

Did Joseph Hall and Ben Jonson Identify Oxford as Shakespeare?

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When *Shakespeare, Jonson, Fletcher*, rul'd the Stage,
They took so bold a freedom with the Age,
That there was scarce a Knave or Fool in Town
Of any note, but had his picture shown;
And, without doubt, though some it may offend,
Nothing helps more than Satyr to amend
Ill manners, or is trulier Virtues Friend.

—Sir Carr Scroope, 1678¹

The chief reason why these attacks are not plain on the surface...is, that they were not open but covert...Not a poet or a statesman—scarcely any man of note then lived, but had one or more pastoral names, and his deeds were narrated, or his qualities discussed in parables.

—Richard Simpson, 1874²

Modern scholarship dates the beginning of the Shakespeare authorship question to the middle of the 19th century.³ However, *Arcades Ambo* (1597-9), an anonymous satire subsequently attributed to the Cambridge scholar Joseph Hall, presented the authorship question as early as March, 1598. This unjustifiably disregarded text also specifically identified Edward de Vere, 17th Earl of Oxford, as William Shakespeare, clearly differentiating him from William Shakspeare, the Stratford gentleman. Finally, as we shall see, Ben Jonson's *Every Man Out of His Humor* (1599)⁴ parallels and supports the account in *Arcades Ambo*.

A Pair of Rascals

Arcades Ambo is Satire II of Book IV of *Virgidemiarum*, published December, 1599.⁵ It is a compilation of two earlier editions of satires. In Books I–III, known as *Tooth-lesse Satyrs* (March, 1597), the author severely criticizes the church, academia, the literature of the time and society's general moral tone. In Books IV–VI, known as *Of byting Satyres* (March, 1598), Hall becomes more personal and scourges specific individuals in profoundly hidden ways. This is especially evident in the Latin title, *Arcades Ambo*, “a pair of rascals,” who turn out to be Shakspeare and Shakespeare, i.e., William of Stratford and the seventeenth earl.

Although *Virgidemiarum* was published anonymously, it was well known in literary circles to be the work of Joseph Hall, a brilliant twenty-four-year-old

Joseph Hall (1 July 1574 – 8 September 1656) was an English bishop, satirist and moralist. His contemporaries knew him as a devotional writer, and a high-profile controversialist of the early 1640s. In church politics, he tended to the middle way.

Thomas Fuller wrote: “He was commonly called our English Seneca, for the purenesse, plainnesse, and fulnesse of his style. Not unhappy at Controversies, more happy at Comments, very good in his Characters, better in his Sermons, best of all in his Meditations.”

—Wikipedia

fellow of Emmanuel College, Cambridge. Hall claimed to be the first English satirist and challenged others to follow his lead:

I first adventure, follow me who list,
And be the second English satyrast.

—*Virgidemiarum*, I, Prologue

John Marston responded almost immediately with *The Metamorphosis of Pigmalion's Image and Certain Satyres*. In the same year (1598) Everard Guilpin published *Skialetheia*, a collection of

scathing epigrams. Others quickly followed in the same “scourging” vein. The new genre became so controversial that in June, 1599 the Archbishop of Canterbury, John Whitgift, and the Bishop of London, Richard Bancroft, issued a ban on all satires and epigrams. Those already published were to be collected and burned. Heading the list was *Satyres termed Hall's satyres viz. Virgidemiarum or his tootheles or biting Satyres*.⁶ Marston's works were next, then Guilpin's and others. No histories were to be published without the approval of the Privy Council and no plays except with the approval of “such as have authoritye.”⁷ All of Thomas Nashes's and Gabriel Harvey's works were to be “taken wheresoever they maybe found and that none of their bookes bee ever printed hereafter.”⁸ It was a sweeping imposition of strictest censorship on a large body of writing. But significantly, someone intervened and gave a reprieve to *Virgidemiarum*. It was published again within six months, with corrections and additions by “JH,” Joseph Hall.

A Loyal Puritan

One of twelve children, Hall was born in 1574 at Bristow Park, near Ashby-de-la-Zouch, Leicestershire, an estate of Henry Hastings, 3rd Earl of Huntingdon. Known as the Puritan Earl, Hastings had some claim to be next in line to the throne.⁹ Joseph's father, John, was his agent in Ashby.

The Halls were loyal Puritans—they supported Queen Elizabeth politically and did not advocate separation from the Church of England. They only wanted the church to be more “pure” and were thus not among the more extreme, separatist Puritans who were later persecuted for their activities.¹⁰

Joseph's mother, Winifred, was extremely devout and intended him for the church from early boyhood. He was educated at the Ashby grammar school,

recently established by Hastings, and entered Emmanuel College, Cambridge, in 1589 at age fifteen. He was an outstandingly successful student. With Hastings' strong patronage, he was named a fellow of the college in 1595.

Hall quickly became a prominent figure in England's literary world, named in



Joseph Hall 1574-1656

Francis Mere's *Palladis Tamia* (1598) as among the best for satire. Critics see his influence in *The Return from Parnassus* (1601) and *The Second Part of the Return from Parnassus* (1602).¹¹

Hall left Cambridge in 1601 to become chaplain to Sir Robert Drury and in 1608 was named chaplain to Henry, Prince of Wales. He became Bishop of Exeter in 1627 and of Norwich in 1641, publishing an extensive body of work, both Christian and secular. He was not one to avoid controversy, but never acknowledged authorship of *Virgidemiarum*. He died in some obscurity in 1656 at age 82.¹²

Riddles and Logogryphes

"Obscurity" is the perfect introduction to Hall's satires and in particular to *Arcades Ambo*. He was criticized from the

beginning for being too difficult to understand, even unintelligible.¹³ Hall himself says that his satires were "Worse than the *Logogryphes* of later times / Or *Hundreth Riddles* shak't to sleeueless rimes."¹⁴ The allusion is to something that, if taken literally, means something quite different. The "hundred riddles shaken to sleeveless rhymes" (i.e., sung with a vibrato), refer to the enigmas posed by some Roman poets.¹⁵

When one searches for the hidden meanings that Hall challenges his readers to find—

Henceforth I write in crabbed oake-tree rinde,
Search they that meane the secret meaning finde.¹⁶

—a provocative account emerges of William Shakspeare of Stratford, describing part of his "lost years" in London and historically suggesting that Edward de Vere, 17th Earl of Oxford, was in fact the poet/playwright, William Shakespeare.

A Précis of *Arcades Ambo*

Lolio, a miserly farmer and petty usurer, scrimps and "drudges" so as to send his

eldest boy, known only as “Lolio’s sonne,” to London and the Inns of Court and Chancery.¹⁷ There he is to learn about the law and “courtly carriage” to help lift his family into the gentry. The son, however, turns out to be “unknowne” at the legal Inns, wastes his father’s money and descends into debt. He moves from one cheap tavern to another, swaggering around in old brokered clothing that has been altered to look rich. He is indirectly accused of plagiarizing sonnets, is ashamed of his family name, but ultimately returns to his father’s farm. Lolio, at one time a mayor or local magistrate, has acquired a coat of arms which, he insists, was not acquired by bribery. The hint of course is that it was, or that he falsified his ancestry. Now his son looks as good as the gentry because he has acquired new property.

Hall makes fun of Lolio’s coat of arms by saying that if he could choose the emblem it would be a worm becoming a goose. He ends his satire by scornfully observing that Lolio’s ancestor was a peddler, implying that Lolio had no claim to be a gentleman.

Throughout, Hall references other characters as a contrast to Lolio and his son. Among them is rich Naevius, who has nothing left of his heritage except cheering playgoers and the lewd theater. Cosmius, described as giddy, wears extravagant clothing, having pawned his lands to afford such finery. He changes his apparel often and is compared to a Turk. Mercia, a woman, bid lavish amounts of money for items related to spring but received little in return. Sartorio is richly garbed and forces others to the wall as he proudly strides past.

The final line of the satire recognizes the two rascals as “Brasse Gentlemen” and “*Casar Laureates*”—one bought his way into the gentry and the other wrote well about Caesar: William Shakspere and William Shakespeare/Oxford, as I will argue.

Base Lolio’s Pride

The satire’s Latin motto, *Arcades Ambo*, changes the story’s focus from its main character, Lolio, to the two rascals. Simply expressed, it tells a familiar tale of Elizabethan times—a country landholder wants to rise in the world and become part of the gentry. However, Hall’s admonition to seek his hidden meanings and pay attention to the details hints at another tale beneath the surface.

William Shakspere was 32 in 1596 when his father John received his coat of arms. The next year William returned to Stratford and purchased New Place. During this period Hall was writing *Arcades Ambo*, incensed by the thought of unworthy people becoming gentlemen and, even worse, bragging about it. “I loathe...base Lolio’s pride,” he wrote.¹⁸

Hall was a product of the rigid Elizabethan class system with, as we have noted, a connection to one of England’s leading noblemen, Henry Hastings. He despised the idea of the lower classes seeking to advance socially, but he also disapproved of the higher classes stooping in return—for example, by engaging in

trade or associating with the wrong kind of people.

The duality of this dislike is reflected in *Arcades Ambo*, with its doubled theme-and-counter theme: a miserly farmer and his eldest son who are trying to rise into the gentry, and a rich man who has lost everything through his involvement with the theater. The opening couplet,

Old driueling Lolio drudges all he can
To make his eldest sonne a gentleman

provides the frame-work for the rest of the satire. Lolio, who talks nonsense, is doing everything he can to rise into the gentry and his eldest son is a key part of the effort.

Wealthy, stage-struck Naevius is introduced in the third couplet,

When a craz'd scaffold, and a rotten stage
Was all rich *Naevius* his heritage.

He has wasted his inheritance and patrimony on the theater, all that he now has left.

John Shakspere

Like Lolio, John Shakspere aspired to gentlehood and tried for almost 27 years to be awarded a coat of arms—first in 1569 and again in 1576. He was finally approved in 1596.¹⁹ He had long been an ambitious and successful office holder in Stratford: mayor or high bailiff in 1568 with the title of Magister or Mr., which first gave him the right to apply for a coat of arms.²⁰ He was a successful dealer in gloves and white leather products, and engaged in the illegal but tolerated side-business of brogging, middle-man in the wool business.²¹ He made loans at usurious rates, another illegal but accepted practice.²²

One contemporary definition of a gentleman was that he did not earn his living by manual labor. John Shakspere stopped using what appeared to be the sticks of a compass for his signature sometime between 1565 and 1579, when he adopted a cross and was designated yeoman or freeman, the class below gentleman but above husbandman.²³ By 1570 he had rented Over Ingon Meadow, a fourteen-acre farm a mile-and-a-half from Stratford.²⁴ Landlord-farmer was an acceptable occupation for a gentleman.

Charles Knight, writing in 1843, described John as an “agriculturist.”²⁵ He is first shown living in Stratford in 1552 when he was about 22. Tradition has him dealing in malt, corn, barley and other products from his father Richard’s farm. After Richard died in 1561, John was designated husbandman. He is described as a glover in 1556 and 1586, as a brogger in 1572, and as a whittawer in 1573.²⁶

One type of glove made from a whittawer’s white leather derived from the

alum-tanned pelt of a sheep, was large and rough and used as “husbandly furniture” or farmer’s gloves. Another was soft chamois, made from the oiled pelt of an animal, and worn by almost everyone, aldermen as well as laborers, “the low countrie man and the high alderman alike.”²⁷ The designation *glover* was interchangeable with whittawer or fell-monger, a person who worked pelts. All of the information we have about John—that he was a glover, a whittawer or fellmonger, a brogger, a dealer of barley, malt and corn, a yeoman, a husbandman, a seller of timber to Stratford, a usurer, even the tradition that he was a butcher—are consistent with his being a successful agriculturist who took the profits for himself while paying his tenants a small fee for their labor.²⁸

The surname Shakspere was particularly base or mean or common. In 1487 Hugh Shakspere, a scholar at Merton College, Oxford, changed his name to Hugh Sawnders because Shakspere was so commonplace and low, “vile reputatum est.” It also had bawdy connotations.

John owned property in Stratford, some of which he leased to others. He participated in city government and had the right to reside at Over Ingon Meadow, a mile-and-a-half from town.²⁹ There is no documentation of his actual residence at Ingon, though there are records of his non-attendance at Stratford council meetings and church from 1577-86, as a result of which he was dropped as an alderman.³⁰ This suggests that he was not in Stratford at the time when financial difficulties caused him to retreat from his duties as an alderman and not to attend church, perhaps for fear of debt collectors.

John’s residence at Over Ingon Meadow is thus a reasonable conclusion. His brother Henry also had a farm in the same parish.³¹ The point is that like Lolio he never lost his social ambitions and enlisted his eldest son to help by acquiring the demeanor of a gentleman.

Arcades Ambo suggests that Lolio’s son, like young Shakspere, spent part of his lost years around the Inns of Court and Chancery. His father “drudged” and saved to send him to London. The satire does not say that Lolio’s son was enrolled, only that he was “unknowne” at the Inns, that is, a hanger-on. He did not reside at The Inns but stayed in cheap taverns and moved often, leaving debts behind. He was in London to imitate others, to learn how to behave like a gentleman and in the process to learn some law, all to help his father with his ambition “to make amendes for his meane parentage.”

The surname Shakspere was particularly base or mean or common. In 1487 Hugh Shakspere, a scholar at Merton College, Oxford, changed his name to Hugh Sawnders because Shakspere was so commonplace and low, “vile reputatum

est.”³² It also had bawdy connotations or, as Hall writes:

Could neuer man worke thee a worser shame
Then once to minge thy fathers odious name.

In other words, no one could do you a worse shame than to mention your father’s hated name. The verb *ming/minge* is unusual. In Early Modern English it meant “to mix or blend, to make a mixture of.”³³ *Mingle* is a derivation. The suggestion arises that William used or mingled a different name in London, perhaps Arden, his mother’s name, more befitting a gentleman.

Legal Knowledge

Since he is not enrolled to study, Lolio’s son learns the law by talking to people who know about it. Later it is implied that he gives advice about some “crabbed case of law,” such as a goose getting into a neighbor’s meadow or the drawing-up of an indenture: ordinary, everyday matters. To be a student at the Inns of Court in 1588 it was necessary to have a university education, usually three years, or to have spent a year at the Inns of Chancery,³⁴ which acted as preparatory schools for resident students. The most gifted were recommended to the Inns of Court,³⁵ where they studied for many more years. There are no records of Shakspeare having attended either university or the Inns.

Lolio’s attitude towards scholars is one of disdain and derision. They study in poverty for years:

Fooles, they may feed with words, and liue by ayre.
[And] sit seuen yeares pining in an Anchores cheyre.

Lolio’s son swaggers around as if he were already a gentleman. He wears a “broker’s lousy wardrop,” dirty clothing that has been “prancked,” made to look smart or ostentatious. One tradition about Shakspeare is that he dressed in gentlemen’s apparel and that he brokered clothing.³⁶ A note in Mallory’s 1905 edition of Jonson’s *Poetaster* (1601) cites a Jacobean record about people who styled themselves brokers and tried to seem legitimate, but who were in fact far from it.³⁷ Mallory even cites *Arcades Ambo* and the garment broker’s “lousy wardrop.”³⁸

Did William accumulate his stock of clothing by buying stolen goods? This fits a picture recently painted by historian Mike Dash who suggests, by analysis of the surety against Shakspeare and Langley of November 1596, that he was associated with some very rough types, many outside the law.³⁹

Inns of Court and Law

As noted, Lolio’s son did not reside at the Inns of Court but lived in cheap taverns and moved frequently, leaving behind ill-will and debts: “While yet he rousteth at

some vncouch signe,/Nor neuer red his Tenures second line.” Records show Shakspeare living in some rough London neighborhoods as well as more respectable ones, and he was cited as a tax delinquent.⁴⁰ Also interesting and significant, Lolio’s son is indirectly accused of plagiarism of sonnets:

Or an *Hos ego*, from old *Petrarchs* spright,
Vnto a Plagiarie sonnetwright.

Hos ego refers to Virgil’s complaint that he had been plagiarized: *Hos ego versiculas feci, tulit alter honores*, “I wrote these lines. Another has taken the credit.”⁴¹ Virgil continues: *Sic vos non vobis fertis aratra boves*, “Thus do you oxen bear the yoke for others.”⁴² He goes on to note that “bees make honey, sheep bear fleece and birds build nests for others.”

By referring to Virgil’s *Hos ego*, Hall suggests covertly that it is the same as “you oxen,” or Oxenford, as de Vere often signed himself, not getting credit for lines written.⁴³ There are no records of anything William Shakspeare wrote, other than six signatures,⁴⁴ but there are probable characterizations of him as a plagiarist in the characters of Crispinus in *Poetaster*, Master Mathew in *Every Man in His Humor* (1598), Gullio in *Return from Parnassus* (1601), and possibly others.⁴⁵

More Parallels

Lolio’s son returns to his father’s farm before 1598, when *Arcades Ambo* was published. Shakspeare returned to Stratford in 1597 and bought New Place from William Underhill, a known Catholic recusant.⁴⁶ Hall writes:

New-falne lands haue made him in request,
That now he looks as lofty as the best.

The word “falne” (fallen) meant “to sin or suffer misfortune.”⁴⁷ The adjective *new* suggests New Place, in a state of disrepair when William purchased it.⁴⁸ To be truly accepted as a gentleman, one needed to own property. When William acquired New Place he was sought out, “in request”, and he looked as good as the gentry, “as lofty as the best.”

Lolio’s son was born at “pide painted posts,” the sign of a mayor or local magistrate, and had a “traunting Chapman” or peddler⁴⁹ for an ancestor. John Shakspeare held many positions in Stratford, including constable and justice of the peace before becoming mayor, and he continued as a high alderman. He likely had painted posts outside his door,⁵⁰ to display public documents. As in Lolio’s case they were “pide” (pied), meaning multicolored.⁵¹ That William had a peddler as a forefather is suggested in the Induction of *The Taming of the Shrew*, which contains an allusion to William in Christopher Sly, as well as to his father John in Old Sly: “Am I not Christophero Sly, Old Sly’s son of Burton Heath, by birth a

pedlar?”

As we've seen, it is hinted that Lolio bribes the heralds to get his coat of arms. He also falsifies the facts of his ancestors when claiming that they came in with William the Conqueror. In 1602, John Shakspeare's name was on a list of twenty-three “mean” or common people who were elevated to, but should not have been given, a coat-of-arms.⁵² In his application, he had claimed an ancestor who served Henry VII, but in fact his line could be traced no further back than his father Richard.⁵³ This is another instance of mingling Arden and Shakspeare. The ancient family of Arden, of which Mary claimed to be part, had ancestors who served Henry VII and could be traced back to William the Conqueror. However, no actual records can be found showing her connection.⁵⁴

John Shakspeare obviously strongly parallels Lolio. He was a landlord farmer as well as a citizen of Stratford, while his longtime desire to be part of the gentry is shown in the records. The details of Lolio's son parallel the known facts of William's early days and provide new information about his life in London before returning to Stratford to become a provincial gentleman with extensive business contacts.

It is interesting that Hall never gives Lolio's son a name: the only character with such a major role in a satire so treated. Why did Hall decline to name him? He indirectly accuses the young man of plagiarizing sonnets and of taking credit for someone else's work. Is the hint that Lolio's son was pretending to have written the poems of William Shakespeare?

Edward de Vere

The characters that Hall introduced as a contrast to Lolio and his son—Naevius, Cosmius, Mercia, Sartorio and “Caesar's Laureate”—when added together are a description of the 17th Earl of Oxford and identify him quite specifically as the poet/playwright William Shakespeare. Hall's narrative obscurity was at its best in these allusions, out of necessity. To publicly write about a nobleman of Oxford's rank and to expose the truth about his writing for the public stage would have been politically dangerous with serious consequences. In an earlier satire Hall posed a riddle:

Write they that can, tho they that cannot doe;
But who knows that, but they that doe not know?⁵⁵

In other words, those who are able to write and publish under their own names do, but there are others who cannot. Who knows that they write? Only those who “do not know,” that is, they will not say

The Identifications

But Hall goes on to further covertly identify Labeo as Shakespeare and Oxford. In Book I, Satire IX, he writes of a new thriving, obscene poet who has been

crowned laureate by Cupid. This seems a clear reference to *Venus and Adonis* which was very popular at the time. The new poet is dressed in green and is called a second Phoebus or Apollo—Oxford had been publicly compared to Phoebus Apollo, most notably by Gabriel Harvey in an address at Audley End (1578).⁵⁶ Ver, a form of de Vere's name, means green or spring in French. Hall uses green to refer to Oxford and he repeats it in other satires. This is a very mild hint that Oxford is Shakespeare. Hall said that his *Tooth-lesse Satyrs* were "So gentle Satyrs, pend so easily." They were not as harshly meant as his later *Of byting Satyres*, which includes *Arcades Ambo*.

It is here that Hall poses his riddle, the one that shows he is writing about hidden courtly authors. He says that they write so voluminously it's hard for lesser authors to buy quills and paper: "So, lavish ope-tyde causeth fasting-lents"—so extravagant Spring causes the leanness of Lent.

The Prologue and Satire I of Book II immediately follow Satire IX and are its continuation. The prologue introduces Diogenes the Cynic, and asks if he has come back to life as there is a bawdy, obscene author who has a big influence on the public. Hall says that Diogenes has not returned but only wants to sate his soul with the "smart" of another author:

Envie belike incites his pining heart,
And bids it sate itselfe with others smart..

Satire I introduces the other author, Labeo. Hall said later that he wrote in the manner of Persius, who also wrote of a Labeo.⁵⁷ Hall tells his Labeo to write better, i.e. less obscenely, or not at all. He again compares him to Diogenes, who stopped using a beautiful bowl but drank instead from his cupped hands as common men do.

Hall's Riddle

It is here that Hall poses his riddle, the one that shows he is writing about hidden courtly authors. He says that they write so voluminously it's hard for lesser authors to buy quills and paper: "So, lavish ope-tyde causeth fasting-lents"—so extravagant Spring causes the leanness of Lent. As noted, spring is a form of de Vere's name. "Ther's so much labour lost," Hall writes, perhaps an allusion to Shakespeare.

He refers to two folio volumes being made from one ox hide: "Folio volumes, two to an oxe-hide." *Venus and Adonis* and *Lucrece* were so popular that they

were published in two expensive folio volumes. The ox-hide allusion must be to Oxford, indicating that he is the author of the two folio volumes. Just as Hall uses *green* to refer to Oxford in other satires, he uses *ox* or *oxen* here. Hall finishes this section by saying, “So may the giant rome and write on high,” or it’s alright for a nobleman “giant” to write for the court, “write on high.”

Writing for the Court

Hall then speaks of Strabo, who “created the whole of Troy in a walnut shell,” i.e., its history in miniature. He says that there is a new Strabo, “Strabo’s curious ghost,” in London who is doing the same, depicting the history of England in miniature. Even the least among us can learn some history by watching a play.

The most specific and obscure part of the satire needs to be quoted in full:

Now dare we hither, if we durst appeare,
The subtile stithy-man that liv’d while eare;
Such one was once, or once I was mistaught,
A smith at Vulcans owne forge up brought,
That made an iron-chariot so light,
The coach-horse was a flea in trappings dight.
The tame-lesse steed could well his wagon wield
Through downes and dales of the uneven field.
Strive they, laugh we...

Hall wants us to draw a little closer to what he’s really saying. “Dare” and “durst” emphasize that it will takes courage. He realizes that he’s treading on dangerous ground.

Smith

I contend that the satire’s “subtile stithy-man,” a clever smith who had “liv’d while eare” or sometime before, was Sir Thomas Smith, d. 1577. The other smith was Oxford himself, of course raised for part of his childhood in Smith’s home, in the poem “Vulcan’s forge.”⁵⁸ According to Hall, he created such a frothy, light vehicle—comedy—that it was seen everywhere pulled by an untamed little spirit all dressed-up in trappings. “Labeo”, the “curious ghost of Strabo” (new Strabo) and the “smith brought up at Vulcan’s own forge,” respectively represent *Venus and Adonis*, the history plays and the comedies. Labeo is the one who comes in for Hall’s scourging as an obscene poet.

Naevius

This continues in Book IV, Satire I, after which we arrive back at Book IV, Satire II, *Arcades Ambo* and its counter theme. “Rich Naeuius” has nothing left of his heritage but “a craz’d scaffold and a rotten stage,” cheering playgoers and a lewd theater. The reference is to Naevius, a Roman poet/playwright ca. 265-202 BCE, “among the best for comedy” of the Latin writers, according to *Palladis Tamia*.

He also originated Roman historical plays, parodying daily life among the elite and their politics.⁵⁹ Hall could have chosen another Latin writer, but he selected Naevius because of the characteristics of his writing. Oxford's name appears in the same sentence as Naevius' in *Palladis Tamia* and is described as first among the English who were good at comedy.⁶⁰ In the context we've so far established that the allusion is to Oxford as "rich Naevius," a writer who wasted his heritage on the theater. The allusion to Shakespeare also becomes strong. His Earls of Oxford are often given heroic auras not always true to history—see for example *Henry V* and *3 Henry VI*.

Parodies

Assuming Oxford was Shakespeare, parodies of court and political life in the plays become obvious and some characters even identifiable.⁶¹ Hall intimated that Naevius had spent his money on the theater and on plays for the public, that he had nothing to leave but his dramas. The parallels with Oxford again are obvious. He had lost Castle Hedingham, his patrimony, and most of his lands, and spent large amounts of money supporting writers whose work appeared on the stage. Known to have written for the court, he remained wealthy. He famously received £1000 per year from Queen Elizabeth and married wealthy Elizabeth Trentham. They lived in luxury at King's Place in Hackney.⁶² Cosmius has extravagant clothing which he changes three times a day like the fabled Turk who moved his tent three times daily. He pawns his lands to afford such finery and is compared to a peddler:

Bearing his paune-layd lands vpon his backe, as...pedlers do their pack.

In one sense Cosmius is no different than the son of Lolio who had a peddler for an ancestor. The adjective *giddy* is also used to describe him, one who is "mentally intoxicated, elated to thoughtlessness, incapable of or indisposed to serious thought or steady attention; easily carried away by excitement." The term "to play the giddy ox" meant "to behave foolishly or frivolously; to play the fool."⁶³

Hall asks of Cosmius, "Who cannot shine in tissues and pure gold?" But Elizabethan sumptuary laws allowed only royalty or the higher nobility to wear pure gold on their clothing, so one reading of this is that Cosmius is a nobleman.⁶⁴ But since there were no royal males or even dukes in 1598, he must be either a marquis, of whom there were only two, or an earl, of whom there were around twenty-two.⁶⁵ Oxford of course was England's premier earl and known for his extravagant dress. He had sold/pawned his lands to support his lifestyle and was actually called "my Turk" by Queen Elizabeth herself.⁶⁶

The Qualities of Mercia

Mercia was an ancient kingdom of England, located in the midlands with the River Trent as its center.⁶⁷ In the satire, Mercia is a reference to Elizabeth

Trentham, Oxford's second wife, and to her having paid so many of Oxford's debts when she married him in 1591. According to the satire she got little in return.⁶⁸

Let...Mercia bid what crowns she please
...to make so lavish cost for little cheare

Mercia was bidding crowns for "halfe-red cherries, green garden pease, or the first artichoks of all the yeare," all symbols of the spring. In an earlier satire *Ver*, a form of Oxford's family name, was associated with spring and green.⁶⁹ As noted, it is a homophone of *vert*, French and Latin for green or spring.

Additionally, Thomas Nashe's *Summer's Last Will and Testament* (1592 and 1600),⁷⁰ was known in literary circles. In it, a character named *Ver*, representing Spring and perhaps Oxford, merrily enters the stage with about two hundred singers and dancers all dressed in green.

Hall, throughout *Virgidemiarum* in sections that deal with Oxford, makes plays on the word *ever*, suggesting E Ver or Edward Ver/Oxford. In his final section dealing with Labeo⁷¹ Hall uses a significantly hyphenated "ever-greene" to tie the two together (Ever and Vert/Ver) in a clever word-play on Oxford's family name.

The use of "little cheare" may be significant, as other satires allude in obscure ways to Oxford as a "dwarf"⁷² and a "lordling" or little lord, "Scorne each base lordling ever you disdain." ⁷³ Oxford apparently was of small stature.⁷⁴ If the line is interpreted using Hall's covert meaning, he is invoking the Muses to scorn the base little lord E. Ver, the author of *Venus and Adonis*, which was hugely popular.⁷⁵ By using the adjective "base," Hall was accusing Oxford of lowering himself.

Sartorio is always beautifully dressed and proud and makes others go to the wall to let him pass. Oxford too was known to be proud and to dress extravagantly. Hall denounces him, claiming to be the vessel of Nemesis, the god who chastises the proud.⁷⁶

"Caesar's laureate" is one of the two rascals. The sobriquet refers to someone who wrote superbly about Caesar, an unmistakable allusion to *Julius Caesar* which was playing and perhaps circulating in manuscript at the time. Hall was showing that he knew it was by Oxford. He had an ambiguous attitude towards the earl's writing, which he considered to be brilliant ("Caesar's laureate"), but base and déclassé because it was intended for the public.⁷⁷ This made Oxford a rascal, a rogue, and a scoundrel.

Other References to Oxford

In addition, the indirect references to Naevius, Cosmius, Mercia, Sartorio and Caesar's Laureate all point to Oxford. When the attributes of each become clear

and are put together, a picture of Edward de Vere emerges: a rich man who had spent his heritage to satisfy the cheering crowds at the theater, who was good at comedy and history plays, who parodied the life of the elite, a poet, a foppish man who had sold and wasted his patrimony to sustain his lifestyle, a giddy man, a man compared to “the Turke,” a higher nobleman because he could wear pure gold on his clothing, a man associated with a woman who had spent lavish amounts for symbols related to Spring but for which she got little in return, a man who was proud and made others go to the wall, a man who had written superbly about Julius Caesar.

We have seen so far that *Arcades Ambo* is a satire about William Shakspere, in which his father John takes part. Also present is Edward de Vere, 17th Earl of Oxford who, we argue, was the true poet/playwright William Shakespeare. Hall’s satire spans the decade 1588-1598, which includes the years when William Shakspere, the gentleman from Stratford, was being confused with London’s most popular poet/playwright. Note that Shakspere left Stratford ca.1588. In 1591, Oxford married Elizabeth Trentham. The name William Shakespeare first appeared on a work of literature in 1593. In 1596, John Shakspere was granted a coat of arms. And in 1598, *Julius Caesar* was circulating in manuscript or appearing on the stage.



Ben Jonson 1572-1637

Despite the above, in Hall’s view there were similarities between Oxford and Shakspere. Both were disreputably associated with peddlers. Hall placed “Brasse Gentlemen” and “Casar Laureates,” on the same level, implying that a nobleman writing plays for the public was as bad as bribing one’s way to gentleness. Both were rascals, but distinct: William Shakspere and William Shakespeare. Joseph Hall specifically differentiated the gentleman from Stratford from the poet/playwright William Shakespeare. In other words, he confronted and historically identified the Shakespeare authorship question in 1598.

Every Man Out of His Humor

To add strength to the idea that Hall was writing about Shakspere/Shakespeare, we have the striking similarity between *Arcades Ambo* and Ben Jonson’s *Every Man Out of His Humor*, premiered December, 1599 and published the next year. The play includes widely recognized caricatures of Shakspere (Sogliardo) and Oxford (Puntarvolo). Among other connections, Jonson scholars note that *Every Man Out of His Humor* was written to improve the manners of the public. Hall too

remarks that his purpose in writing is to improve the manners of the proud.⁷⁸

Jonson sets a motto from Horace on his title page: *Non aliena meo pressi pede*, “I did not follow in the footsteps of others” (*Epistle I.19*, to Maecenas).⁷⁹ He also quotes *Si propius stes te capient magis* from *Ars Poetica*, *Ut Pictura Poesis*, translating it as “If you examine it up close one [it] will strike you more.”⁸⁰ This seems to hint at meanings beyond the literal, reinforced by *Decies repetita placebunt*, “It will continue to please after ten repeated viewings.”⁸¹

What makes the foregoing even more interesting, Jonson tells the same story as *Arcades Ambo*, with similar figures: Shakespeare and Shakspere, the earl and a provincial gentleman.

Most critics see Macilente in *Every Man Out of His Humor* as Jonson himself. However Thomas Dekker in *Satiromastix* (1601) listed a number of characters who were known to represent Jonson: Asper, Crites, Horace, but not Macilente, a much larger role than Asper. If Macilente had been known to be Jonson, Dekker would surely have included it. Jonson moreover listed complimentary attributes for the characters that represented him in his own plays. In *Poetaster*, (1601) he described Horace, also a stand-in for himself, as “not envious” among other characteristics. Since he described Macilente as an envious scholar, this would again exclude him as a self-characterization.

In my opinion, Macilente is meant to be Joseph Hall, described as “a sufficient Scholler, and travail’d”⁸² who “fals into such an envious Apoplexie.” He is in every way a much better fit: a fellow of Emmanuel College, Cambridge who had studied seven years to earn his MA. In *Palladis Tamia* Meres recognized “Hall of Imanuel Colledge in Cambridge” among others as the “best for satyre....”

Hall opens his satires with *His Defiance to Envie* and invokes envy throughout. He angrily denounces the undeserving rich. John Marston in *Reactio*, Satire IV of *Certaine Satyres* (1598) which was a direct response to *Virgidemiarum*, said of Hall:

Our moderne Critticks envious eye
Seems thus to quote some grosse deformity.

The adjective *envious*, when referring to another character in the satires or satirical plays of the time, seems aimed at Hall—note the example from Marston noted above and the instances in *Every Man Out of His Humor*. Asper certainly represents Jonson. He later takes over Macilente’s scourging humor.

The character Carlo Buffone is widely recognized as John Marston.⁸³ In II.i he is called the “Grand Scourge; or Second Untrusse of the time,” that is, the second satirist. Hall had said “I first adventure,” challenging his contemporaries to be come England’s second satirist, second not necessarily in sequence but in the exchange of ideas. Marston responded to Hall’s satires by defending many of the



Joseph Hall's London, the Globe in the foreground

things he scourged.⁸⁴ Hall, who wrote no satires after *Virgidemiarum*, answered by pasting a sarcastic epigram on the last page of every copy of *The Metamorphosis of Pigmalion's Image and Certain Satyres* sold in Cambridge.⁸⁵ Marston hit back in *The Scourge of Villanie*, Satire X, 1599. In the same scene, II.i, Puntarvolo/Oxford says of Carlo Buffone/Marston, "Regard not a jester: it is in the power of my purse to make him speak well or ill of me." Did Oxford hire Marston to counter Hall's satires that were extremely critical of him?

Sogliardo/Sordido

In *Every Man Out of His Humor*, Sordido, a miserly grain-hoarder, and Sogliardo, a farmer who attains a coat of arms, share Lolio's qualities between them. Sogliardo is "an essential clown...in his Kingdome...where hee may bee well laught at," happy when he can make others laugh at him, like Lolio, described as driveling or talking nonsense. Sordido is Fungoso's father, "a wretched Hobnail'd Chuffe," roughly dressed, a boor. Again like Lolio, he is an older man, who "goes patched like some bare cottier," wearing patched clothing like a poor tenant.

My unorthodox view is that Sogliardo/Sordido is actually John Shakspeare and not William. It is he who is given the coat of arms and is the older man. Sogliardo/Sordido is a clownish, miserly, usurious, grain-hoarding farmer who had wanted a coat of arms for a long time and worked hard to send his eldest son to London to learn how to behave like a gentleman

Fungoso, Sordido's son, is characterized as a student at the Inns of Court. He extracts money from his reluctant father by saying he needs it for law books but spends it on debts and foppish clothing. He also pawns his student's gown. The evidence is that he isn't a student at all but a hanger-on, strongly paralleling Lolio's son, i.e. Shakspeare. In IV.i Fungoso talks about being melancholy: "...it

would make him melancholie, to see his yeomanly father cut his neighbours throats to make his sonne a Gentleman.” Similarly, in *Arcades Ambo* Lolio tries “To make his eldest sonne a gentleman.” Like John Shakespere, Sordido preys on his neighbors by hoarding grain to sell at exorbitant prices during famine. Both fathers are ruthless in their efforts to advance their children socially.

Lolio’s son/William goes into debt in London: “Nor neuer red his tenures second line” and a “guiltie bankrupt.” In *Every Man Out of His Humor* IV.iv Fungoso/William owes his tailor and even asks for an advance. He does pay his haberdasher, which is interesting because Gilbert Shakspeare, William’s younger brother, was listed in 1597 as a haberdasher of St. Bride parish.⁸⁶

Like Oxford, Puntarvolo is an extremely eccentric, rich knight who lives in the countryside. In II.i he boastfully presents a list of all his finest attributes in a theatrical performance at his own home with his wife and a lady-in-waiting. The implication is that Oxford was perhaps overly proud of himself. His own appearance is satirically, introduced by hunters’ horns, comparable to the way that horns introduced the start of a play at the theater. When Sogliardo is asked to describe Puntarvolo’s performance he replies, “Ha, ha, ha, ha,” several times seeming to indicate that it is a good comedy.

His Mind to Him a Kingdom Was

A further allusion to Oxford occurs in I.i, in the first speech, when Macilente/Hall says:

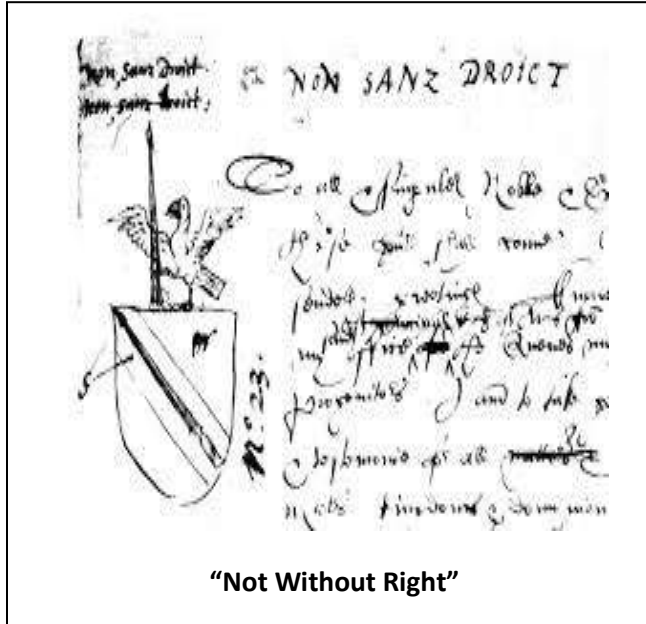
I am no such pill’d Cynick to believe that beggary is the only happiness, or with a number of these patient fools, to sing: “My mind to me a kingdom is.”

This popular poem set to music has been identified by Steven May as written by Oxford.⁸⁷ In the Prologue and Satire I of Book II of *Virgidemiarum* Hall draws a parallel between the famously eccentric Diogenes the Cynic and Labeo, that is, Oxford. Jonson introduces the “pill’d Cynick” here.

Among the most striking parallels is the fact that Jonson uses a satire of Macilente/Hall to identify Oxford with the song. Further, Puntarvolo/Oxford in *Every Man Out of His Humor* takes his dog and cat on a trip to “the Turk’s court in Constantinople.” Cosmius/Oxford in *Arcades Ambo*, as noted, is compared to “the Turke” who moves his tent three times a day. Additionally, in *Every Man Out of His Humor* Sogliardo’s/John’s coat of arms signifies him as a gentleman and is “of as many colours...as any fool’s coat.” In *Arcades Ambo*, “pide painted posts”, or multicolored posts, at Lolio’s/John’s door identifies him as Mayor or local magistrate. Perhaps most noticeably, Jonson mentions Bank’s horse (Morocco) and a fellow with an elephant. Hall also refers to a horse named Morocco and a young elephant.

Jonson notoriously makes fun of Sogliardo’s coat of arms by saying that its

motto should be “Not Without Mustard,” conventionally taken to satirize Shakspeare’s “Not Without Right.” Hall makes fun of Lolio’s coat of arms too—he says its symbol should be a worm turning into a goose—a low form of life evolving into a higher. Again, Sogliardo admits bribing the heralds, or at least paying them a large sum of money. He says that he will have it no matter what it costs. Lolio is indirectly accused of bribing the heralds.



In *Every Man Out of His Humor*, Sogliardo/John, who disdains scholars, says to Buffone/Marston about Hall/Macilente: “An he be a scholar you know I cannot abide him.” Similarly in *Arcades Ambo* Lolio disdains scholars:

Fooles, they may feed with
words and live by ayre...
pining in an anchores cheyre.

Also in V.iii of *Every Man Out of His Humor* Carlo Buffone/Marston gets his lips sealed with wax. He says to

Puntarvolo just before this: “Et tu brute?” an unmistakable reference to *Julius Caesar*—and we recall that Hall called Oxford “Caesar’s Laureate.”

Jonson wrote two endings for *Every Man Out of His Humor*. In the first, Macilente stops his scourging after each character repents or recovers. But apparently audiences did not like this, so it was rewritten—Macilente reforms when he catches sight of Queen Elizabeth. He kneels to her in V.iii, imploring heaven to bring and prolong peace and fortune to England:

Fly from her, Age; sleep time before her throne.
Our strongest wall falls downe when she is gone.

Conclusion

In summary, an important theme in *Arcades Ambo* is the authorship of the works of William Shakespeare. Joseph Hall was a contemporary and professionally active during the time that the great plays were appearing on the stage. He was familiar with the literary community and personally well-known in it. Ben Jonson of course was also known in that world. Each indicates in their own ways that Edward de Vere is the true William Shakespeare, differentiating him from the gentleman of Stratford.

The Shakespeare authorship question was not new in the mid-1800s, but in fact was predated by about 250 years by the forgotten satire, *Arcades Ambo*. Among the features of this overlooked work is that it is paralleled and supported by Jonson's satirical *Every Man Out of His Humor*.

Notes

¹ Scroope, Carr, *A Defense of Satyr*, 1678?, but before 1680.

² Simpson, Richard, *The Political Use of the Stage in Shakespeare's Time*, New Shakespeare Society's Transactions, 1874, p. 376.

³ "Shakespeare Authorship Question," http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shakespeare_authorship_question 7-12-11.

⁴ Jonson, Ben, *Every Man Out of His Humor*, staged in December 1599, published in 1600. The 1600 edition has the word humor and not humour as many later editions spell the word.

⁵ Hall, Joseph, *Virgidemiarum. Sixe Bookes. First three Bookes, Of Tooth-lesse Satyrs. 1 Poeticall. 2 Academicall. 3 Morall. Virgidemiarum. The three last Bookes. Of byting Satyres.*, December, 1599. It is composed of *Tooth-lesse Satyrs 1 Poeticall 2 Academicall 3 Morall*, March, 1597 and of *Virgidemiarum. The three last Bookes. Of byting Satyres*, March, 1598. The titles are confusing and entwined because of the use of the word *Virgidemiarum* in two of the titles. "Virgidemiarum" means a small bundle of sticks for scourging, implying Hall's satires are the sticks.

⁶ Cabe, Richard A., "Elizabethan Satire and the Bishops Ban of 1599," *The Yearbook of English Studies* Vol. 11, *Literature and Its Audience*, 11 Special Number, 1981, pp. 188-193.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Henry Hastings, 3rd Earl of Huntingdon 1535-1595, <http://www.luminarium.org/encyclopedia/huntingdon3.htm> 10-13-11

¹⁰ Jones, John, *Bishop Hall, His Life and Times*, 1826, chapter XIII, *On Puritanism*, pp. 449-458 <http://archive.org/stream/bishophallhislif00jonerich#page/n7/mode/2up> 4-20-12.

¹¹ Ellinghausen, Laurie, *Labor and Writing in Early Modern England, 1557 – 1667*, 2008, n. p. 51. Parnassus Plays, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Parnassus_plays 1-10-11.

¹² Jones, pp. 1-111.

¹³ Collier, John Payne, *The Poetical Decameron Or Ten Conversations on English Poets and Poetry*, volume 1, 1820, p. 231. "In his *Pigmalions Image and Certaine Satyres*, Marston treats Hall rather severely, accusing him...of being mysteriously obscure and dealing in 'Sphinxian riddles'...". Singer, Samuel Weller, *Satires by Joseph Hall with the illustrations of T. Warton, and Additional Notes by S. W. Singer*, 1824, p. xiv "His chief fault is obscurity arising from a remote phraseology, constrained combinations, unfamiliar allusions, elliptical apostrophes, and abruptness of expression."

¹⁴ Hall, Book IV, Satire I. A logogryph is "a kind of enigma, in which a certain word, and other words that could be formed out of all or any of its letters, were to be guessed from synonyms of them introduced into a set of verses" OED.

¹⁵ Pickering, William, *Virgidemiarum: Satires, Joseph Hall*, 1825, Glossary, p. 129.

¹⁶ Hall, Book III, *The Conclusion of All*.

¹⁷ Marcus Lollius, <http://www.livius.org/lo-lt/lollius/marcus.html> 7-29-11 The name Lolio may have been taken from Marcus Lollius, ca. 21 BCE who was a *homo novus* or new man, the first of his family to enter the senate and about whose ancestors nothing is known.

¹⁸ Hall, Book IV, Satire VII.

¹⁹ John Shakespeare, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_Shakespeare 6-15-11.

²⁰ Colucci, Donato, *Solved: John Shakespeare's "Reversal of Fortune"*, 2009. <http://www.donatopresents.com/shakespeare/Reversal.html> 2-23-12.

²¹ Ibid.

- ²² Bearman, Robert, *John Shakespeare: A Papist or Just Penniless?*, *Shakespeare Quarterly*, Vol. 56, no. 4 Winter 2005, pp. 411-433 ; Colucci, Donato, *Solved: John Shakespeare's "Reversal of Fortune,"* 2009 <http://www.donatopresents.com/shakespeare/Reversal.html> 2-23-12.
- ²³ Halliwell, James Orchard, *The Life of William Shakespeare: Including many particulars respecting the poet and his family never before published*, 1843, p. 65.
- ²⁴ Halliwell-Phillipps, James Orchard, *The Life of William Shakespeare*, 1848, p. 49.
- ²⁵ Knight, Charles, *William Shakespeare: A Biography*, 1851, pp. 11-35.
- ²⁶ Ibid.
- ²⁷ *Notes on Gloves and Glovemaking in the Sixteenth Century* p. 1-20.
http://www.docstoc.com/docs/71278253/glovemakingdoc---Glove-making-centres_Guilds-and-Different-5-1-12.
- ²⁸ Knight, pp. 11-35.
- ²⁹ Walter, James, *Shakespeare's True Life*, 1890, pp. 42-43; Chambers, E. K., *William Shakespeare A Study of Facts and Problems*, Vol. 1, 1930, p. 9: "Many of the burgesses were also landholders in the parish or neighboring villages."
- ³⁰ Schoenbaum, Samuel, *William Shakespeare: A Compact Documentary Life*, 1987, p. 39; Bearman, pp. 415-416.
- ³¹ Pogue, Kate, *Shakespeare's Family*, 2008, pp. 25-26.
- ³² Accord, Peter, *Shakespeare: The Biography*, 2006, p. 20.
- ³³ Oxford English Dictionary definition of *ming*.
- ³⁴ Barton, Sir Dunbar Plunkett; Benham, Charles; Watt, Francis, *The Story of Our Inns of Court*, 1938, p. 9.
- ³⁵ Rider, Clare, IT Archivist 1998 –2009, *The Inns of Court and Inns of Chancery and Their Records*.
http://www.innertemple.org.uk/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=36&Itemid=301-25-12.
- ³⁶ This tradition apparently arises from *Groatsworth of Wit*.
- ³⁷ An Acte Against Brokers, IJac.I.c.21, Brokers "never of ancient tyme used to buy and sell Garmentes, Houshold Stuffe, or to take Pawnes and Billes of Sale of Garments and Apparell and all things that come to hand for Money, laid out and lent upon Usurie, or to keepe open Shoppes and to make open Shewes and open Trade, as now of late yeeres hath and is used by a number of Citizens assuming unto themselves the name of Brokers and Brokerage as though the same were an honeste and a lawfull Trade, Misterie or Occupation, tearminge and naming themselves Brokers whereas in trueth they are not, abusing the true and honeste ancient name and trade of Broker and Brokerage" etc.
- ³⁸ Mallory, Herbert S., *Poetaster*, Ben Jonson, Yale Studies in English, 1905, p. 165 note.
- ³⁹ Dash, Mike, *Past Imperfect*, Smithsonian.com, Nov 7, 2011.
<http://blogs.smithsonianmag.com/history/2011/11/william-shakespeare-gangster/> 1-14-12.
- ⁴⁰ Lee, Sidney, *A Life of Shakespeare*, 1898, p. 38. BBC, *The Shakespeare Paper Trail: The Later Years* http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/british/tudors/shakespeare_later_01.shtml 2-3-12
- ⁴¹ EUdict: Latin–English dictionary.
- ⁴² Ibid.
- ⁴³ Fowler, William Plumer, *Shakespeare Revealed in Oxford's Letters*, 1986, pp. 19, 98, 120, 164, 274, 284, 385, 485, 541, 577, 593, 607, 653, 683, 708, 740, 771, 803.
- ⁴⁴ Price, Diana, *Shakespeare's Unorthodox Biography*, 2001.
- ⁴⁵ Chiljan, Katherine, *Shakespeare Suppressed*, 2011, pp. 203-16.
- ⁴⁶ Ackroyd, Peter, *Shakespeare: The Biography*, 2006, p. 325.
- ⁴⁷ Middle English Dictionary definition of *falne/fallen*.
- ⁴⁸ Elze, Karl, *William Shakespeare: A Literary Biography*, 1901, p. 484.
- ⁴⁹ Oxford English Dictionary definition of *traunt/trant peddle* and *Chapman merchant*.
- ⁵⁰ Nares, Robert; Halliwell-Phillipps, James Orchard; Wright, Thomas, *A Glossary; or Collection*

of Words, Phrases, Names, and Allusions of Customs, Proverbs, etc, 1867, p. 92, "It was formerly the custom to erect painted posts at the door of the Mayor's house."

⁵¹ Oxford English Dictionary definition of *pie*: Marked, dappled, speckled with a colour or, in extended use, some other thing. A quotation showing its use from *Brieffe discours of the troubles begonne at Franckford Germany* A.D. 1554 by W. Whittingham: To weare the pied coate of a foole.

⁵² Ralph Brooke, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ralph_Brooke 7-12-12; *William Shakspeare Documentary Evidence*, <http://fly.hiwaay.net/~paul/shakspeare/evidence1.html> 7-12-12.

⁵³ *Shakespeare's Ancestry* <http://www.shakespeareonline.com/biography/shakespeareancestry.html> 3-17-12.

⁵⁴ Alcock, N. W.; Bearman, Robert, *Discovering Mary Arden's House: Property and Society in Wilmcote, Warwickshire*, The Shakespeare Quarterly, Vol. 53, no. 1, Spring 2002, p. 70, also see note 61: Only half a century after Robert's death did John Shakespeare rewrite history by identifying him as a gentleman. Arden himself never aspired to being more than a husbandman although he could surely have described himself as a yeoman; Pitman, Henry, *The Popular Lecturer [after W. Pitman's Popular lecturer and reader]*, 1863, pp. 310-311.

⁵⁵ Hall, Book II, Satire I.

⁵⁶ Gabriel Harvey, <http://www.elizabethanauthors.org/harvey101.htm>.

⁵⁷ Hall, Book V, Satire I. Persius, in his Satire I, dealt with Labeo who was a court poet of Nero. Persius said about Labeo, "Dost thou, who are old enough to be wiser, put together such obscene and filthy stuff, in order to be food for the ears of your I Ibid.inous hearers? I tell you plainly, and without disguise, that you are an old trifler, to pretend to wit or poetry." Oxford would have known Persius' satires. He would have recognized that Hall was attacking him as Labeo. Oxford felt that Hall had hurt his reputation, both in a personal and a literary sense, that he had detracted from it. John Marston opened *Reactio*, Satire IV of *Certaine Satyres*, a direct response to *Virgidemiarum*, with the lines, "What cold Saturnian/Can hold, and hear such vile detraction?" He was accusing Hall of vile detraction. In *The Scourge of Villanie*, he referred to "Envies abhorred childe, Detraction." He again used Envy to refer to Hall and accused him of detraction.

⁵⁸ Hughes, Stephanie, *Shakespeare's Tutor: Sir Thomas Smith 1513 – 1577*, *The Oxfordian*, vol. 3, pp. 19 – 44, 2000.

⁵⁹ Naevius, http://www.hyperhistory.com/online_n2/people_n2/persons2_n2/naevius.html 2-24-12; Gnaeus Navius, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gnaeus_Naevius 2-24-12.

⁶⁰ Meres, Francis, *Palladis Tamia*, 1598, the best for comedy amongst the Latins "Plautus, Terence, Naevius, Sext. Turpilius, Licinius Imbrex, and Virgilius Romanus: so the best for Comedy amongst us bee Edward Earle of Oxforde..."

⁶¹ Clark, Eva Turner, *Hidden Allusions in Shakespeare's Plays: A Study of the Early Court Revels and Personalities of the Times*, 1931; Anderson, Mark, *Shakespeare by Another Name*, 2005,

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ OED definition of *giddy*.

⁶⁴ *Who Wears What*, <http://elizabethan.org/sumptuary/who-wears-what.html> 2-24-12.

⁶⁵ *The Senior Peers of England*, <http://elizabethan.org/compendium/24.html>; *Nobility Titles During Tudor Times* <http://tudorhistory.org/calendar/ntitles.html>, 2-25-12.

⁶⁶ Altrocchi, Paul; Whittemore, Hank, *My Name Be Buried: A Coerced Pen Name Forces the Real Shakespeare into Anonymity*, 2009, p 106.

⁶⁷ *Anglo Saxon England's Realm of Mercia*, <http://www.ancientsites.com/aw/Places/Place/343451> 2-24-12.

⁶⁸ Crick, Jeremy, *Elizabeth and Ffrancis Trentham of Rocester Abbey*, De Vere Society Newsletter, 2007, pp. 1–12. <http://www.jeremycrick.info/TrenthamFamily-9.html> 3-3-12

⁶⁹ Hall, Book I, Satire IX.

⁷⁰ Lamb, Rita, *Does Nashe's only surviving play contain satire?*

<http://sicttasd.tripod.com/ttheory.html> 3-1-12 This play by Nashe was also given a reprieve and

allowed to be published after the Bishops' Ban of June, 1599.

⁷¹ Hall, Book VI, Satire I.

⁷² Ibid., Book II, Satire I.

⁷³ Ibid., Book II, Satire II.

⁷⁴ *The Many Nicknames of the Earl of Oxford* <http://www.shakespearefellowship.org/virtualclassroom/oxfordnicknames.htm> 3-1-12.

⁷⁵ Hall, Book I, Satire IX; Book II, Prologue; Book II, Satire I.

⁷⁶ Ibid., Book II, Prologue.

⁷⁷ Ibid., Book II, Prologue.

⁷⁸ Loxley, James, *The Complete Guide to Ben Jonson*, 2002, pp. 48-51. Queen Elizabeth steps in and uses and redoubles Asper's purgative function as a "figuring forth both of satire and of royal government and assimilates the one to the other. So the play, in line with Asper's declared intentions, becomes a theatre in which judgments happen, the place where a power both literary and legal can perform exemplary enactments of its authority." The play for the public is to provide a model for playgoers to follow; Hall, Book II, Prologue.

⁷⁹ Ostovich, Helen, *Every Man Out of His Humour by Ben Jonson*, 2002, p. 98

⁸⁰ Ibid..

⁸¹ Ibid..

⁸² The word travail'd is used in Ben Jonson's edition of *Every Man Out of His Humor* of 1600 and the Folio of 1616. Most editions and sites transcribe it as *traveled*. Jonson uses both the words *travail'd* and *traveled*. It is confusing because he sometimes does use the word travail for travel and the word travel can sometimes be taken as travail or toil. Another meaning of travail in Early Modern English was, "To work purposely trying to be obscure in his use of the word."

⁸³ Steggle, Matthew, *Charles Chester as a student, to study* or "To journey", Oxford English Dictionary. Jonson may be *and Ben Jonson*, *Studies in English Literature, 1599-1900* Vol. 39, No. 2, Tudor and Stuart Drama Spring 1999, pp. 313-326. Some critics see Carlo Buffone as Charles Chester but the internal evidence much more strongly point to Marston.

⁸⁴ Marston, John, *The Metamorphosis of Pigmalion's Image* and *Certaine Satyres*, 1598. *Reactio*, Satire IV of *Certaine Satyres*, vigorously criticized the whole of *Virgidemiarum*. *Pigmalion's Image* dealt with Labeo in a way that identified him as the author of *Venus and Adonis*. The couplet, "So Labeo did complaine his loue was stone, /Obdurate, flinty, so relentless none" from *Pigmalion's Image* is a rephrasing of "Art thou obdurate, flintie, hard as steele? /Nay more than flint, for stone at raine relenteth." from *Venus and Adonis*.

⁸⁵ Rev. John Marston, <http://spenserians.cath.vt.edu/CommentRecord.php?action=GET&cmmtid=527> 12-12-12.

⁸⁶ Schoenbaum, p. 27, Noted in a document from the Court of Queen's Bench in London where he stood bail for William Sampson.

⁸⁷ Harper's Magazine, *Oxford – My Mind To Me a Kingdom Is*, Sept.16, 2010.

<http://www.harpers.org/archive/2010/09/hbc-90007634> 4-2-12. May, Steven W., *Authorship of "My Mind To Me a Kingdom Is," The Review of English Studies*, New Series, Vol. 26, No. 104, Nov. 1975 pp. 385-394