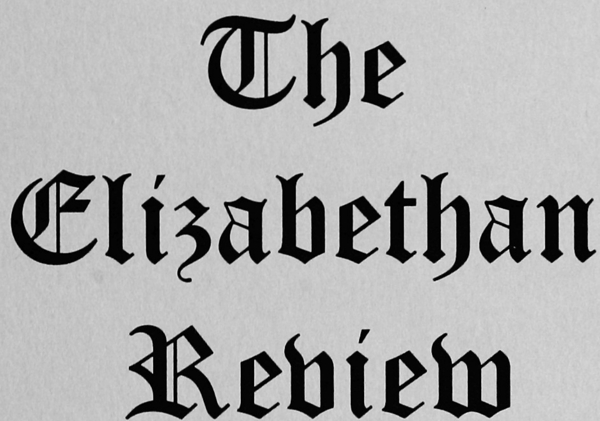
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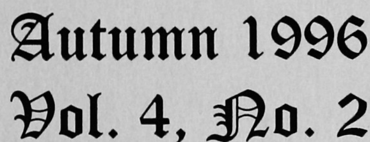
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A Semiannual Journal

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Letters to the Editor

To the Editor:

Warren Hope's review (spring 1996) of *The Western Canon* by Harold Bloom of Yale ably addresses Bloom's lapse into silly shrillness in dismissing the case for the 17th Earl of Oxford as the author of Shakespeare's works.

At the same time, however, Bloom provides support for the case for an aristrocrat as the author. He says "an aristocratic sense of culture" is at the origins of Shakespeare's art (45). And he puts Shakespeare "at the pinnacle of the long Aristocratic Age...going from Dante to Goethe." To avoid making an aristocrat of the Stratford man, Bloom suggests that the author depended upon aristocrats for patronage and protection, so that "his politics—if pragmatically he had any"—were appropriately aristocratic.

How this man acquired an aristocratic sense of culture that put him at the very pinnacle of Bloom's Aristocratic Age is left unexplained.

Yours,
Richard F. Whalen
Truro, Massachusetts

Editors Note: With this issue, we welcome three new members to our Editorial Board. They are Ross Duffin, Chair of the Music Department at Case Western Reserve University; Jules Janick, James Troop Distinguished Professor of Horticulture at Purdue University; and Patrick Buckridge, Associate Professor of Literary Studies at Griffith University in Brisbane, Australia. By their presence, we hope to further enlarge the scope of materials presented to our readers in future issues of the journal. We welcome your comments.

Rough Winds Do Shake: A Fresh Look at the Tudor Rose Theory

Diana Price

The Tudor Rose theory was introduced in the 1930s by Capt. B.M. Ward and Percy Allen, independently advanced by Charlton and Dorothy Ogburn in *This Star of England* (1952), and further promoted by Elisabeth Sears, who published *Shakespeare and the Tudor Rose* in 1990. Over the years, the hypothesis has been discussed in *The Shakespeare Fellowship Newsletter* and its descendant, *The Shakespeare Oxford Society Newsletter.*

The theory postulates that Edward de Vere, whom Oxfordians believe wrote the works of Shakespeare, was either secretly betrothed, such betrothal being tantamount to marriage, or indeed actually was married to Queen Elizabeth, and that their union produced a baby in 1574. The theory further supposes that the baby was placed in the Southampton household as a substitute for the son known to have been born to the Southamptons the previous October; that this "changeling" baby grew up as Henry Wriothesley, third Earl of Southampton; that Henry was heir to the throne; that de Vere identified himself as Edward VII; and that Southampton relinquished his claim to the throne in a secret meeting with King James on the night that Oxford died. (Some adherents of the Tudor Rose theory also suppose that William Cecil, Lord Burghley, impregnated his own daughter Anne, Oxford's wife. This adjunct theory of incest on the part of Cecil exonerates Oxford from promoting an incestuous marriage between Southampton, supposedly his own son, and Elizabeth Vere, supposedly not his own daughter.) Proponents believe that the Tudor Rose theory provides the key to solving many mysteries in Shakespeare's sonnets and plays, and in particular that the pervasive Rose imagery symbolizes Southampton as the rightful heir to the Tudor throne.

Most of the "evidence" supporting the Tudor Rose theory is found in the interpretation of lines selected from Shakespeare's sonnets and plays, and those lines are quoted to excellent effect. But the Tudor Rose theory is one of many

---

Diana Price appeared in our previous issue with "Shakespeare, Shake-scene and the Clayton Loan."

conjectural interpretations of the Shakespeare canon, and interpretative evidence does not carry the same weight as documentary evidence. However, the Tudor Rose theory (sometimes called the Prince Tudor theory) appears to have some factual underpinnings, as the Ogburns and Sears have cited reputable historians and documents to support their case. This article examines the principal historical evidence they presented.

The royal pregnancy

The Ogburns and Sears postulated that Queen Elizabeth gave birth to a son in May or June of 1574. Their theory will need to overcome one seemingly insurmountable problem: Elizabeth's proposed pregnancy. One would not reasonably expect to find documentary evidence of a clandestine royal birth, but if one found evidence that precluded the possibility of the alleged final trimester and delivery, then the entire theory would collapse. This section investigates the evidence that has been cited to show that Elizabeth delivered a baby and shows where it is in error. It also presents new evidence to prove that Elizabeth had no opportunity to carry and deliver a baby.

Sears (1-2), relying largely on the Ogburns' research, presented her case:

> In May of the year 1574, however, Queen Elizabeth, just starting out on her summer procession, surprisingly interrupted her Royal Progress and dismissed her retinue. Ordering Lord Burghley to remain in London, she retired to Havering-attre-Bowre . . .
>
> . . . The Queen and her favorite, the young Earl of Oxford, retired to Havering. There they remained in seclusion for several weeks before the Queen resumed her Royal Progress early in July.
>
> Although there is no other official record of this period from the end of May to July, there is circumstantial evidence that a child was born to the Queen and the Earl of Oxford at this time.

The Ogburns (834-5) believed that

> the child was born in June. The Queen had been "apprehensive" and "melancholy"; she had sent both Hatton and the great court-physician, Dr. Julio, to the Continent; and she refused to see her chief ministers. Of course, one can scarcely expect to find a more definite record than this!

They also quoted a letter written on June 28, 1574 by Lord Talbot to his father, the Earl of Shrewsbury:

> The Queen remaineth sad and pensive in the month of June. . . [it seemed] she was so troubled for some important matters then before her. It was thought she would go to Bristow [Bristol.] . . . Mr. Hattoun

> (not well in health) took this opportunity to get leave to go to the Spaw, and Dr. Julio [the Queen's court physician] with him, whereat the Queen shewed herself very pensive, and very unwilling to grant him leave, for he was her favourite.

The Ogburns supposed that Elizabeth "feigned" her unwillingness to part with Hatton but in fact wanted to get him out of the way when she delivered.

The Ogburns cited John Nichols (*Progresses*, 1:388) as the source of their information, but Nichols's account is wrong. The same account appears practically verbatim in John Strype's *Annals*. (Strype published the first of several editions of his historical narratives for the years in question in 1735-7. Nichols first published *Progresses* in 1788, and his 1823 edition cites Strype.) Like many historians of their era, Strype and Nichols took liberties with their material, co-mingling original texts with commentary and failing to include punctuation that would make it easy for the reader to tell which words were theirs and which were Talbot's.

Some of what has passed for Talbot's letter is actually commentary by Strype/Nichols. Furthermore, the information about Hatton is found in a letter written, not in 1574, but in 1573, when Francis (not Gilbert) Talbot wrote that

> There is some taulcke of a progres to Bristo . . . M^{r}. Hattoun be reason of his greate syckenes is minded to gowe to the Spawe for the better recoverie of his healthe.

Strype and Nichols conflated some of the contents of this May 1573 letter with those written in June 1574. Sir Harris Nicolas, in his 1847 biography of Hatton (24), set the record straight concerning Hatton's trip to the Spa. (The Ogburns listed Nicolas in their bibliography but apparently overlooked the relevant footnote.) Hatton's departure for the Continent is a matter of record. On May 29, 1573, the Privy Council granted him permission to travel, and Hatton sent a number of letters to the Queen from abroad; one dated August 10 refers both to his improved condition and to Dr. Julio (Brooks, 98). Hatton did not travel to the Continent in 1574.

The Ogburns relied on Nichols's faulty account of events in May and June 1574 to support their version of the Tudor Rose theory. Here then is that faulty account, with original punctuation retained, but split into separate paragraphs to differentiate the sources:

PARAPHRASE OF FRANCIS TALBOT'S LETTER OF JUNE 28, 1574

The Queen remained sad and pensive in the month of June:

STRYPE'S / NICHOLS'S COMMENTARY

and so the Earl of Shrewsbury's Son, then at Court, wrote to his Father, as Leicester also had done;

PARAPHRASE OF FRANCIS TALBOT'S LETTER OF JUNE 28, 1574

and that it should seem she was so troubled for some important matters then before her[4].

STRYPE'S / NICHOLS'S COMMENTARY

But, notwithstanding, that month she began her Progress; which perhaps might divert her.

PARAPHRASE OF FRANCIS TALBOT'S LETTER, MAY 10, 1574

It was thought she would go to Bristow. The gests were making in order thereto.

PARAPHRASE OF FRANCIS TALBOT'S LETTER, MAY 23, 1573

Mr. Hatton (not well in health) took this opportunity to get leave to go to the Spaw;

STRYPE'S / NICHOLS'S COMMENTARY RELATING TO MAY & JUNE, 1573

and Dr. Julio (a great Court Physician) with him: wherat the Queen shewed herself very pensive; and very unwilling to grant him leave; for he was a favourite.

STRYPE'S / NICHOLS'S COMMENTARY

These are some of the contents of a private letter of the Lord Talbot to the Earl his Father;

STRYPE'S/NICHOLS'S PARAPHRASE OF UNKNOWN SOURCE AND COMMENTARY

as also, that the Lord Treasurer [Cecil] intending to wait upon the Queen when she came to Woodstock [July 24-Aug. 2, 1574], as she had appointed him, Secretary Walsingham signified to him, that the Queen now had a disposition, that he, with the Lord Keeper and Sir Ralph Sadler, Chancellor of the Exchequer, should tarry at London; the cause wherefore was unknown to the Lord Treasurer, but seemed to be a surprize to him: but, he said, he would do as he was commanded. The Queen seemed to be apprehensive of some dangers in her absence (which might give occasion to her melancholy), and therefore thought it advisable for those staid Counsellors to remain behind[5].

4. Unpublished Talbot Papers. 5. Strype's Annals.

Hatton's departure must be deleted from any account of events in 1574, and

with it the Queen's melancholy over his leave-taking ("whereat the Queen shewed herself very pensive, and very unwilling to grant him leave, for he was her favourite").

Yet on June 28, 1574, Francis Talbot wrote a letter from Greenwich (*Talbot* [1984], Mircoform, vol. 3197) reporting that

> The Q M^{atie} hathe bene malencholy disposed a good while wch should seme that she is troubled wth weygti causes. She beginneth hir progres one Wedensdeay next.

(Francis goes on to write about his wife, who is at Wilton, and about a "nagg" that he hopes his father will find "fit for your saddl." There is nothing in this letter about absentee councilors.) Strype and Nichols mistakenly associated Elizabeth's melancholy of 1574 with Hatton's departure for the Spa in 1573, so if Elizabeth was "melancholy" in June 1574, then we must look for another reason.

Sears (2) quoted the Ogburns (who quoted Nichols who quoted Strype who paraphrased Francis Talbot's letter of June 28) to document Elizabeth's "odd behavior," implying that her "sad and pensive" mood in June was somehow connected to her expectant condition. Other documentation reveals the reason behind Elizabeth's melancholy, and it had nothing to do with clandestine childbirth.

On May 30, Charles IX of France died. On June 3, Francis Walsingham was informed of his death, and Elizabeth referred to the event in her letter of June 4 to the Regent of Scotland (*CSP-F*, 10:509). On June 8, the French ambassador, de la Mothe Fénélon, made his official report to Elizabeth. Fénélon wrote in his dispatch of June 18 that he had duly reported the news to Elizabeth and that she had to be consoled. Five days had then passed without another audience, but Sussex, the Lord Chamberlain, informed Fénélon that Elizabeth would receive him the following morning. By June 21, Fénélon had evidently seen the Queen again, since he was able to report on that date that she had personally given and received expressions of condolence.

According to biographer Anne Somerset (283), "the death of Charles IX threw Anglo-French relations into fresh confusion." His death destabilized Elizabeth's marriage negotiations with the Duke D'Alençon and her related maneuvers to play Spain off against France. Fénélon (6:140-1) reported to the Queen Regent, Catherine de Medici, that by June 13, Elizabeth had convened members of the Privy Council several times to consider the implications for Anglo-French relations and matters of protocol over the King's death:

> Madame, at the end of the letter of the 8th that I wrote to you, I mentioned the honorable [office] that that princess caused to be sent to me concerning the passing away of the late king, your son, to advise me

> of the sorrow and unhappiness that she felt; which has persisted since then, and continues to demonstrate how infinitely she misses him; and even, my having sent to ask of the said Lady when it would be her pleasure that I might seek her out concerning a communication that I received from Your Majesty, she contacted me to beg me to spare her some of the grief that seeing me she knew well would renew itself, that she feels her heart to be so burdened by the original reception of this tragic news that it would not be possible for her to endure, in addition, this second condolence from Your Majesty. . .
>
> And I shall say nevertheless, Madame, that this princess has several times assembled her council to deliberate what she must do, and how she shall act in her present affairs, following this great accident of the death of the King.

On June 18, Fénélon (6:145) described her "extreme regret at the passing of the late king." On June 21, he wrote (6:153) that Elizabeth met him "with a face strongly composed in a state of sorrow" over the death of her fellow monarch. On July 1, he reported that she had again "assembled her council."

According to these dispatches, Elizabeth sought the advice of her council to be sure that she comported herself properly through a period of official mourning. Fénélon reported that there were differing opinions within her council as to how she should behave. Perhaps on June 13, Elizabeth deferred her next audience with Fénélon not so much because she was overwhelmed with grief, but because she needed to buy more time in which to further consult with her councilors.

However, Elizabeth's intention to sojourn at Havering in May 1574 is documented in a letter by Francis (not Gilbert) Talbot of May 10, 1574 (Hunter, 112):

> The quene matie gouethe of Saterdeay cum senight to Havering of the bower and their remeaneth tyle shee begins hir progres wch is to Bristo.

On May 10, then, Talbot was under the impression that the Queen was planning to go to Havering in about a week. Talbot also mentioned that the Queen had spoken with him personally on inconsequential subjects ("The Quenes mat^{ie} hathe spoken to me, and tould me of your Lo.' letter wc^{h} I brought; and howe well shee did accept it; wth manie comfortable wourds: but no thinge of anie matter"), but he made no note of her mood nor of anything out of the ordinary with respect to her appearance. According to the Tudor Rose theory, on May 10, Elizabeth would have been in her ninth month.

Sears (2) used Talbot's letter to claim that the Queen and Oxford remained "in seclusion [at Havering] for several weeks before the Queen resumed her

Royal Progress early in July," that is, from mid-May to the latter part of June. She also informed her readers that

> Although there is no other official record of this period from the end of May to July, there is circumstantial evidence that a child was born to the Queen and the Earl of Oxford at this time.

But an official record shows that Elizabeth cannot have been in seclusion on May 18, because on that date she sent two letters on political and military matters to the Lord Deputy of Ireland (*CSP-I*, 23). She sent an official letter on June 4 from Hampton Court to the Regent of Scotland (*CSP-F*, 10:509) and another to Ireland on June 15 from Greenwich (*CSP-I*, 29). She was at Greenwich on June 28, when Gilbert Talbot reported from court that "Her mat[ie] styrreth litell abrode," a statement that suggests Elizabeth remained at Greenwich from June 15 until the end of the month. On June 30, the Queen moved with the court from Greenwich to Richmond, and her known progress throughout July rules out delivery after the end of June.

Contrary to Sears's statement that there is "no other official record of this period," there are in fact numerous other records documenting Elizabeth's whereabouts and activities during May and June, the most critical being those written by Fénélon. However, before seeing what more Fénélon had to say, let us look at one of Burghley's papers dated a few months earlier.

Concerning the continuing marriage negotiations between Elizabeth and the Duke d'Alençon, Burghley's papers (Murdin, 2:775) show that on March 16, 1574, "the Queen granted a salve conduct for Mons. D. Alenson to come into England any time before the 21st of May." (In a letter of February 3, 1574 to her ambassador in Paris [Harrison, 121-2], Elizabeth had suggested that perhaps Alençon should come "over in some disguised sort.") The wording of the March 16 Safe Conduct (*CSP-F*, 10:477), i.e. that "he may make his repair to her at a convenient time after she be advertised of his arrival," shows that the Queen expected to meet with Alençon personally, at which time the marriage negotiations might be facilitated, or so the French were led to believe. It further shows that he was granted permission to land at any British port before May 20. Therefore, allowing for additional overland travel time, Alençon might be expected to arrive at court in London or on progress any time after the first of April and before the end of May. (In April, Catherine de Medici placed Alençon under restraint in Paris; he remained under house arrest for some time, fell ill, and did not visit England in 1574. But on March 16, Elizabeth had no reason to doubt that the Safe Conduct would ensure Alençon's personal visit to her.) On the day the Safe Conduct was issued, Elizabeth would have been, according to the Tudor Rose theory, nearly seven months pregnant.

Somerset (101) pointed out that Elizabeth had virtually no privacy, and a pregnancy any time after her accession would have been extremely difficult to

conceal. If the prospective royal consort was invited to come into the Queen's presence any time during the final run-up to her delivery, then historians will have to reconstruct the nature of the marriage negotiations and Elizabeth's weight. If her appetite was modest (Somerset, 350, 377) and her constitution strong and athletic, and if her portraits did not routinely take a hundred or so pounds off of her figure, then Elizabeth was not a good candidate for concealing pregnancy.

As we saw, on May 10 Francis Talbot wrote from court that the Queen had spoken personally with him. As she entered her ninth month, then, she was still freely circulating at court for all to see. Fénélon reported on April 2, 24, May 3, 10, 16, 23, and June 8, 13, and 21 that he had had a personal audience with Elizabeth, so she was repeatedly on display before the French ambassador when she was supposedly in the final trimester of her pregnancy. If Elizabeth gave birth in late May or June, then the ambassador had audience with her no less than 15 days (the longest interval between interviews) prior to delivery. A rather substantial stretch of the imagination is required to envision just how Elizabeth concealed her condition from everybody at court, including Fénélon.

The alternative is to suppose that Fénélon knew full well she was pregnant and edited his reports to the formidable Queen Regent, Catherine de Medici. On May 16, Fénélon seems to have been anxious to re-assure his employer that Elizabeth looked on her prospective bridegroom with favor, even though she was playing hard-to-get. He reported to the Queen Regent that Elizabeth

> has no bad impression of Monsieur the Duke, your son.
>
> She replied to me that she did not wish to be so ungracious as to have a poor estimation of a prince who showed admiration of her; but this I tell you emphatically, she broke into a smile, that she would take no husband, even with her legs in irons [shackles].

Everything in Fénélon's dispatches reflect the skilled tactics of a professional diplomat, respectful of the role he played between two powerful women. Fénélon would hardly have run the risk of deliberately concealing critical information from his employer, especially since news of such a visually obvious and sensational impediment to the marriage negotiations might easily reach the French court from an independent source.

Sears tells us that the Queen and Oxford went into seclusion at Havering for Elizabeth's delivery. As we have already seen, the record of official correspondence shows that the intended sojourn to Havering in May was evidently postponed, but Fénélon's correspondence again sheds some light on the matter. In his June 13 letter to the Queen Regent (6:141), he wrote that Elizabeth

> was to depart immediately from Greenwich, to relieve somewhat her distress as best she could, in a dwelling of hers by the name of

> Havering, in the countryside, to which I could send my secretary three days from now, and that she could summon me there when she shall find time for me to come to see her.

In the postscript to this same dispatch (6:144), Fénélon reported that Elizabeth deferred her trip to Havering because of a political crisis:

> I had scarcely signed this [letter], when a communication arrived [just in time] from that court, saying that yesterday evening Doctor Dale's secretary had arrived from one direction, and news from Spain from the other that stated that the Spanish force will undoubtedly depart at the end of this month, with 250 armed ships, the security of her affairs that that princess thought existed has suddenly been converted to new suspicions. And notwithstanding that the baggage was already on its way to Havering, she has ordered it back, and having postponed this trip for three weeks, assembled her council hastily; the outcome of which was a command that the naval officers diligently set about executing the original order; and dispatched the Earl of Derby to muster men and mariners in his area; and . . . milord Sidney to cross promptly to Ireland. . .

According to this dispatch, Elizabeth and her entourage were intercepted at the outset of the trip with disturbing news from foreign courts. These reports put immediate pressure on Elizabeth to further secure the coasts against possible Spanish attack. So she postponed her sojourn to Havering and remained instead at Greenwich to deal with the crisis, even though her staff had already started out with the luggage.

The options facing proponents of the Tudor Rose theory are not good. If Elizabeth granted Alençon a Safe Conduct in March that guaranteed him access to the Royal presence any time over the next 75 days, then either Elizabeth did not know she was pregnant in March, or she did not care if the duke visited her when she was obviously in the family way. Nor did she care if she regularly exposed herself in that condition to the French ambassador. Fénélon's May and June correspondence convey a business-as-usual atmosphere and confirm his regular personal interaction with the Queen. Can we seriously imagine that Elizabeth would have compromised her marital chess game, so vital to her country's security, by recklessly presenting herself as an expectant mother to a potential prince consort or his emissary? Even Sears (9-10) wrote that Elizabeth "used 'marriage negotiations' with the Duc d'Alençon to disrupt relations between France and Spain. . . . Had the French suspected that she had a Consort and an heir, the combined forces of France and Spain might have attacked England." What better way for Elizabeth to jeopardize the very stability and security of England than by appearing pregnant—right up through her final trimester—before courtiers, councilors, and a foreign diplomat

negotiating for her hand in marriage?

Elizabeth's whereabouts in May and June 1574 are amply accounted for. Contrary to claims that Elizabeth "dismissed her retinue" in May and spent June in seclusion, her continuing accessibility to and interaction with members of her Privy Council, the French ambassador, and courtiers are matters of record. There is no realistic window of opportunity in either month that would permit her a confinement and child-bearing interlude at Havering or elsewhere. More to the point, there is no window of opportunity for her final trimester. Dispatches show that she consulted with her advisers on matters of protocol following the death of the French king, and that she consequently observed a period of mourning for her fellow monarch, fully explaining her "melancholy" of June 1574. Her trip to Havering is known to have been postponed due to a crisis in foreign affairs. Anyone wishing to further promote the Tudor Rose theory may wish to propose an alternative timetable for the royal pregnancy and delivery, preferably one unencumbered by letters, state papers or dispatches detailing Elizabeth's activities and official audiences.

Assumptions and Errors

ROSE IMAGERY. Even if an alternative timetable is identified to accommodate Elizabeth's supposed confinement, proponents of the Tudor Rose theory will still be burdened with many other problems. The meaning attached to the Tudor rose imagery in Shakespeare's sonnets is an example.

The Tudor rose was used to symbolize the British crown (Fox-Davies, 269):

> Under the Tudor sovereigns, the heraldic rose often shows a double row of petals, a fact which is doubtless accounted for by the then increasing familiarity with the cultivated variety, and also by the attempt to conjoin the rival emblems of the warring factions of York [the white rose] and Lancaster [the red rose].

Sears assumed that Shakespeare personified Henry Wriothesley as the Rose of the sonnets to signify his royal parentage. Specifically, Sears (8) finds Henry's royal lineage described in sonnet #35, which

> introduces the play on "canker" meaning a wild rose, or eglantine, the Tudor rose, that is growing untended by his parents [i.e. Oxford and Elizabeth]. "Sweetest bud" indicates that a child is referred to, an immature Tudor rose.

Later, Sears (51) explained that "Henry, being young, though *representative* of the Tudor Rose, is still only a bud that will burst into full bloom when he becomes King." But it is not necessary to transfuse royal blood into Henry

Wriothesley in order to explain his association with rose imagery. Martin Green, one of many traditional Shakespeareans who have supposed that Henry was the Rose of the Sonnets, showed that the Southamptons adopted the Tudor rose as a motif three generations earlier.

According to A.C. Fox-Davies, author of *A Complete Guide to Heraldry* (270, Plate VII), "amongst the scores of English arms in which the rose figures, it will be found in the original heraldic form in the case of the arms of Southampton." (The Tudor rose was clearly not used exclusively by the monarchy; three roses also appear on the escutcheon for the Darcy family, as published in Christopher Saxton's 1579 *Atlas of 16th Century Maps.*) The escutcheon designed for the town of Southampton is comprised of three Tudor roses (Fig. 1), and Green (25) discovered that this escutcheon "had an intense personal and dynastic meaning for the man who placed them in his home." That man was Henry's great-grandfather, Thomas Wriothesley. Thomas acquired Titchfield Abbey in December 1537 and converted it into his principal residence over the next few years. Although the Abbey is today in ruins, most of the shield of the town of Southampton can still be seen carved over a door on a surviving wall (Green, 23, 170). This carving dates from the conversion of Titchfield c. 1540, and Wriothesley's reasons for adopting the arms of the town of Southampton relate to his high-powered career under Henry VIII; these reasons are fully detailed by Green.

Those who propose that Henry Wriothesley was the Rose of Shakespeare's sonnets need look no further than his great-grandfather's personal appropriation of the coat of arms of the town of Southampton to explain his family's identification with the Tudor rose. The rose symbolized the political and geographic influence of the Wriothesleys.

OXFORD'S SIGNATURE. Sears (3) used Oxford's so-called "crown signature," with its crown-like symbol and seven tick marks (Fig. 2), to show that Oxford viewed himself as the royal consort, Edward VII:

> there is the even stronger possibility that the Queen and Oxford were married in 1569 when he was nineteen and she was thirty-six. Surely a betrothal would not warrant a royal signature; only an actual marriage would have given him the right to sign his name, (King) Edward (VII) Oxenford, as indicated in the holograph signature.

Oxford's signature would more appropriately be called the "coronet signature," because it depicts spikes topped with little balls, emanating from the headband, signifying the coronet of earldom (Fig. 3). The name is subscribed with a horizontal bar signifying ten, cut through with seven tick marks, all adding up to Oxford's rank as 17th earl. Oxford's personal use of the coronet, an authorized symbol of rank, is not equivalent to an unauthorized use of the

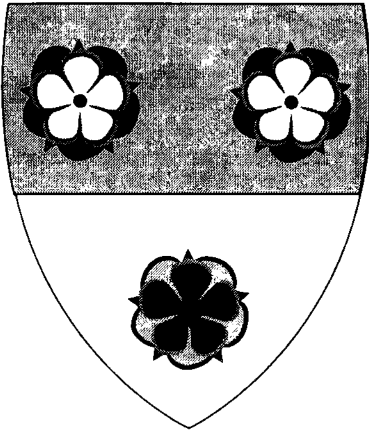

Fig. 1. The escutcheon for the arms of the town of Southampton shows three Tudor roses (design shown is approximate).

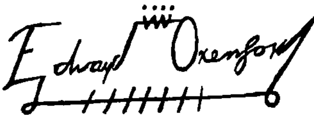

Fig. 2. Edward de Vere's signature is subscribed with a horizontal bar signifying ten, cut through with seven tick marks, adding up to his rank as the 17th Earl of Oxford. The embellishment over the name depicts the coronet of earldom.

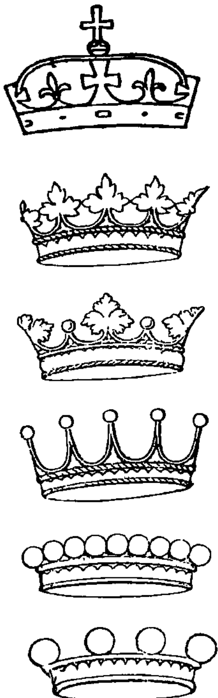

Fig. 3. The royal crown (top) is distinguished by its shape and ornate design from the coronets of the peerage. The coronets shown (in descending order) signify the ranks of duke, marquis, earl, viscount, and baron. The earl's coronet can be compared to the embellishment in Oxford's signature.

monarch's coat of arms, which is the comparison Sears made in *The Tudor Rose.*

THE CHANGELING SON. The Tudor Rose theory has been beleaguered by numerous errors that have been passed off as facts to support it. Sears (10) informed her readers that the son born to the Southamptons in October 1573 died, making it possible for Elizabeth and Oxford's son, born the following May/June, to be substituted in the Southampton household for upbringing. Sears (10-11) cited Charlotte Stopes and G.P.V. Akrigg to confirm her theory about the changeling baby who replaced the Southampton's son:

> Though there is no record of this child's death, it has been reported that Henry Wriothesley was the second son. Akrigg reports that Henry's brother died young, before Henry became a ward of the Crown. British historian and biographer of the Third Earl of Southampton, Charlotte Stopes, searched the records carefully but could not solve the mystery.
>
> Mrs. Stopes . . . only compounded the mystery by finding that, though there were two sons born to the Wriothesleys, there was no record of the birth of the second, nor of the death of the first.

Stopes and Akrigg are credible authorities, and Sears lends weight to her argument by citing their findings. But here is what Stopes (2) actually wrote:

> Thus was the only son[2] of the second Earl of Southampton born . . .
>
> 2. It has always been said that he was "the second son," but there is no authority for that. The error must have begun in confusing the second with the first Henry.

Akrigg (12) made no mention of a mysterious second son, but he did report

> that an elder sister, Jane, died at some indeterminate period, perhaps even before young Harry (as he was called) was born, but he had another sister, Mary, a little older than himself, for a companion.

Neither biographer wrote what Sears claimed they wrote.

ROWLAND WHYTE'S LETTER. Sears misquoted numerous sources. For example, she probably got the attention of many readers by citing a letter written by an Elizabethan who used a recognizable phrase from *Hamlet* to describe Henry Wriothesley, the alleged Tudor Rose (60):

> Rowland Whyte, writing Court gossip in late September of 1595, notes:
>
> My Lord of Southampton doth with to(o) much Familiarity court the faire Mistress Vernon . . . Her friends might well warn her that Southampton was indeed 'a prince out of thy star.'

Sears cited Akrigg as her source. But Whyte wrote only the first sentence; biographer G.P.V. Akrigg wrote the second. Akrigg had quoted the first sentence of Whyte's letter as above, and then went on to comment on the realities of marriage negotiations among the titled classes (48-9):

> Mistress Vernon would be lucky if she picked up a knight for her husband. Her friends might well warn her that Southampton was indeed 'a prince out of thy star'. His ardent and all too obvious attentions could only detract from her reputation and spoil her chances of making a reasonably good match elsewhere.

Akrigg had used the phrase from *Hamlet* to illuminate his discussion, but Sears inserted his comment into text presented as Whyte's letter.

THE PEYTON REPORT. A 1603 report by Sir John Peyton, Lieutenant of the Tower of London, has been quoted to show that the Earl of Oxford continued to hold out hope that Southampton would succeed Elizabeth. According to Peyton's report, two days before the Queen died, Oxford told the Earl of Lincoln about a possible power play for the throne. Lincoln then informed Peyton, and Peyton thought that Lincoln should have coaxed more of the details out of Oxford. Sears (98) cited the following passage to show that the peer who "was meant" to overthrow James was Southampton:

> Peyton declared that he was at first much disturbed, but when the Earl [of Lincoln] had made him understand what Peer was meant, Sir John was relieved . . .

Sears described this incident as Oxford's "last attempt to have his son proclaimed the Tudor heir," assuring her readers that the "Peer referred to above was, of course, Southampton." In other words, Sears claimed that Oxford told Lincoln that they should help Southampton take the throne. But Lincoln was not talking about Southampton; he was referring to Oxford. And the words quoted above are not those of Peyton. They were written by an historian named Norreys O'Conor, who transcribed and annotated Peyton's report from manuscript in 1934.

Neither Sears nor the Ogburns quoted O'Conor's transcript. They quoted yet another source, William Kittle (160-2), an historian who published some of O'Conor's material in 1942. The Ogburns footnoted Kittle's reliance on O'Conor but apparently investigated the matter no further. Kittle's book was published posthumously, and either he or his editor omitted the essential punctuation that would have distinguished Peyton's report from O'Conor's commentary. Kittle's conflated account was quoted by the Ogburns, and Sears relied on the Ogburns for her citation.

The words that the Ogburns and Sears attributed incorrectly to Peyton include the key passage about "what peer was meant." In fact, O'Conor

commented that Peyton was relieved to know that the peer who "was meant" (i.e., the peer who had approached Lincoln about the power play) was only Oxford, who presented no threat in military terms, no matter whom he might suggest to Lincoln as an alternative king. The alternative king whom Oxford proposed was actually Henry Hastings, Lincoln's grand-nephew. Reference to *Gode's Peace* (106-7) allows the reader to differentiate between Peyton's report and O'Conor's own commentary. Oxford thought that

> PEYTON'S REPORT
> the Erle of lyncolne ought to have more regard then others, becawse he [Lincoln] had a Nephewe of the bludde [blood] Riiall, nameing my lorde hasteings, whom he perswaded the Erle of lyncolne to send for; and that ther should be means used to convaye hym over into france, wher he shoulde fynde frends that wolde make hym a partye, of the which ther was a president in former tymes. He also . . . invayed muche agaynst the natyon of scotts! [The Earl of Lincoln] Brake of [off] his discourse, absolutely disavowing all that the great noble man had moved.
>
> O'CONOR'S COMMENTARY
> Sir John pointed out to Lord Lincoln his folly in silencing the Earl of Oxford before getting all possible information. Peyton declared that he was at first much disturbed, but, when the Earl [of Lincoln] had made him understand what peer was meant, Sir John was relieved for
>
> PEYTON'S REPORT
> I [Peyton] knewe hym [Oxford] to be so weake in boddy, in frends, in habylytie, and all other means to rayse any combustyon in the state, as I never feered any danger to proseyd from so feeble a fowndation.
>
> O'CONOR'S COMMENTARY
> This is a delightful comment of the man of action [Peyton] concerning a poet and musician [Oxford].

Peyton's original report specifically names everyone involved in the incident, and in context, it is obvious that Southampton was not the subject of this report. Readers can easily detect the conflation of texts in *The Tudor Rose* by looking for the shifts between standardized and irregular spelling, or shifts between first and third person.

SOUTHAMPTON'S RELEASE FROM THE TOWER (1603) AND ARREST WHEN OXFORD DIED (1604). When Queen Elizabeth died in March 1603, Southampton was still imprisoned in the Tower of London for his part in

the Essex rebellion. One of James's first official acts upon his accession was to release Southampton; James then restored Southampton's title and fortunes. Southampton was arrested again on the evening that Oxford died in June 1604, and Sears (101) argued that this arrest proves that Southampton was still a threat to King James:

> the moment Oxford died, however, [Robert] Cecil must have acted quickly to alert James that Southampton was free to seize his (Southampton's) Throne.

But this is pure speculation. Nobody knows whether Southampton's arrest was related in some way to Oxford's death. Moreover, the underlying assumptions are flawed. Robert Cecil orchestrated James's accession to the throne and is further presumed by Sears (75, 101) to have known about Southampton's royal blood. If Cecil had viewed Southampton as a potential threat to James, would not Cecil have advised James to leave Southampton in the Tower, if not to dispatch him? But at his accession, James released and then empowered his alleged arch-rival.

Conclusions

As attractive as the Tudor Rose theory may be on interpretive grounds, the historical facts plainly refute it. Indeed, the facts concerning Elizabeth's and her councilors' whereabouts in May-June 1574, the matters of state known to have occurred at that time, and Fénélon's documented personal audiences with her preclude any royal pregnancy, confinement, or clandestine delivery. Sears's errors, whether misquoting Stopes and Akrigg on Southampton's birth, or conflating texts (such as Whyte's letter with Akrigg's commentary), or paraphrasing sources to suit her purpose (e.g. the information she footnoted on p. 17) are so numerous as to undermine the legitimacy of the theory.

Adherents have not constructed their case with a single piece of documentary evidence, and the inaccurate arguments advanced to support the theory serve only to discredit it. Since ample documentation contradicts it, the Tudor Rose theory cannot be viewed as having any substance.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS. Judith T. Wozniak, Ph.D., Dept. of History, Cleveland State University, provided summaries in English of Bertrand de Salignac de la Mothe Fénélon's dispatches for April-July 1574; her translations narrowed the field of my investigation. Tal Wilson of Bodega Bay, CA provided the final translations of extracts quoted in this paper.

APPENDIX: The Talbot Letters

The texts of Francis's letters of May 23, 1573 and May 10, 1574, and Gilbert's letter to the Countess of Shrewsbury of June 28, 1574 are taken from Joseph Hunter's *Hallamshire* (112). Francis Talbot's letter of June 28, 1574 is taken from the original manuscript (*Talbot*, Microform, vol. 3197).

<u>Francis Talbot to the Earl of Shrewsbury: May 23, 1573</u>

Ryght honorable my hu[m]ble deautie reme[m]bred. Meay it please your Lo: I have sent you here inclosed such advertismens as latlie is come oute of France. Oute of Scotlande this is the newes: that Sr George Carye and Sr Harrie Leaye and Captea[n]e Reade goinge to yowe the castell were almost sleane wt^{h} a greate pease oute of the castell. The are so feawe wthin as it is thoucht the castle wyll be taken verie shortlie wt^{h}oute ane greate trouble. There is some taulcke of a progres to Bristo; but by reason of the unsesonablenes of the yeare, ther is greate meanes made for hure not goinge of so longe a progres: but hure Mati'^{s} greate desire is to gowe to Bristo. Mr Hattoun be reason of his greate syckenes is minded to gowe to the Spawe for the better recoverie of his healthe. All your Lo.' frinds do well here. My Lord treasurer and my Lord of Lecester do deaylie ascke for your Lo. and howe you have your healthe this springe. This is all that is at this tyme wourthie writinge: wherfore for this tyme I hu[m]blie tacke my leave, cravinge your Lo.' delie blessinge. Fro[m] the couert this XXIIIth of May.

Your Lo.' lovinge and obedient sonne

<u>Francis Talbot to the Earl of Shrewsbury: May 10, 1574</u>

Ryght honorable my hu[m]ble deautie reme[m]bered: meay it please your Lo: I have steayed writinge because I hoped to have hard su[m]thing of Corker; but I can here nothinge. I have dealt wth my Lord tresoror and my Lord of Lecester boueth, but I can not learne of them anie thinge that he hathe seayed of late, or done; he remeaneth still in close prison in the Flete. The Quenes mat^{ie} hathe spoken to me, and tould me of your Lo.' letter wch I brought; and howe well shee did accept it; wt^{h} manie other comfortable wourds: but no thinge of anie matter. The matter of Corker is al[m]ost forgotten here; here is nothinge but of King Philipe cu[m]inge dounne in to Flanders; and preparing the Quen's navè to seay; but whether my Lord Admiraule goueth himselfe or no it is not given out for serteayne as yet. The quene matie goethe of Saterdeay cum senight to Havering of the bower and their remeaneth tyle shee begins hir progres wch is to Bristo; the gests be not drauen, but shee is deter[m]ined for sertean to gowe to Bristo. This is all wc^{h} is wourthie writinge; but as matter shall happen here I wyll God willinge advertes your Lo: accordinge to my deautie. Thus with my deaylie prear to Almightie God for your Lo.' longe life wth much healthe, I hu[m]blie tacke my leave: cravinge your Lo.' delie blessinge. Fro the couert at Grinwege this xth of Meay 1574.

Your Lo:' lovinge and moste obedient sonne

Gilbert Talbot to the Countess of Shrewsbury: June 28, 1574

My moste hu[m]ble duty remembred unto your good La: To fulfyll your La.' co[m]mandement, & in discharge of my duty by wryting, rather then for any matter of importance that I can learne, I herewt^h^ troble your La.—Her ma^tie^ styrreth litell abrode, and since the stay of the navy to sea, here hathe bene all thinges very quieat; and almoste no other taulke but of this late proclamation for apparell, wch is thought shall be very severely executed both here at the cowrte, & at London. I have wrytten to my Lorde of the brute yt is here of his beyng sick agayne, wch I nothing doubte but y^t^ it is utterly untrew: howbeit because I never harde from my L. nor yor La. since I came up, I cannot but chuse but be sumwhat trobled, & yet I consyder the like hathe bene often reported moste falcely, and without cause, as I beseche God this be. My lady Cobham asketh daly how your La. dothe, and yesterday prayed me, the next tyme I wryt, to doe her very hartie co[m]mendacons unto your La. saynge openly she remayneth unto your La. as she was wonte, as unto her deereste frend. My La. Lenox hathe not bene at the cowrte since I came. On Wednesday next I trust (God willing) to goe hence towards Goderidge; and shorteley after to be at Sheffeld. And so most hu[m]bly crave[n]g your La.' blessing, wt my wonted prayer, for your honor and most perfite helthe lounge to continew. From the cowrte at Grenewidg this XXVIIIth June 1574.

Your La.' most hu[m]ble and obedient sun

Francis Talbot to the Earl of Shrewsbury: June 28, 1574

Ryght honorable my hu[m]ble deautie reme[m]bred meay it please your Lo: I have reseaved your letter by my mane, [Cleaton?] and accordinge to my deutie greatlie rejosd therat and that it pleaseth your Lo: so fatherlie to advise me, touchinge my journey to the sea, but I never ment to make serte[n] to gowe, nether to have anie charge savinge for experiens onlie to have accu[m]panied my Lord admiraule at his ernest request, wch after that sort beinge alwes on shipbord would have bene no charge at all but nowe all suche prete[n]ces are dasshed and none of hir mat^ie^ ships goueth and all speche thereof being nowe leayed, all thinges seme quiat at the couert, so as at this present I am unable to advertise your Lo: of anie thinge; The Q ma^tie^ hathe bene malencholy disposed a good while wc^h^ should seme that she is troubled wth weygti causes. She beginneth hir progres one Wedensdeay next; because of my wyfe's beinge at Wylton I mene to gowe presentlie thither for anie thinge I knowe yet I thincke not to gowe thens till hir mti^e^ come thither [whby?] it had bene my part to have advertised your Lo: before this but that I was uncertayne of the cu[m]inge up of my horses, I wyshe that nagg that your Lo: had of my mane meay be fit for your saddl and then I shall be glad I bought him. I thancke your Lo: hu[m]blie for the other I had for him wth the furniture. / Thus most hu[m]blie cravinge your Lo: delie blessinge, I tacke my leave, fro[m] the couert at Grinwege this xxviij of June / 1574 /

Your Lo: loving and most obedient soune

Abbreviations used

CSP-D	Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reigns of Edward VI., Mary, Elizabeth 1547-1580
CSP-F	Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series, of the Reign of Elizabeth, 1572-74, vol. 10
CSP-I	Calendar of State Papers Relating to Ireland, of the Reign of Elizabeth 1574-1585
SFN	The Shakespeare Fellowship Newsletters

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What did John Marston Know about Shakespeare?

Patrick Buckridge

John Marston has been a shadowy but persistent presence in heterodox discussions of the Shakespeare authorship since the nineteenth century. It is hardly surprising that he should have something to offer to an investigation of concealed literary and theatrical identities in London in the 1590s: he was living and working in the Inns of Court and around the theatres from about 1594, when he matriculated from Brasenose College, Oxford University, until 1606, when he left the Middle Temple.

A cursory glance at Marston's poems and plays reveals an oddly persistent preoccupation with that popular but enigmatic body of work coming to be known as 'Shakespeare' through the 1590s, the most striking being *The Metamorphosis of Pigmalion's Image*, his parody/pastiche of*Venus and Adonis,* and the links and parallels in character, situation and dialogue between *Hamlet* and *Antonio's Revenge.* Other turn-of-the-century plays of Marston's —*Antonio and Mellida, What You Will, The Dutch Courtesan,* and *The Malcontent*—appear to exhibit a more generally ironic relationship to certain Shakespearean plays, such as *Romeo and Juliet, Twelfth Night, Much Ado About Nothing,* and *Measure for Measure.*

As the author of two volumes of verse satires, Marston took a 'professional' interest in duplicity, hypocrisy, and imposture, traditional satiric targets that he would have seen as notably instantiated in the use of 'front-men' or 'stooges' for aristocratic writers. There are a few passages in the satires where he could be referring to such a practice: the allusion to those who

> . . . lick the tayle of greatnes with their lips:
> Laboring with third-hand iests, and Apish skips,
> Retayling others wit, long barrelled . . .

Patrick Buckridge is Associate Professor of Literary Studies at Griffith University in Brisbane, Australia.

might be one; though there are other, perhaps more persuasive ways of interpreting lines such as these.

What is a little surprising is that Marston's two volumes of satires have yielded such a meagre harvest to Oxfordians and others in search of evidence. There are hints and possibilities aplenty, but Marston seems to have 'scrambled the code' sufficiently to preclude many certain identifications of his satiric types with real individuals. In doing this he was no doubt practising the necessary disingenuousness of the prudent Elizabethan satirist, protesting loudly against those who 'not knowing the nature of a Satyre (which is under fained private names to note generall vices) will needes wrest each fayned name to a private unfained person'.[1] The protest is hardly to be taken at face value, though, and the inclusion of his satires among the works put to the torch in the 'Bishops' Bonfire' in St Paul's in 1600 suggests his early readers did not do so.

The fact remains that with the exception of Joseph Hall, whose own verse satires, *Virgidemiae* (1597-98), are attacked by name, very few of the dozens of characters in Marston's *Certaine Satyres* (1598) and *Scourge of Villanie* (1598) can be identified with certainty.

Marston and the Earl of Oxford

One unnamed figure in the *Scourge of Villanie,* Marston's second and larger volume, has been a source of great comfort to Oxfordians ever since being confidently identified by the elder Ogburns as Edward de Vere. The passage of direct and italicised address is familiar as the epigraph to Charlton Ogburn Jr's, *The Mysterious William Shakespeare.*

> *Farre flie thy fame*
> *Most, most of me belou'd, whose silent name*
> *One letter bounds. Thy true iudiciall stile*
> *I euer honour, and if my loue beguile*
> *Not much my hopes, then thy unvalued worth*
> *Shall mount faire place, when Apes are turned forth.* (SV IX 48-53)

Ogburn's insistence that 'e' is the 'one letter' in question, bounding as it does the name of *E*dward de Ver*e*, gains support from the possible puns on de Vere's name in the words 'true'(50) and 'ever'(51), and from the fact that no plausible alternative has been offered. (Marston's editor Arnold Davenport made the rather desperate suggestion in 1961 that the 'one letter' and the 'silent name' are both simply the first person pronoun 'I'; that is, that Marston was referring to himself.)

One thing to note about the 'silent name' passage is that, although it is separated both typographically and syntactically from what comes before and after it, it is not *logically* unrelated to its immediate context. The lines immediately preceding it are as follows:

> O what a tricksie lerned nicking straine
> Is this applauded, sencles, modern vain!
> When late I heard it from sage *Mutius* lips
> How il me thought such wanton Iigging skips
> Beseemed his grauer speech. (SV IX 44-48)

These lines come at the end of a serious critique of 'academic' satire, as recently exemplified for Marston by Hall's *Virgidemiae.* Its 'academicism' seems to consist of two related vices: an inability to appreciate the value of a good story (a question Marston discusses at greater length in his first volume of satires); and a predilection for learned playfulness. But Marston, himself a recent Oxford graduate and perhaps something of an intellectual snob, is anxious to make it clear that he is not opposed to learning in poetry *per se.* Far from it:

> My soule adores iudiciall schollership (SV IX 38)

Thus the address to the poet of the 'silent name' is a gesture towards the kind of learned wit, the 'true judicial style', that Marston admires and approves. This distinction between true and false scholarship in poetry makes sense if we think of the former as exemplified in 'Shakespeare', especially the early comedies with their extraordinarily dense wordplay and immense range of rhetorical figures, and the narrative poems with their wealth of classical allusion.

In the prose Preface to the *Scourge*, addressed 'to those that seeme iudiciall perusers', an interestingly similar characterisation appears. The relevant passage comes in the middle of an apology for the roughness and obscurity of his style, which he claims is a concession to those who 'tearm all Satyres (bastard) which are not palpable dark, and so rough writ that the hearing of them read would set a man's teeth on edge. For whose unseasond pallate I wrote the first Satyre in some places too obscure, in all places misliking me.' He continues,

> Yet when by some scuruie chaunce it shal come into the late perfumed fist of iudiciall *Torquatus*, (that like some rotten stick in a troubled water, hath gotte a greate deale of barmy froth to stick to his sides) I know he will vouchsafe it, some of his new-minted Epithets, (as *Reall, Intrinsecate, Delphicke*,) when in my conscience hee understands not the least part of it. But from thence proceeds his iudgement. (100)

The stance is more antagonistic and discourteous than in the 'silent name' address, but Marston is speaking here as 'W. Kinsayder', the railing, intolerant 'scourge' whose signature appears at the end of the Preface, whereas the address in the ninth satire is delivered with that mask temporarily removed—

as evidenced by the fact that it has to be deliberately replaced:

I am too milde, reach me my scourge again (SV IX 54)

The identity of Torquatus in the Preface has commonly been taken to be Ben Jonson, but the supporting arguments are not strong. Titus Manlius Torquatus was a Roman general who gained the name Torquatus by defeating a gigantic Gaul in single combat and taking from him his ornamental neck-chain (*torquis*).[2] Penniman argued for Jonson on two grounds: first, that Jonson told Drummond he 'had killed ane enemie and taken *opima spolia* [spoils of war] from him', and second, that the 'late perfumed fist' might refer to Jonson's notorious duel, which caused him to be branded on the thumb, and put him in danger of hanging (cf. the neck-chain).[3]

However, as Davenport points out, all this depends on the unfounded assumption that the *Scourge* was not published until some months after its entry in the Stationers' Register in September 1598, Jonson's fatal duel with the actor Gabriel Spencer having taken place later that year. Another objection is that while Jonson may have written some plays, he had evidently published none at this time, and could hardly be thought of as either 'judicial', a minter of new epithets, or the leader of a literary faction at this stage in his career. Accordingly, H.C.Hart argued in 1903 that Torquatus was Gabriel Harvey, purely on the basis that some of the 'new minted' terms can be found in his writings, and that he was older and had at least published at the time; however, there is little else to connect the two.

Davenport accepts Jonson as the likeliest Torquatus, and adds two pieces of additional 'evidence', both of which, in fact, point fairly conclusively away from Jonson. The first is that Crispinus, the acknowledged Marston figure in Jonson's *Poetaster* (1601) V ii 284, applies the phrase 'barmy froth' to Horace, the Jonson figure, thereby demonstrating, according to Davenport, that Jonson thought of himself as Torquatus.[4] But the borrowed phrase indicates rather that Jonson saw himself as one of those who might be thought, in Marston's metaphor, to stick like froth to Torquatus' side. In other words, Jonson was at most acknowledging his membership of a group of writers led by Torquatus, not claiming that identity for himself.

Davenport's second piece of evidence is similarly reversible. Jonson uses the words 'reall' and 'intrinsecate', but he uses them later than Marston's attack, and at least in the case of 'intrinsecate' he is ridiculing the use of the word by someone else—obviously not Marston, who was also ridiculing it[5]. Shakespeare, as it happens, uses this very unusual word unforgettably in Cleopatra's death scene:

Come thou mortal wretch,
With thy sharp teeth this knot intrinsicate

Of life at once untie. (*Antony and Cleopatra,* V iii 302-5)

As Davenport observes, 'Shakespeare was not to be put off a good word by the ridicule of Marston and Jonson'. No doubt. But if, as is very likely, the play was performed many times, and for many years, before being entered on the Stationers' Register in 1608, then Shakespeare's memorable use of the word was probably their original target.

Surprisingly perhaps, the word 'reall', used with what is now its most common meaning of 'not illusory', may also to have been to a Shakespearean invention. The *OED* cites Shakespeare for the earliest usage in one of this group of senses. It occurs three times in the canon, most memorably in the King's amazed reaction to the reappearance of Helena at the end of *All's Well That Ends Well*:

'Is't reall that I see?' (*AWW* 5 204)

Again there is no particular reason to accept the conventional dating of *All's Well* to 1602-3; the play is unknown to scholarship prior to the First Folio, and since likely historical allusions in it refer to a much earlier period, an earlier date of composition and performance is entirely probable. 'Delphicke' does not occur in the established Shakespeare canon, but the prominent theatrical foregrounding of the other two epithets, and their lack of irony, in both these plays makes Shakespeare a likelier source and target than Jonson.

There are several reasons for thinking that Marston's Torquatus may have been the Earl of Oxford. The first is simply that Oxford, like the historical Torquatus, wore a chain or cord around his neck. Whether this was related to the office of Lord Great Chamberlain or merely personal inclination, the fact is that the Marcus Gheeraedts portrait shows him—unlike many other portraits of the same period and social class—wearing just such a cord, threaded through a ring attached to the heraldic boar of the de Veres. The second is that his legal credentials and past experience on the bench, and his likely membership in the Privy Council by 1598, give added force to the epithet 'iudiciall' (though the primary meaning seems closer to 'judicious' or 'witty'). Thirdly, there is some evidence of his interest in spelling reform (further indications of an unusual preoccupation with words).[6] And fourthly, his known associations with a number of poets including Spenser, Watson, Nashe, Lyly, and Munday, his probable associations with many others, and the long list of literary and scholarly recipients of his patronage, give historical substance to Marston's jaundiced metaphor of the 'rotten stick' with its retinue of 'barmy froth'—the literary patron and his protégés.

The 'late perfumed fist' remains something of a puzzle, but it may be worth noting that both Marston and Hall sometimes use the word 'fist' without its bellicose modern connotation, as 'hand'. Torquatus' 'perfumed fist' may

thus be a complimentary allusion to the betrothal of Oxford's second daughter Bridget to Francis Norris, later Baron Rycote, in 1598— the father's hand having caught the fragrance of his daughter's hand as he offers it in marriage to another.

Further support for the identification might be drawn from the other appearance of the name 'Torquatus', in the final satire of the *Scourge.*

> Come a loft Iack, roome for a vaulting skip,
> Roome for *Torquatus*, that nere op'd his lip
> But in prate of *pummado reuersa*,
> Of the nimble tumbling *Angelica.*
> Now on my soule, his very intelect
> Is naught but a curuetting *Sommerset.* (*SV* [XI] 98-103)

Davenport presumes that this Torquatus is different from the one in the prose Preface. Other commentators have presumed, reasonably enough, that it is the same one; but the attempts to link him with either Jonson or Harvey, neither of whom had any sporting interests we know of, are unconvincing. But the lines might certainly be read as a railing allusion to Oxford's famous virtuosity as a horseman—and, perhaps justifiably, to a certain immodesty about it when he was in his cups.

As for 'Angelica', Davenport cites Chambers' suggestion that this refers to Angelica Alberghini, the wife of Drusiano Martinelli, an Italian player known to have been in London in 1579. She is thought to have been one of the Italian women of whose 'unchaste, shamelesse and unnaturall tomblinge' Thomas Norton had complained six years earlier (Davenport 364). There is no evidence of a visit to London later than 1580, which is of course far too early for Jonson. Both the date and the Italian interest point to Oxford, and paint a not unattractive picture of a garrulous boon companion regaling his friends with tales of erotic entertainments twenty years ago. Some Oxfordians will no doubt wish to agree with Davenport that this is not the same Torquatus as the other, more dignified figure; but the portrait seems to me to be quite continuous with the Oxford portrayed, also satirically of course, in Harvey's poem, 'Mirror of Tuscanism' (1580).

But if Torquatus was Oxford, then there is some possibility (based on two of the three 'new minted epithets') that Marston thought Oxford was 'Shakespeare'. Other connections, however, seem to point in a different direction.

Marston and the Earl of Derby

The 'silent name' passage in Satire IX of the *Scourge* is immediately followed, as mentioned earlier, by a re-donning of the satiric mask ('I am too milde; reach me my Scourge again.' (SV ix 54)). There follows an attack on a second 'judicial' poet:

> O yon's a pen speakes in a learned vaine.
> Deepe, past all sence. Lanthorne & candle light,
> Here's all invisible, *all mentall spright.*
> What hotchpotch, giberidge, doth the Poet bring?
> How strangely speakes? yet sweetly doth he sing.
> I once did know a tinckling Pewterer,
> That was the vildest stumbling stutterer
> That euer hack'd and hew'd our native tongue,
> Yet to the Lute if you had heard him sung,
> Iesu how sweet he breath'd. You can apply.
> O sencelesse prose, iudiciall poesie,
> How ill you'r link'd. (*SV* ix 55-66)

Davenport's suggestions as to the identity of this poet 'who wrote prose that Marston thought learned, obscure and clumsy, but wrote mellifluous verse' (351) are Thomas Watson, whose *Hekatompathia* interlarded sonnets with learned prose comments, but which was published sixteen years earlier—Watson himself having been dead for six years—and the minor sonneteer William Smith (cf. 'pewterer'?), whose metaphoric occupation might fit him for the second poet mentioned in the passage, but *ipso facto* not the first. Neither suggestion is convincing.

The *linking* of prose and poetry, unusual in non-dramatic writing, might be taken to refer to the drama, where the intermixing of the two was common enough. One such play, performed at least once and probably many times between 1595 and 1600, when it was first published, was *A Midsummer Night's Dream,* a poetic drama full of lanterns, candles, sprites, and perplexing dreams that just might fit the description given in the first five lines above. The combination of 'sweet singing' and 'judicial (i.e. witty) poesie', conceded to the poet's writing in verse, is reminiscent of Francis Meres' exactly contemporaneous descriptions of Shakespeare—in whose 'mellifluous and honey-tongued' poetry lives the 'sweet witty soul' of Ovid.

But if the poet of the 'silent name' is Oxford, the poet of the 'learned vaine' and lyric sweetness cannot be. So who is he? The word 'strangely' (59) could be taken as a punning reference to the Derby family. Ferdinando Stanley, the Fifth Earl, had been (like his father before him) Lord Strange—well-known to the theatre world as the patron of an acting company—before succeeding to the earldom; but he had died four years earlier, succeeded after less than a year by his brother William, to whom the word might therefore be indirectly applied.

Interestingly, the same possible pun occurs in an earlier cluster of cryptic references, surrounding the character 'Labeo' in Marston's verses 'in prayse of his Precedent Poem', in which he defended his Ovidian poem the *Metamorphosis of Pigmalion's Image* as a deliberate parody. In one of the few certain allusions to Shakespeare in Marston's work, he compares the carnal triumph of Pygmalion with that of 'Labeo':

And in the end, (the end of Loue I wot)
Pigmalion hath a iolly boy begot.
So *Labeo* did complaine his loue was stone,
Obdurate, flinty, so relentlesse none:
Yet *Lynceus* knowes, that in the end of this,
He wrought as strange a metamorphosis. (27-32)[7]

Line 30 echoes *Venus and Adonis* so directly that it cannot be coincidental:

Art thou obdurate, flinty, hard as steel?
Nay, more than flint, for stone at rain relenteth. (199-200)

The identity of 'Labeo' has thus reasonably been supposed by anti-Stratfordians of every stripe, and even some Stratfordians, to be that of the author of *Venus and Adonis*. 'Labeo' also appears several times in Joseph Hall's two volumes of satires (1597/8); in the first volume he is castigated for writing salacious poetry:

For shame write cleanly, Labeo, or write none.(II,i,1)[8]

In the second volume he is also accused of evading moral responsibility for his writing by adopting a false identity, or rather, by transferring his authorial identity to someone else:

Who list complaine of wronged faith or fame
When he may shift it to another's name. (VI,i,187-8)

The same apparent accusation of evasive collaboration had in fact also been made in the first volume:

Or better write, or Labeo write alone. (II,i,2)

Walter Begbie proclaimed in 1903 that Labeo/Shakespeare was Francis Bacon by arguing, not very convincingly, that this same 'Labeo' was the unnamed poet invoked by the phrase *'mediocria firma'* (part of Bacon's family motto) used in a list of poets which Marston defends from Hall's censure in the *Certaine Satyres'*.[9]

More recently, Fred Manzo has drawn up a list of parallels between the lives of one of the possible historical 'Labeos', Marcus Antistius Labeo, a prominent Roman jurist of the early Empire, and the Earl of Oxford.[10] Many of these parallels are generic, and are interchangeable as between Edward de Vere and William Stanley, who was also well-schooled in the law, and had held prominent public offices. Where the Derby case seems somewhat stronger than Oxford's is in Marston's reference (in the passage with which we began) to the

'strange metamorphosis' wrought by Labeo in bringing his mistress to eventual compliance. Derby's courtship of Elizabeth de Vere, Oxford's eldest daughter, was similarly passionate, public and protracted, beginning at a royal pageant at Elvetham in 1591 and culminating in their eventual marriage in January 1595. Nothing we know of in Oxford's life at this time, or for sixteen years past, much resembles this known and recent situation in Derby's life. And the adjective in 'strange ... metamorphosis'(32) is again applicable to Derby, via the well-known title of his deceased older brother.

If Marston's Labeo was Derby, finally, it is of some interest to note the similarity of 'Lynceus', the person Marston names as his authority for Labeo's amorous triumph ('Yet *Lynceus* knows'), to the man whom Gabriel Harvey, in the 'Mirror of Tuscanism', had called a 'Lynx to spy out secrets and privities of States' [11] That man was the Earl of Oxford, the lady's father, and thus the best authority Marston could have named.

Whether these considerations outweigh the few 'Oxford-specific' connections Manzo cites for 'Labeo' is debatable. Of these the unusual suffix 'eo' seems the most persuasive, suggesting a choice made with Oxford's occasional signature E.O. in mind. That original choice was made, however, by Hall rather than Marston; so perhaps our solution is that Hall did believe, or ar least suspect, that Oxford was Shakespeare, but that Marston believed, or knew, otherwise. Even Hall may have had some inkling of a more complex situation afoot: His exhortation to Labeo to 'better write, or write alone' implies the doubleness of collaboration, rather than the duplicity of a pen-name.

It seems then that Marston's Labeo/Shakespeare may not have been Hall's Labeo/Shakespeare, that Marston had come to see Derby as the dominant Shakespearean writer. In the poem 'Reactio', towards the end of a long series of defences of particular poets and works—some of them named—against Hall's criticisms, Marston challenges the critic to cease his carping and to try his own hand at some of the genres he has attacked. The first is the genre of Spenserian romance, a rather unfair inclusion, as Hall had specifically excluded the *Faerie Queen* from his general strictures on romance:

> Come, manumit thy gloomie pinion,
> And scower the sword of Eluish champion (*CS* IV 133-4)

A few lines later, he invites him to

> Sommon the Nymphes and Driades to bring
> Some rare inuention, whilst thou dost sing
> So sweet, that thou *maist shoulder from aboue*
> *The Eagle from the stairs of freendly* Ioue: (141-2)

The italicised line-and-a-half (printed thus in the original) are an exact

quotation from Hall's prefatory verses, 'His Defiance to Envie' to his first volume. Half- a-dozen other lines or phrases are quoted from this same poem of Hall's within Marston's next twenty lines; but the last of them bears repeating:

> Doe not his Poems beare a glorious saile?

Then he demands once again,

> Hath not he strongly iustled from aboue
> *The Eagle from the staires of friendly Ioue?* (151-2)

The same Eagle twice in ten lines? It does sound a bit like a hint. But what or whom is he hinting at? Marston has challenged Hall to summon the nymphs and dryads of classical erotic poetry to help him to 'sing so sweet'. 'Sweet singing', it might be recalled—together with 'strange speaking'—is the particular attribute grudgingly conceded by the jaundiced satirist to the poet whose 'pen speakes in a learned vaine', and who follows the poet of the 'silent name' in the Tenth Satire of the *Scourge.* Incidentally, 'lyrical sweetness' is also the specific quality attributed to Shakespeare by Francis Meres, and to 'our pleasant Willy' in Spenser's *Tears of the Muses* (1591), a long poem dedicated to Alice, the Countess of Derby, and William Stanley's sister-in-law.[12] That particular 'Willy' has long been thought to be the poet Shakespeare (whether as Oxford, Stanley or Shakspere), and the link with the 'elvish champion' Spenser is strikingly preserved in their close proximity in Marston's 'Reactio'.

The Eagle, finally, is the family crest of the Stanleys—rather more exclusively so than the boar is of the de Veres. To have Marston call attention to it in the way he does, and to find that the qualities of the poet/eagle are substantially those attributed by himself and others to 'Shake-speare' has to be slightly suggestive.

Histriomastix, Or the Player Whipp'd

The play *Histriomastix,* though published anonymously, can be safely attributed to Marston, in whole or part, on the basis of a mention of the play in Jonson's *Every Man Out of his Humour,* side by side with some phrases from the *Scourge of Villanie.* It was performed by Paul's Boys in 1599 shortly before *Every Man Out* and seems to have been an early shot in the War of the Theatres. Perhaps it was even the initial provocation to the series of theatrical attacks and counter-attacks that took place from about this time, and which involved *Cynthia's Revels* and *Poetaster* by Jonson, Dekker's *Satiromastix,* and probably Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida.* That there were subsequent performances of *Histriomastix,* perhaps with topical additions, after 1599 is a virtual certainty, since the quarto did not appear till 1610.

Just what part Derby may have played in the War of the Theatres is unclear, but it was undoubtedly connected with his role—evidently a crucial and active one—in the revival of the Children of Paul's in 1599, nine years after their suppression, when it was reported in a newsletter that 'My Lord Derby hath put up the plays of the children in Paul's, to his great pain and charge'.[13] This is also the very year when the Jesuit spy George Fenner reported that 'our Earl of Derby' was 'busy penning comedies for the common players'.[14] At the same time his wife was writing to her uncle Robert Cecil, asking that her husband's men 'be not barred from their accustomed playing . . . for that my Lord taking delight in them, it will keep him from more prodigal courses'.[15]

Histriomastix is a late moral interlude dealing directly, though in a largely allegorical mode, with the disintegration of a nation's social and cultural life in time of war. The central figure is Chrisoganus, a learned and idealistic scholar and poet, who enacts the changing relationship between poetry and society in a series of formalised exchanges with the nobles of the realm, and also in a more naturalistic set of negotiations with a troupe of touring players, and their resident hack-playwright Post-haste. There is clearly some scope here for seeing Chrisoganus as a thematic focus for exploring the higher moral functions of drama for society, and perhaps also as a figure modelled on one or another actual playwright. Post-haste is normally taken to be a thinly-veiled Anthony Munday, and for Chrisoganus the usual suggestion is Ben Jonson. There are problems with this latter identification, not least the fact that it was only *after Histriomastix* was performed—and perhaps as a result of it—that Jonson began presenting himself on stage as the embattled moralist in characters like Asper (*EMO*) and Crites (*CR*).

Chrisoganus' 'poor scholar' status makes an identification with either Oxford or Derby difficult, and perhaps that was the point of it. It is true though that Chrisoganus possesses precisely those qualities of judicious learning and poetic eloquence that characterise the two poets of the Tenth Satire of the *Scourge.* And, at a certain point, the playwright Shakespeare does seem to get into the picture. Sir Oliver Owlet's Men are performing a play of Troilus and Cressida, and Troilus addresses Cressida with the following words:

> Come Cressida my cresset light,
> Thy face doth shine bothe day and night,
> Behold, behold, thy garter blue
> Thy knight his valiant elboe weares,
> That When [sic] he shakes his furious Speare,
> The foe in shivering fearefull sort
> May lay him down in death to snort.[16]

Orthodox scholarship takes these lines as referring to a lost play of Troilus and Cressida by Dekker and Chettle which is mentioned by Henslowe.[17] But

the pun on 'W. Shakespeare' in the fifth line makes this seem unlikely. Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida* was first published in quarto in 1609, but there is bibliographical evidence for an edition some five years earlier, and the date of first performance, even on Muir's orthodox reckoning, could be as early as 1599.[18] If it were performed in its present form early in that year, before *Histriomastix* but after the first editions of Marston's verse satires in 1598, this would strengthen the case for seeing Thersites, the foul-mouthed railer of Shakespeare's play, as many orthodox critics have done, as a satirical representation of Marston the verse satirist.

In the passage from *Histriomastix* just quoted 'Shakespeare' is being implicitly compared with Troilus, and his real-life identity hinted at in two allusions. The first is to the serious and painful rift in 1597/98 in Derby's marriage to Elizabeth de Vere, whom Henry Howard privately accused of committing adultery with the Earl of Essex, a situation which seems to be reflected in the ancient parallel with the faithless Cressida. The tactless presumption of such an allusion by Marston to the Earl's marital troubles, though quite considerable, is not unimaginable given the provocation of the Thersites portrait and the fact that--on my proposed chronology—the analogy was already there to be inferred in Shakespeare's own play. Marston, in other words, was not so much proposing a parallel between the two couples as signifying that he understood a particular application presumably not intended for general understanding.

The second allusion in the passage is the 'garter blue' in the third line, which can of course be read as a reference to the Order of the Garter, in which Derby was formally invested in March 1601. The date means that we have to assume that the one surviving text of *Histriomastix* contains some additions, performed or otherwise, to the 1599 script, and that this passage must be one of them; but this does not seem unlikely.

The Entertainment of the Dowager-Countess of Derby

Marston's relationship to the Stanleys was not altogether that of a middle-class poet and playwright observing the nobility from a distance. A late work of Marston's that has come to be known as the Countess of Derby's *Entertainment* (or the *Ashby Entertainment*) indicates that he enjoyed some social connections with the Derby family. The *Entertainment* is a short masque written by Marston, apparently by invitation, to celebrate the betrothal in 1607 of Anne, the eldest daughter of Alice and Ferdinando, the Fifth Earl of Derby, to Grey Bridges, Lord Chandos. The occasion was hosted by the bride-to-be's younger sister, Elizabeth Lady Huntingdon, mistress of Ashby House, the seat of her husband Henry Hastings, the Fifth Earl of Huntingdon, at which her mother, the Dowager Countess Alice, was the honoured guest and dedicatee of the masque itself.

The *Entertainment* is of interest for reasons that relate to established cruces in the history of the authorship debate, and I shall do no more than allude

to them here. The first is the occurrence in the manuscript of the poem of the words 'Scilence' (110) and 'scilent' (371). These odd forms of 'silence/silent' suggest the possibility of a connection of some kind with the form 'scilens' (for 'silence') which occurs as a proper name eighteen times in succession in the Quarto of Shakespeare's *2 Henry IV* and once in the 'Addition' to the manuscript play *The Boke of Sir Thomas More,* written in the 'Hand D' which has been hailed by some Stratfordians (on ludicrous paleographic and inconclusive stylistic grounds) to be a Shakspere autograph.[19]

The situation appears to be that if the 'sc' spelling for 'silence' is indeed as rare as has been claimed, then the person who wrote the surviving manuscript of Marston's *Entertainment* may well have been the same person who supplied the printer's copy for the *2 Henry IV* Quarto—and perhaps also penned the Addition to *Thomas More.* The problem in extracting any definite conclusion from these occurrences, apart from the question of the rarity of the spelling, is the impossibility of knowing in any of the three cases whether the spelling originated with the author, the scrivener or, in the case of *2HenryIV*, the printer.

It may be worth noting, however, that Marston certainly did not write the Huntington Library Ms. of the *Entertainment* in which the 'sc' spellings occur. Its provenance in the Bridgewater Collection, established by the Countess Alice's stepson John Egerton, the First Earl of Bridgewater, makes it virtually certain that it was the copy presented to the Countess Alice herself, and therefore presumably one of those which, as Marston said in a surviving letter to Sir Gervase Clifton, he had caused to be transcribed from his own copy, and which were then 'given and stolen from me at my Lord Spencer's' (the Countess's mother's home). Furthermore, we know that Marston did not spell 'silence/silent' with an 'sc' since it occurs with an 's' several times in his verse satires, which he presumably proofread himself. In fact, the Huntington Ms. is in two hands, one Italian and the other English, and the 'sc' spellings both occur in the Italian hand.

One hypothesis that would fit the facts as we have them would be that the same scrivener (a Frenchman, perhaps, which could account for both the Italian hand and the 'sc' spelling) prepared the fair copy of the Shakespeare play for the printer, and also helped to prepare the presentation copy of Marston's poem for the Countess—and that he was available to do both these tasks because he was a member of the Earl of Derby's household. What light, if any, this may shed on the problem of the Addition D to *Sir Thomas More* is a subject for another paper. By itself, the orthographic anomaly common to the Marston manuscript and the Shakespeare quarto establishes the possibility that a canonical Shakespearean manuscript was prepared for the printer by a Derby family employee.

This is a speculation, but it receives some support from another aspect of the same *Entertainment.* Attached to the Huntington Ms. of the masque is a loose manuscript of one sheet which contains fourteen sets of verses, each to

be spoken by one of fourteen noble ladies who it seems were present at the betrothal, and ceremoniously included within the elaborate event. The verses, some of which are strongly reminiscent of the love-notes and cryptic verses in some of Shakespeare's plays, are signed 'W:SR:' according to Marston's editor Davenport. However, Peter Levi has argued more recently that the third letter of the signature is a superscript 'h' overwritten by either 'K' or 'R', that the hand in which the signature (but not the verses) is written is Marston's, and that the verses themselves are Shakespeare's (i.e. Shakspere's) who, it is supposed, knew Marston through the theatre. His connection to the Derby family circle is supposed to be either through Marston, or through the daughter or sister-in-law of Lord Hunsdon, the Lord Chamberlain, both of whom were among the fourteen noble ladies.[20]

Levi does not consider the possibility that the author of the verses may have been someone whose poetic donation would have needed less strained explanations. The verses might very naturally have come from the pen - and the brain - of the bride's uncle William Stanley, the Sixth Earl of Derby, with whom her mother was shortly to be reconciled after some thirteen years of legal wrangling over the ownership of the Derby estates. And if the signature was indeed written by Marston, what more likely than that he would have used an abbreviation close to the theatrical pen-name?

The third point of interest about the *Entertainment* is simply that it establishes a connection between Marston and the Derby family, for this connection immediately points to another, somewhat earlier indication of the Marston-Derby connection.

Love's Martyr

Love's Martyr (1601), a long and obscure poem by Robert Chester, is remembered now for the gallery of famous names who contributed shorter poems to the volume in which it first appeared. The names are those of 'Ben Johnson', George Chapman, John Marston and 'William Shake-speare'; and there is a further poem (possibly by Donne) signed 'Ignoto'. Shakespeare's is of course *The Phoenix and the Turtle,* that most mysterious of all Shakespeare's poems. The Marston-Shakespeare connection here is close, at least textually, since Marston's three-part poem, 'A narration and description of a most exact wondrous creature, arising out of the Phoenix and Turtle doves ashes', follows Shakespeare's poem and directly comments on it (with Marston's usual ambivalence of tone where Shakespeare is concerned):

> O twas a mouing Epicedium!
> Can Fire? can time? can blackest Fate consume
> So Rare creation?

Theories abound as to the meaning of the allegory of Shakespeare's poem. For my present purposes the important thing to note is the personnel. The

volume was dedicated by Chester to Sir John Salusbury, the husband of Ursula Stanley, the illegitimate daughter of the Fourth Earl of Derby, and thus the half-sister of William Stanley. Salusbury and William were not just brothers-in-law but close friends. Once more, the Derby family provides the context in which apparently random groupings of individuals begin to look like a coherent social and cultural circle. Marston, at least, was still associated with the extended family six years later when he attended the performance of his *Entertainment* at the Huntingdon estate at Ashby. Jonson and Chapman's connections have yet to be unravelled, but it may well be significant that the same trio of Marston, Jonson and Chapman were jointly responsible for the play *Eastward-Hoe* in 1601, and Jonson and Chapman suffered for it with jail terms. Marston, by whatever means, got off scot-free, a fact which may suggest that his connections were better or more direct than the others.

The Social Context

What does all this add up to? For one thing, a writer who seems not just to allude to the works of Shakespeare but to cling to them with an almost Oedipal tenacity in most of his own published works.

Perhaps his purpose was simply to 'guy' the passionate style of plays designed for adult companies (an implication, perhaps, of Hamlet's comments on the 'little eyases' in his conversation with the Players); or perhaps, as G.K.Hunter has argued, the intent was more seriously philosophical, an attempt to convey a broader 'vision of life' characterised by a strong sense of discontinuity and ambivalence.[21] Such explanations seem too resolutely ahistorical and asocial to be persuasive. What is needed is a way of relating Marston to the people and events around him that might help to explain and motivate his long-lasting but ambivalent bond with 'Shake-speare' the poet and playwright.

The answer, I suggest, lies in the bits and pieces of evidence that point towards his special relationship with various branches of the Derby family, with that of the Dowager Countess Alice, to whom the Ashby *Entertainment* was dedicated, and also, it would seem, with the family of Ursula Stanley and her husband Sir John Salusbury, to whom Chester's *Love's Martyr* and its accompanying verses—his own and those of Shakespeare, Jonson and Chapman —were dedicated.

Marston's *entrée* to these elevated circles is a great deal easier to account for than William Shakspere's could ever be, since Marston, the son of an old Shropshire family with noble connections and an Oxford graduate, was at least of a class—the educated minor gentry—whose deferential relations with the aristocracy were part of the ordinary fabric of Elizabethan cultural life. Furthermore, as Nina Green has shown, Marston was distantly related to (of all people) the Earl of Oxford, through his mother Margery Golding.[22] This raises the possibility that Marston's earliest aristocratic contact was with the de Veres and that the Stanley connections followed the relationship between Edward de

Vere and his son-in-law.

There are other, complementary possibilities. Of the fourteen Ladies of the Bridgewater Ms. poems, one may have been the wife of John Danvers of the Middle Temple, Marston's place of study and residence; another was certainly the Countess Alice's sister, Lady Hunsdon, the wife of the Lord Chamberlain and a possible theatrical connection. There is every reason to suppose that Will. Stanley, a man of known culture, and known too for his obsession with the theatre, would have been present at this and other family gatherings.

If, however, as the *Entertainment* and Marston's letter to Gervase Clifton seem to imply, Marston's primary affiliation was with Lady Alice's branch of the family—the Spencers, the Huntingdons, and the Egertons; and if, as I have been arguing, Marston believed that the Sixth Earl was 'Shake-speare'—then that might account for some of the ambivalence we feel in his attitude to the Bard. Indeed, for the whole period of Marston's life in London, the Sixth Earl was embroiled in an acrimonious and financially ruinous lawsuit brought by his brother's widow, the Countess Alice, which lasted from 1594 till about 1608, when it was finally resolved in the Earl's favour. The Derby lawsuit certainly soured personal relations between the principals, and probably engendered some side-taking among their clients and followers, though some, like John Davies of Hereford, seem to have been able to maintain good relations with both branches. Perhaps Marston was not so diplomatic; judging from his satiric writings it would be hard to imagine anyone less diplomatic, and if Shakespeare's Thersites (or, as it may have been pronounced, 'Thársites') is indeed a portrait of Marston, then he obviously had annoyed the author of *Troilus and Cressida.*

Conclusions

What, then, did Marston know about Shakespeare? I think that like Nashe, Heywood, Davies of Hereford, and a few others, he knew a great deal—more than Joseph Hall and perhaps, for the first decade of the new century, more than Ben Jonson. I think he knew that the more active member of the Shakespeare partnership, at least at the time he was writing satires, in 1597-98, was William Stanley, brother-in-law of his sometime patron Alice Derby; that the 48-year old Edward de Vere, the 'Torquatus' and the 'silent name' of the verse satires, though something of a spent force in 1598, was the 'fons et origo' of the Shakespearean miracle, and deserved more credit for that than he had received.

And I think Marston knew, finally, what was at stake in keeping the authorship secret—perhaps for both men, but certainly for Stanley, whose name had been canvassed twice in five years as the favoured Catholic successor to Elizabeth's throne. He kept the secret, unfortunately, but not without dropping some pretty broad hints along the way. I suppose one has to be thankful for small mercies.

Notes

[1] *The Poems of John Marston,* ed. A. Davenport (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1961), p.176.
[2] Sir Paul Harvey, ed. *The Oxford Companion to Classical Literature* (Oxford: Clarendon press, 1962), p.259.
[3] Davenport, *Marston,* p.264.
[4] *Ben Jonson,* ed. C.H.Herford and Percy Simpson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966), Vol. iv, p.306.
[5] *Every Man Out of his Humour,* II i 109; *Cynthia's Revels,* V ii 15. *Ben Jonson,* Vol.iii, pp. 472, 132. See Davenport, p. 265.
[6] Nina Green has established a strong possibility of Oxford's interest in the work of late sixteenth-century spelling reformers, especially William Bullokar. Her inference is based on the orthography of Oxford's letters, as newly transcribed by Alan Nelson, University of California, Berkeley.
[7] Davenport, *Marston,* p.65.
[8] *The Poems of Joseph Hall,* ed. A. Davenport (Liverpool: at the University Press, 1949), pp.21, 91.
[9] *Is it Shakespeare?* by a Cambridge Graduate [Walter Begbie] (London: John Murray, 1903), pp.15-24.
[10] Fred W. Manzo, 'Who Was Joseph Hall's Labeo?' *The Elizabethan Review,* Autumn 1995, Vol.3, No.2, pp.52-59.
[11] Quoted by Charlton Ogburn Jr., *The Mysterious William Shakespeare: The Myth and the Reality* (McLean, Virginia: 1992), pp.630-631.
[12] I acknowledge the work of John Rollett in drawing together the several images of 'honey' and 'sweetness' in probable references to 'Shake-speare'.
[13] Penshurst Papers, ed. C.L. Kingsford, II (1934), 415. Cited in A. Harbage, *Shakespeare and the Rival Traditions* (Bloomington, 1952), 36.
[14] *Calendar of State Papers Domestic, Elizabeth,* ed. Green, V, 227. Cited in Harbage, 55.
[15] *Malone Society Collections,* Vol. II, pp. 147-148 ("Four Letters on Theatrical Affairs"). Cited in Harbage, 56.
[16] *The Plays of John Marston,* ed. H. Harvey Wood 3 vols. (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1939), III 265.
[17] Geoffrey Bullough, 'The Lost *Troilus and Cressida*' , *Essays and Studies* (1964), pp.25-40.
[18] *Troilus and Cressida,* ed. Kenneth Muir. The Oxford Shakespeare (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), pp.5-9.
[19] I am grateful to Jerry Downs, among others, for information and analysis of this particular crux.
[20] Peter Levi, *The Life and Times of William Shakespeare* (London: papermac, 1989), Appendix 1, 'A Private Commission'.
[21] John Marston, *Antonio and Mellida,* ed. G.K. Hunter, Regents Renaissance Drama (Lincoln, Neb.: University of Nebraska Press, 1965), Intrduction, xviii.
[22] N. Green, *Edward De Vere Newsletter,* #44 (October, 1992).

Robert Greene's Wit Re-evaluated

W. Ron Hess

The crucial phrase from *Greene's Groatsworth of Wit*, "that with his tygres heart wrapt in a players hyde," may have nothing at all to do with the author Shakespeare, but to some other unknown and as yet unpublished actor and playwright that the Bard is theorized by traditional scholars to have been in 1592.

Those acquainted with *Groatsworth* will recognize the traditional argument that the pamphlet refers to William Shakespeare in this sentence:

> Yes, trust them not [the players for whom Greene and other play wrights had labored]; for there is an upstart crow beautified with our feathers, that with his *tygres heart wrapt in a players hyde*, supposes hee is as well able to bombaste out a blanke verse as the best of you; and being an absolute *Johannes fac totum* is in his own conceit, the onely *Shake-scene* in a countrey.

I will focus on the most important phrase of this sentence, "that with his tygres heart wrapt in a players hyde," which orthodox scholars believe was a direct quote from Shakespeare's *3 Henry VI*, Act I, Scene 4: Oh tygres heart wrapt in a woman's hide. They tie that "fact" with the other allusions in the sentence and claim it not only quotes the Bard, but also refers directly to him as an upstart actor-playwright. Since this reference occurs approximately one year before Shakespeare's first published work, *Venus and Adonis* in 1593, and because Greene is interpreted as accusing the scorned actor of plagiarism (the Stratfordian interpretation of "beautified with our feathers"), Stratfordian scholars feel justified in using this to prove that Shakespeare started as an actor, worked his way up as a plagiarizer of others' works and Jack-of-all-trades in the theater (their interpretation of "Johannes fac totum"), and became by the early 1590s a threat to established playwrights like Greene and those to whom Greene supposedly addressed his "confessions." They then build upon this assumption the foundation for their biographies of William Shakspere of Stratford-upon-Avon (whom I distinguish from William Shakespeare, the dramatist).

For instance, Gerald Bentley argues that because Shakspere did not attend a university, yet came from a group that had its roots in the theater, he had the

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W. Ron Hess is an independent Elizabethan scholar living in Maryland.

right background to become the greatest writer in the English language. Therefore:

> ...[Shakspere], in spite of his various nondramatic activities,was *the most complete man of the theater* in his time ...the *comprehensiveness of his participation in all aspects of the theatrical enterprise,* as professional playwright, as actor, as 'sharer,' and as theater owner. The theater was *clearly his chosen environment,* and when we direct our attention to*[Shakspere] the playwright,* we have come to the essential man (Bentley1, 120). (emphasis added)

I emphasize Bentley's direct dependence on arguments from the traditional interpretations of what is in the "important part" of *Groatsworth,* and for which there is no independent verification.

It is doubtful Shakspere fit any of Bentley's descriptions, with the possible exception that, as a theater company investor, he may have been part owner of a theater. Without *Groatsworth* and their interpretations of it, Stratfordians have no evidence during Shakspere's lifetime that he was an actor, let alone a playwright or poet. The orthodox theory therefore must have *Groatsworth* refer specifically to Shakspere, or at least Shakespeare. Any convincing denial of that undermines their case.

To start, there is the lack of firm evidence about the date of composition of *3 Henry VI* and its linked plays (*2 and 1 Henry VI* and *Richard III,* respectively). For instance, Eric Sams proposes that parts of *Groatsworth* were written as early as 1589 (Sams, 80-81), while Bentley has proposed that 1591 was the latest likely date of composition for *3 Henry VI* (Bentley1, 230). Thus, by some Stratfordian accounts, the earliest likely date of *Groatsworth* comes *before* the latest likely date of *3 Henry VI.*

With a gap of two full years providing the distinct possibility that parts of *Groatsworth* were written before *3 Henry VI,* it is simply false to state that it was "clear" (Bentley1, 95) *Groatsworth* referred to a line in *3 Henry VI* and thus to Shakespeare the dramatist. They refuse to acknowledge the real possibility that the reverse is true—that Shakespeare later paraphrased a line from *Groatsworth* or from a source common to both.

It must be noted that the first publication of the crucial "tygres heart" line is not to be found until the 1595 quarto of the Pembroke's Men's play, *The True Tragedie of Richard Duke of Yorke,* with no author listed on the title page (Allen & Muir, 75-87). The first time the play bearing the crucial line was attributed to Shakespeare was in 1623, with the First Folio's publication.

Yet most scholars seem set to embrace the assumption that Shakespeare must have been the author or originator of the crucial line, that Shakespeare's play must have been the first source to ever feature that or any lines sufficiently similar to it, and that it must have preceded *Groatsworth.*

What is meant when Bentley or other scholars state or imply it is "clear" that *Groatsworth* refers to Shakespeare? They mean there are no alternatives worth considering. We should, however, do just that.

For instance, we know from contemporary sources that Robert Greene dined on pickled herring and Rhenish wine with "Will Monox" and Thomas Nashe sometime in August of 1592, then took ill. Then, while Greene was on his death bed on September 3, 1592, he is said to have written or dictated the pamphlet we know as *Groatsworth.* On September 20, 1592, following Greene's death by only a few days, Henry Chettle rushed those "confessions" into publication, doubtlessly in order to capitalize upon the notoriety of Greene's death. Orthodox scholars would have us believe that all important references in *Groatsworth* were written on Greene's death bed, because if those could be argued to have been written over a longer period of time, or not all at the same time, the possibility that they all refer to one individual (Shakespeare) is greatly diminished.

The Stratfordian inference is that, near death, Greene had no one else on his mind, and in a single act before dying, gave his confessions.

I argue that Greene was occasionally ill over a period of years before his death in September 1592. As Greene himself allegedly said, he returned from an excursion to Italy "accompanied with multitude of abhominable vices,...vaine glory, selfe loue, sodomie and strange poisonings....Yong yet in yeares, though olde in wickednes, I began to resolue that there was nothing bad that was profitable: whereupon I grew so rooted in all mischief...From whordome I grew to drunkennes, from drunkennes to swearing and blaspheming..." (Crupi, 6-7). Drunkeness particularly weighed on his conscience.

In his later years, Greene might have had any of a number of disorders (stomach cancer, bleeding ulcers, cirrhosis of the liver) which would show symptoms periodically over years, ending in death. There is certainly much about Greene's biography to suggest that he was an alcoholic, with associated disorders not unlikely.

It is as likely that Greene had many illnesses which, each in its time, seemed to him fatal. And each time he would write his confessions, only to recover and store it away. Except for the last time. Then, as his editor and publisher, Henry Chettle, admitted in *Kind-Hart's Dreame* on December 8, 1592, Chettle collected the papers Greene had at his death and fashioned them into *Groatsworth.* There's little likelihood that, during these illnesses, Greene would have been concentrating specifically on William Shakespeare.

Even if a line from Shakespeare is being paraphrased by *Groatsworth*, the "tygres heart" reference doesn't necessarily mean that any of the other names in *Groatsworth* refer to Shakespeare, any more than use of "veni, vidi, vici" necessarily means other references in a line must be to Julius Caesar. I believe that "tygres heart" was simply a well known line that fit the vituperative intent of Greene/Chettle, with the then unpublished, unremarked-about Shakespeare barely being known to the paying readers of the pamphlet.

Disregarding the true history of the death of the Duke of York in 1460 (who died in battle), the author of the line from *3 Henry VI* has it spoken by York just before he was to be executed. For added drama, it is spoken to and about

Queen Margaret, who presided over the defeat of the Duke's army, a most unfeminine thing to do in those days. The Queen has just cruelly displayed to the Duke a cloth soaked with his own son's blood:

> "She wolf of France, but worse than wolves of France,
> Whose tongue more poisons than the adders tooth!...
> Thou art as opposite to everie good
> As the antipodes are unto us,
> Or as the south to the septentrion.
> O tiger's heart wrapp'd in a woman's hide!
> How couldst thou drain the lifeblood of the child,
> To bid the father wipe his eies withal,
> And yet be seen to weare a woman's face?..."

And the scene ends with Queen Margaret exulting:

> "Off with his head, and set it on York gates;
> So York may overlook the town of York."

If we assume that Shakespeare must have been the author of the 1595 quarto of *The True Tragedie of Richard Duke of Yorke*, how many of the above lines were created by Shakespeare, and how many were traditional, anecdotal, or even historical? So, must we believe that Shakespeare invented those lines, or might he have drawn on previous material or traditions about the deaths of the Duke of York and of Caesar (even though history showed the traditions to be false)?

Similarly, the circumstances of York's death in 1460 are historical facts, yet York's death was doubtlessly surrounded with stories, especially since he was defeated by a woman. So, traditions that York's last known words included his calling Queen Margaret a "She wolf" and a "tiger's heart wrapp'd in a woman's hide" (not necessarily in her immediate presence as in the play, but as he directed his troops on the battlefield) are quite possible, even likely, but would only be anecdotal until other information emerged to corroborate them.

Shakespeare may have simply been only one of the first to put the apt phrases into the new media of drama, and the phrases subsequently were preserved through the accident that the works of Shakespeare were considered worth preserving. But what of other early authors who may have written examples of these anecdotal lines, some of whom may have been significantly earlier than Shakespeare, and perhaps even borrowed from by Shakespeare? The answer is simple: their lines weren't preserved because their works were inferior or because later generations did not venerate them as they did Shakespeare's. Otherwise, we'd now be claiming that Shakespeare "stole" *3 Henry VI*, or parts of it, from Kyd's "Ur-Henry VI" (very similar to the approach Stratfordians have adopted for a hypothetical early play which they dub "Ur-Hamlet"). There would be factions claiming that *Groatsworth* was really an attack on Kyd.

However, I am not the first to doubt that the "tygres heart" reference referred to Shakespeare. Winifred Frazer has written:

> The 'tiger's heart' metaphor...probably originated in Holinshed's account of the death of seven traitors on the gallows, whose bodies, after hanging, were to be severed and 'their tigers hearts burned in the fire'...Adolphus Ward in *A History of English Dramatic Literature* (1899) writes that Greene's parody of the line 'may quite conceivably have been introduced, more or less by accident, merely by way of allusion to a familiar stage phrase of the day (II,60).' Certainly no critic has accused Samuel Nicholson in *Acolasus* in 1600 (*The Shakespeare Allusion Book*, 1970, p. 74) of referring to Shakespeare when he uses his version: 'O woolvish heart wrapt in a womans hyde' (Frazer, 7-8).

I was also unable to find any reference to Shakespeare as originator of "tyger's heart" in the *Oxford English Dictionary (OED*, The Compact Edition of 1971). Though I did find the following on pgs. 3320-21, each referring to a tigerlike, monstrous woman in a violent context:

1573	L.Lloyd	*Marrow of Hist.* (first published 1653), pg. 265, Her cruel and Tigrish heart.
1576	Gascoigne	*Philomene* (xxxi. (Arb.), 107, (Tygrelike) she toke The little boy. [note that the *3 Henry VI* extract refers to a "child," York's son].
1576	Sidney	*Arcadia* (1622), 467, Were thy eyes so stonie, thy breast so tygrish [note the extract from *3 Henry VI* refers to "eies"].
1581	Pettie	*Guazzo's Civ. Conv. III* (1586), 124, So monstrous a creature...that it was doubtfull whether she were a woman or a tigar.
1587	Turberville	*Trag. T.* (1837), 67, The tyrants mother Calvis, tygreleeke, Procurde her plagues.

Each reference preceded any postulated dating for the authorship of *Groatsworth* of 1589-92 (Sams, 80-81); each preceded the earliest likely date for Shakespeare's *3 Henry VI* or its direct predecessors (1590-91 Bentley1, 230); and each preceded the 1595 publication of *The True Tragedie of Richard Duke of Yorke*, which may have been written as early as 1589 (Sams, 72).

Thus, following orthodox reasoning as applied to *Groatsworth*, we should infer that Shakespeare, or whomever he may have borrowed from, wrote*3 Henry VI* as early as 1573, so that the above authors could each paraphrase his line, just as Greene/Chettle did. That approach is unfounded.

The crucial "tygres heart" line is simply an example of a familiar type of metaphor. In the late 1100s we had a similar metaphor in Richard "Coeur de Lion" (the Lion-hearted), whose mother, Queen Eleanor of Acquitaine, had ridden off to war in the Second Crusade. The *OED* indicates that the word "tiger" and its variants were introduced into English at least as early as the year 1000. Aesop wrote his fable of the wolf in sheep's clothing 500 years before Christ (compare this to "She wolf"). The lion mauling Thisbe's cloak (or her woman's

hide) is an image not impossibly attributed by Shakespeare's clowns in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* to the times of Nineveh, which was destroyed 600 years before Christ. And we shouldn't overlook the Homeric myth about Achilles being disguised by his mother Thetis as one of the concubines of King Lycomedes, hiding him in women's clothing to avoid his having to go to Troy (Hamilton, 181). Another possible connection (OED, 3321) is the tradition of calling an outdoor boy servant a tiger; if this phrase was used on the Elizabethan stage, the boy actor playing Queen Margaret would then have had a "tyger's" heart wrapped in a Queen's hide.

Even if Shakespeare was the first to put the phrase into writing, and in the context now preserved in *3 Henry VI*, it is still probable that every man who walked the streets of London had many times heard versions of the earlier "She wolf" and "tygres heart" allusions listed above, and they reverberated when appropriate contexts arose (such as when the landlady demanded the overdue rent!). In 1592, it was far more likely that those who could read would associate *Groatsworth's* usage with one of these common phrases than with an obscure young actor-playwright.

Before we end this discussion, some might ask, "If Greene/Chettle weren't referring to Shakespeare/Shakspere, who else could they have possibly been referring to?" I offer four theories by other scholars which provide more plausible alternatives to Shakespeare/ Shakspere.

A compelling theory is by Winifred Frazer, who noted that upon the death of Richard Tarlton in 1588, the comedic actor Will Kemp became Tarlton's successor in the popular role of *The Crow Sits Upon The Wall*, the text of which was first published in 1592. This makes Kemp the "upstart Crow," or newly pretentious Crow who took over from Tarlton's Crow (Frazer, 3-5).

Another aspect of Frazer's identification of Will Kemp--the multi-faceted actor, clown, acrobat, musician, morris dancer, self-promoter, and sometime author--was that he was indeed a "Jack of all trades" (Johannes fac totum) and likely quite a bit more popular with his audiences than with his fellow actors. Kemp would have not been very popular with playwrights, whose lines he made a habit of extemporizing, so that cues would be botched and timing destroyed, all for a few vainglorious laughs. Frazer argued that in the 1586 tour of Leicester's Men in the Low Countries, Kemp likely would have performed numerous parts with the name of John, Jahnn, or Johan (Frazer, 4-5). Some may not be convinced that Kemp was enough of an actor, as opposed to a comedian, to make him the scorned actor, but this seems a rather mild objection.

As for "Shake-scene," Kemp or any other acrobatic or overly energetic actor would have "shaken the scene" with their antics. So, this need not be aimed at only Shakespeare or Shakspere.

Although Nina Green avoids a direct theory of what "Upstart Crow" means, she does analyze why it should not apply to Shakespeare:

> "Having paid the author of *Henry VI* the compliment of alluding to a line from his deservedly-popular play, does Greene then go on to refer

> to him as an '*upstart Crow*'? Surely not. It appears quite evident from the text that the allusion to the line from *Henry VI* has nothing to do with identifying either the author of the play or the '*upstart Crow*'; its purpose is merely to convey to the reader a forceful impression of the upstarts personality" (Green, 2).

Greene intriguingly discussed the difficult personality of Ben Jonson, who in 1592 would have been breaking into the playwright's scene from his acting career. Greene wrote that the 1584 libel, *Leicester's Commonwealth,* originated the scornful term "Dominus factotum" for the hated Earl of Leicester, a popular sobriquet used behind his back which the Earl bore even long after his death, and upon which the "Johannes Factotum" scorn would be a copy for a much less prominent person. More to the point, Greene draws attention to the "Jon" in Jonson and draws her conclusions about "Johannes" (Green, 1-5). But, as Frazer said about Greene's theory, "Ben...seems not to have left a record as a well-known scene-shaking clown in 1592." In spite of the gap in the record for Ben Jonson, Greene's theory still presents much more evidence for him than has been shown for Shakespeare (let alone Shakspere) in regard to "Johannes Factotum."

The most comprehensive theory that I've encountered is by A.D. Wraight. Examining more of *Groatsworth* than just the crucial part, Wraight declares that the actor and stage manager Edward Alleyn is identifiable in the earlier part of the pamphlet as the player whom "Roberto" (later revealed as Greene himself) met on his travels. This player employed actors and playwrights. He had also written one or two plays, but needed other playwrights' material, for which he paid them badly and handled them deceitfully, inserting his own lines into others' plays. Thus (as John Rollett has pointed out), drawing upon the arguments of Leslie Hotson (Hotson, 143-146), "tygres heart" refers to the player's double-dealing and dishonesty. Since Shakespeare was unlikely to have been so concerned in the *3 Henry VI* line, it would be unlikely that Greene was quoting or thinking of him.

Players were called "crows," and because Alleyn was younger than Greene, he was an "upstart crow" (Alleyn had married theater owner Henslowe's daughter, and with his help vaulted to the front rank over the other "crows").

From what we know to be true about Alleyn, I'm surprised that Shakspere or Shakespeare would have ever been seriously proposed as the scorned actor.

However, we must still discuss Bentley's words about acting companies:

> During the period 1590-1642 there were scores of companies on the road at different times, not only in the British Isles, but on the Continent as well. The majority of these touring troupes were not London companies, but peripatetic provincial organizations. Therefore most of the town and great house records concern troupes of players that seldom or never played in the London theaters (Bentley2, 177).

I believe that, although acting troupes were required by law to travel and perform under the protection of one of the lords, as did most of the London troupes, the law was routinely broken (as they were against begging and prostitution). Compared to the London troupes, little is known about the many outlying or illegal troupes, and less about their actors and about playwrights whose works didn't appear on the London stage. When Greene's own troupe went on tour, it could not help but come across these competitors, many of whose actors would no doubt have wanted to show up their betters.

In other words, when one of the well-known actors, such as Alleyn, Jonson, Kemp, or maybe even Shakspere, is considered to have been the "Upstart Crow," "Johannes Factotum,"or "Shake-scene," we should remember that much play-stealing, extemporaneous bombasting, and scene shaking was being done by the provincial troupes as well. Unless we account for the possibility that one of their members was the one being criticized in *Groatsworth*, we simply haven't covered the field adequately.

Most likely, "tygres heart" was a common, traditional source for metaphors upon which both Shakespeare and *Groatsworth* drew, but which neither is likely to have originated in themselves or copied from the other. There is even a distinct possibility that *Groatsworth* preceded *3 Henry VI* in use of the crucial phrase. To say Shakespeare must have originated the phrase, and that anyone reading *Groatsworth* would have definitely associated the crucial phrase with the then probably unknown and certainly unpublished Shakespeare, is false.

We should take Thomas Nashe at his word when he excoriated *Groatsworth* as "a scald, lying pamphlet" just a few weeks after its publication. It more likely was an attack on a composite of scorned actors, possibly one of the three well-known actor-writers mentioned in this article.

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