Engaging Academia:

Some Thoughts

James A. Warren

iterary scholars will eventually conclude that Edward de Vere, Earl of Oxford, wrote the literary works traditionally attributed to William Shakespeare. Once that happens, they will bring academia's tremendous resources to bear on exploring and documenting not only de Vere's authorship of Shakespeare's works, but also the broader issue of authorship in the Elizabethan era. Oxfordians can take steps to help make that day arrive sooner rather than later.

Oxfordians will be most effective in engaging Stratfordians on behalf of de Vere's authorship of Shakespeare's works if they identify the distinct activities involved in that effort and combine them into a formal game plan. Such a plan might include the following five steps:

- **Defining Goals:** What specifically do Oxfordians want to accomplish through their engagement with orthodox scholars or freelance Stratfordians?
- ➤ **Identifying Interlocutors:** Who specifically should Oxfordians interact with to reach their goals? Which segments of those they engage are most important for each goal?
- **Determining Interlocutors' Actions:** What specific actions do Oxfordians want their interlocutors to undertake?
- **Selecting Methods:** What are the most effective ways for Oxfordians to reach and engage each segment of their target audience?
- **Drafting Messages:** What should Oxfordians say to convince their interlocutors to take the actions they want them to take?

When carrying out these activities, Oxfordians might benefit by keeping in mind James Q. Wilson's distinction between inputs, outputs, and outcomes. Inputs are resources such as dollars and staff time invested in carrying out the game plan. Outputs are what is done with those resources: the number of speeches given, editorials placed in newspapers, comments posted on blogs and so on. Outputs are often regarded as accomplishments in themselves, but they are not what is most important. Rather, Oxfordians should focus on outcomes, on what has changed as a result of their actions. Outcomes are such things as the number of people who have changed their views about the legitimacy of the Shakespeare authorship question (SAQ) or who have accepted Edward de Vere's authorship.

In designing their game plan, Oxfordians could also benefit from thinking like entrepreneurs rather than following traditional budgeting procedures. In most organizations, staffs consider the most effective ways to use available funds to reach their organization's goals. Entrepreneurial thinking, however, requires a different process, one with funding levels determined at the end rather than the beginning of the process. Guided by entrepreneurial thinking, Oxfordians should first identify their goals, then determine which activities are necessary to reach them, calculate what those activities would cost, and finally go out and get the money needed to fund them. Fundraising would thus be critical to the success of the game plan.

Oxfordians should always remember that their aim is not to do the best they can with the funds available. It's not to make a good effort or to be able to say that they tried hard, but rather to achieve widespread acceptance of de Vere's authorship. Success, not the effort or resources put into the activities that comprise the game plan, is what matters. But Oxfordians should not be satisfied with merely changing Stratfordians' personal beliefs. That is only half the battle. The other half—the critical half addressed in this paper—is that of persuading literary scholars to act on the basis of their belief in Oxford's authorship even in the face of institutional and peer pressure against doing so.

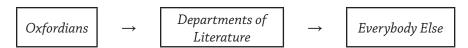
The Ultimate Goal

Of course the ultimate goal of the Oxfordian movement is full acceptance by academia—and everybody else—of Edward de Vere's authorship of Shakespeare's works. However, as professor William Leahy of Brunel University concludes, "the conversion of academics [to acceptance of de Vere's authorship] is not going to happen in current circumstances" (Leahy 7).

Given that reality, it will be necessary for Oxfordians to identify and pursue certain subgoals in order to create circumstances more conducive to consideration of de Vere's authorship. The nature of the most important subgoals will become clear as key interlocutors are identified, so it is to that task that we now turn.

Identifying Key Interlocutors

The key institutions that must be engaged are university literature departments and a few other independent organizations such as the Folger Shakespeare Library. These institutions should be Oxfordians' primary targets for engagement because they are the institutions that others turn to for guidance on the Shakespeare authorship question. If the scholarly community becomes convinced of de Vere's authorship, all others will follow as a matter of course.



And yet, the academic community of literary scholars—academia, in short will be the hardest nut to crack. It's the group least open to consideration of de Vere's authorship of Shakespeare's works.

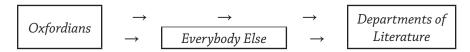
"Everybody Else," generally speaking, is more open to considering the authorship question than are most professors of literature. A few examples should suffice to establish that openness outside of academia. PBS demonstrated its interest in the issue by broadcasting a documentary on the authorship question titled "The Shakespeare Mystery" on Frontline in April 1989, and interest in the subject by the broader media was shown by the editorials that appeared in more than a dozen newspapers across the United States and Canada the week of that broadcast. Those editorials were not the result of a campaign carried out by Oxfordians, but instead arose spontaneously because of interest in the subject.

Another sign of interest outside academia is Michael H. Hart's book The 100: A Ranking of the Most Influential Persons in History: Revised and Updated for the Nineties. After carefully examining the arguments on both sides of the question, Hart concluded that "the weight of the evidence is heavily against the Stratford man and in favor of de Vere." Hart accordingly changed Entry No. 31 from Shakespeare to de Vere is the second edition of the book in 1992.

Yet another example is that of James F. Broderick's and Darren W. Miller's book Web of Conspiracy: A Guide to Conspiracy Theory Sites on the Internet. Broderick explained that "What I discovered is that most [conspiracy theories] do not hold up under scrutiny. The more one digs, the shakier and less credible they become. The Authorship Question was different. The more I dug, the more credible it seemed, until I became fully convinced of its validity. What I had set out expecting to debunk turned out to be the most compelling, fact-based 'conspiracy' I had ever researched."

These examples all arose independently, without any encouragement from Oxfordian organizations. The openness to consideration of the authorship issue and even of de Vere's authorship—by Everybody Else is a factor that Oxfordians could use in their efforts to engage academia. That being the case, perhaps the diagram shown above should be redrawn to show that Oxfordians could engage departments of literature directly as well as indirectly though the activities of

Everybody Else, as shown in the following diagram.



Everybody Else also includes academic departments other than departments of literature. History departments that examine the Elizabethan and Stuart eras could produce information supportive of de Vere's authorship. So too could psychology departments that study the nature of genius and creativity. Oxfordians, then, do not lack potential allies either inside or outside of academia in their engagement of literary scholars.

The departments of literature that form Oxfordians' key target audiences are not monolithic. Some scholars are more receptive than others to consideration of the authorship question. Literature professors' commitments to authorship by the man from Stratford ranges from those who strongly defend his authorship (let's call them Militant Stratfordians) to those who don't have strong feelings about the authorship issue but who go along with traditional beliefs (let's call them Ordinary Stratfordians) to those who secretly have doubts strong enough to consider the authorship question worthy of academic study (let's call them Secret Doubters). Literature professors could also be categorized by the stage they are at in their careers and categorized as Senior Professors, Rank and File Professors, or Assistant Professors. Combining these two ways of distinguishing between literary scholars results in the nine types shown in the following chart.

	Militant Stratfordians	Ordinary Stratfordians	Secret Doubters
Senior Professors	Α	D	G
Rank and File Professors	В	E	Н
Assistant professors	С	F	I

Militant Stratfordians (categories A, B, C) are a small minority of all academics. They should not be Oxfordians' primary target for engagement because they are fierce defenders of Shakspere's authorship and are hostile to any attempt even to discuss the authorship issue. William Leahy calls them "the militant minority," and notes that

[Although they] are very well versed in the issues . . . [they] resist any talk of Shakespeare not being the author of all of the works attributed to him. Such academics are set in their ways, convinced of their case and can, for the most part, counter fact with fact and evidence with evidence. They are often

very aggressive and dismissive in their views and seek not only to win the argument but to humiliate the opponent. (Leahy 7)

Most Stratfordians in academia (categories D, E, and F) either believe that the man from Stratford was the author and/or have not investigated the issue for themselves. Leahy describes this group as those academics

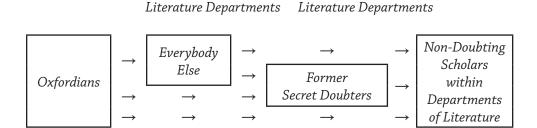
who do not feel they need to take the time to research the authorship issue because they do not have to and do not have time to. This is, I feel, the majority. But, when prompted, they have their views....on the Authorship Question, founded in received opinions and questionable evidence....They are currently dismissive of the Question, but not necessarily for all time. (Leahy 7)

This is the group that must be won over to the Oxfordian paradigm if it is to become accepted by academia. In engaging this group, Oxfordians do not need to act alone. They have potential allies in the third group of academics, the Secret Doubters (categories G, H, I). Secret Doubters are Stratfordians in their public stance but who already have doubts that the man from Stratford wrote Shakespeare's works, and might even already believe that Edward de Vere was the real author. They have not made their beliefs known because of political pressure against doing so.

Secret Doubters are more numerous than they might appear. A New York Times survey in April 2007 showed that seventeen percent of literature professors see reason to doubt Shakspere's authorship (New York Times, 22 April 2007). That percentage might actually have been higher at the time, given the reluctance of Secret Doubters to make their views known, even anonymously; it could be much higher now, given the high profile public events such as the movie Anonymous that have taken place since.

Oxfordians face two related issues when it comes to Secret Doubters. The first is identifying who they are. Assistant Professors (categories C, F, I) are a good place to look for them. As is widely recognized, younger members of any community are more open to alterative views simply because they do not have as long or as extensive a history of support for a community's views as their more senior colleagues.

The second issue is that of motivating Secret Doubters to act on the basis of their true beliefs. If they could be persuaded to do so, they would form a third line in Oxfordians' effort to engage Non-Doubting Scholars, one well placed inside departments of literature. One line of engagement comes directly from Oxfordians. A second is through Everybody Else outside of literature departments. A third is through former Secret Doubters within departments of literature, as shown in the following diagram.



This analysis has revealed three tasks for Oxfordians:

Engaging Non-Doubting Scholars directly;

Allies outside

• Encouraging Secret Doubters to publicly state their doubts and to begin engaging Non-Doubting Scholars;

Allies within

• Engaging Everybody Else, who could in turn influence Secret Doubters and Non-Doubting Scholars.

Persuading Non-Doubting Academics to Examine the Authorship Issue

So far, our analysis has revealed (1) that Non-Doubting Scholars within departments of literature are the key group to be engaged, (2) that most of them are not yet ready to consider the idea of de Vere's authorship of Shakespeare's works, and (3) that it will be necessary for Oxfordians to aim at subgoals to make progress toward their ultimate goal of academia's acceptance of de Vere's authorship. With that in mind, we can now consider which specific subgoals would best create an environment in which scholars would be receptive to engagement on the idea of de Vere's authorship.

William Leahy concludes that recognition of the weakness of the Stratfordian claim is a precondition to academia's consideration of the wider question of who the real author might have been. As he explains,

[F]or the positing of alternative authors to be academically acceptable, the field of knowledge in this area needs to change. . . . Only when . . . academia begins to accept that the case for Shakespeare of Stratford is weak, or at least weaker than they realized, will the field open up to other, wider possibilities. That, it seems to me, is what those involved in the Authorship Question need to do before anything else: alter the rules before starting to play a new game. (Leahy 81)

The Shakespeare Authorship Coalition reached a similar conclusion. As its Chairman and CEO John Shahan writes,

The threshold question in the authorship controversy is whether there is room for doubt about the traditional author from Stratford. If not, then there is no authorship issue. . . . Answering this question is a necessary first step toward the ultimate goal of identifying and gaining recognition for the true author. (Shahan and Waugh i)

That is a reasonable conclusion. Gaining recognition of the weakness of the evidence in support of Shakspere's authorship is a necessary first step leading toward recognition of the authorship question as a legitimate subject for academic study and then on to the conclusion that de Vere wrote Shakespeare's works.

But what is meant by "a legitimate subject for academic study"? On this point we can turn for guidance to Stanley Fish, Dean Emeritus at the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences, University of Illinois, Chicago. Academic study, he explains, is the study of subjects in a disinterested manner rather than the promotion of any specific conclusions from that study. In academic study, Fish writes, subjects

should be discussed in academic terms; that is, they should be the objects of analysis, comparison, historical placement, etc.; the arguments put forward in relation to them should be dissected and assessed as arguments and not as preliminaries to action on the part of those doing the assessing. The action one takes (or should take) at the conclusion of an academic discussion is the action of tendering an academic verdict as in "that argument makes sense," "there's a hole in the reasoning here," "the author does (or does not) realize her intention," "in this debate, X has the better of Y," "the case is still not proven." These and similar judgments are judgments on craftsmanship and coherence—they respond to questions like "is it well made?" and "does it hang together?" (Fish 25-26)

Because academic study involves examining evidence rather than reaching predetermined conclusions, Oxfordians should perhaps push only for the goal of academic study of the authorship question. To go beyond that point—to push academia to accept de Vere's authorship—would be just as inappropriate as pushing for any other nonacademic goal.

A case could be made that pushing academia to accept de Vere's authorship would not only be inappropriate but also unnecessary. Paradoxically, Oxfordians do not need to aim at conversion of literary scholars to belief in de Vere's authorship for them to be converted to it. They will convert themselves if the conditions are right. Oxfordians need only aim to create the right conditions.

The key condition is recognition within academia that the Shakespeare authorship question is a legitimate one for academic study. Because de Vere was the author of the works attributed to Shakespeare, any serious objective examination of the authorship question by intelligent people who care about the subject will eventually result in acceptance of his authorship. Therefore, if Oxfordians could just get the question established for consideration on a level playing field, they will win. Getting the more general authorship subject inside the gates of academia would be the Trojan Horse that would eventually result in academia's acceptance of de Vere's authorship.

The goal of academic study of the authorship question, therefore, is not just a stepping stone to the ultimate goal, but the single most important step of all. The three-step process just identified is shown in the following diagram.

Subgoal 1: – Academia recognizes the weakness of the

Subgoal 2: \rightarrow Academia accepts legitimacy of the SAQ

Ultimate goalAcademia accepts
de Vere as author of
Shakespeare's works

But the situation is not as simple as that. Another factor remains to be considered within this scenario—the existence within the field of literary studies of a methodology unfavorable to examination of the authorship question. The reigning methodology considers the study of literature to be a subfield within Cultural Studies, where works of literature are examined as mere data to be mined for information about the society in which their authors lived and wrote. In this methodology, what the author unintentionally or unconsciously embedded in his works is at least as important as what he consciously and intentionally included. The result is a focusing of attention away from the author, a development with obvious negative implications for examination of the relationship between an author and his works. This "death of the author" mentality denies the validity of the strongest evidence challenging authorship by the man from Stratford—the lack of correspondences between his life and works—and denies the value of the strongest evidence in support of de Vere's authorship—the scores of linkages between events and people important in his life and events and characters in Shakespeare's plays and poems.2

Changing the methodology that prevails within literary studies to one more conducive to the study of literature as works of art important in themselves and as works written by specific individuals for specific reasons is beyond the scope of this paper. It is, however, a goal bound up so tightly with the authorship question that it might not be possible to make much progress in either area without also making progress in both. The so-called "death of the author" mentality must be replaced by the "resurrection of the author" if the authorship issue is to find a home in academia.

We have thus identified four goals: the ultimate goal of full acceptance of de Vere's authorship, and three supporting goals that would make attaining the ultimate goal more likely, as shown in the following diagram.

Subgoal 2a:

Academia accepts the legitimacy of the SAQ

1

Subgoal 1:

Academia recognizes the weakness of the

Ultimate goal

Academia accepts de Vere's authorship of Shakespeare's works

Subgoal 2b:

Academia adopts a methodology more appropriate for the study of literature

Persuading Secret Doubters to Become Public Doubters

Oxfordians face a different challenge when it comes to engagement with Secret Doubters. Whereas Non-Doubting Scholars have to be convinced to examine the weakness of the Stratfordian case, Secret Doubters only need be persuaded to act on the basis of beliefs they already hold in the face of institutional and peer pressure not to do so.

Few actions Oxfordians could take could have benefits as far reaching as persuading Secret Doubters to become Public Doubters. Once out of the closet, so to speak, they could alert their students to the importance of the authorship issue, and perhaps even organize courses specifically on that topic. They could engage their colleagues on the issue, and perhaps even organize conferences focused on it. And because they are already in academia, they would be well placed to push academic publications to accept papers on the issue.

But there are no free lunches. They are Secret Doubters for a reason, and the difficulty of convincing them to go public with their doubts should not be underestimated. The pressure on them to keep their doubts to themselves is intense and unrelenting. As Charlton Ogburn, Jr., recognized,

There would seem . . . to be no mystery in the maintenance of academic uniformity. No young instructor in a Department of English, even if his early educational conditioning does not preclude his examining objectively that which he has been taught to scoff at as the badge of his professionalism, will find his career advanced if he threatens to expose the tenets of his elders as nonsense. . . . Once he has his professorship he is hardly likely to repudiate the steps by which he attained it and certainly he is not going to read himself out of his profession and bring down on his head the obloquy of his fellows, vicious as we have seen such can be. (Ogburn 162)

More recently, Roger Stritmatter also described the pressures that exist within academia for adherence to the "party line,"

There is, of course, a price to be paid [for admission into academia].... the initiate must solemnly promise not only to forgo dalliance in the field of unauthorized ideas, but to zealously defend, as a matter of honor and sanity, the jurisdiction of the paradigm into which he has been initiated. A reluctance to do so marks him, at best, as an outsider or a misfit: unqualified for employment, tenure, or professional respect. (Stritmatter 38)

So this is the nut that Oxfordians face: professors are not free to conduct unbiased academic investigations into the Shakespeare authorship question even if they want to. Secret Doubters find themselves pushed in one direction and pulled in another—pushed by Militant Stratfordians to hide or renounce their doubts on one hand, and pulled by their desire to investigate the authorship question on the other. The problem is that the pressure from Militant Stratfordians far outweighs their desire to engage in academic investigation of the authorship question.

If Secret Doubters do not feel free to act on the basis of their beliefs because of pressure from one side, then perhaps one strategy for Oxfordians is to bring pressure from the opposite direction. Once the pressure from the two sides is equal in intensity, Secret Doubters will be able to act on a level playing field. They would then be free to express their beliefs and to pursue unbiased academic study of the issue.

In seeking to pressure Secret Doubters, Oxfordians face two issues even after Doubters have been identified: identifying a source of pressure that could be brought to bear on them, and understanding the process through which that pressure could be applied. Let's consider the process first.

A model comes from the field of diplomacy—not the feel-good diplomacy associated with photos of smiling diplomats shaking hands, but the tough diplomacy Teddy Roosevelt had in mind when he talked of speaking softly and carrying a big stick. The key to this type of diplomacy is (1) explaining the reality of the situation to those with whom we are engaged but who do not yet realize the nature of that reality, (2) highlighting the harm they will suffer if they do not act in accordance with it and the benefits that will flow to them if they do, and (3) getting out of the way so that they can make their own decision about what to do based on their new understanding of the situation.

An example of how this might work comes from none other than Edward de Vere, speaking through the voice of Henry V. Henry, we can recall from the play, faced a situation similar to that faced by Oxfordians today. He wanted the leaders of the town of Harfleur to open the town's gates so that his army could enter, just as Oxfordians want literature departments to open their curricula and publications to

discussion of the authorship question.

How did Henry proceed? By the set of actions just outlined. After the town leaders rebuffed his request, Henry explained to them aspects of the reality of the situation they had not fully realized. He then highlighted the benefits of acting in accordance with those realities and the harm the town would suffer if it didn't. And then he sat back to wait for the town leaders to discuss the situation among themselves. In the end, they decided to open the gates.

The reality, Henry had explained, is that the English are implacable. One way or another we are coming in, he said. It's up to you to decide whether to let us in peacefully or have the town destroyed as we force our way in. Henry did not just convey that reality in pleasant terms, but used vivid and forceful language to drive home to them the harm that the town would suffer if his army had to force its way in.

Here is how he phrased that reality in *Henry V*:

... the fleshed soldier, rough and hard of heart, In liberty of bloody hand shall range With conscience wide as hell, mowing like grass Your fresh fair virgins and your flow'ring infants. . . . What is't to me, when you yourselves are cause, If your pure maidens fall into the hand Of hot and forcing violation? What rein can hold licentious wickedness When down the hill he holds his fierce career? We may as bootless spend our vain command Upon th' enragèd soldiers in their spoil As send precepts to the leviathan

Therefore, you men of Harfleur, Take pity of your town and of your people Whiles yet my soldiers are in my command, Whiles yet the cool and temperate wind of grace O'erblows the filthy and contagious clouds Of heady murder, spoil, and villainy.

To come ashore.

What say you? Will you yield, and this avoid? Or, guilty in defense, be thus destroyed? (*Henry V*, 3.3.11-43)

In modern English, Henry was saying that the reality is that the English are coming into your town. We can do this the easy way or the hard way. The easy way is for you to open the gates. If not, I will be forced to unleash my soldiers, and we all know what soldiers have traditionally been like during and just after the heat of battle. They will be out of my control, just as they will be out of yours. They will take the spoils of war,

and we all know what that means. As Henry plainly said, what is it to me if your pure maidens are violated and your flow'ring infants cut down, when you yourselves are the cause because you did not open the gates.

Of course, Oxfordians are not going to sack departments of literature if they don't open their curricula and publications to discussion of the authorship question. So, what form of pressure can Oxfordians bring to bear on Secret Doubters to convince them to come out of the closet? What reality of the situation have Doubters overlooked?

The pressure that Oxfordians can bring comes from the reality of the groundswell of public interest in the authorship question. Oxfordians must demonstrate that the groundswell of interest has been building for decades outside of academia, and that it now forms a drumbeat of interest that academia ignores at its peril. The following talking points might bring that reality home to them:

- The reality is that many major media publications have recognized the legitimacy and importance of the authorship question, including *The Atlantic, Harper's, The Smithsonian, The Wall Street Journal, The New York Times*, and *The Washington Post*.
- The reality is that a December 2014 *Newsweek* article favorable to de Vere's authorship sparked more than 1,700 comments on its blog in less than one month.
- The reality is that five U.S. Supreme Court Justices have expressed doubts about Shakspere's authorship and that three law journals have organized symposia on the authorship question and devoted entire issues to it.
- The reality is that many of the greatest literary minds in American and English letters in the past 150 years have doubted Shakspere's authorship, including Walt Whitman, Mark Twain, Henry James, and Anne Rice.
- The reality is that many of the greatest actors of the past hundred years have doubted Shakspere's authorship, including Leslie Howard, Charlie Chaplin, Orson Welles, Sir John Gielgud, Michael York, Sir Derek Jacobi, Jeremy Irons and Mark Rylance.
- The reality is that scores of diplomats, politicians and other public figures have publicly doubted his authorship, including Frederick Nietzsche, Sigmund Freud, Clifton Fadiman, Mortimer J. Adler and David McCullough. The same is true for Paul Nitze, Benjamin Disraeli, Otto von Bismarck, Charles de Gaulle, Helen Keller, Malcolm X and Clare Boothe Luce.
- The reality is that academia has already lost the issue. As Professor Alan Nelson concluded in 1999, "Establishment Shakespeareans . . . are losing the public debate over the 'authorship question'" (Paster).

Then, having established the reality of the groundswell of interest in the subject outside of academia to those who had not been aware of it, Oxfordians must highlight the benefits that will accrue to Secret Doubters and their departments by acting in accordance with that reality and the harm they will suffer if they don't. Oxfordians should seek to increase Doubters' anxiety by making their remarks up front and personal because psychologists tell us that losses are 2½ times as painful as gains are pleasurable. The following are a few talking points that incorporate those factors.

- Recognition of de Vere's authorship is coming. Why not join the vanguard now and be recognized as a leader?
- If you don't—if you abdicate your responsibility to examine an important literary question in an academic manner—how will you explain your failure to those outside academia? How will you respond to charges that academia tried to block progress on this important issue?
- Once Edward de Vere is recognized as Shakespeare, others outside academia—the media, for instance—will be given the credit that rightly should have gone to departments of literature. How will you handle the shame of your own department's failure to investigate such an important issue?
- Don't you have even normal human curiosity about why so many prominent and accomplished people today and over the past century have doubts about Will? Why have you, a professional in this field, not investigated to see why so many people consider the authorship question to be one of such interest and importance?
- Stratfordians routinely make statements that they know to be false, such as claiming that several plays had been written after Edward de Vere's death in 1604, while knowing full well that nobody knows for sure when any of the plays were written. Only their publication dates are known. Why do you continue to belong to a group that honors those engaging in such shoddy practices?
- Well-known Stratfordian Stanley Wells described those who doubt Shakspere's authorship as suffering from "a psychological aberration" attributable to "snobbery . . . ignorance; poor sense of logic; refusal . . . to accept evidence; folly, the desire for publicity; and even . . . certifiable madness." Do you think such comments accurately describe five Supreme Court justices? If not, why do you remain part of a group that honors men who make such comments?

Enter Thomas Kuhn, Paradigm Shifts, and Moments of Crisis

The strategy for engagement with academia outlined so far sounds reasonable.

And yet, Thomas Kuhn, in *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, brings information to the table indicating that such a strategy is unlikely to succeed. The reason, he explains, is that scientific communities *never* move from one paradigm to another simply because of weaknesses in the original paradigm. As he writes, "No process yet disclosed by the historical study of scientific development at all resembles the methodological stereotype of falsification by direct comparison with nature" (Kuhn, 77).

Rather, Kuhn concludes, intellectual communities move from one paradigm to another *only* when a point of crisis is reached, and that point of crisis is *always* generated by the introduction of a new paradigm that explains anomalies that the old paradigm couldn't. "Once it has achieved the status of paradigm, a scientific theory is declared invalid only if an alternate candidate is available to take its place" (Kuhn 77). As he explains further,

The act of judgment that leads scientists to reject a previously accepted theory is always based upon more than a comparison of that theory with the world. The decision to reject one paradigm is always simultaneously the decision to accept another, and the judgment leading to that decision involves the comparison of both paradigms with nature and with each other.

(Kuhn 78)

If Kuhn is correct and if his findings can legitimately be applied to the change in paradigms that Oxfordians want to see take place within departments of literature, then academia will not abandon the dominant Stratfordian paradigm merely because the evidence in support of it appears to be weak. The paradigm shift will take place only when Stratfordians are confronted by the Oxfordian paradigm and recognize that it can explain anomalies that the Stratfordian paradigm cannot. It will come only when Stratfordians are forced into an examination of the Oxfordian paradigm.

In Kuhn's model, scientific communities usually operate within an existing set of beliefs and practices that he calls a paradigm, a set of "universally recognized scientific achievements that for a time provide model problems and solutions to a community of practitioners" (Kuhn, xliii). Once established, paradigms "define the legitimate problems and methods of a research field for succeeding generations of practitioners" (Kuhn 10). Paradigms are effective in defining a community's activities because they combine two essential characteristics. "Their achievement was sufficiently unprecedented to attract an enduring group of adherents away from competing modes of scientific activity," and they are "[s]imultaneously . . . sufficiently

open-ended to leave all sorts of problems for the redefined group of practitioners to resolve" (Kuhn 10-11).

"Normal science" is the term Kuhn uses to describe the work of solving those problems, which he calls puzzles. In this phase, individual scientists are challenged by "the conviction that, if only he is skillful enough, he will succeed in solving a puzzle that no one before has solved or solved so well" (Kuhn 38). In this phase, "Failure to achieve a solution discredits only the scientist and not the theory" (Kuhn 80).

But sometimes, Kuhn explains, problems or puzzles arise that resist solution. These can be set aside for a time while other problems are dealt with, but eventually further attempts must be made to solve them. If the problems continue to resist explanation even after becoming the focus of much attention within the community, they come to be regarded as anomalies, which begin to discredit not the scientist but the paradigm itself.

Scientists will resist recognizing that a puzzle has become an anomaly because anomalies are unsettling. They are a sign "that an existing paradigm has ceased to function adequately in the exploration of an aspect of nature to which that paradigm itself had previously led the way" (Kuhn, 92-93). Because such a realization would be disruptive of the community's work, defenders "will devise numerous articulations and *ad hoc* modifications of their theory in order to eliminate any apparent conflict" (Kuhn, 78).

Eventually, if the anomalies are severe enough, they result is a growingsense-of-crisis phase that is greatly disconcerting to its members because the community itself is defined by its commitment to the existing paradigm. If that paradigm falls, the community falls with it. It is for that reason that the growingsense-of-crisis phase can last indefinitely; it explains why members won't abandon the paradigm even as evidence in support of it weakens. The moment of crisis won't come unless and until a new paradigm that explains the anomalies is introduced and is not just introduced, but is practically forced on the community by those few who see its value in explaining the anomalies.

Applying this model to Shakespeare studies within academia, the Stratfordians' paradigm is obviously that of authorship by William Shakspere of Stratford-upon-Avon. Their "normal science" is seeking to understand Shakespeare's works better through study of Elizabethan and Jacobean societies and through the study of the nature of poetry and drama. Seeking to understand the works better by drawing connections between the works and the author doesn't have much place in their scholarly activities because of the "death of the author" mentality and because of the paucity of connections that can be drawn between the works and the man they believe is the author.

Many Stratfordians are now in the growing-sense-of-crisis phase as a result of anomalies they cannot explain. The two most important of them are (1) the growing recognition of the disconnect between the dearth of information about Shakspere's education and literary experiences and the wealth of information about his business activities on one hand, and the qualities and bodies of knowledge and variety of experiences reflected in the literary works on the other; and (2) the

frequency of references in the works to events in Elizabeth's court and government that occurred fifteen years earlier than when they believe the plays to have been written. By refusing to focus too closely on these issues, Stratfordians enable themselves to continue to believe that the Stratfordian paradigm, though perhaps frayed here and there, is fundamentally sound.

We should expect Stratfordians to seek to avoid acknowledgement of the seriousness of the Oxfordian paradigm for as long as possible. As uncomfortable as the growing-sense-of-crisis phase might be, the moment of crisis would be even more disruptive. We should expect them to try to muddle through by ignoring the anomalies or providing *ad hoc* explanations for them, and by ignoring the groundswell of interest in the authorship question outside of academia.

The task for Oxfordians is clear: they must continually highlight the weakness of the evidence supporting Shakspere's authorship so that problems are seen for what they are: not mere puzzles that have not yet been worked out, but anomalies so severe that the inability to explain them challenges the entire Stratfordian paradigm.

But if Kuhn's model is correct, Oxfordians must do two additional things.

First, Oxfordians must ratchet up the emotional pressure on Stratfordians. Oxfordians must do all they can to increase Stratfordians' nagging feeling that something is not right. Intellectual recognition that serious anomalies exist may be accompanied by uncomfortable emotion. Second, Oxfordians cannot let the growing-sense-of-crisis state continue indefinitely. They can and should take the additional step of bringing things to a head by forcefully pushing for more openness towards the Oxfordian paradigm. It is up to them to bring the situation to a boil because they are the ones who want to see this change happen.

Oxfordians should not push for a move to the halfway point of objective consideration of the authorship question, because doing so would not generate the crisis needed to move Stratfordians to the new paradigm. Literary scholars themselves would not be able to stop at the point of a neutral academic consideration of the authorship question. The emotional energy—the vexation—that has been bottling up inside them will not allow them to stop with a neutral "I don't know, let's examine this further" attitude. The emotional pressure will continue to back up until the shock of the realization of the existence of a new paradigm that explains the vexing anomalies pushes them into the paradigm shift. The new paradigm will be fiercely resisted until the moment when it is accepted. There can be no middle ground.

Even apart from paradigm shifts in the scientific world, it is unusual to find people who are satisfied with "I don't know" as an answer to life's major questions. In the religious aspects of life, there are very few agnostics. Even those who have doubts about some aspects of their religion remain nominal members of their church, synagogue or mosque. It is even rarer to find an institution or intellectual community

that would make "I don't know" its guiding idea. Intellectual communities are united by their guiding belief and shared activity in accordance with it. In short, by a paradigm. Take away the paradigm and the unity of the group ceases to exist. So, it is all or nothing: The Shakspere paradigm or the Oxfordian paradigm. There is no legitimate stopping point between the two.

In a way, Oxfordians are fortunate that the authorship question is a winnertake-all situation. This is not a scenario similar to the shift from Sir Isaac Newton's physics to that of Albert Einstein's, in which Newton's laws are still valid in everyday conditions, where the velocities of bodies being examined are far below the speed of light. Rather, this situation is similar to the shift from the Ptolemaic earth-centric system to that of the Copernican heliocentric system. Both could not be right.

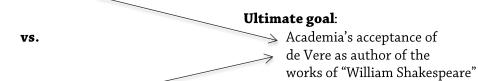
This stark situation may be unfortunate for the goal of academic study of the authorship question, but it is, almost paradoxically, fortunate for pushing the Oxfordian paradigm. If a clash between two theories is needed for a paradigm shift to occur, then it is perhaps beneficial that the two paradigms clash so completely. A direct conflict between two theories can generate far higher pressure than that of theories less directly opposed to each other—and high pressure is what is needed here. The situation is similar to that of two continental plates being pushed against each other by forces deep within the earth. Sometimes the two plates can slide against each other and the movement of each is relatively easy. But sometimes they are stuck and cannot slide. In those cases, the pressure builds until the plates finally jerk free. The result is an earthquake in which their movement is far faster and more forceful than if they had simply slid by each other.

By positing the Stratfordian and Oxfordian paradigms in a head-to-head contest, we are witnessing two plates pushing directly against each other. The longer the pressure builds through the growing-sense-of-crisis phase, the greater the resulting force will be at the moment of crisis. It is the emotional energy of that crisis that Oxfordians must harness to move Stratfordians across the divide, safely into the Oxfordian paradigm.

Oxfordians, then, face a choice between two conflicting strategies. One seeks to demonstrate the weakness of the evidence in support of Shakspere's authorship and to engage academia on behalf of academic study of the authorship question only, because doing so is all that is necessary to bring about acceptance of de Vere's authorship. The second says to do the first, but also to go for the jugular, to push hard for Oxford's authorship because doing so is the only way to get Stratfordians across the abyss. The conflict between the two strategies is shown in the following diagram.

Strategy 1:

Push ONLY for academia's acceptance of the legitimacy of the Shakespeare authorship question



Strategy 2:

Push for academia's acceptance of the legitimacy of the Shakespeare authorship question AND for acceptance of the Oxfordian paradigm

To increase the tension Stratfordians feel and to create the conditions in which the moment of crisis can be triggered, Oxfordians need clear and persuasive materials documenting just how weak the evidence in support of Shakspere's authorship is. To that end it is hard to imagine a publication more effective than the Shakespeare Authorship Coalition's book *Shakespeare Beyond Doubt? Exposing an Industry in Denial*. Oxfordians might consider organizing a fundraising effort geared toward the goal of getting a copy of that book into the hands of every Shakespearean scholar in the English speaking world.

Oxfordians can't stop there. They must also have clear and persuasive materials comparing the two theories to each other and to the "state of nature" that Kuhn talked about. Although consideration of such materials is beyond the scope of this paper, the Appendix contains an outline of types of information that could be used in preparing more detailed documents and talking points. Of particular importance is the summary in the Appendix showing that for the 105 pieces of evidence considered, Shakspere receives 103 "No's" (indicating absence of evidence in support of that piece of evidence) and de Vere receives 90 "Yeses" (indicating existence of such evidence).

Getting Stratfordians Across the Abyss

Oxfordians face one final task, that of guiding Stratfordians across the abyss separating the Stratfordian and Oxfordian paradigms. Having pushed Stratfordians for so long, the moment of crisis will be the time for Oxfordians to move from pushing to pulling, from vexing to soothing, from pointing out flaws in the old paradigm to describing the benefits of the new one for Stratfordians and their institutions.

To bring them across the abyss, Oxfordians should emphasize two points: (1) the psychic and emotional benefits of the move to the Oxfordian paradigm, and (2)

the practical benefits of the move.

Oxfordians must show Stratfordians that accepting the new paradigm will provide relief from the emotional tension they have experienced throughout the increasing-sense-of-crisis phase and during the moment of crisis itself. They can do that, in part, by showing how the new paradigm solves the anomalies that have plagued Stratfordians and that led to their crisis.

Oxfordians must also reassure Stratfordians that they value Shakespeare's works as literary treasures just as Stratfordians do. They engage in the same effort to understand the works and how they came to be written, but with the understanding that they had been written by Edward de Vere. They must demonstrate that the Oxfordian community, strong and growing, would welcome Stratfordians with open arms, that they value their critical research skills and scholarly approach to Shakespeare studies, and that much of traditional Shakespearean research would remain valid within the new paradigm.

Oxfordians must also show Stratfordians that joining the Oxfordian camp would have professional advantages for them by creating significant new opportunities for research and publishing. They could highlight the intellectual challenge of opening up a new literary field for academic study, and ask Stratfordians if such challenges weren't the reason they entered academia in the first place.

Oxfordians could also make the point that the harm to Stratfordians' good names by making the shift would not be as severe as they might imagine. On the contrary, many of their colleagues already secretly have doubts about Shakspere's authorship—many more than they might imagine—and would admire their courage in taking a stand in favor of de Vere's authorship.

Finally, Oxfordians should show that they understand how difficult it is to jettison lifelong beliefs in Shakspere's authorship. After all, all Oxfordians were Stratfordians at one time. They can call Stratfordians' attention to Esther Singleton's moving article describing how difficult it was for her to accept de Vere's authorship and how elated she felt at finding that obscure passages in the plays, reread with knowledge of de Vere's authorship and biography, had become "so clear, so plain, so reasonable, and so delightful" (Singleton 9-10).

Given all of these talking points, it might seem contradictory to say that Oxfordians cannot convince Stratfordians of the validity of de Vere's authorship; they must do that for themselves. And it might seem paradoxical to say that Stratfordians cannot convince themselves, either. Paradigm shifts do not occur within individual minds through logic or reasoning, but through insight—and insights cannot be commanded to occur. As Kuhn explains, "the issue of paradigm choice can never be unequivocally settled by logic and experiment alone . . . It cannot be made logically or even probabilistically compelling for those who refuse to step into the circle" (Kuhn, 94, 95). Rather, "because it is a transition between incommensurables, the transition between competing paradigms cannot be made a step at a time, forced by logic and neutral experience. Like the gestalt switch, it must occur all at once (though not necessarily in an instant) or not at all" (Kuhn 149).

Oxfordians' most important task, then, is that of creating the conditions in which Stratfordians can transform their own beliefs. They will become convinced of the validity of the Oxfordian paradigm (or not) at different rates, in response to different types of evidence. Some will never be convinced. That's okay. Oxfordians will have reached their goal if a predominant number of scholars accept his authorship.

As more in academia recognize de Vere's authorship, battles will break out within literature departments. Neither side will entirely understand how the other thinks. Stratfordians, of course, will not understand the new converts to the Oxfordian paradigm. What is surprising is that the new Oxfordians will not understand how any of their colleagues could fail to see what they now see.

Those who move to the new paradigm will have experienced a true revolution in how they see their own field. Even Shakespeare's literary works, as familiar as they are, will seem different. The shift is not merely that of replacing one author with another, but that of changing the central fact through which all other facts are interpreted. As Kuhn notes,

The transition from a paradigm in crisis to a new one . . . is a reconstruction of the field from new fundamentals, a reconstruction that changes some of the field's most elementary theoretical generalizations as well as many of its paradigm methods and applications. . . . when the transition is complete, the profession will have changed its view of the field, its methods, and its goals. (Kuhn 85)

Once that happens—once academia shifts to the Oxfordian paradigm—we can expect to see a period of extraordinary discovery as academia's tremendous resources become focused on the authorship issue, just as astronomers discovered more than twenty new minor planets and asteroids in the fifty years after Herschel's modification of Copernicus's paradigm told them what to look for and where to look (Kuhn 116).

Resolution of the Two Conflicting Goals

It remains now only to try to reconcile Oxfordians' two conflicting strategies as much as possible. Pushing awareness of the weakness of the Stratfordian claim to authorship in a non-confrontational manner is certainly necessary to prepare the ground. But, as Kuhn's conclusions about the nature of paradigm shift seem to indicate, it won't be sufficient. It will also be necessary for Oxfordians to push hard for recognition of de Vere's authorship because paradigm shifts occur only when a crisis occurs, and crises are always triggered by the conflict between two rival paradigms.

Is there a way to reconcile these two conflicting approaches?

Yes, at least partially. Having pushed the new Oxfordian paradigm,

Oxfordians do not need to see it enacted in academia to be sure of success. Having brought the issue to the crisis point by pressing for the Oxfordian paradigm,

Oxfordians should be satisfied if newly-minted Oxfordians within academia, mindful of the opinions of their colleagues, decide to adopt the face-saving step of introducing authorship studies rather than de Vere studies into their curricula. Acceptance of the legitimacy of the authorship question is all that needs to happen, even though that cannot be the goal that Oxfordians push for. They must push for both in order for the first to occur.

To conclude, much work must be done by Oxfordians to create the conditions conducive to bringing their Stratfordian colleagues across the abyss to the Oxfordian paradigm. Creating those conditions will require much advance preparation and careful thought. This paper has laid out some factors that Oxfordians should consider as they design their game plan for engagement with Stratfordians to secure rightful recognition of Edward de Vere as the man behind the pen name William Shakespeare.

APPENDIX: DOCUMENTING THE CLASH BETWEEN THE SHAKSPERE AND OXFORDIAN PARADIGMS

Applicable to William Shakspere?	Criteria	Applicable to Edward de Vere?
J. Thomas Looney's characteristics of the author¹		
	General Characteristics	
No	A matured man of recognized genius	Yes. Oxford was praised as best the best of the court poets and as being the best for comedy and tragedy.
No	Apparently eccentric and mysterious	Yes. Several contemporaries commented on his eccentricity.
No	Of intense sensibility—a man apart	Yes.
No	Unconventional	Yes. He was praised as "the most singular man" in England.
No	Not adequately appreciated	Yes. Puttenham raises this very point when identifying Oxford as the best of the court poets whose works are not widely known.
No	Of pronounced and known literary tastes	Yes. Oxford sponsored many literary publications; many works praised his literary sensibilities.
No	An enthusiast in the world of drama	Yes. Oxford was praised as being the best for comedy and tragedy.
No	A lyric poet of recognized talent	Yes. Many of his poems still exist.

No	Of superior education— classical—the habitual associate of educated people	Yes. See list of writers he knew below.
	Special characteristics	
No	A man with feudal connections	Yes. He was the Earl of Oxford.
No	A member of the higher aristocracy	Yes. He was the Earl of Oxford.
No	Connected with Lancastrian supporters	Yes. His ancestors supported the Lancastrian cause.
No	An enthusiast for Italy	Yes. He stayed there for an extended visit and was regarded as the most "Italianate gentleman" of his generation.
No	A follower of sport (including falconry)	Yes. Falconry and other sports were common activities of men in Oxford's position.
No	A lover of music	Yes. He was praised as being a better performer than most professional musicians.
No	Loose and improvident in money matters	Yes. He sold or was forced to sell most of his estates.
?	Doubtful and somewhat conflicting in his attitude to women	Yes. See Oxford's poems.
Yes	Of probably Catholic leanings, but touched with skepticism	Yes.
Diana Price's list of a literary paper trail (modified) ²		
No	Evidence of Education	Yes – Private tutors, Thomas Smith, Oxford University, Cambridge University.

No	Record of correspondence, esp. concerning literary matters	Yes, letters to and from the Cecils.	
No	Evidence of having written literary works	Yes – many references to him as a poet and dramatist.	
No	Evidence of a direct relationship with a patron	**	
No	Extant original manuscript	No	
No	Handwritten inscriptions, receipts, letters, etc. touching on literary matters	Yes, in the Geneva Bible, many handwritten letters.	
No	Commendatory verses, epistles, or epigrams received or contributed	Yes. More than 30 works were dedicated to him; he wrote many such verses for others.	
No	Misc. records referred to personally as a writer	Yes, many.	
No	Evidence of books owned, written, borrowed, or given	Yes, many.	
No	Notice at death as a writer	No overt references; many indirect references.	
Ramon Jiménez's ten witnesses who would have known Shakspere but did not comment on any literary activities by him³			
No	William Camden, historian	**	
No ⁴	Michael Drayton, poet and dramatist	**	
No	Thomas Greene, Stratford Town Clerk and writer	**	
No	John Hall, doctor and son- in-law	**	
No	James Cooke, surgeon	**	
No	Sir Fulke Greville, Lord Brooke, Recorder of Stratford; poet and dramatist	**	
No	Edward Pudsey, avid theatergoer	**	

	0 77 75 .	
No	Queen Henrietta Maria,	**
	amateur playwright who visited Stratford	
	Philip Henslowe, theatrical	
No	entrepreneur	**
	Edward Allyn, most	
No	distinguished actor of	**
	Elizabethan era	
Kath	erine Chiljan's list of plays writt	en too early
for Sha	akspere, born in 1564, to have be	en the author⁵
No	Romeo and Juliet (1562)	Yes
No	The Taming of the Shrew	Yes
110	(1578)	165
No	Measure for Measure (1578)	Yes
No	The Merchant of Venice (1579)	Yes
No	Timon of Athens (1579)	Yes
No	Antony and Cleopatra (1579)	Yes
No	King John (1579)	Yes
No	Twelfth Night (1579)	Yes
No	Much Ado About Nothing	Yes
	(1579)	
No	Henry IV, Part 2 (1579)	Yes
No	Cymbeline (1583)	Yes
No	Henry VI, Part 1 (1587)	Yes
No	Richard III (1587)	Yes
No	Julius Caesar (1587)	Yes
No	The Merry Wives of Windsor (1587)	Yes
No	Troilus and Cressida (1588)	Yes
No	Richard II (1588)	Yes
No	King Lear (1588)	Yes
No	Richard III (1588)	Yes
No	Titus Andronicus (1588)	Yes
No	Hamlet (1588)	Yes
Links to important people that appear in disguised form in the plays		

No	Queen Elizabeth (many)	Yes. De Vere was Lord Great Chamberlain in her court.
No	Lord Burghley (Polonius)	Yes. Burghley was his guardian and father-in- law.
No	Robert Cecil (Richard III)	Yes. Cecil was Oxford's brother-in-law.
No	Earl of Southampton (Sonnets)	Yes. Both were wards raised by Burghley and later were fellow members of court.
	Links to other writers	
No	George Baker	Yes. Dedication to Oxford in <i>Practice of the</i> <i>New and Old Physic</i> , and in <i>Oleum Magistrale</i> .
No	Thomas Bedingfield	Yes. Dedication to Oxford in <i>Cardanus'</i> <i>Comfort</i> .
No	John Brooke	Yes. Dedication to Oxford in <i>The Staffe of</i> <i>Christian Faith</i> .
No	Angel Day	Yes. He served as Oxford's secretary. Dedication to Oxford in <i>The English Secretary</i> .
No	Edmund Elviden	Yes. Dedication to Oxford in Peisistratus and Catanea.
No	John Farmer	Yes. Dedication to Oxford in <i>Plainsong</i> and in <i>English Madrigals</i> .
No	Arthur Golding	Yes. Dedication to Oxford in The Histories of Trogus Pompeius and The Psalms of David.
?	Robert Greene	Yes. Dedication to Oxford in <i>Card of Fancy</i> .

No	Gabriel Harvey	Yes, went to school with Oxford.
No	John Hester	Yes. Dedication to Oxford in <i>Phioravanti's</i> <i>Discourse on Surgery</i> .
?	Ben Jonson	?
No	Henry Lok	Yes. Dedication to Oxford in <i>Ecclesiastes</i> .
No	John Lyly	Yes. Dedication to Oxford in Euphues and His England. Served as Oxford's secretary.
No	Christopher Marlowe	?
No	Anthony Munday	Yes. Dedication to Oxford in The Mirror of Mutability, and in Palmerin d'Olivia, Parts I and II, and in Primaleon of Greece.
No	Thomas Nashe	Yes. Dedication to Oxford in <i>Strange News</i> .
No	Edmund Spenser	Yes. Dedication to Oxford in <i>The Faerie</i> <i>Queene</i> .
No	Thomas Stocker	Yes. Dedication to Oxford in Diverse Sermons of Calvin.
No	Thomas Twyne	Yes. Dedication to Oxford in <i>The Breviary of</i> <i>Britain</i> .
No	Thomas Underdowne	Yes. Dedication to Oxford in An Aethopian History.
No	Thomas Watson	Yes. Dedication to Oxford in Hekatompathia.
Substantive knowledge and experience		
No	Education	Yes. Private tutors and universities.

No	Law	Yes. Attended law school.
No	Medicine	Yes. Studied with Smith.
No	Classical mythology	Yes. William Golding, translator of Ovid's Metamorphoses was Oxford's uncle, and Oxford's tutor at the time the translation was done.
No	Aristocratic sports	Yes. Two-time champion at jousting.
No	Science	Yes. Smith.
No	Philosophy	Yes. Smith.
No	Greek drama	Yes. Smith.
No	Heraldry	Yes. His own.
No	Military	Yes. Campaigns in Scotland (1570), the Netherlands (1585), and against the Armada (1588).
No	Fluency in several languages	Yes. From tutors, travels, letter written in French.
No	Travel to Italy	Yes. Travels there in 1575-76, including all of the cities in which scenes were set in Italy in Shakespeare's plays.
No	Shakspere at court	**
1	Works that most influenced Shak	espeare
No	Ovid's Metamorphoses	Yes. It was translated by Oxford's uncle when Oxford was tutored by him.
No	The Geneva Bible	Yes. Oxford's annotated copy is in the Folger Library.
No	Chaucer's Canterbury Tales	Yes.
No	Plutarch's Lives	Yes.

Psychologists' understanding of genius, creativity			
No	Development of genius through early exposure to many subjects	Yes: His father's acting troupe, tutoring by Thomas Smith, education at Burghley's house.	
No	10,000 hours of intense involvement needed to acquire basic competence in any field	He was praised as the best for comedy and tragedy, and was known to have produced theatrical productions at court.	
No	Highly connected with others creating in the same field	Yes. See above.	
No	Authors write about what they know about.	Yes.	
	Totals		
William Shakspere		Edward de Vere	
Yes – 1 Maybe - 3 No – 101		Yes – 89 Maybe - 4 No – 1 N/A – 11	

Endnotes

- ¹ John Thomas Looney, 1920. See especially pages 109-133.
- ² Diana Price, pages 310-313.
- ³ Ramon Jiménez, pp. 74-85.
- ⁴ Actually Drayton does refer posthumously to Shakespeare as his familiar in his 1627 *The Bataile of Agincourt*, p. 206. See Waugh and Stritmatter, forthcoming.
- ⁵ Katherine Chiljan. See especially pages 343-381.

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