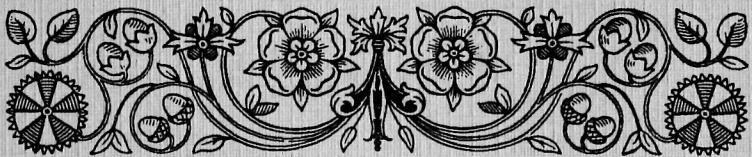


The Elizabethan Review

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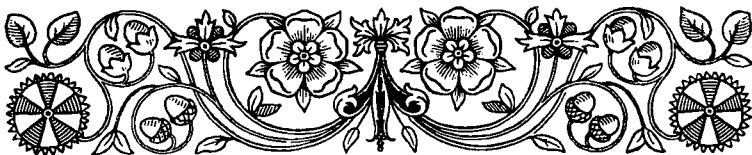
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A Semiannual Journal



The Elizabethan Review

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The contents of *The Elizabethan Review* are indexed and abstracted in *The World Shakespeare Bibliography*.

From the Editor

The positive and encouraging response to *The Elizabethan Review* has spurred the publication of several of the articles and reviews contained in the present issue. In addition to commenting upon and requesting pieces on a variety of subjects, correspondents also requested more information concerning the Oxfordian thesis. In this regard, the organization in the United States dedicated to disseminating information about the Earl of Oxford's authorship of the Shakespeare canon is The Shakespeare-Oxford Society. Inquiries should be directed to Morse Johnson, Suite 819, 105 West 4th Street, Cincinnati, OH 45202.

In reviewing the previous issue, I found that a significant perspective had been omitted from those offered: the scientific one. Readers will find in this issue "A Statistical Approach to the Shakespeare Authorship Question," co-authored by a chemist and a physicist. Other pieces cast light on Michel de Montaigne's influence on William Shakespeare and other participants of the English Renaissance, and on one of the very first English novels, *The Unfortunate Traveler*, by Thomas Nash, a prolific Elizabethan writer whose own canon encompassed pamphlets, dramas, and poetry as well as fiction.

As historians well know, literature and drama were not the compelling issues of the day for the great majority of Elizabethans—that honor was reserved for the dual questions of national religion and national security. Since the Elizabethan Age was contemporaneous with the Counter Reformation and the Anglo-Spanish War (1585-1604), both issues were to become fused into an overriding national obsession that would affect the daily lives of the "common man" and the activities of the Queen's government and church. To address this neglected aspect of Elizabethan life in an attempt to unravel a tangled skein of history, we present a review of Alan Haynes' *The Elizabethan Secret Service* by a Roman Catholic scholar, whose views of the Elizabethan secret service are at odds with the standard legend as we have come to know it.

Rounding out the present issue of *The Elizabethan Review* are articles that examine Heywood's famous—and ambiguous—complaint, herewith resolved (according to the author), as well as reviews of fiction and nonfiction on Shakespeare's life and works as composed by a theater critic, two poets, and a host of psychiatrists and psychologists.

Gary B. Goldstein

Letters to the Editor

The argument regarding the authorship of the Shakespeare Canon is exhumed again! Associate Justice John Paul Stevens, in the inaugural issue of *The Elizabethan Review*, bears his corner of the pall and asks us once again to gaze upon the corpse. His approach, a statutory construction in five acts, is safely juridical and yet, like so many of his predecessors', rests upon ambiguities and uncertainties to point out that, crudely enough, Shakespeare is not Shakespeare. He ably lines up opposing counsel. For the "sweet swan of Avon," he presents the text of the First Folio which "unambiguously identifies" William as the author, supported by "respectable scholars [who] are virtually unanimous in their conviction" that William is Shakespeare. The word "virtually" ushers in the Oxfordians, introduced by that addled chorus of Twain, Whitman, Galsworthy, Freud, and Looney.

Justice Stevens' first act, however, is a curious twist of reasoning. First, excellent jurist that he is, he seeks an affidavit of sorts—"a signed statement identifying himself [Shakespeare] as the author." Shakespeare was apparently too busy to write a statement that he was who he was. But, for the Justice, this would serve as "the kind of unambiguous evidence of authorship" which we need (distinct, we assume, from the unambiguous First Folio). The evidence he then discusses, the "six signatures on legal documents," suggest nothing to

Justice Stevens except "that merely writing his name was a difficult task." Here we have the first glance down our nose at poor Will. His poor penmanship reflects a shallow, dimwitted bumpkin incapable of the achievement erroneously ascribed to him. What then must we make of the penmanship of his Queen? Does her careful block lettering suggest brilliance or cunning? What of the regal signature on the thousands of documents which cluttered Bourbon court life? When we learn that many were done, not by Louis, but by a minister, *qui avait la plume*, can we infer that Louis was slower than Shakespeare? Perhaps Louis did not exist!

Justice Stevens' second act brings up the nobility question. He informs us that the author of the Shakespeare Canon must have been of noble birth since all but one of his plays are about members of the nobility. There are more credible explanations to this gossamer hypothesis. First, who in Shakespeare's day was not attracted to the magnificence and intrigue of Court life? It was quite simply the most fascinating topic of discussion. Second, Shakespeare has been described and criticized as an inveterate social climber. Graham Greene must have shocked the University of Hamburg upon receiving the Shakespeare Prize in 1969 when he referred to Shakespeare as the "supreme poet of conservatism" with the "blind eye exchanged for the coat of arms, the prudent tongue for the friendships

at Court and the great house at Stratford." Such cautious flattery on the part of artists guaranteed not only patronage but quiet and peace far removed from Holborn Hill and Tyburn. Shakespeare could hardly afford to let Jack Cade succeed or turn Campion's Brag into a taunting monologue.

Shakespeare's apparent disregard for the "common man" (a nefarious term), which Justice Stevens discovers in *Julius Caesar*, is no less disrespectful than Dickens. I have always found that, like Dickens, Shakespeare wanted us to love, if not always emulate, the "common man" in all their "sweaty night-caps" and "stinking breath." After all, they were the groundlings who rollicked at the bard's sly mockeries of Court life. A patron's penny filled his purse, but the "common man" laughed and wept with him.

The portrait of Polonius (i.e. Lord Burghley) in *Hamlet* is a caricature easily drawn by any astute Court observer. It also strikes one as a distinct argument *against* Edward de Vere as the author of the Shakespeare Canon. Justice Stevens argues that de Vere used his firsthand knowledge gained in the Burghley household in drawing the portrait of Polonius. However, if de Vere wanted to stay in the good graces of this powerful family, the last thing he would seem to do is hang its dirty linen from the flagstaff of the Globe Theatre.

Justice Stevens' third act introduces in full costume the darker twin, the Edmund of his play,

wherein critical construction is compounded with snobbery "under the dragon's tail" (*King Lear*, I.iii). It is here that the cat's cradle which our authorship scholars have passed, hand to hand, casts its crooked shadow on the wall, and the shadow forms a noose. In short, it is a class war in which the privileged are gifted and the "common man" is, well, common. Justice Stevens assures us that few people could read and write, a conclusion which begs for a rich footnote which commonly fill Supreme Court opinions. Our own editor of *The Elizabethan Review* indicts 85 percent of the "socially restricted" Elizabethan population as "illiterate in its native tongue." (It is a separate debate whether literacy was so poor and, assuming it was, whether Elizabethan England suffered as a society from illiteracy or from the plunder and suppression of its Catholic faith.)

The wonder of it all is that a man with so little formal education, this "unperfect actor on the stage" (Sonnet XXIII) could make us look upon an "unworthy scaffold" and see "the vasty fields of France," (*Henry V*, Prol.) or gaze upon a disgraced daughter and see one "that art most rich, being poor, most choice, forsaken; and most loved, despised" (*King Lear*, I.i).

It is quite simply genius—that touch of imagination, inspiration and grace—which makes a "common man" a poet or a saint. The authorship scholars, mired in the messy penmanship, see the Dumb

Ox, not the Angelic Doctor. Was not our "wooden O" once graced by a presidential "bumpkin" who too looked upon a "vasty field" of a nation's battleground and saw "a final resting place for those who here gave their lives that that nation may live." The authorship scholars can only prattle on about "universal gender discrimination that permeated sixteenth-century England," where they contend "education was for males, not females," ignoring the brilliance of a Margaret More Roper. According to Justice Stevens' fourth act, we must accept instead a "de Vere Canon" because Shakespeare's library is unaccounted for and Shakespeare's son-in-law does not mention "his illustrious father-in-law" in his medical journals.

In answer to this I have always turned to Brother Leo who offers these four points in his *English Literature, A Survey and Commentary* (1828):

1. "In his own day and for three centuries afterwards Shakespeare was accepted as the author of his plays, and numerous contemporary writers acclaimed his genius." A similar litmus test applies to constitutional doctrine enunciated when the framers were still alive.

2. "The main events in Shakespeare's life are known, and there is nothing in them to show either that he did not exist or that he could not have written the plays attributed to him."

3. "An examination of the Shakespeare plays proves that the

man who wrote them was closely identified with the theatre. Shakespeare was...a 'Johannes factotum,' or Jack-of-all-trades, of the stage. The Bacons were not, the Earls of Rutland and Derby and Southampton were not; with the possible exception of Thomas Heywood, no Elizabethan dramatist was so essentially a theatrical man as Shakespeare was."

4. "A comparison of the Shakespearean plays with the known writings of the others shows fundamental differences of style, of vocabulary, of power of expression, of range of interest, and of outlook on life. For instance, it is simply incredible that the same man could have written Bacon's essay on Love and Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*." No doubt Justice Stevens would raise an eyebrow if I were to suggest to him that the Federalist papers were actually written by Richard Henry Lee. More to the point, an examination of what are accepted to be Edward de Vere's work ("His Good Name Being Blemished, He Bewaileth" or "A Lover Rejected Complaineth") pale in comparison to the weakest of the Shakespeare Canon.

What does it all matter? The argument, like venial sin, would be great fun if it were not so malignant. But it has become the banner of certain scholars who, to quote Brother Leo again, "like to defend an improbable cause and who deny the validity of literary tradition." This perhaps is why the debate does matter so much and really,

when not carried on in the spirit of fun, has so little to do with Shakespeare. It is the province of those in the critical construction camp—those word-counters and cultural contextualists who can read *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* and marvel endlessly at, not what *is* there but, as one professor once said, “what *is not* there.” The authorship argument shifts our focus away from the Canon itself—away from “the living face of beauty, [the] earthly reflection of the Heavenly Beauty which is God,” contained in Shakespeare’s exquisite pen.

Christian H. Gannon
Brooklyn, NY

Mr. Gannon is an attorney with the Port Authority of NY & NJ.

I've read the first issue of *The Elizabethan Review* with interest. Congratulations on the venture. Certainly a coup to get [Justice] John Paul Stevens on board.

David Bevington
Dept. of English
University of Chicago

The Elizabethan Review is a handsome publication and I like its resemblance to an early quarto. I also admire the tone you've set for the discourse that will occupy its pages.

Regarding your comments on Shakespeare's use of Dante, I do think Shakespeare (whoever we be-

lieve him to have been) was able to read Italian, French, and Spanish, not to mention Latin and Greek, and it wouldn't surprise me at all to learn of further Dante echoes. I find the echoes of the Crucifixion in *Julius Caesar* interesting, and I wonder if the playwright was not aware that the three characters who occupy the lowest circle of the *Inferno* are Cassius, Brutus, and Judas.

The only issues on which I'd differ from you are (a) whether a grammar-school education of the kind that was offered in Stratford would not have given young men the background to acquire what the author of Shakespeare's works display, and (b) whether the political views in the plays pre-suppose a member of the nobility.

John Andrews
President
The Shakespeare Guild
Washington, DC

After reading the note on whether Shakespeare had read Dante in Italian, I recalled Dorothy Sayers' translation of Dante's work for the Penguin Classics. I was impressed by her notes in Book I (Hell; pp 52-4) describing the secret removal of Dante's body in 1519 not being revealed until 1865—when it was discovered by workmen.

Eileen Duffin
London, Ontario
Canada

Congratulations on launching an interesting addition to the sources of knowledge about Shakespeare and his time. In regards to the authorship issue and the Earl of Oxford, two matters catch public interest on Oxford's behalf that unfortunately do not stand the test of truth. I refer to the spelling of the Stratford Shakespeare's name, and the supposed unavailability of sufficient formal education in his background, both of which seem to weaken the argument being made on Oxford's behalf. In discussions with academics, these confirm an amateurish approach to the evidence that encourages dismissiveness.

As to the spelling of the name, it once seemed self-evident to me that the spelling of a person's own name would become habitual from an early point in life. That, however, turns out to be a cultural block on our part.

The facts are otherwise. 1) In Elizabethan times, the convention of regularity in spelling was weak, as proved by looking at the signatures of many educated men, such as Raleigh; 2) in the National Archives of Great Britain, the father of William of Stratford is listed in public documents from his time only as John Shakespeare; 3) in the collection of Oxford's letters by William P. Fowler, Oxford employed at least four different spellings of his own name between 1563 (age 13) and 1603 (age 53): Oxinford, Oxenford, Oxeford, and Oxenforde (the first he used on the first extant letter; the next two

variations he used alternately on a frequent basis; and the fourth spelling was used on his last two letters).

The second troublesome and unnecessary argument is that the actor from Stratford could not have had the classical knowledge the writer of the Canon possessed. Another country boy, Isaac Newton, did pretty well starting out with the usual grammar school education. Cambridge, where he went next, in his day was demoralized and offered little mentoring, but his grammar school Greek and Latin allowed him to read what he needed in the Cambridge library, sufficient for him to have written his own treatises in Latin.

Speaking as a psychologist, [I believe] the case for Oxford stems from the many personal details of Oxford's life that are repeatedly reflected in the Canon; the recognition during Oxford's lifetime of his dramatic and poetic gifts, so compatible with a putative author of the Canon; the specifics of Oxford's life that would have given him background for the world portrayed in the Canon; the high concordance between the Canon and the language and imagery used by Oxford in his early poems, written before the first works in the Canon. The total case, thus, is very strong. As recent discoveries point out, Oxford's claim to credit for the Canon is on a solid basis. It is a pity then that false issues delay total respect for this claim.

*Johanna K. Tabin, Ph.D.
Glencoe, Illinois*



Thomas Nashe's *The Unfortunate Traveler*: Taming the Spirit of Discontent

James R. Keller

Regrettably, the campaign of the past ten years to re-historicize Renaissance literature has ignored Thomas Nashe's most highly regarded piece of writing, failing to examine its dynamic relationship with the culture that generated it and thereby neglecting to determine what contribution the work made to the process of cultural formation. As a result, recent studies of Nashe's *The Unfortunate Traveler* (1593)¹ have been either structural or rhetorical analyses,² attempting to generate a unifying principle that can transform the novel into a coherent work.

Perhaps *The Unfortunate Traveler* frustrates historical criticism because, while written in the last decade of the sixteenth century, its narrative begins in 1513 with Henry VIII's military campaign in France. Yet despite its peculiar time setting, the work clearly addresses specific Elizabethan social problems from the last two decades of the sixteenth century.

In the pamphlet *Pierce Penniless His Supplication to the Devil* (1592),³ Nashe satirizes the increasingly popular "melancholy pose" among young courtiers. Pierce pleads with the Devil not to allow the streets to be "pestered" with the dangerous "counterfeit politician":

Is it not a pitiful thing that a fellow that eats not a good meal's meat in a week, but beggareth his belly quite and clean to make his back a certain kind of brokerly gentleman, and now and then, once or twice in a term, comes the eighteen pence ordinary, because he would be seen amongst cavaliers and brave courtiers, living otherwise all the year long with salt butter and Holland cheese in his chamber, should take up a scornful melancholy in his gait and countenance, and talk as though our commonwealth were but a mockery of government, and our magistrates fools, who wronged

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him in not looking into his deserts, not employing him in state matters, and that, if more regard were not had of him shortly, the whole realm should have a miss of him, and he would go (ay, marry, would he) where he should be more accounted of? (65-66)

This mocking portrayal of the melancholy man reveals Nashe's disposition toward the subject that dominates *The Unfortunate Traveler*. In his travel chronicle, Nashe attempts to diffuse and undermine the fashion for melancholy by attacking the values that generated it.

In the 1580s, there was a sudden fascination among the British with the Italian vogue for melancholy, and the practitioners of this affected pose became so numerous as to constitute a social type that was immediately recognizable on the street. Even those individuals who had never traveled in Italy adopted the carriage and disposition of the melancholiac.⁴ The melancholy man was

slow and heavy in movement and gesture; in character, they were surly, taciturn, bad-mannered, unsociable, envious, jealous and covetous. They were slow to wrath, but if aroused stubborn and cruel in pursuit of their revenge; amorous, but bashful, timid, and uncouth.⁵

Dr. Timothy Bright's *A Treatise of Melancholie* was the most likely source for the subject among writers of the age:

The melancholick...is...of color black and swart of substance inclining to hardness, lean, and spare of flesh.... Of memory reasonable good, if fancies deface it not: firm in opinion, and hardly removed where it is resolved: doubtful before and long in deliberation: suspicious, painful in studie, and circumspect, given to fearful and terrible dreams: in affection sad, and full of fear, hardly moved to anger, but keeping it long, and not easy to be reconciled: envious and jealous, apt to take occasions in the worst part, and out of measure passionate, whereto it is moved. From these two dispositions of brain and heart arise solitariness, morning, weeping, and...melancholic laughter, sighing, sobbing, lamentation, countenance demise, and hanging down, blushing, bashful, of slow pace, silent, negligent....⁶

The English fashion for melancholy is believed to have originated with foreign travelers who, having returned from Italy, were discontented with customs of their own country (Babb, 73). While on the continent, these individuals acquired many of the vices of their host nations. He would become associated with Machiavellian intrigue. Having learned the subtle

techniques of Spanish and Italian dueling, he was eager to employ them by taking revenge for the most insubstantial injury. Moreover, while in Italy, the traveler usually led a licentious life, returning home an utterly degenerate and destitute individual.⁷ He dressed in black, as was the fashion of Italy and Spain, assumed a melancholy temperament, posed with arms folded and hat pulled over his eyes, remained solitary, and railed against the world (Fink, 241-242).

The traveler's penchant for seditious activities was certainly his most dangerous characteristic, and the presence of this attribute may have inspired Nashe to attack the fashion for melancholy in *The Unfortunate Traveler*. Lawrence Babb has identified the specific traits associated with the traveler's political inclinations. The disaffected individual usually had an inordinate sense of self-worth and felt unappreciated by his own countrymen, who could not recognize his talents. As a consequence, he became secretly rebellious, seeking to overthrow the existing social order (Babb, 75). This sentiment may have been fueled by the restructuring of social and economic life that was taking place in the final years of Elizabeth's reign. The era itself was one of increased political tensions:

Under the surface of the carefully regulated Elizabethan administration, there was deep discontent and constant danger of revolt.⁸

Other social problems, such as land enclosure that resulted in widespread vagrancy, and population growth which increased "faster than the food supply and job opportunities,"⁹ may also have fostered the spirit of sedition and discontent that took root in the final decade of the sixteenth century (Cheyney, 41-42). Certainly, the phenomenon reached its apex in the abortive Essex rebellion of 1601, which attracted all types of political outsiders: "puritan preachers, papists, soldiers out of employ, adventurers, a miscellany of discontented men."¹⁰

Perhaps the most memorable account of the "melancholy" fashion in the last two decades of the sixteenth century is Robert Greene's description of himself following his trip to Europe in the 1580s:

At my return to England, I ruffed out in my silks, in the habit of malcontent, and seemed so discontent, that no place would please me to abide in, nor no vocation cause me to stay myself in.¹¹

In *The Unfortunate Traveler*, Nashe attempts to discredit the values of the melancholy traveler by creating a persona who, while touring the Continent, experiences a "nightmare of suffering"¹² and is repulsed by the cultures that he encounters, eventually embracing his native customs with enthusiasm and gratitude. Jack Wilton, the chronicle's narrator, journeys to

France, Germany, and Italy. But unlike that of the melancholy traveler, Jack's adventure is full of mishaps, compelling him to return to his own country—where evenhanded justice is dispensed with authority, where deceit is confined to roguish yet harmless pranks, and where values are coherent and consistent. Jack demonstrates the merits of the home. Rather than trying to emulate the customs and attitudes of his host countries—as is the case with the malcontent traveler—he realizes that those of his own land are safer and more meaningful. Jack's experience constitutes the reformation of the discontented traveler and works to expose the folly of his beliefs.

The early events of the chronicle occurring in *Tourney and Turwin* are intended to suggest that England is a "land of coherence," of justice and order,¹³ characteristics against which the chaos of the traveler's host countries is measured. Perhaps Nashe chose the reign of Henry VIII as the work's chronological setting because Henry was a strong and authoritative King who dispensed justice with an iron hand and who would not tolerate the political subversiveness that became prominent in the latter years of Elizabeth's reign. Also, the camp scenes in the work's early sections may be intended to demonstrate orderliness because the lines between contending factions are distinct, making it easy to distinguish enemies from comrades. Interestingly, the exercise of the King's justice is against Jack, who plays practical jokes on a number of his fellow patriots; and, when his pranks are exposed, the rogue is subsequently punished for his impunity. Initially, he dupes the company quartermaster by suggesting that the King suspects him of selling supplies to the enemy. He urges the cook to appease the King's anger by generously distributing goods, particularly ale, among the destitute soldiers. The cook takes Jack's advice, allowing the soldiers to drink their fill, but he also sues King Henry for forgiveness, offering his entire estate as a conciliatory sacrifice. The King wonders at the cook's actions and consequently, Jack's deception is revealed; he is "pitifully whipped for... [his] holiday lie."

Contrary to the portrayal of Italians in the latter portion of the work, the Englishmen are often motivated by nationalistic zeal and compassion, rather than avarice and self-interest. The quartermaster demonstrates his patriotic fervor and selflessness by insisting that the King take all his possessions despite the falseness of Jack's charges against him. Moreover, Jack's next victim, a captain, is persuaded to become a spy and to infiltrate the French ranks to kill the foreign King simply to ingratiate himself with his own sovereign. In his latter travels, Jack encounters several Englishmen, and each proves to be good-natured and helpful. The Earl of Surrey enlists Jack as a traveling companion, treating him as an equal. Even when Jack usurps the man's title and is later caught by the real Earl, the nobleman is light-

hearted about the situation, bursting into laughter when he sees the astonished look on Jack's face. Moreover, when Jack and Surrey are imprisoned for passing counterfeit gold, an Englishman, John Russell, successfully intercedes on their behalf by enlisting the services of Pietro Aretino. Finally, after Jack is falsely accused of raping Heraclide and in danger of being executed, his salvation is secured by a banished English Earl whose subsequent lectures on the evils of foreign travel become the foundation for the novel's nationalistic rhetoric. The Earl summarizes the prevailing portrayal of Englishmen by calling them "the plainest-dealing souls that ever God put in life." Throughout, Englishmen are representative of stability and order, ameliorating the confusing and often dangerous circumstances of Jack's adventures.

Critics have argued that the chaos of the travel episodes is actually a function of the work's organization,¹⁴ a perception certainly useful in this discussion. The confusion of the travel incidents serves as a contrast to the relative orderliness of the English camp. Indeed, when Jack arrives in Italy, he encounters a host of "panders, prostitutes, thieves, murderers, revengers, corrupt politicians, intelligencers, and a thousand such political monsters." Their avarice, self-interest, and vindictiveness entrap and nearly destroy Jack. Events are further complicated by the arbitrary imposition of law: Diamante is rejected and imprisoned by her husband on false accusations of infidelity, while Jack is wrongfully incarcerated on various occasions for counterfeiting, rape, and thievery. Such a portrayal of countries that prove so appealing to the traveling Englishmen would be appropriate only if Nashe sought to dissuade these men from their wanderings and resulting scorn for English custom.

Should the novel's negative portrait of foreign travel be inadequate in deterring young Englishmen from foreign adventure, Nashe also supplies readers with a model spokesman who mouths the appropriate sentiments. The banished Earl who rescues Jack Wilton from execution proceeds to outline the many evils and few benefits of travel on the continent, and his commentary helps bring coherence to some of the seemingly random events of Jack's adventure.

In his harangue, the Earl addresses those who would journey for the purposes of education, and his commentary seems to address the particular attributes of the malcontent traveler. For example, the traveler commonly adopted the language of his host country, hoping it would give his speech an air of sophistication and worldliness (Fink, 238). Similarly, the banished Earl admonishes Jack for his wanderings, stating that one can learn foreign languages at home as easily as abroad. Furthermore, the Earl addresses those who hope to learn wit through adventure, arguing that intelligence

must be native to the individual: "he [must] have the grounds of it rooted in him before" (343). The naturally astute individual can then learn all that he needs from books in his own home. The event that demonstrates the truth of the Earl's complaints is Jack's visit to the highly regarded university at Wittenburg, which turns out to be the abode of drunkards and fools. During his sojourn, Jack hears two rhetorically complicated yet vacuous speeches in praise of the Duke of Saxony and realizes that there is nothing to be learned in Wittenburg. Moreover, the inhabitants are mere plagiarists:

They imagined the Duke took the greatest pleasure and contentment under heaven to hear them speak Latin, and as long as they talked nothing but Tully he was bound to attend them. A most vain thing it is in many universities at this day, that they count him excellent eloquent who stealeth, not whole phrases, but whole pages out of Tully. (296)

Traditionally, the malcontent traveler was also an individual who led a dissolute life while abroad and brought his vices back home (Fink, 243). Certainly, Jack's escapades in Italy are licentious, and his looseness is the source of much of his suffering. His involvement with the prostitute Tabitha nearly gets him killed, and his jealous rage over the loose behavior of Diamante makes him the subject of "an anatomy." Moreover, Juliana, who rescues Jack from Zacherie's laboratory in order to satisfy her libidinous appetite, makes so many tiresome sexual demands that she forces him to escape. While in Italy, Jack indulges sexually more than is desirable or healthy, and the banished Earl reminds him that "nought but lasciviousness is to be learned here." He further outlines the numerous corruptions that one must embrace in order to become a successful traveler:

He is not fit to travel that cannot, with the Candians, live on serpents, make nourishing food even of poison. Rats and Mice engender by licking one another; he must lick, he must crouch, he must cog, lie, and prate, that either in court or a foreign country will engender and come to preferment. (343)

Jack's desperate escape from Juliana and his abrupt decision to marry Diamante and return home reveal that he eventually recognizes the sagacity of the Earl's lesson. Unlike the malcontent traveler, Jack's return constitutes a reformation, rather than a continuation, of depravity.

The melancholy traveler was notorious for his willingness to revenge the slightest injury and for his skill in dueling (Fink, 240), and the banished Earl warns Jack of the same trait among Italians. He cautions that a momentary glance at an Italian's wife or a rebuke for an injury can cost a

man his life: Italians will “carry an injury a whole age in memory,” revenging it as much as thirty years later. This vindictiveness can be seen in the actions of Cutwolf, who relentlessly pursues his brother’s murderer, Esdras, but who patiently waits for the perfect time to strike. Nevertheless, despite his caution and pains, he is tortured and then executed, a punishment that illustrates the ramifications of such vengeful pursuits, even against the deserving. This appalling scene is the catalyst that drives Jack toward the English camp in France, causing him to abandon his wandering style of life.

The experiences of the melancholiac in Italy often caused him to lose faith in his native religion, becoming instead an atheist (Fink, 244), “papist,” or Puritan.¹⁵ In *The Unfortunate Traveler*, the banished Earl warns that one of the only lessons to be learned in Italy is “the art of atheism” (345). Indeed, Jack’s experience with foreign faiths during his travels is not a positive one. In Germany, he witnesses the “well deserved” slaughter of the Anabaptists and spends a considerable amount of time delineating the falseness and presumption of all Puritans, concluding, “Hear what it is to be Anabaptists, to be Puritans, to be villains” (286).

His experiences with Catholicism are no more rewarding. The pope is portrayed as being in league with the Spanish villain Esdras, a man who enters the homes of plague victims only to rape and steal, and who has previously carried out assassinations on the pope’s orders. The pope’s reputation is further tarnished in the episode involving his Jewish surgeon Zacherie. To rescue Jack from the surgeon’s laboratory, the pope’s concubine, Juliana, places poison in one of Zacherie’s healing potions. When the pope’s official taster drinks the medicine and dies, the pontiff orders the execution of every Jew in Rome. Although he eventually is persuaded to banish the Jews instead, his vengefulness is unbecoming a man of God.

The ostentatious appearance of the melancholy traveler becomes the focus of the Earl’s denunciation of foreign manners. However, he attributes the pose to French custom, rather than Italian:

... I have known some that have continued there by the space of half-a-dozen years, and when they come home they have hid a little wearish lean face under a broad French hat, kept a terrible coil with dust in the street in their long cloaks of grey paper, and spoke English strangely.... to wear a velvet patch on their face, and walk melancholy with their arms folded. (344)

The Earl goes on to satirize Spanish fashion as well, clearly attributing to them the “affected negligence” commonly associated with the melancholiac’s dress.

Finally, the banished Earl attacks the widely held perception that Italy

is an earthly paradise, describing it instead as a den of iniquity, defiling the young Englishmen who visit there:

Italy, the paradise of the earth and the epicure's heaven, how does it form our young master? It makes him to kiss his hand like an ape, cringe his neck like a starveling, and play at heypass, repass come aloft, when he salutes a man. From thence he brings the art of atheism, the art of epicurising, the art of whoring, the art of poisoning, and the art of sodomitry. (345)

He indicates that it has become a cliché to explain the actions of a "notorious villain" by saying he "hath been in Italy." Certainly, the events of the chronicle bear out this conception. Perhaps the most powerful episode revealing the false picture of Italy as a demi-paradise is that involving the Roman banqueting house which Jack describes upon his arrival. He explains that its beauty "could not be matched except God should make another paradise." Within the hall, the heavens are depicted in perfect harmony and balance; plants are so vividly painted on the wall they look real; numerous species of birds are represented perched on the limbs of artificial trees; and finally, the beasts of the field are portrayed as being in complete harmony. Of course, the banqueting house signifies the world before the Fall, yet its obviously artificial composition undermines the notion that Italy is an earthly paradise; such beliefs are merely human inventions as counterfeit as the Garden itself. Moreover, the Edenic banqueting house is immediately juxtaposed with realistic descriptions of the plague-infested city and the rape of Heraclide (Leggatt, 32), revealing that, in Rome, God's creatures do not reside together peacefully, as the false myth of the Garden suggests.

When the Earl finally pauses in his tirade, Jack seizes the opportunity to leave, but the traveler acknowledges that his failure to take the Earl's advice, by returning to his native country, is the cause of his subsequent perils: "God plagued me for deriding such a fatherly advertiser" (347). He is immediately accused of thievery by Zadoch and is eventually sold to Zacherie for a dissection, and these events constitute Jack's worst experiences, ones from which he only narrowly escapes. When he does manage to flee from this entanglement, he encounters Cutwolf on the executioner's wheel, confessing with relish his murder of Esdras and awaiting his own death. The final image of Italy involves the hideous slaughter of Cutwolf, intended to equate Italy with torture and perdition.

Jack travels to the English forces in France, indicating that his perils have persuaded him to reform:¹⁶

To such straight life did I thenceforward incite me that ere I went out of Bologna I married my courtesan, performed many alms-

deeds, and hasted so fast out of that Sodom of Italy, that within forty days I arrived at the King of England's camp. (370)

His return to France creates a circular organization for the chronicle, not only because it concludes in the same location where it began, but also because it restores the coherent social structure of English society. Indeed the final image of Henry VIII involves his feasting with the French King, suggesting his triumph over his enemies and a resolution of differences between the two countries, the banquet being a common symbol of social harmony. Moreover, King Henry's feast is in direct contrast to the empty and artificial banqueting house in Rome, where harmony between mortal enemies is only a dream. Finally, Jack promises "never to be outlandish Chronicler more while I live." Thus his return is a "validation" of the "banished Earl's repudiation of travel" (Wenke, 32).

The didactic conclusion of *The Unfortunate Traveler* seems well-suited for a writer whose usual mode of discourse was the pamphlet, a genre which usually addressed social concerns by advancing a particular point of view. Nashe's efforts to mitigate the numerous corruptions of his age can be seen in his pamphlet, *Pierce Penniless his Supplication to the Devil*. In our own age, critical theory maintains that the literary text actively participates in the shaping of "national consciousness."¹⁷ That is, literary work not only reflects but, in turn, produces culture. Stephen Greenblatt has labeled that element of the text responsible for cultural formation "social energy," for the text has the ability to "arouse disquiet, pain, fear, the beating of the heart, pity, laughter, tension, relief, [and] wonder."¹⁸ By being able to manipulate the disposition of its audience, literature becomes part of the ideological apparatus, forming and re-forming "social subjects," allowing them "to perform as conscious agents in an apparently meaningful world."¹⁹

If one accepts the thesis that literature participates in the generation of ideology and social custom, then it remains to be determined what *The Unfortunate Traveler* had to say in the last decade of the sixteenth century in England—and how it participated in that country's cultural formation. Nashe's most celebrated work is more than just another manifestation of anti-Italian sentiments by an Elizabethan writer. I believe it to be a conservative attempt to ameliorate the political tensions brought on by the vexing social problems of the age, and by the increasing number of discontents who, having traveled abroad, lost respect for British traditions and practices. That Nashe addressed the work to the noblemen in Elizabeth's court, specifically the Earl of Southampton, one of the chief players in the Essex rebellion, is further testament of its role as a vehicle for social change. With the example of Jack Wilton, Nashe tried to demonstrate that travel can be an unpleasant and often dangerous experience; that the values so highly

regarded by these wanderers are often degenerate, contributing to social chaos; and that although England may not have been paradise—there are wars and plagues—the country was characterized by stability and justice. Thus, Nashe tried to manipulate the fears of his audience, arguing that foreign customs are really inferior to British traditions. By doing so, he helped reinforce the predominant ideology through repudiation of the melancholy traveler and his subversive foreign values.



Notes

¹ Thomas Nashe, *The Unfortunate Traveler, The Unfortunate Traveler and Other Works*, ed. J.B. Seane (1972), 251-370.

² Some structural studies of *The Unfortunate Traveler* are the following: Louise Simons, "Rerouting *The Unfortunate Traveler*: Strategies for Coherence and Direction," *SEL* 28 (Winter 1988): 17-38; Susan Marie Harrington and Michal Nahor Bond, "'Good Sir, be Ruld by Me': Patterns of Domination and Manipulation in Thomas Nashe's *The Unfortunate Traveler*," *Studies in Short Fiction* 24 (Summer 1987): 243-250; Raymond Stephanson, "The Epistemological Challenge of Nashe's *The Unfortunate Traveler*," *SEL* 23 (Winter 1983): 21-36; Madelon S. Gohlke, "Wit's Wantonness: *The Unfortunate Traveler* as Picaresque," *SP* 73 (1976): 397-413; David Kaula, "The Low Style in Nashe's *The Unfortunate Traveler*," *SEL* 6 (1966): 43-57; Barbara C. Millard, "Thomas Nashe and the Functional Grotesque in Elizabethan Prose Fiction," *Studies in Short Fiction* 15 (Winter 1978): 39-48.

Some works that include rhetorical analyses are the following: Ann Rosalind Jones, "Inside the Outsider: Nashe's *Unfortunate Traveler* and Bakhtin's Polyphonic Novel," *ELH* 50 (Spring 1983): 61-82; Margaret Ferguson, "Nashe's *Unfortunate Traveler*: The 'Newes of the Maker' Game," *ELR* 11 (Spring 1981): 165-182; Reinhard H. Friederich, "Verbal Tensions in Thomas Nashe's *The Unfortunate Traveler*," *Language and Style* 8 (Summer 1975): 211-219; Richard Lanham, "Opaque Style in Elizabethan Fiction," *PCP* 1 (1966): 25-31.

³ Thomas Nashe, *Pierce Penniless his Supplication to the Devil, The Unfortunate Traveler and Other Works*, ed. J.B. Seane (1972): 49-145.

⁴ Lawrence Babb, *The Elizabethan Malady* (1959), 74.

⁵ J.B. Bamborough, *The Little World of Man* (1952), 96.

⁶ Dr. Timothy Bright is quoted in Mary Isabelle O'Sullivan's "Hamlet and Dr. Timothy Bright," *PMLA* 41 (1926): 673-674.

⁷ Z.S. Fink, "Jaques and the Malcontent Traveler," *PQ* 14 (1935): 138-140.

⁸ Edward P. Cheyney, *A History of England from the Defeat of the Armada to the Death of Elizabeth*, vol. 1 (1926), 35.

- ⁹ Lawrence Stone, *The Crisis of the Aristocracy 1558-1641* (Oxford, 1967), 21.
- ¹⁰ J.B. Black, *The Reign of Elizabeth 1558-1603* (Oxford, 1959), 439.
- ¹¹ Theodore Spencer, "The Elizabethan Malcontent," in *J.Q. Adams Memorial Studies*, ed. J.G. McManaway, Giles E. Dawson, and E.E. Willoughby (1948), 148.
- ¹² Alexander Leggatt, "Artistic Coherence in *The Unfortunate Traveler*," *SEL* 14 (Winter 1974): 41.
- ¹³ John Wenke, "The Moral Aesthetic of Thomas Nashe's *The Unfortunate Traveler*," *Renaissance* 34 (Autumn 1981): 24.
- ¹⁴ Raymond Stephanson, "The Epistemological Challenge of Nashe's *The Unfortunate Traveler*" *SEL* 23 (Winter 1983): 21-36; and Ruth M. Stevenson, "The Roman Banketting House: Nashe's Forsaken Image of Art" *Studies in Short Fiction* 17 (Summer 1980): 291-306.
- ¹⁵ Brigit Gellert Lyons, *Voice of Melancholy* (1971), 18.
- ¹⁶ Alexander Leggatt argues that Jack Wilton is not a developing character because he is rogue at the beginning of the narrative and his theft of Juliana's possessions demonstrates that he is still a renegade at the end of the work (38-39). I obviously disagree with Leggatt's assertion, because it assumes that Jack's escape from Zacharie's laboratory and Juliana's sexual tyranny is the event that inspires his reformation, and although the experience is certainly harrowing, it is actually the torture of Cutwolf that compels Jack to return home. Leggatt agrees with J.J. Jusserand (*The English Novel in The Time of Shakespeare*, London, 1890, 380) who suggests that a return of Juliana's possessions would have been the appropriate indication of his rehabilitation; however, such an action would be both impractical and dangerous, since Juliana has by this time been poisoned and Jack's return to the scene of theft would certainly end in his incarceration and subsequent torture. Thus such an action on the part of Jack would strain credibility.
- ¹⁷ Louis Montrose, "Renaissance Literary Studies and the Subject of History," *ELR* 16 (Winter 1986): 7.
- ¹⁸ Stephen Greenblatt, *Shakespearean Negotiations* (1988), 6.
- ¹⁹ Louis Montrose, "Professing the Renaissance: The Poetics and Politics of Culture," in *The New Historicism*, ed. H. Aram Veaser (1989), 16.





A Reconsideration of Heywood's Allusion to Shakespeare

Gerald E. Downs

Scholars have given scant attention to an apparent, early allusion to Shakespeare, introduced here in a typically short discussion by S. Schoenbaum in *William Shakespeare: A Documentary Life*:

In 1612 William Jaggard brought out a new edition of *The Passionate Pilgrim*, augmented by two long poems from Thomas Heywood's *Troia Britannica*. As Jaggard did not consult Heywood or even give him credit on the title-page, the latter naturally felt offended, and vented his spleen, with more indignation than clarity, in an epistle to the printer following *An Apology for Actors*, also published in 1612. The passage holds interest for its Shakespearian allusion.

Apparently Shakespeare complained too, but privately and to the printer, for Jaggard cancelled the title-page and substituted a new one omitting Shakespeare's name. It survives in a single copy in the Bodleian Library. Thus the two sonnets [the canonical #138 and #144], Heywood's poems, and the other bits and pieces now comprised an anonymous rather than falsely ascribed volume. (219-20)

This assessment is erroneous. In response, I will show how the allusion has been misunderstood and will offer a new explanation of Heywood's complaint. Written as a postscript addressed to the printer of *Apology*, Heywood's "approved good friend, *Mr. Nicholas Okes*," the passage is decidedly unclear:

THE infinite faults escaped in my booke of *Britaines Troy*, by the negligence of the Printer [William Jaggard], as the misquotations, mistaking of sillables, misplacing halfe lines, coining of strāge and neuer heard of words. These being without number, when I would have taken a particular account of the *Errata*, the Printer answered me, hee would not publish his owne disworkemanship, but rather

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let his owne fault lye vpon the necke of the Author: and being fearefull that others of his quality, had beene of the same nature, and condition, and finding you on the contrary, so carefull, and industrious, so serious and laborious to doe the Author all the rights of the presse, I could not choose but gratulate your honest indeauours with this short remembrance. Here likewise, I must necessarily insert a manifest iniury done me in that worke, by taking the two Epistles of *Paris to Helen*, and *Helen to Paris*, and printing them in a lesse volume, vnder the name of another, which may put the world in opinion I might steale them from him; and hee to doe himselfe right, hath since published them in his owne name: but as I must acknowledge my lines not worthy his patronage, vnder whom he hath publisht them, so the Author I know much offended with M. *Jaggard* (that altogether vnknowne to him) presumed to make so bold with his name. These, and the like dishonesties I know you to bee cleere of; and I could wish but to bee the happy Author of so worthy a worke as I could willingly commit to your care and workmanship.

Yours ever THOMAS HEYWOOD.

Obscurity should demand detailed investigation, but little effort has been expended by academics on Heywood's public complaint. Bibliographer W. W. Greg, for example, hurries by in *The Shakespeare First Folio* with this reference, "A strangely worded and punctuated sentence, of the meaning of which, however, knowing the facts, we need to be in no doubt" (9). To test this statement we must examine the facts and their handling by scholars.

The Passionate Pilgrim

Attitudes and assumptions regarding Heywood's protest are based on *The Passionate Pilgrim (PP)*, first printed for publisher William Jaggard in octavo in 1599 or earlier by Thomas Judson (Willoughby, 49), and reprinted by Jaggard in a third edition in 1612. Three copies of the 1599 second edition exist, two of the third. The first edition is known only from a fragment, and its date is unknown (Prince, xxi).

The title page of the second edition reads: "THE / PASSIONATE / PILGRIME. / By *W. Shakepeare.* / [Ornament] / AT LONDON / Printed for W. Jaggard.../ 1599." The book consists of 20 short poems printed on 28 leaves. The first 25 leaves are printed on the recto only. Five of the poems are Shakespearean: Sonnets 138 & 144 and three poems from *Love's Labour's Lost*, all with textual variants. The origin of the others is doubtful. These matters and the poems themselves are fully discussed in *The Arden Shakespeare: The Poems*, edited by F. T. Prince.

The third edition title page is more involved: "THE PASSIONATE PILGRIME. / OR / *Certaine Amorous Sonnets, / betweene Venus and Adonis, / newly corrected and augmented. / By W. Shakefpere.* / The third edition. / VVhere-unto is newly added two Loue-Epistles, the first / from *Paris to Hellen*, and / *Hellens* answere backe / againe to *Paris*. / Printed by W. Iaggard. / 1612." One of the two surviving copies of the third edition has an additional title page which faces this one and is essentially the same, except the typesetting is new and "*By W. Shakefpere*" is missing.¹

The poems mentioned as added were first printed in 1609 by Jaggard in Heywood's *Troia Britanica, or Great Britaines Troy*. In addition to these two rather long Ovidian adaptations, seven shorter Heywood poems of the same genre are added.

Clearly, *PP* cannot be attributed directly to the poet William Shakespeare, who could have provided more and better samples of his work, and who would have needed only his own poetry. Yet the book is closely associated with Heywood's complaint, and an allusion to Shakespeare by the actor-playwright has long been accepted by scholars. Some of the surprisingly brief efforts to credibly relate Shakespeare to the Heywood epistle will therefore be reviewed.

The Biographers

It should be noted that errors abound in the scholarly accounts. Some of the "escaped faults" are of consequence, and most arise from a desire to reconcile confusing lines of evidence to a rigid story. Thus the following may be said of the previous Schoenbaum quotation: The third edition of *PP* was augmented not by two, but nine poems; the statement that Jaggard did not consult Heywood before publication of his poems is an assumption; and the Bodleian *PP* is not anonymous (though it is not unreasonable to infer anonymous lost copies). It is not my intention to call attention to or emphasize errors of this type beyond their relevance to proper understanding of Heywood's protest.

The various accounts of Heywood's protest derive from the conjectures expressed in 1785 by Edmund Malone in notes on the fly-leaves of his copy of *PP*, now at the Bodleian Library:

All the poems from signature D5 were written by Thomas Heywood, who was so offended at Jaggard for printing them under the name of Shakspeare that he has added a postscript to his Apology for Actors, 4^{to} 1612, on this subject, and Jaggard in consequence of it appears to have printed a new title-page, to please Heywood, without the name of Shakspeare in it. The former title page was no doubt intended to be cancelled, but, by some inadvertance, they

were both prefixed to this copy, and I have retained them as a curiosity....

Unfortunately, Malone misquoted Heywood and confused others, such as Sir Sidney Lee, who wrote in *A Life of William Shakespeare*: "I know,' wrote Heywood of Shakespeare, '[he was] much offended with M. Jaggard that (altogether unknown to him) presumed to make so bold with his name'" (145). Setting *I know* off by commas and moving a parenthesis follows Malone, though the bracketed *he was* was added by Lee. This altered sentence became the model for subsequent interpretation, even when Heywood had been accurately quoted.

Some scholars, such as Marchette Chute in *Shakespeare of London* (329-30) and Peter Alexander in *Shakespeare's Life and Art* (36), found it convenient to take Greg's advice and deal with the "facts" with minimal quotation.² However, the preferred method is to use quotation creatively, as in *The Reader's Encyclopedia of Shakespeare*, in the article "The Passionate Pilgrim":

Heywood violently objected to this action in the Epistle to his *Apology for Actors* (1612), in which he refers to his and Shakespeare's displeasure with Jaggard's unethical practices: "Here likewise, I must necessarily insert a manifest injury done me in that work, by taking the two Epistles of *Paris to Helen*, and *Helen to Paris*, and printing them...vnder the name of another,...whom I know much offended with M. Jaggard (that altogether vnknowne to him) presumed to make so bold with his name."

Ellipsis allows three dots to replace part of the awkward construction. The implication is that the meaning of the sentence is not altered, but here this is not the case. Even if the dots had been properly inserted between *whom* and *I*, there would be no excuse for placing these words in apposition when they come from unrelated phrases.

A final example of biographical technique shows how refinement makes the story clearer to the readers of Schoenbaum's *Shakespeare's Lives*:

The Passionate Pilgrim, printed in 1599 as "By *W. Shakespeare*," consists of twenty poems, of which several have been identified as the work of other writers. One injured party, Thomas Heywood...complained angrily, and let it be known that Shakespeare was "much offended" with the stationer, William Jaggard, who "altogether unknowne to him, presumed to make so bold with his name."

The reader is led to believe that all these events took place in 1599, no

other date or edition being mentioned. Otherwise, the tale is the same, and the dropping of the parentheses is, at least, not unprecedented.

One can see from these orthodox accounts that reconciliation of the facts, real or imagined, to Heywood's complaint, as written, has not been attempted. However, there have been more questioning examinations by anti-Stratfordian scholars, who maintain a distinction between Shakespeare of Stratford-on-Avon and Shakespeare the poet.

Unorthodox Biographers

Skeptics of the traditional attribution of the works of William Shakespeare have been unusually silent on the subject of Heywood's protest. The seemingly piratical nature of *PP* and Heywood's confusing delivery made understanding difficult, and dependence on orthodox scholars handicapped study, as with Sir G. G. Greenwood in *Is There a Shakespeare Problem?*:

This is a characteristic specimen of Tudor prose, and therefore not altogether easy of interpretation. "A manifest injury done me in that work." In what work?...The work previously named in this postscript is Heywood's own work, his "booke of *Britains Troy*,"...so...this is the work in which, or in respect of which, Heywood was injured. "Which may put the world in opinion I might steal them from him." From whom? From "the printer of *Britaines Troy*," says Dr. Ingleby, "who 'to do himself right hath since published them in his own name,'" and this I take it is the true interpretation. But whom does Heywood mean by "the author"? Did *Shakspeare* profess to be "much offended", as, being the nominal author of the work, he might very naturally be? Or had Heywood someone else in mind when he spoke of "the author"? Whoever is meant Heywood speaks of him in very deferential terms. (460-4)

While dependent on the accounts of Lee and C. M. Ingleby (99), Greenwood posed the type of questions that lead to discovering Heywood's meaning. The inference that it was the publisher who was to "do himself right" was apparently made without knowing that Jaggard printed both *PP* and *Britaines Troy*, in which case he would have been absurdly suspected of stealing from himself. Yet Greenwood was on the right track, as may be said for Alden Brooks, who also looked beyond orthodox assumptions in *Will Shakspeare and the Dyer's Hand*:

Since William Jaggard was the publisher also of *Troia Britanica*, it may be that he had a legal right to republish the two poems...However, Heywood chose to make a public statement. He

affirmed that a manifest injury was being done him since it might seem to the public that Shakespeare...was now reclaiming poems that he, Heywood, had taken from him...Shakespeare is defined as the *author* of the original volume. And it is indeed because Shakespeare has been for thirteen years the author of *The Passionate Pilgrim*...that the whole incident of copying and plagiarism has arisen...(233-8)

Brooks provides a version of events in keeping with the theme of his book, that Shakespeare of Stratford was, among other things, an opportunistic agent who took the identity of the poet writing under the pseudonym *William Shakespeare*. As strange as it may seem, close examination of all aspects of Heywood's postscript will show Brooks also to have been headed in the right direction. A key element is the legitimacy of Jaggard's role.

William Jaggard

Without the efforts of William Jaggard and his son Isaac, much of the First Folio may never have been printed. It is easy to grasp the ambivalence Shakespeareans feel toward the seemingly piratical publisher of *PP*. But what was his role in this venture?

Chute (329) maintains that Jaggard was a reputable member of the Stationer's Company. If we presume that he remain so until proven otherwise, new light may be thrown on *PP*. The volume originally contained only twenty poems. According to Hyder Rollins in his introduction to the facsimile of the third edition of *PP*, Jaggard "had too little material on hand to make a book of normal size" (x). Given the seemingly indiscriminate origin of the poems, it seems that a piratical publisher could easily fill out the volume, so it is reasonable to assume that Jaggard printed only the material that was brought to him. There is every indication the book was published from an independent manuscript, even though printed sources for many of the poems were available, such as *Love's Labour's Lost* (1598), and Barnfield's *Encomium of Lady Pecunia* (1598), printed by Jaggard's brother John. When James Roberts and William Jaggard reprinted Barnfield's work in 1605, the two poems found in *PP* were omitted, which indicates some sense of propriety.

If the first editions were reputedly published, or if no objection had been made for thirteen years, Jaggard would feel free to print a third edition, which issue Chute attributes to good sales (329), a doubtful assumption. However, if Jaggard had reason to print Heywood's verses, *PP* could provide the vehicle and would itself be fleshed out to a marketable size. At any rate, it should not be doubted that Jaggard had rights to Heywood's poems in the

third edition, though doubts are expressed directly—"silently filched" (Lee, 145) and "purloined" (Schoenbaum)—and indirectly by Chute (330) and Alexander (36), who both describe *Britaines Troy* as having been printed "for Heywood." There have also been suggestions that Jaggard was deceptive regarding the authorship of *PP*, but Joseph Q. Adams disputes this in his introduction to the second edition of *PP*:

The announcement of the "newly added" section was placed (with no author's name cited) low on the title-page as describing a separate unit, and was wholly disconnected from the statements... "corrected and augmented," "By W. Shakespere," and "The third Edition." I believe that in all fairness we must conclude that...he had no intention of practising a deception on the public. The title-page as printed may be awkward, but it is reasonably clear, and affords small justification for the assumption that the "newly added" portion was by the author to whom *The Passionate Pilgrim* alone was attributed (xxxix).

Rollins responds:

But whatever Jaggard's intentions may have been or however small the justification for assuming that his title-page attributed the "newly added" section to Shakespeare, there was no doubt at all in the mind of Heywood, the poet immediately concerned—and, if the latter's words can be taken literally, no doubt in the mind of Shakespeare (xv).

Although neither Professor Rollins nor any other orthodox scholar has tried to decipher Heywood's complaint, I will now attempt to unravel this mystery.

Thomas Heywood

Born in Lincolnshire about 1573, Heywood was educated at Cambridge, and if "T. H." identifies him, his *Oenone and Paris* (1594), complete with satirical Shakespearean dedication, is the earliest and closest imitator of *Venus and Adonis*. He began writing for the theater by 1596 and his acting career lasted at least until 1619. His biographer, A. M. Clark, describes Heywood's life as long and uneventful.

Heywood served the Earls of Southampton and Derby. He collaborated with playwrights in London and counted *The English Traveller* (1633) as "one reserved amongst two hundred and twenty, in which I have had either an entire hand, or at least a maine finger." That play has "borrowings" from Shakespeare, as do many others.

Though Heywood referred to Shakespeare apparently only twice in his career, he offered his opinions freely, and his writings will be used to help understand the protest to his printer, Nicholas Okes.

The extent of Heywood's professed friendship with Okes is not known. The fact that the writer's son, christened on December 29, 1611, was named Nicholas is cause for speculation. More relevant is the fact that Okes printed *Apology* three years after publication of *Troia*, and the postscript was an epistle to a printer about a printer. It will be considered in its entirety, with particular attention being given to the commonly excerpted sentence.

Heywood and Jaggard

The first part of the protest is an unambiguous complaint about the quality of the printing of *Troia* and Jaggard's refusal to make amends, as well as a statement of satisfaction with Okes. Heywood held a grudge, but we only have his side of the story, and Jaggard may be reasonably defended.

Manuscript works in Heywood's hand are extant and observers agree that his handwriting was poor,³ which would make the printer's task more difficult. Jaggard defended his shop in similar circumstances and seems to have responded to Heywood before and after 1612 with commendations from other authors. He obviously considered himself blameless, perhaps because of Heywood's failure to assist in the printing, and he may have considered the work to be not of the type to be given a table of *errata*. These and other defenses are effectively noted by Willoughby (87-93). Jaggard, then, probably did let the "fault lye upon the necke of the Author," and the grudge persisted.

A printer chosen to replace a sloppy counterpart would have greater than usual reason for accuracy, and Heywood would probably have read the proofs, if only to insure his complaint against Jaggard. Thus, Okes was likely to have correctly printed the postscript bearing him a compliment.

The underlying assumption of the following discussion is that the postscript was carefully written and printed. Heywood's opinion of his ability to express himself is found nearby, in the body of *Apology*:

Our English tongue...is now by this secondary means of playing, continually refined, every writer striving in himself to add a new flourish unto it, so that in process from the most rude and unpolished tongue, it is grown to a most perfect and composed language,... (Clark, 79)

Again, in the same work:

To come to Rhetoricke, it not onely emboldens a scholler to speake, but instructs him to speak well, and with judgement, to

observe his commas, colons, & full poynts, his parentheses...
(C3,v-C4)

Keeping these instructions in mind, we will consider each line of the most quoted part of the postscript.

The Manifest Injury

Here likewise, I must necessarily insert a manifest injury done me in that work, This transitional remark ties the first complaint to the second, and may be paraphrased thus: "Having aired one complaint having to do with *Britaines Troy*, I will take the opportunity to discuss an open affront to me with reference to the same work." That the "worke" is the same is made certain by the mention in the next line of the poems first printed in the folio edition of 1609.

by taking the two Epistles of Paris to Helen and Helen to Paris, and printing them in a lesse volume, Care must be taken from this point. Note that Heywood did not say *who* took the poems, nor did he name the "lesse volume."

under the name of another, which may put the world in opinion I might steale them from him; Still no names, though "Shakespeare" is usually supplied (sometimes in brackets).

The use of *another* and *him* begins a pronominal confusion, one of the major obstacles preventing a proper understanding of the *Apology* postscript. Orthodoxy believes the antecedent to be Shakespeare, as Willoughby explains:

Heywood...was placed in a very embarrassing position. A reader who did not know the exact details of the situation might conclude that he had plagiarized these poems from Shakespeare and that Shakespeare to expose his dishonesty was printing them under his own name. He was, therefore, almost forced to reply. (89)

We may ask whether embarrassment would be Heywood's reaction to theft of his own work, when response in the preface to his play *The Brazen Age* (1613) was so different:

A pedant about this towne, who...borrowed from me certaine Translations of *Ovid*,...which since, his most brazen face hath most impudently challenged as his own, wherefore I must needs proclaime it as far as *Ham*, where he now keeps schoole, *Hos ego versiculos feci tulit alter honores*, they were things which...I committed to the view of some private friends, but with no publishing, or further communicating them. Therefore I would entreate that

Austin, for so his name is, to acknowledge his wrong to me in shewing them, & his owne impudence and ignorance in challenging them. (Clark, 81)

If the protest we are examining is “furious” (Willoughby, 90), how is the tirade above to be described? Heywood did not seem embarrassed, but it is likely Austin was, as he was named without hesitation; yet Heywood had less claim to these poems than to those printed in 1609. Some poems by Heywood in *PP* are found not only in *Troia*, but in the same unpublished work appropriated by Austin, which would seem to provide similar motivation.

The seven shorter Heywood poems in *PP* are mentioned neither in the title page of the third edition nor in the protest, prompting Rollins to suggest that “Heywood himself seems to have been misled. Apparently he merely looked at Jaggard’s title-page without examining the book” (xxiii-iv). This may be so, but a greater probability is that Heywood did examine the book, and the minor additions may not have been any more relevant to the protest than Heywood’s attitude toward a non-existent plagiarism.

Alternatively, Ingleby suggests that the perceived victim would have been the publisher and owner of the duly registered *Troia* and its contents. If so, Heywood’s worries would not be of plagiarism, but of theft. In fact, Heywood expressed an aversion to being suspected of stealing his previously sold work in an epistle appended to his play *Rape of Lucrece* (1609):

It hath beene no custome in me of all other men (courteous Readers) to commit my Playes to the Presse: the reason though some may attribute to my owne insufficiency, I had rather subscribe, in that, to their seveare censure, then by seeking to avoyd the imputation of weaknesse, to incurre greater suspicion of honesty: for though some have used a double sale of their labours, first to the Stage, and after to the Presse: For my owne part, I here proclaim my selfe ever faithful in the first, and never guilty of the last...

Independent printings of a poet’s work would seem to be a “double sale” as surely as the unauthorized printing of plays, a perception credibly feared by Heywood. The possibility that such a suspicion was addressed by Heywood may be determined by the rest of the passage.

and hee to doe himselfe right, hath since published them in his owne name: Reading this as further explanation of what the “world” might think, the line has been taken to mean that Shakespeare had reclaimed his work in *PP*. Insofar as this would represent Heywood’s *guess* as to what the public *might wrongly suppose*, the line takes on an excessively subjunctive tone for a “manifest injury.” Another reading may be more logical.

Orthodoxy tends to add a conjunctive *that*, so to read, “and that he to do himself right,” as a continuation of Heywood’s supposition of how the literary public might think Shakespeare responded. But the line was preceded by a semicolon, indicating an independent clause, ending the speculation of the previous line and referring instead to the factual reprinting and reclamation of the poems by their original publisher. Determining which reading is correct depends on an accurate interpretation of the next line.

but as I must acknowledge my lines not worthy his patronage, under whom he hath publisht them, The ambiguity of antecedents can be logically removed by the prepositional phrase, where *whom* and *he* must be different persons. *PP* was published in the names of both Jaggard and Shakespeare, but when mentioned together, Shakespeare must be the nominal author, *under whom* the poetry was printed. One is forced to equate the *he* who “hath publisht” and the *hee* of the earlier line—who “hath since published them in his owne name”—with William Jaggard, the subject of the postscript. In turn, Jaggard is identified as the *him* from whom the poems might be considered stolen.

On the other hand, it is impossible that a book published by Jaggard could be suspected of containing work stolen from himself. How, then, can *PP* be reconciled to the “lesse volume” that contained Heywood’s poems?

The Lesse Volume

The answer must be that *PP* with its additions was Jaggard’s response to the “lesse volume,” rather than the volume itself. Many publications from Elizabethan times have been lost, and the smaller volumes were the most likely to disappear. Indeed, *PP* has survived in only five copies from three editions. If the two of the third edition were not known, some book would have been inferred from Heywood’s protest; and the inference is still to be made if *PP* is disqualified by these problems:

- The publications and persons involved in Heywood’s protest are not named. Connection is made only by the poems added to *PP*.
- Heywood and the title page together note only two of the nine added poems.
- Jaggard has been shown to be the likely claimant of the added poetry.
- Sentence construction in Heywood’s protest supports the interpretation that *PP* was an actual response to an affront, rather than a supposed agent.
- The title page does not associate Shakespeare with the added poems.

A significant prop in the tradition of Heywood’s complaint is the revised title page, which removed Shakespeare’s name. Malone conjectured

that Heywood's complaint prompted the printing of the cancel page, though there is no certainty that Jaggard did not have other reasons, such as a belated discovery of the provenance of the poetry in *PP*. Nevertheless, close examination of the Bodleian copy and much thought have led me to conclude that Heywood's reaction most probably did cause the canceled page. The real question, however, is whether Heywood offers evidence of an objection from Shakespeare himself, and that is to be determined.

The Shakespeare Connection

The colon in Heywood's sentence serves to set off an elucidation of *PP*, which is a comment on Jaggard's vehicle. Not directly related to the prior complaint, it has a meaning of its own.

but as I must acknowledge my lines not worthy his patronage, under whom he hath publisht them, so the Author... In their efforts to explain what Heywood seems to say, few commentators have tried to determine what he did say. For example, no one notes his resort to the rhetorical figure *homoeosis*,⁴ signified by the form, "As..., so..."

Heywood is unmistakably noting something about himself (*as I...*) that can be compared to another (*so the Author ...*). For this form to be sensible, the similitude must follow in logic and syntax. Scholars interpret the lines in this manner: "as my lines are not worthy Shakespeare's patronage, so Shakespeare was offended by Jaggard." But the quality of Heywood's lines and the purported excesses of Jaggard cannot be logically connected, and the symmetry of grammar is broken by making Jaggard the offender, in which case the line should continue, "so the publisher...." A correct explication of the passage must account for this rhetorical device.

Greenwood correctly observed that Heywood speaks deferentially of Shakespeare, "under whom" Jaggard published. This comes as no surprise, because Heywood shows a career-long emulation of Shakespeare's work. Yet the suggestion of a fellow actor-poet as a bestower of patronage seems strange. It would be more natural to write of the powerful, wealthy, or the aristocratic in that fashion. Still, Heywood may only have meant to say that his poetry was inferior to Shakespeare's.

The rest of the sentence is not easily understood, and it is usually "clarified" by emendations so taken for granted as to pass unexamined from scholar to scholar.

so the Author I know much offended with M. Jaggard (that altogether unknowne to him) presumed to make so bold with his name. The significant features of this half of the figure are its odd wording and punctuation. Whether the text should be corrected is a matter of judgment. Strained meaning may sometimes be extruded from suspect text, when alteration

would produce a more plausible meaning. However, writers in Heywood's era were given to obstruse construction, and it is therefore proper to carefully judge a text before it is changed to fit one's preconceptions.

An *opinion-expressing* clause is set off by commas and would read, "so the author, I know,..." which reading scholars accept as showing Heywood's knowledge of Shakespeare's opinion. Because punctuation was not standardized in 1612, alternative readings are not considered, yet a *restrictive adjectival* clause is not set off by commas, and Heywood could plausibly be saying, without emendation, "I know the author." This is a credible statement if Heywood is speaking of William Shakespeare of Stratford on Avon. Members of rival theatrical companies in London for many years, it would be remarkable if they were not acquainted.

Insistence on modern interpretation of the punctuation may not be warranted, but neither may be the emendation to the opinion-expressing clause that creates the personal allusion on which the orthodox story entirely depends. It seems advisable to accept the clause as written, with the less speculative meaning that Heywood is speaking about the author he knows. But the author of what? Obviously, *The Passionate Pilgrim*, the object of discussion.

Could Heywood really mean that Shakespeare of Stratford was responsible for the corrupt publication? Orthodoxy would have it both ways: Shakespeare is the acknowledged author, but not one accepting responsibility. Fortunately for the defenders of tradition, Jaggard is blamed for the abuse of the poet's name. But is the blame affixed by Heywood or the tradition?

Scholars tell us that Shakespeare was much offended with Jaggard. Heywood, on the other hand, tells us "the Author I know much offended," or "the author offended." He did not say, "the author was offended," or "the author I know to be offended," no matter how preferable these may be.

Authorities reconcile their emendation to the rest of the line in this manner: "Shakespeare was offended with Jaggard, who (without Shakespeare's knowledge) presumed to misuse the name 'Shakespeare.'" To arrive at this assertion, Heywood's construction again must be emended or ignored.

The correction is accomplished by moving the left parenthesis one word to the right. This change has two effects: it alters the parenthetical phrase, and it alters the sentence itself. Yet a feature of parenthesis is that the phrase may be removed without affecting the meaning of the sentence. If this is applied as a test, where removal of the phrase leaves a deficient sentence, or where the parenthetical phrase is senseless, then correction is mandated. But if the printed line is sensible and in agreement with the rest

of the passage, then emendation is not warranted.

Moving a parenthesis without justification is tantamount to adding words to a quotation. It is not enough to note that the word adjacent to the parenthesis lends itself to an alternative meaning, for the simple reason that the ambiguity may have been planned. Heywood's whole passage invites similar misinterpretation, but by now we should be encouraged to reduce the confusion by reading what he wrote, and rejecting what he seemed to write.

The remark, "that altogether unknowne to him," is a noun phrase with the pronoun *that* referring to the author's offense. Jaggard again is antecedent to *him*, and *unknowne* is a predicate adjective with understood verb. The interpolation could be clearly written as, "the author offended (that offense being unknowne to Jaggard)," but clarity seems not to have been the object.

Removing the parentheses leaves "the Author offended with M. Jaggard presumed to make so bold with his name." Jaggard may be taken as the contextual subject of the infinitive *to make*, which is meant as *to be*. The past participle *presumed* then indicates a passive construction with the "world" an agent holding an opinion about the printer. The line would be more readily grasped if it had been written, "the author offended by having readers think Jaggard boldly used Shakespeare's name." To presume is often to be wrong, which is the implication if the author was the offender. Heywood speaks of an author of *PP* other than Jaggard. The book is a compilation by someone who had no direct access to the poetry of William Shakespeare (who would, in any case, not have a part in the abuse of his own name), so the "author" must be someone other than Shakespeare. His identity is hypothesized by Alden Brooks:

With the aid of Francis Meres and his *Palladis Tamia* greatness is definitely thrust upon Will Shakspere. By this volume he is now not only poet of *Venus and Adonis*, *Lucrece*, and certain sugared sonnets, he is dramatist—author of twelve listed plays.... In the following year, Shakspere...buys and gathers together numerous poems that under title of *The Passionate Pilgrim* shall seem to be an offering of sugared sonnets. And to the heterogeneous collection he boldly gives his name. (238)

Brooks's theory of Will Shakspere as a significant man-about-town who appropriated the works of William Shakespeare falls into the larger subject of the Shakespeare authorship question, which is argued elsewhere.⁵ The question at hand is whether Heywood indicates such a fraud. The concept was seemingly known to him. In the play, *The Fair Maid of the*

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Exchange (S.R. April 24, 1607), possibly in part by Heywood (Clark, 18-19), are these resonant lines:

FRANK. Faith thou hast rob'd some sonnet booke or other,
And now wouldst make me thinke they are thine owne.
CRIPPLE. What think'st thou that I cannot write a letter,
Ditty, or Sonnet with judiciall phrase,
As pretty, pleasing, and patheticall,
As the best *Ovid*-imitating dunce
In all the towne ...
sirra, I could conny-catch the world,
Make myself famous for a sodaine wit,
And be admir'd for my dexterity,
Were I dispos'd....

This is one of but many pictures of an Elizabethan character, the prototype of whom may have been William Shakspere. If the profile could be applied as Brooks suggests, it would help to explain the missing personal touch in print and manuscript that should have been left from the life of an author as prominent as Shakespeare, though it would not help us discover who Shakespeare was. Regarding this matter Heywood gave no hint, though in *The Hierarchie of the Blessed Angells* (1635) he includes these lines in a poem addressed to "Our moderne Poets,":

Mellifluous *Shake-speare*, whose inchanting Quill
Commanded Mirth or Passion, was but *Will*. (206)

Coming as they do in the midst of similar treatment of thirteen poets, the lines may have no significance, but to those for whom the hyphenated name perhaps acknowledges a pseudonym, Heywood may be saying more than would otherwise be thought in this only mention of his contemporary by name. If so, he did not say enough to be of help.

Though less reticent in his complaint to Okes, Heywood is obscure by design, which can only result from constraint. Heywood admitted at the close of *Troia* that he was not always free to speak openly: "Only this much let me speak in mine own behalf, with ages past I have been too little acquainted, and with this age present I dare not be too bold." The restrictions he felt cannot be known, nor can their causes. Neither can it be known whom he hoped to deceive or enlighten, or against whom he needed protection; yet he surely retained the capability of denying a particular meaning to anyone, the exercise of which privilege has modern application.

As we accept Brooks's hypothesis in order to continue the elucidation of the protest, it is taken that the originator of *PP* was the "author"

Shakspere, who identified himself with, and who may have been, the person credited by Meres in 1598. Shakspere had since 1596 sported a coat of arms in the name of Shakespeare, "not without right," according to the motto, though we know Ben Jonson ("not without mustard") was less than impressed (Schoenbaum, *Documentary Life*, 166-171). Jaggard may not have known of the ruse until Heywood informed him, but the advent of *PP* must have produced much scratching of heads amongst the more knowledgeable.

The similitude can now be explained. As the humble Heywood's poetry is not worthy of association with Shakespeare, so Shakspere's compilation and accorded credit are unworthy of the name. The difference is that Shakspere offends in representing the collection as genuine, while Jaggard may be blamed by those who detect the fraud. It should be noted in this respect that Heywood's tone is different in the first part of the complaint, where Jaggard is angrily condemned. In the latter half of the postscript, Jaggard is not faulted. Even so, Heywood cannot have been satisfied with Jaggard's role in the proceedings.

This is made certain in the closing of the address: "These, and the like dishonesties I know you to be cleere of..." If Jaggard was not guilty of offenses, neither was he clear of them, and Heywood had found a problem-free publisher. The dishonesties were the filching of Heywood's poems by parties unknown and the fraudulent use of Shakespeare's name. Despite his faults, Jaggard tried to rectify matters by reclaiming his property and also perhaps by removing the name of Shakespeare from *PP*, which action would at once dissociate Heywood's work from the name of Shakespeare and present an unascribed anthology.

Conclusion

Heywood's complaint has been reevaluated, though I do not expect all readers to agree with my conclusions, especially the inferences dependent on the unorthodox conception of William Shakspere. But I believe the analysis leads to two certain observations. The first is that, in this instance, Shakspere has been inadequately related to Shakespeare. The scholarly accounts documented here can only be explained as protection of tradition. Secondly, there can be no doubt that there is more than meets the eye in Heywood's protest. He must be credited with the ingenious invention of an apparent amphiboly that must be emended in order to get it wrong. It is not equivocal as written, but the invitation to error was too attractive for scholars to avoid.

Now a paraphrase of the complaint may be offered, in the hope that it is more clear than the original:

Here I am compelled to report an open disservice done me respecting *Britaine's Troy*. Someone whom I shall not name took two of my poems from that book and printed them in a small volume that shall also remain unidentified. This unauthorized use of my poems may make people think I sold them to another after having previously sold them to Mr. Jaggard, who has since republished them in his own name to reassert his ownership. Further, I have something to say about the book in which Jaggard chose to reprint my poems. First, my lines do not deserve to be published in association with the name of William Shakespeare. Next, I find it offensive that the originator of this corrupt volume, William Shakspeare, took credit for the contents as if he were really the poet Shakespeare. Mr. Jaggard did not know better thirteen years ago, and it seems he still has not learned.



Notes

¹ The volume seems to have been rebound by Malone, for he says of the title pages, "they were both prefixed to this copy, and I have retained them as a curiosity." The pages probably did not face one another originally.

² Chute has no quotation while Alexander limits himself to this inaccuracy: "Shakespeare was 'much offended with Mr. Jaggard that altogether unknown to him presumed to make so bold with his name.'"

³ W. W. Greg states in *English Literary Autographs: 1550-1650*, "It is interesting to know that the author was himself aware of the badness of his writing: at the end of his *Nine Worthy Women* he excuses the compositor for mistakes in reading 'a difficult and unacquainted hand'" (Plate XXII).

⁴ The figure is described by Sister Miriam Joseph in *Rhetoric in Shakespeare's Time* (327), where she quotes George Puttenham's *The Arte of English Poesie* (1589), which would undoubtedly have been familiar to Heywood:

We not onely bewtife our tale, but also very much inforce & enlarge it.
I say inforce because no one thing prevaileth with all ordinary judgements
than perswasion by *similitude* . . . which may be thus spoken.
But as the watrie showres delay the raging wind,
So doeth good hope cleane put away dispaire out of my mind. (240)

⁵ The cited works of Greenwood and Brooks may interest the reader.

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A Statistical Approach to the Shakespeare Authorship Question

C. Richard Desper
and
Gary C. Vezzoli

For more than 150 years, scholars interested in William Shakespeare have encountered difficulties in connecting him with the widely recognized claimant to his mantle of greatness, namely William Shakspere, the glove maker's son from Stratford-upon-Avon. While there is evidence for a writer—in the form of his writings—enormous difficulties have arisen when attempting to link the writer with Shakspere of Stratford. (The history of these efforts has been thoroughly reviewed by Hope and Holston.)¹ These circumstances have resulted in a number of alternate candidates, but since 1920, when he was first proposed by J. T. Looney,² the prime alternate candidate has become Edward de Vere, 17th Earl of Oxford. The case for de Vere, as set forth recently by Charlton Ogburn, Jr.,³ has grown in strength since he was first proposed to be the true author of the Shakespeare canon. With this in mind, we wish to offer scientific evidence on behalf of the Oxfordian position through the application of statistics.

Noting the penchant for double and triple meanings in Elizabethan literature, we discovered the following triple meaning in the title of the play, *The Winter's Tale*.⁴

Title of the play (First Folio, 1623):	<i>The Winter's Tale</i>
Title translated into French:	"le Conte d'Hiver"
French homophones:	"le Conte de Vere" or "le Comte de Vere"
Back into English:	"The de Vere Story" or "The Count (Earl) de Vere"

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Thus, by reference to its French translation, *The Winter's Tale* has two alternate meanings: "The de Vere Story" or "The Count (Earl) de Vere," both having obvious connotations with regards to the Oxfordian position.

The hypothesis that the author intended the meanings indicated would require that he have a working knowledge of French. That Edward de Vere was fluent in French is readily verified from a letter written by him in French, at age 13, to his guardian (Ogburn, 441). In addition, the author "William Shakespeare," whether he be Edward de Vere or another person, also demonstrated a colloquial knowledge of French in the plays, for instance, throughout *Henry V* (III. iv; IV. iv; V. ii) as well as in *The Merry Wives of Windsor* (I. iv).

With this piece of evidence—as with the preponderance of evidence regarding the Shakespeare authorship question—one is arguing by means of inductive, rather than deductive, logic. That is, when observing an outcome which may have proceeded from one of several causes, one tries to judge which of these possible causes is the most likely one. In this case, the alternate causes may be stated as follows: the triple meaning proceeds from pure chance rather than design *or* the triple meaning was intended by the author. We shall now test the possible connection to Oxford in two ways: with regard to the text of the play, and with regard to the source and history of the play.

Consider the title: *The Winter's Tale*. If there is a strong origin in the play for such a title, one may argue that the alternate meanings noted above are mere coincidences.⁵ The speech of Mamillus (II. i. 27-28) gives the only internal reference to the title. Asked whether he would prefer a merry or a sad tale, young Mamillus responds that "a sad tale's best for winter." As the origin of the title, this appears rather trivial: weak, nondescriptive, and devoid of meaning. Any of the Shakespeare tragedies would fill the description of being a sad play—and this play is not one of his tragedies. Thus the meaning of the title is so nonspecific to this particular play that one cannot find a strong origin in the play for such a title.

Next we note, as have others (Ogburn, 566-70, 675), the strong parallels between the plot of the play and aspects of Edward de Vere's life and immediate family, evidence which suggests that the play is a portrayal of a certain period of his life, compatible with the meanings noted above. First, the wife's faithfulness is brought into question, a recurring theme in the Shakespeare plays. Second, such infidelity brings into question a daughter's legitimacy. Third, there is a prolonged separation between husband and wife. (In the play, the wife is believed to be dead for 16 years.) Fourth, there is the tragic death of a son, whose legitimacy is not questioned. Fifth, husband and wife achieve a reconciliation. Sixth, the daughter, with her legiti-

macy proclaimed to the world, marries a man of high birth.

In the life of Edward de Vere, one notes obvious parallels. First, he separated himself (1576) from his wife after returning from a trip abroad, during the course of which his wife bore a child (1575). Second, the timing of the separation was taken by some to signify that he did not consider the child to be his. Third, he remained separated from his wife for over five years, and fourth, the two were reconciled around Christmas 1581. Fifth, his wife bore him a son (1583) who died shortly after birth and was buried as the Baron Bulbeck, his father's lesser title. Sixth, the child Elizabeth, born in 1575 during de Vere's absence, married William Stanley, 6th Earl of Derby (1595). (Note that the sequence of the six events is not identical in the two cases.) Such parallels have, of course, been noted before, but such a close match to the life of de Vere certainly supports the idea that several meanings were intended in the title.

Next, there is the chronology of the changes in title, between its first appearance in the Stationer's Register in 1594 as *A Wynter Nightes Pastime*, and publication of the play in the First Folio of 1623 as *The Winter's Tale*. Neilson and Hill⁶ suggest that a "winter's tale" is one "to drive away the time"; this explanation accords with the play's original title but is not particularly evoked by the final title. Nor is it particularly consonant with the allusion within the play, noted above, that "a sad tale's best for winter." The story itself is not particularly a sad one—it is rightfully classified, because of its gloriously happy ending, with the Shakespeare comedies.

The literary source for the play is a novel, *Pandosto, The Triumph of Time*, published by Robert Greene in 1588. The author and date are interesting because Robert Greene was an associate of the Earl of Oxford, forming a part of Oxford's literary circle,⁷ which included the writers Anthony Munday, John Lyly, Thomas Nashe, Thomas Watson, and Thomas Churchyard (Ogburn, 43-45, 672-677, 723-728). The year 1588 was also the year when de Vere's first wife, Anne (Cecil) de Vere, Countess of Oxford, died.

In 1594, *A Wynter Nightes Pastime* was entered in the Stationer's Register under anonymous authorship. In the following year Oxford's daughter Elizabeth—born at the time of her parents' 1575-1581 separation—married the 6th Earl of Derby (Ogburn, 731). (A strong tradition has it that their wedding celebration, in the court of Queen Elizabeth I, included the premier performance of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*.) Next, the play was staged before King James I in 1611, appearing in the accounts of the Revels at court. However, the entry indicates that it was a revival of the earlier play, now listed with the title *The Winter's Night's Tale* (Ogburn, 386). Completing the chronology, the play first appeared in print in 1623 in the First Folio

under its final title, *The Winter's Tale* (Neilson and Hill, 500-501), the only one of the sequence for which the triple meaning works. Note also that the definite article "the," appearing in this final title, is necessary, rather than the indefinite article "a," for the meanings to work.

If we accept the premise of Oxfordian authorship, the play's origins become highly relevant. The chronology would suggest that the story originated, first, as a tribute to the memory of Oxford's late wife, and second, as an affirmation of their first daughter, coming into marriageable age at this time. In this regard, Ogburn lists Hermione, the wronged wife, as one of the noblest of the Shakespeare heroines, along with Imogen and Desdemona (Ogburn, 567-568). According to Neilson and Hill, "Her serene dignity, which almost raises her above pity, never deserts her" (500-501). Of the long-lost daughter Perdita, they say, "It is hard to speak controlledly. She is exquisite...there can be no doubt of the blood that runs in her veins."

Thus in large part, the play is a tribute to these two noble women. Their nobility is enhanced by the fact that the jealousy of Leontes is patently groundless, as no evidence for that jealousy, nor any type of rationalization for it, is present in the play. Louis Auchincloss states that he needs "no evidence to inflame his jealousy. His fit is totally perverse. He is unable...to find a single courtier who is willing even to pretend to take his side. The enormity of the accusation appalls even the worst toadies. But Leontes clings to it. He wants to believe Hermione guilty, even though, on one level of consciousness, he must know she is innocent."⁸ Neilson and Hill remark that "...the amazement of those intimate with Leontes indicates that nothing remotely like it [the jealousy of Leontes] has ever been seen in him before...The jealousy of Leontes, demanded at almost the beginning of the play, is in the nature of a postulate" (500-501).

One might inquire more closely into the reasons and motivation for the actual separation between Oxford and his wife, but such an inquiry is risky. During their separation (1575-81), Oxford did not accuse his wife of infidelity (Ward, 142), instead citing only a vague and unspecified "misliking" (Ogburn, 556-559). (We shall not investigate further the motivations for that separation, as it lies outside the scope of the present inquiry.) If Oxford is the author of *The Winter's Tale*, however, the fact that the protagonist, Leontes, essentially stands defenseless indicates that Oxford himself considered the matter to be closed.

Another coincidence is the "statue" of Hermione, which figures both in the plot of *The Winter's Tale* and the funeral effigy of Anne, Countess of Oxford, located in Westminster Abbey. In the play, the statue is described as "a piece many years in doing and now newly performed by that rare Italian master, Julio Romano, who...would beguile Nature of her custom, so

perfectly he is her ape" (V. ii. 95-98). Scholars have noted that Romano's fame is as a painter, not a sculptor; consequently, this particular passage has frequently been cited to highlight a blunder by the author of the play.

Talvacchia has resolved this point quite admirably, linking this reference to Romano with the epitaph on his tomb, reported by his biographer Giorgio Vasari, which translates from Latin as: "Jupiter saw sculpted and painted bodies breathe...through the skill of Giulio Romano."⁹ Thus Talvacchia shows that the historical Giulio Romano was associated with the creation of painted statues, while the lifelike appearance of the "statue," resulting from the coloring, becomes an element of the plot in the play.

Talvacchia's interpretation is presented without presumption regarding the identity of the author of *The Winter's Tale*. Nonetheless, Romano's statue, as described in the play, shares a common feature with a statue of its Oxfordian counterpart in real life. The tomb of Edward de Vere's wife, Anne, Countess of Oxford, located in the Chapel of St. Nicholas at Westminster Abbey, includes a funeral effigy of the Countess which is *rendered in color*. In Westminster Abbey, the use of color in funeral effigies is extremely rare; the tomb of the Countess of Oxford, shared with her mother, Lady Burghley, stands out in this regard.

As the final coincidence in this list of coincidences between Oxford and *The Winter's Tale*, consider that the 1588 edition of *Pandosto, The Triumph of Time*, contains the following line, spoken by the Oracle from Apollo, which also appears verbatim in the First Folio printing of the play: "...the king shall *live* without an heir" [emphasis added] (III. ii. 136).¹⁰ *Pandosto* was reprinted in 1592, 1595, 1607, 1614, and thirteen more times in the seventeenth century. In all three editions through 1595, the line appears as shown above; but from 1607 onward, it appears as: "...the king shall *die* without an heir" [emphasis added] (Pafford, xxvii-xxviii). Although Oxford did not live or die without an heir, the interval between 1595 and 1607, in which the word "live" changes to "die," does contain the year 1604, the year of Edward de Vere's death.

To enumerate, the following coincidences and possible connections have been found between the play *The Winter's Tale* and Edward de Vere: triple meanings in the title, 3; plot line, 6; source date and author, 2; *The* instead of *A* in the final title, 1; statue rendered in color, 1; and the change of Apollo's Oracle in *Pandosto*, 1; for a total of 14 coincidences. One can now ask whether these coincidences arose by chance or from a common origin, namely Oxfordian authorship of the play. We believe that the weight of the *number* of coincidences shown between *Winter's Tale* and Edward de Vere greatly weakens the possibility that *all* are due to mere chance, and strengthens the argument that they are connected with Oxfordian authorship.

In statistical reasoning, the former premise—that the coincidences arise from chance—is called the Null Hypothesis, and evidence is weighed in terms of disproving the Null Hypothesis. In other words, the scientific approach consists of postulating at the outset that there is no cause-and-effect relationship between a pair or among a set of observations (the Null Hypothesis). Proving a causal relationship is then equivalent to disproving the Null Hypothesis. If one could individually estimate quantitatively the probability of the Null Hypothesis for each observed coincidence, and if all the observed coincidences are independent, one could then evaluate the probability of the Null Hypothesis in view of *all* the observed coincidences—it would be the product of the individual probabilities. For instance, if there were three coincidences, and each had the probability of 0.30 (30%) of arising from chance, then the probability that *all three* arose from chance would be $0.30 \times 0.30 \times 0.30$, or 0.027. Extending the argument, it is evident that the more independent coincidences that are found, the more remote becomes the probability of the Null Hypothesis. While no such actual individual probabilities are available for *The Winter's Tale* evidence, this example demonstrates how the accumulation of coincidences greatly weakens the case for the Null Hypothesis, while strengthening the case for the alternate hypothesis, that is, Oxfordian authorship.

Since we are working with indirect, circumstantial evidence, whether one considers Oxfordian authorship to have been proven depends upon the judgmental criteria of the questioner. What is sufficient evidence for one person may be insufficient for another. The applicable methodology is that of inductive logic, of inferring causes having observed effects. While one would obviously prefer direct evidence, amenable to deductive logic, this is largely missing in the authorship debate. Nonetheless, a preponderance of indirect evidence may be quite persuasive. Indeed, decisions in law, even in science, have been rendered on the basis of an accumulation of such evidence.

Since Looney first identified Shakespeare with Edward de Vere some 70 years ago, numerous additional pieces of indirect evidence have surfaced supporting the Oxfordian hypothesis. That one such small set of coincidences, such as the set offered here, should be selected as “definitive proof” is inappropriate. Instead, this evidence should be considered as adding to other items of indirect evidence. For instance, the names “Rosenkranz” and “Guildenstern,” coinciding with the names of these characters in *Hamlet*, appear in a document recently discovered in the British Library, listing the guests for a state dinner in Denmark attended and reported upon by the Earl of Oxford’s brother-in-law, Peregrine Bertie, Lord Willoughby d’Eresby.¹¹ The present work is offered to the discussion of the authorship

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question not as constituting a “proof” itself, but of adding to the preponderance of such evidence, which seems to the authors to be overwhelming.



Notes

- ¹ Warren Hope and Kim Holston, *The Shakespeare Controversy* (1992).
- ² J. Thomas Looney, “Shakespeare” Identified in Edward de Vere, the 17th Earl of Oxford (1949), 23-63.
- ³ Charlton Ogburn Jr., *The Mysterious William Shakespeare—The Myth and the Reality*, (1992), 3-22.
- ⁴ William P. Fowler, *Shakespeare Revealed in Oxford's Letters* (1986), xxii, footnote. While the authors discovered the double meanings of Table I independently, similar double meanings were first noted by Fowler.
- ⁵ The term “coincidence” is used throughout the discussion as “occurring in conjunction with,” whether that conjunction has a causal relationship or not. The term “chance” is used to indicate a coincidence which does *not* proceed from a causal relationship.
- ⁶ William A. Neilson and Charles J. Hill, eds., *The Complete Plays and Poems of William Shakespeare*, (1942), 179.
- ⁷ Bernard M. Ward, *The Seventeenth Earl of Oxford*, (London, 1930), 197-8, and Looney, op. cit., 509.
- ⁸ Louis Auchincloss, *Motiveless Malignity* (1969), 133-134; see also Ogburn, op. cit., 568
- ⁹ Bette Talvacchia, “The Rare Italian Master and the Posture of Hermione in The Winter’s Tale,” *The Elizabethan Review* 1 (Spring 1993): 40.
- ¹⁰ J. H. P. Pafford, ed., *The Winter’s Tale* (1966), xxvii-xxviii.
- ¹¹ John Mucci, Newsletter of the Shakespeare Oxford Society 29 (Winter 1993): 18.





Mind Over Manner

The Complete Essays

Michel de Montaigne, translated by M. A. Screech. The Penguin Press, 1991.

Reviewed by Peter Sokolowski. Mr. Sokolowski is a graduate student and teaching assistant in the French and Italian Department at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst. He most recently published the article, "Montaigne, Mercure et la Mnémonique," in Montaigne and Mythology, Daniel Martin, editor (1993.)

Montaigne's fierce personal and intellectual independence fused his experiences and his erudition together to generate and inform his attempts—*Essays*—at understanding the world around him. In this sense, as well as in his viewing any dogma as spurious, he is a descendant of Socrates. He is often abusively referred to as a moralist or philosopher or both. He is in fact neither, for he does not offer any coherent code or system. He is, rather, a humanist in every sense of the word, not only for rumaging about in the collected wisdom of authors such as Plutarch, Seneca, and Plato, who during his time were enjoying their proverbial rebirth, but because the object of his study was man himself. For Montaigne felt strongly that the only subject worthy of serious contemplation was the readiest one at hand, the one we could attempt (*essai/essai*) to know best: "I myself am the subject of my book."¹

For Montaigne, the preferred method of putting the *essai* into practice was through conversation. It is in conversation that he can maintain his stance against dogma, "since opinions do not find in me a ready soil to thrust and spread their roots into" (Montaigne, 1046, III:8). The legacy of his friend, Étienne de la Boétie, was not the subject matter of their discussions, but the paths the two men took together when they did not agree. This is not a paradox: it is, for Montaigne, a paradigm of good conversation. His metaphors convey his meaning in the chapter "On the art of conversation:" a soldier and his enemy are together when fighting; a hunter and his prey are together in the chase. Similarly, Montaigne wishes to be engaged in vigorous debate.

If current factions of Montaigne criticism agree on nothing else, a consensus has been reached on the value of treating the *Essays* in their

entirety. From the very recent and polemical architectural/mnemonic/mythological order proposed by Daniel Martin² to the more conventional yet enduring study by Jean-Yves Pouilloux,³ treating all 107 essays is agreed to be the best—in effect, the only—way of reading Montaigne. For Martin, removing even one chapter of the *Essays* would cause the entire pyramid-like structure of Montaigne's three books to come tumbling down. For Pouilloux, simply reading an anthology or a "best of" selection of essays is to forcibly reduce the scope of the author and, further, run the risk of gross and permanent misapprehension. He also condemns the habit, more widespread in France than in English-speaking countries, of severing one or several of Montaigne's phrases to have them play the role of a maxim or witticism, all too often at the expense of Montaigne's intended meaning in the larger context of his argument. For this reason, the recent publication by Penguin Books of the latest English translation of Montaigne, penned by the respected Renaissance scholar M.A. Screech, is welcome, although it is not without its problems.

The difficulties of translation were not unknown to Montaigne, as he had himself translated the *Theologia naturalis* of Raymond Sebond at the behest of his father. He divided the problem with uncharacteristic cartesian simplicity into matter and manner: "It is good to translate authors like these, where there is little to express apart from the matter. Authors much devoted to grace and elegance of language are a dangerous undertaking" (Montaigne, 490-491, II:12). Montaigne's own style—so often gracious and elegant—in fact varies greatly throughout the *Essays*, a subtlety not well reflected by the work of the author of the first English translation, John Florio. Florio's translation, often cited for the richness of its English rather than for the accuracy of its execution,⁴ has been defended recently by critics who value a rendering that illustrates a close, contemporaneous reading of Montaigne's text.

Use of the Florio text also informs the study of another close reading of Montaigne by a contemporary: William Shakespeare. Although most of these studies date from early in this century, the first remarks concerning the relationship accompanied the discovery by Edward Capell in 1767 of the striking resemblance between Gonzalo's ideal of a Utopian state in Act II, Scene I of *The Tempest* and the description of the society of Montaigne's version of the *bon sauvage* taken from "Of Cannibals."⁵ Following Capell's lead, George Coffin Taylor's study of 1925 explores the verbal analogies between Montaigne and Shakespeare in great detail.⁶ His discussion is approached on three fronts: first, those passages in the plays traditionally dated from 1603 and after are matched with their antecedents taken from the Florio translation, published in 1603. Taylor presents some eighty note-

worthy passages, including some very convincing ones, such as the following:

Shakespeare: Is man no more than this? Consider him well.

King Lear (III, iv)

Montaigne: Miserable man; whom if you consider well what is he?

(II, 12.) (Taylor, 9)

A second group of phrases present similarities somewhat less striking than the first group, and includes a table cataloging the Montaigne passages found in the plays (*Hamlet* with the most at 51). And, finally, Taylor gives us a list of no less than seven hundred and fifty words and phrases used by both Montaigne (that is to say, Florio) and Shakespeare, but never, in the case of the latter, before 1603. As Frances Yates has pointed out, about twenty of these had been used for the first time by Florio (Yates, 245).

Yates also notes that critics addressing the philosophical influence of Montaigne upon Shakespeare "attribute to it some share in the change of mood which came over Shakespeare after the turn of the century and which is exemplified in the great tragedies" (Yates, 244). According to Jacob Feis, in his book *Shakspeare and Montaigne*, *Hamlet* is nothing less than an explicit reaction to the skepticism presented in the *Essays*, which are therefore the single greatest reason for this "change of mood." His position, interesting because it is so extreme, is presented thus:

What sense of duty do Montaigne's *Essays* promote? What noble deed can ripen in the light of the disordered and discordant ideas they contain? All they can do is, to disturb the mind, not to clear it; to give rise to doubts, not to solve them; to nip the buds from furthering the love for mankind, they can only produce despair as to all higher aims and ideals.

In 'Hamlet,' Shakspeare personified many qualities of the complex character of Montaigne. Before all, he meant to draw this conclusion: that whoever approaches a high task of life with such wavering thoughts and such logical inconsistencies, must needs suffer shipwreck.⁷

A much more moderate approach is outlined by the Japanese scholar Tetsuo Anzai in his remarkable monograph, *Shakespeare and Montaigne Reconsidered*.⁸ Anzai's concern, unlike that of his predecessors, is not so much the influence of Montaigne upon Shakespeare but the confluence of the authors' ideas, the intellectual resonance (his term) discernable in the writings of the two. Dividing Montaigne's *Essays* into three distinct phases,

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Anzai traces a parallel development in the plays of Shakespeare from *Julius Caesar* onward. Using Pierre Villey's well-established divisions of stoicism in the earliest essays, skepticism in the middle essays, and naturalism in the essays of the final period, Anzai first regards *Hamlet* in the context of a stoic fortitude adopted by the Danish prince to strive to attain the resolution of his situation. This differs from Feis's connection based entirely on skepticism, and, as Anzai points out, it is with the meditation of suicide and death that the play and the early essays resonate most strongly. Skepticism, specifically the "radical skepticism" of Montaigne's "An Apology for Raymond Sebond," is linked by Anzai with *King Lear*: "the old king's tragic sufferings show him the true nature of man and his position in the universe as the most helpless, most miserable, and at the same time most arrogant creature among all the inhabitants of the earth" (Anzai, 5). Finally, Anzai studies the theme of nature and natural man in the late romances and the last essays.

Anzai's conclusions do not reflect a theory of slavish dependence on the part of Shakespeare to the *Essays* of Montaigne, but rather that an exceptionally receptive Bard read and understood the former Mayor of Bordeaux's work. Receptive because he had already developed a profound taste for Plutarch (independently of Montaigne) and receptive because he was one of a handful of Europeans, including Machiavelli, Copernicus, and Montaigne, who were revising traditional views in their respective domains, views inherited from the Middle Ages. Anzai is careful not to call these figures revolutionaries, for the overturning of a tradition by itself does not justify or establish a new one. However, the intellectual milieu that produced these figures corresponds to that which produced Shakespeare, and they therefore shared in the "main current of the later Renaissance" (Anzai, 84).

Given the many studies on the subject, it is curious that only J. Churchton Collins seems to have considered the possibility that Shakespeare could have read the *Essays* in French. His *Studies in Shakespeare* contains only a footnote to that effect.⁹ At any rate, given the greater consensus today that Shakespeare simply must have been extraordinarily well-educated, it is entirely probable that he could read French. Certainly so if we attribute the scenes written in French in his plays to Shakespeare himself—something we have no reason to doubt. Although not perfect French, the scene in *Henry V* that depicts Princess Katherine's first English lesson does show a strong sensitivity to language, particularly in the Princess' shocked reaction to the word "foot," through French ears so similar in sound to the verb *foutre* (a vulgar colloquialism for *faire*)—a word that cannot be used in polite (let alone royal) company even today. These studies—except for Anzai's, which

is founded on the development of Montaigne's writings—represent verbal and textual analysis conducted by comparing Florio's English to Shakespeare. If Shakespeare did indeed read French, a very complex question of influence becomes only more so—with Anzai's study pointing out the direction of future research.¹⁰ What is beyond question is that the Florio translation was known to Shakespeare, who read it—at least some of it—very attentively.

William Engel has found that Florio was sensitive to the *Essays'* rhetorical use of artificial memory, a commonplace for a Renaissance scholar but an obscure practice today—and something no subsequent translation has considered.¹¹ Artificial memory is the method by which the orators of Ancient Rome were able to recall long, detailed discourses with the aid of a mental image of the face of an edifice with symmetrical features or the order of rooms in a house.¹² By associating each element of the discourse with a column, capital, or room, the orator can “see” his argument and maintain their order. He can also simultaneously consider more than one element without confusing their respective positions with regard to the whole. Daniel Martin has suggested that this manner of organization was employed by Montaigne in the composition of the *Essays*, thereby explaining the many additions to the text without the addition of a single chapter, which would have upset the already established order of the *Essays*. Florio's deliberate use of the classical quotations as textual and visual landmarks, his introduction of the image of a symmetrical edifice on the frontispiece of one of his editions, and his explanatory poem “To the Beholder,” in which he refers explicitly to the “Roomes and Galleries” to be presented to the reader, all indicate his reaction to the manner in which the *Essays* were presented by their author (Engel, 46).

Tom Conley, keeping in mind the Latin backgrounds of author and translator, argues from a different, complementary perspective:

This is what conveys the precious brutality of the *Essais*; the graphics of translation are a literal allegory at a graphic limit. Here and there they come across Florio in single words in ways they never have since the end of the sixteenth century. That this remainder scatters all over his sloppy conceits and florid turns in the 1603 rendering may be the most elegant Montaigne in English... Florio succeeds in *dispensing with* the original to the extent that both model and copy cohere as a hieroglyph.¹³

Both of these critics have chosen the Florio version over the Donald M. Frame translation that has been the stand-by for academics and general readers alike since its first publication in 1948.¹⁴ Where Florio gives us

beautiful (but at times obscure and archaic) prose and authentic Renaissance flavor, Frame is simple, concise, and allows modern readers to concentrate easily on the matter, not the manner, of the *Essays*. The result is a very readable, if somewhat duller, Montaigne. Mention must be made, however, of the charming renderings of the classical quotations in the Frame edition (it incidentally does not print the Latin or Greek originals), which are little gems of rhymed English verse.

It is to this translation that M. A. Screech's recent version will inevitably be compared: both are single volumes, both contemporary, both by well-known Renaissance scholars. It seems upon first comparing the two that for every good solution in one there is a different passage well struck in the other—but there are differences. First, Screech's is spicier, richer in words. Words like the technical, erudite "nimbus," the colloquial "diddle," the archaic "ell," the scatological "squittering," and the childish "higgledy-piggledy" at times convey the requisite chattiness of *Montaigne's* French, lacking in the Frame, and at others remind us that few writers match elegance in form and content as Montaigne does. The tone of Screech's translation has, then, a wider range, the lows being lower (most noticeable and effective in the outlandish Chapter 5 of Book III, "On some lines of Virgil") and the highs higher. Screech is not just a good scholar, he is also a good writer.

Screech the scholar pays attention to the idiom of Montaigne's French, which, while not quite so difficult as that of Rabelais (Screech's academic specialty), is nonetheless rather far at times from modern French. He is the first translator, for example, to render "*Xenocrates y proceda plus rigoureusement*"¹⁵ as "Xenocrates set about it more vigorously" (Montaigne/Screech, 826 [II:33]), certainly *le mot juste* according to the recent and much-needed *Dictionnaire du moyen français: la Renaissance*, which gives as its definition of *rigoureux*: "*être fermement décidé à*" ["to be firmly decided upon"].¹⁶ One wonders how many other words we have missed in the years since the confluence of the French and English definitions of "rigorous."

An objection may be made to Screech's habit of rendering the French adjectives *divin* and *sainct* by the substantive "God." For example, Montaigne's "*en la cognition divine*" (Montaigne, 906 [III:8]) becomes "within the knowledge of God." (Montaigne/Screech, 1051 [III:8]). This is dangerous because it misleads the reader as to the frequency of Montaigne's choice of the specific and specifically Christian name and the much more interpretable modifier. It is, of course, perfectly justifiable to translate an adjective with a substantive, especially when it could be argued that the word "divine" has lost in the English the currency it enjoyed three centuries ago. In current idiom it is more often used in speaking of a good *mouse au*

chocolat. But for sensitive readers, increasing the frequency of the word “God” does not go unnoticed in the way a word such as “gentleman” would. The difficulty is manifested in John Weightman’s review of the Screech translation for the *New York Review of Books*:

He is more lavish with the term “God.” Sometimes he uses it with apparent piety and, in one context, even goes so far as to parallel Peter’s denial of Christ by apparently denying his revered Socrates, but...can one tell whether he is sincere or just sanctimonious? On the other hand, when he declares—“My professor [i.e. guide] is the authority of God’s Will, which undeniably governs us and which ranks way above our vain human controversies”—God seems to become synonymous with Fortune or Chance, the inscrutable power behind the Universe.¹⁷

Obviously there is a problem here. If a reader questions the very presence of a word as important as “God” due to its cloudy meanings in a text, placing the word where the author did not inevitably changes the conclusions to be drawn. In the opening seven pages of “An Apology for Raymond Sebond,” Montaigne uses the word “*Dieu*” eight times. In the same space, Screech has used the word “God” fourteen times.

This, in fact, should come as no surprise, for Screech’s study *Montaigne and Melancholy* paints a very Catholic Montaigne.¹⁸ This is a highly unusual view among scholars,¹⁹ most of whom are quick to state that Montaigne was a nominal Catholic in a Catholic country that was burning Protestants at the stake. His actual religious beliefs were founded on the principle that human beings are so thoroughly insufficient to the task of understanding the notion of “God” that any attempt to do so is futile. Thus, it is better to base our conclusions on the world we can see and touch. For this same reason, humans are not adequate to judge the merits of any organized religion; however, Montaigne’s expressed Catholicism is consistent with his desire not to rock the boat. “We are Christians by the same title that we are Périgordians or Germans” (Montaigne/Screech, 497 [II:12]).

And yet Screech depicts Montaigne as a firm Catholic, citing the essayist’s skepticism itself as evidence:

Montaigne thrives on doubt, on uncertainty, on an endless search for truth. He was not alone in his grasp of skepticism as an intellectual tool; skepticism was in vogue among Roman Catholics as a defence against Protestants who sought to subvert them with arguments they could not answer. In such cases, the only safe reaction was to demolish reason and scholarship entirely—both theirs and yours, while clinging, by faith, to the Church alone. Christian

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skepticism with Catholic Skepticism. (Screech, 3)

But as D. P. Walker has pointed out, Montaigne aims his skepticism directly at “one of the most important and common of rational arguments for the existence of God” in his “Apology for Raymond Sebond.”²⁰ Sebond’s *Theologia Naturalis*—a work translated, we recall, by Montaigne—presents the traditional Christian view that the Universe was created around and for mankind: this “anthropomorphic teleology” is attacked by Montaigne as just another example of man’s excessive pride:

Who has persuaded him that the admirable motion of the celestial vault, the eternal light of those torches rolling so proudly above his head, the fearful movements of that infinite sea, were established and have lasted so many centuries for his convenience and his service?²¹

In his chapter entitled, “The Church,” Screech comments on Montaigne’s use of “Roman” to identify his religion: “By insisting on his *Roman* Catholicism, Montaigne left the reader in no doubt about the identify of the Church to which he gave his unqualified allegiance” (Screech, 95). If the word “Roman” (simply part of the official name of the Church) can have such a decisive effect on the interpretation of a text, what is the effect of nearly doubling the occurrence of the word “God”?

Professor Screech has certainly earned the right to his opinions regarding Montaigne’s religious views, opinions which are only part of an original and valuable study of the essayist. My reservations regarding his translation center upon the manner in which he has rendered several words. But as the above discussion demonstrates, the conversation between Montaigne’s original French text and Screech’s English text is a lively one indeed. Montaigne writes, “I move toward the man who contradicts me: he is instructing me” (Montaigne/Screech, 1047 [III:8]). If we listen in on *this* conversation, there will be something for us to learn as well.

Notes

¹ Michel de Montaigne, *The Complete Essays*, tras. M. A. Screech (London, 1991), lix. All references in English to the *Essays* will refer to this edition except as noted.

² Daniel Martin, *L’Architecture des Essais de Montaigne: Mémoire Artificielle et Mythologie* (Paris, 1992).

³ Jean-Yves Pouilloux, *Lire les “Essais” de Montaigne* (Paris, 1969).

⁴ On the problems of Florio’s translation, see Frances Yates’s book *John Florio: The Life of an Italian in Shakespeare’s England* (Cambridge, 1934), 213-245.

⁵ John M. Robertson, *Montaigne and Shakespeare and Other Essays on Cognate Questions* (1969), 31.

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- ⁶ George Coffin Taylor, *Shakespeare's Debt to Montaigne* (1968).
- ⁷ Jacob Feis, *Shakespeare and Montaigne* (1884; reprint, 1970).
- ⁸ Tetsuo Anzai, *Shakespeare and Montaigne Reconsidered* (Tokyo, 1986).
- ⁹ J. Churchton Collins, *Studies in Shakespeare* (Westminster, 1904), 286.
- ¹⁰ On the question of Shakespeare's knowledge of foreign languages, see Gary B. Goldstein's note, "Did Shakespeare Read Dante in Italian?" in the first issue of this journal.
- ¹¹ William Engel, "The Art of Memory and Montaigne's Scene of Writing," in *The Order of Montaigne's Essays*, ed. Daniel Martin (1989), 33-49.
- ¹² Frances A. Yates, *The Art of Memory* (London, 1966).
- ¹³ Tom Conley, "Institutionalizing Translation: On Florio's Montaigne," in *Demarcating the Disciplines* (1986), 57-58.
- ¹⁴ Montaigne, *The Complete Essays of Montaigne*, trans. Donald M. Frame (1958).
- ¹⁵ Michel de Montaigne, *Oeuvres complètes* (Paris, 1962), 706 (II:33).
- ¹⁶ Algirdas Julien Greimas and Teresa Mary Keane, *Dictionnaire du moyen français: la Renaissance* (Paris, 1992).
- ¹⁷ John Weightman, "How Wise Was Montaigne?" *New York Review of Books*, 5 November 1992, 35. In his review, Weightman never mentions the original French text, viewing this edition as a book rather than a translation. This supports our argument that the preponderance of the word "God" has effects more far-reaching than respect for current English idiom.
- ¹⁸ M. A. Screech, *Montaigne and Melancholy: The Wisdom of the Essays* (1983).
- ¹⁹ Patrick Henry's review of *Montaigne and Melancholy* closes with these words: "Literary, political, and religious conservatives will find it erudite, useful, and wise; their opponents will find it erudite and useful." *Comparative Literature* 37.2 (Spring 1985): 187.
- ²⁰ D. P. Walker, "The Faith of the Skeptic," *New York Review of Books*, 14 February 1985, 37.
- ²¹ Montaigne/Frame, 328-329 (II:12). This passage is more easily isolated from the surrounding phrases than in Screech's translation.



Queen Elizabeth's Secret Services

Invisible Power: the Elizabethan Secret Services 1570 - 1603

by Alan Haynes; Allen Sutton Publishing, 1992. 200 pages.

Reviewed by Francis Edwards, S.J. A Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of London, Fellow of the Royal Historical Society, and an archivist with the Society of Jesus, Father Edwards has published extensively on the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods.

This is an excellently produced book and undoubtedly the subject is an important one. Haynes suggests a reason why it may have been neglected for so long. Of the State Papers of England, which are a prime source of information, "many have been destroyed that would have been cited if they had been allowed to survive, and the manipulation then of those that now remain to us now has to be acknowledged. Even so, the long neglect of such a striking topic is still astonishing..." (vii). Thus, we are fairly warned at the outset that, through no fault of the author, the study is based on material doctored and selected according to the principles of statecraft centuries before he or anyone else appeared on the scene to assess the value of what is left and to make a coherent narrative out of it.

The subject has not been entirely neglected in the past, although a compendium of spying activities as such is something new. No lives of the principal characters of the age—from the queen herself down to the last of her courtiers or subjects who was still important enough for a biography—can omit the subject of spies and espionage. Indeed, "hunting spies for reason of state, and animals for sport, became the great Elizabethan and Jacobean obsessions" (xii). The change in religion at the beginning of the queen's reign, and the insistence on calling those who could not in conscience accept the changes traitors (not merely dissidents), made treason something which involved a considerable portion of the queen's subjects: all those, in fact, who wished to follow another religion, but especially Catholicism.

Sir Ralph Sadler, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, was forced to admit in 1568 that in all the north of England there were not "ten gentlemen that do favour and allow her Majesty's proceedings in the cause of religion" (xvi). Although our author does not say so, there was then a dangerous element of artificiality and misrepresentation in the queen's religious policy from the outset that created a series of false problems by falsely inventing a whole new class of miscreants. If defined otherwise by law, these

might have been subjects as loyal to the queen, on paper as well as in fact, as any of her Protestant subjects. Indeed, for a thousand years until Henry VIII, the adherence of Englishmen to the papacy had never been regarded as contradicting their loyalty to the English Crown. Nor did the question arise again after Catholic emancipation in 1829. So for this period, which commenced in 1559 and lasted, admittedly with much tapering off in severity toward the end of the period, until the nineteenth century, England became a land of paranoids, plotters, and persecutors.

But how many of the plots were genuine? It is worth quoting Martin Hume, a scholar of repute at the beginning of this century and editor of the *Spanish Calendar of State Papers*:

The accusations that have been repeated by nearly every English historian from Elizabeth's time to our own, of widespread and numerous plots by Catholics to assassinate the queen at this period, are to a large extent largely unsupported by serious evidence... In accordance with the usual practice, it was the policy of the English government at the time to blacken the character and methods of the national enemy as much as possible... [Plots] like that for which Dr. Parry suffered and that of Moody and young Stafford, were more or less bogus plots, in which agents provocateurs were sacrificed to the exigencies of party politics... Much of the stuff was obviously untrue, but it was made the most of in England for two reasons. Anything that aroused horror and detestation of Spain, and of those Englishmen who were assumed to have sold their bodies and souls to her, was useful—as we have seen in the report of parliament of 1593—in keeping alive the patriotism of the country, inciting liberality in the matter of supplies for defence against so dastardly a foe, and in attracting to the Protestant side those waverers who declined to continue their identification with a cause which allowed regicide to be used for its ends.¹

The most serious criticism of Haynes's book is that its author is too ready to believe in the plots which proliferated throughout the period and which, it is altogether reasonable to believe, were foisted on the opponents and critics of the Cecilian regime. These opponents were more often than not papists, but by no means all. Indeed, the first spectacular victim of the regime was Thomas Howard, fourth Duke of Norfolk, who remained throughout his life as good a Protestant as any in the country. Haynes mentions *The Marvellous Chance* in his bibliography but the few pages (6-10) on the Ridolfi Plot here seem to me (as one who made the fuller study in two volumes, the second being *The Dangerous Queen*) altogether inadequate.

Indeed, one could describe Haynes's summary, if one were less than charitable, as a botch-up. To say that [George] "Fitzwilliam hurried home [from Spain] to warn Burghley of Norfolk's treachery in consenting to an invasion scheme" (9) needs to be modified or expanded by further comment, for there is every reason to believe that Norfolk was altogether innocent of these charges laid against him. If anything is to be presumed, it is his innocence rather than his guilt. Even if one does not accept the findings of the above-mentioned works, the element of doubt needs to be admitted even in a sketchy summary of the case, which admittedly is all that could have been attempted in a small work dealing with so large a subject.

It is to be regretted that Haynes did not include *The Dangerous Queen* in his reading or bibliography, because it might have made him more cautious in his whole approach to the Scottish queen's aims and policies as well as on the methods of Sir William Cecil. Preparing this book involved a careful analysis of all Mary's letters, as far as they are known to survive, for the period of the Ridolfi Plot. They amount to some hundred. If we find that these letters:

well authenticated and of good provenance, indicate certain very clear lines of thought and tendencies in the writer, we are entitled to examine with more than ordinary care, and even regard with doubt, three or four more which indicate totally different and contradictory attitudes. Depending on historical circumstances, we are entitled to reject such letters as spurious if the total context in which they were produced suggests, for example, that forgery might have been used²

—or some other kind of falsification. A detailed examination was attempted in the chapter "Mary Hopes" of the above book, and even a summary would be out of place here. But it is relevant to select for scrutiny one or two letters which were taken to be damning evidence against her and also the Duke of Norfolk at his trial on January 16, 1572. The letter of February 8, 1571, which fully admits and encourages Ridolfi's invasion scheme, is not in her hand and there is nothing to suggest that it was ever backed by an original.³ What we have in the British Library is a document unmistakably in the hand of William Cecil. It is not signed by him, but at the end there is an attestation in the hand of Robert Higford, one of Norfolk's servants and a man too close himself for comfort to the cauldron which finally overwhelmed the Duke. Higford's attestation runs, "This copy being conferred word by word with the originall copie is agreeing in all points with the sayd originall. This xth of January 1571 [1572]." What can this reasonably be taken to mean except that Cecil is trying to foist off on the Scottish queen a

document falsely produced in her name in order to bring her into the utmost possible discredit? Doing no more than testify that a copy was a true copy of a copy, a phrase evidently designed to confuse, Higford makes Cecil's true purpose clear enough through all this confusion, which could only have been deliberate:

Even more compromising than the last, at first sight, was a longer document directed to Alba and drawn up about the middle of March, 1571... Once again this document exists only in copy in the archives in Brussels and was, no doubt, one of Ridolfi's dubious benefactions to that august institution at least in origin.⁴

Other compromising documents likewise leave us with the conclusion that there is nothing authentic originating from the hand of Mary that amounts to evidence against her sufficient for her condemnation in any impartial court of justice.

But her enemies were not interested in true impartiality, even if they had close contact with courts of justice. For Cecil and Walsingham, Mary was an obstacle to everything they stood for. Had she succeeded the heirless Elizabeth, the Protestant revolution set up in 1559 would have been completely overthrown, and they themselves perhaps have suffered something more than loss of power. Mary, then, had to be eliminated. It was Walsingham's fond hope, shared with Cecil, that the Scottish queen might have been destroyed at the same time as Norfolk. Walsingham wrote to Cecil on January 31, 1572:

I perceive through God's good Providence your Lordship hath escaped the danger of a most devilish Italian practice. Surely so long as that devilish woman liveth, neither her Majesty must make account to continue in quiet possession of her crown, nor her faithful servants assure themselves of safety of their lives. God therefore open her Majesty's eyes to see that which may be for her best surety.⁵

On this occasion, Elizabeth's eyes were open a little wider than Walsingham's: wide enough to realize the dangers of killing a sister monarch unless the evidence against her made it unavoidable. True, in the end, reasons of state would prevail.

As time went by and it became increasingly obvious that Elizabeth would not marry or produce an heir, the problem represented for the regime by the continued existence of the rival monarch became increasingly acute. Mary was intelligent enough to realize that time was on her side. She was also intelligent enough to realize the problem she presented for her enemies

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in Elizabeth's government. She also knew from experience that her correspondence was watched and the slightest false step could literally destroy her. While she would have been willing to countenance any practicable means of effecting her escape, as was her right and even duty, it could not be supposed that she would entertain any escape project lightly or without caution. Perhaps with a growing sense of desperation and urgency forced on them by the passage of time, from the mid-1580s on it was deemed politic by Elizabeth's government to shape up a new plot that would bring about Mary's destruction. It was not difficult to select from the ingredients spread around them in the shape of spies eager for any employment: a few idealistic young papists who might have been willing to assist Mary's escape, and any number of desperate men who would be willing to say and do anything they were told for a few crowns. Times were hard and work often hard to come by. In this regard, Haynes has given us the atmosphere of the age excellently well.

So it was that the Babington Plot came to be concocted. It was the end product of much experience and engineered with no little skill, so that at last "public enemy number one" was forced to lay her head on the block at Fotheringhay on February 8, 1587. Haynes spends no less than three chapters on this episode and no doubt he is justified. As J.H. Pollen commented:

It is a mournful, sordid scene, in which Mary comes out a heroine by the exercise of the highest moral courage... That Elizabeth's government would avoid giving the secrets of the plot to the public followed at once from the way in which the conspiracy had been instigated, nursed, and exposed. The part which Walsingham and his agents had played must be kept quiet at all costs. If public attention had been directed to the fact that Elizabeth's ministers had conspired against the heiress to the throne, it would have caused an outcry in that day as it would in ours... ⁶

Claims made by Mary at her trial cannot lightly be set aside. Her defense delivered in the course of her trial at Fotheringhay on October 12, 1586, is unambiguous and scarcely refutable. "I am an absolute queen, and will do nothing which may prejudice either mine own Royal Majesty or other princes of my place and rank, or my son. My mind is not yet dejected, nor will I sink under my calamity... The laws and statutes of England are to me most unknown. I am destitute of counsellors, and who shall be my peers, I am utterly ignorant. My papers and notes are taken from me and no man dareth step forth to be my advocate." But there were more telling claims to follow. "I am clear from all crime against the Queen. I have excited no man

against her, and I am not to be charged but by my own word or writing, which cannot be produced against me.”⁷ When Anthony Babington’s confession was later read out and “mention was made of the Earl of Arundel and his brethren, and the Earl of Northumberland, the tears burst forth... And shortly after, having wiped away the tears, she answered that Babington might confess what he list, but it was an open lie that she had devised such means: that her adversaries might easily get the ciphers which she had used to others, and with the same write many things falsely. That it was not likely she would use Arundel’s help, whom she knew to be shut up in prison, or Northumberland, who was very young, and to her unknown” (Cobbett and Howell, 142).

Against all this, Haynes follows the prevailing fashion and decides that Mary knew and approved of all that was going on. “Mary had no part in the minutiae of planning, but her desire for the elimination of Elizabeth is not disputed”—indeed, it could be disputed by anyone who has studied the evidence—“and her silence on the plot was at once understandable and fatal to all concerned” (79). All the same, Haynes cannot, and does not try, to conceal the affair’s generally base atmosphere, nor attempt to deny a clever coup on the part of the covert operations department of Cecil and Walsingham.

Shortly before Mary’s trial, a typically shady character in Walsingham’s entourage, William Stafford, called on the French ambassador, Chateauneuf. Stafford began with general complaints and then brought the conversation round to the subject of killing Queen Elizabeth. On the strength of this—Chateauneuf did not even wish to hear of the subject in his presence—Leicester, Christopher Hatton, and William Davison, Walsingham’s principal secretary, to whom the matter had been purveyed by design, interviewed Chateauneuf on the matter. He did not deny that Stafford had raised the dread topic. This was made the excuse to confine the ambassador to his residence until after the execution of Mary on February 8, 1587. This made it impossible for him to convey news of what was going on to the French king, who might have registered a very strong protest and intervened in the proceedings with some effect. Haynes fully admits that Michael Moody, another of Walsingham’s agents in this,

had little to gain unless he was put up to it by Walsingham to block the French. The minister and Elizabeth did apologize to Chateauneuf when Mary was dead. Walsingham even trumped her corpse by having Sidney’s long-delayed and lavish funeral in London on 16 February 1587. Any weeping was to be reserved for a Protestant hero. (82)

Clearly, the main object of this last exercise was not to magnify Sidney

but to divert public attention away from what many could have taken to be the dubious spectacle of regicide countenanced by government. In view of the general atmosphere of plotting on all sides, it is surely one-sided of Haynes to pick out the Scottish queen for special censure. "After all, conspiracy itself was like food and drink to the stupid and cunning Mary, Queen of Scots. Her eerie emotional detachment that remained yoked to soaring self-interest, was abetted by bigots like de Spes [the Spanish ambassador] and callow innocents like Babington. Her ambitions cost many lives..." (157). And were hers the only ambitions, or the worst in this age, that cost lives?

Haynes's somewhat dyspeptic comments on the Scottish queen are not typical of his asides on other characters in his story, even when he cannot approve of them. His comments on the new Catholic mission which arrived in England in the summer of 1580 with the Jesuits Robert Persons, Edmund Campion, and a group of distinguished seminary priests, could not be expected to provoke his admiration, but his comments are measured and restrained. "Persons undertook a defiant, politically slanted peregrination around the clandestine Catholic communities then seething with rumours of a great foreign invasion and news of papal troops landing in Ireland. Edmund Campion, devout, zealous and eloquent, travelled with alacrity to say Mass, and to preach to eager listeners" (37). This follows the usual distinction made between Campion the saint and Persons the political operative. Persons was probably shrewder in some ways than Campion, but it is important to the story to realize that the object of the 1580 mission was to promote reconciliation, not further division. The missionaries as a body genuinely hoped that it might be possible to bring the lost sheep of Israel back into the Catholic fold. Had it been left to the nation to decide, their avowed purpose might not have been hopeless. Given the attitudes of Cecil, Leicester, and Walsingham, however, their intentions may be seen as naive. But there is no reason to suppose they were insincere. The mission left Rome with an assurance from the Pope that Elizabeth's right to the throne need not be questioned. The object of the mission was religious, not political.

The essentially religious aspect of the mission was stressed from the outset when the Jesuits set up their clandestine press at Greenstreet, East Ham, near London. The first book off the new press was *A Brief discours conteynynge certayne reasons why Catholiques refuse to go to church*. The preface was dedicated "to the most highe and mightie Princess Elizabeth by the grace of God, Queene of England, France and Ireland"—even Ireland, which had been technically a papal fief since the days of King John! Addressed as "most excellent and souveraygne dread ladye and princesse," neither she nor the "honorable lords of the counsaile," nor "the whole estate

of [her] noble realme” could find anything unacceptable in the book “but onely in respect of the wryter’s zeale and opinion in religion” but this, after all, was still “the common received religion of universal Christendom.”⁸ He protested against the queen’s persecution of her Catholic subjects, referring to “the extreme penalties laid upon the practice of... Catholic religion, as imprisonment perpetual, loss of goods and lands, and life also for refusal of the oath against my religion.”⁹ This religion had been that of all the queen’s ancestors.

The dividing of the ways was provided for Persons and many of his friends and fellow-exiles abroad when Elizabeth’s government examined, tried, and executed Edmund Campion, Ralph Sherwin, and Alexander Bryant on December 1, 1581. It was taken as a gauntlet thrown in the face, which Persons and many of the exiles picked up. From this time they began to work with Spain for an invasion and the overthrow of the present regime. It will be said, quite reasonably, that if Persons and his party opposed themselves against Elizabeth and her government, one could not expect the latter to neglect all steps necessary to pursue their war to victory. But the question remains as to whether, with some show of goodwill on the government side, the long and bloody confrontation which followed could have been avoided. Nor could it be said that, even under the extreme provocation of a ruthless persecution, all the Catholics, not even all the Jesuits, felt it expedient or even right to resort to the counterargument of force: certainly not those who lived and worked in England itself.

The reference above to papal troops landing in Ireland brings us to the question as to how many of the ostensible rebels were working for Cecil and Walsingham. Certainly, a large problem remains where Thomas Stucley is concerned. The landing in Ireland in which Stucley had no direct part but some earlier involvement while he was in Rome, is well summed up by Haynes. The expedition consisted of “one leaky galleon with four small canon, manned by an extraordinarily motley crew... The effort successfully mounted to track him was a measure of the rapid development of intelligence work” (27). It may be that something was due to Walsingham’s intelligence service, but one suspects that even more was due to the fact that Stucley was all the time an agent of the Elizabethan government. Or so the evidence suggests to the present writer.

Stucley’s career at this time was examined in some detail in chapter 5 of *The Marvellous Chance*. This adventurer’s behavior is erratic and incalculable, yet shows a method behind which is madness with a purpose. The purpose and the madness seemed at all points to favor those who should have been Stucley’s enemies. One enemy, William Cecil (Lord Burghley), summed him up in no uncertain terms in his *Justitia Britannica* as “infamous

throughout the whole world, a treacherous wild beast rather than a man, a most vile off-scouring of his native land, who fled first from England because of his frequent acts of piracy, and afterwards left Ireland on account of certain inexplicable crimes which could not be so much as named for any ear with a sense of shame.”¹⁰ But perhaps Cecil did protest too much, lest it be concluded that this colorful miscreant was working for Burghley after all. Indeed, as early as 1552, Stucley returned from France to purvey to Cecil interesting details concerning the intentions of the French king, Henri II, to mount an invasion of England to restore Catholicism.¹¹ The rest of Stucley’s career does not belie the idea that whatever superficial appearances might suggest to the contrary, his real allegiance remained always to Burghley. Perhaps this was appropriate for one who claimed to be an illegitimate son of Henry VIII (Edwards 1968, 271). His last exploit was typical of the rest. “Having helped to prepare an expedition against Ireland at Lisbon, he led it boldly into Africa. This time Nemesis went with him. He died at the battle of Alcazar on August 4, 1578” (Edwards 1968, 302). An interesting question remains as to the possibility of an understanding between Stucley and Ridolfi. Certainly, they were closeted together on occasion while Ridolfi was peddling his schemes in Madrid.¹²

One of the principal aims of Elizabeth’s government was to divide the Catholics among themselves. At first this proved difficult, if not impossible. But as time progressed, it became increasingly evident that there could be no adequate answer by force from outside to the internal problem of getting some kind of toleration or relief from persecution. So it was that an increasing number—including some of the priests, though not the English Jesuits—thought that some kind of rapprochement should be sought with the English government. Without making definite promises or holding out more than the vaguest of hopes, the Cecils allowed it to be thought that perhaps some accommodation might be made: but only in return for proof of loyalty and complete rejection of the Jesuits and Hispanophil priests. This meant giving information on what was happening abroad, especially in the seminaries, and betraying those who acted as agents for them in any way in England. Father John Fixer, alias Thomas Wilson, and Father John Cecil, alias John Snowden, thus became informers for the Privy Councillors without any formal repudiation of their own faith. As Haynes rightly says, “John Cecil was no ordinary mercenary spy” (134), but Haynes does not much enlarge our understanding. Watson could be taken as a Catholic who believed that the whole approach to the papist dilemma by Persons and the Jesuits, and most of the secular priests who were their colleagues, was basically unrealistic. The papists could only wait for what the reigning Cecils would be prepared to give them in charity. They were right in thinking that

there would be no solution by force or foreign invasion, but the Jesuits were right in thinking that the ruling regime in England was implacable and desired only the total destruction of Catholicism.

So the story of English Catholicism becomes highly complex, a tale of internecine warfare which included a battle of the books at the time of the Appellant crisis toward the end of the century. Essentially, this was a difference about how the papists should be governed. Some of the priestly writers on the Appellant side were prepared to see the Jesuits and their supporters as the real cause of all their troubles. However untrue, it assured to those who held such views the enjoyment of some kind of practical toleration since they were, in effect, working toward the end desired by government—the demise of their religion. So they might be left in a kind of peace (at least for a time) until their contribution to the work of destruction was considered adequate.

One of the most remarkable and most vehement of these—in his denunciation of Jesuits in general and Robert Persons in particular—was the secular priest, William Watson. He wrote in a well-known book, “I am not of that wretch Persons’s mind, that none can be a right Catholic, or established in God’s favor, unless he run his restless cursed race against his prince, country, and dear friends, none I verily think—unless it were some such atheist as Persons—or an odd reprobate amongst a thousand, but come to be Catholic of mere remorse of conscience, for the love of God and resolute belief.”¹³ Elsewhere in the same book, he stated his basic loyalties clearly enough: “For what can the Council or State get out of us more than is in our hearts... to wit a Catholic resolve for our Roman faith, church and religion: an English resolution for our native prince, state and country; and a resolute intent... in weal and in woe, to remain constant, loyal, serviceable and faithful to both to death” (Watson, 350).

In spite of all these professions of loyalty to Church and State, whose sincerity we need not doubt, Watson was successfully implicated in a plot which secured his death for treason. That the affair was yet another in a long line of government misrepresentations and propaganda was indicated in a letter to Robert Persons in Rome from an unidentified correspondent from England dated December 18, 1603:

In the northern parts of the kingdom there were a number of men going about collecting names and signatures from various people to a memorial which they wished to present to the king, asking for liberty of conscience. It pleased the Bishop of Durham, however, who is a great enemy of the Catholics, to attempt to ingratiate himself still further with the king by making the affair seem altogether suspect. He hinted that its real purpose was to set on foot

some kind of rebellion. In consequence, he further obtained a commission to seize and examine all persons found to have had some part in this memorial. The general feeling is that much will be made of the business.¹⁴

Much was. Nothing less than the execution of William Watson and his fellow priest and victim, William Clark, for treason at Winchester on December 9, 1603. Before his death, Watson admitted having written "a number of lying and scandalous books against the Jesuits, of which he heartily repented" (Persons's report).

The minister chiefly responsible at the end of Elizabeth's reign for maneuvering those deemed to be enemies of the State beneath the axe or hangman's knife was, of course, the formidable Sir Robert Cecil. His great rival was the Earl of Essex, a man who, as Haynes rightly says, "conspicuously lacked the political guile of Robert Cecil" (122). It may be, as our author says, that Cecil's initial involvement in spying was "faltering" (128), but he developed fairly swiftly into a master of intrigue and the most skillful plotmaker of all time.¹⁵ Indeed, so skillful that, if he had only the Gunpowder Plot to his credit, he might almost be given the benefit of a large doubt. But his handling—or mishandling—of an earlier plot indicates fairly clearly how much could be taken as due to him in these alleged treasons and how little to the convicted miscreants.

The Squire Plot of 1598 is one which standard historians have tended to ignore. There is no mention of it in J.B. Black's *The Reign of Elizabeth 1558-1603*, not even in the second edition published at the Clarendon Press in 1959. What would still appear to be the best life of Robert Cecil up to the year 1604, that by P.M. Handover, *The Second Cecil* (1959), likewise avoids mention of this episode. Haynes does not mention it. One could argue that the incident was not all that important, and certainly if one wishes to maintain the reputation of the first Earl of Salisbury as a humane and enlightened statesman, it is no doubt best forgotten. But in the interest of a larger truth it is important that it should be remembered, if only as an indication of the methodology employed to bring enemies first into disrepute and then, if possible, to destruction.

The basic idea was that the Jesuit Richard Walpole was supposed to have persuaded Edward Squire to smear a mercurial concoction on the saddle of Queen Elizabeth's horse so that, when she mounted and took the stuff on her hands, it would find its way to her food and so kill her. Squire was thoughtfully provided with the poison by the Jesuit. If it was objected that even if the queen had taken the poison on her hands, she would have washed it off before eating, the answer was that the Jesuits were such experts in poisoning that, even if one washed a vessel twenty times, it would still

retain its power to kill. Squire was associated with two shady characters who could well have stood alongside many others of the kind who appear in Haynes's book—Richard Rolls and Edward Stanley. But these typical agents of government got off, while the wretched Squire was duly, or unduly, executed. Despite being tortured five times to make him confess to this plot, he retracted his confession on the scaffold. After this, Cecil had to ensure that that, in the future, means would be found to persuade the victims not to change their minds until it was too late. The Squire Plot has been written up in detail¹⁶ and it is interesting to see how later plots of the kind improved vastly on the first.¹⁷ Incidentally, there is no extant official account of either the trial for treason or the subsequent execution of Edward Squire. The best contemporary account of the whole strange proceeding is that by Thomas Fitzherbert.¹⁸

Haynes's book, then, leaves much to be desired. One suspects that some of the limitations, especially of space, were forced on him by a publisher who, for reasons of economy, could not allow him to do all that he might have wished or to write more that would have been relevant to a vast subject. Perhaps this is also why the annotation is often inadequate and references to key quotations or statements simply not backed up by a source. The style is often telegrammatic in its efforts to cram a large incident or series of facts into as small a compass as possible. Nevertheless, the book contains a good deal of valuable information on spy activities culled from other printed sources: details on organization in general (13); how spies were paid (49); the use made of merchants (51); and so on. On the other hand, there are some rash statements based on no evidence whatever: that Robert Persons prepared *Leicester's Commonwealth* on his press (43), and that Hugh Owen and Persons tried to persuade Pope Sixtus V to excommunicate King James VI of Scotland (142).

One suspects that the author felt himself constrained at many points to reach conclusions that would not prejudice him with the prevailing views of Academe nor provoke those who do not take kindly to revision of the standard mythology. But at the end Haynes feels bound to admit, "Variously earnest, burtal, and corrupt, all the spymasters assisted in the protection of the last Tudor. The queen had survived many real dangers early in her life and naturally buoyed herself up with subterfuge, so that disguise became the essence of her rule. To have survived for over forty years without the spymasters might have been more difficult than it proved and she was pleased to employ their skills" (156-7). This is not an unfair summing up of the general situation; more especially if we remember that subterfuge and deceit played the larger part among the "skills" of her chosen protectors.

Notes

- 1 Martin Hume, *Treason and Plot* (London, 1901) 88-89.
- 2 Francis Edwards, S.J., *The Dangerous Queen* (London, 1964) 360.
- 3 Letter of 8.ii.1571; *ibid*, p 391, note 1.
- 4 Letter of about 15.iii.1571; *ibid*, p 395, note 1.
- 5 Walsingham to Cecil, 31.i.1572; *ibid*, p 268.
- 6 J.H. Pollen, S.J., *Mary Queen of Scots and the Babington Plot* (Scottish History Society) 3rd series, 1922, clxxviii.
- 7 Cobbett and Howell, *State Trials*, vol. I (London, 1730) 139.
- 8 *A brief discours...*, sig. iir.
- 9 *Ibid*, sig. ++++ iiv.
- 10 *Justitia Britannica...*, (London, 1968) 272.
- 11 F. Edwards, *The Marvellous Chance* (London, 1968) 272.
- 12 ? to Robert Hogan, 8.vii.1571; Public Record Office, State Papers Foreign, cxix, ff. 3-4, from Madrid. Hogan did not guess at Stucley's double role, although he spied on him for a time. However, Stucley discovered Hogan's occupation, and resenting his "presumption," had him expelled from Spain in 1571.
- 13 William Watson, *A Decachordon of Ten Quodlibeticall Questions Concerning Religion and State...* (London, 1602) 134
- 14 Robert Persons's report on a letter from England, 18.xii.1603 (N.S.); *Archivum Romanum Societatis Jesu*, Anglia 31.I, f.247.
- 15 Francis Edwards, S.J. "Still Investigating Gunpowder Plot," *Recusant History*, July 1993, 305-46.
- 16 Francis Edwards, S.J., "The Strange Case of the Poisoned Pommel," *Archivum Historicum Societatis Jesu*, vol. LVI, 1987, 3-82.
- 17 Francis Edwards, S.J., *The Real Story of the Gunpowder Plot* (London, 1969) 56-60. A second edition should be published shortly.
- 18 Thomas Fitzherbert, *An Apology of T.F. in defence of himself and other Catholyks, falsly charged with a fayned conspiracy against her Majestie's person, for the which one Edward Squire was wrongfully condemned and executed in...1598...* (Antwerp, 1602).



Shakespeare's *Missing* Personality

Shakespeare's Personality

Edited by Norman N. Holland, Sidney Homans, and
Bernard J. Paris. University of California Press, 1989.

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I no longer believe that William Shakespeare the actor from Stratford was the author of the works that have been ascribed to him...

—Sigmund Freud, *Autobiographical Study*¹

William Kerrigan, in his essay in *Shakespeare's Personality*, voices a minority opinion: "The absence of personality is a bad omen for most human pursuits, and literary criticism is particularly in need of personality" (175). This critique of deconstructionism applies, perhaps with unintended irony, to the specific personality missing from this book. But unlike Kerrigan, the editors express no anxiety over the disappearance of the subject proclaimed in the book's title: "It is our fortune, good or bad, to complete this book on Shakespeare's personality at a moment in literary criticism when its 'subject' (in several senses) has disappeared" (1). As in advance reports of the death of Mark Twain, however, some readers may suspect exaggeration. Shakespeare's personality has not really disappeared; it has been fractured into a myriad of competing, sometimes contradictory personalities.

So it is a pleasant surprise to find that Shakespeare is actually diagnosed here not as schizophrenic, but merely neurotic, by the contributors to this volume. For instance, Barber and Wheeler's essay, "Shakespeare and the Rising Middle Class," employs Kohut's (1971) theory of "object hunger" to explain Shakespeare's creative genius.

Kohut's theory describes how the ego is consolidated from the gradual incorporation of parental objects which meet the basic needs for physical security and nurturance of the developing infant. The failure of parental objects, however, can result in a traumatic loss to the psyche, causing it to "remain fixated on an archaic self-object" (Kohut 1971, 45). Barber and Wheeler suggest, therefore, that the rich diversity of Shakespeare's field of linguistic objects can be clinically explained as a result of the poet's adolescent "object hunger" incurred through the decline of his father's business fortunes in the late 1570s and '80s. This trauma resulted in an "intense

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form of object hunger'...fulfilled in the dramatist's power to create others' (27).

Unfortunately Kohut's theory requires extensive modification before it can usefully be applied to the biographical facts in question: "John Shakespeare's decline, which seems to have coincided with his son's early adolescent years, would not have presented the kind of 'very early traumatic experiences' with which Kohut is most concerned" (26). The adolescent Shakespeare's hunger, in other words, was neither "early" nor decisively traumatic.

Even more surprising, Kohut's theory was not designed, as these authors recognize, to explain creative genius; instead Kohut wanted to account for the formation of *the addictive personality*, which, because of its fixation on an inadequate archaic object,

will throughout life *be dependent on* certain objects...they are not objects (in the psychological sense of the term) since they are not loved or admired for their attributes, and *the actual features of their personalities, and their actions, are only dimly recognized*. (Kohut 1971, 45; emphasis added).

The extent to which this model of object hunger is at variance with the biographical conjectures it is expected to substantiate in this essay scarcely requires emphasis. An author with the largest vocabulary in the history of English, who coined some 800 new English words from Latin roots, who created some of the most enduring and fully developed literary characters in the history of human literature, who is the prototype of literary genius familiar with the technical language of law, music, biology, and medicine, is explained as a personality addicted to an inadequate archaic object and unable to perceive the phenomenal attributes of a varied world of social objects.

Barber and Wheeler ask us to believe that the adolescent Shakespeare, who married Anne Hathaway in 1582, was sufficiently troubled by his father's business failure to suffer an emotionally catastrophic blow which accounts for the foreboding sense of psychological torment expressed in *Hamlet*.

The theory, of course, says nothing at all about the figurative and dramatic structures of *Hamlet* or any other Shakespeare work. It merely posits—oxymoronically, it turns out—their compensatory superabundance. Many readers will fail to be convinced. The essay passes all-too-easily from an astonishingly romanticized view of rural life in Stratford to the tropical existentialism of Elsinore, over the improbable theoretical bridge of adolescent object hunger. On this journey we discover an abundance of rhetorical

objects of dubious ontological status that may be taken by some readers as indicating the continued viability of Kohut's theory. We read, for example, the following ingenious paragraph:

The action in *Hamlet* is determined by the violent dethronement and death of a father. But this father is first to be apprehended as a "goodly king" (I.2.186), strong majestic. As Shakespeare moves up, in social terms, beyond caste difference, to invest his creative powers in the son (Hamlet) who might inherit from such a father, he moves back, in terms of individual development, to the derivatives of the world of childhood, where such a figure would have been known and then lost. (27)

In these three sentences are tropical turns that should astonish the most empirical reader. The short transitional sentence between the play, *Hamlet*, and the Stratford "author" employs a citation to the play, complete with reference line number. Grammatical quibbles aside, a reader may notice the flaccid language employed in the sentence: "This father is first to be apprehended as a 'goodly king'." Apprehended by whom, the reader may ask. Turning to the cited text, the answer is evident: Horatio! Whose father are we talking about here, anyway? And whose son? It seems as if the ghost of Horatio has been introduced merely to get the authors back from Elsinore to Stratford again.

This is bad psychology and worse history. According to John Dover Wilson, in his classic criticism of the play, *What Happens in Hamlet?* (1928; 1956), "Hamlet is an English prince, the court of Elsinore is modeled upon the English court, and the Danish constitution that of England under the Virgin Queen" (1956, 28). But for Barber and Wheeler, Hamlet's court is alternately a butcher's shop in Stratford in 1580 and a modern psychiatrist's couch somewhere in middle-class, post-Protestant America. Such an effort to force Hamlet into the procrustean bed of a petty bourgeois profile yields an impoverished drama. Gone is the rich complexity of motive, plot, and language which distinguish Shakespeare's creation.

Gone is Wilson's cautionary interpretative stricture that "it is idle to embark upon dramatic interpretation of a play until one is sure what the characters are talking about...and what Shakespeare intended² to write" (12). Gone is Wilson's wisdom in insisting that "Hamlet is full of obscurities which have never been rightly explained," and his warning that those who dismiss these mysteries with facile explanations drawn from contemporary theoretical strictures that blind critics to historical realities, "sin against a primary canon of criticism" (15). But most absent of all is Hamlet's own literary and aristocratic personality, condemned to the margins of the stage

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in favor of a doubtful performance by a failed butcher's son.

The literary works which, according to Wilson's generation of critics, infuse Hamlet's personality with its own peculiar blend of aristocratic indecision and literary delinquency, are not mentioned in the essay. I refer in particular to Castiglione's *Courtier* and also *Cardanus' Comfort*, which Hardin Craig, among others, designated as the book Hamlet is intended to be holding in his hand at II.ii (198-202).

Also not mentioned in this essay is the well-developed tradition attesting to the allegorical characterization of William Cecil, Lord High Treasurer of England, as Polonius. This scholarship goes back to George Russell French (1869), who noted that

...except for names derived from historical sources nearly all Shakespeare's dramatis personæ are intended to have some resemblance to characters in his own day...the identity of language (in Polonius' advice to Laertes) is so close to Burleigh's advice to Robert that Shakespeare could not have hit upon it unless he had been acquainted with Burleigh's parental advice (cited in Miller, 430).

But instead of reflecting on the historical implications of such political satire in Shakespeare characterizations—by no means limited to Hamlet or to William Cecil—and what they suggest about the historical contours of contemporary Shakespeare scholarship, these writers psychoanalyze Hamlet until he, like Shakespeare, disappears altogether. They leave an impoverished and fragmentary drama lacking in narrative coherence or psychological plausibility. Like Shakespeare, our "new Hamlet" has a missing personality.

He is not plagued by religious doubts. He does not reflect on the ontological riddles of his "antic disposition." For him, art does not hold up the mirror to nature. It springs full blown, like Athena leaping from the brow of Zeus, from the imaginative projections of his critics and censors. As a representative of the rising middle class—object hunger aside—Hamlet's creator is quite well adjusted:

The son's response to John Shakespeare's spiritual last will may be writ large, however, in the almost complete absence, from his works, of religious resolutions of central dynamic stresses...the point of view his drama adopts never, in our judgment, involves religious eschatology (25).

While Hamlet's father haunts his son with Catholic conviction, "cut off in the blossoms of my sin, *Unbousled, unaneled*,³ no reckoning made, but sent to my account with all my imperfections on my head" (1.5.77), these

authors read a Shakespeare canon which "never...involves religious eschatology"! Shakespeare's denouement could not be more apparent.

Other essays in this book are more plausible, and consequently less provocative, than Barber and Wheeler's. Unfortunately, the historical and literary problems raised by the general editorial thrust of the book force an omission of any adequate treatment of numerous interesting questions raised in other essays. I will note a few brief highlights.

Shirlee Nelson Garner's essay on the "Myth of Women's Deception" isolates a number of important themes that recur in the Shakespeare canon concerning the apparent infidelity of female characters. She sees in Shakespeare's personality a developmental tendency, though never fully resolved, towards overcoming an initial isolation from, and distrust of, women. As he matured, Shakespeare became "able to understand men's psychic needs more clearly, [and] to portray women characters as more whole..." (150).

William Kerrigan discovers that Shakespeare's experience as an actor and a dramatist influenced his conception of strong characters as "plotters, schemers, disguisers..." for whom "illeism, self-reference in the third person, is a recurrent feature of their rhetoric" (175).

In what is perhaps the most persuasive and interesting essay in the book, Janet Adelman, exploring the importance of the theme of the "bed trick" in Shakespearean drama, links Garner's emphasis on the feminine imago to Kerrigan's focus on disguise. She concludes that the prominence of the bed trick in several Shakespeare plays "suggests the centrality of these issues [i.e., the way in which sexual power is conferred on the "ghostly" father through the "bed trick"] in Shakespeare's imagination." Adelman's psychological portrait of Shakespeare as a man plagued by doubts about parental legitimacy, far from gaining credence through the use of hypothetical biographical materials (such as those employed by Barber and Wheeler), does not mention the man from Stratford.

The titles of other essays, however, such as David Willbern's "What is Shakespeare?" and Barbara Freedman's "Misrecognizing Shakespeare," suggest a major contradiction that the editors fail to assess. How can a personality which is casually declared "missing" be so easily misrecognized? Willbern urges a fusion of the concepts of author and actor to explain Shakespeare's supreme genius through a literary unified field theory of "auctorship."

Citing lines long regarded as a non-Shakespearean editorial interpolation, Willbern asserts that Shakespeare "embodied the perfect merger of 'author's pen' and 'actors voice' (*Troilus and Cressida*, Pro. 24)" (230). Because of his historical and literary importance, Willbern asserts, Shakespeare's personality lends itself to monolithic idealization and flagrant mis-

recognition. The Shakespeare who, in a burst of narcissistic compensation in sonnet 121, writes “I am that I am,” is apotheosized in this essay. Deploying Lacan and Foucault, Willbern finds the author Shakespeare, whom Ben Jonson loved and admired “this side [of] idolatry,” has become the “primal patriarchal agent of authorship...a transcendent anonymity” (229) who can only be captured in the net of a new theoretical model promulgated in the University. Shakespeare is missing from the theater and missing from history. One thing that is certainly not missing in this book, however, is elaborate theoretical posturing. One gains the distinct impression that such posturing is designed—at least in some of the essays—to deflect attention from the embarrassing lack of documentation of Shakespeare’s life, which was recently underscored by Terry Eagleton’s (1991) observation that “we know as much about the historical Shakespeare as we do about the yeti.”

The contributors’ awareness of the history of Shakespeare scholarship, however, is an embarrassment. While Freedman conjectures at length on the psychological motives of Oxfordian critics, for example, she joins Willbern in glossing the historical record to put readers off the scent of real evidence. Instead of citing Freud on the subject of his Oxfordian convictions, Freedman cites Norman Holland (1966, 58)—and the citation, moreover, is erroneous.

This repetition of an initial error in essays more than twenty years apart, when the correct citation is widely available in any issue of the *Collected Works*, raises basic questions of methodology and the ethics of representation which must be addressed in evaluating the book’s role as an intentional intervention in contemporary discourse. In attempting in his classic 1966 book, *Shakespeare and Psychoanalysis*, to explain away Freud’s Oxfordian theory as an outgrowth of Freud’s unresolved transference, Holland altered the meaning of Freud’s original statement:

Freud noted, for example, in his Goethe prize essay the importance for all of us of affective relations with great men but noted, too, that such feelings—as toward a father—will be ambivalent: we will admire and emulate, but we will also resent. And *Freud’s phrasing* in his *last published words on authorship*, “ein grosser Unbekannter,” suggest that his own feelings toward Shakespeare were not devoid of such filial ambivalence. (Holland 1966, 58; emphasis added).

The quotation at issue may be found in the footnote on page 96 in the 1949 authorized translation of the *Outline of Psychoanalysis*, though Holland cites from the original German edition of 1940. As translated by Strachey in the authorized English edition, Freud’s “last published words” on the Earl

of Oxford read as follows:

The name "William Shakespeare" is most probably a pseudonym behind which lies concealed a great unknown. Edward de Vere, Earl of Oxford, a man who has been regarded as the author of Shakespeare's works, lost a beloved and admired father while he was still a boy, and completely repudiated his mother, who contracted a new marriage soon after her husband's death (Strachey trans., 96: note).

Freud expressed similar views over many years; his comments, assembled and edited by Ruth Loyd Miller (1975, vol. II, 264-273), along with copies of letters by his correspondents on the subject—prominently Arnold Zweig—are easily accessible to those interested in psychoanalytic criticism of Freud's views. Although Freud often kept his opinions in reserve, for reasons which can only be described as strategic, he was not a casual or uninformed Oxfordian. During the 1930s, Freud continued to read new books by other Oxfordians, such as Canon Gerald Rendall's *Shakespeare's Sonnets and Edward de Vere* (1930), a book he recommended (see Miller 1975, 268) for the fresh psychoanalytic light it shed on the Sonnets.

Although he tailored his public comments to underwrite the success of Ernst Jones' *Oedipus and Hamlet* (Feldman 1953), and to preserve the integrity of the psychoanalytic movement in its formative phases, Freud patiently and privately sustained his Oxfordian convictions over many years. Freud's correspondence with Arnold Zweig (Miller 1975) casts an intriguing light on the intersubjective dynamics of the authorship controversy. Zweig, confused by Freud's strict adherence to a historical methodology, concluded with a confused description of Oxford's influence on the Stratford Bard—between whom there is no historical evidence of contact. Oxford's influence, thought Zweig, must be considered

a decisive landmark for Shakespeare, more decisive than Goethe's entry into Schiller's orbit...certainly Oxford had a profound influence on Sh., indeed regenerated him as it were...he is made to vibrate...Even Shakespeare's aristocratic element is "begot" in this way...not inborn but implanted in him (Miller 1975, 270).

Freud responded to Zweig's disassociative projections with the genteel tolerance of Socrates on a couch with Alcibiades. Bronson Feldman, the only neo-Freudian critic to consider, rather than evade or actively suppress, the implications of Freud's position was, perhaps understandably, less forgiving:

Freud's opinions were greeted by his disciples with a silence that

would have been deadly had it not been so ridiculous. It is indeed edifying to observe the most voluble followers of the great critic of human nature presenting a spectacle of what he called “the aversion to learning anything new so characteristic of the scientist” (Feldman 1955, 116).

Freud’s last *unpublished* words on the subject appear in a 1938 letter to Looney, in which Freud expressed his high regard for “the author of a remarkable book, to which I owe my conviction about Shakespeare’s identity, as far as my judgment in the matter goes...” (Miller 1975, 273).

Since 1938, an accumulation of evidence, put forward most comprehensively by Charlton Ogburn Jr., Ruth Loyd Miller, and William Plumer Fowler, has borne out Looney’s concluding prophecy that “future enquiry is destined to furnish but an accumulating support to the solution here proposed” (cited in Fowler 1986, xix).

During the 1950s, Bronson Feldman (1953a, 1953b, 1955a, 1955b, 1956), elaborating on Freud’s psychoanalytic interest in the “great unknown,” Edward de Vere, became the only psychoanalytic critic to reflect perceptively on the politics of Freud’s adherence to the Oxfordian thesis, against the wishes of some of his most prominent followers and at the risk of jeopardizing the science of the mind which it was his central objective to establish (Feldman 1953a). Unlike other writers on this subject, Feldman’s historical sensibility and candor commend his articles to any student of the authorship controversy with an interest in the historical foreground of the present controversy. “We lay stone on stone,” Freud wrote to Robert Fleiss. But the Stratfordian mythos, wrote Feldman, proceeds to “transmute thought metaphysically, risking the absurd” (1966, 149). Shakespearean orthodoxy, Feldman insisted, has laid *its* foundations in the quicksands of metaphysical and logical absurdities and then tried to patch the cracks in the concrete with misrepresentations of the historical record.

It is disheartening to realize that Freud, like Shakespeare, has been removed from this hastily conceived and inadequately self-critical collection of essays by distinguished neo-Freudians. The genealogy of footnotes suggests that this absence is not a mistake but the result of an attempt—whether calculated or merely unconscious seems moot—to blunt the significance of Freud’s views.

True, Freud’s apostasy invokes historical, psychological, and epistemological questions that raise the specter of cognitive disequilibrium for the patrons of modern institutional power. His own interest in the transference between Oxford and King Lear (see Miller 1975, 268-269) suggests that Freud was able to see himself as a father who had something to pass on to his children: his Shakespeare was not the *sui generis*, Walter Mitty author

portrayed in the pages of this book. He was a raw human being—an impetuous, rebellious, brilliant, eccentric, generous but above all, *alienated* man—one commensurate with his literary creation.

In Freud's view, there was a domain of history—figured in the narratives of authentic lives—that could not be reduced to assumptions about infantile psychology, elided through editorial hubris, or contained by clinical labels deployed as spontaneous defenses against legitimate counterfactual claims about the texture of historical or literary worlds. The “old historicist” Professor Abel Lefranc (1918) agreed:

J'ai la conviction que toute personne dont le jugement est
reste libre en ce qui concerne le problème shakespearien,
connaîtra que les ancienne positions de la doctrine
traditionnelle ne sauraient être maintenues.⁴

Notes

¹ This statement, which continues, “since the publication of J. T. Looney's volume *Shakespeare Identified* (1920), I am almost convinced that in fact Edward de Vere, Earl of Oxford, is concealed behind this pseudonym,” was removed, with Freud's reluctant permission, from the 1935 English edition of *Autobiographical Study*. As Strachey notes, however, in footnote 1, p. 62-63 of the *Standard Edition* of the text, Freud remarked acidly that the offending phrase could remain in the American edition, because “the same sort of narcissistic defense need not be feared over there...”

² Although many contemporary critics correctly regard intentionality as a problematic concept, emphasizing the need to situate the intending ego within a dynamic historical and psychological field, I do not believe we can simply dispense with the concept. As Knapp and Michaels (1982, 1987) suggest, some notion of intentionality—whether localized in the author or in the wider play of the metastructural imperatives of society or history—is presupposed by all critical acts. Recent Renaissance critics—Patterson (1984) and Marcus (1988), for instance—express a cautious renewal of interest in the author's intentions.

³ Technical terms denoting Roman Catholic last rites. As Mutschmann and Wenterdsdorf (1952, 221-222) properly recognize, Shakespeare “lays great weight on receiving the sacrament of confession before death,” a rite necessary for the salvation of the soul in Shakespeare's theology.

⁴ “I have the same conviction as anyone whose judgment is still free in those matters concerning the Shakespearean problem, knowing that the ancient attitudes of the traditional doctrine can no longer be maintained.”

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Paging Mrs. Shakespeare

Mrs. Shakespeare: The Complete Works

By Robert Nye. Sinclair-Stevenson, London 1993.

Reviewed by Warren Hope, whose article, "The Singing Swallow: Sir John Davies and Shakespeare," appeared in the last issue of TER.

An American actress, while rehearsing the part of Desdemona, once announced to the other members of the company that if she had been the real Desdemona she would have cracked Othello's skull. This statement has a ring of truth similar to the one that rises from the pages of Robert Nye's novel, *Mrs. Shakespeare*. Nye does not quarrel with the traditional attribution of the plays and poems and fully accepts the historical facts of Shakespeare's life as they have come down to us. But he realizes that the historian's craft often leaves us in a darkness that the storyteller is free to disperse. He reinterprets the life of Shakespeare by looking at and recording that life from the point of view of Anne Hathaway Shakespeare. The result is an entertaining and engaging romp that may get us no closer to the historical Shakespeare but gives us much to chew on, so far as the relations between truth and poetry, and women and men, are concerned.

These relationships open the book:

"Shall I compare thee to a summer's day?" he inquired politely.

"No thanks!" I said.

You should have seen the look he gave me.

This brief conversation is placed at the beginning of Mrs. Shakespeare's week-long visit to London, her only visit to London, in celebration of her husband's thirtieth birthday—a visit that is not recorded anywhere except in the pages of this novel. The conversation is echoed at the story's close:

"Your eyes," he declared, "are nothing like the sun."

"Oh thanks!" I said.

These bits from Shakespeare's sonnets and Anne Hathaway Shakespeare's reactions to them frame the story of Shakespeare's maturation as a poet through sexual experience. The first phrase—based on the use of comparison, the foundation of metaphor, and addressed to a male (the Earl of Southampton, according to Mrs. Shakespeare)—is rejected by the poet's wife. The second phrase—a denial of comparison and metaphor and addressed to a woman—is accepted with irony if not sarcasm. In this way,

Robert Nye asserts and demonstrates, rather than argues, that woman is the judge of man in much the same way that truth is the standard by which poetry is to be judged—and that man and poetry by these standards are frequently found wanting. Mrs. Shakespeare makes this position explicit when she apologizes to her reader for taking so long to get to the heart of her story:

I have no magic wand. I have only the goose-quill of truth.
That's the difference between me and Mr. Shakespeare, as between
truth and poesy.
I cannot cut corners.
I have to tell it to you as it was.
I spell it all out. I explicate it. I do not make grand word-noises for
your pleasure.

“Grand word-noises” for the pleasure of the Earl of Southampton is what Mrs. Shakespeare seems to think of what Shakespeare wrote while seeking a patron—with the emphasis on the pay—when the theaters were closed in 1592 because of the plague. *Venus and Adonis*, *The Rape of Lucrece*, and some of the sonnets are credited with raising Shakespeare from a hack revising other people's plays to a dandy and a financial success. These works and this success are set in an exclusively male world, devoted to snobbery and homosexual liaisons as well as Platonism and intellectual adventuring. All that matters less to Mrs. Shakespeare than her recipe for hare soup.

Still, it is the week-long visit to London and the way it was spent—playing sexual parts in a luxurious bed—that allowed Shakespeare to move out of that exclusively male world to write the sonnets to the “dark lady” and the plays for which he is remembered. That memorable bed is what allows Nye one of his slyest reinterpretations of Shakespeare's life. The infamous “second-best bed” left to Anne Hathaway in her husband's will becomes a witty and affectionate in-joke between lovers rather than an insult. Any bed would be at best second to the one they enjoyed together in London.

Nye is not so much putting forward a reinterpretation of Shakespeare as stating a view of poetry and the world—and doing so with great energy and fun. While he is able to make the scraps of Shakespearean biography leap up and move about, his Shakespeare is limited by those very scraps. The dating of the sonnets, for instance, causes the dancing skeleton of Will Shaksper of Stratford to falter. Sonnet 2, which urges a young man to marry and have a child, begins with the words, “When forty winters shall besiege thy brow.” I am not the first person to hear in those words a way for the poet to say to the recipient of the poem, the Earl of Southampton, according to Nye, in effect, “When you are my age.” Will Shaksper was not forty until 1604—a

full decade after the events depicted in this novel, when Southampton had been married for years and was no longer a beautiful and charming youth. If we consider that "William Shakespeare" was the pen name of Edward de Vere, the seventeenth Earl of Oxford, however, "Shakespeare" was forty in April 1590, when the Earl of Southampton was engaged to Oxford's eldest daughter.

Shakespeare is for Nye what Richard II was for Shakespeare—a jumping-off point for a work of fiction. *Richard II* owes much to the historical Richard, of course, but what he left out is as telling as what he put in. Queen Elizabeth herself is said to have felt she was depicted in Shakespeare's portrayal of that sad monarch. Richard was also something of a self-portrait for Shakespeare. Similarly, Nye's Shakespeare is a fictional version of an historical figure, but also a stand-in for a contemporary figure and something of a self-portrait. The publisher of this novel writes of its author, "His principal calling is poetry, and his *A Collection of Poems 1955-1988* was chosen by six separate critics as one of their Books of the Year." Nye is not only a poet himself but has been associated with other poets who think of poetry as a way to discover and tell the truth about life. Two of these poets are Robert Graves and Laura Riding. There can be little doubt that Nye has his Mrs. Shakespeare express Laura Riding's mature and hostile view of Robert Graves's work when she writes of Shakespeare:

In his world women are kept in bonds by men, either as virgin goddesses or as whores.

I say that he should have been dumped into the river with the dirty laundry for such things, dressed as a woman and beaten for his published pretences to potency, and pinched by fairies for his sinful lust and his manifold sins against love.

But it is Nye's direct experience of poetry that gives this novel its authority and authenticity. Mrs. Shakespeare writes:

One time, I remember, I was dreaming of a song and he began to sing it.

I thought at first that I must have been humming it, or drumming out the rhythm with my fingers, and he had heard me and given voice to the tune and words.

But he had not heard anything, he assured me.

Nye's *A Collection of Poems* includes "The Same Song":

You dream a song and I begin to sing it
In a false voice, and so the song is ruined

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That was word-perfect in your head. In anger,
You tell me to be silent. 'Still, how strange
That you should sing the same strange song I'm dreaming.
Perhaps I hummed or drummed it? and you heard.'

No, music, I've no natural explanations.
You did not sing—but I have mocked your song
In broken accents, for my own amusement.
One day with a true voice I'd like to tell
How sometimes we catch breath and sing together
The same strange song, knowing we need no other.

Fiction is a way of understanding life and the world and offering that understanding to others. The dramatic monologue of Robert Nye's *Mrs. Shakespeare* dresses abstractions in lively Elizabethan clothes and tells of the uneasy marriage between truth and poetry in a voice that is marked by uncommon sense, frankness, and vitality. It is a thought-provoking entertainment that should not be missed.



Books in Brief

Shylock

by John Gross. Simon and Schuster, 1993.

John Gross's book does double duty for readers by looking at the dramatic character of Shylock from Elizabethan through modern times, delineating four centuries of theatrical performances, audience responses, and critical theories throughout the world. Equally important, Gross limns the play's background—and foreground—viz-a-viz Renaissance literature and social events. Finally, he provides readers with the most wide-ranging and knowledgeable examination of the play's legal underpinnings this reviewer has encountered. This *Shylock Variorum* may be the forerunner of a new type of scholarship, one that peers at dramatic characters through time and across the grain of source material, theater performance, and critical theory.

Aside from being an excellent read, *Shylock* allows us to look at this Shakespearean archetype from a myriad of perspectives; in fact, as many as the imagination can bear. Occasionally, the sheer number that Mr. Gross thrusts upon us breaks up the narrative with the multi-colored light of a very

large prism. While a neutral presentation of evidence is rare and valuable in an age of ideological hostility, the author's refusal to present his own views until the final pages detracts slightly from an otherwise exemplary achievement. —GBG

The Essential Shakespeare

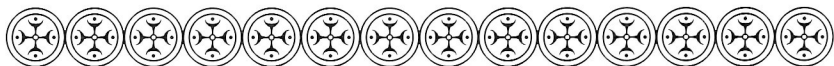
by Ted Hughes. The Ecco Press, 1991.

Mr. Hughes has produced, to my mind, the best study on how Shakespeare composed his plays, surgically laying out the technical and cultural mechanism of Shakespeare's dramatic poetry. To start, Hughes argues that Shakespeare's dependence on the Court and the aristocracy was political, his dependence on the masses, financial. As a result, what the dramatist had to discover at every level—in theme, action, and word—was “a language of the common bond.” The common language of a profoundly articulated, esoteric, spiritual vision that also incorporated a language of dramatic, popular, tragic melodrama.

In forming this language, Shakespeare had to devise a method that could assimilate his uniquely large vocabulary of 25,000 words, most of which had never been heard by his audience. One of Shakespeare's solutions was to balance two nouns or two adjectives on either side of an “and”—and direct their combined and contrasted meanings to qualify a third word, always a noun. For instance, from *Richard III*, “a beauty-waning and distressed widow.” The deliberate interplay of the two qualifiers presents the widow from two points of view: the objective, “beauty-waning,” and the subjective, “distressed.” The new word is thus balanced in meaning with its well-known counterpart, thereby allowing the play-going audience to provide the necessary closure instantly.

Hughes presents in lucid detail how the problem of using new and sophisticated language in a dramatic context was successfully solved and refined by Shakespeare throughout his career. I believe that Hughes's 44-page introduction (to a large selection of Shakespeare's poetry) should henceforth serve as the standard general introduction for future editions of the Collected Works. Among scholarly overviews, only Hughes's monograph fully describes the playwright's working method of dramatic poetic composition. Until now, the subject seems to have been neglected by academics due to their lack of technical knowledge. With Mr. Hughes's contribution, however, general *and* academic readers can be offered the kind of in-depth knowledge that sustains a lifetime of reading and listening pleasure.

—GBG



Uncovering Shakespeare: An Update

Who Was Shakespeare?

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