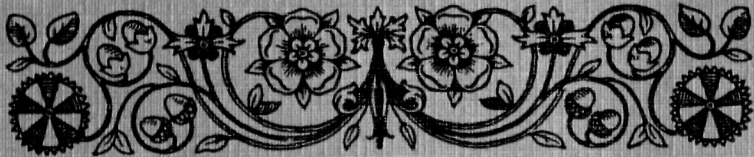


The Elizabethan Review

Spring 1994
Volume 2, Number 1



The Elizabethan Review

Spring 1994

Table of Contents

<i>From the Editor</i>	3
Letters to the Editor.....	5
The Philosophy of the Plays of Shakespere	
Unfolded—and Abridged.....	Elliott Baker 6
Death Put Off by Cunning and Forc'd Cause.....	David Chandler 15
An Encore for Shakespeare's Rare Italian Master.....	Ross Duffin 21

Reviews

Masterless Men: <i>The Elizabethan Underworld</i>	Warren Hope 26
England's Secret Theater: <i>The Reckoning</i>	Gary Goldstein 29

A Semiannual Journal

The Elizabethan Review

Editorial Board

Francis Edwards, S.J., F.S.A., F. Hist. Soc.

Ernest Ferlita, S.J.
Loyola University, New Orleans

Warren Hope, Ph.D.

Felicia Londre
University of Missouri, Kansas City

Anne E. Pluto
Lesley College, Boston

Charles Vere, Earl of Burford

Dr. L.L. Ware
Lincoln's Inn, London

Gary B. Goldstein
Editor

The Elizabethan Review (ISSN 1066-7059) is published twice a year by Gary B. Goldstein, 123-60 83rd Avenue, Suite 11-0, Kew Gardens, NY 11415. (718) 575-9656. Unsolicited manuscripts must be accompanied by self-addressed, stamped envelopes. Individual subscriptions \$30/year. Institutional subscriptions \$45/year in the United States; \$55/year overseas. Copyright 1994 Gary B. Goldstein. All rights reserved. Reproduction in whole or in part without express written permission from the publisher is prohibited.

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

From the Editor

Of the several recent attacks made by the academy against this journal, the most serious one involves the false charge of misrepresentation.

In the summer 1993 issue of *The Shakespeare Newsletter*—the organ of the Shakespeare Association of America—editor and professor Thomas Pendleton began his critical review by announcing that, "Although the title of *The Elizabethan Review* and some of its announced aims suggest a wider scope, the contents of this new periodical make it clear that it is devoted to arguing the Oxfordian hypothesis."

Pendleton's refusal to inform his readers that *only* the first issue was dedicated to the authorship question was compounded by his additional refusal to wait for subsequent issues of the *Review* to appear, which would have confirmed whether I was publishing a *sub rosa* Oxfordian publication. Instead, he accused myself and the Editorial Board of being ideological stalking horses, referring to the latter as "familiar apologists."

Pendleton wasn't content with attacking the integrity of the *Review's* officers. In the same review was a critique of U.S. Supreme Court Justice John Paul Stevens, whose article on the Shakespeare Authorship Question appeared in that inaugural issue.

After outlining Justice Stevens's argument based on the usage of canons of statutory construction, Pendleton

infers that, "Since there is no statute governing the determination of authorship, Stevens' canons have only analogical relevance to another realm of decision-making; they might, one supposes, be equally well applied to managing a baseball team."

Later on, he concludes his review by calling into question the Justice's legal competence, "For those who feel that moot court adjudications on matters like literary authorship are likely to produce little more than publicity, Justice Stevens' essay will confirm their prejudice. For those who would draw even bleaker implications - well, there are eight other justices."

Pendleton's strategy is the obvious one of smearing *anyone* who doesn't agree with his cloistered point of view through personal insult and gross misrepresentation of the record. This kind of behavior has prevented debate from proceeding on nearly every issue in the humanities, compelling scholars to publish outside the politically correct organs that, for the time being, vitiate the reputation of American scholarship.

Despite the kind of *bien pensant* thinking displayed by *The Shakespeare Newsletter* and the Shakespeare Association of America, this issue of *The Elizabethan Review* touches upon several controversial topics, beginning with an article by a non-academic, Elliott Baker, about a neglected 19th Century American historian.

From the Editor

Elliott Baker's article on Delia Bacon's *The Philosophy of the Plays of Shakespeare Unfolded* shows how significant the American Bacon's accomplishment truly was, for she brought the debate about Shakespeare beyond the superficial issue of who he was—that is, the crossword puzzle aspect of authorship—to the much more important and difficult questions of why he wrote and what he said in his plays, poems, and sonnets.

The second topic of contention that we focus on is that of Christopher Marlowe—his death and the proposition that he was William Shakespeare, dramatist. Thus, the second article by David Chandler, which traces four centuries of evidence in arguing whether Christopher Marlowe wrote the Shakespeare canon despite having died—or not having died—in 1593.

This latter issue isn't the subject of *The Reckoning*, a controversial book by English historian Charles Nicholl, who recently published a biography of Thomas Nash. Rather than engage in polemic over Marlowe's supposed identity as Shakespeare, Mr. Nicholl instead offers an explanation for the untimely death of one of the most brilliant of English dramatists, whom he finds to have been more involved in the secret theater of the time than we imagine.

As Warren Hope argues in his review of *The Elizabethan Underworld*, Marlowe would also be classified as one of the new masterless men in England's waning feudal world. While the Tudors set loose England's masses

by abolishing private armies and pulling down the monasteries, they promoted the rise of a new political class, the printing press, and the theater. Marlowe engaged himself in these and underworld activities to earn a living, ultimately ending up a victim of his secret profession and the political and religious violence of the times.

Finally, we present an article by Ross Duffin that reflects upon the varied influences of popular and refined forms of music in England and Italy on Elizabethan theater.

—Gary B. Goldstein

Letters to the Editor

Peter Sokolowski's implied support for a conventional date of plays (such as *The Tempest*) that postdate the 1603 publication of John Florio's English translation of the *Essays* deserves critical inspection. Use of hypothetical sources as a method of dating the composition of plays is fraught with unacknowledged methodological questions that have not been confronted by students of the Montaigne-Shakespeare question.

First, the large number of phrases common to Florio and Shakespeare which are also current in other works of the period—more than 730 out of a total of only 750, according to the numbers Sokolowski cites from Taylor and Yates—suggests that Florio's translation may be far less influential than has been supposed. It appears that most of the phrases Shakespeare supposedly derives from Florio are common Elizabethan idioms.

Inspection of particulars will only deepen doubts regarding the supposed influence of Montaigne on Shakespeare, at least as Anglophile Shakespeareans have attempted to establish it through lexicographical comparison to the Florio translation. In support of Taylor's argument, for instance, Sokolowski singles out a phrase from *Lear* which he credits with being "very convincing" evidence for Florio's influence on Shakespeare. Other scholars have also elevated this example as one of the key proofs of Florio's influence on Shakespeare:

Shakespeare: Is man no more than this? Consider him well. (III.iv.102)

Montaigne (Florio): Miserable man; whom if you consider him well what is he? (II, 12) (Taylor 9)

Some kind of influence is manifest in the parallel construction of these two passages. But is it, as Taylor argues—and Sokolowski seems to accept—clear evidence for Florio's influence on *Lear*? No, it is not. The phrase originates in a com-

mon source available to Shakespeare from at least 1560 onward—the English Bible.

"What is man...?" occurs in Psalm 8.4 and in II Esdras 8.34, underlined in the 1570 Geneva Bible of Edward de Vere (see my 1992 manuscript report, "A Quintessence of Dust: An Interim Report on the Marginalia of the Geneva Bible of Edward de Vere, 17th Earl of Oxford, Owned by the Folger Library"). More significantly, as Naseeb Shaheen observed in *Biblical References in Shakespeare's Tragedies* (151), the phrase "consider him" occurs in answer to the question "what is man?" at Hebrews 2.6 (citing Psalm 8) in the Geneva Bible:

What is man, that thou shouldst bee mindful of him? Or the sonne of man that thou wouldest *consider him*? (italics added)

Unfortunately, it appears that Taylor's study of Florio's supposed influence on Shakespeare set out to support the predetermined conclusion (derived from biographical assumptions) of a post-1603 date of composition for Shakespeare's plays—and consequently failed to take into consideration that such "very convincing" verbal parallels have obvious counterparts in much earlier sources.

Although we have Mr. Sokolowski's impressive synopsis of scholarly attempts to examine the possible relationship between Montaigne and Shakespeare, what is now required is a more critical examination of the Shakespearean source problem.

Such a study must take into consideration Mr. Sokolowski's notice of the emerging consensus that "Shakespeare simply must have been extraordinarily well educated"—a linguistic genius not just in English and its cousin French, but also in Latin, Italian, and quite possibly Greek.

Roger Stritmatter
Northampton, MA

The Philosophy of the Plays of Shakespeare Unfolded—and Abridged

Elliott Baker

The complete edition of *The Philosophy of the Plays of Shakespeare Unfolded* was published in London in the spring of 1857.¹ The following November, Delia Bacon, then living in Stratford, suffered a mental breakdown from which she never recovered. She was brought back to her family in the United States and died in Hartford, Connecticut on the 2nd of September, 1859. She was forty-eight.¹

Much has been made of her mental breakdown by her detractors and her book has invariably been offered as evidence of that instability.² There is a connection, but it is causal, for the effort the book required of her and the many tribulations surrounding its publication undoubtedly contributed to her tragic end.

It is not certain that Delia was ever aware of her book's cruel reception. She had good reason to expect otherwise. Her essay, "William Shakespeare and His Plays; an Inquiry Concerning Them," had been a leading article in *Putnam's Magazine*.³ No less a personage than Ralph Waldo Emerson, "The Sage of Concord," had been impressed by it and encouraged her to expand her theory to book length.⁴ Nathaniel Hawthorne, one of the world's most esteemed novelists, had arranged for the book's publication and provided a preface. She undoubtedly knew her views to be contentious, but her many reclusive years during which she claimed, "I am nothing but this work," had left her innocent of the world beyond the windows of her sparse London flat. Steeped as she was in the Tudor era, she lacked familiarity with the England she lived in and the ways of its rigid literary establishment. She was American; she was unfrocked by Oxford or Cambridge or even a university in her own country. Even more damning, in one critic's words, she had "stepped beyond feminine bounds."⁵ It was the grossest impertinence for such a one to suggest that the genius who'd given the world its greatest plays had not written them.

Vilification is often moderated by time, while ridicule remains obstinate. The

Novelist and essayist, Elliott Baker is the author of, among other books, A Fine Madness (1964), And We Were Young (1979), and Unhealthy Air (1988). This article was adapted from the foreword to his abridged edition of Delia Bacon's The Philosophy of the Plays of Shakespeare Unfolded.

misfortune of this book and its author has been to incur the latter. After Delia's death, the ridicule was compounded with pity, forming that particular quagmire from which there is no escape. And so, few self-sacrificial endeavors in the pursuit of truth have suffered so undeserved a fate for so long.

In the few critical notices granted her book, none mentioned what it was about. She had made it abundantly clear that the authorship question, forcibly dealt with in the Putnam article, was incidental to her present inquiry. Her objective was to reveal the existence of a consistent philosophy in the plays, to perceive its intent and establish its origins. But those who passed judgment on *The Philosophy of the Plays of Shakespere Unfolded* turned blind eyes to its very title. It was only the authorship question which was dealt with and on which they vented their mockery and scorn.

Though Nathaniel Hawthorne, in his preface, anticipated "a vast preliminary difficulty" he still underestimated it. He had complained of the book's length and must have known that the financial compensation to reviewers didn't warrant a diligent reading of a hefty volume. But, in a letter to a friend, he expressed his genuine belief that "the book is a good one." Perhaps his own success had left him naive about the lackeys of the literary world. When he did castigate the critics for cowardice, it was too late. Their damage had been done.

There's no denying that *The Philosophy of the Plays of Shakespere Unfolded* was overwritten. It's as if Delia didn't believe the elements of her theory could be absorbed from a single exposure. She resorted to repetition, sometimes seemingly endlessly so, and her presentation suffered accordingly. She overestimated her readers' familiarity with the plays and Bacon's philosophic writings and also granted them a classical knowledge equal to her own. Both miscalculations resulted in obscurities. In another letter, Hawthorne voiced the wish to shovel the excesses out of the book so that its genuine eloquence and ingenuity could shine forth.

The Philosophy of the Plays of Shakespere Unfolded is divided into three main sections. The first, a lengthy Introduction, presents the basic concept of the total work, that of an elite coterie of Elizabethan Men of Letters from which the plays emerged. Delia presented Walter Raleigh as the organizer of this group and Francis Bacon as its philosophic mentor. That the two men were not known to have an amiable relationship she attributed to the disguises that courtiers with similar intents had to adopt because of the tyranny of the times.

Delia's vision of Raleigh is idealized and romantic, still rankled by the injustices he endured. But the additional accomplishments she heaps on him remain within the bounds of credibility. Whether he actually presided over "A School of Night" or was merely the social apex of like-minded men is still debated. Whichever, Delia was the first to link this grouping with the

The Elizabethan Review

“Academe” in *Love’s Labor’s Lost*, preceding other Shakespearean scholars by half a century.⁶

Book One, which follows the Introduction, is devoted to Montaigne and Bacon, with an emphasis on their similarities of method as well as philosophy. While never deigning to lock horns with acknowledged authorities, she inadvertently exposes the glibness of their pronouncements. Whereas Hazlitt found Montaigne “inexpressively frank” with “no juggling tricks,”⁷ Delia saw his work threaded with metonymy and lurking meanings and her quoted extracts show the Gascon’s postures and utterances often as assumed as his name.

The new enlightenment had blossomed first in France, pioneered by men like Ronsard and Jodelle, but it was Montaigne’s *Essais* which first sparked it in England. Florio’s translation of 1603 achieved Biblical status in Jacobean literary circles and Ben Jonson enshrined it in *Volpone*. “All our English writers... will deigne to steale out of another well-known author almost as much as from Montaigne.” A relevant estimate is that more than seven hundred words in the *Essais* made their first appearance in Shakespeare’s plays after the translation was published.

That Bacon had a similar outlook to the Gascon philosopher is obvious. In fact, he paid tribute to the man he never met by Anglicizing Montaigne’s title for his own first collection of writings. Both men wrote for the few of the present and, hopefully, the many of the future. Both cleverly dissembled their views to avoid the comprehension of the oppressive powers of their times and regarded the solicitude of reputation and glory as follies. Both employed a new kind of Socratic dialogue advancing identical truths. Delia’s perception of this is implicitly acknowledged in Hawthorne’s first letter to her: “You seem to me to have read Bacon and Montaigne more profoundly than anybody else has read them.”

While giving the Frenchman full due, Delia never treated his English counterpart as a mutation. Both pointed with a finger to what they could not say, but Montaigne made no contribution to Bacon’s Scientific Philosophy. Delia’s extensive treatment of this only occasionally alludes to him. In these chapters, Bacon completely takes over the limelight of genius, his logic and rhetoric undergoing an analysis thoroughly at odds with those offered in Spedding’s sixteen-volume lifelong study⁸ and Lord Macaulay’s famous essay.⁹ She places equal emphasis on thought and word, finding “truth in beauty dyed” in the frequent use of parable and fable. She fathoms his Tables of Review of Instances and accepts his original portraits of virtue, duty, and felicity in the dissection of character. Bacon’s Method of Progression required artistic exhibitions to illustrate the diseases and artificial growths of human nature. He

believed in a discriminating perceptual dominance over popular ignorance and sentimentality. Delia found these concepts to be his paving stone to the stage of The Globe.

It is in the final section, Book Two, of *The Philosophy of the Plays of Shakespere Unfolded* that the leap is made from Bacon the philosopher to Bacon as playwright. Three of the plays, *King Lear*, *Julius Caesar*, and *Coriolanus*, are presented as evidence that the Shakespeare canon contains the missing Fourth Part of Bacon's *The Great Instauration*.¹⁰

Delia chose her examples well. Since her writing, *Lear* has critically unseated *Hamlet* as the most complex of Shakespeare's characters. Though the scope of interpretations has broadened, their differences mostly remain minor fissures within the same veins of filial ingratitude and parental anguish. Delia's interpretations still stand apart. To her, it is not only Regan's heart but all the characters that bear anatomizing. The tempest in the mind of the aged king is a microcosm of the chaos of human life, his distress no different from Tom O'Bedlam's gibberish in establishing the limits of fate and fortune. To Delia, the play is a philosophic inquiry into the secrets of majesty, its theme—that ultimate sovereignty belongs to universal nature—stated in *Lear*'s vain attempts to outscorn the elements. To her, this is the tragedy of the many, not only of a monarch. Madness has replaced the conventional Christianity of *The Chronicle History of King Leir* and Sidney's *Arcadia*. The new *Lear*'s frantic appeals reflect the Pyrrhonist sentiment of the period, but she finds these too far removed from existing moral concepts to be pertinent.¹¹ They are matters best left to academic minds.

Nor does she follow the well trodden scholarship trail of circumstantial evidence. Phrases from Montaigne's essays appear verbatim in the plays;¹² their borrowings from Erasmus can also be found in Bacon's *Promus*.¹³ These duplications could have been used to enforce her theory, but they also remain incidental to her inquiry. The play represents ripe ground for battle and some giants had left themselves open for a kill. Doctor Johnson detected nothing atavistic between the Roman plays and Tudor/Stuart England,¹⁴ and Coleridge saw *Lear* derived from gross improbability, while Delia detected a British lion beneath the ancient costumes. But Johnson gets no mention; nor does Hazlitt, nor Coleridge, nor Pope, nor any of the high priests of scholarship. Equitably, she doesn't exploit the tributes from Dryden and Ben Jonson nor any samples of Montaigne's Lucretian Tomism to bolster her case.

Of the three plays, *Julius Caesar* receives the fewest pages. This most popular and accomplished of the melodramas is treated as the most self-revelatory, the finger unmistakably pointing to Ceasar's laurel wreath on the brows of Elizabeth and James. Brutus and Cassius discuss their views of government out

of earshot of the Tower, but their exchanges warrant T.S. Eliot's verdict that Shakespeare's philosophy was inferior and muddled.¹⁵ "There is a tide in the affairs of men" amounts to little more than a proverb, so Delia looked elsewhere and found the precepts that prodigious persons exist in the blind passions of those absorbed by them and that justice is often nothing but an excuse for the murder of the perfection of power. Tyrants were always waiting in the wings and "another evil may succeed and a worse."

These substantiated some of Bacon's prose. Though he was not averse to having power in his own time, he feared a *Gotterdammerung* which would unleash an unenlightened popular will. The reforms of moral absolutes had to be carried out with a scientific purpose which would improve the gross appetites of man by altering the meaning of popular terms, and all within the existing political framework. "If there be a speck or two in the eye (of England) he were a strange oculist who would pull out the eye."¹⁶ There is a reflection here of Montaigne's caution against decay and corruption carrying them too far from their principles.

As befits one of the longest plays in the Folio, *Coriolanus* is allotted the fullest treatment in her text. If there is a primary concentration in all of Bacon's writings, it is on the double nature of man—the conflict between isolated interest and public sensibilities. Delia finds in Caius Martius Coriolanus the ideal prototype. Through him, true nobility is delved to its roots. The egg of the hero tortures the butterfly and his rise to power is charted from that moment of its inception. The debts to and departures from Plutarch, as in *Julius Caesar*, receive scant attention. Whether or not the dearth of grain in the play had any connection with local Warwickshire riots¹⁷ is left to the nit-picking of professorial combat. The inequality of fortune in nature's book of secrecy is the theme. Lear's realization of it was the basis of his abulia and despair. Brutus and Cassius are but diseased botanical specimens of it. Moreover, Delia maintains that *Coriolanus* includes a definitive scientific classification of the specimens of reverence and submission that men exhibit both singly and in crowds. More essentially, she found in Bacon's "feigned history" the steps in the advancement of learning which could take man from a "nobler kind of vermin" to true sovereignty. She does not neglect the mother/son relationship in this. To her, the image of Volumnia kneeling alone before the City of Rome symbolizes the mistaken duty between child and parent, and her labelling of Volumnia as "the conservator of the harm" is impressively pre-Freudian.

The author would undoubtedly have been incensed by Bernard Shaw's verdict that this play was the greatest of Shakespeare's comedies.¹⁸ She may well have told the flippant Fabian to look beneath the simplistic labor relations of the "comedy," just as she once admonished Carlyle that he did not know what

was in the plays if he believed “that booby wrote them.” She had little patience with those opposing her views, but the brief chapter which concludes her book shows her capable of tolerance.

Obviously smarting from Pope’s summing up of Bacon as “the meanest of mankind” and Macaulay’s devastating comments on his shame, she rises full strength to defend the man she has so profoundly read. The obsequious compliments to King James at the beginning of *The Advancement of Learning* are deformities necessary to justify: “There has not been since Christ’s time any King or Temporal Monarch, which has been so learned in all literature and erudition.” This to the most fatuous of rulers, who regarded riding to hounds as a cultural achievement. Bacon’s own letters appear to support the charges against him, but Delia uses these to substantiate her thesis that all Bacon’s most obvious statements were mere disguises to avoid the Star Chamber. It’s difficult to deny that Bacon’s praise of James’s swiftness of apprehension and penetration of judgment was anything but mockery.

Throughout her book, Delia refers alternately to the poet and the philosopher, leaving the impression that she considers them one and the same. Only twice does she return to her original assertion that the plays were the products of more than one mind. Had she clung to this theme, her work might not have been greeted so derisively. The type of cunning she approved of in Raleigh and Montaigne and Bacon could have made her theory palatable without totally denying it. Both *Venus and Adonis* and *The Rape of Lucrece* were dedicated by William Shakespeare to the Third Earl of Southampton, who was a sycophant of the Earl of Essex, who in turn was a close friend of Bacon until Essex’s attempted insurrection. Delia had published fiction. She was certainly capable of concocting a scenario in which the actor Shakespeare ingratiated himself to the others enough to be a frequent guest at Gorhambury House so that, having ingested Bacon’s philosophic musings, some later appeared in his plays. The beginner’s crudities in the earlier efforts would thus be excusable and she might even give the player full marks for the birth of Anthony Dull and Holofernes. But any such contrivance would have destroyed her conception at its very source, and her Putnam article had already made this impossible. A single extract should suffice.

Take, one by one, the splendid men of this Elizabethan age, and set them down with a *Hamlet* to write, and you will say beforehand, such a one cannot do it;...—oh no; he with his infinite wit and invention, with his worlds of covert humor, with his driest prose, pressed, bursting with Shakespearean beauty, he could not do it, nor he with his Shakespearean acquaintance with life, with his Shakespearean knowledge of men under all the different

social conditions... with his large, genial, generous, prodigal Shakespearean soul that would comprehend all, he could not do it; neither of these men, nor both of them together, nor all the wits of the age together:—but this Mr. Shakespeare of the Globe, this mild, respectable, obliging man, this “Johannes Factotum” (as a contemporary calls him, laughing at the idea of his undertaking “a blank verse”), is there any difficulty here? Oh no! None in the world.¹⁹

We should remember that, before this article appeared, many men of independent mind had felt uneasy with the Stratford legend. Pope had bowed before the miracle of the plays’ creation; Coleridge had asked if God chose idiots to convey truths; and men as diverse as Bismark and Emerson had expressed difficulty at relating the man Shakespeare with his work. Delia, though, was the first to offer an alternative. Before crossing the Atlantic on her mission, she had acquired a substantial following as a speaker. The pulpit rhetoric of her prose was similarly bound to attract adherents. After her death some became disciples and, as so often happens, she was further victimized by their good intentions.

Many of those newly convinced were articulate and distinguished. Later, rival candidates to Bacon were nominated, most noticeably Christopher Marlowe; William Herbert, Earl of Derby; and Edward de Vere, Earl of Oxford. But what became known as the “Baconian Movement” long prevailed. Accusations that Bacon wrote like a Lord Chancellor were countered by Dryden’s tribute and Shelley’s declaring him a poet with a language that had “a sweet and majestic rythm.”²⁰ Sentence lengths were charted, feminine endings counted, and meter measured. Various ploys of cryptology were prompted by Bacon’s mention of ciphers, the first three letters of the alphabet wheel being a partial anagram of his name.²¹ The authorship question was no longer incidental, but the purpose of Delia’s work was ignored. *The Dictionary of American Biography* had the final word—“To her remains the credit or discredit, of having inaugurated the most absurd, and in other hands, the most popular of literary heresies.”

The Baconian movement gradually dwindled as the Oxfordian one gained credence, finally ending on a ludicrous note of counterpoint when a book attempting to prove that William Shakespeare wrote Francis Bacon’s works was respectfully reviewed by respected critics.²² It can now be declared officially dead. Francis Bacon is never mentioned in the realms of poetry or theater. More pertinent is that the name of the man to whom Kant dedicated *The Critique of Pure Reason* is noticeably absent from many indexes of modern philosophy and the new historicism.

This would have been the most bitter pill of all for Delia Bacon to swallow. Her entire work is based on the presumption that Bacon wrote for the future benefit of man and the eventual adhesion of his double nature. He'd found no melodies in "the flutes and trumpets of the Greeks" suitable to practical everyday life. He'd censured Aristotle for ignoring the affections while mouthing ancient slogans in a learned tongue. Bacon's inductive process was to be a secular replacement for Aristotelian syllogisms. Delia believed the purpose of the plays was to assist in this transition and that Bacon's scientific philosophy would finally prove dominant. But the trimmings of current morality show them shaped more by Aristotle's *Organum* and *Eudemian Ethics* than by any parts of *The Great Instauration*.

A hundred years ago, it was said that only William Shakespeare was more quoted than Francis Bacon. Today, possibly one of his sentences might be familiar to school boys.

Some books are to be tasted, others to be swallowed, and some few to be chewed and digested.

Another passage, from Bacon's writings, would seem even more applicable to *The Philosophy of the Plays of Shakespeare Unfolded*.

Read not to contradict, nor to believe, but to weigh and consider.

Notes

1. Delia Bacon, *The Philosophy of the Plays of Shakespeare Unfolded*, with a preface by Nathaniel Hawthorne (London, 1857).
2. Samuel Shoenbaum in his *Shakespeare's Lives* has probably been her main assailant. See also, "Happy Birthday, William Shakespeare, and Keep Those Plays and Sonnets Coming," by Robert Giroux (*The New York Times*, April 28, 1985).
3. *Putnam's Monthly* (January 1856).
4. Ralph Waldo Emerson, after reading the manuscript of her essays, wrote to her on the 12th of June, 1852. His letter included, "There is an immense presumption against us which is to be annihilated by battery as fast as possible. On most accounts, the eligible way is, I think, the *book*, published simultaneously in England and here."
5. *Punch* (May 2, 1857). The review continued, "Women might better unfold tablecloths than the sheets of Shakespeare."
6. In 1592, a book written by the Jesuit Robert Persons under the name of "Andreas Philopater" was surreptitiously circulated in England. Among other slanders, it accused Raleigh of keeping a school of Atheism in which "young men learned to spell the name of God backwards." Whether this was the "School of Night" mentioned in the King of Navarre's speech in *Love's Labor's*

The Elizabethan Review

Lost is still debated by scholars. The subject is treated fully by Ernest Strathman in his *Sir Walter Raleigh, A Study in Elizabethan Skepticism*.

7. William Hazlitt, *Selected Writings*, ed. R. Blythe (1970).

8. James Spedding, *The Life and Letters of Francis Bacon* (London, 1861-1874).

9. Thomas Babington Macaulay, "Lord Bacon," *The Edinburgh Review* (July 1837).

10. As conceived by Bacon, *The Great Instauration* was to consist of six parts. The Fourth Part was to offer examples of his inductive methodology. He wrote that Part Six was beyond his remaining strength, thus implying that the fourth and fifth parts had been accomplished. However, no segments of them were found among his writings.

11. William R. Elton, *King Lear and the Gods* (1988).

12. See Peter Sokolowski's review of *The Complete Essays* of Montaigne in the Fall 1993 issue of this journal.

13. Mrs. Henry Pott, *The Promus of Formularies and Elegances* (1883). Mrs. Pott tabulated more than 1,600 quotations from the works of Bacon and Shakespeare which showed similarities. Many of these were from Erasmus.

14. Samuel Johnson, *Preface to the Edition of Shakespeare's Plays* (London, 1765).

15. T.S. Eliot, *Four Elizabethans*.

16. Francis Bacon, *Advancement of Learning*.

17. This theory is advanced by Russell Fraser in *Shakespeare, The Later Years* (1992).

18. Bernard Shaw, *Shaw on Shakespeare*, ed. Edmund Wilson.

19. Putnam's Monthly (January 1856).

20. Percy B. Shelley, *The Symposium or Preface to the Banquet of Plato*.

21. The professional cryptologists, William and Elizabeth Friedman, in their *Shakespearean Ciphers Examined* (1957), presented a full inquiry into the "cypher issue," which resulted in a negative conclusion.

22. Charles Hamilton, *In Search of Shakespeare* (1986).

Death Put Off By Cunning and Forc'd Cause

David Chandler

It seems predictable that 1993, the 400th anniversary of Christopher Marlowe's death, should have inspired little new Marlowe scholarship but several more fictions, among them Anthony Burgess's *A Dead Man in Deptford*; Robin Chapman's *Christoferus or Tom Kyd's Revenge*; Judith Cook's *The Slicing Edge of Death*; and Liam Maguire's *Icarus Flying*. Even in the first decade after he died, interest in Marlowe's violent death threatened to outweigh interest in his work. But paucity of facts bred speculation, and speculation fiction. A trend was established that is clearly still alive after four hundred years.

While death has always provoked fiction, Marlowe's death in 1593 has itself been called a fiction. As early as the 17th Century there were suggestions that Marlowe had survived 1593. John Aubrey reported a tradition that it was Marlowe who was killed by Ben Jonson in 1598. But if Marlowe did survive 1593, what did he do? What did he write? The only answer that has ever been proposed was that he wrote "Shakespeare."

The idea began in inverted form with William Taylor of Norwich (1765-1836), in his youth a brilliant German specialist. In the 19th Century, new interest was taken in Marlowe's work (see Thomas Dabbs' excellent 1991 study, *Reforming Marlowe*). New interest in the work meant new interest in Marlowe's life, more speculation, and more fiction. In two articles that appeared in the *Monthly Review* in 1819 and 1821 Taylor suggested that "Marlowe" was "but a borrowed designation of the great Shakespeare, who disappears from all biographical research just at the moment when Marlowe first came on the stage; and who re-appears in his proper name in 1592, when a strange story was put in circulation that Marlowe had been recently assassinated with his own sword, which may be allegorically true."

Taylor provoked a great sensation, though found no critical support. But so shadowy a figure had Marlowe become that it was initially difficult to refute

A doctoral candidate in English at Corpus Christi College, Oxford University, David Chandler's most recent article is "Twisted in Persecution's Loving Ways: Peter Bayley Reviewed by Wordsworth, Coleridge and Southey," in The Wordsworth Circle, Winter 1994 (25:1).

him. The three parts of *Henry VI* and *Titus Andronicus* were already being attributed to Marlowe by respected critics, so single authorship of both the Marlowe and Shakespeare canons was not too far-fetched an idea. Taylor prepared the way for later Marlowe-wrote-Shakespeare theories by showing that the canons fitted neatly together: Marlowe's "allegorical" death preceded publication of *Venus and Adonis*, the "first heir" of William Shakespeare's "invention," by a few months.

Taylor's paradox¹ brought the long era of Marlowe's obscurity to an end. Within a few months James Broughton, a literary antiquary, had been inspired to check the Deptford parish register for "some record of Marlowe's burial." He was successful. Modern Marlowe scholarship was born.

Over the next three decades Broughton, John Payne Collier and Alexander Dyce assembled a reasonably complete and accurate biography of Marlowe that was not substantially modified until Leslie Hotson published his seminal *Death of Christopher Marlowe* in 1925. The new biography was still undecided about Marlowe's death, but 19th Century commentators tended to favor Francis Meres's 1598 account. Meres had fictionalized with cool deliberateness to create a parallel: "as the poet Lycophron was shot to death by a certain rival of his; so Christopher Marlowe was stabbed to death by a bawdy serving man, a rivall of his in his lewde love." Victorian dramatists who treated Marlowe's death—R.H. Horne, W.L. Courtney, J.D. Hosken—followed this critical preference but cleaned the story up. The "lewde love" became a chaste, ideal lover, union with whom is prevented by cruel Fate.

William Gleason Zeigler, a San Francisco attorney, accepted this idealized version for his 1895 novel: *It Was Marlowe*. But Zeigler added a new twist, quite appropriate to the 1890s. For, since 1856, a loud minority had proclaimed Francis Bacon's authorship of the Shakespeare canon. As with most such theories, the negative side of the "Baconian" case was more convincing than the positive. By 1890, the pretensions of Shakespeare of Stratford to authorship of the works published under his name were widely mocked, and a host of other "authorship" candidates began to be posited. *It Was Marlowe* was historically the first to make a case for Marlowe, thus reversing Taylor's suggestion of 1819.

Somewhat ironically, because of his unashamedly fictional presentation, Zeigler has since gained the vituperation even of those who have adopted his theory. But he initially considered the "authorship question" from a critical point of view, favoring Marlowe on grounds of proven dramatic genius, stylistic parallels, and a "like spirit." Examining the "contradictory" early reports of Marlowe's death, Zeigler felt they hid a greater mystery. He naturally paid most attention to Aubrey's tantalizing suggestion that Marlowe was still alive in 1598. Unfortunately, he found not a shred of evidence that pointed to

Marlowe's living beyond 1593. So after carefully studying the Elizabethan period, he set about a fictional reconstruction of what *might* have happened.

In *It Was Marlowe*, the dramatist, fresh from the success of *Edward II* but in trouble because of charges of blasphemy being brought against him, meets his former lover Anne, now the much suffering wife of "Francis Frazer." Anne is still in love with Marlowe but too virtuous to leave Frazer. Frazer discovers them together and with drawn sword instantly attacks Marlowe (who he assumes is planning an elopement with Anne). Marlowe draws his own sword to defend himself and succeeds in stabbing Frazer through the eye.

For a moment, the horrified lovers believe all is lost, but Anne suggests an audacious plan that is quickly developed by Marlowe. Both Frazer and Marlowe are strangers in Deptford and of similar appearance and build. Moreover, Frazer's face is now bloodied and distorted. So Marlowe swaps clothes with the corpse and goes into hiding. At the inquest the following day, Anne identifies the dead man as Christopher Marlowe. Marlowe has a legal friend who ensures the proceedings are rapidly brought to a close and the corpse buried locally.

Deliberately leaving *Hero and Leander* unfinished, Marlowe devotes himself to writing in his hidden chamber in London. He has a few theatrical friends, including the actor Will Shakespeare. These are in on the secret, and arrange for Marlowe's work to be passed on to theatrical managers by Shakespeare, who will silently accept credit for the work. Marlowe tries desperately to change his style but the early "Shakespeare" plays are so Marlovian as to cause suspicion in some quarters that he is still alive. His continued existence in London eventually becomes too dangerous and he leaves for the continent. Despite the advice of friends he returns in 1598 to witness the success of *Hamlet*, in which Shakespeare is playing the Ghost. He is recognized by jealous Ben Jonson. With abrupt effectiveness, Zeigler concluded his novel here, leaving the final denouement to the readers's imagination and avoiding the awkward question of whether it was possible for Marlowe to have written the entire Shakespeare canon by 1598. The fairest thing to say about *It Was Marlowe* is that though its "rivals in love" plot was Victorian fabrication, the argument as a whole is as convincing and certainly more entertaining than that of other books of the period purporting to "identify" Shakespeare.

"Did Marlowe Write Shakespeare?" was the provocative title of an article in *Current Literature* for February 1902. It was written by the widely respected Thomas Corwin Mendenhall. Professor of Physics at Ohio State University, Mendenhall had developed an early method of authorial "fingerprinting," based on word length. Having read *It Was Marlowe*, he applied his tests to check Zeigler's theory. The apparent correlation between Shakespeare's style and Marlowe's that was revealed, "produced something akin to a sensation

among those actually engaged in the work.” Zeigler’s intuition now seemed supported by hard scientific fact, even though Mendenhall judiciously abstained from any conclusive statement respecting Marlowe’s authorship and consequent need to survive 1593.

Strangely enough, given the number of books appearing on the “authorship question,” further support for Marlowe was a long time coming. In 1923 an attempt was made to attribute Shakespeare’s sonnets to Marlowe, but this could be done without needing to fictionalize further the circumstances of Marlowe’s death. Meanwhile, in the world of orthodox scholarship, Leslie Hotson’s 1925 *Death of Christopher Marlowe* opened a new era in biographical studies of Marlowe. But publication of the official documents respecting Marlowe’s death still left so much room for speculation that in closing one era of fictional reconstructions, Hotson unwittingly opened another.

The first to deny that Hotson’s discoveries proved Marlowe to have died in 1593 was Gilbert Slater. Looking at the new evidence presented by Hotson and almost simultaneously by Eugenie De Kalb, Slater was incredulous that Thomas Walsingham, given his closeness to Marlowe (Walsingham was the eventual dedicatee of *Hero and Leander*, the dedication to which referred to the “many kind favours” he had shown Marlowe), should have continued to employ Marlowe’s murderer, Francis Frizer. Slater’s own suggestion was that Frizer and Marlowe were both part of a scheme of Walsingham’s to fake Marlowe’s death so that Marlowe could assume a new identity for top secret espionage missions abroad. It was also a friendly gesture to protect Marlowe from the charges of blasphemy and treason brewing against him at home. Walsingham was, in Slater’s view, sufficiently influential to ensure that the coroner and carefully selected jury identified another corpse as Marlowe’s and have it promptly buried. Zeigler’s idea of a wrongly identified corpse was to prove his most enduring legacy.

Slater did not claim Marlowe as sole author of the Shakespeare canon. His own theory—advanced in *Seven Shakespeares* of 1931—was that they were the work of a group of writers: Francis Bacon, Marlowe, William Stanley, Roger Manners, Edward de Vere, Walter Raleigh, and the Countess of Pembroke. It was an ambitious attempt to reconcile the warring factions of “anti-Stratfordians.” Marlowe was needed by the group, Slater suggested, because none of the others had practical experience of writing for the theater.

It was in the 1930s that Calvin Hoffman, a Canadian theater critic, arrived independently at the conclusion that Marlowe must have written the Shakespeare canon. He was then in his late 20s and from that moment dedicated his life to establishing proof. It is probably fair to say that if anyone today has a vague idea that Shakespeare’s plays have been attributed to Marlowe, it is due to the

indefatigable labors of Hoffman.

Yet Hoffman's main work on the subject, *The Man Who Was Shakespeare*, published in 1955 after 19 years of research, offered little that was new. Hoffman claimed that it was only after 12 years that he came across Zeigler's book (an astonishing confession given that Hotson had referred to it), dismissed it as a "cinematic thriller," and then unscrupulously claimed to be the first to propose Marlowe as the sole author of the Shakespeare canon. But he repeated arguments already put by Taylor, Zeigler, and Slater, though owning only Mendenhall (whom Hoffman rebuked for not having the courage of his convictions) as a predecessor.

Despite sneering at Zeigler's "cinematic thriller," the heart of Hoffman's own book falls back on what he admitted was a "fictional reconstruction." Like Slater, Hoffman put the greatest emphasis on Thomas Walsingham who, he argued at length, was Marlowe's lover and the recipient of the sonnets ("Mr. W.H." = Walsingham). He assumed Frizer was more likely to have been involved in his employer Walsingham's plot to save Marlowe from a likely death penalty for treason and blasphemy, than to kill him. Frizer and friends Skeres and Poley thus killed an innocent who could be identified as Marlowe. But Hoffman played down the espionage angle as much as he played up the homosexual one. In Hoffman's "fictional reconstruction," Marlowe goes into Italian exile, from where he sends his plays to Walsingham. Walsingham has them copied and passed on to the theater through William Shakespeare, who is paid to cooperate.

Hoffman's book was dismissed in the Times Literary Supplement as "a tissue of twaddle," but the very existence of such reviews indicates the stir he had created. It seems to have been felt on all sides that *The Man Who Was Shakespeare* would be decisive one way or the other. Would it win a large cult following such as the "Baconians" had enjoyed in the Nineteenth Century? Or sink into oblivion as the last ineffective championship of a lost cause? In fact, neither happened; Hoffman won a small following, dedicated in the way small anti-establishment groups are. There was some published support and some proposed modifications of Hoffman's "fictional reconstruction." One of these was so outlandish as to deserve separate treatment.

William Honey was convinced by the main premise of Hoffman's book, but not its detail. His own research began with an examination of Shakespeare's epitaph: Good friend for Jesus sake forbear,/to digg the dust enclosed heare:/bleste be the man that spares thes stones,/and curst be he that moves my bones. Honey found that this was a regular anagram that, interpreted with a few licences permitted by William Camden in his 1605 remarks on anagrams, actually read:

The Elizabethan Review

Good friend who wishes for Shakespeare
to digge the dust: entombed heae:
playes by the man, verses hys sonnets
and Chrystopher Marlowe's bones.

"The solution was so easy that I was amazed no one had arrived at it before me," Honey added. "In order to account for the presence of Marlowe's body in Stratford-upon-Avon, it now becomes necessary to hypothesize one extraordinary characteristic about the actor Shakespeare. He was remarkably like Marlowe to look at: so like him, indeed, that he might have been taken for his twin."

Accept that and the rest follows. It was not just any corpse that was identified as Marlowe's in 1593: it was the corpse of William Shakespeare, the "upstart crow" who had angered the professional playwrights with his plagiarisms and bombast. He was lured to his death in Deptford by Walsingham's men. Marlowe "would then furtively, possibly at dead of night, have made his way to Shakespeare's lodgings and installed himself." After a few weeks of feigned illness he appeared to the world as Shakespeare. Theatrical friends not easily gulled countenanced the deception because of the likely commercial success of Marlowe's work, and when he eventually visited Stratford, old John Shakespeare was bribed into silence with money and a coat of arms.

Honey's *The Shakespeare Epitaph Deciphered*, from which the above is quoted, was written in 1964 and published in 1969. Honey's 1,400-page sequel, *The Life, Loves, and Achievements of Christopher Marlowe Alias Shakespeare*, vastly expanding the conclusions of the earlier book, was privately published in 1982. 1993 would have been as good a year as any to produce a "fictional reconstruction" that allowed Marlowe to walk away from Deptford. Yet so far none has appeared.

In his brilliant study of Marlowe's death, *The Reckoning*, Charles Nicholl dismissed the idea that Marlowe survived the Deptford incident to write Shakespeare as a "false trail" that "is no kind of trail at all." Perhaps not, but the assumption that if Marlowe lived beyond 1593 he wrote Shakespeare, and if he didn't write Shakespeare then he must have died in 1593, suggests the extent to which the tradition recorded here has entered popular belief. If the "fictional reconstructions" of how Marlowe survived 1593 are to be dismissed on these grounds, then they have truly been hoist with their own petard.

Notes

1. For a more detailed examination of William Taylor's 1819 paradox and its context, see my article: "Marlowe: A Hoax by William Taylor," in *Notes and Queries* 41 (June 1994 New Series): 2.

An Encore for Shakespeare's Rare Italian Master

Ross W. Duffin

In the spring 1993 issue of this journal, Bette Talvacchia presents an admirably detailed re-examination of Shakespeare's citation of "that rare Italian Master, Julio Romano," the reported sculptor of Hermione's statue in *The Winter's Tale*. Some of the material she presented there is familiar from the discussion in *The Variorum Shakespeare* and elsewhere,¹ but having the arguments re-presented and augmented by Professor Talvacchia led me to notice something new about the way Julio Romano's artwork is represented in the text.

Much of the confusion, whether intentional or not on the part of the playwright, centers on the fact that Giulio Romano (1499-1546) is known by reputation and from his surviving work as a painter and an architect, rather than a sculptor. This has been handily explained away by a reference to Giulio's sculpting skill in the first edition (1550) of Vasari's *Lives*. At the same time, D.E. Baughn has suggested that Shakespeare may have intentionally conflated Giulio with another artist, the sculptor Giovanni Romano (ca. 1470-1512),² leading Leonard Barkan to see in the name itself, "the multiplicity of the arts, the rivalry among them, and the *paragone* of art and nature."³ I would like to suggest that there is yet another layer of ambiguity beyond that already recognized, namely, that Julio Romano is also the name of an Italian musician whose work was certainly known in England in the early 17th Century.

The statue is introduced in the play as follows: "a piece many years in the doing and now newly performed by that rare Italian master, Julio Romano, who, had he himself eternity and could put breath into his work, would beguile Nature of her custom, so perfectly he is her ape." (V.ii.104-108) The imagery of the first phrase is itself suggestive of music: "a piece many years in the doing and now newly performed..." A musical composition might be worked on for many years, certainly, and "performance" is a more typical description of musical activity—or even theatrical activity—than of painting or sculpture. It is also true that a singer "puts breath into his work" in giving voice to his song, so that particular imagery might be regarded as musical as well.

As for the name of the artist, Julio Romano, it seems to have gone unnoticed

Ross W. Duffin is Fynette H. Kulas Associate Professor and Chairman of the Department of Music at Case Western Reserve University.

The Elizabethan Review

heretofore in discussions of this passage that the famous Italian singer, composer, and theorist, usually identified today as Giulio Caccini (ca. 1545-1618), was frequently referred to at that time as Giulio Romano.

If the musical “performance” imagery is acknowledged as a possibility, then this man must have been the artist referred to, or at least this particular name must have been chosen to add to the artistic ambiguity of the situation. Caccini alias Romano was known as a virtuoso singer at the court of Florence from about the year 1579. In 1600, he contributed to one of the first operas ever written, *L'Euridice*, and in 1602 published a landmark collection of songs combined with a groundbreaking treatise on singing, *Le nuove musiche*.⁴ (Some scholars regard this as the beginning of *bel canto*.) He also spent time at Ferrara, Rome, and even Paris. Caccini was unquestionably famous enough as a singer and composer to have come to the notice of English musicians, such as John Dowland, who traveled on the continent during this period. In fact, Dowland's son, Robert, included two of Giulio's songs from *Le nuove musiche* in his 1610 collection of songs, *A Musicall Banquet*. Even before that, however, the English composer Peter Philips wrote a keyboard piece based on the most famous song from Caccini's 1602 collection, *Amarilli mia bella*. When Francis Tregian, a friend of the composer, copied that setting into his famous Fitzwilliam Virginal Book sometime in the second decade of the century, he wrote at the top, “Amarilli di Julio Romano,” and at the end, “Peter Philips 1603.” This shows that Caccini was recognized by English musicians under the name Julio Romano—note the orthography—from a date early enough in the 17th Century to accommodate virtually any dating of the *The Winter's Tale*.

What is Julio Caccini alias Romano doing in Shakespeare's play? I would propose that he is there precisely because he is alive and capable of “performing” and because his name is the same as the painter/sculptor—thus adding a layer of confusion and yet another art to the so-called “battle of the arts” in the play. Shakespeare's choice of ambiguous language and a confusing artist's name could well have been a sign that Hermione's statue was not a statue, that the 3rd Gentleman who delivered that speech was deliberately being obscure and ironic, and that the question, often posed, as to whether Hermione really died ought to be answered in the negative. To solve such an established riddle by the splendid richness of a new uncertainty based on a possible musical reference may seem far-fetched. The reason I think Shakespeare capable of obtuse musical imagery at this point is because this is not the first time in this scene that he uses a veiled musical allusion.

Near the beginning of this same scene, the 1st Gentleman addresses the newly arrived 2nd Gentleman with the phrase, “The news Rogero?” (V.ii.23) This is Shakespeare's only reference to the name of this otherwise unidentified

gentleman. It is also his only use of the name Rogero in his entire oeuvre, so he must have inserted it here for a reason. Rogero is, of course, the name of a ballad tune, and if the audience had missed that connection in passing, Shakespeare renders it unmistakable with the 2nd Gentleman's reply to the question: "Nothing but bonfires: the oracle is fulfilled; the king's daughter is found; such a deal of wonder is broken out that ballad-makers cannot be able to express it." (V.ii.23-27) It is important to remember that Shakespeare's audience was the same audience that waited so excitedly for the stage jigs that frequently followed the dramas, and that all the dialogue for the jiggs was sung to ballad tunes. The printed editions of jiggs, like the broadside ballads themselves, included no music, only tune citations by title. Thus, the audience could be expected to have recognized instantly this reference to one of the well-known tunes in the repertoire. Why would Shakespeare have wanted to allude to a specific, popular ballad at this point in the drama?

A general mention of ballads, certainly, would have recalled a number of previous scenes, especially those involving the ballad-monger Autolycus, who was actually onstage with the gentlemen at the time. But the citation of Rogero, I believe, was made for a particular reason.

Among the so-called Shirburn Ballads, collected between 1585 and 1616, are two to the tune Rogero.⁵ One of these, No. 44, is entitled, "All such as lead a jealous life." The introduction and the first four stanzas are given below:

The torment of a Jealious minde, expressed
by the Tragickall and true historye of one
commlye called 'the Jealous man of
Marget' in Kent

All such as lead a Jealous lyfe,
as bad as pains of hell,
Bend downe attentive eares to this
which I shall brieflye tell;
And, thereby, learne to live content,
in quiet peace and rest,
And harbor not suspicious thoughts
within a troubled brest.

Vnto all married men I write,
the which doth lead their liues
With proper women, fayre and fine,
their loyall wedded wiues:

The Elizabethan Review

Beare not a bad conceite in them;
 suspect not without cause;
And, though a furious jealousye,
 breake not true lovers' laws—

As this olde man of *Margat* did,
 whose wife was yong and fayre,
And not soe fayre as vertuous found,
 yet still opprest with care.
Abroad, god wot! she could not goe,
 but he would watch her styll,
And follow her in everye place,
 for feare she did some yll.

If any man cast eye on her,
 the iecalous foole would sware
That she made him, in shamefull sort,
 a payre of horns to weare.
And, by this meanes, the woman liu'd
 in dayly woe and strife;
And, in the flowre of her youth, waxt weary
 of her lyfe.

The obvious parallel—and the reason Shakespeare must have alluded to the ballad here—is the unfounded jealousy of Leontes concerning his virtuous Hermione. The virtuous wife in the ballad winds up dead, as Hermione apparently is at this point in the play, but in *The Winter's Tale*, Hermione's resurrection gives Leontes a chance to see his error and apologize to her. To use a religious metaphor, he is redeemed by her resurrection. In the ballad, the jealous husband sees his error and repents, but irremediably—his wife is really dead. When Rogero is mentioned in the play, however, the audience still thinks Hermione is dead, and the mention of the tune serves to make the connection to “All such as lead a jealous life.” The familiarity of that ballad to the audience would have led them to anticipate an unhappy ending—even in the face of Perdita's recent discovery—thus heightening their joy at the ending as it actually transpires in the play.

This subtle but effective use of a musical allusion here, I believe, reinforces the likelihood that the reference to Julio Romano later in the same scene was by a playwright fully aware of the latest currents in music, both popular and refined, and clearly poised to use that knowledge as one more way to “thicken

the plot.” The more we uncover the possible layers of meaning to Shakespeare’s audience, the more we learn about the author, and the less such references look like accidents.⁶

Notes

1. Horace Howard Furness, ed., *A New Variorum Edition of Shakespeare*, 284-286.
2. D.E. Baughn, “Shakespeare’s Confusion of the Two Romanos,” *JEGP* 36 (1937): 35-39.
3. Leonard Barkan, “Living Sculptures: Ovid, Michelangelo, and *The Winter’s Tale*,” *ELH* 48 (1981): 657.
4. There is also the sense that Caccini “put breath into his work,” by including examples of the new solo vocal form, the *aria*, in his collection. *Aria*, or “air,” might be construed as a substitute for “breath.”
5. Andrew Clark, ed., *The Shirburn Ballads, 1585-1616* (Oxford, 1907).
6. A study of ballad references in Shakespeare’s plays is in progress by the author.

Reviews

Masterless Men

The Elizabethan Underworld

by Gamini Salgado. St. Martin's Press, 1993

Reviewed by Warren Hope. Dr. Hope is author of The Shakespeare Controversy (McFarland, 1992).

Salgado's main interest is biographical—and no wonder. He is able to survey a hurly-burly of human types in outlandish and cunning situations. The result is a charming book, full of incident and anecdote, that at once entertains and informs. Beside that, the book is beautifully produced and illustrated, making it a pleasure to look at as well as to read. Still, the treatment is not completely satisfying because it lacks an organizing principle.

The characters in Salgado's book, from Gamaliel Ratsey, the Robin Hood-like highwayman, to Moll Cutpurse, the "notorious baggage that used to go in men's apparel," are not merely fascinating specimens in a human menagerie but witnesses to the disintegration of one way of life and the birth of another. This fact provides the organizing principle that could have made this book more enlightening without rendering it any less entertaining.

The Tudor period is marked by the rise of a new ruling class, the "new men" who came to power through service to the state, that is, political conniving, rather than through birth. Wealth as well as power shifted from the hands of the old nobility and the Roman Catholic Church to these climbers. Too often, these shifts are thought of as limited to the top of the social heap, as if they took place over the heads of a silent, stable, and unchanging mass. Salgado's text serves to remind us that nothing could be further from the truth. The fact is that masses were set loose from their fixed positions by this shift. They became "masterless men," and these masses, trying to fend for themselves, gave rise to not only rogues and vagrants, peddlars and prostitutes, but also a new literature, new religions, and a new outlook on the world and humanity's life on it.

Two primary factors seem to be responsible for this state of affairs: first, the breakdown of the feudal system, and second, the rise of the printing press. Salgado provides us with signs of the breakdown of feudalism. He writes that under Henry VII private armies were abolished, turning trained and armed men loose in society with no way to earn a living and no lord to whom they owed allegiance. They became free lances, necessarily, organizing themselves often in a caricature of the dominant society, with a Lord of the gang, a host of

Hope

positions and roles, and ceremonies and customs that served to provide them with a sense of order. These gangs, not unlike the condottieri earlier in Italy, were outlaws by definition, as it were—they had been placed outside the closed, legal society by a change in that society. Highwaymen on the roads of England and bragging soldiers on the Elizabethan stage—finding their fullest and ripest expression in Falstaff—can be traced directly to the abolition of the private armies.

Similarly, tenants who once were tied to the soil owned by a lord or the church were forced to become day laborers, working for wages rather than for food and other necessities directly. These farm laborers were turned off the land to go on the road in search of work, masterless, without a defined place in the society at large. In order to travel in search of work they had to break the law. Formerly, they were bound to the land and needed to obtain a passport to legally travel from county to county. Now they were forced to forge or illegally obtain passports in order to pursue their wages. Beggars, vagrants, prostitutes, and conny-catching con men arose directly from this forcing of honest laborers into an extra-legal position. Finally, the dissolution of the monasteries in the 1530s did not simply represent a transfer of wealth, but also created a social vacuum. The charity of the monasteries disappeared, increasing the number of traveling impoverished in the land, and the Catholic customs that served to hold society together were severed or altered.

Salgado gives a clear instance of these changes, in terms of both real estate and the immaterial wealth of custom, in Bartholomew's fair, the subject of one of Ben Jonson's greatest dramatic comedies. St. Bartholomew's hospital had been established in the 12th Century by monks, and its annual fair provided a marketplace for the people and revenues for the monks. In 1539, the monastery was suppressed and sold to Sir Richard Rich. Sir Richard continued the custom of the annual fair and his descendants collected rents for booths and stalls and arranged for the mayor and aldermen of London to open the fair with secular ceremonies rather than the rites of the monks. Gulls from the country and conny-catchers mixed at the fair, making cash the connection that had once been based on blood and religion. Adam, the old man in Shakespeare's *As You Like It*, by choosing to stay with Orlando his young master, displays a loyalty—a feudal virtue—that is already old-fashioned in a world that has replaced loyalty with shrewdness.

Salgado uses as his primary sources the pamphlets of the University Wits—John Lyly, Thomas Nashe, and especially Robert Green. These men came to London as free lances, too, literary equivalents of the soldiers loosed by the abolition of private armies. Decades earlier they would have undoubtedly become priests, like the first poet laureate, John Skelton, or scholars housed and cared for by members of the nobility. Instead, thanks to the rise of the printing

The Elizabethan Review

press, they set up as masterless men who kept life and limb together by the exercise of their wits—selling pamphlets to the printers and booksellers, plays to the players in the new public theaters, and cadging gifts from noble patrons with dedications. The result was a secularization of literature and the development of a new prose style. These writers depicted the actual life around them, the life they took in with their senses, and portrayed that life in a style that combined the thought and Latinisms of the scholars and clergymen of the recent past, the plots and canting jargon of highwaymen, con men, and pickpockets, and the actual speech of the London streets. Nashe calls across the centuries to Gabriel Harvey with this wonderful phrase on his friend, Robert Green, “Hark in your ear, he had a good cloak of a grave, gooseturd green.” This living language, used for ostensibly moral purposes by giving sound advice to travelers to London and others, marks the beginning of the English novel, stories written for a large middle-class audience, a public audience, rather than a small coterie of nobles and their hangers-on who circulated their sonnets in private. Daniel Defoe’s *Roxana* evolved from the pamphlets of the University Wits as surely as Oliver Goldsmith’s *The Deserted Village* depicts the depopulation of the countryside that was the logical result of the breakdown of the feudal way of life and the enclosure of the commons.

What marks the Elizabethan underworld is economic necessity in combination with an enforced and often unsought liberty. This combination ensured that energy and ingenuity would become respected traits. When the dust raised by the collapse of feudalism and the Roman Catholic Church in England settled, these new virtues found expression in the American Declaration of Independence. Life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness emerged as a way of life in a new world peopled initially by the new men of the lower levels of Elizabethan society. The once feared and despised condition of being masterless became the hope and aspiration of each democratic individual. It is this story that gives Salgado’s human menagerie its true meaning and importance.

England's Secret Theater

The Reckoning: The Murder of Christopher Marlowe
by Charles Nicholl. Harcourt Brace & Company, 1993

Reviewed by Gary Goldstein.

On May 30, 1593, in the seaside town of Deptford, the most popular dramatist in England was killed at the age of 29. Very few people have accepted the verdict of the inquest which concluded that Christopher Marlowe was killed in an act of self-defense by one Ingram Frizer, as attested by the two other witnesses present, Nicholas Skeres and Robert Poley.

The latest word on this infamous act is given in Charles Nicholl's *The Reckoning: The Murder of Christopher Marlowe*. Its investigation into and explanation of Marlowe's death offers a plausible answer to a centuries old question of murder and a comprehensive picture of the secret world of Elizabethan England. These two strands are skillfully interwoven by Nicholl so that the slow unveiling of a murder investigation dovetails with the unveiling of the covert side of Elizabethan society.

It is Nicholl's argument that the secret theater of the era is to be found in the Elizabethan Secret Service and its operations. In the death of Marlowe, both aspects meet violently, for the simple fact that the great poet and dramatist was also a government spy for Sir Francis Walsingham and then for Sir Robert Cecil. When informed that the three men listed in the inquest as witnesses to Marlowe's death were also intelligence agents working for the Earl of Essex or Sir Robert Cecil, our perspective of Marlowe's last day takes on a different coloring. It metamorphoses from an outing of four friends eating, drinking, and perhaps being bawdy into a meeting of four spies ensconced in a safe house discussing their work and disagreeing. What the disagreement may have been is unknown, and Nicholl's investigation concerns itself with this "why" of the killing of the poet, playwright, and spy.

As Nicholl rightly reminds us, there was plague, political divisions, and savage executions in Elizabeth's England throughout the 1580s and 90s, as well as rampant unemployment and inflation. Politically, writes Nicholl, "The situation was volatile: the Spaniards were threatening to engulf Europe, the Queen was aging, the question of the succession was unresolved.... England had reverted to Catholicism a generation ago, under 'Bloody Mary,' with attendant burnings, imprisonments and sequestrations. There was a real possibility of this happening again. The spy kept a foot in both camps and was ready to jump either way. His commitment to Mr. Secretary, to Protestantism, to Queen and Country would be cast off in a moment."

Accordingly, Elizabethan England in Marlowe's time was a hotbed of spies, informers, provocateurs, and double agents who "played both ends against the middle, and fed information to both sides. In a sense, they did not even know which side they were really working for.... The keynote of this kind of work is precisely non-commitment—to belong to both sides and to neither. It is a world of alterable meanings."

Into this environment enters Christopher Marlowe, an impoverished student on scholarship at Cambridge University in the mid-1580s. For a penniless student, entering the wilderness of mirrors that is the espionage world conveyed money and access to influential circles. An additional incentive might have been Marlowe's own emotional disposition toward intrigue, suggests the author.

Nicholl limns the man and the age with detail worthy of a novelist, yet there are curious lapses, and he makes several mistakes in representation. For instance, the Earl of Oxford is mentioned but appears in the index mistakenly identified as Francis de Vere, his first cousin. Moreover, to treat Anthony Munday at length without reference to his claim to be a servant of Oxford, or Munday's dedications to Oxford or his later dedication to Oxford's son, Henry de Vere, is something of a travesty. Moreover, Nicholl points out that Mathew Royden and George Buc contributed commendatory verses to a collection by Thomas Watson but does not mention that Oxford had verses there as well. The mere fact that Oxford was related to Lord Burghley by marriage should put him in the picture of the reckoning. Does Nicholl give Oxford such a wide berth because he wishes to avoid bungling into the authorship question?

Where Nicholl's contribution is strongest is in trying to provide us with a rounded portrait of Marlowe. Nicholl finds our romantic view of the poet-playwright to be marred by our refusal to acknowledge that he was also a professional spy, working for most of his adult life as a government courier, agent provocateur, and counterfeiter (this last occupation being tried in Flushing a year before his early death). While giving us a fuller portrait of the very public poet, playwright, and now spy, Nicholl's portrait falls short of revealing the private man. Perhaps a closer look at Marlowe's relationships with Thomas Watson and Thomas Kyd would finally provide us with this truly hidden aspect of Marlowe's character.

Another facet of the case that Nicholl focuses on is distinguishing among the various political factions at Elizabeth's Court. Before 1590, one looked to the Earl of Leicester, Lord Burghley, or Sir Francis Walsingham for access and influence in Her Majesty's government. Afterwards, during the showdown with Spain and the internal battle over the royal succession, new power barons emerged, such as the Earl of Essex, Sir Walter Raleigh, and Sir Robert Cecil, with

each competing against the other for position and spoils.

Nicholl argues that the political machinations of these men was the direct cause of Marlowe's death.

Several weeks before his death, Marlowe was called before the Privy Council to answer accusations of atheism, blasphemy, and lesser offenses, based on the confessions of an imprisoned Thomas Kyd, informers' accusations, and a sheet of paper "discovered" in Kyd's apartment (which he recently had shared with Marlowe) in an anonymous hand that detailed religious heresies.

Unlike his former roommate and fellow dramatist, Marlowe was not arrested, imprisoned, and tortured, but required only to report daily to the Privy Council. In short, Marlowe had escaped any serious consequences arising out of the charges of blasphemy and atheism. It was during this period that he travels to Mrs. Bull's home for a day-long conference with three men connected to Essex and Cecil as intelligence agents.

What, then, is Nicholl's final explanation for this event which echoes through the centuries?

"Marlowe did not die by mischance, and he was not killed in self-defense. He had become an impediment to the political ambitions of the Earl of Essex, as these were perceived and furthered by secret operators like Cholmeley and Baines.... They had tried to frame him; to get him imprisoned and tortured; to use him as their 'instrument' against Raleigh. They had tried all this and failed. He had proved elusive, a danger, a potential projector against them. His mouth—if it could not be made to say what they wanted it to say—must be 'stopped.' To the plausible Skeres is entrusted this delicate task: to try once more to persuade Marlowe to turn evidence against Raleigh, and failing that, to silence him for good. I do not think the purpose of the meeting was murder. This is not because I underestimate the ruthlessness of the Essex faction, but because if murder had been intended all along, it could have been better accomplished more anonymously. Rather, Marlowe's death was a *decision*. It was a point the day reached, by a process of dwindling options. Nor do I think that the Earl of Essex actually ordered Marlowe's murder. He is profoundly implicated in this matter, but he probably knew little about it. The killing happens in the hermetic confines of the secret world: a dirty trick, a rogue event, a tragic blunder."

In this argument, simultaneously blaming and absolving the Earl of Essex of Marlowe's murder, Nicholl rates Essex's political and intelligence powers more highly than was actually the case. To start, he maintains there was a pause in the contest for power in 1590 following the death of Walsingham, with several of his agents "going over" to Essex's service. First, Nicholl's belief that Walsingham was a free agent and not a political subordinate of William Cecil's, who brought

him into Court, is very likely erroneous. As is the belief that Walsingham's intelligence network didn't simply get handed to Sir Robert Cecil upon the former man's death. This is especially true concerning those who supposedly pledged service to Essex, for Nicholl offers no evidence that these individuals actually changed their allegiance to Essex. My belief that they were agents in place for Cecil is borne out by the ease of the Cecilian destruction of Essex a decade later.

For all his glamour, Essex was essentially a free lancer compared to Sir Robert, who reigned as the de facto secretary of state in his father's dotage during the 1590s. Along with that status came the perquisites of a government secret service that was decades in the making. Rather than Essex, I think the evidence points to Sir Robert Cecil as being the instrument of Marlowe's death. He needed to "shut" Marlowe's mouth for reasons of self-preservation. Had the spy talked about his secret activities to save himself from jail and the noose, Marlowe could have implicated *only* the Cecils, for whom he toiled as a secret agent for nearly a decade. To silence the uncontrollable poet-dramatist—who had a pen as well as a mouth at his disposal—would be of paramount importance to this powerful politician.

In closing, Nicholl acknowledges that "we will never know for certain exactly what happened in that room in Deptford in 1593." Nevertheless, he has given us a sophisticated and knowledgeable argument to ponder regarding a brilliant and ambitious Elizabethan playwright, who ultimately became a player in a tragedy of someone else's composition.

