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HISTORICAL FALLACIES AND HISTORICAL METHOD: A KEY TO THE AUTHORSHIP CONTROVERSY

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This article was e paper the pressnt writer read at the Ninth Annual Conference of the Shakespeare Oxford Society in Washington, D.C. on October 12, 1985. It ie hopsd that the common fallacies described will assist Oxfordians not only in rebutting the frequent Stratfordian commission of such errors, but also in avoiding themselvee the traps to which our opponents so easily fall prey.

In his hook, Historians' Fallacies: Toward a Logic of Historical Thought,[1] David Hackett Fischer gives scholare examplea of eeveral lapses in sound methodology practiced by even the moet eminent historians. Although the authorship of Shakespeare's works is not among the topics discussed in Fischer's book, Oxfordians and other anti-Stratfordians will be pleased to note that the author takes on some of our more egregious opponente (albeit in non-Shakeepearean contexts), such as Louis B. Wright, A. L. Rowse, and Conyers Read.

The purpose of this article ie to confine the discuasion to what Professor Fiecher calle "fallaciee of factual verification," presentsd in the second chapter,[2] and to relate these to some of the more common prope in the Stratfordian argument.

In a discussion of the fallacy of the peeudo proof ("a verification etatement which seeme at firet sight to be a precise and specific repreeentation of reality but which proves, on close inspection, to be literally meaningless"[3]), ths author mentions a species of this category as the "reversible reference -- a chameleonlike statement which changes ite color with its context and which might variously be used to prove the proposition that X ie the case or that not-X ie the case, as the anthor wishss."[4]

The example Prof. Fischer gives ie from one Bridenhaugh, who maintainsd that the streets of colonial Manhattan were strewn with trash. His eupporting evidencs soneisted, according to Prof. Fiecher, of three rsvsreible referencee: 1) a law was paseed in 1657 against littering in New Amsterdam; 2) that the law was enforced upon John Sharp, a litterbug, in 1671; and 3) that weekly trash removal was effected in 1670. Prof. Fischer reminds readers that sach of these three facts could be ussd to argue that ths streets were filled with trash, that they were kept spotleesly clean, or anything in between!

Similarly, Stratfordians are fond of arguing that, becauee schoola wers estabiiehed throughout England, and hecause Oxford and Cambridge scholare were employed at good wages at Stratford'e grammar school, that Shakspere could have had a good education at that echool. As Charlton Ogburn points out, howsvsr, ths rapid turnover of such scholars, and that notwithstanding thie monetary incentive, there may havs hsen little to intereet them in etaying long.[5]

The fallacy of the irrelevant proof "consiats in asking one queation and answering another." Prof. Fischer gives as an example an hypothetical hietorian who attempts to answer the question, "Was Senetor X a thief?" And euppoae, saye the author, that Senator X was in fact a thief. So thie historian, an admirer of Senator X, "proceeds

to prove that Senator X had often declared that honeety was the best policy...that Senstor X was acquitted by a jury (without mentioning that all the jurymen became postmasters immediately after the trial)...that Senator X's mother eolemnly swore that her son could never be a thief...that Senator Y was a bigger thief than Senator X and that the Senate itself was a den of thieves...thet Senator X only stole from the government...was kind to his children...faithful to his wife...loyal to hie party," etc., etc. "All of theee statements may in fact be true," writes Prof. Fiacher, "and yet Senator X remains a thief."[6]

Louis Marder rhetorically asks of Oxfordians, "Were Hugh Holland, James Mabbe (?), also in on the 'plot' to conceal the true author [of Shakespeare's works]?" Dr. Marder then proceeds to answer another queetion altogetber: "Theee men knew Shakeepeare when he was alive. If [Heminge'a and Condell's (eic)] interlineation in the will are not evidence that they were friende and knew bia work and knew what they were publishing under his name was his, what ie the use of the written word?"[7]

In the firet place, the interlineations (if genuine) prove only that Heminge and Condell "were friends" of the deceased (and Stratfordians do not need tbeee interlineations to prove this much; there are at least two other documents eetabliahing Heminge's assaciation with Shakspere). The interlineations certainly do not prove that the deceased wae an author. Indeed, like the reversible reference cited above, a good cese can be made that the bequest for the purchase of memorial rings (together with the damning omiesion of booke, manuscripts, or literary property) strongly suggests that H. and C. did not consider Shakspere to be an author, at least when his will was drawn up. In any event, theee facts render suepect H. and C.'s claim in the Firet Folio that they are acting as "literary executore."

What Dr. Marder studiously avoids aaking is not whether H. and C. "knew their friend," but whether their statementa to the effact that he was the author in the First Folio are truthful. Appeals to the "written word" are useleee in tbia instance, inasmuch as examples of the "use of the written word" to diseemble on much more crucial historical questions are legion.

The fallacy of the negstive proof "ie an attempt to eustain a factual proposition meraly by negative evidence. It occure whenever a historian declares that 'tbere ie no evidence that X ia the case,' and then proceeds to affirm or assume that not-X is the case."[8]

Recently, Robert Giroux wrote, "There is not a shred of evidence that the byphenated spelling of Shakeapeare's name, or indeed any other epelling, repreeents a nom de plume,"[9] Mr. Giroux, of course, has spent no effort looking for euch evidence. Nor has any otber Stratfordian making a eimilar pronouncement. But there is evidence, overlooked by Stratfordians, that poets of the nobility, such ae Edward de Vere, did in fact make use of pseudonyme -- and even of other people's namee, according to The Arte of English Poesie (1589), Robert Greene, etc. -- in publishing tbeir poetry. Thera are also many indications that the state of playwriting was at low repute in Tudor times, and that eomeone in de Vere's position who wrote plays had plenty of motives for following such a practice bimself. And indeed tbere ie ona witneee, the author of The Arte of English Poesie, who even teetifies that thie very same earl was first among the noble poets who concealed their authorship in thie manner!

The fallacy of the presumptive proof "consiete in advancing a proposition and ehifting the burden of proof or disproof to others."[10] The entire Stratfordian case is based upon the presumption that Shakspere of Stratford wrote the poems and plays.

Anti-Stratfordians owe Prof. Fischer a great debt. "For this relief, much thanks!" We should now press our offensive, and make Stratfordians prove their case. And while they are at it, they can also be asked to prove why such plays as The Tempest, King Lear, Macbeth, etc. could not have been composed before Oxford's death in 1604. A further quote from Prof. Fischer's book is in order on this point. "The burden of proof, for any historical assertion, always rests upon its author. Not his critics, not his readers, not his graduate students, not the next generation. Let us call this the rule of responsibility."[11]

Prof. Fischer writes, "The fallacy of the circular proof is a species of question-begging, which consists in assuming what is to be proved."[12] Members of our Society have become well acquainted with a typical Stratfordian abuse of this debating tactic in the exchanges between the present writer and the editor of The Shakespeare Newsletter -- in both that periodical and in our own Newsletter.

But anti-Stratfordians should be prepared to expose the shallowness in a far more frequent manifestation of this insidious form of argument: the so-called "references to Shakespeare" allegedly contained in Greenes Groatsworth of Wit and Henry Chettle's Kind Harts Dreame. Here is Samuel Schoenbaum's double-barreled version: "That Greene has singled out Shakespeare for attack is evident not only from the punning reference to Shake-scene, but also from the parody of a line in 3 Henry VI...'O tiger's heart wrapt in a woman's hide!' By altering one word Gresne has accused Shakespeare of cruelty."[13]

This reading rests on several assumptions the author has not proved: 1) That "Shake-scene" is a pun on the name "Shake-speare," which did not appear in print until the Venus and Adonis publication of 1593 -- the year following both of the pamphlets' publication -- and which did not appear in the hyphenated form until 1594. 2) That "Shake-scene" is a pun at all. 3) That "Shake-scene" is a term of denigration. (The fault of the "upstart crow" was, after all, not that he was a "Shake-scene," but that he esteemed himself the only one!) 4) That the "upstart crow" was author of 3 Henry VI. 5) That the intent of the parody of this line was to identify the "upstart crow" as the play's author. 6) That the intent of the parody was anything more than the usual practice of quoting a line from a play currently in the public eye (and ear) -- something all of us do from time to time with no thought of referring to the play's author.

Having begged all these questions, Prof. Schoenbaum then proceeds to a characteristic Stratfordian misreading of Chettle's apology: "Chettle confesses that Greene's 'letter written to divers play-makers' has been offensively by one or two of them taken.' The grieved parties were, the context makes clear, Marlowe and Shakespeare. In a celebrated passage Chettle comments sharply on the former and apologizes to the latter."[14]

In the first place, Schoenbaum does not say how the "context makes clear" that Shakespeare is one of the two grieved parties. If Greene were addressing his remarks to "divers play-makers," warning them of the "upstart crow," how is it possible for Shakespeare to have been one of those if, as Prof. Schoenbaum had maintained earlier, the "upstart crow" is also Shakespeare? And why could not Nash -- supposed by many scholars to be one of those addressed by Greene, and who sounded pretty angry about the Groatsworth pamphlet -- be one of the grieved parties? Schoenbaum makes two other dubious assumptions as well: 1) That only Shakespeare could be described as having a "facetious grace in writing." 2) That the word "quality in Chettle's remarks, "excellent in the quality he professes" means "acting," because

Schoenbaum inserts the words "i.e., acting" in brsckets after the word "quality." This is a commonplece in Stratfordian misconstructions. The fact is, "quality" meant any profeesion, which, as the "context makes clear," ie play-writing.

"The fallacy of the prevalent proof makes mass opinion into a method of verification."[15] It is the subtle form of this error Prof. Fischer finds in attempts to "establish a doubtful question by a phrase such as 'most historiane agree...' or 'it is the consensus of scholarly opinion that...' or 'in the judgment of all serious students of this problem...'"[16] Aside from the general Stratfordian invocation of thie "mase opinion" on all matters of dispute, one finds among more recent writinge some independent attempts either to whitewash Ben Jonson's "anti-Shakespearean" sentiments or to defend him from the accusation that he composed Heinge'e and Condell'e remarks published in the First Folio.

Gwynne Evans and Harry Levin, for example, object to Charlton Ogburn's suggestion that Jonson had earlier expressed "contempt" for the Stratford man, and that Mr. Ogburn "shores up that dubious allegation with a satirical line about a parvenu Jonsonian character; Jonson's editors do not accept the conjecture that the satire is aimed at Shakespeare."[17] It ie interesting that Profs. Evans and Levin do not name these editors, a courteay which Dr. Marder, at least, extends his readers in a eimilarly worded observation: "Modern scholarship (See Percy Simpson's edition of Jonson's Works, XI, 140-41) does not accept Jonson as the author of the Dedication and the addrese 'To the great Variety of Readers.'"[18]

The question arises whether "Jonson editors" are really objective enough for such confident assumptione. They can hardly be disinterested in what their subject may have really thought about one whom Jonson was to style "not of an age, but for all time" -- even if thie just appraisal appeared on only one occasion in Jonson's writings. For once a "foot in the door" ie admitted in the form of conceding any possibility that Jonson may have entertained a low opinion of the Stratford man, what becomes of the former's invaluable "testimony" to the latter's authorial skills? Or to his sincerity in uttering them?

No, no. "Honeet Ben" could not possibly have been lampooning Shakeepeare'e (by whom is meant, of course, the Stratford man's) coat-of-arms, nor his petition to the College of Heralds. And he could not poeeibly have written "H. & C.'s" words for them, because that would considerably lessen their value as testimony.

The plain evidence, however, is all against this wishful thinking on the part of "Jonson editors," whether we choose to call their findinge "mass opinion," or the more euphemistic designation, "scholarly consensue." Jonson'e own worde in Every Man Out of His Humour stand against his editors' fond contentions, as does George Steevens's masterly etylistic analysis of Heminge's and Condell's First Folio utterances, which at least two "modern scholars" -- Sir George Greenwood and Charlton Ogburn -- do accept!

Yet another unfortunate exemplar of Evans's and Levin's recourse to this "fallacy of the prevalent proof" is found in their contention that Oxford's death in 1604 precludes hie authorship of Shakespeare. "Given the general consensus on dating, this would not account for a dozen of Shakeepeare'e best plays."[20] This argument is aleo a form of the circular proof fallacy cited sbove: assuming that which is to be proved.

"The fallacy of the possible proof consiste in an attempt to demonstrate that a factual statement is true or false by establishing the poseibility of its truth or

falsity."[21] On the Stratfordian side, examples are too numeroua to mention. Typical are the conjfectures of what the Stratford man did during the so-called "lost yeare" in order to prepare himself for writing the Shakespeare canon: a clerk in a lawyer's office, a soldier in Leicester's army in the Lowlands, a page in a nobleman's house --these are only a few of the wilder "possibilities" conjured up in Stratford. Unfortunately for the "lawyer's clerk" theory, several lawyers have pointed out that for Sbakspere to have fulfilled this function, he would have been ohliged to sign several legal documents, such as briefs, and that the prodigioua paper-chase of two centuriss has failed to produce such signatures.

Prof. Fischsr concludes his chapter, "all inferences from empirical evidence are probabilistic. It is not, therefore, sufficient to demonstrate tbat A was possibly ths case. A historian muat determine, as best he can, the probability of A in relation to the probability of alternativee. In the same fashion be cannot disprove A by demonstrating that not-A was possible, but only by demonstrating tbat not-A was more probable tban A. This is tbe rule of probability."[22]

Oxfordians would do well to pay heed to David Hackett Fischer's advice to historians. It applies in equal measure to tbose among our Society's members engaged in scholarly research in either historical or literary aspects of the authorship issue. Our guest at tbe Ninth Annual Conference, Steven W. May, gave a wise caution to Oxfordians: We should not follow the example of J. T. Looney and satisfy ourselvss merely with "parallela" in poetic formulas, imagery, and word choices hetween Oxford's known writinga and Shakespeare's. We must show tbat these are exclusive to the 'two writers" and not commonplaces among a host of other poets, both amateur and professional. Unfortunately, the latter is the case for some of the examplea Mr. Looney chose, as Prof. May so ably demonstrated. lt is equally unfortunate that most later Oxfordian researchers have followed Looney in this somswhat-less-than-rigorous approach to word study (a fact which makes Helen Cyr's researches in this direction an important step in the Oxfordian theory's progress).

Important also, when we draw conclusions as to de Vere's possible authorship of a whole body of writings heretofore assigned to authors othsr tban Shakespsare, is due consideration of the spscial burden we are under to demonstrate the probsbility of such assumptions. It is not enough for Oxfordians to ape the Stratfordians' alipsbod methods and, substituting Oxford's name for Shakspere's, simply say, "Oxford could bave done or written such-and-such, therefore he did!"

In this connection, we must take into account the natural presumption that in most cases, an autbor's name on a title page means that he is the author of that work. The anti-stratfordian rebuttal to thie presumption in Shakespeare'a case is a special one, and it is based not merely on negative evidence, as we are often told by Stratfordians: 1) Shakespeare's name appears on the title pages of several works published during the Stratford man's lifetime that fsw scholars belisve are of his authorship. 2) No one has succeeded in establishing -- on any contemporary evidence --tbat the "William Sbakeepeare" of the title pages is identical with William Shakspere of Stratford-on-Avon. 3) No one has succeeded in showing how Shakspere of Stratford acquired the detailed knowledge of a host of arts and sciences displayed in the poems and plays. 4) No one has succeeded in showing how Shakspere of Stratford gained access to the private lives of court personages, got his topographical knowledge of Italy, or acquired the ability to read numerous untranslated sources in a variety of ancient and modern languages. 5) No one has been able to explain Shakspere's total lack of interest in the puhlication of "his" plays, or of "his" poems (except Venus and Lucrece, assuming that he wrote them), nor bis complacent

submission to the wholesale pirscies and botched edition of "his" works. 6) Important people who should have been witnesses to Shakspeare's activities are silent during bis lifetime (Henslowe, Alleyn, Nashe, Spenser, Bacon, Pescham, Jonson himself!, etc.) 7) Shakspere himself is silent on any "literary activitiss," even in bis Last Will and Testament. 8) Indeed, the only clear-cut identification of tbe Stratford man with the authorship is made seven years after hia deatb, in the First Folio. 9) The First Folio testimony is inconsistent with all tbe other evidence before us, leading anti-Stratfordians to suspect that document's trustworthinsss. And 10), if s nobleman had written these works (s possihility deduced from the internal evidencs of the plays themselves), be would have heen unable -- owing to tbe social opprobrium afforded poets and playwrights of the nobility -- to puhlish them under bis own name, and would have been obliged, therefore, to either use a nom de plume or to work out an agreement with someone to loan bis name for this purpose.

Witb tbis last hypothesis, all of the items enumersted are consistent, whicb is not, of course, to argue its certainty, hut goes a long way to establishing its probability -- at lsast as against the Strstfordian inferencs that Shakspers "somebow" overcame thess ohjections, "because be was a genius!"

NOTES

1. Harper & Row (Nsw York), 1970. Emphasis in all citstions ie tbe author'e.
2. Ibid., pp. 40 - 63.
3. Ihid., p. 43.
4. Ihid., p. 44.
5. The Mysterious William Shakespeare. Dodd, Mead (Nsw York), 1984, p. 276.
6. Fischer, pp. 45 - 46.
7. The Shakespeare Newslettar (Summer, 1985), p. 22.
8. Fischer, p. 47.
9. "Letters," New York Times Book Review, May 19, 1985.
10. Fischer, p. 48.
11. Ibid., p. 63.
12. Ibid., p. 49.
13. S. Scboenhsum: Shakespeare's Lives. Clarendon Prsss (Oxford), 1970, p. 50.
14. Ibid., pp. 51 -52.
15. Fischer, p. 511.
16. Ihid., p. 52.
17. "Was Shakespeare Shakespeare?" Harvard Magazine, February 1975, p. 42.
18. The Shakespeare Neweletter, op. cit., p. 22.
19. Ses Malone's Shakespeare, ed. by Jamee Boswell (1821), Vol. II, p. 663 & ff.
20. Evans & Levin, op. cit., p. 43.
21. Fiscber, p. 53.
22. Ibid., p. 63.

A CALL FOR ACTION

by Harold W. Patisnce

1. Enter Mr. Calvin Hoffmann (again!)

I was recently (Decsmber, 1984) astonished to find myself witnessing on television not only an interview with Calvin Hoffman but yet another excavstion of the Walsingham tomhs. Thie search for tbe Shakspeare manuscripts was a further attempt by the author of Ths Murder of tbe Man Who Was Shakeapeare (1955) to prove bie theory thst

the Deptford murder was faked and Christopher Marlowe lived on to produce the "Shakespearean" works. I saw with amazement that the floor of the church had been extensively excavated and sophisticated electronic searching devices were being eagerly inserted into ancient coffins. We observed Mr. Hoffmann patiently awaiting the results of this upheaval, only to have his hopes dashed yet again.

As an Oxfordian by choice I must admit that at first sight I viewed this activity with cynical amusement. Gradually, however, my feelings became tempered with a degree of envy and admiration for Mr. Hoffmann's splendid initiative. His ability to "get things done" is impressive, even though the results are (to him, I might add) disappointing. The object of these comments is to record my hope that the Society will endeavour to emulate Mr. Hoffmann's praiseworthy efforts. In doing so, it must reject all warnings aginst the wisdom of such enterprises. It must fight the expected obstruction of vested interests in a determined effort to settle once and for all the question of the possible survival of Shakespearean manuscripts.

But where to concentrate operations? For many years I have held a personal belief that the monument in Stratford-upon-Avon church, being the lynchpin of orthodox entrenchment, would be the obvious place for concealment. Remove everything in the town which appears to offer some connection between its famous native-born businessman and the immortal works (but which, in reality, do no such thing) and we find that the monument alone has a positive Shakespeare connection. As Leonard Digges puts it in the prefatory matter to the First Folio:

> ...when that stone is rent,
> And Time dissolves thy Stratford Moniment,
> Here we alive shall view thee still...

I would not, of course, imagine that the complete set of Shakespeare mss were ever concealed within this mysterious edifice; but that something was placed "within this Monument" I firmly believe.

The important question to be asked here is this: Can we be sure that the monumental structure (as apart from the bust) is the original edifice? In her book Shakespeare's Environment (1918) Mrs. C. C. Stopes quoted the following reports from the Stratford archives:

> 25th November, 1748: A meeting convened in Stratford "of those persons who contributed for the repairing of Shakespeare's monument, in order to resolve upon a proper method of repairing and beautifying the monument aforesaid."
> 10th December, 1748: The report of the second meeting concerned suitable payment for the work involved and "of what materials to repair the monument."

"Before the middle of the 18th century," wrote Mrs. Stopes, we know that the tomb (sic) was 'very much decayed.' Mr. John Ward, the grandfather of Mrs. Siddons, was in Stratford in 1746, and gave the proceeds of a reprssentstion of Othello in the Town Hall on 8th September towards the restoration of Shakespeare's tomb (sic). Orders were given to 'beautify' as well as to repair it. We are left altogether in the dark as to the degree of decay and the amount of reconstruction, but that it was considerable seems evident. By 1749 the repairs were completed and the colors re-

painted hy Mr. John Hall..."

The air of amhiguity exuded by the reports, and the comments of Mrs. Stopee, is an annoyance. Ie there not a etrong possibility that the reported repair work referred only to the buet? Csrtainly Mrs. Stopes' remark to the effect that the colora were re-painted would seem to apply to the bust, not to the superetructure or pillare. As part of a monumsnt high up on the wall of a church are pillars of marhle and ornamenta of alabaster likely to decay? I personally doubt it, and in support of my argument I exsmple the tomh of the 15th Earl of Oxford in Castle Hsdingham church which, although much older than the Stratford monument, still preeents to us its pristine condition. There is sursly no reason to doubt that the stone superstructure of the Stratford Monument we see today (referred to by Mr. J. Quincy Adams as a 'slab' and by Mr. Craig Huston as e 'stone box') is not original. This heing so, and returning to the possibility that manuscripts were placed therein, I refer readers to an sxcellent outline of ths theory in the Appendix of Charlton Ogburn's new book, The Myeterious William Shakespeare - The Myth and the Reality.

2. The Venetian Archives

On 27th and 28th Dscembsr, 1984, s two-part program entitled Vidal in Venice was shown on British television. The preeenter was the writer Gore Vidal, who recently provided the commentary on a Shakespeare Sonnet in that particular TV series. After taking us on a gondola trip around the canals of this unique city Mr. Vidal looked at Venice in ths pleasure-loving 18th-century and the 'romantic' 19th-century. Looking at the city today he saw it as "a sort of Disneyland filled with tourists who came to see themselvee reflected."

Of greater interest to me, as an Oxfordian, were the sequences in which Mr. Vidal explored the masaive lihrariss of the Dogs's Palace and the State Archives of Venice. Hsre, in countless shelves and on benches, the centuries have preserved a veritahle feast for the historical researcher. Also in perfect condition are the code-booke and sophisticated coding devices employed by the Secret Service of the Venetian State at the height of its power and glory during the 16th-century. It seems that the Doge and his government (headed by the 'Council of Ten') went to extraordinary length to keep themselvee well informed as to events in other European states. Huge volumes, lahelled France, England, etc., offer enormous poesihilities for Shakespearean research.

Surely, one wietfully hopes, there must exist somewhere in these vast stacks of volumee a few overlooked paragraphs which would shed new light on the Shakespeare Mystery? Perhaps, lying dormant for centuries in that huge book at home? Among thoee massed volumee what revelations concerning the machinatione of state policy, what information concerning Queen Elizabeth's private life, reports and rumors of political ecandals, details of the secret workings of the Cecil administration, etc., swait discovery?

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DESPITE THE SOCIETY'S PATHBREAKING REPORT, THE NONSENSE ABOUT "SHAKESPEARE'S HANDWRITING" GOES ON!

The title of thia issue's "sermon" ia prompted by two articles in the last two yeara appesring in The Shakeepeare Newsletter. The first of these, "Shakespears Signatures (?) Seven, Eight, snd Nine!" (Summer 1984, xxxiv: 2, No. 182), reported on the lateet theories of Prof. W. Nicholas Knight of ths Univereity of Missouri-Rella, famous for the yet-unproven notion that Shakspere's signature appeare on the title page of the Folger Library'e copy of William Lambarde's 1568 Archaionomia.

Both at the time of his 1971 announcement and hie 1973 book-length amplification of his theory (Shakeapeare's Hidden Life: Shakespeare at the Law, 1585 - 1595), Prof. Knight seemed undaunted by criticiams that neither ths Shakespeare plsys' dieplay of their suthor's lawyerly expertiee nor the abaence of any document with the Strstford man'e signature (either as Knight'e imagined "noverint" or se "clerk in a law office" fancied by other Stratfordiane) could account for Shakspere'e autograph in such an unlikely place. It is aufficient to nota that the profeeaor's conjecturse hava not recsived wide accsptancs, except from the occseionally credulous Samusl Schoenbaum, who conceded, nevertheless, that "it ie premature, to ssy the least, to classify it sa the poet'a [sic] seventh signature."[1]

And now, Prof. Knight is back with s claim of two more of ths "poet'e" eignatures, this time in two copies of the same book: John Florio's 1603 Engliahing of Montaign'a Essays. Let us akip the profeesor's ressoning on his lstest detsction, and deal with his conclusion, ae described in tha SNL article, "... the gsnaral similsrity of ths Montaigne signatures to each other, ths similarity of lettsrs of them to the authenticsted signatures, the presencs of the Charles [Barnard] name, and Shakespeare's known use of Montaigne for Gonzslo'e idea of s commonwealth is proof enough to csll these signatures number eight and nine in Shakespeare'e own hend."

It is fortunats, we suppose, for depoaitors everywhere to be grateful that Prof. Knight ie not sn offioer in a bank! He asems to have fallen victim hsre to the reveraible reference fallacy described in our last Neweletter: Knight hss taken sll the techniquee a forgsr would use to improve the appearance of his hsndiwork — the similarity of letters to suthentic signatures, the "boning up" on some relevant gsnealogy, ths selection of an old copy of s book well known as a source for Shakeapeare'a plays — and from theae has inferred a case for authenticity!

The article's author, SNL editor Louis Marder, rightly wonders, "Why Shakspeare would have had two copies of the Essaye is as hard to conceive as Shakespeare putting his name in a copy of Lambarde'e Archaionomia." On ths assumption of forgery, however, the explanation ie simple. The culprit thought to get richer by peddling ths same fraud to two dupes rather than to just one. (Since that srticle was published, the Fsll 1985 SNL issue states that Knight apparently "didn't know of another copy of the Montaigns signature which appeared in a copy of Rastell'e Statutes -- which makss all three of them apparent forgeries.")

But why else should we suepect forgery in these Monteigns Essays signatures? In 1978, the Shakespeare Oxford Society engeged Dr. Wilson Herrison, former document examiner for Scotland Yard and euthor of two definitive books on forgery detection, to investigete the six Shakspere eignatures to determine if eny of them (or parts of them) could be by other hands. Dr. Harrison's velue se en investigstor ie enhanced, not only by hie formideble credentials, but by the fect that he was not informed by the Society of its stand on the euthorehip iesue and by hie own dieinterest in the outcome of hie investigation. His findinge were published in the Society's Newsletter[2] and eummarized in Cherlton Ogburn's new book.[3] Dr. Harrieon'e study ie ths cloeest look these eignaturee have had in modern timee.

While he does not desl with any of the queetionable eignatures under discussion, Dr. Harrieon's remarke on "the circumstencee of the signing" ere to the point in thie regerd, "The hand of the most accomplished penman cannot be expected to function with the precision of e machine. Even when written under ideal conditions, critical examination will revesl differences in succeesively written signatures. If, whilst not identicel, [two euch succeseive signatures] ere found to be uncannily elike, the near certeinty that tracing is involved must never be fer from the mind of the examiner."[4]

Did Shakspere Write His Own Will?

In The Shakespeare Neweletter's Fall 1985 iseue (xxxv: 3, No. 187, p. 25), the leed articls describes "Remarkable Thoughte on Shskespeare's Life and Handwriting." Remarkable indeed (but not sltogether novel) ere the theories of Charles Hamilton contsined in his book, In Search of Shakespeere: A Reconnaisance into the Post's Lifs and Handwriting.[5] Dr. Marder ssems impreesed by Mr. Hamilton's credentiale ee e "handwriting expert," end is thus tempted to e "waning incredulity" on ths euthor's contentions thet "Shekespeare" wrote hie own will, the three dieputed pages of Sir Thomas More, the applicetions for the family coat-of-arms, e page of the Northumberland manuscript, annotations in Bacon's essays, the Welcombe enclosure documents, ennotations in the 1587 Holinehed, end twenty-three previously unrecognized signatures!

As mentioned, a lot of thie is not new. The theories that Shakspere wrote his own will, the three-page Addition of Sir Thomas More, end the cover page of the Northumberland Manuscript were each formidebly refuted over sixty yeere ago by Sir George Greenwood.[6] (Ie Charles Hamilton -- let alone most Stratfordian handwriting theorists -- even ecquainted with Sir George's impressive evidence?) Beceuse Wileon Herrison made use of Samuel Schoenbaum's William Shakeepeare: A Documentary Life (Oxford Prese, 1975) in his investigetione for the Shakespeere Oxford Society, he looked into the first two of these hypotheses, which were discussed by Schoenbaum. And upon these two supposed identificstions fevored by Mr. Hemilton, Dr. Herrieon stands squarely opposed! "Who shell decide when doctors dieagree?" The reaeon for choosing Wilson Harrieon is compelling: 1) Dr. Harrison had no vested interest in the outcome of his exemination, and 2) Mr. Hamilton (like W. Nicholas Knight) does. So, pace Dr. Marder, the latter'e claims should be taken cum grsno salie.

And whst doee Dr. Hsrrison ha ve to say about the Sir Thomas More fragment? "If this wers written by W.S.," he writee, then et that time [c. 1601] he was at leaet a decede younger then when he wrote the signaturee at the end of hie life, and, presumably still pursuing en active cereer in London. In my opinion, six sometimes fragmentery signaturee written by en ailing man consti-

tute a poor basis on which to reach any definite conclusion as to authorship."[7] Two years later, Dr. Harrison forwarded to the Society a clipping from the London Times about yet another fond Stratfordian handwriting "discovery": A copy of a letter which Eric Sams believed was "written by Shakespeare" for the Earl of Southampton in 1592, "acting, at the age of 28, as humble secretary" to the aforesaid earl![8] Because Sams's theory was based on the supposed "similarity" of this letter with the Sir Thomas More fragment, Dr. Harrison wrote in his covering letter (April 25, 1981) that even if common authorship of the two specimens could be proved, this would not prove Shakespere's hand in the letter, inasmuch as the identification of the More lines "with the genuine writing in the form of signatures rests on very shaky ground indeed." Further, he writes, "I have never been impressed by long lists of 'similarities' when comparing two writings for common authorship. In my opinion, a single consistent significant characteristic not capable of reasonable explanation can outweigh a thousand most obvious 'similarities'. It is neglect of this overriding principle which has led to the perpetration of most of the errors which have given handwriting investigation a bad name." [Emphasis ours.] The views Dr. Harrison states, of course, would apply with equal force to the "similarities" alleged by Professor Knight in the suspect Florio's Montaigne signatures.

But this document examiner was even more specific in rejecting John Pym Yeatman's 1901 theory that Shakspere wrote the text of the will in addition to signing it on its three pages. For his report, Dr. Harrison had made a study both of the quill pen and of the Secretary Hand Shakspere used. He found that Shakespere's handwriting in all of his signatures showed a smaller ratio between tall and short letters than that which was typical in contemporary writings using the Secretary Hand. This difference of ratio he found characteristic of the will text:

> I suggest that you examine the name "Shakespeare" at the top of p.1 of the Will... Note the ratio of this writing and you will find that, like the text of the Will, that handwriting has the ratio characteristic of the Secretary Hand with its wide divergence between the heights of the tall and short letters, a feature foreign to the handwriting of both of the legible signatures on the Will... There is no doubt that anyone with perseverance and application can excavate from this rather voluminous text fragments...which uncannily match similar chunks...of the two legible signatures but I venture to suggest that something much the same could be accomplished by selecting for study similar quantities of more or less contemporary handwriting which only came into existence after the death of William Shakespeare [i.e., Shakspere]. Similar tricks are in use today when unscrupulous self-styled "handwriting experts" attempt to demonstrate that palpable forgeries might well be genuine signatures.[9]

Another reason for rejecting Yeatman's theory, according to Dr. Harrison, is that, "One has only to look at the regular rhythms" in the will text's handwriting "to be sure that this was never the work of an ailing man who, within a short space of time was to prove practically unable to write a consistent signature at the foot of those pages."[10]

Did Shakspere Write "By me William"?

In a recent letter to the New York Times Book Review,[11] Robert Giroux claimed that the signature on the third page of Shakspere's will (which, in

common with other Stratfordians, he mistekenly reads ae "By me William Shakespeare" — in the fecs of Edmund Malone's persuaeive erguments for a reading of "Shakapere"[12]) is "beautifully written." This ellegetion is made, of course, to counter the negative view of these signatures es "scrawls" held by many observere (not all of them anti-Stratfordians) -- specimens which have led at leest ons impartial American document examiner to conclude that the person wielding the pen was "unaccustomed to writing"![13]

This forensic specialist, Joseph English, Lecturer in Law et Georgetown University, was not alone in his opinion that the "By me William" portion of Mr. Giroux's "beeutifully written" signature was not penned by the same hand that wrote either the "Shakspere" which follows or ths other legible signature which follows on the will's second page. Sir George Greenwood, for one, expressed "entire confidence" that this part was "not written by the tsstator, but by some law clerk or scrivener on hie behalf."[14] Three factors struck Sir George's eye: 1) The surname following is not horizontally aligned, but runs elightly uphill. 2) Ths quality of penmanehip shown in the three words ie higher than that of the surname and that of any of the other eignatures. 3) The diagonal upstroks initiating the "m" of "me" and the "W" of "William" ie e feature not found in any other of the Stratford man's signatures! [Ses Fig. 1.]

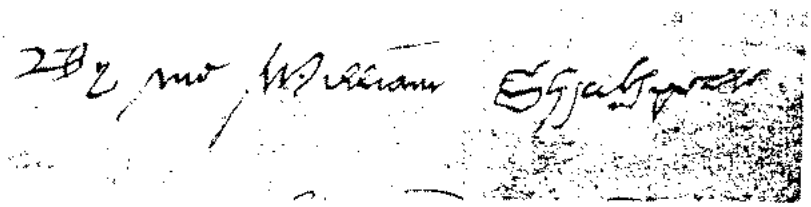

Figure 1

Here, however, we come ecross e difference of opinion from that of our Society'e British document examiner, Wilson Harrison. It must be remembered that Dr. Harrison was under a hendicap of ths Society'a own making. In order not to prejudice our examiner'a investigation of the eignatures, we deliberetely avoided informing him of either the Society's position on the euthorehip or any other theories about these signatures, including the findinge of our Americen investigator, Joseph English. Ae mentioned above, Dr. Harrieon on his own sought out Samuel Schoenbaum's book of documente ee e guide, and this book does not deal with Greenwood's objections, nor for that matter with any theory about the euthorship of "By me William" in the third page signature.

Further, in his report Dr. Herrison contended that hie practice with the quill pen oonvinced him that "William" wae eeeier to write than ths surname --eimply because of the greatsr number of vertical lettere in the first name versus the number of horizontal strokes required for "Shakspere." And hs pointed to e feature common to those eignaturee where epace sIlowed Shakepere to be more expaneive (not the cese with the Blackfriars Gatehouse eignaturee, confined to the borders of s seal): e wide space between fore- and aurname, found in the third page signature as well.

When we questioned Dr. Herrison ee to whether the three worde could heve been written by enother hand, he replied,

> If W.S. was "aeeisted" by s bystandsr to sign his will, I find it hard to believe that the aeaistent wrots "by me William" end thsn handed the document over to a eick man to complste and having done so, urged the sick man to ettempt to put two extra complets signatures on the other two pagss.[15]

But what if Shakspere had not eigned the last page first? Sir George Grsenwood — not only s lawyer himsslf and a Member of Parliament, but one whoss interest in Shaksspeare led him to a study of Elizabethan law — maintaina,

> For the Will, it must be remembered, was written on thres loose sheets, and the prectics is, and I belisve alwaye hae been, that in such caas, the testetor before executing his will first reade, or hes read to him by his solicitor, the first shset thsreof, which he thsn eigne. Thereupon he reads, or has read to him, the second page, and then eigns that; and, lastly, hs puts his signaturs to the third eheet, whsrepuon, in Shakepere's time, witnseees to the "publiahing" of the will frequently added thsir signaturee...[16]

If Greenwood is right, his own scenario would have the ailing testator successfully complsting ths eignaturea on pages ons and two, and then faltering, unable to do more than sorawl a surname after the words drawn up by the "scrivensr."

Who was this scrivener? Dr. Harrieon is emphatic on who it wae not:

> ...the William wae not written by the person who drafted the Will, for at the outsst, thie person whoever it was, wrote the name of ths tsstator as any ettorney wae wont to do when drafting a will, so that direct compariaon is possibls.[17]

But Sir George does not contend it wae the will'a draftsman. He offsre hie own "guess" ea to the candidate: Let "ths reeder who cares to do so," he writes,

> refer to "Faceimiles of Noticee of Shakespeare rsferring to the Enclosure projects of 1614," ss shown in Halliwell-Phillipps'e Outlines (6th edn., vol. 1, p. 230 [See Fig. 2.]), which Notices were drawn up, ee Sir Sidnsy Lee tells us (Life of Shaksepeere, p. 466, n.2, and p. 477, n.2), by Thomas Greene, and partioularly note the remarkabls long "upstrokes" which there appear, some of them with something very like ths "needle'e eye," only the sye eppears to be closed in the faceimils. A friend has suggested to me that this Thomas Greene may have written the words, "By me William." Thie Thomas Greene, who used to epeak of "my oosen Shaksspeare," and seems to have been for a time resident at New Place, was "e cultivated lawyer," says Sir Sidney Lee, "who had acted as solicitor for the Corporation, and had been eppointed the first Town Clerk" of Stratford-upon-Avon in 1610 — an offics whioh had been creeted by James I'e new charter. Hs wae evidently on terms of close intimacy with Shakapere.[18]

Csrtainly, the "long 'upstrokes'" noted by Greanwood appear with far greater frequency in the feceimile than they do in any of the Shaksperean signatures except for the one under discuseion. Could these upstrokee poasibly constitute ths "single consistent eignificant characteristic not capable of reesoneble explanation" to which Wileon Harrison alludee in his 1981 letter?

Facsimiles of Notices of Shakespeare referring to the Enclosure projects of 1614.

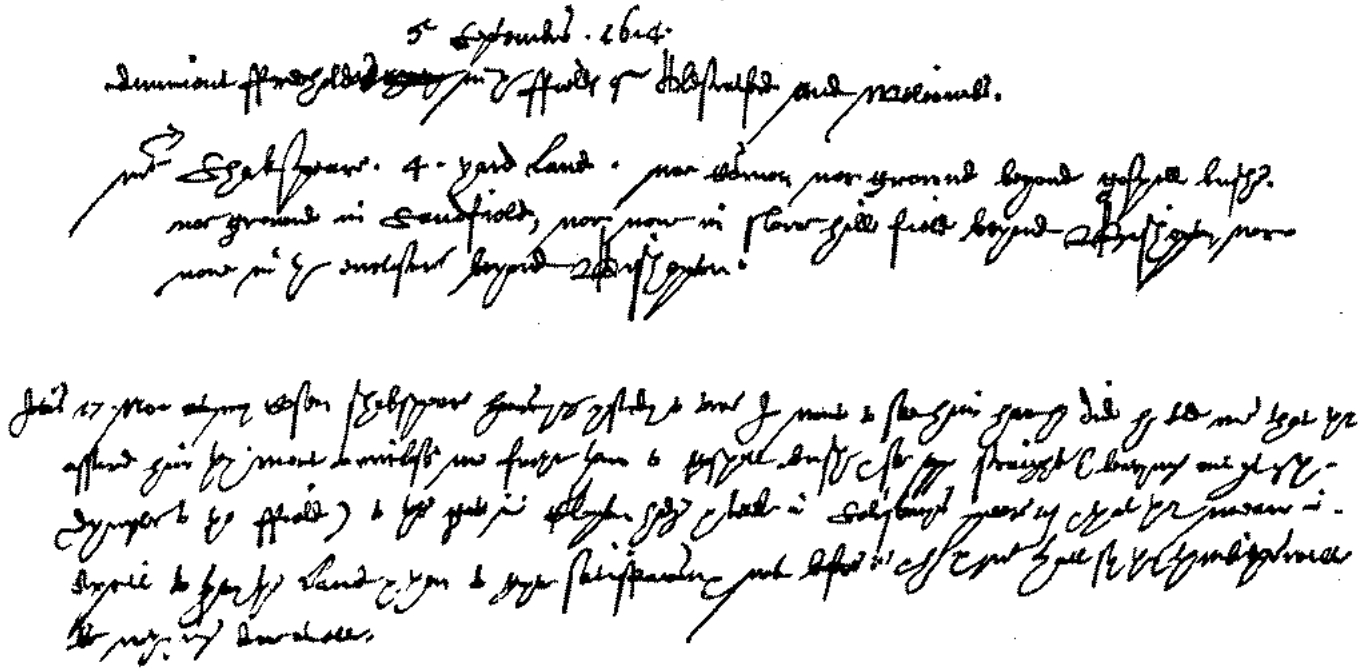

Figure 2

Dr. Harrison's findings with respect to the wide spacing found between the first and last names would of course have no application here. Shakspare could ba presumed to have plaoed hie surname in the same relationship to his fore-name no matter who had penned the latter. (The resdsr should compare also tha lettere "ill" in the facsimile's fourth line with the same lettere in Fig. 1's "William.")

Now, this information was not svailable to ue, nor to Dr. Harrison at the time ha mads his invsstigation. Whethsr this is evidence suffioient to change his opinion we hava no way of knowing, inasmuch as Dr. Harrison (who now lives in retiremsnt with his document examinsr daughter, Elizabeth, in Cardiff, Wales) has indicated to us his reluctanca to undertaka furthsr examinations into "pa-laography."

Members of our Society should also be prepared for the poseibility that Mr. Charlas Hamilton may use the similarities noted by Greenwood to support his ar-gument that "the poat" wrote these enclosure documente himself! We have not read Mr. Hamilton'e book at ths time this Newsletter has gone to preas. But if this doas indeed form a part of his theory, he would have some considerable explaining to do as to why the two upstrokse in the first part of the third page will signature find no countarpart in the other two page'e eignaturee. Nor, for that matter, does this festure appesr on any other "W" of tha eix canonical signaturee, including the Blaokfriars Gatehouse documents, executed only one year before the 1614 enclosure noticas!

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NOTES

1. William Shakespeare: Records and Images. 1981.
2. "If Invited to Writ; He Was in Paine," Shakespeare Oxford Society Newsletter, Summer 1980, vol. 16, no. 3.
3. The Mysterious William Shakespeare: The Myth and the Reality. Dodd, Mead, 1984, pp. 119 - 122.
4. Wilson R. Harrison. Report to the Shakespeare Oxford Society. 1979, p. 5.
5. Harcourt, Brace, and Jovanovich, 1985.
6. Is There a Shakespeare Problem? John Lane (London) 1916, pp. 320 - 327.
   The Shakspere Signatures and "Sir Thomas More". Cecil Palmer (London) 1924.
   Shakespeare's Handwriting and the Northumberland Manuscript. Watts & Co. (London) 1925.
7. Letter, Wilson R. Harrison to Gordon C. Cyr, August 1, 1979. [Emphasis ours.]
8. "Just another begging letter? Or has the Bard a hand in it?" by Elizabeth Grice. The Sunday Times, April 19, 1981. (See also, "The Latest Shakespearean Mare's Nest: Southampton's 'Secretary'," by Gordon C. Cyr. The Shakespeare Newsletter, February 1981, xxxi: 1, No. 168.)
9. Report, op. cit., pp. 9 - 10.
10. Ibid., p. 10.
11. "Letters," New York Times Book Review, May 19, 1985.
12. See Greenwood, The Shakespeare Problem Restated. John Lane (London) 1908, p. 18.
13. "If Invited to Writ..." op. cit., pp. 5 - 6.
14. The Shakspere Signatures and "Sir Thomas More," op. cit., p. viii.
15. Harrison letter, op. cit.
16. Shakespeare's Handwriting and the Northumberland MS., op. cit., p. 28.
17. Harrison letter, op. cit.
18. Shakespeare's Handwriting and the Northumberland MS., op. cit., p. 31.

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PROFESSOR MAY ON OXFORD'S ANNUITY
--- A RESPONSE BY CHARLTON OGBURN

In an article in the Shakespeare Oxford Society Newsletter (Fall 1985), entitled "Lord Oxford Sues for a Patent of Monopoly," Prof. Steven W. May discounts the importance of the annuity of £1000 granted the Earl of Oxford by Queen Elizabeth and confirmed by King James. To this end, he quotes William Harrison, writing in 1587 in his Description of England, as stating that "no man is commonly created baron except he may dispend of yearly revenues £1000." If this information is supported by other sources, my guess would be that it signifies a disinclination on Elizabeth's part to create new barons.

A thousand pounds as an annual income was four centuries ago an immense amount. As B.M. Ward pointed out, there was no comparable case of Elizabeth's granting such a sum as an annuity to one of her subjects. That its magnitude was extraordinary was made clear by King James when in 1603 Lord Sheffield protested that a like amount paid him annually as Lord Lieutenant of Yorkshire and President of the North was inadequate. The King told him that "never greater gift of that nature was given in England. Great Oxford when his estate was whole ruined got no more of the late Queen." The 18th Earl, Ward found, was granted only £300.

Why, then, was "Great Oxford" supported by the throne with such unparalleled generosity when, unlike Lord Sheffield, for example, he held no public office apart from his membership in the Privy Council? Why did he seek to supplement his income by obtaining a state trading monopoly? We may set aside Prof. May's argument that the thousand pounds a year was so inconsiderable it was "small wonder" he sought more. Oxford was not a conspicuous figure at Court or in any other expensive society during the eighteen years of the annuity. His way of life was not such to attract attention; he could have put on no great show.

Our answer is, of course, that he was supporting other writers and was directing the affairs of the acting company which was producing the plays he was writing, a kind of Royal Shakespeare Theatre--the Lord Chamberlain's men. We recall that the Reverend John Ward at the outset of his service in Stratford-upon-Avon entered in his diary some notes about Shakespeare, one of which was that he "supplied the stage with 2 plays every year, and for that had an allowance so large that he spent at the rate of 1000 l a year, as I have heard" (heard it, surely, before he came to Stratford).* We leave it to orthodoxy to explain why a circumstance so extraordinary and so seemingly highly unlikely should have been reported if it was not in fact the case, and if it was in fact the case, who could the Shakespeare who wrote for the stage and received an allowance of £1000 a year have been if not Lord Oxford?

*Editor's note: Most Stratfordians seem agreed that this thousand pound allowance could not have been awarded to the Stratford man; e.g., "Ward's estimate of Shakespeare's income must be greatly exaggerated. His entire cash estate was not more than £350." The Reader's Encyclopedia of Shakespeare, ed. by Oscar James Campbell and Edward G. Quinn. Crowell, 1966, p. 936.

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THE CHARACTER OF KENT IN KING LEAR

By Donald La Greca

While reading Eva Turner Clark's analysis of King Lear, in her Hidden Allusions in Shakespeare's Plays, I was struck by the polarity of our interpretations of this supreme drama. Where Clark finds historical and political allusions (especially for the years 1589 - 90), I find personal ones. For me Lear is a play of intense, personal tragedy. With this in mind I strongly disagree with her statement, "I consider Kent represents Drake." (P. 869 n.) Therefore I sought another contemporary of Oxford's who would fulfill the characteristics and qualities of the Earl of Kent. In looking for this prototype, I drew upon J. Thomas Looney's methodology. (See "Shakespeare" Identified, p. 80.) Simply stated my task was to examine the text of Lear, to draw from it a definite conception of the character and qualities of the Earl of Kent, and then look for a man who fits that description. Once such a man was found it was necessary to connect him with the character of Kent and with the author. Eventually I found that my conception of Kent had been accurately described by S.T. Coleridge,

> Kent is, perhaps, the nearest to perfect goodness in all Shakespeare's characters, and yet the most individualized. There is an extraordinary

> charm in his bluntnass, which is that only of a nobleman arising from a contempt of overstrained courtsay, and combined with easy placability where goodnsss of heart is apparent. His passionate affection for, and fidslity to Lear act on our feslings in Lear's own favor: virtue itaelf aesms to be in company with him. (Complete Worke of Samuel Tsylor Coleridge, Vol. IV, edited by W.G.T. Shedd, Harper and Bros., New York: 1884, pp. 138 - 39.)

Ths first two requirements of Looney'a blueprint had been completed. I had read and examined the text of Lear, and with the aid of Coleridge, I had outlined the qualitiea of Kent. It was now neceesary to find the man. He must be blunt but charming; noble and courteous, but not overbearing in rank or slavish to suthority. Ha must be loyal to his country, his monarch, and hia friende. He must be someone worthy to lead men; even nations. (It must be remembered that Kent is one of the triumvirate who, it is implied at the close of the play, will lead England's destiniea.) He must be someone who had won the highast reapect and admiration of Oxford; the man chosen to be old King Lear'e pereonal champion (and, in effect Oxford's also?) And, in keeping with my hypotheeis on tha nature of ths play, he almost surely must be a man with whom Oxford was pereonally acquainted, on a familiar, even intimate baeis.

I believe that man to have been Peregrine Bertie, the 12th Lord Willoughby de Eresby. Lord Willoughby, aa he is ganerally known, is familiar to Oxfordiana through the writinge of Eva Turner Clark and Bronson Fsldman. They convincingly argued him to be the prototype of Petruchio in Tha Taming of the Shrew.

Kent holda our attention with his passionate plea for Lear to revarse hie judgment on Cordelia (Act 1, Scene 1). His declaration to Lear, "To plainneee honor'e bound, When majesty stoops to folly," givee voice to Willoughby's point of view. While Commander of ths English forcea in the Lowlanda (December 1587 - March 1589), he was rebukad by ths Queen for not consulting her regarding an appointmsnt of the Captain of ths Garrison at Bergen. Willoughby wrote back, "How unfit it is for Princee (whose cares are infinite) to be encumbered with impertinent cauass." (Three Generations of a Loyal House, by Lady Cecilie Goff. Printed privately under the care of the Rampant Lion Prees, London: 1957, p. 35.)

In ths aame scene, Kent tells Lear,

> My life I never held but as a pawn,
> To wags against thine enemiea,
> Nor fear to lose it,
> Thy safety bsing the motive.

In September 1589, the Queen placed Willoughby in command of the English troopa sent to aid the Protestsnt cause of Henry of Navarre. Elizabeth wrote to Henry describing her commander,

> ...His quality and the place he holde about me are such that it is not customary to permit him to be abeent from me; ... you will nevsr have causs to doubt hie boldnese in your eervice, for he has given too frequent proofs that he regarde no peril, be it what it may... (Goff, p. 55.)

Willoughby's qualities of leaderahip and their rscognition by his auperiors and peers are shown not only by his commands in the Lowlande and Francs, but

slso by tha planned offensive sgsinst the Spanish mainland following tha defsat of the Armada. Francis Draks and Sir John Norris, who commanded ths fleet and troops reapectively in this andeavor, "were very anxious that he (Willoughby) should be in supreme command of the expedition." (Goff, p. 47.) Howevsr, for health reasons, Willoughby dsclined.

Thus far, Willoughby fulfills Kent in bluntness, loyalty to crown and country, and the aoldisrly skills and qualities of leadarship of men.

Kent's other outstanding quality is his loyalty to those who are in disfavor with those who wield powsr. As Kent stood by Cordslia agsinst Lear, and as he stood by Lesr sgainst Cornwall, Regan, and Gonsril, so did Willoughby honor his friandship to those who were in oppoaition to state power. From hia dsys ss a youth in Burleigh's household he had a desp devotion to the ill-fated Earl of Essex whom he described "as s man I love and honor abovs sll men." (Goff, p. 21.) Willoughby alao numbered among his friands Sir Drew Drury, the leader of the Puritan Party, and the scrivener John Stubbe, whom Willoughby included as a member of his household until Stubbe's death in 1591. (Goff, p. 22.) Readers of Bronson Feldman's Crowners Quest (12 - IV - 80) will recall Stubbe se the Puritan who wss prosscuted for writing s book, in August 1579, against tha Queen's proposed marriags to the French Catholic Duks of Alencon. Faldman writss, "Hatton dug out... a decree of the Catholic despote Mary Tudor and her consort Philip the Speniard ordering the behanding of any writer snd printsr of booke thay regsrded as demeaning majesty. John Stubbe and hia printer William Page lost their right hands under cleavers commanded by Kit Hatton."

The mention of Hatton laads to another aepect of Ksnt's character. Ksnt shows s particular hostility to Gonaril's retainer Oswald. Coleridge says, "The Steward should be placed in exact antitheeie to Kent, ss the only character of utter irredeemabls baseness in Shakespeare." (Complete Works, p. 139.) More than that, Oswald can be seen ss a caricsture of Sir Christopher.

Willoughby can also be placed in exact antitheeis to the Quesn's dancing Chancsllor. We find ths following quotstion from Sir Robert Naunton's Fragmenta Regalia quoted in B.M. Ward's The Ssventeenth Esrl of Oxford:

> My Lord Willoughby was one of the Queen's best swordsmen... I have hesrd it spoken that had hs not slighted the Court, but spplied himself to the Queen, he might havs enjoyed a plentiful portion of her gracs; and it waa his saying -- and it did him no good -- that he was none of the Reptilia: intimating that hs could not creep on the ground, and that the Court was not his element. For, indeed, as hs was s grest soldier so he was of amiabls magnanimity, and could not brook the obsequiousness and assiduity of the Court. (p. 151.)

Let us now consider some smaller points of Kent'e character. Act III, Scene iv finds Lear dstermined to "srraign" his daughters. He drafts Kent to bs "on ths commission." Shortly sfter Willoughby srrived in Englsnd from his command in tha Lowlands, "he was ons of the commissioners sppointed to try Philip Howard, Esrl of Arundel, for treason." ("Peregrins Bertie," Dictionary of National Biography, p. 405.)

When Lear first comss upon the disguised Kent (Act I, Scens iv) he asks him, "What dost thou profess?" Kent replies, "I do profess to be no lsss than I aeem; ... and to eat no fish." This last expression was a popular phrsss to signify ona's loyalty to the government and the Protestant faith. Willoughby wae resred in thst fsith. His mother, Ksthsrins, Duchess of Suffolk, was an srdent Protsstant. Willoughby was no less, as evidenced by his military serv-

ice to Protestant cauees and hia friendships with prominent Protestante. In thie same conversation Kent profesees himself to be "ae poor ae the King." Willoughby'a tour of duty in the Lowlande had made him a poor man. By 1589 he wae deeply in debt. In order to pay his creditors he sold his timber and hie stocks and mortgaged hia estates in Norfolk. (Goff, p. 44.) Six years later (1595) he finally sold hie landa. (Goff, p. 71 - 72.) No doubt Oxford felt a sympathy for Willoughby's financial difficultiee; he too had become impoverished and had been forced to sell hie lands.

Kent's opposition to a despotic government shows itself when he joins the French invasion force camped near Dover. (Act IV, scenes iii and vii.) This too has a parallel in Willoughby's career. While not joining England's enemiee, Willoughby was greatly embittered at not being repaid the monies he had epent in the Queen'e behalf in the Lowlanda. On August 28, 1596, he wrote the Earl of Essex aaking him to intervene with the Queen to eecure for him the Governorship of Berwick-on-Tweed. Willoughby wrote, "If your Lordehip cannot prevail I shall a thoueand times wish rather to have buried my bonee in Caddie Mallis (a stretch of land near Cadiz) than return to England eo ill-regarded." (Goff, p. 74.) His feelinge are more strongly put by Sir John Buck, hie longtime friend, who writee to Willoughby, "You write that England hath no need of the good man at Grimsthorpe (Willoughby's estate in Lincolnahire) nor hs of it." (Goff, p. 75.)

Earlier in the eaaay I had included as a critarion for the prototype of Kent that this man muet be familiar to and reepected by the dramatist. Willoughby agains suits the standards. He wae the brother-in-law of Oxford, married to his sister Mary. From at least 1582, when Oxford broke with the Catholic party, he and Willoughby were on the best of terms. (Ward, p. 154.) As for Oxford's respect for Willoughby, one has only to look at the great lord's military deede. He served ae Ambassador to Denmark; his military victory over the Duke of Parma (against superior forces) consolidated the English defeat of the Armada; his service to Henry of Navarre, and his loyalty to Eseex and Stubbs, all must have won Oxford'e deep admiration and affection. Oxford'e feeling reflected the universal eeteem in which Willoughby was held. "Willoughby's valour, ... excited more admiration on the part of his contemporariee than that of almoet any other eoldier of the age." ("Peregrine Bertie," Dictionary of National Biography, II, p. 406.)

Oxford could have had good reason for giving this noble character the title Earl of Kent. A briaf look at the possible eource of Lear might shed some additional light on thie problem. The New Variorum Edition of King Lear (edited by H.H. Furness) claims that the "direct eource" for Lear wae "the ante-Shakespearean drama of the Chronicle History of King Leir." (p. 383.) While no date or author is given for thie older work, it "wae dramatieed as early ae 1593 - 94." (Variorum, p. 383.) During theee years Oxford wae in retirement. It is poseible that the Chronicle History was an earlier, less refined forerunner of King Lear. The two playe have a noticeable similarity. The "blunt and faithful counsslor and friend" of King Leir ie named Perillus. (Variorum, p. 401.) The blunt and faithful Willoughby wae baptised Peregrine. The first two eyllables of thsse namee are nearly identical in epelling, and are alike phonetically. If Oxford wae the unknown author of Leir, he may hava already had Willoughby in mind.

Ths change in name from Perillus to Kent could have been a part of Oxford'e reviaion. Thie, I believe to have taken place eometime after Willoughby's death, June 25, 1601. Kent's declaration that, "I have yesrs on my back forty-eight ..." (Act I, scene iv) could be a clue to a more definite date. Wil-

loughby was born October 12, 1555. If Oxford revised the older Leir sometime after the autumn of 1603, he could have included that line based on how old Willoughby would have been had he lived. It is possible that Oxford, saddened by the untimely loss of the "Brave Lord Willoughby," re-wrote the role of Perillus as a homage to the man Bronson Feldman described as "... a general more feared by the Spaniards than any English officer of the age." (Secrete of Shakespeare, Lovelore Press, Philadelphia, 1972, p. 14.)

The name of Kent appears three times in the family history and career of Lord Willoughby. It is possible that these episodes suggested the name of Kent to Oxford. Peregrine's father, Richard Bertie, married his mother in 1552. On Good Friday, 1554, he was summoned before Bishop Gardiner, the Catholic lord chancelor. The bishop tried to persuade him to have his Protestant wife convert. In June Bertie sailed from England, but soon returned fearing for Katherine's safety. On January 1, 1555, he managed to get her away from London using a disguise. While awaiting a ship to leave England safely, they hid in Kent. The Berties finally reached Wesel where Peregrine was born and so named in memory of his parents' peregrination. ("Bertie, Richard," Dictionary of National Biography, II, p. 407.) This story was doubtless told to Willoughby by his parents and may well have been known to Oxford.

The second episode concerns Willoughby's sister Susan who married the Earl of Kent, Reginald Grey, who died in 1573. (Ward, p. 154.) The last connection can be found in Willoughby's French campaign. He commanded four thousand English troops in support of Henry of Navarre. The quality of the troops in general was poor, "with the one exception of Captain Levereon's Kentish regiment" who "when put to the test had risen to the occasion magnificently,..." (Goff, p. 58.)

Perhaps Oxford felt that such an earldom was an honor which Willoughby deserved but had never received. In any case, it seems likely that in the characterization of, first Perillus, and later Kent, Oxford was setting down a character who walked in company with virtue and thus attampted to do justice to Peregrine Bertie, Lord Willoughby.

POSTSCRIPT

[Editor's note: Mr. LaGreca offers the following additional material, which serves to amplify the evidence presented in his article.]

The source for the Stubbs behanding, under orders from Christopher Hatton, is from Sir Harris Nicolas, Memoirs of Sir Christopher Hatton (London, 1847), pp. 140 - 41. Stubbs wrote to Hatton, while in prison and using his left hand (December 1, 1579), of his (Hatton's) "round dealing" and "severe sifting out of that fault that bred me all my woes." Also, Eva M. Tenison, in her Elizabethan England (Vol. VIII, pp. 226 - 27), demonstratss that Stubbs was with Willoughby during his service in the Lowlands. When Stubbs entered his household is not certain, but there is no doubt that he was a trusted member of it.

Finally, regarding the connection of Willoughby to the name of Kent, I again rely upon E.M. Tenison (Vol. VIII, p. 216). She tells us that the family of Peregrine's father, Richard Bertie, claims "ancient Saxon origin" and "appear in ths roles of Kentish territorial magnats" under the name of DeBerty and De Berghstede. The birthplace of Richard Bertie was "Bertiested (now Bearsted) in Kent."

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IN MEMORIAM

We are sorry to report the death of CALVIN HOFFMAN on Fabruary 4th of this year, of congestive heart failure. Ths moet noted proponent of tha thaory that Chrietopher Marlowe waa the author of Shakeapears's plays and poems, Mr. Hoffman lectured widely on his hypothssis, and he managed — for thirty ysare following the publication of his book, The Murder of the Man Who Was Shakespeare (1955) — to gain conaiderable publicity for it. At tha Shakespeare Oxford Society 1982 National Conference, Mr. Hoffman waa our guest speaker, and he entertained the attending membera with hia experiences with Stratfordiana, as well as offering some valuable advice to doubters of the Stratford mythos.

After the confarence, Calvin was a frequent correspondent, and although neither he nor we could convince each othsr of the merits of our respective candidatae, hia gentlemanly qualitiea never failed him in his discourse, and our differences were alweys aired in an ambience of mutual respect. We were indeed at one, moraover, in our mutual conviction that Stratford-on-Avon'e most famous citizen was not a credibls author of the great works attributed to him.

A fine gentleman and friand is gone. He will be sorely miesed.

We were also given the sad news last January of the death of RHODA HENRY MESSNER, who waa a regular participant — with her hueband Vern — st esch year's Shakespeare Oxford Society National Conference, untll illness in the last three years curtailed her traveling activities. Mrs. Messner's contributions to the Oxfordian cause were many. She ie author of s biographical novel on the 17th Earl of Oxford, Absent Thas From Felicity (Corinthian Press, Shaker Heights, Ohio, 1975), reviewed in our S.O.S. Newslettsr (Summer 1976, p. 4). Our Society's Newslatter also publishsd -- in three installments — Mrs. Measner's reply to Dr. Louis Mardar's ssventeen answera to as many questions addressed to him by Baconians (Fall 1976, Winter 1976 - 77, and Spring 1977).

In notifying us of his wife'e paeaing, Vern Messner made a contribution to ths Shskespeare Oxford Society. We are grateful to Vern for his generoeity, and we extend to him our deepest sympathy for his lose. It is indeed our loes sa well.

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AT LAST! AN EARL OF OXFORD T-SHIRT!

Much to our delight, we happened to notice an ad in a recent New York Review of Books for T-ehirts (in sll standard sizes), with tha de Vere arms and the legend "Oxford, the Earl!" imprinted on them. Haadlined "DRIVE YOUR ENGLISH PROFESSOR CRAZY!" the ad urges readers to "sport the arms of the real Shakeepeare, the seventeenth Earl of Oxford!"

The T-shirte (aa well as the advertieing) are the brain-child of Mr. Howard Wamsley of New York City. Mr. Wamsley has corresponded with us, inquiring about the possibility of running the ad in our Society's Newsletter. (The ad had run in several issuea of the New York Review of Books.)

We are happy to run Mr. Wamsley's ad in this issue (see p. 14). In the event it does not reproduce too well, we should here inform you that the T-shirts are of the "beet quality white" in sizes "S, N, L, XL," and that the cost ie $10.00, poetage and tax included, money back guarsntee. Ordera ehould be addreseed to Oxford, the Earl, Box 20395, London Terrace Station NYC 10011.

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The entire run of Shakespeare Oxford Society Newsletters, many long out of print, are available at last on microfilm which can be screened on equipment at most libraries.

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NOTICE

S.O.S. Member Charles Boyle hae a need for slides (color or black and white) for his lecture series on the Oxfordian theory. Members who have slides for sale please contact Charlea K. Boyle, 208A Washington St., Somerville, MA 02143 (Phone: 617 - 776 - 7782).

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The Shakespeare Oxford Society

NEWSLETTER
SUMMER, 1986
VOL. 22, NO. 3

P.O. Box 16254, Baltimore, Maryland 21210

EDITORIAL

WILL "SHALL I DIE?" FLY?

Two important developments have taken place in the scholarly world within the lsst year and a half. First, ths diecourse between st lssst some Stratfordian commentators and the authorship skeptics appears to have taksn on a more civil tone (eee E.A.J. Honigmann'e "Sweet Swan of Oxford?" New York Review of Books, Janusry 17, 1985, and Richmond Crinkley's "Nsw Perepectivee on ths Authorship Question," Shakespeare Quarterly, Winter 1985). This is a welcome development, even if these more courtsous opponente have not yielded an inch in their position with respect to the authorship of Shakespeare'e works.

And second, the remaining Stratfordians have euspended thsir attacks on ue "anti's" -- at least for the moment -- in ordsr to do battle with one another: over American scholar Gary Taylor's "discovery" of a poem he fondly imaginse is the genuine srticle, to wit, a work by William Shakespeare.

Briefly stated, Taylor baess his hypotheeis on 1) an sttribution of "Shall I Die? Shall I Fly...?" to William Shakespeare sppearing in a copy of the Rawlineon Manuscript; 2) his own belief that "none of the other attributions [in Rawlinson] is demonstrably wrong;" and 3) his own word study, in which he finde a preponderantly high number of words and word clustere appearing in the poem were used by Shakespeare in the canon.

(continued on page 4)

FOLGER LIBRARY FORFEITS $10,000 RATHER THAN ASSIST IN TRIAL OF SHAKESPEARE'S IDENTITY

By Charlton Ogburn

The Folger Shakspeare Library hae turned down a clear, outright gift of no leee than $10,000 rather than use ite good officee to bring about a fair trial of the question of Shakeepeare'e idsntity. The deciaion wae made known by Dr. Werner Gundsrsheimer, Director of the Library, in a letter of last December 18th in reply to a proposal by the Friends of Shakeepearean Scholarship that the Library sponeor such a trial. In judging Dr. Gundersheimer's rejection of the proposal it must be borne in mind that the administrator of the Library under the will of ths founder, Henry Clay Folger, is Amherst College and thst acquiescence in such a trial by any college or university would be an amazing dsparture in academia.

It was epecifically proposed to Dr. Gundershsimer that the Folger Library publish the terms of the suggested trial in its newsletter. These, ss communicsted to him, called for the sslection of a panel of three persone qualified by intsllsctual attainment and of unquestioned objsctivity to consider the mattsr of the identity of William Shakeepeare and render an opinion. To that end, the Frisnds of Shakespearean Scholarehip would submit to the panel the latest and most comprehensive book dealing with this matter and presenting the cass for an alternative to the Stratfordian attribution, The Mystsrioue William Shakspeare: The Myth and the Reality, by Charlton Ogburn, published in Octobsr 1984 by Dodd, Mead & Co. Repre-

sentativse of the orthodox sids would be invited to submit to ths panel the work or works that in their opinion most sffectively establish their case and the panel would be asked to give an opinion se to which of the oppoeing presentatione eeemed to its membere ths more persuasive.

The proposal further stipulated that the Friende of Shakespesrean Scholarship would pledge $16,000 provided ths orthodox supporters would pledge s like amount, the funds to be disbursed ae follows:

$10,000 to be donated to the Folger, regsrdless of ths action of ths panel.

$2,000 to be paid as an honorarium to each of the three jndgee.

According to the proposal, theee disbursements would be mads from the funds pledged by ths eide agsinst whom ths final decision was rendsred. Thus,if the panel should decide that the orthodox csss is the more persuasive, the $16,000 pledged by ths Friends would be immediately payabls and the amount pledged by the other side would be canceled. Similarly, if the panel should dscids that the Oxfordian case was mors persuasive, the $16,000 pledged by the orthodox supporters would be immediately payabls and the amount pledged by the othsr side would be cancsled. Ae the letter to Dr. Gundsrsheimer went on to say, in either csse, those involved on both sides — and the panel of three judgee — would have the satisfaction of having been instrumental in making an historic contribution to the cultural intereste of ths English-speaking world and of having aeeisted a most worthy institution in the field of Shakespearean letters: the Folger Library.

In making this proposal to Dr. Gundersheimer, the epokesman for the Friends concluded with the ststement that "we would appreciate your publishing this proposal in the Folger newsletter in the hope that it will produce s response from those who firmly believe that the orthodox position is the only tenable one."

As a library, the Folger ie of courss one of the crown jewels of ths nation's capital. Every lover of Shakeepeare is deeply in its debt. For those engaged in Shskeepearean studies and reeearch in Elizabethan and Jscobean England, the resources and fscilities it offers, with the hslpfulness of its knowledgeble and practiced staff, not to mention its extremely plsasant amenities, sre beyond price. As I had occsion to write Dr. Gundsrsheimer, "With O.B. Hardieon ss director, the Folger extsnded a welcome and gracioue hospitality to members of the Shakespeare Oxford Society. An unorthodox book on Shakespesre of which I was co-author was put on sale in the Bookshop, and thie happy precedsnt was followed under your administration with my book The Mysterious William Shakespeare ..., for which I believs I wrote you of my gretitude." Finally, in its Winter 1985 iseue, the Shakespesre Quarterly, s publicstion of the Folger Librery, carried an articls by the former Dirsctor of Programs at the Folger and currently successful theatrical producer, Richmond Crinkley, fully exemplifying Dr. Crinkley's qualities ae gentleman snd scholar in its generous treatment of dieeenters and in the importance it allowed our contribution to an understanding of Shakespeare. All ths same, one reads with incredulity Dr. Gundersheimer's reply to ons of our number who wrote to him expressing surpries at ths Folgsr Library's "adherencs to the sttribution of the suthorship of the worke of William Shakespeare to the man from the Avon." Ths Director wrots that "The Librsry tskee no institutional view of the mattsr."

Would that that were so! The truth is, of course, that only in the ways cited above hse ths Folger ever departed from its role as an intsgral part of the orthodox estsblishment — and there is no eign that Dr. Crinklsy's srticle, which appeered in the last issus of the Quartsrly edited by John F. Andrews, is to be taken as a precedent. A replice of the Stratford monumsnt, with the repellsnt bust, dominates its reading-room and the Stretfordian's coat of arms — ths one purchseed, according to Ben Jonson, by Sogliardo/Shakspere "for thirty pound, by this breath" ie employed by the Librery ss its own, sppearing ss such on ths cover of ths Quar-

terly. The Folgar has been made the vshicls of misrepresentstions of the iesuss of the Shakeepeare controversy and of unconscionabls slandar of the anti-Stratfordians, whicb no apokesman for ths Library has aver, as fsr as I know, said a word to disevow. Tha Folgsr Library General Reader's Shakeepesre is still, I believa, being eold with an introduction to each of the component volumes in which Louis B. Wright as Director of the Folger Library ridicules ths "anti-Shakespeareans," as he calle them with characteristic deceit, as naivs snobs: "The author of their favorite plays, they imply, must hava had a college diploma framed and hung on his study wall like one in thsir dentist's offices." However, we are all familiar with the venom with which Dr. Wright during the twenty years of his incumbency of the directorship sought to poieon the minds of the public agsinst ths anti-Stratfordians, which, the public must assume, still stands for the Folger's view. The public muet assume, too, that Samuel Schoenbaum speaks for the Folger, of which ha has been a member of ths bosrd, when he dismisses "the thousands of pagas" of diseenting opinion hs claims to have read as "rubbish, some of it lunatic rubbish." (This is ths same uncritical purvayor of Stratfordian dogma of whom Barbara Mowat, Director of Academic Programs at ths Folger Library and new editor of the Shakespeare Quarterly, was quoted last January as having declared that "be hae eingle-handedly taught us more ebout the life of Shakespeare than anybody else who evsr lived," which must dsepen our regret that it wae not about Shakespeara's life that Professor Schosnbaum has tsught us.) Suffice it to say for tha rest that up to the present, st lssst, no dissnted hae aver been permitted on ths Folgsr's lecture platform or in ths pages of the Shakespeara Quarterly.

It is all too bad.

Incidantally, some members may be intsrested in knowing that virtually ths same proposal for e trial of ths idsntity of William Shakspeare that was made to ths Folgsr Librery by tha Frienda of Shakeepearean Scholarship and rejected by it was aleo made several ysare ago to a senior editor at the National Geographic Society, which would have recaived $10,500 for its educstional and ressarch sctivitiss whatever the decision of the pansl of judges. The Society in its publications, it wae pointed out, had put Shakspere of Stratford forward cstegorically ae ths indisputsble Shakespeare and had aven givan ths iniquitous Louis B. Wright (a member of ths board of the Society) a platform on which to addrese himself to tbe subject; thue it was hard to ses that the Society had any legitimate grounde on which to shun tbe challenge: aithar it belisved what it assarted, or, if it did not, owed the public a reconsidsrstion of its position. Shun the chellengs it did, however, and ths National Geographic Society is still giving its readers ths conventional view of Shakespeare with unequivocal positivsness.

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S.O.S. TENTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE TO BE HELD THIS YEAR IN BOSTON

At tha request of members who wanted an alternate site to Washington, D.C., so that conferences could be held sach year (with odd-numbered year conferencss held in Weehington), the Shakespeare Oxford Society ie making arrangemsnts for our conference this year to be held in Boston, Massachusetts. The conference site will be

Omni Parkar House
60 School Street
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A block of rooms ie being held for persons attending the Shakespeare Oxford Society Conference until September 10, 1986.

RATES:

Single	Doubls
$130	$150

Friday, October 10

7:30 PM — Dinner and eocial time

Saturday, October 11

9:30 AM to 4:00 PM — Meetings

Make your plane now! Detaila on the conference program, guest speaker, and registrstion will be announced in s separate mailing before tha hotel's September 10 deadlina.

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EDITORIAL: WILL "SHALL I DIE?" FLY?
(continued from page 1)

In the December 20, 1985 issus of tha (London) Times Literary Supplement, Gary Taylor defands his argument, emplifying on theee threa pointa. In the eame issue, there sppear rebuttals: en article by Robin Robbine and lettere by Donald W. Foster of Sants Barbara, Celifornia, and Pater Baal of London. Unlike many among the unpersuaded Stratfordiane, theee three writers do not found thsir objections on the eubjective iesue of literary quality. They persuasively argue that the attribution to Shakespeere in the Rawlinson Ms. ie meaninglese when we do not know who made it, when, or on what basis; that, pace Gary Taylor'e confident assertion, many attributions in the Rawlineon Ms. are subject to doubt (Prof. Steven W. May also made this point in connection with Rawlinson attributions to the Earl of Oxford, when Prof. May was gueet at our S.O.S. Conference last year); and that some of Taylor'e word findinge sre hardly unique to Shakespeare, being found in Spenser as well ss in the verse of other contemporaneous poete. Some of thoee word usages that do havs a "Shakespeerean" ring to them, thasa critics point out, could be accounted for on the grounds of imitation, or borrowing, especially if the date of the poem'e authorehip — like many of its fellows in tha Ms.— is in the eeventeenth century.

Helan Cyr, whose latest study of word combinations common to the Shakespeare canon and to Oxford's known verse wae published in the Spring '86 issue of The Shakespeare Newsletter (XXXVI:1, No. 189, p. 11), took care to eliminate any common word or word combination if it appeared even once in any of the concordancae ehe etudied. She thus expresses grest skepticism ovsr Taylor'e methode in this controverey, and she tends to side with Mr. Robbins'e reaeons for rejecting Taylor's ettribution.

But there is an even more compelling objection to Mr. Taylor's presentation. With hie hypothesis comes the claim "that the poem must be regarded ae preaumptively Shakespeare's, until proved otherwise." Taylor's ridar is unacceptsble. He hae fallen victim here to what historian David Hackett Fiecher cslle "the fallacy of the presumptive proof": the attempt to ehift the burden of proof for or against

a particular propoeition onto othera. As we cited Prof. Fischer in a previous iesue (Winter 1986, page 3), "The burden of proof, for any historical aeeertion, alwaye reste upon its author. Not his oritics, not his readers, not hie graduate students, not the next generation. Let us call this the rule of responeibility." It is surprising to find a Stratfordian commentator of Samuel Schoenbaum's reputation sanctioning Gary Taylor's flagrant violation of this rule.

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NEW FOWLER BOOK ON OXFORD'S LETTERS RELEASED

The Shakespeare Oxford Society was pleased to learn this eummer that longtime Society member William Plumer Fowler's twelve-year labor hae come to fruition with the publication of his book, Shakespeare Revealed in Oxford'e Lettsrs. Mr. Fowler's book consists of two volumes bound in one, and costs $35. Ws hope that S.O.S. membere will purchaee Mr. Fowler's book, which can be mailed to them if thsy will communicate with Peter Randall, Publishsr, Portsmouth NH 03801. We will be mailing further information on Shakespeare Revealed... to members in the nsar future.

We ara pleased to present below an article by William Plumer Fowler containing many intriguing interpretations of poseible word-play in Shakspeare'e plays and poems — interpretations which are, of couree, Mr. Fowlsr's own. Other views on this same subject will be publiehed in future issues of the Newsletter.

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SHAKESPEARE'S BURIED NAME EXHUMED

By William Plumer Fowler

The name Shakespeare today shines eupreme in all literature and drama. No tourist'e first trip to England ie complete without a visit to the Shakeepearean Mecca at Stratford-on-Avon. Shakspeare has been crowned ae Britain's National Poet, with an idealized buet in Westminster Abbey; and there are Shakeepeare festivals every year throughout the Englieh-speaking world. Yet how are we to reconcile all this with the poet'a expressed wish in Sonnst 72?

> My name be buried where my body is
> And livs no mora to shame nor me nor you.

Or with his worde in Sonnet 81?

> Your name from hsnce immortal life shall have,
> Though I, once gona, to all the world must die.

These statements are wholly incompatible with the univereal acclaim accorded the name Shakespeare. So it behooves us to see what can be dona to exhume his "buried" name. Ie it possible that the name "Shakespeare" is a pseudonym, and our Stratford idol a straw-man or blind?

The so-called Baconian theory of the 19th and early 20th canturies hae paseed like a murky cloud from the Shakespearean horizon, in large part dissipated by the failure of ite protagonist to reach ths heights of poetic imagerly, idealism, and honor attained by the poet Shakaspeare. We remain indebted, however, to the Baconiane for their effsctive demonstration of the total inappropriateness of the

characts r of the Stratford grain dealer and tax-sale purchaser, William Shakspere (1564 - 1616), to that expressed by the poet-dramatist Shskespeare. Tha Stratford man's parents, as well as one of his two daughtsrs, were illiterate, and he himself could berely sign hie name, ae witnsssed by his six surviving acrawly signatures (with no two alike) that are the only specimens we have of his handwriting -- in some of which he does not get beyond "Willm Shake" or "Wm Shakspe." Thsre is no evidsncs that he sver attended echool, although Stratfordians contend thst hs must have, despite his struggle to hslp his impoverished fsthsr in his businese as butcher and grain dealer, and to support a wifs and three children, sfter he was 18 yeare old. The only specimens of his idsntifiable literary compositions are in a dictated muddled deposition, in his equally confused dictated will, and in ths crude rhyme he is said to have composed for inscription on his gravestone:

Good Frend for Iesus SAKE forbeare
to diGG TE Dust Encloaaed HERe
t
Blese be TE Man Y spares TEs Stones
t
And curst be He Y movss my Bones.

Despite the appeal of this poor boy's succsss story from rags to riches and literary preeminence, ths parts just do not fit together. It is impossible to show that Shakspere evsr left England, or how, despite his native Warwickshire dialect, he was sbls, on going to London for ten years or so, to be thoroughly fsmiliar with the speech, sports, and customs of the nobility, and to be able to writs some of the most polished English verse and powerful drama extant. Nowhsre is it explained how hs could have besn carrying on a grain business and raising s family in Strstford, and at the same time writing two superlative playa a year while managing s thsater in London, 90 miles away and a three-day ride by horseback over rutted roads, or how ha gained his exact familiarity with places in Itsly. The inconsistencise of his life with that of ths writer of Shakespeare'e plays and poems are overwhelming.

All too little attention has been paid to the iconoclastic 1920 publication entitled "Shaksspeare" Identified in Edward de Vere, the Seventeenth Earl of Oxford (now in its third edition) by a British schoolmaster with ths unfortunate name of J. Thomas Looney (pronounced Lo-ney) whoes followers, however, hava been slowly but steadily growing in number. At Dartmouth College, for instance, from 1938 to 1948, Professor Louis Paul Benezet (Class of 1899), Chairman of the Education Department, gained only a handful of converte to the Oxford theory among his students, tha fsculty, and staff, and wae wholly unsuccsseful in making a dent in ths orthodox views of ths English Department. Hie two pamphlets, The Shakeepeare Hoax and Shakepere, Shakespeare and de Vere, and his excellent book, The Six Lovee of Shake-speare, sre out of print and nearly unobtainable todsy. The only copy of either pamphlst I have bean able to locate is one of Shakspere, Shakeepeare and de Vsre, owned by his Oxfordian convert, Eddis Chamberlain (Class of 1936), who has kindly provided me with a photostatic copy.

In 1928, Captain B.M. Ward published his book, Ths Seventeenth Earl of Oxford, a splendid biography of Oxford (1550 - 1604) with but the barest mention of Shakspeare, because his publisher fsared it would hurt the book's salss. J.T. Loonay, in "Shaksspeare" Identified, lists ths striking correspondsncee between Oxford's known poems and Shaksspeare's, and between Oxford's life and events in Shaksspeare's plays and poems; and Captain Ward tells of the unexplained thousand-pound annuity

paid to Oxford from ths British Exchequsr from 1586, two years before the Battla of the Armada, until Oxford'a death in 1604. Oxford, on his father's death in 1562, became England'a Great Lord Chamberlain and highest ranking earl. He was the product of a noble yet litarsry family, with two uncles who were recognized poeta and a third who waa tranalating Ovid'a Metamorphoeea at the time he was presumably tutoring Oxford, who was s precocious studant of history and tha claasics. Oxford racaived a superior education at ths School for Royal Warda, followed by three years' study of law at Gray's Inn. Oxford, beaidss receiving his education from outstanding tutors, waa matriculated st Cambridga University at the early age of 8, and was awarded an M.A. degree from Cambridge st 14, and a eimilar degres from Oxford University st age 16. He sarved in 1569 ss aida to Sussex in ths military expedition to auppress the rebellion in ths north of England snd into Scotland; and, in 1585, he for two monthe commanded the Britiah Horse oppoeing Spain in ths Netherlanda. He fitted and commanded his own ship to oppose tha Spaniah Armada in 1588. Oxford spent sixteen months in foreign travel, including vieits to tha French Court, to the Rector of Straebourg University in Germany (where he picked up a spattering of German, though communicating with hia host in Latin) snd epent the bulk of hia time in Italy, with poasibly a short vieit to Egypt. At ona time he maintained thres troupes of actore as well ss a school for poets and dramatists. He wae in touch with all affairs of stata sa well as with foreign courta. Starting in 1593, Oxford appears to hava uaed the pseudonym William Shakaspeare, or Shake-speare, which name haa been confuaed with that of the fourtaen yesrs' youngar Globa Thestre worker, William Shakapere of Stratford.

Mr. Looney demonstratas inter alia how Oxford in hia "Echo Veraea" (the Rosetta Stone of the Oxford theory) plsye on his own name, snd motto "Varo ninil verius" ("Nothing TRUEr than TRUTH") in a poem eigned "The Earle of Oxforde," here quoted in part:

> Sitting slone upon my thougnt in melancholy mood,
> In eignt of ssa, snd st my back an sncient hoary wood,
> I saw a fsir young lady come, her secret feare to wail,
> Clsd all in colour of a nun, snd coVEREd with s veil;
>
> ....
>
> From sighs and ahedding amber tears into sweet eong shs brake,
> And thus the acho answered her to EVERy word sha apake:
>
> O hesvans! who wae the first that bred in me this fever?* Vere.
> Who waa the first that gave the wound whosa fsar I wear for evar?* Vere.
> Whst tyrant, Cupid, to my harm usurps thy golden quiver?* Vsre.
>
> ....
>
> And I, that knaw this lady well,
> Said, Lord how graat a miracle,
> To hesr how Echo told the TRUTH,
> As TRUE as Phoebus' oracle.

Of the 50-odd surviving poems idantifiable sa written by ths Earl of Oxford

*In the Rawlinson Ms., these worda are apelled "fsvsre, avare, quivere, delivera."

before he was 26 yeara old, this poem ie one of tha seventeen eigned either ss "Tha Earle of Oxforde" (1), "Earle of Oxenfords" (4), "E. of Ox." (2), E. Ox." (1), E.O." (6), or "Ver" (1). It sppeare that the Earl of Oxford used both "E.O." snd E.VER (as well ss NE.VER — s syncopation of his childhood nickname of "Ned" Vere) aa cachets or cluea for his name, which accounta for so many chsracters in Shakespeare's plays with names ending with tha pronunoietion "eo," although most often apelled "io," aa Benvolio, Malvolio, Horatio, Antonio, Dromio, Mercutio, etc. Thus, in the early play Romeo and Juliet, thia master of multiple meaning goes so far aa to sign his "eo" cachat at the vary end of tha play (V,3,309) when tha Prince (giving a positive twist to his negative stetement) summarizes:

> For NEVER was a story of more woe
> Than thia of Juliet and her Romeo.

This woeful "story" is backed up in the last scene of Hamlet (V,2,350) in Hamlet'a dying worde to Horatio:

> Horatio, I am dead.
> Thou liv'st. Report me and my ceuee eright
> to the unsatiafied;

and (V,2,355),

> O good Horatio, what a wounded name,
> Things stending thus unknown, ehall liva behind me!
> If thou didst EVER hold me in thy heart,
> Abaent thee from felicity a while,
> And in this harsh world draw thy breath in pain
> To tell my story.

That is, e "story" of more woe "than this of Julist and her Romeo."

This thesis ia developed still mors adroitly in four of Shakespeare's eonneta, starting with the seventy-third, a sonnet of great intrinsic beauty:

Sonnet 73

> That time of year thou mayst in me behold
> When yellow leavee, or none, or few, do hang
> Upon those bougha which shake against the cold,
> Bare ruin'd ohoirs, where late the sweet birds sang.
> In me thou see'st the twighlight of auch day
> As after sunaet fadeth in the west;
> Which by and by black night doth take away,
> Death'e second self, that seals up ell in rast.
> In me thou see'st the glowing of such fire,
> That on the ashes of hia youth doth lis,
> As the death-bed whereon it must expire,
> Consum'd with that which it was nourish'd by.
> This thou perceiv'st, which makas thy love more strong,
> To love that well which thou must leave sre long.

Nots that the csrefully concealed "E.Vere" in the final line'e "leave ere" aleo gives the answer to the riddle propounded in the first quatrain es to what time of yeer is beholden in the aging poet, viz., winter, in French, "l'hiver," with its aepirate "h" and pronounced like the poet'e cechet, "E.Ver"; and including in two tonguse both the time of year perceived and the poet's name. While the after-sunset "twilight" in line 5 supplies the first syllable of "E.Ver" in eve, for evening; snd the "glowing" referred to in ths third quatrain suppliee in its Latin, "fervere," the laet syllable of "E.Ver." It ie to be noted that Oxford was fluent in the three languages involved in this triple and trilingual wordplay: English, French, and Latin.

This eonnet is followed immediately by its companion sonnst, Sonnet 74, which eucceeds it both in the 1609 Quarto edition and in prsoticelly ell other rearrangements of the sonnets, in light of the two eonnets' doubls rhyme-link: west-rest and srrest-interest and day-away and away-etey. The "E.Ver" conceeled in "lesve ere" of the last line of Sonnet 73 serves es an introduction to ths ensuing:

Sonnet 74

But be contented: when that fell errest
Without sll beil ehall cerry me away,
My lifs hath in this line some intsrest,
Which for memorial with thee shall etay.
When thou reviewest this, thou dost review
The VERy part wae consecrete to thee:
The earth can have but earth, which is his due;
My spirit is thine, the better part of me.
So then thou hast but lost the dregs of life,
The prey of worms, my body being dead;
The coward conquest of a wretch's knife,
Too base of thee to be remembered.
The worth of that is that which it contains,
And that is this, and this with thee remaine.

This is a no lees adroit riddle, with the fourth line'e "memorial" (referred to in line 3 as "in this line") being found in the word "review" in the ensuing line 5. This word, when reviewed or read backworde, givee E.Ver'e last name, "Ver," as his memorial, joined to one for Southampton ae we pronounce the last syllable, "iew," like the H. UU. of Southampton'e initiale (for Henry Wriotheeley*) st s time befors the eeparate letter "W" had evolved.

Moreover, the word "review," when re-viewed or read backwards, produces ths statement addreesed to Southampton, "We I (Roman numeral ons) Vsr," indicative of the hidden biological relationship between Oxford and his firet-born (though unacknowledged) son.**

The eonnet's reference to "The coward conqueet of e wretch's knife," ie to Oxford'e poseible lameness from a bad wound received in a duel with Sir Thomas Knyvet, e member of the Howard faction.

The "Echo Vsrsee" clearly establish Oxford'e habit of playing on the "Ver" in his name, Edward de Vere or E.Ver, and thus, in Sonnet 76, ths third of the sonnets, he actually gives eway the eecret:

*pronounced "Rose-lis" (Fr.) or "Rose-lily."
**Not all Oxfordians, of course, subscribe to this hypothesie. [Editor.]

Sonnet 76

Why is my verse so barren of new prids,
So far from variation or quick change?
Why with ths time do I not glancs aside
To new-found methods and to compounds strangs?
Why write I still all one, EVER the same
And kssp invention in a noted weed,
That EVERy word doth almost tell my name,
Showing their birth and where they did procsed?
O, know, sweet love, I always write of you,
And you and lovs are still my argument;
So all my best is dressing old words new,
Spending again what is already spent;
For ss the sun is daily new and old,
So is my love still tslling what is told.

And so, near ths snd of Love's Labour's Lost (V,2,893) we find the introduction to ths concluding "Song of Spring":

VER, begin.

Even more notably in Hamlet (1,2,160 & 163) when, on Hamlet's greeting the newly-arrived Horatio with

I am glad to see you well.
Horatio — or do I forget myself;

Horatio replies,

Ths same, my lord, and your poor servant EVER.

To which Hamlet (speaking for ths dramatist and referring to his cachet, "E.Ver") aptly retorts,

Sir, my good friend — I'll changs that name with you.

This uss of the cachet is further sstablished in another scene from Hamlet (I, 5,189) where Hamlet, daveloping Jacques's urge expressed in As You Like It to "Cleanse the foul body of the infected world," laments,

The time is out of joint: O cursèd spite
That EVER I was born to set it right!

Whereas, in Ths Wintsr's Tale* (IV,3,50) Autolycus (Oxford's comic doubla) exclaims,

O that EVER I was born!

to which the Clown, the Old Shepherd's son, (as William of Stratford) chimes in truthfully,

*(Fr.) "Le Conte d'Hivsr" or "Ths Story of E.Ver."

I' the name of me.

In Sir Denys Bray's The Original Order of Shakespeare'a Sonnsts, the laat-quoted Sonnet 76 (Brey's 93) ia followed immediately by the forceful Sonnet 123 (Bray's 94) in view of the two rhymea occurring identically in both to form an unquestionable link: change-strange and old-told.

Sonnet 123

No, Time, thou shalt not boast that I do change!
Thy pyramids built up with newer might
To me are nothing novel, nothing strange;
They are but dressinga of a former sight.
Our dates ars brief, and therefore we admire
What thou dost foist upon us that is old;
And rsther make them born to our desire
Than think that we before have heard them told.
Thy registsrs and thee I both defy,
Not wondering at the present nor the past,
For thy recórda and what we aee do lie,
Made more or less by thy continual hasts,
This I do vow, and this shall EVER be:
I will be TRUE, despite thy ecythe and thee.

This terminal couplet is reinforced in Twelfth Night (IV,3,32) where Sebastian, invited by the Priest to go off to be married to Lady Olivia (who haa mistaken Sebestian for "Cesario" -- really Sebestian'a disguised twin sister, Viola) raplies,

I'll follow thia good man, and go with you,
And, having sworn TRUTH, EVER will be TRUE.

Theae references reflect Oxford's Latin motto, "Vero nihil verius," with its English traneletion of "Nothing TRUEr than TRUTH."

The foregoing sre only a few of the many instances througbout Shakespeare's sonnets, plays, and poems, of Oxford'a concealed name clues, inserted as opportunity offered and diecoverable by the careful and thoughtful reader. Thue, with e little digging, we have besn abls to exhume Shakespeare's "buried" name, that is, ths bard's true name, Edward de Vere, the Seventeenth Earl of Oxford, who signed nearly fifty of his lstters with ths name Edward Oxford, or Edward Oxenford, and whose initials, "E.O.," ere ths aame es those for the Earl(e) of Oxford(e). His given name, Edward de Vere, ia reflected in the cachsta E.VER or NE(d)VER (Ned being the only nickname for Edward in Shakeepeere'a works). We now begin to see that Henry James was not too far from the truth when he wrote of being "sort of haunted by the conviction that the divine William [of Stratford] is the biggest end most succeesful fraud ever practised on a patient world."

- - -

IN MEMORIAM

We regrst to announce the death of ROSE FEINSTONE, widow of noted philanthropist Sol Feinstone, on July 24. Mrs. Feinstone was a warm supporter of her husband'e many charitable and educational activities, which included -- in eddition to the Oxfordian theory (for the furtherance of which Sol Feinstone made many generous contributions to the Shakeepeare Oxford Society) -- endowments of schoole and college libraries throughout the United States, and the David Library of the American Revolution, located at the Feinstones' home in Washington Crossing, Penneylvenia.

Upon Sol Feinstone'e death in 1980 (reported in the S.O.S. Newsletter, Fall 1980), the directorehip and presidency of the David Library paseed to his eon, the noted actor Ezra Stone. The Shakespeare Oxford Society extends to Mr. Stons our deepest eympathy for his (and our) loss.

- - -

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The Shakespeare Oxford Society

NEWSLETTER
FALL, 1986
VOL. 22, NO. 4

105 West 4th Street, Suite #819, Cincinnati, Ohio 45202

DEDICATION

(Paraphrased without celestial consent from the dedication to the Earl of Southampton in Venus and Adonis.)

Right Honourables Helen and Gordon Cyr:

I know not how I shall offend in dedicating this edition of the Shakespeare/Oxford Newsletter to your Lord and Ladyships. Nor how anti-Stratfordians will censure you for choosing so weak a prop to perpetuate your faithful and masterly contributions. Only if your Honours are ultimately pleased will I account myself successful and vow to take advantage of all idle hours till I have approximated the high standards your long-time labors have established. And if the first issue of my editorship proves inept, I am resolved to make its successors worthy of their parents. I leave it to your honourable survey, which I wish may always answer your own wishes and the hopeful expectations of all Oxfordians.

Your Honours in all verity,

Morse Johnson

* * * * * *

MINUTES OF THE 10TH ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF THE SHAKESPEARE OXFORD SOCIETY IN BOSTON ON OCTOBER 10 AND 11, 1986

The Omni Parker House in downtown Boston was the site for the 10th Annual Conference of the Shakespeare Oxford Society October 10 and 11, A dinner planned for early arrivals at the conference the evening before the main events was somewhat marred by the loud music (live) near our party's table, but acquaintances were made and lively conversations took place despite the decibels.

The Saturday morning sessions began with a business meeting chaired by S.O.S. Executive Vice-President Gordon Cyr (Helen Cyr was obliged to be absent, owing to the press of other business). Thanks were extended to Elizabeth Sears of Killington, Vermont for her assistance in coordinating the conference. The reasons for meeting in Boston were briefly discussed: members expressing their desire at last year's conference for staggering the meetings every other year with members from other areas acting as conference chairpersons. There was also a Treasurer's Report from Phillip Proulx and a reminder that the Society had microfilms of the complete series of Newsletters from 1966 - 1985 for sale at $8.50 including postage.

An important development had taken place prior to the conference. A communication from Boston Book Annex to the Society noted that our conference was being held in Boston and calling our attention to the fact that they had an archive of materials from the collection of Charles Wisner Barrell for sale, including research notes,

correspondence, photographs, pamphlets, as well as many books long out of print. The store had catalogued all this material and made up a nine-page list, which was photocopied and handed out to conference participants. The Society is not interested in the whole collection, but a good portion of it should prove valuable. Cyr and Morse Johnson looked at the collection preceding Saturday's events, and checked off some items which the Society is interested in purchasing. Members were invited to submit their requests for items and were promised that the Society would try to accomodate them consistent with the S.O.S. priorities of preserving the archives.

Lord Charles Vere's visit to the United States was discussed, along with his discovery that the Shakespearean Authorship Trust in England is apparently defunct, and that Lord Vere wishes to start a chapter of the Society at Oxford. Lord Vere is a direct descendant of the 15th earl of Oxford through Horace Vere and the 19th and 20th earls (not a direct descendant of the 17th earl, whose son Henry, the 18th earl, died without a male heir).

An announcement that Morse Johnson would be the new editor of the Newsletter was made.

After a short coffee break, Morse Johnson gave a short talk about his correspondence with Stratfordians, and his often futile efforts to call them to account for their mistakes uttered in the public prints. Morse had unsuccessfully attempted to get an article published by The American Scholar, but his submission was rejected two days prior to the conference. After his talk, several members made valuable suggestions for publicizing our conferences in advance, which were noted with appreciation by the Executive Vice-President.

Cyr then talked about his and Helen Cyr's attendance at the Shakespeare Association Conference in Montreal last March and reported on many interesting contributions by scholars outside of the field of Shakespearean commentary, unencumbered by the often blinkered perspective so familiar to us anti-Stratfordians. He then passed on some cautionary words from Helen Cyr on what to look for in word studies and what traps to avoid. He read off two sets of quotations from works in the Elizabethan period, and said, "If we were to stop there, the Marlovian authorship theory would be proved. Because the first of each pair of quotations was from a play of Marlowe and the second from Shakespeare." But, he said, it was important not to stop there, and to look - not for mere echoes, but for mannerisms peculiar to an author. He emphasized that the importance of Helen Cyr's study was that she found in such a tiny sample of certifiable Oxford verse so many word clusters only found in Shakespeare, and that what appeared in Louis Marder's The Shakespeare Newsletter publication of her article (Spring 1986, copies of which were handed out to the audience beforehand) represented a cut-down version of her original findings, for reasons of space. Don't be fooled by borrowings, Cyr said, because writers cribbed from each other all the time in the Tudor era, as could be seen when they peruse the new book the Shakespeare Oxford Society is about to issue:

THE SHAKESPEARE IDENTITY CRISIS - A Reference Guide is Helen Cyr's latest labor of Shakespearean scholarship. The Executive Vice-President handed out

portions of the typescript copies for the audience's viewing. He stated that the book is designed for the lay person to show the weaknesses of the Stratfordian case. No candidate is mentioned, and most of the sources for the book are from Stratfordians. Only facts are presented, he said, and in such a way that the case is condemned from the Stratfordians' own mouths. One of the largest sections of the book is the part called "Doubt-Raising Evidence - Inconsistencies, Inaccuracies, and other Cruxes." And the smallest section - one-half page, in fact - is, as one might expect, the section entitled "Evidence Connecting the Actor with the Author - Is There Any?" Cyr then read from one of the Appendices: "The Status of Playwriting...and the 'Batillus'," which discussed the economics, the low status of writers, use of pen-names, concealed authorship, and many other aspects of literary life which show that concealment of authorship and the use of "fronts" for authorship not only could be carried out very easily in those days, but was indeed a commonplace. The book will be for sale shortly and the price announced in a future Newsletter.

After lunch, Charles Boyle presented a portion of the slide show he presents to his colleagues in the theater: A dramatic presentation of the fascinating story of Edward de Vere and his relationship to Elizaheth, Lord Burleigh, and the Shakespearean drama. Several slides Mr. Boyle is preparing were not ready for presentation at the conference. But those that were made, along with Mr. Boyle's lively accompanying talk, a powerful and exciting presentation.

The main event of the day took place next: an appearance by William Plumer Fowler of New Hampshire, who attended a Shakespeare Oxford Society conference for the first time since his presence at the Society's first meeting in 1976, following the death of our former president, Richard C. Horne, Jr. Mr. Fowler, in defiance of his 86 years, gave an animated discussion of his new book, Shakespeare Revealed in Oxford's Letters, and of the twelve years he has spent in pursuit of the Oxfordian cause and in writing his book. Afterward, Mr. Fowler gave very interesting and articulate answers to many questions from the audience, and a warm tribute was extended to him by Robert O'Brien.

The conference concluded with a recital of Elizabethan music and song by tenor John Fleagle, whose presentation was graced by an informed discussion of such pieces as The Earl of Oxford's March (anonymous, attributed to William Byrd). O Mistress Mine, Greenleaves, and songs by Thomas Campion, John Dowland, etc. It was a very musicianly performance, the songs sung in a warm clear tenor, with excellent diction and skillful lute accompaniments, the instrumental compositions performed with verve and precision. The conference thus adjourned on a festive note.

Gordon Cyr

* * * * * *

THE EARLE OF OXFORDS MARCHE
Ross W. Duffin, Associate Professor of Music
Western Reserve University

The Earle of Oxfords Marche is almost certainly by William Byrd (1543-1623). It appears, under that title, in the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book, the famous keyboard manuscript copied 1609-1619 by Francis Tregian. The ascription by Byrd is supported by the earliest surviving appearance of the music in a manuscript now known as My Ladye Nevells Booke (1591). There, it is inserted before the famous programmatic work, The Battell, and bears the title The Marche before the Battell. All other works in that manuscript are by Byrd, and it even seems to have been prepared under his editorship.

This march appears in other sources as well, including Thomas Morley's First Booke of Consort Lessons (1599), where it is entitled My Lord of Oxenfords Maske. What is interesting about this version to me is that the "Morley Consort" or "broken consort" for which the collection is arranged, figures prominently in theatrical productions of the time.

The only reference I know to a Galliard for the Earl is in Antony Munday's The Banquet of daintie Conceyts (1588), in which ditties are provided to 22 tunes, including the Earle of Oxenfords Marche and the Earle of Oxenfords Galliard. Many of the tunes named there are known today and a good number of those appear in the broken consort repertoire, either in Morley's collection or in one of the other mixed consort collections edited in Musica Britannica, Vol. 40. Unfortunately, there seems to be no Galliard in those volumes which relates musically to the Earls's March. Nor is there one among the keyboard works of Byrd as a companion to the keyboard March. The most likely candidate, I thought initially, was Byrd's The Galliard for the Victorie which was added to The Battell at the same time as The Marche mentioned above. This piece, however, does not fit the verses given by Munday for the tune of the Earl's Galliard. Perhaps the most interesting bit of knowledge to be derived from Munday's Banquet is the fact that the tune of the March was current before the earliest surviving source of Byrd's keyboard version, and that it was already associated with the Earl of Oxford in spite of Byrd's (or his copyist) first title.

This, of course, re-opens the question of the authorship of the music which may or may not be by Edward de Vere. As John Farmer says in dedicating to Oxford his First Set of English Madrigals (1599), "...for without flattrie be it spoke, those that know your lordship know this, that using this science [music] as a recreation, your Lordship have overgone most of them that make it a profession." Personally, I suspect some relationship between the Earl and William Byrd since their names keep cropping up together. There's The Marche and if women could be fair (to a text by de Vere, 1588). There is also Byrd's lease (ca.1574) of Battails Hall in Essex, a transaction which ended badly for Byrd in 1582. Byrd's Essex connections were strong throughout his life as were his ties to the recusant community, particularly the group led by the Petre family. He was also a prominent figure in the Chapel Royal from 1570 to ca. 1592, and still in evidence there from 1592 to his death in 1623. It would be interesting to know if there are other ties between these two great masters of England's golden age.

* * * * * *

> "I heard a great peer of this realm and a learned say, when he lived, there was no King in Christendom had such a subject as Oxford (which) hath continued ever since in the remarkable sirname of deVere, by so many ages, descents and generations as no other kingdom can produce such a peer in one and the self same name. . . " (Lord Chief Justice Randolph Crews in 1626)

A new and worthy champion of the cause of Edward deVere as the poet-dramatist Shakespeare has entered upon the scene. He is Lord Charles Vere, a 21 year old descendant of the 15th Earl of Oxford and of Edward's cousin Horace--or Horatio--Vere, a descendant also of the 19th & 20th-- and last--Earls of Oxford and grandson of the present 13th Duke of St. Albans, whose title he is in line to inherit through his father, the Earl of Burford. Hamlet--surely the dramatist's self,--as he

faces death in anguish lest "a wounded name./ Things standing thus unknown, shall live behind me," implores Horatio "to report me and my cause aright/ To the unsatisfied." The real-life Horatio's heir is resolved to carry out the injunction laid upon his ancestor and, we are gratified to report, appears to be uncommonly well-qualified to do so.

Lord Vere came to our knowledge through letters he wrote to Charlton Ogburn in which Ogburn was "increasingly impressed by his correspondent's maturity, keen intelligence, facility in expression and knowledge of our field of common interest." Before matriculating to Oxford, he made his first trip to the United States and visisted the Ogburns from the 2nd to the 5th of September. Charlton writes that Charles turned out to be a good-looking, blond, grey-eyed, trim and well-built young man of about five feet eleven. This was probably, he adds, "the first time in history that the South Carolina town named after the 2nd Duke of Beaufort had provided a first introduction to North America. The talk about the Earl of Oxford and plans for dealing with what his supporters are up against did not flag, while the air-conditioning permitted a small cocktail party. His Lordship, moreover, did have a swim in the ocean, the road to the beach leading through the village of Frogmore, where a campaign to change the name to one more genteel-sounding has been at least arrested by the disclosure that the original Frogmore not only is the site of the royal mausoleum but is mentioned three times by Shakespeare, in The Merry Wives of Windsor. As Vera [Charlton's wife] observed, however, Beaufort served its unique guest principally as Williamsburg does visiting foreign statesmen, as a respite between jet flight and the strenuous activities ahead."

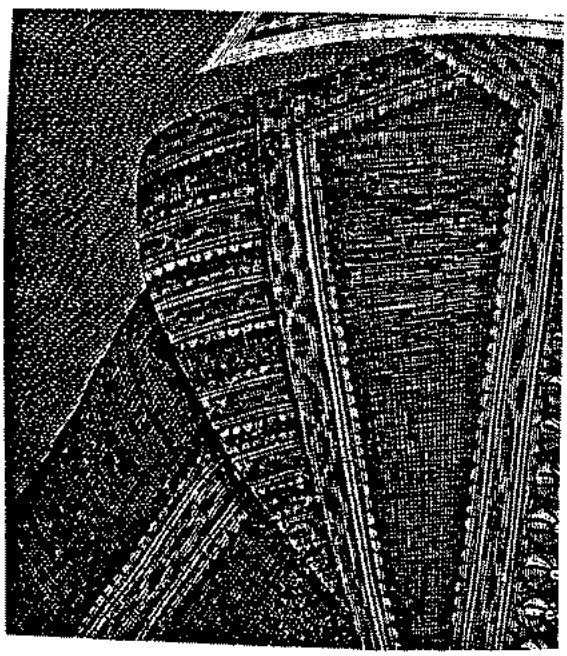
After leaving the Ogburns, Lord Vere visited the esteemed Oxfordians Ruth and Minos Miller at their home in Jennings, Louisiana where he was the guest of honor at a number of festive receptions and gave several media interviews. The Millers also had a highly favorable impression of him. They requested that this Newsletter contain a report that Lord Vere is helping to finance the deVere Society at Oxford by the sale of "most attractive" silk screen prints of Castle Hedingham for $250 each (post paid). He left some with them and 15 are still on hand. Orders can be sent to Judge Minos Miller, P. O. Drawer 1309, Jennings,La. 70546

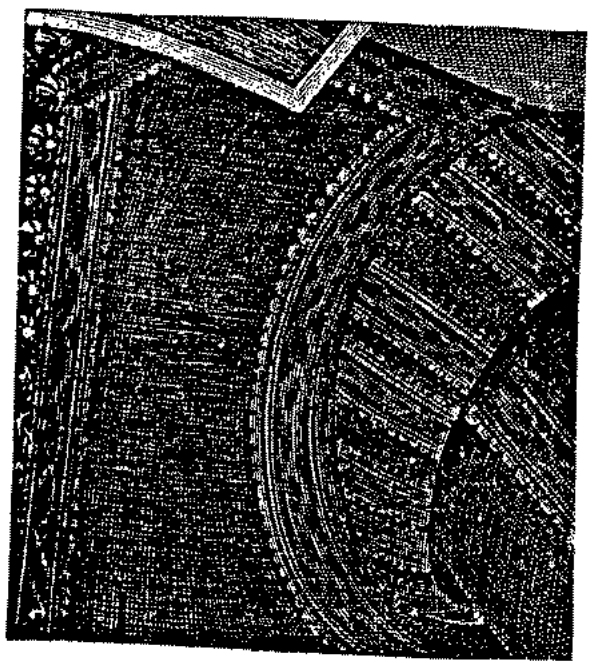
David Lloyd Kreeger, a singularly potent advocate and sharer of our purposes, who with warrant, was introduced to the Prince and Princess of Wales as "Mr. Arts and Culture in Washington" (See page 9), had been looking forward to meeting Lord Vere. So had Roger A. Caras, a prolific author and commentator high up in ABC-TV, who had undertaken to lay on for him a constellation of intellectural liminaries at East Hampton, Long Island. His Lordship reciprocated their interest in these meetings, but unfortunately they had to be put off till a later occasion since circumstances forced him, to the general regret, to cut short his trip.

From Hartford College Lord Vere has written that he is proceeding with his plan to set up a deVere Society at Oxford to pursue the matter of the Shakespearean authorship and is having posters prepared for the purpose. He has given Ogburn very great pleasure by promising to have copies of the full-page advertisement for The Mysterious William Shakespeare in the New York Times Book Review on the noticeboard of every Oxford college and reporting that Blackwell's bookshop of Oxford has agreed to display the ad and to order a preliminary ten copies of the book, which would be the first to go on sale abroad.

* * * * * *

FRONTISPIECE OF THE FIRST FOLIO (1623)
ENGRAVING BY MARTIN DROESHOUT





"(The tunic) is so strangely illustrated that the right-hand-side of the fore-part is obviously the left-hand side of the back part and so gives a harlequin appearance to the figure which it is not unnatural to suppose was intentional, and done with the express object and purpose." ("Gentlemen's Tailor," London 1911)

". . . to my fellows John Hemynges, Richard Burbage and Henry Condell xxvi$\underline{s}$, viii$\underline{d}$, apiece to buy them rings."

(Charlton Ogburn recently received a lengthy letter from Robert Detobel of Frankfurt/Main, West Germany, an ardent and most erudite Oxfordian. He set forth a number of interesting and significant deductions, some supplement familiar ones but others, as far as I know, are original. Herewith an example of each but first his appraisal of his command of English.)

I would like to apologize for some mistakes which may appear in this letter: English is not a language in which I often write. In fact, I am a one-horsed rider in it, a zealous, sometimes frenetic reader, who, however, seldom writes or speaks English. Nevertheless, the stock I have gained from reading should suffice to make clear what I mean.

I am enclined to grant a little bit more credit to Mr. Honigman's [an English Stratfordian] objection to the "backwater" argument. If it is true that Stratford was a backwater and offered a very adverse climate for the flourishing of culture, especially poetic talents, Dr. Honigan's pointing to Quineys, Sturleys etc. is in itself right. But to me the most remarkable and the most striking consequence of that objection is that in stretching it a little bit more it sweeps away one of the centerpieces of Stratfordian opposition to any other candidate for the Shakespearean works. Of course, there were in and about Stratford some people with a solid cultural background. Now, Stratfordians are used to get rid of any other candidate by arguing that this presupposes a cover-up on such a scale that we have to discard it absolutely. In other words: it is against the very human reason to rely on such a cover-up: too many propitious conditions had to be fulfilled; none of the initiated persons had in any thinkable way broken his silence. Now, this $\underline{\text{must}}$ have been the case if one wants to maintain the candidature of the man from Stratford. Then though Shakespeare of Stratford had published his works under his own name, nobody, even not the literate men, among them those whom Honigman cites in favour of his refuting the backwater argument. Quiney and Sturley were at some time Shakespeare's partners. Richard Field, printer of "Venus and Adonis" was born in Stratford and must have had contacts to his relatives in Stratford. William Combe, another intimate business partner, held readings at the Middle Temple; another Combe, Thomas (?), visited the Middle Temple; Shakespeare's cousin, Thomas Greene, also. Not to speak of Dr. Hall, the son-in-law, or Shakespeare's daughter, or his granddaughter, Lady Bernard. All remained mute about the great poet to whom they had intimate relations and whose works appeared in London without any secrecy, in plain openess; and nevertheless each reference of them to the great poet is missing. They all kept silence. One of the most silliest arguments of Stratfordians to explain this away is that Shakespeare had plenty of reasons not to speak of his work in an environment as hostile to the theater as Stratford was. But why then did Shakespeare retire to Stratford just at the moment, at the very moment his plays began to appear under his name in London? Why should William Combe, Thomas Combe, Thomas Greene have remained mute on the author, of whom a work was for the first time played at the Middle Temple? We know with certitude that Combes, Greene, Quiney and others were regularly in London. It is inconceivable that none of them should never have heard anything about a great playwright called Shakespeare. And they knew Shakespeare of Stratford very well. This "cover-up"

is far more formidable than the cover-up Stratfordians are unable to conceive of. And what about the missing of any allusion in literary circles in London at the time of Shakespeare's death? A good many epitaphs for Ben Jonson exist, epitaphs which are directly referring to his decease, not simply his death. Nothing comparable exists with respect to Shakespeare though Burbage, Hemmings and Condell - at least these three - must have been informed, Shakespeare having bequeathed them a small sum of money as it was the tradition among "fellows", "associated players", a nearly sacred tradition which Shakespeare had forgotten in the first draft of his will (as he had forgotten that he could write).

I pick up this remark in order to come to what I consider to be perhaps the greatest flaw in Shakespeare's will. In his book "The Profession of Player in Shakespeare's Time, 1590-1642" (Princeton 1983! 1984?) Prof. Gerald Eades Bentley writes:

> "Throughout the period the ranking players in the adult companies were the sharers, so called because their remuneration was not a weekly wage, as in the case of hired men, or valuable training as in the case of the apprentices, but a share in the receipts for each performance by the company. Other terms for the same status were in common use: 'patented member' because only the sharers were named in the royal patents for the companies; 'fellow' in the first sense given in the Oxford English Dictionary, 'one who shares with another in a possession, official dignity, at the performance of any work: a partner, a colleague, or co-worker. 'Fellow' is the term commonly used by the leading players in referring to each other. Shakespeare's usage in his will was characteristic " (p. 25).

Well, I think it was not so characteristic!

First: According to Prof. Bentley, the terms "patented member", "sharers". "fellows" refer to a status which was perhaps not legally fixed as in our time but which had the same juridical character. The terms "fellow" cannot be merely understood as "friend"; in connexion with players it ought to be understood as possessor of a share, more precisely: as present, actually - not formerly - possessiong a share.
I.e.: where these terms appear in a legal document, they must be understood formally and strictly. If the term "fellow" is used in a will, it ought to be understood as an equivalent of: "patented member", "sharer" - just like e.g. a member of the American Board of Governors (FED) can speak of his colleagues,.while a former member can only speak of his former colleagues when giving a comment on the economic policy. I hope I've made clear what I mean.

Secondly: Such a share consisted in two parts: fixed capital and current, circulating capital in some way. The sharers had to pay a certain sum; in return they became owner of part of the company's stock: books, costumes, daggers, etc. The current part was a share in the receipts.
This share was hereditable (see the case Thomasina Oystler vs. John Hemmings (Hemynge)): there are other examples.
The sharer could also part with his share; he had then to be paid a certain sum (examples of suits concerning the exact amount exist and can be found in Bentley's book). He was then no longer a sharer/patented member/ fellow.

I could give examples, but I prefer to quote G. E. Bentley who is rather an orthodox (but palpably besieged with doubts). "It was customary for this financial stake of a sharer in the company to be recognized as a part of his estate, and a payment was supposed to be made to him when he left the company or to his wife at his death." p. 32-33
But the shares could also be passed on the legal heirs.

Thirdly: It was also the custom between players to bequeath to the colleagues - "fellows" as well as non-sharers - to buy a ring or some other piece in remembrance of the deceased. Such a clause can be found in nearly each preserved will of a player: Hemings, Condell, Tooley, etc.
Just like we find in Shakespeare's will.
It is now possible to formulate the following rules:

1. We can normally expect in the will of a player - be he a sharer or not - a clause by which he bequeaths a small sum to his colleagues.
2. If that player is still a sharer at the moment of testating he will mention other sharers as fellows, non-sharers otherwise.
   Conversely: If no longer a sharer he will not speak of his colleagues as "fellows.
3. The using of the term "fellows" implies that the player is still a sharer. And this implicates necessarily that we must find in the will some clause providing for what should happen with the shares.
   Examples(all taken from Bentley's "Jacobean Stage" and Caroline Stage, Vol. II, p. 631 et seq., Oxford 1941):

a. Thomas Basse:
   "unto his loving friends Christopher Beeston...Richard Perkins...Michael Bower and William Beeston... to each of them a Ring of the value of tenn shillings a peece to weare in remembrance of him.
   Year 1634. Basse was not a sharer. Beestons were. No question of shares. No question of fellows.

. . .

(Subsequent omissions designated by . . . are all additional examples)

c. Richard Benfield
   "And my intent is that the sums of money so bequeathed to my said friends (i.e., 40 shillings) Robert Woodford, Ehardt Swanson Thomas Pollard ... John Shancke, Edward Goodale...shall buy them several rings to wear for my sake." John Shanck was a sharer. Benfield was not. Goodale at any rate a player. The term is "friend", not "fellow". Benfield was not a sharer. No mention made of shares.

. . .

f. Henry Condell
   Bentley gives only a summary, wherein no shares are mentioned. No fellows either. But elsewhere Bentley states (in his short biographies of players) that Henry Condell was no longer a sharer in the last period of his life. So the logic holds. Condell's will corroborates the three rules.

. . .

h. John Honyman
   I give and bequeath the one half of moyety of all my goods, whether ready money debts apparel bookes or what somes shall grow due unto me from and amongst my fellows the Players or any other thing whatsoever equally to be divided by my dear and loving mother...Item I give to every one of my fellows the Players a Ringe of tenn shillings price...A sharer, a fellow, shares mentioned, rings.

. . .

So I think the three rules very fairly corroborate: Sharer = fellow, "fellow" is strictly reserved for such players who are still sharers (Condell was not since some date after 1619 or rather: no longer). Further: if mention of "fellow", there is also mention of "shares" and vice versa. In most cases the custom of bequeathing some money for purchasing remembrance rings is observed; John Shank is one exception, the sole I could discover in Bentley's list. But he seems to have lived in anger with his fellows (his repeated reference they shouldn't try to deceive his wife).
Only Shakespeare's will doesn't comply with this regular pattern: he called Burbage, Hemings, Condell his "fellows", but there is no trace of what happened with his shares. Chambers thought, he parted with them, but then he was no longer "fellow". As the rule was strictly followed, some error was made.
Of course: the standard clause was inserted, written afterwards between the lines. As part of the cover-up. To make the clerk introduce a clause by which Sh. bequeathed a small some of money to his "fellows" was certainly no great problem in Stratford, but to make additional provisions for things as shares which Shakespeare possessed no longer (and I think he never possessed) was too delicate. So, in comparison with other player wills, the difference appears; the cover-up could not be rounded up to perfection. There is a flaw in the usage of the term "fellows". It is, contrary to Prof. Bentley's statement, not characteristic. Characteristic is the simultaneous presence of "fellows" and "share dispositions".

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"Mr. Kreeger is more likely to pull it off
than most people."

FROM THE WASHINGTON TIMES (11/4/86)

Cultural pooh-bah David Lloyd Kreeger - the wizard who makes things happen when others cease to try - is about to unveil his latest, greatest feat as arts patron. Under his aegis, The Washington Opera will stage, on Saturday, Nov. 15, the world premiere of Gian Carlo Menotti's "Goya," starring the world renowned tenor Placido Domingo.

. . .

When the "Goya" hoopla is over, Mr. Kreeger will move on to his next, far more personal, project: sponsorship of a spring debate on "Who is Shakespeare?" at American University Law School, with either U.S. Supreme Court justices or federal appeals court judges deciding the best argument.

He believes, after much study, that an English nobleman named Edward DeVere wrote all that glorious poetry and drama. He says there is no question that he is right, and he hopes to have his opinion verified in a public tribunal.

As a member of the university's board of trustees, he has had no problem arranging the site. A spokesman for the Supreme Court says that while it would be extremely unlikely that all the justices would agree to take part, individually they sit on moot courts from time to time. But "Mr. Kreeger is more likely to pull it off than most people," she notes.

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READER'S DIGEST ARTICLE (10/86) BY LEO ROSTEN-"THE SHAKESPEARE NOBODY KNOWS"- IMPELLED CHARLTON OGBURN TO WRITE SENIOR EDITOR DAN O'KEEFE

Dear Dan:

. . .

What makes me boil over is the denigration of the greatest writer we have ever had, a conscious artist in the highest sense, a magician with words, one of the most finely educated and cultivated minds of his time. You have given him to the public as little better than a dim-witted yokel. I consider this monstrous.

"He did not have the slightest sense of his own greatness, or the faintest inkling of having already reached a stature of which Jonson wrote: 'He was not of an age, but for all time.'" So this unbelievable article ends.

Good God, don't any of you up there know anything about Shakespeare? What do you think he meant when he wrote, "Not marble nor the gilded monuments/ Of princes shall outlive this pow'rful rhyme," and "So long as men can breathe or eyes can see/ So long lives this . . ."? How can he say to the young friend of the Sonnets, "Your name from hence immortal life shall have" and "Your name shall still find room/ Even in the eyes of all posterity"? Because "Such virtue hath my pen"! When Cassius in Julius Caesar reflects

How many ages hence
Shall this lofty scene be acted o'er
In states unborn and accents yet unknown

can you presume to doubt that, as Professor Harry Levin of Harvard wrote, "Shakespeare showed prophetic insight into his own future"? All this means nothing to you?

In one of the earliest recorded performances of a play of Shakespeare's, Henry the Sixth, Part 1, his fellow playwright Thomas Nashe wrote that it moved to "tears ten thousand spectators (at several times)." While the famed Stratfordian was still alive, Venus and Adonis, published in 1593, was so popular it went through seven editions and Lucrece, published the next year, five, possibly larger ones. In 1598, in the first mention of the name Shakespeare as that of a playwright, Francis Meres said he was the best of the English for both comedy and tragedy, that the "sweet witty soul of Ovid lives in mellifious and honey-tongued Shakespeare" and "that the Muses would speak with Shakespeare's fine-filed phrase if they would speak English." Shakespeare's plays delighted both Queen Elizabeth and King James, on the word of Ben Jonson, and the latter monarch on his accession to the throne had seven of Shakespeare's plays performed, one of them twice. But none of the exalted recognition Shakepeare received penetrated to the sheep's brain with which Mr. Rosten endows him, to the Digest's satisfaction. Those drama-addicted, poetry-hungry Elizabethans were well aware of the dimensions of Shakespeare's incomparable talent, of his unequaled achievement. Does not even Mr. Rosten have to acknowledge that his contemporary Ben Jonson, voicing a view that could not conceivably have been his alone and must have been widely

held in the dramatist's lifetime, proclaimed:

> Triumph, my Britain, thou has one to show,
> To whom all scenes of Europe homage owe,
> He was not of an age, but for all time!

But the greatest observer of humanity of all time had no inkling of this! None of it filtered into his feeble wits: thus, Mr. Rosten and the Digest.

Nor does this travesty you have foisted on the public stop with that. I cannot believe you have to be told how arduous is the ordeal, how often agonizing, of creative writing that brings into the world that which is new and vital and such as to enlarge our resources of the imagination and understanding, that peoples our world with characters having a life that transcends mortality. To sustain the demands of such a life work, as you must know, requires an invincible belief in oneself and conviction of the importance of what one is doing, an indomitable and inexhaustible ego, if that's how you'd like to put it: all that to sustain the lifelong struggle. In all cases, Mr. Rosten and the Digest would say, except that of the writer of the greatest masterpieces of all; him you would deny any recognition of the price he had to pay-- and how steep that price could have been, read Deems Taylor on Wagner in your own files to find out. Shakespeare came by the greatest works of all in the manner, we are to suppose, of Joan of Arc hearing with upturned eyes those heavenly voices. If he boasted of the immortality of his writing with a confidence no other writer I have heard of ever attained to, or had reason to, we are to believe that though he had no comprehension of the worth of what he had written he was sure that it would prove undying because he had had it from On High. Is that what you believe? Come on, tell us! I fear I shall await an answer in vain.

. . .

Very truly,

Charlton

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AN IMPROVISED COLLOQUY

Participants:

Professor F. W. Brownlow, Mount Holyoke College (commentary in "Chronicles of Culture" (Sept/86) on the reviews by Jane Greer and Joseph Sobran of The Mysterious William Shakespeare in "Chronicles" (Feb/86)).

Jane Greer (Responses in "Chronicles" (Sept/86) to Brownlow's commentary).

Charlton Ogburn (The Mysterious William Shakespeare).

Dr. S. Schoenbaum (Shakespeare's Lives).

Frederick von Schiller (Characterization of "bread and butter scholars" ("der Brotgelehrte") as translated by Dr. Anni Guttman).

Brownlow: ". . . the question arises, why should Chronicles writer Jane Greer and Joseph Sobran of the National Review be taken in by the anti-Shakespearean nonsense? Are they untaught? Badly taught?"

Greer: "When a staunch Stratfordian takes it upon himself to refute Ogburn's book point by point (and there are hundreds of points), I will be delighted and very much interested, and feel safe in saying that Charlton Ogburn will be, too. This is, after all, supposed to be fun, a quest of love; there is no 'loser,' and every literature-lover will be a winner no matter what the truth is found to be."

Brownlow:"Once someone allows the thought to take root that Shakespeare was someone else, he has stepped into an abyss of unreason and there can be no argument because there is nothing to argue about. Shakespeare's identity is axiomatic. . . The anti-Stratfordians are merely destructive and belong in the freak department of the library."

Ogburn: "Now, the insistence of the Stratfordian academics that the dissenters' views are devoid of the least merit or justification unworthy of the smallest consideration, is bound to be met with raised eyebrows by anyone aware of the number and respectability of the dissenters . . . yet they cleave to a policy of total denunciation of dissent and dissenters. Why?. . . the only answer I can give is that they assess the risk of any other course to be greater. In this view, they feel, consciously or unconsciously, that their case depends absolutely upon absolute acceptance: give admittance to the tiniest doubt, and doubt proceeding from one element of incongruity and implausibility in the structure to another and growing by what it feeds on, must speedily consume the whole."

Schoenbaum: "The heretics [anti-Stratfordians] have all along sought not dialogue but converts."

Greer: "Mr. Brownlow is not looking for a response or dialogue: he is in fact, doing what he can to discourage it. He obviously hasn't read Charlton Ogburn's book and doesn't intend to."

Brownlow: "To dispute it [the Stratfordian attribution] is as weird as to dispute the heliocentricity of the solar system after observation proved it in (I think) 1838 . . . what is your magazine doing joining ranks with freaks? It's no use advocating ancient tradition on one page and knocking it down on the next."

Schiller: "Every new idea in his ['bread and butter scholar'] particular field of study disturbs him, because it burdens him with new work, while it may render his past work worthless. Every important innovation frightens him. because it upsets the old structure of his knowledge which he has labored so hard to master It entails the risk of his losing his life's work. Nobody has been more vociferous in opposing reformers than the big groups of bread and butter scholars. And

no one has been preventing progress of useful resolutions in the realm of knowledge as much as these. Every light that has been kindled by a man of genius, in any art or science, shows how wanting they are.

Therefore they put up a fight that is bitter, insiduous and desperate, because by defending the system of their schooling they defend their whole existence. For this reason no enemy is more unforgiving, no colleague more envious, no person more eager to turn you into a heretic than is the bread and butter scholar.

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RECOMMENDATION FROM THE EDITOR

The ultimate acceptance of Edward DeVere as the authentic William Shakespeare by the world of letters has no more comprehensive, indispensable and powerful cutting edge than Charlton Ogburn's classic The Mysterious William Shakespeare (Dodd, Mead 1984). While it has gone into a second printing and has enlisted hundreds of Oxfordians, its continuing and persuasive impact requires increasingly widespread recognition and distribution. In my opinion, all Oxfordians should feel a compelling obligation to assist in achieving a pervasive momentum. May I vigorously recommend that every committed adherent should purchase at least one copy before the end of this year - from a bookseller or call toll-free 1-800-251-4000 - as Christmas gifts or tax deductible contributions to cultural institutions.

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NOTICES

Dues, contributions and orders ($8.50 incl. pkg. and postage) for microfilmed Newsletters (6/30/65-Spring/85) should be sent to Shakespeare/Oxford Society, P. O. Box 16254, Baltimore, Md. 21210

All materials submitted for proposed publication in the Newsletter should be sent to Morse Johnson, Suite #819, 105 W. 4th Street, Cincinnati, Ohio 45202. Members are encouraged to submit same. Personal letters, newspaper clippings, excerpts from Journals, et al. are also welcome.

A list of the members of the Shakeapeare/Oxford Society will be mailed to each member early in Jan/87. Those who do not wish his or her name and/or address to be included on that list should notify by letter addressed as in the above paragraph by 1/5/87.