- 1) Document Reference: Q/SR 5/21
 Repository: Essex Record Office
 Level: Series SESSIONS ROLLS
 Level: File EASTER 1562 (1 April 1562)
 Level: Item Recognizances
 2) Document Reference: Q/SR 6/25
 Repository: Essex Record Office
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Conference (cont'd from p. 1)

Henry Peacham's enigmatic, riddle-filled *Minerva Britanna*, unearthed new data regarding the "hand protruding from the curtain" frontpiece, and solved a number of the pervasive numbering puzzles found throughout the book. More mysteries remain but Roger's astute detective work was gripping.

Stephanie Hughes colorfully painted the Elizabethan world of secrecy in a paper entitled, "Say, Who Was That Masked Man Anyway?", pointing out the many advantages of anonymity in a rapidly changing world of religious, political, and other ideational hazards against the backdrop of a totalitarian state. She also requested that Oxfordians assist her in expanding upon Looney's original list of personal and background characteristics of the genius who wrote the Shakespeare Canon, in order to reassess afresh whether Edward de Vere fits the bill and is still the only one who does.

Dan Wright eloquently and dramatically pointed out how Michael Wood's recent biography of Will Shaksper of Stratford, which emphasizes his strong Catholicism, digs the grave of Stratfordianism. The ardent support of the Protestant Church of England in the Shakespeare plays and the frequent skewering of the Pope and papists make a powerful unintended case that an ardent Catholic from Stratford-on-Avon couldn't possibly have written the plays.

A number of other papers were enlightening, including these:



SOS President Dr. Frank Davis addresses the Edward de Vere Studies Conference.

Richard Whalen reviewed the history of the 1634 Dugdale sketch of the Stratford monument, Hollar's 1656 copy of the Dugdale, and the present statue in Trinity Parish Church, Stratford, perpetrated by Green between 1734 and 1749. Whalen pointed out in vivid detail why the latter is a "monumental fraud," including two "restorations," one in 1825 and one in the early 1900s.

SOS President Frank Davis summarized the life and writings of controversial John Lyly and concluded that, although "proof" is lacking, De Vere certainly participated heavily in most of Lyly's plays, especially the two Euphues novels, with Lyly perhaps being the secretarial recorder or "compiler." Dr. Davis's research work is still in progress.

Bill Farina gave a detailed description of the decades-long battle between Puritans and all theatrical endeavors in England, especially London, and their many successes in quelling the brilliant outpouring of theatrical arts and staged plays which characterized the Elizabethan and early Jacobean eras.

Paul Altrocchi described the impressive work of the British Historical Manuscripts Commission in summarizing, excerpting, and indexing collections of letters and documents in English noble homes. Despite his negative search of the Earls of Rutland and Earls of Pembroke letters, he pointed out how a trivial penned remark about De Vere could be a powerful smoking gun, urging Oxfordians to explore this potential treasure trove and participate in this important kind of research.

Mark Anderson, in the conference keynote speech, provided interesting details and excerpts from his long-awaited book, *Shakespeare by Another Name: The Literary Biography of Edward de Vere, Earl of Oxford*, now scheduled for publication in April 2005.

Ian Haste carefully researched the costs of goods and services in the late 1500s to ascertain how much De Vere's annual stipend from the Queen, beginning in 1586, was worth in today's money. Titillating details included that a haircut cost three pence; 9100 lbs. of bread cost £28; 50 pigs cost £13, and a five bedroom house cost £55. Complicated calculations revealed that De Vere's annual £1000 is today worth



Professor Charles Kunert, Dean of Concordia University's College of Arts and Sciences, addresses the Edward de Vere Studies Conference.

£932,000 or \$1,537,815. Not a bad salary but well worth it for bringing Gloriana's Court to a pinnacle of unequaled literary splendor and for writing the history plays as propaganda to bring the English people to a fever pitch of patriotism against the Spanish Armada of 1588.

Michael Brame and Galina Popova dissected *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and gave further examples of their logical and exciting linguistic analytical techniques as applied to the De Vere Canon, pointing out that Lyly's *Endymion* and Gascoigne's *A Hundreth Sundrie Flowres* are clearly works of De Vere. Embedded within the latter is *Adventures of Freeman Jones*, Shakespeare's first novel and the subject of the Brames' latest book. Not only do they eruditely and convincingly demonstrate that the author was Edward de Vere, but they have identified the five main characters, including De Vere as Freeman Jones and Queen Elizabeth as Elinor. Of immense significance is that *Sundrie Flowres* was published in 1573, when the Stratford butcher's apprentice was only nine years old.

The three hour "interrogation" of Alan Nelson about his book, *Monstrous Adversary*, was sub-optimal. Opening statements and pointed questions by R. Thomas Hunter, Richard Whalen, Stephanie Hughes, Mark Anderson, and Bill Farina, and particularly eloquent remarks by Hank Whittemore, may have won individual battles but attack-mode rhetoric, no matter how well tempered, usually elicits more

heat than light, and it did. Just by accepting the debate invitation to participate in such an adversarial environment, and by agreeing to the unjust format to defend his research, Alan Nelson rose above the fray and won the laurels.

Other features of the conference:

Stephanie H. Hughes, editor of *The Oxfordian*, the annual journal of the Shakespeare Oxford Society, was awarded a \$6,000 Fellowship by the Edward de Vere Studies Conference to pursue research in England this summer. Specifically, she will spend the summer locating and transcribing some of the yet-unpublished letters of Sir Thomas Smith, Oxford's longtime childhood tutor (prior to the time of the 16th Earl's death and Edward's subsequent removal to Cecil House in London). Stephanie is hopeful that these letters by Smith might contain information that could contribute to a better understanding of Edward de Vere's youth during those formative years, when so much about him remains unknown to us.

At the Awards Banquet hosted by the Columbia Edgewater Country Club, Dr.



Hank Whittemore and Prof. Alan Nelson exchange views on the stage of The Edward de Vere Studies Conference.



Professor Daniel Wright presents Oxfordian actor Michael Dunn with the university's Achievement in the Arts Award.

Daniel Wright presented the Distinguished Scholarship Award to Paul Altrocchi, MD, and the Distinguished Achievement in the Arts Awards to actor Michael Dunn and to Stephen Moorer, Director of the Pacific Repertory Theatre.

On the entertainment front, Dan Wright again proved that Shakespeare plays are not a necessary ingredient of Oxfordian meetings. Conference attendees were treated to a performance by the Pacific University Chamber singers; an excellent new authorship film entitled "The Shakespeare Enigma"; and a true Epicurean Delight, "Sherlock Holmes and the Shakespeare Mystery," a memorably performed monologue by Michael Dunn.

Paul Altrocchi has been an Oxfordian for 58 years. Educated at Harvard University, Harvard Medical School, and the NY Neurological Institute, he is a former Professor at Stanford University who retired from neurological practice 6 years ago and now devotes his major energies to research, writing, and speaking about Edward de Vere.



Concordia University Information Technologies Director Joshua Mitchell addresses The Edward de Vere Studies Conference.

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Ben Jonson (*cont'd from p. 1*)

Say who acts best? Drusus or
Roscio?
Now I have him, that ne'er of ought
did speak
But when of plays or players he did
treat –
Hath made a common-place book
out of plays,
And speaks in print: at least what
e'er he says
Is warranted by Curtain plaudities.
If e'er you heard him courting
Lesbia's eyes,
Say (courteous sir), speaks he not
movingly,
From out some new pathetic
tragedy?
He writes, he rails, he jests, he
courts (what not?),
And all from out his huge long-
scrapèd stock
Of well-penn'd plays. (*Scourge of
Villainy*, Satire XI, 37-51).¹

In the following lines from Satire IX, Marston seems explicitly to exempt someone from blame, and given the prominent place that Shakespeare occupies in Marston's satires,² it is probably Shakespeare who is being referred to:

O what a tricky, lea'nèd, nicking
strain
Is this applauded, senseless,
modern vein!
When late I heard it from sage
Mutius' lips,
How ill, methought, such wanton
jigging skips
Besem'd his graver speech. "For
fly thy fame,
Most, most of me beloved! whose
silent name
One letter bounds. The true judicial
style
I ever honour; and, if my love
beguile
Not much my hopes, then thy
unvalued worth
Shall mount fair place, when apès
are turned forth." (*Scourge*,
Satire IX, 44-53)

Whether Marston calls his infatuated person Curio, Luscus, Martius or otherwise, he is always the same type, the same as the

Gullio who is mocked in the first part of *The Return from Parnassus*, someone boasting of his travels, his sonnets, his excellence at fencing:

Oh come not within distance!
Martius speaks,
Who ne'er discourseth but of
fencing feats,
Of counter times, *finctures*, *sly*
passatas,
Stramazones, resolute *staccatas*
(*Scourge*, Satire XI, 52-55)

Jonson Upends the Orthodox Dating for *Timon of Athens*

Jonson's early comedies are populated with the same Curio's and Gullio's. In *Every Man in His Humour (EIH)* the gull Stephano is obsessed by hawking and hunting, the bragging soldier Bobadilla is pouring forth terms of fencing, Matheo is posing as the poet by filching lines from others, including Samuel Daniel's *Delia* and *The Spanish Tragedy*. A warning is necessary. It has been held that Jonson was attacking almost every other poet: Shakespeare, Lyly, Daniel, etc. But none of these was the real target of Jonson's satire. He was aiming at a certain type of social upstart, the would-be courtier/soldier/poet who was displaying cultural accomplishment by mere aping. Some of Jonson's types are not unlike Molière's bourgeois-gentilhomme. Two such ridiculous upstarts in *The Poetaster* (1601) are Albius and his wife Chloe. Chloe is trying to set up a court of her own. Like Marston's Luscus, Jonson's Albius is frequenting plays to collect "well-penned phrases" which he is using without regard to the situation. One passage merits being quoted for another reason, showing how orthodox scholars sometimes play fast and loose with the external evidence when it comes to dating the plays. Act II, scene ii of *The Poetaster* contains the following dialogue:

Albius. Ladies and lordings, there's
a slight banquet stays within for
you, please you draw near and
accost it.

Julia. We thank you, good Albius:
but when shall we see those
excellent jewels you are
commended to have?

Albius. At your ladyship's service.
[*Aside*] I got that speech by
seeing a play last day, and it did
me some grace now...

The play to which Jonson has Albius refer in 1601 is none other than Shakespeare's *Timon of Athens* (I.ii), which orthodox chronology, despite the overwhelming evidence supplied by Jonson, dates to 1608, seven years later.

Timon. Ladies, there is an idle
banquett attends you;
Please you to dispose
yourselves.

...

Timon. The little casket bring me
hither.

Steward. Yes, my lord [*Aside*]
More jewels yet.

Othello and Thorello

In *EIH* Jonson puts bits from the works of contemporary authors into the mouth of his "humored" types. One of them is Thorello (mark the name!) who in real life is emulating the jealousy of Shakespeare's *Othello*, a play traditionally dated 1604 but borrowed from by Jonson as early as 1598. The dénouement of all of Jonson's early comedies is to reduce those self-aggrandizing people to the more modest dimensions of daily life. This agenda is most explicitly spelled out in *Every Man Out of His Humour (EOH)*. Robert N. Watson notes:

In the middle of the play Jonson uses Cordatus to remind us of the sort of conventional comedy Jonson resists writing. Mitis warns Cordatus of 'another objection, signior, which I fear will be enforced against the author': That the argument of his comedy might have been of some other nature, as of a duke to be in love with a countess, and that countess to be in love with the duke's son, and the son to love the lady's waiting-maid: some such cross wooing, with a clown to their serving-man; better than to be thus near

(*cont'd on p. 14*)

Ben Jonson (cont'd from p. 13)

and familiarly allied to the time.
(III.vi.166-174)

Watson proceeds with a remarkable turn of phrase:

He has just heard exactly that, but in a form that shows how much absurd convention, and how little true ethical edification, an Elizabethan audience would accept in a comedy. Barton has described Mitis' summary as an 'alarmingly prescient account of *Twelfth Night*, much as Kitley's speeches are often disquietingly prescient of Othello'. In both cases the correlation seems to suggest how skillfully Jonson preempted the essential material of conventional drama; material Shakespeare was obliged to rescue from the realm of parody to which Jonson had banished it.³

Elsewhere Watson notes that Jonson's "pockets are stuffed with shreds from the works of other authors, not because he lacks a voice of his own, but because he can make himself heard most clearly by temporarily mimicking voices more familiar to his audience."⁴ The conclusion is nothing short of absurd. Jonson would have borrowed from Shakespeare the voice of Othello for his Thorello (in the Folio of 1616 rechristened as Kitley), a voice more familiar to his audience, but as Shakespeare would not have yet written the play, Jonson "pre-empted" or "anticipated" it in some magic way which made it more familiar to his audience, just as he anticipated *Hamlet* (orthodox date: 1601) and *As You Like It* (o.d.: 1600) in *The Case is Altered* (1599), *Twelfth Night* (o.d.: 1601/2) and, according to Robert N. Watson's own insight, *The Tempest* (o.d. 1611/12) in *EOH* (1599) and *Timon of Athens* (o.d.: 1608) in *The Poetaster* (1601), misleading us by stating that it was a play staged by then!

That Jonson did borrow from *Othello* can be shown from several passages of which only one is quoted here. In I.iv.184-191 Thorello—it should be stressed that all

these allusions are already in the quarto published in 1601—who has just had an outburst of jealousy, is invited to table by his wife Bianca (which, meaning "white," is strongly suggestive of Desdemona⁵):

Bianca. I pray thee (good *Musse*)
we stay for you.

Thorello. By Christ I would not for
a thousand crowns.

Bianca. What ayle you sweetheart,
are you not well, speak good
Musse.

Thorello. Troth my head agues
extremely on a sudden.

Compare Othello (III.iii.279-284) :

Des. How now, my dear Othello!
Your dinner, and the generous
islanders

By you invited, do attend your
presence.

*Ben Jonson's "pockets are
stuffed with shreds from the
works of other authors...
because he can make himself
heard most clearly by tempo-
rarily mimicking voices more
familiar to his audience."*

Oth. I am to blame.

Des. Why do you speak so faintly?
Are you not well?

Oth. I have a pain upon my
forehead here.

Ben Jonson Versus Romance

Jonson's comedy plan is epitomized in the last phrase of the above quote from *Every Man Out of His Humour* (*EOH*): "better to be thus near and familiarly allied to the time." Though it is unlikely he intended to attack anyone personally, a collision with the standard bearer of romantic comedy and romance was inevitable. In 1629 Jonson wrote contemptuously of *Pericles* as a "mouldy tale."⁶ In the *Induction* to *Bartholomew Fayre* he declared to be "loth to make Nature afraid in his *Plays* like those that

begat *Tales*, *Tempest*, and such like *Drolleries*..."⁷ In 1619 he criticized Shakespeare for his lack of empirical accuracy: "Shakespear in a play brought in a number of men saying that they had suffered Shipwrack in Bohemia, where there is no Sea neer by somes 100 Miles."⁸

Time was running against romance, Neoplatonism, and magic—and toward empiricism and disenchantment. Jonson was on the right side of the new domineering values, though not necessarily on the right side of poetry. He wrote it with a zeal which elicited a rather deprecatory remark even from a congenial satirist, the anonymous author of the second part of *Return from Parnassus*: "A mere empiric, one that gets what he hath by observation... a bold whoreson, as confident now in making of a book, as he was in times past in laying of a brick." (Actus I, Scæna 2).

From 1599-1601 the relations between Shakespeare and Jonson were probably strained. According to the author of *Return of Parnassus*, Shakespeare retaliated by administering Jonson a bitter pill. Roscoe A. Small has convincingly argued that the pill was packed in some passages about Ajax in *Troilus and Cressida* and in the prologue to that play.⁹ The argument cannot be fully developed here, but a brief synopsis may suffice to show how well founded it is. In I.ii. Alexander characterizes Ajax as follows: "A very man *per se* and stands alone." He "hath," Alexander continues, "robbed many beasts of their particular additions; he is as valiant as the lion, churlish as the bear, slow as the elephant; a man into whom nature hath so crowded humours that his valour is crushed into folly, his folly sauced with discretion;" Agamemnon diagnoses: "He will be the physician that should be the patient." (II.iii).

In the introductory chorus to *EOH*, Asper, one of the commentators who expresses Jonson's own views of what comedy has to be, speaks: "But (with an armed, and resolved hand)/Ile stripe the ragged follies of the time." (16-17) and "I feare no mood stamped in a private brow, / When I am pleas'd t'unmaske a publicke vice, / I feare no strumpet drugs, nor ruffians stab, / I feare no courtiers frowne." (21-24) and "None, but a sort of fooles, so sick in taste, / That they contemne all phisicke of

the mind.” (131-2). The role of the exemplary scholar in *Cynthia's Revels* is assumed by Crites whom Mercury describes: “A creature of most perfect and divine temper. One, in whom the humours and elements are peaceably met... he is neither phantastickely melancholic, too slowly phlegmaticke... Nature went about some full worke, she did more than make a man.” (II.iii.123-145).

But after *The Poetaster* an interruption occurs in Jonson's production of comedies, until 1605. In the *Apologetical Dialogue* attached to this play he writes: “And since the Comic Muse/Hath proved so ominous to me, I will try/ If Tragedy have a more kind aspect./Her favours in my next I will pursue.” (209-212). Jonson seems to have had a feeling that his struggle for a new form of comedy had, after all, ended with a defeat. This tragedy was *Sejanus*, staged at court probably late in 1603. Shakespeare is likely to have had a hand in the staged version of the play. This brings us to the year 1605.

The year 1605 and *Eastward Ho!*

It is in 1605 that Ben Jonson publishes his play *Sejanus*. The text is not identical with the stage version, Jonson informs the reader in the epistle. “Lastly, I would informe you, that this Booke, in all numbers, is not the same with that which was acted on the publike Stage, wherein a second Pen had good share: in place of which I have rather chosen, to put weaker (and no doubt lesse pleasing) of mine own, then to defraud so happy a *Genius* of his right, by my lothed usurpation.” Chambers remarks that it is “useless to conjecture whether Shakespeare, or another was the collaborator.”¹⁰ But Shakespeare seems likely for at least two reasons. First, according to Jonson's own listing in the *Folio* of 1616, William Shakespeare acted in the play. Second, would Ben Jonson place any other playwright than Shakespeare above himself? Jonson's renunciation of the “more pleasing lines” may be regarded on as an act of both piety and emancipation. It is unfortunate that no manuscript exists with the contributions of this “second pen.”

But it is fortunate that a similar case exists for which we have both texts. Incidentally, it is the only other play for

which Ben Jonson lists William Shakespeare—this time without hyphen—as an actor, *Every Man in His Humour*. The play exists in two versions, the Quarto of 1601 and the Folio version of 1616. There are considerable differences between the two versions. The quarto version has an Italian setting, the Folio version an English one. In the latter version the names are also Anglicized: Lorenzo junior becomes Edward Knowell, Prospero is Wellbred, Giuliano is Downright, Thorello becomes Kately, etc. Another difference resides in the absence of the prologue from the quarto text.

However, the most striking difference seems, thus far, to have been overlooked! Though the later, *Folio* version of 1616 (the Anglicized version), is superior in dramatic structure, it is inferior in terms of poetic quality. Some of the best poetry passages in the Quarto have either been cancelled or

*In Measure for Measure,
Shakespeare responded to
Marston's Pygmalion, in
Troilus and Cressida to
Jonson's early comedies.*

were amended by Jonson at the cost of a loss of poetical fluidity. Our suspicion is that Jonson proceeded in the same way as for *Sejanus* but without explicitly acknowledging it in 1616 with regard to the *EIH* quarto of 1601. We think it justified to apply, slightly amended, the lines from the epistle to *Sejanus* in 1605 to the Folio text of *EIH*, too: “I would informe you, that this Booke, in all numbers, is not the same with that which was published as quarto in 1601, wherein a second Pen had good share: in place of which I have rather chosen, to put weaker (and no doubt lesse pleasing) of mine own, then to defraud so happy a *Genius* of his right, by my lothed usurpation.”

The reader should be given the opportunity of judging himself. First follows an instance in which Jonson conserved part of the text but partially changed it. Then an instance where an entire passage was cancelled.

In III.i of the Quarto version the jealous Thorello speaks these lines (the amended part has been put in boldface):

Who will not iudge him worthy to
be robd,
That sets his doores wide open to a
theefe,
And shewes the felon, where his
treasure lyes?
Againe, what earthy spirit but will
attempt
To taste the fruite of beauties
golden tree,
When leaden sleepe seals up the
dragons eyes?
**Oh beauty is a proiect of some
power,
Chiefely when oportunitie
attends her:
She will infuse true motion in a
stone,
Put glowing fire in an icie soule,
Stuffe peasants bosoms with
proud Cesars spleene,
Powre rich device into an empty
braine:
Bring youth to follies gate: there
train him in,
And after all, extenuate sinne**
(LL. 16-29)

In the *Folio* version this corresponds to Kately's lines in III.iii (II. 15-30):

Who will not judge him worthy to
be robbed,
That sets his doors wide open to a
thief,
And shows the felon where his
treasures lyes?
Again, what earthy spirit but will
attempt
To taste the fruit of beauty's golden
tree,
When leaden sleepe seals up the
dragon's eyes?
**No, beauty, no; you are of too
good caract [carat]
To be left so, without a guard, or
open!
Your lustre too'll inflame at any
distance,
Draw courtship to you as a jet
doth straws,
Put motion in a stone, strike fire
from ice,**
(cont'd on p. 16)

Ben Jonson (cont'd from p. 15)

**Nay, make a porter leap you with
his burden!
You must be then kept up, close,
and well-watched,
For give you opportunity, no
quicksand
Devours or swallow swifter.**

Compare the lines 42-45 (also spoken by Thorello) in the same scene of the Quarto:

My braine (me thinkes) is like an
hower-glasse,
And my imaginations like the
sands,
Runne dribbling foorth to fill the
mouth of time,
Still chaung'd with turning in the
ventricle.

With the corresponding lines 49-52 (by Kately) in the Folio version:

My brain (methinks) is like an
hourglass,
Wherein my' imaginations run like
sands,
Filling up time; but then are turned,
and turned,
So that I know not what to stay
upon.

Even more stirring is the total deletion of Lorenzo's rhapsodical apology for poetry (II. 312-343) toward the end of the Quarto which, had it not been cancelled by Jonson in the 1616 version, certainly would have been counted among his very best poetry, which he never again equalled:

Opinion, O God let grosse opinion
Sinck & be damned as deepe as
Barathrum
If it may stand with your most
wisht content,
I can refell opinio, and approve
The state of poesie, such as it is,
Blessed, æternall, and most true
devine:
Indeede if you will looke on
Poesie,
As she appeares in many, poore
and lame,
Patcht up in remnants and old
worne ragges,
Halfe starvd for want of her
peculiar foode,

Sacred invention, then I must
conferme,
Both your conceite and censure of
her merrite.
But view in her glorious ornaments,
Attired in the maiestie of arte,
Set high in spirite with the precious
taste
Of sweet philosophie, and which is
most,
Crownd with the rich traditions of
soule,
That hates to have her dignitie
prophand,
With any relish of an earthly
thought:
Oh then how proud a presence doth
she beare.
Then she is like her selfe, fit to be
seene
Of none but grave and consecrated
eyes:

*The play to which Jonson
has Albius refer in 1601
is none other than
Shakespeare's
Timon of Athens...*

Nor is any blemish to her fame,
That such leane, ignorant, and
blasted wits,
Such brainlesse guls, should utter
their stolne wares
With such applauses in our vulgar
eares:
Or that their slubberd lines have
currant passe,
From the fat judgments of the
multitude,
Should set no difference twixt these
empty spirits,
And a true Poet: then which
reverend name,
Nothing can more adorne
humanitie.

Of these lines nothing remains in the *Folio* version. There, in V.v., it is Justice Clement instead of Edward Knowell (Lorenzo) who retorts to old Knowell's disparaging remarks on poetry that the true

poet deserves more respect than the Lord Mayor. And Lorenzo's rhapsody is replaced by young Knowell's formulaic thank you: "Sir, you have saved me the labor of a defense."

The joint empirical accuracy of Ben Jonson and Sir Edmund K. Chambers allows us to fix the date of Jonson's revision. It is the year 1605. In the Folio version (III.i.103) and not in the Quarto version, Bobadill is boasting of his feats, among which he mentions his participation in the siege of Strigonium ten years ago. The date of the siege is 1595. And in I.ii.78 Wellbred's (Prospero) letter mentions a present by the Turkey Company to the "Grand Signior," the Sultan of the Ottoman Empire, which Chambers dates to Christmas 1605.¹¹

The year 1605 again. Early in 1605 a play is staged in the style of Jonson's previous comedies. *Eastward Ho*, a co-production of Jonson, Chapman and Marston, is likely to have been written in the second half of 1604.

Master Touchstone, a goldsmith, has two daughters, the elder proud and snobbish, hoping to become a Lady by marrying a knight, Sir Petronel Flash. The name Gertrud is not fortuitous. *Hamlet* is her favourite play. The younger, Mildred, is thrifty, modest, down-to-earth. Touchstone also has two apprentices, one, Quicksilver, who has the same ideals as Gertrud, the other Golding, who matches and will marry Mildred. Sir Petronel Flash marries Gertrud for love of the land she has inherited from her grandmother rather than for love of herself. This land he intends to pledge with a usurer, Security, whose young wife Winifred is Flash's true love. With the money from the mortgage, he, Quicksilver and Winifred plan to sail to Virginia, but their ship is wrecked in a storm on the Thames. They are caught by the sheriff and imprisoned. Thanks to the services of Golding, who has become deputy to the alderman, they are released from prison after having shown true repentance.

The play partly reads like a medley of Shakespearian phrases. Gertrud has a footman whose name is Hamlet. About the only dialogue she has with her footman is: "Sfoot! Hamlet, are you mad?." (III.ii.6). She reminds Quicksilver of how they have played Hamlet and Ophelia (III.ii.76-81):

Gertrud. Dost remember since thou
and I clapt what-d've-call'ts in
the garret?

Quicksilver. I know not what you
mean, madam.

Gertrud. His head as white as
milk, all flaxen was his hair;
But now he is dead, and laid in
his bed,
And never will come again.
(italics in original text)

The allusion to Ophelia's song (IV.iv.186-196) in Shakespeare's *Hamlet* is clear enough.

*And will not come again?
And will not come again?
No, no, he is dead,
Go to thy dead-bed,
He never will come again.
His beard was as white as snow,
All flaxen was his poll.
He is gone, he is gone,
And we cast awy moan.
God a mercy on his soul.* (italics in original text)

There are several other bits taken from *Hamlet*, from *The Merchant of Venice*, *Richard III*, from *The Spanish Tragedy*, and once from the lost play, *The Turkish Mahomet and Hyren the Fair Greek*. The allusion in *Eastward Ho*, II.i., "hast thou not Hiren here," though, is rather to Pistol in 2, *Henry IV* : "Die men like dogs! Give crowns like pins! Have we not Hiren here?" (I.iv.170-1) than directly to George Peele's play.

Redating *The Tempest*

Eastward Ho's Scene IV.i, however, reads like an exercise on the *The Tempest* in Ben Jonson's literary program: bringing romantic rapture and magic-mindedness down to more familiar city dimensions. The tempest described in this scene is reminiscent of Shakespeare's play but the river Thames is substituted for the sea. The angel Ariel reporting the tempest to Prospero is moving in far less lofty spheres, the top of a huge tree. His ghostly trademarks are not wings and invisibility but a pair of ox-horns on the occasion of St. Luke's day at Charlton. His name is not Ariel but Slitgut, a butcher's apprentice. His description of the storm:

Upthen; heaven and Saint Luke
bless me, that I be not blown
into the Thames as I climb,
with this furious tempest.
'Slight! I think the devil be
abroad, in likeness of storm, to
rob me of my horns! Hark how
he roars! Lord! What a coil the
Thames keeps! She bears some
unjust burthen, I believe, that
she kicks and curvets thus to
cast it.... And now let me
discover from this lofty
prospect, what pranks the rude
Thames plays in her desperate
lunacy. O me! here's a boat has
been cast away hard by. Alas,
alas! see one of the passengers
labouring for his life to land at
this haven here! Pray heaven
he may recover it!... '

While Karl Elze dated Tempest to 1604, Joseph Hunter in 1839 and 1845 argued for an even earlier date of the play [to 1596].

Compare with Shakespeare's *The Tempest* (I.ii)

Ariel. Not a soul
But felt a fever of the mad, and
play'd
Some tricks of desperation. All but
mariners
Plung'd in the foaming brine, and
quit the vessel.
Then all afire with me: the King's
son, Ferdinand,
With hair up-staring, - then like
reeds, not hair,-
Was the first man that leap'd; cried,
"Hell is empty,
And all the devils are here."

In *Measure for Measure*, Shakespeare responded to Marston's *Pygmalion*, in *Troilus and Cressida* to Jonson's early comedies. No such response of his is known to *Eastward Ho*. It seems as if the apprentices were dancing, the Master being gone. The

way was free for Jonson's comedy. *Eastward Ho* breathes this ambivalent attitude of enjoying literary emancipation from the Master and a last respectful *in memoriam* in the form of a salute of quotations from his work.

Joseph Hunter

While Karl Elze dated *Tempest* to 1604,¹² Joseph Hunter in 1839 and 1845 argued for an even earlier date of the play. Elze rejects Hunter: "Hunter, however, goes methodically and ingeniously to work, only he overlooks or conceals essential points, and thus weakens his arguments. His principal argument is the Prologue to *Every Man in His Humour*, in which he (and not he alone) discovers unquestionable allusions to Shakespeare in general, and to the *Tempest* in particular. This Prologue, according to him, was spoken at the first representation of the play at the Rose Theatre in 1596—a supposition which Gifford also considers as undoubted, although, he, as a worshipper of Ben Jonson *quand même*, explains away every allusion to Shakespeare. But this is nothing more than a gratuitous assertion, not supported by any kind of reasons; and there is no definite fact to determine the date of the Prologue, as it is wanting in the quarto of 1601, and is met with for the first time in the folio of 1616 – at all events a very ominous circumstance."¹³

Frank Kermode, in his introduction to the Arden edition of the play, uses the same argument: Jonson's prologue to *ElH* would not have been written until 1612 or 1616. But was Hunter wrong? A piece of evidence supporting his dating **does** exist. Dekker, probably with some assistance from Marston, wrote *Satiromastix*, his satire on Ben Jonson (as Horace), in 1601. The play is filled with allusions to and quotes from Jonson's plays, written, as was the custom then, in italics. In V.ii.121-2 of *Satiromastix* appears the following allusion to some work of Jonson's:

Race down his usurpation to the
ground,
*True poets are with arte and nature
crown'd.*

In his endnotes to the play, Josiah H. Penniman, editor of both Jonson's and
(cont'd on p. 18)

Ben Jonson (*cont'd from p. 17*)

Dekker's plays,¹⁴ identifies the source of the allusion. There is only one possibility: Dekker, in 1601, alludes to the opening lines of Jonson's prologue to *EIH*:

Though neede make many *Poets*,
and some much
As art, and nature have not betterd
much;¹⁵

Or should Dekker in 1601 have "pre-empted" Jonson's prologue of the year 1612, eleven years in advance, just as Ben Jonson at about the same time "pre-empted" Shakespeare's *Tempest*?

Endnotes

1 Also see Satire I, ll. 27-28: "But oh! the absolute Castilio,/ He that can all the points of courtship show." Similarly Guilpin in *Skialetheia*, Sig. C4: "Come to the court, and Balthazar [Castiglione] affords/Fountains of holy and rose-water words."

2 His Satire VII in *Scourge of Villainy* opens with a paraphrase of Richard III's famous outcry: "A man! a man! a kingdom for man," a phrase of which Marston must have been particularly fond as he was to allude to it two more times, once verbatim in the play *What You Will* (II.i.126) and at the end of act III of *Eastward Ho!* as "A boat! a boat! a full hundred marks for a boat!"

3 Robert N. Watson, *Ben Jonson's Parodic Strategy: Literary Imperialism in the Comedies*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA, 1987, p. 50.

4 *Ibid.* p. 46.

5 Othello: It is the cause, it is the cause, my soul.
Let me not name it to you, you chaste stars!
It is the cause. Yet I'll not shed her blood,
Nor scar that whiter skin of hers than snow
And smooth as monumental alabaster." (Act V.ii.1-5)

6 Chambers, E.K. *William Shakespeare – A Study of Facts and Problems*. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. 1930. Vol. II. p. 210.

7 *Ibid.* p. 206.

8 *Ibid.* p. 207.

9 Small, Roscoe Addison, Ph.D., *The Stage-Quarrel between Ben Jonson and the so-called Poetasters*. Breslau: Verlag von M. & H. Marcus. 1899.

10 Chambers, *Shakespeare*, p. 206.

11 Chambers, Edmund K. *The Elizabethan Stage*. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. 1923, Vol. III, p. 360.

12 Elze, Karl. "The Date of the 'Tempest,'" *Essays on Shakespeare*. London: MacMillan and Co. 1874, pp. 1-29.

13 *Ibidem*, pp. 3.4.

14 *Poetaster* by Ben Jonson and *Satiromastix* by Thomas Dekker, edited by Josiah H. Penniman, The Belles-Lettres Series, Boston 1911.

15 The lines in *Satiromastix* are printed in italics, making it clear that there is an allusion to Jonson, though not a *verbatim* quote. Dekker's play contains several such allusions to Ben Jonson's plays, all printed in italics. They are not literally quotes either, but nevertheless readily recognizable. One example: in *Satiromastix* V.ii.227-234, Crispinus speaks to Horace:

We are thy Judges; thou that didst Arraigne,
Art now prepar'd for condemnation?
Should I but bid thy muse stand to the barre,
For flat rebellion gainst the sacred lawes
Of divine Poesie: heerein most she mist,
Thy pride and scorne made her turn Saterist,
And not her love to vertue (as thou preachest).
The allusion is to *Cynthia's Revels* III.iv:
Arete: ... nor would I have
Virtue a popular regard pursue:
Let them be good that love me though but few.
The "as thou preachest" points directly to Ben Jonson. The correspondence is to the passage in *Cynthia's Revels*. The challenge to which orthodoxy has thus far not answered, the challenge Hunter's dating is still posing, is to find a correspondence for Dekker's/Marston's "*True poets are with arte and nature crown'd*" in one of Jonson's plays before end 1601; otherwise the non-existence of the prologue to *EIH* is seriously called in question.

Robert Detobel of Frankfurt, Germany is a translator, publicist, and co-editor (with Dr. Uwe Laugwitz) of the Neues Shakespeare Journal, the only Oxfordian publication in continental Europe. He has published his research in The Elizabethan Review, The Oxfordian and the De Vere Society Newsletter, and is currently working with Randall Sherman on a book that will present the case for De Vere as the author of The Merchant of Venice.

New Shakespeare Biography by Harvard Scholar

By Richard Whalen

Eagerly awaited and with some trepidation has been the next book on Shakespeare by Stephen Greenblatt of Harvard, general editor of the Norton edition of Shakespeare—a book that might be yet another biography of the Stratford man and one that might try to find his life in the works of Shakespeare, unlikely as that might seem.

Now, it transpires that the book will be something quite different and more narrow. Scheduled for publication in the Fall, it's called *Will in the World: How Shakespeare Became Shakespeare*. A synopsis for the British edition discloses that the book will be about the "blossoming of his talent" as he seeks success in the "cut-throat

commercial entertainment industry" in London.

The synopsis for Greenblatt's book appears on amazon.co.uk:

"The theatre for which Shakespeare wrote and acted was a cut-throat commercial entertainment industry. Yet his plays were also intensely alert to the social and political realities of their times. Shakespeare had to make concessions to the commercial world, for the theatre company in which he was a shareholder had to draw some 1,500 to 2,000 paying customers a day into the round wooden walls of the playhouse to stay afloat and competition from rival companies was fierce. The key was not so much topicality—with government censorship and with

repertory companies recycling the same scripts for years. Instead, Shakespeare had to engage with the deepest desires and fears of his audience.

"*Will in the World* is about an amazing success story that has resisted explanation: it aims to be the first fully satisfying account of Shakespeare's character and the blossoming of his talent. There have, of course, been many biographies of Shakespeare. The problem each one faces is the thin amount of material surrounding his life. They lead us through the available traces but leave us no closer to understanding how the playwright's astonishing achievements came about."

Book Review

Malicious Adversary: Nelson vs. Oxford

Monstrous Adversary: The Life of Edward de Vere, Seventeenth Earl of Oxford, by Alan H. Nelson. Liverpool University Press, 2003.

By Stephanie Hopkins Hughes

Dr. Nelson, paleographer and recently retired UC Berkeley English Professor, has taken up the toils as current champion of the Stratford biography. This he seeks to do, not by defending said biography—he never mentions it—but by providing the texts of a number of Elizabethan documents relating to the Earl of Oxford in hopes that they will prove that Oxford, current leading candidate for author of the canon, was simply too bad to be Shakespeare. Of course we are delighted to have the documents—in a study so lacking in primary source materials, we are happy with anything we can get. But we are just as delighted to report that not one of them offers so much as a single, tiny detail that in any way works to disprove the Oxfordian thesis—quite the reverse, in fact. The inability to see that this is so marks the line that separates Oxfordian and Stratfordian scholars.

Despite this interesting variation on the “biographical fallacy,” Nelson’s book is an important addition to the Oxfordian scholar’s shelf of must-haves, where it joins B.M. Ward’s 1928 biography, Ruth and Minos Miller’s multi-volume edition of Oxfordian research, William Plumer Fowler’s collection of Oxford’s letters, Charlton Ogburn’s magnum opus, and Stephen May’s book on the courtier poets, to name the leading secondary texts. In fact, if measured by sheer quantity of factual information on Oxford, Nelson moves to the forefront, due in large part to the many transcriptions of primary source materials he provides. Most of these have been available for some time on his website, but a bound text in hand is worth two online. As a paleographer, documents are Nelson’s specialty—so, hopefully, we will be able to place more trust in his transcriptions than in those of earlier researchers.

Nelson also provides a number of very useful sets of facts, among them a far more detailed picture of where Oxford was located at different times in his life than we have had until now; the names of a large number of individuals who were involved with Oxford in some way, or are connected with events that touch on his biography; the times he attended Parliament and with whom; and dates, dates, dates (for which, like our friend the camel, the historian perpetually hungers), frequently including the month and day, details which can be extremely important in reconstructing particular events and which have frequently been ignored or overlooked by previous biographers. For these and many other details the book is well worth the money and our sincere gratitude to Professor Nelson.

O, what a wounded name, Horatio

Balancing these benefits, however, is Nelson’s cartoon version of the Oxford that historians love to hate. Terms like “prodigal,” “notorious,” and “homosexual” (used pejoratively of course), parroted by generations of historians, have until now been tossed around indiscriminately. No longer need we wonder what horrors they might have seen in the records that they dared not communicate. Here is the pampered ingrate in all his wretched glory: the remorseless slayer of undercooks, the cruel husband, the wine-bibbing traitor, the atheistic gangster, the syphilitic hypochondriac, the mediocre poet, the bad speller. Not only is Nelson’s Oxford too bad to be Shakespeare, he’s too bad to be real.

This is silly, of course, but it is also tiresome, and although the annoyance of Nelson’s opinions are a small price to pay for legible and, we hope, trustworthy versions of original documents, we should not allow gratitude to render us speechless, but must refute the misinterpretations and unsubstantiated pronouncements that go along with them. We would have preferred

the dates without salt.

Oxford’s education

One misinterpretation that’s simply too outrageous to be ignored is his dismissal of Oxford’s education, relegated to a single chapter of just over two pages (23-25), and those devoted solely to his brief Cambridge University sojourn at the age of nine, as though five months in the life of a nine-year-old is all there is to be said about his education. Nelson is fond of claiming that he isn’t interested in anything but documented facts. Unfortunately, when it comes to the probable education of a Renaissance earl, he is short on both facts and common sense. He is, however, exceedingly long on opinions, including that—frequently suggested if not openly stated—Oxford was poorly educated. Since the view forced on academia by the Stratford biography requires a poorly-educated Shakespeare, Nelson’s low opinion of Oxford’s education ought to reinforce the Earl’s claim to the canon. However, since Nelson believes that both Shakespeare and education are good and Oxford is bad, he must be ignorant as well as wicked.

It’s true that what records there are tell us little that is specific about Oxford’s education. Nelson takes this to mean that he didn’t get one. Had Nelson chosen to go so much as a half-step into what historians of the period have to say about the education of the English nobility at that time, he would know that only students seeking professional degrees were required to matriculate, and because peers were born into their positions and had no need for credentials, but were at the universities simply to learn (Curtis 123), they rarely matriculated (Stone 309-10). Which means that the colleges and halls where they lived and studied, our primary sources today for 16th-century university attendance, have no records of their presence (Stone 310, Curtis 127, Hexter 54, 63). Nor were records of charges for things like food and fuel recorded by the colleges since the nobility

(cont’d on p. 20)

Book Reviews (cont'd from p. 19)

generally provided such things for themselves. Despite this, every historian who deals with the issue emphasizes the influx into the universities of the nobility at this time (Hexter 50, Curtis 15, 84-5).

Nelson claims the degrees awarded the teenaged Oxford by Cambridge and Oxford in 1564 and 1566 were purely honorary and therefore ipso facto, undeserved (43). This assertion is evidence either of his ignorance or his malice. Since noblemen had no need of professional credentials, they studied what they pleased. They may have studied a little or a lot, but whether or not they were awarded degrees says nothing one way or the other about the level of their accomplishment. We haven't a great many comments on Oxford from his contemporaries, but, of those we have, a large proportion comment on his learning. True, noblemen were often praised for things they didn't deserve, but it's unlikely a client in search of patronage would have thought it useful to praise a poorly educated Earl for his learning.

During Elizabeth's first parliament in 1559, William Cecil, who became Oxford's guardian three years later, fought for passage of a bill requiring noble families to educate their sons at the university (Hexter 67). Although no records have turned up to show where Oxford may have acquired his Masters-level training, Cecil's record with his later royal wards reveals that as soon as they came under his control he enrolled them at Cambridge University, where they proceeded to get their Bachelors and Masters degrees: the Earl of Essex at Trinity College for five years, tutored by John Whitgift (Harrison 4); the Earl of Southampton at St. John's College, Cambridge, for four years, where William Whitaker was Master, after which he went on to study Law at Gray's Inn (Akrigg 28, 30). Anecdotes hammer home the theme that Burghley was passionate about the royal wards acquiring an education in fact as well as name. That Burghley would have allowed Oxford—the ward to whom he would marry his own daughter—to skimp on his studies, as Nelson repeatedly suggests (24, 39, 41, 45), seems highly unlikely. During most of this period (1563-67), it seems Oxford was accompanied by Edward Manners, Earl of

Rutland, a year his senior. Nelson has complimentary things to say about Rutland and his accomplishments, calling him "a serious and studious youth who went on to a distinguished military, civil and legal career" (35). Since we know the same amount about Rutland's education as we do about Oxford's, why does Nelson take Rutland's education seriously, but not Oxford's, since they lived and studied together for at least four of their most formative adolescent years?

Even if de Vere had been born a genuine ignoramus, he came of age at the peak of the impact on England of the European Renaissance. This wave of cultural change hit the universities at a time when they were reeling from the revolutionary changes imposed on their ages-old studies and rituals by the Reformation. Filling this intellectual void left by the elimination of clerical studies

[W]hen it comes to the probable education of a Renaissance earl, Nelson is short on both facts and common sense.

came rushing in, from France and Italy, renewed interest in the classical humanities: Plato, Socrates, Homer, the Greek language and poetry. Roger Ascham called this period at the universities, "that first fair spring time of learning." That it was of the utmost importance to educate the nobility was one of the prime objectives of the Reformation, while the urge to learn became a passion among the noble youth, as it had been a generation earlier in France and Italy. (Curtis 64-81, Simon 158, 247). Stone writes:

In this first heroic phase of the education revolution, peers and gentry possessed an enthusiasm for pure scholarship that far outran the practical needs of an administrative elite. They rushed headlong into a course of study that stands comparison in its academic austerity with

that of any educational system of twentieth-century Europe. (306)

Thus, it would seem likely that during the three to eight years that de Vere lived with Sir Thomas Smith, former Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge University, plus the upwards of a decade that he lived with William Cecil, Lord Burghley, England's leading patron of pedagogues, he would certainly have absorbed some bit of education, no matter what his native bent.

Just as he ignores the likely influences of Smith and Cecil, Nelson barely mentions in passing the scholarship of Oxford's uncle, Arthur Golding, whose Latin enabled him to translate Ovid and his French to translate Calvin, or the high repute of the antiquarian scholar Lawrence Nowell, who tutored Oxford during his early years with Cecil.

Either Nelson does not know how highly regarded for their learning were all of these men in their own time or, if he does, he doesn't want to give us the opportunity to consider how much they might have contributed to the education, not only of one small boy, but of an entire generation. Through Smith, Cecil, Golding and Nowell, Oxford was privy to connections with an array of the leading scholars of the realm, cartographers and map-makers, researchers on the cutting edges of law, astronomy and medicine, and scholars whose studies of English history and common law, of law French and Latin, of the Anglo-Saxon tongue, of Anglo-Saxon poetry and tales, and of the great western classics in Latin, Greek, French and Italian, have brought them lasting reputations as the patrons and founders of modern scholarship in their fields. But of all this, Nelson appears to know nothing.

The men who tutored Oxford, and their colleagues, were themselves the products of the earliest wave of Reformation learning. Their own tutors believed that the classical languages should be taught as early as possible (Elyot 1048). As the fundamental languages of all the newly arrived European nations, Greek and Latin were the bedrock. Once these were established, learning to read French, Italian and Spanish was regarded as little more than the easy acquisition of dialects, something that could

be done on their own by reading, although those who wished to travel required tutors so they could speak the language as well as read it.

The pedagogues who educated the men who instructed Oxford and his generation of peers taught that individuals would be able to think in these languages if they learned them early enough, and thus understand the ancient authors better and be better able to translate them and, hopefully, live by their high ideals (Elyot 1051). There was a passion for the truth in both the Renaissance and the Reformation, and it was thought by many to be found in works by ancient authors, both in their original languages and in translation by the other European languages derived from Latin. These Reformation scholars were ravenous when it came to acquiring knowledge and passing it on to their followers, and of all these scholars, Sir Thomas Smith, with whom de Vere lived and studied longer than any other, was considered in his own time the most avid, the most brilliant, the *crème de la crème*.

Here is the sum total of what Nelson has to say of Smith, following a sentence or two on de Vere's brief sojourn at Cambridge: "His subsequent education seems to have been supervised by Sir Thomas Smith," and "Presumably . . . it was in rural Essex that Lord Bolbec received tuition for the next three years" (25). Although at several points in the book he quotes from Smith's letters, he never gets around to informing the reader of Smith's towering reputation as a scholar, teacher and Crown minister. There are two biographies of Smith readily available through any library, one early (by John Strype, 1698), and one recent (by Mary Dewar, 1964). Had he any interest at all in reporting a true picture of Oxford's childhood and education, he could easily have found the relevant information.

Does Nelson actually think that Smith, a master of Latin, Greek, English, French, Italian and Hebrew, a polymath whose interests ranged across the entire spectrum of western knowledge, a teacher who was uniformly praised by men he had tutored as boys, such as Richard Eden, the renowned cartographer, and Gabriel Harvey, the Cambridge don, highly respected for his scholarship in his own time—that such a

man would have ignored or neglected the education of the one noble child, sole heir of his local magnate, living with him in his own house for anywhere from three to eight years?

Nelson prefers to focus on a more problematic figure, one Thomas Fowle, hired in May of 1558 by the 16th Earl of Oxford to tutor de Vere six months before he was shipped off to Queens' College as an "impubes" (25). Fowle was a graduate of St. John's College who appears in the records later as having helped to trash Norfolk Cathedral during an anti-Papist riot (Nelson wrings as much juice as he can out of this) and informing at anti-Papist tribunals. But although Fowle was on the pay list of the 16th Earl until his death put Edward in Cecil's care, there's no indication of how long he actually taught the boy or where he lived during the time that he acted

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as his tutor. Until we have evidence of more, his actual period of contact with Oxford could be as little as the five months de Vere spent at Cambridge.

The only man we can be certain tutored Oxford after he joined the Cecil household in 1562 was Laurence Nowell. Nelson's sole description of Nowell is that he was the brother of Alexander Nowell, Dean of St. Paul's. As with Oxford's other tutors, he neglects to report Nowell's reputation as an antiquarian, a reputation that has lasted to the present; or that during the time Nowell was tutoring Oxford he was compiling his famous dictionary of Anglo-Saxon, the first ever, while translating into Latin the ancient documents now known as the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles* (DME 274-5), revered as the earliest histories of England; that one section of these still bears his name (the Nowell Codex); or that one of these documents was the manuscript of *Beowulf*, perhaps the most treasured of all documents in British

literature (DNB).

A side note: various explanations have been given for Nowell's Latin letter to Cecil in June of 1563 stating: "I can see that my work for the Earl of Oxford cannot be much longer required," among them that shared by Nelson, that Oxford was simply "intractable." More to the point may be the fact that by June it was obvious that the plague was going to be bad that summer (1563 turned into one of the worst plague years on record), which would mean that Oxford would have to be transferred to some country venue for his protection, a move that Nowell, immersed in the work of translation that required his proximity to the households of Cecil and Archbishop Parker, probably did not wish to share. That Oxford was living apart from Cecil that summer is also suggested by the content of his French letter to Cecil of August 23 (Fowler 1).

In short, Oxford's tutors and mentors, men famed for their teaching, their own educations, their status in the community of Reformation scholars and pedagogues, and their passion for educating the nobility, pass briefly across the pages of this so-called biography as little more than names, bereft of any characteristics, credentials or achievements that might cause the reader to question Nelson's poor opinion of Oxford's education.

Better documented is the five-month period de Vere spent at Cambridge in his ninth year. No reason has been given by any of Oxford's biographers for this brief sojourn at Cambridge, by a boy much too young for university training. However, if his education, as well as his entire care, were in Smith's hands up to that point, the reason for his sojourn at Cambridge becomes apparent. In May of 1558, ten months after Queen Mary was with her husband, Philip of Spain, for the last time, it was obvious that she was not pregnant, as she claimed, which meant there would be no heir to the English throne when she died (Erickson 160-1). Word went out quickly to what former Protestant Court officials were still in England that they get ready to come to London at a moment's notice, as no one could say how long the ailing Queen would last. As one who had once been

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Principal Secretary to a King (Edward VI), and who was extremely eager to be back at the center of events (Dewar 79), Smith would have arranged immediately (in May) for a tutor for his eight-year-old charge, and for him/them to be housed at Queens' College, his old alma mater, where he retained all his former prestige (23), thus freeing himself to leave for London as soon as word went out that Mary was dead.

That this is a likely reason why de Vere spent five months at Cambridge is clear from the dates: Fowle was hired in May when it first became obvious that Elizabeth would soon be inheriting the throne; Edward was enrolled at Queens' College in October, when it was obvious that Mary was dying; and he matriculated on November 14, three days before her death. Since the last record of his presence at Cambridge is dated March of 1559, the likelihood is that he returned to Smith's Essex household in late March or early April, by which time it was clear that Smith was not going to get the Court position he craved. Smith was given various local duties in Essex (80)—the record shows him back at home by May 1, 1559 (Strype 57)—but of course he may have returned sooner.

Intensely disappointed at being left out of Elizabeth's government, Smith continued to petition Cecil to find him a position at Court. Historians have found no cause for their apparent quarrel or the reason why Cecil so obviously refused all arguments in Smith's favor (Dewar 81-82). In September 1562 he was finally given the post of Ambassador to France and sent overseas (86). Dewar, of course, does not see any connection between Cecil's sudden change of heart and the death of Earl John, but it should be clear to us that the propinquity of the two events had something to do with the fact that the boy's new status as Royal ward freed Smith from his responsibility.

If there is a more logical scenario for Oxford's brief stay at Cambridge as a nine-year-old, I would very much like to hear it.

Sir Thomas Smith's biography

If you think that the son of a poor farmer makes an unlikely candidate for a genius of language, the meteoric career of Thomas Smith would convince you that it's possible. It would also convince you that such a life

would most certainly leave a significant paper trail.

The second son of a poor farmer from the town of Saffron Walden, Essex, Smith first came to Cambridge at the early age of eleven, apparently having previously taught himself Latin during bouts of a mysterious illness (Dewar 11). While there he was tutored by a Mr. Taylor, a fellow of Queens' College, where he enrolled two years later at the age of thirteen. Mary Dewar questions why Smith chose Queens', but it seems obvious that the choice would have been made for him by whoever it was that supported him at Cambridge during his early years—clearly not a member of his own family. Later, when it seemed that Smith would have to leave the university due to lack of funds, support was provided by Dr. Butts, the King's own physician. The original choice of Queens' may eventually suggest the identity of Smith's first patron.

In 1530, aged seventeen, he took his BA and was made a Fellow of Queens'. His performance was so outstanding that two years later he and his friend John Cheke were made King's scholars by Henry VIII. The following year he followed his tutor, John Redman, as Greek orator, in which post "his learning and eloquence dazzled all Cambridge." At twenty-seven he was appointed to the "newly created chair of Civil Law, one of the five new Regius chairs established at that time and the most highly paid of all academic posts" (Dewar 13).

During this period he made a huge impact on the university by enthusing the student body into a renewed interest in Greek, partly though his expertise in that language and partly because he and Cheke promoted a different and more interesting pronunciation (17). By the age of thirty he was Vice-Chancellor of the University and Vice President of Queens'. Smith's brilliant academic career ended in 1547 when he was called to Court to act as Master of Requests to the King's uncle, the Protector Somerset. Here he would work with William Cecil, "his former admiring pupil at Cambridge" (3). Although his career was more political than scholarly from this point on, Smith never gave up his intellectual interests.

We'll end by quoting Mary Dewar at some length. By reading so much of what was written by Smith and about him, she can speak better for him than anyone else:

Many years later . . . [Roger] Asham said, "All the younger generation following him at Cambridge would be forever in Smith's debt for his learning, diligence and fine example." Walter Haddon said that he had infused life into every branch of study in the university, had indeed been, like St. Paul, 'all things to all men.' When Smith resigned the Regius chair [to go to Court] it was mourned that no university had ever suffered greater loss. Richard Eden never forgot that his tutor had been 'the flower of the University of Cambridge.' (14)

His colleagues and students were always dazzled by his wide range of interest and impressed by his capacity to discuss any topic and pronounce learnedly in almost any field of study. . . . This breadth of interest was genuine and persistent, not merely the gifted competence of the young ambitious scholar. Throughout his life Smith maintained interests far outside the range of the classical and legal scholar and statesman. . . . He studied throughout his life astronomy, architecture, natural phenomena, drugs and medicines. His own chemical experiments with his precious 'stills' were an abiding interest. . . . his library covered over three hundred and fifty books on all subjects, especially mathematics, architecture, theology, poetry and astronomy. He read widely in the poets and had a tendency to break into lamentable verse himself. (15)

These wide-ranging interests allied to his reputation as a foremost Greek scholar were not the sole reason for his high reputation in Cambridge. There is evidence that he was an outstanding teacher. Apart from his brilliant formal oratory he held strong views on the techniques of adequate teaching and thorough study. (14)

Above all Smith was a great stylist, an excellent orator, and much admired writer. His speeches impressed people greatly. 'Had you been there you would have heard another Socrates,' wrote Walter Haddon. . . . His literary style was greatly applauded. Richard Carew . . . did not hesitate to equate Smith with Plato for his mastery of style and grace of language. (16-17)

When I brought up Smith's teaching

credentials with Nelson in the hall outside the auditorium at the De Vere Studies Conference in Portland some years ago, he remarked blandly that Smith was simply too important to bother himself with one boy's education. I offered the fact—and fact it is—that Smith was in the midst of a fourteen-year hiatus from government service and was essentially unemployed during the years that de Vere was living with him. The good professor simply smiled, the sort of smile we all recall from our school days, the one that meant: "I know better, but it's not worth my time to set you straight." If he did know something I didn't, he didn't bother to put it in his book.

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Oxford on Trial in Houston

By Richard Whalen

The trial was in federal district court in Houston in May. Celebrity lawyers would argue the case. The jury was composed of the city's leading citizens. The courtroom was packed with about 120 spectators who paid \$125 each for their seats. At issue was the identity of the author of Shakespeare's works—Will Shakspeare of Stratford or Edward de Vere, the 17th Earl of Oxford.

The plaintiff, Oxford, was bringing suit against Will Shakspeare, gentleman, for theft of intellectual property. The expert witness for Oxford was Felicia Hardison Londre, curators' professor of theatre at the University of Missouri-Kansas City and a former trustee of the Shakespeare Oxford Society. The lead counsel for Oxford was Richard "Racehorse" Haynes, a colorful attorney with a reputation for a quick wit.

The team of lawyers representing the man from Stratford was led by David Berg,

author of *The Trial Lawyer: What it Takes to Win*, described by the *Houston Chronicle* as "a zillion-dollars-an-hour attorney."

Londre was concerned about being cross-examined by the formidable Berg, but she held her own, easily making a strong case for Oxford. Some of the visual evidence was compelling—when the six Shaksper signatures were shown to the courtroom, there were audible gasps in the audience. By all accounts, her testimony, the arguments by Oxford's lawyers and "Racehorse" Haynes's clever cross-examination of the Stratford man's expert witness, Dennis Huston of Rice University, all added up to a much more persuasive case for Oxford as the true author.

As is customary in such mock trials, however, the jury voted against Oxford. The vote was 8-4. Word circulated afterwards that one of the jurors insisted that they follow the instructions of the federal district court judge who presided.

The rumor had it that most of the jurors apparently agreed to take the judge's instructions to mean they should consider that the author of a book is someone whose name is on the book as the author, and then decide whose name was on the book. This kind of circular reasoning by the presiding judge may have pre-determined the jury's decision before arguments were even presented for their consideration.

"I have no doubt," Londre said, "that the Oxfordian team of lawyers, who were extremely well-prepared, presented the better case built on evidence. Despite the surprising verdict, I'm sure they raised the consciousness [about the case for Oxford] of many in the courtroom that day."

And the \$125 price of admission for "The Authorship Trial" on May 5? That was for the benefit of the Houston Shakespeare Festival, whose artistic director, Sidney Berger, had organized the entire event.

Apply for an Oxfordian Research Fellowship

By Dan Wright

Those interested in applying for a Research Fellowship with the Edward de Vere Studies Conference should prepare their application as follows.

Include your name, address and contact information.

Indicate all degrees (B.A., M.A., Ph.D., etc.) that you've earned, universities where degrees were earned, years when degrees were received, as well as areas of study and thesis titles (if applicable).

In an essay of approximately 1,250 – 1,500 words, identify in detail the project you wish to pursue, explain why this project is important to Oxfordian studies, estimate the time you need to achieve your results, and indicate the resources you require to complete this project (including your credentials to pursue these resources, e.g., if you require access to works held in the British Library, you must be a Reader at the British Library or in a position to qualify as one). Also indicate the progress you already

have made toward completion of this project, and identify the specific skills you possess that make you a preferred choice for work on this project.

As an addendum, provide a detailed budget that indicates the use you would make of any financial support you would receive from the Edward de Vere Studies Conference Scholarship Fund to complete this project. Provide evidence, if any, of other applications you have made to other institutions, foundations, trusts, organizations, and patrons for financial aid and disclose the results of those applications. Explain why you require the financial assistance of the Scholarship Fund to achieve your goals in addition to, or instead of, the financial resources that may be available elsewhere.

List the publication history of your work in peer-reviewed journals—not those published in newsletters, popular magazines, and other non-academic

publications. Submit a copy of at least one of these papers as part of your application.

Submit with your application three references, in sealed envelopes, from persons who will address, in writing, your qualifications and the measure of their support of your application to the Scholarship Fund for a research fellowship. Each one should indicate that the referee has composed his/her remarks in confidence and with the assurance that those remarks will not be disclosed to the applicant, and shall be shared only with those persons authorized by the EDVS Conference Director to consider the merit of the applicant for receipt of an award from the Scholarship Fund.

Applications are to be sent to Professor Daniel Wright, Director, The Edward de Vere Studies Conference, Concordia University, 2811 NE Holman, Portland, Oregon 97211-6099. Deadline for submittal of all materials is December 3rd.

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