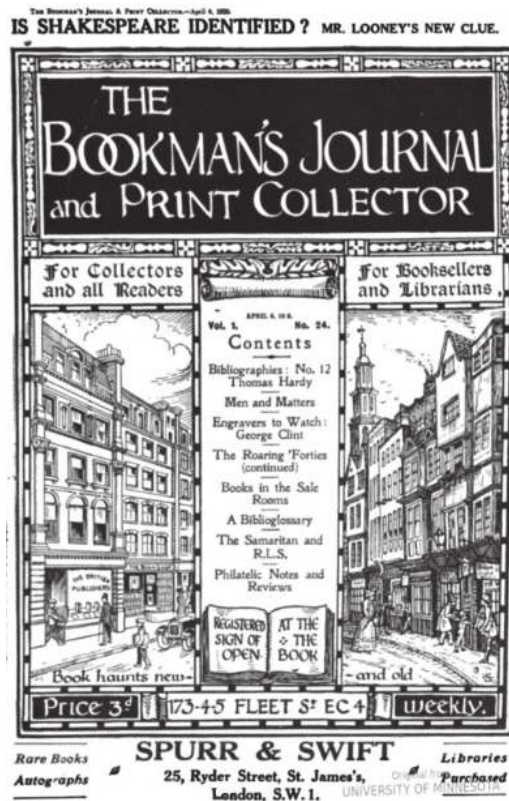


J. Thomas Looney in *The Bookman's Journal*: *Five Letters (1920-1921)*

by James Warren

J. Thomas Looney commented on several occasions that the question of who wrote Shakespeare's works was not the most important problem facing mankind, and that after several years of intense work on the authorship issue he was turning his attention to those other, more important, subjects. Those statements, combined with the record showing just three other Oxfordian publications by Looney after March 4, 1920, the date "*Shakespeare*" *Identified* was released, and before he returned to the issue in the spring of 1935, appeared to justify the conclusion that he had indeed turned away from Oxfordian work after the publication of his groundbreaking book.¹

Yet in the past year fifteen letters that Looney wrote in 1920 and 1921 to editors of publications that had published reviews critical of his book have come to light, showing that that conclusion was not correct.² These newly-discovered letters reveal him to have been intensely engaged in defending himself and his ideas from the attacks in those reviews and in further substantiating the validity of the Oxfordian claim. It is now apparent that mild-mannered John Thomas Looney was a fighter—mild mannered on the outside, perhaps, but with a spine of steel inside.

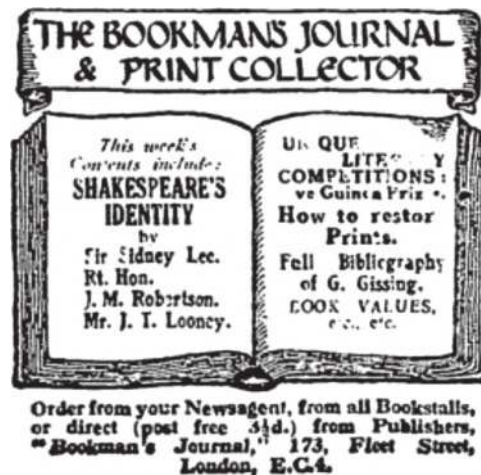


The cover of the April 9, 1920 issue with a special banner at the top highlighting Looney's letter in response to the March 19 review.

Among those fifteen letters were five to *The Bookman's Journal and Print Collector*. Published as a weekly from 1919 to 1925 by Wilfred Partington, *The Bookman's Journal* was one of a number of literary magazines launched in England after the end of World War I that flourished for a few years and then ceased publication. As it has not been indexed in any of the major databases, it is unlikely that many Oxfordians alive today are aware of *The Bookman's Journal* or the letters by Looney published in it.³

Those five letters—the most of his to appear in any one periodical—are uniquely important. They form a microcosm of all of Looney's letters, and together with the other Oxfordian pieces in *The Bookman's Journal* form a microcosm of the impact the Oxfordian idea had in the years immediately after it was first proposed. They foreshadow the subsequent debate between Oxfordians and Stratfordians down to the present day.

The first of Looney's letters appeared on April 9, 1920 in response to *The Bookman's Journal's* March 19 review of "Shakespeare" Identified; the last appeared on March 25, 1921 in response to the March 4 review of his edition of *The Poems of Edward de Vere*.⁴ In between, *The Journal's* coverage of the idea of de Vere's authorship reflected the widespread interest in the theory in the Spring of 1920. It outdid all other publications, however, by running a special section on "Shakespeare's Identity" on May 21 which included, in addition to a long letter by Looney, letters critical of the Oxfordian idea by Sir Sidney Lee and the Rt. Hon. J. M. Robertson. *The Journal* not only highlighted the topic with banners on the covers of several issues, but also ran an advertisement for the special Oxfordian section in the May 20 issue of *The Times Literary Supplement*.⁵



The advertisement in The Times Literary Supplement for the special "Shakespeare's Identity" section of The Bookman's Journal's May 21, 1920 issue.

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The Oxfordian coverage continued in the following issue with another letter by Looney, his fourth, in which he responded to Lee's and Robertson's critical comments. Coverage then dropped off until publication of Looney's *The Poems of Edward de Vere* a year later. Then, reflecting the general decline of interest in the authorship issue, *The Bookman's Journal* addressed the Oxfordian idea for the final time in the summer of 1921.

The Critics' Responses and Looney's Replies

Looney had no illusions about the severity of the test to which his ideas would be put. As he wrote, "I was well aware that, in propounding a new theory of Shakespearean authorship, I was exposing myself to as severe an ordeal as any writer has been called upon to face: that the work would be rigorously overhauled in none too indulgent a spirit by men who know the subject in all its minutiae; and that, if the argument contained any fatal flaw, this would be detected immediately and the theory overthrown" (March 25). Being a gentleman of the old school, Looney perhaps expected to engage in what has been called "the great conversation" that people of good will engage in as they seek to discover the truth of a subject. He had hoped, he stated, "that English literary journals . . . [would] throw open their columns to such a discussion as will let in the fullest light upon the question" (April 9). He further hoped that "the arguments will . . . be most carefully weighed before [readers] precipitate themselves into debate upon the question" (April 9).

Although Looney had anticipated the severe nature of the examination to which his ideas would be subjected, he must have been caught by surprise by the hostility exhibited by so many reviewers and readers. He must have been taken aback by attacks that weren't at all in line with "the spirit of impartiality and truth by which alone any problem can be solved" (April 9). The editor of *The Bookman's Journal* informs us that, "Mr. Looney's book was extensively reviewed...[and] provoked in nearly every case hostile criticism" (April 9). Looney himself observed that "certain sections of the 'orthodox' [in America] have assailed my work with a hostility quite equal to what it has aroused in England" (March 25).

He had, perhaps, expected that critics would read his book before critiquing it, and that they would state his findings accurately before taking issue with them. The personal nature of the attacks must also have been a surprise: Robertson's charge of "prepossession," for instance—the charge that Looney had the idea of authorship by the nobleman Edward de Vere in mind from the very beginning and then set out to find evidence to support it (May 21)—directly challenged the veracity of Looney's description in "*Shakespeare Identified*" of his actual method of investigation. Moreover, it would have been impossible for him to have anticipated the ludicrousness of Robertson's statement that, "It is precisely because the data for the Stratford

actor alone gives an intelligible biographical substratum for the plays that I hold to it" (May 21).

In the face of such hostility, Looney must have believed he had no choice but to respond. "However distasteful the matter," he wrote, "no [real] man can ignore a challenge of this nature, from whatever source it may come" (May 28). So his letters, although invariably measured in content and reasonable in tone, are something extraordinary for a man who throughout his life sought to avoid controversy and confrontation. We see him responding to Robertson: "As this is a complete misrepresentation of the view of the sonnets maintained throughout [my] book, . . . it was at once evident that Mr. Robertson had merely dipped here and there into the work, in so hurried and perturbed a manner as to have missed not only the whole of important arguments, but even the sense of the sentence from which he was actually quoting" (May 28). Further, it is "impossible for even a superficial reading of the book to result in so complete a misunderstanding. It will be noticed that he even takes me to task . . . for saying something contrary to what I had repeated with almost wearisome reiterations" (May 28).

At the same time, Looney must have felt a degree of satisfaction from seeing that his ideas had withstood such fierce attacks. A year after publication of *"Shakespeare" Identified* he was able to write that, "The ordeal has been passed through; I have watched anxiously every criticism and suggestion that has been made, and what is the result? . . . not a single really formidable or destructive objection to the theory has yet put in an appearance" (March 25).

The very nature of those attacks enabled Looney, drawing on his historical knowledge and intellectual adroitness, to turn the tables on many of his critics. As one example, in response to those who stated that similarities between events in the works and events in Oxford's life are an illegitimate form of evidence of authorship, he wrote that "critics who are standing out staunchly against my solution of the Shakespeare problem, are already admitting that Shakespeare must have been well acquainted with the Earl of Oxford, and very probably made him his model for 'Hamlet'" (April 9).

In another instance, after acknowledging the "remarkable" secrecy that hiding Oxford's authorship must have entailed, Looney pointed out that "whoever the author may have been, the maintaining of secrecy has been phenomenal. If the Stratford man were the author, the silence of contemporary documents in reference to all his literary and dramatic dealings with other people is as pronounced as if he had been in hiding. Under any hypothesis, then, we are bound to admit a most extraordinary avoidance of leakage" (April 9). In other words, the same argument made against de Vere could be made against the man from Stratford: no documents during his lifetime connect him directly to the plays and poems.

In a final example, Looney shows how Oxford's death in 1604, presented by his critics as evidence disqualifying him from authorship, actually works to make him uniquely qualified to have been the author. The Stratfordians' own evidence, he writes, shows that "toward the end of [Shakespeare's] career his work is once more found mixed with the work of other men . . . altering his completed plays, or completing his unfinished work by additions of their own." He then asks, "Is such a state of things more consistent with an author who had passed away leaving his unfinished writings in other hands, or with one who was still alive, intellectually vigorous, at the summit of his profession as a playwright, and but forty-three years of age?" (May 21). Answering his own question, Looney concluded that the later plays, "instead of presenting a difficulty, add their own peculiar quota of evidence in support of the theory that Edward de Vere was the author" (May 21). He similarly noted that "The 'flood of publications which started in 1597 . . . continued up to the publication of 'Hamlet' in 1604 (the year of Oxford's death). . . . There was then a complete stoppage.... This year of 1604 was for long held to be the identical year of William Shakespeare's retirement to Stratford.'" "Surely," he concluded, "it is not too much to claim that the date of Oxford's death, instead of being a weakness, is one of the strongest links in the chain of evidence" (May 21).

Due to these and other instances, some critics and reviewers "who have made themselves most intimate with the many-sidedness of the evidence, have confessed themselves most impressed and 'almost persuaded,' sometimes apparently against their evident wish" (March 25).

A Few Final Observations

One point of special importance is the effectiveness of Looney's response to one critic's inane statement that, "I cannot see that the question of whether Shakespeare's works were written by Shakespeare, or Bacon, or the Earl of Oxford, or by any other man of the period, is of the least importance." Looney sets things straight by noting that, "Doubtless 'The play's the thing'; but these, I am convinced, will never be fully understood apart from the personality of the man who has left a permanent record and monument of himself in the great 'Shakespeare' dramas" (April 23).

Another point of great importance for the present is that although Looney identified Edward de Vere as the man behind the Shakespeare name, he refrained from investigating why de Vere concealed his authorship. After noting "the disrepute into which his name had fallen," he commented that "however insufficient the motive may appear to us, it was evidently sufficient for him, and before we could fittingly discuss it we should have to see the matter from his point of view" (April 9). Looney purposely did not probe

more deeply into the causes of that disrepute or the feelings of shame that de Vere expressed in the *Sonnets*. He backed away from asking what events could have been so momentous as to push Oxford to hide his authorship and force others in the know to go along with the deception. Oxfordians today are left with the task of filling in the blanks, of writing “the rest of the story.” It is this question of *why*, which arose in the earliest days of the Oxfordian movement, that is still bedeviling the Oxfordian community today.

Looking back over the year since “*Shakespeare*” *Identified* had been published, Looney was not optimistic about the future of British intellectual life. The attacks on the Oxfordian idea did not, he felt, reflect well on “the intellectual credit of England” (March 25). “The present-day handling by the ‘intellectual classes’ of all problems requiring *thought* rather than erudition and literary style,” gave him “an uneasy feeling that the initiative which England held in the latter half of the nineteenth century is passing into other hands” (March 25).

The five letters from *The Bookman's Journal* reprinted here show that throughout that difficult year Looney responded to criticism and hostility with courage, steadfastness, perseverance and grace—all qualities that are required of Oxfordians today as they face an intellectual climate not dissimilar to that faced by the man who started it all, John Thomas Looney.

THE BOOKMAN'S JOURNAL'S OXFORDIAN CONTENTS

1920, March 19 -----	Vol. 1/21: 408 "A New Mask for Shakespeare" [Review of " <i>Shakespeare</i> " Identified]
1920, April 9 J. Thomas Looney	Vol. 1/24: 452-53 "Is 'Shakespeare Identified'?" [Response to the March 19 review] [Preceded by editor's introduction and followed by excerpts from reviews in <i>The Spectator</i> (March 27), <i>The Saturday Westminster</i> (???), <i>The Times Literary Supplement</i> (March 4), and <i>The Sunday Times</i> (April 4)] [Banner at the top of the cover reads "IS SHAKESPEARE IDENTIFIED? Mr. Looney's New Clue"]
1920, April 16 -----	Vol. 1/25: 468 [Reviewer's reply to Looney's April 9 response to his March 19 review of " <i>Shakespeare</i> " Identified]
1920, April 23 ----- J. Thomas Looney	Vol. 1/26: 483 and 484 "Henry James on Shakespeare Theories" "The Shakespeare Controversy: Mr. Thomas Looney and 'Oxford's Boys'" [Letter: additional response to the April 9 review]
1920, May 21 Lee, Sir Sidney, J. M. Robertson, J. Thomas Looney	Vol. 2/30: 58-59 "The Identity of Shakespeare" [Three letters preceded by editor's introduction.] [An advertisement for "The Shakespeare Controversy" section of the May 21 issue of <i>The Bookman's Journal</i> appeared in the May 20 issue of <i>The Times Literary Supplement</i> stating that "this week's contents include 'Shakespeare's Identity' with articles by Sir Sidney Lee, Rt. Hon. J. M. Robertson, and Mr. J. T. Looney"]
1920, May 28 J. Thomas Looney -----	Vol. 2/31: 68 and 70 "The Identity of Shakespeare" [Letter: Response to J. M. Robertson's May 21 letter] "The Play's the Thing"
1920, June 4 Atkinson, R.	Vol. 2/32: 84 The Identity of Shakespeare" [Followed by editor's note]
1921, January 21 -----	Vol. 3/65: 234 "This Week's Books" [<i>The Poems of Edward de Vere</i> edited by J. Thomas Looney is on the list]
1921, March 4 S.	Vol. 3/71: 335 Stratford and Stony Stratford" [Review of <i>The Poems of Edward de Vere</i> edited by J. Thomas Looney]
1921, March 25 J. Thomas Looney Clarke, Francis S.	Vol. 3/74: 388 "Stratford and Stony Stratford" [Letter: Response to the March 4 review of <i>The Poems of Edward de Vere</i>] "Stratford and Stony Stratford" [Letter: Response to the March 4 review] "Stratford and Stony Stratford" [Letter: Reply to Looney and Clarke]
1921, April 22 -----	Vol. 3/78: 463 "Men and Manners"
1921, July 29	Vol. 4/92: 225 "A Dark Shakespeare"

APPENDIX:
J. THOMAS LOONEY'S KNOWN OXFORDIAN
PUBLICATIONS AS OF JUNE 2018

1920, March 4

"Shakespeare" Identified in Edward de Vere, the Seventeenth Earl of Oxford. London: Cecil Palmer. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company.

1920, March 11

"Shakespeare Identified" [Letter: Response to the March 4 and 6 reviews of *"Shakespeare" Identified*], *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer*, p. 4.

1920, March 20

"Shakespeare Identified" [Letter: Response to the March 4 review of *"Shakespeare" Identified*], *The Scotsman*, p. 11.

1920, March 25

"Shakespeare Identified" [Letter: Response to Alfred W. Pollard's March 4 review of *"Shakespeare" Identified*], *Times Literary Supplement*, Issue 949: 201.

1920, April 1

"Shakespeare Identified:" [Letter] A Reply to Critics and Some New Facts, *Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer*, p. 8.

1920, April 9

"Is 'Shakespeare Identified?'" [Letter: Response to the March 19 review; see also the reviewer's April 16 reply], *The Bookman's Journal*, Vol. 1/24: 452-53.

1920, April 10

"Edward de Vere and Shakespeare" [Letter: Response to the March 27 review of *"Shakespeare" Identified*], *The Spectator*, p. 487.

1920, April 17

"Edward de Vere and Shakespeare" [Letter: Response to the March 27 review of *"Shakespeare" Identified*], *Saturday Review of Politics, Literature, Science and Art*, Vol. 129: 370.

1920, April 23

"The Shakespeare Controversy" [Letter: Response to the March 19 review and to reviews repr. in the April 9 issue], *The Bookman's Journal*, Vol. 1/26: 484.

1920, April 30

"Edward de Vere and Shakespeare" [Letter: Response to M.'s April 16 review of *"Shakespeare" Identified*], *The Athenaeum*, p. 585.

1920, May 8

“Edward de Vere’s Mother” [Query], *Notes and Queries*, Vol. 208: 190.
 “Henry de Vere’s Sponsors,” *Notes and Queries*, Vol. 208: 190.

1920, May 21

“The Identity of Shakespeare” [Letter: In the same issue are responses to “Shakespeare” Identified by Sir Sidney Lee and Rt. Hon. J. M. Robertson], *The Bookman’s Journal*, Vol. 2/30: 58-59.

1920, May 28

“The Identity of Shakespeare” [Letter: Response to Robertson’s May 21 letter], *The Bookman’s Journal*, Vol. 2/31: 68.

1920, December 23

“Readers and Writers” [Letter: Response to R. H. C.’s December 2 review, and reply by reviewer on same page as Looney’s response.] *The New Age*, p. 91-92.

1921, January

The Poems of Edward de Vere, Seventeenth Earl of Oxford. London: Cecil Palmer.

1921, March 25

“Stratford and Stony Stratford” [Letter: Response to the March 4 review of *The Poems of Edward de Vere* edited by J. Thomas Looney], *The Bookman’s Journal*, Vol. 3/74: 388.

1922, February

“Shakespeare—Lord Oxford or Lord Derby?,” *National Review*, p. 801-809.

1922, October

“The Earl of Oxford as Shakespeare: New Evidence,” *The Golden Hind*, Vol. 1/1, p. 23-30.

1923, Dates unknown

“Letter #1,” *The Freethinker*.

“Letter #2,” *The Freethinker*.

“Letter #3,” *The Freethinker*.

[Looney wrote these three letters in response to George Underwood’s article “A Defense of the Stratfordian Case.” A report in the English *Shakespeare Fellowship Newsletter* (Sept. 1952, p. 2-3), includes lengthy excerpts from the three letters, as well as an excerpt from a letter Looney wrote to a Mr. Hadden on August 29, 1927.]

1929, February

“The Death of George Greenwood” [Letter], *Shakespeare Pictorial*, No. 86: 16.

1935, April

"Jonson v. Jonson (Part I)," *Shakespeare Pictorial*, No. 86: 64.

1935, May

"Jonson v. Jonson (Part II)," *Shakespeare Pictorial*, No. 87: 80.

1935, August

"A More Important Christopher Sly," *Shakespeare Pictorial*, No. 90: 120.

1935, November

"Lord Oxford and the *Shrew* Plays, Part 1," *Shakespeare Pictorial*, No. 93: 176.

1935, December

"Lord Oxford and the *Shrew* Plays, Part 2," *Shakespeare Pictorial*, No. 94: 190-91.

1940, December

"The Author of '*Shakespeare*' Identified Comments on Professor Campbell's July 1940 *Harper's* article 'Shakespeare Himself,' *Shakespeare Fellowship Newsletter* (American), Vol. 2/1: 1-3.

1941, February

"Shakespeare: A Missing Author, Part 1," *Shakespeare Fellowship Newsletter* (American), Vol. 2/2: 13-17.

1941, April

"Shakespeare: A Missing Author, Part 2," *Shakespeare Fellowship Newsletter* (American), Vol. 2/3: 26-30.

End Notes

1. Looney's three known publications during that fifteen-year period were one book that he edited in 1921—*The Poems of Edward de Vere*—and two articles he wrote in 1922—“‘Shakespeare:’ Lord Oxford or Lord Derby?” *The National Review*, Vol. 78: 801-809 (February 1922), and “The Earl of Oxford as ‘Shakespeare:’ New Evidence,” *The Golden Hind*, Vol. 1/1: 23-30 (October 1922).
2. The Appendix to this article has a complete list of Looney's Oxfordian publications as they are known of in June, 2018.
3. The British Library has copies of the publication but its contents have not been indexed.
4. See the text box for a complete listing of all *The Bookman's Journal's* Oxfordian coverage.
5. If not for that ad, I would have had no knowledge of the existence of *The Bookman's Journal* or Looney's five letters in it. My search for the Journal led me to the Hathi Trust Digital Library, the only online source of information on the contents of *The Bookman's Journal*, and the source of the images shown here.
6. For a fuller discussion of this point, see “*Shakespeare*” Identified, page 424.

J. Thomas Looney's Five Letters to the Editor¹

April 9, 1920, Vol. 1/24, p. 452-453

MR. LOONEY'S LETTER: A NEW CLUE. TO THE EDITOR OF "THE BOOKMAN'S JOURNAL."

SIR,—The review of my work, "Shakespeare Identified," which appeared in the columns of "The Bookman's Journal" on March 19, contains the following sentence: "Mr. Looney has awakened in us a curiosity as to the real author of the plays, and a conviction that the matter cannot now be allowed to stand where it is."

This, it seems to me, is the correct attitude of all who really care for our great national classics. We are faced with a world problem in literature, which touches the honour of England most profoundly, and therefore it is of first importance that English literary journals should throw open their columns to such a discussion as will let in the fullest light upon the question. I can quite believe that there are readers who have realised that the arguments will require to be most carefully weighed before they precipitate themselves into debate upon the question, and that when they have had time to assimilate the thesis as a whole they will make themselves heard. My immediate wish is merely to offer a few comments upon the recent review.

The bearing of Mr. Frank Harris's work² upon mine, as the reviewer indicates, is important specially from this point of view. Mr. Harris has selected several of the outstanding characters in Shakespeare's dramas as self-revealing expositions of the dramatist; and some of these form quite surprising dramatic analogues of the Earl of Oxford. For example, critics who are standing out staunchly against my solution of the Shakespeare problem, are already admitting that Shakespeare must have been well acquainted with the Earl of Oxford, and very probably made him his model for "Hamlet"—an admission which, if at all general, would, I believe, carry us forward very rapidly towards the acceptance of my theory. It is, of course, very difficult for a writer to judge the effect of his own arguments; but my feeling is that my argument that "Hamlet" is a work of special self-delineation is equally as strong as the argument that Oxford was the prototype for "Hamlet." Mr. Harris affirms, then, that "in 'Hamlet' Shakespeare has revealed too much of himself."

I wish, further, to draw attention to the reviewer's judgment that the poems of Oxford "are good poems," and that "Shakespeare (whoever he was) might

have written them.” This pronouncement, supported as it is by the high praise of men of standing, like Sir Sidney Lee,³ Professor Courthorpe,⁴ and Dr. Grosart⁵, comes as a rebuke to the hasty ill-informed denunciations of Mr. J. M. Robertson, who professes to see in these poems nothing but dog-grel and conventional verses. Mr. Robertson had, however, hurled intolerant denunciations at my work without having read it—a fact I proved in a brief note to the Press—and I therefore suspect that his pronouncements upon Oxford’s poetry were based upon the same kind of “knowledge.”⁶ Such tributes to Oxford’s lyrical capacity as the reviewer and others have made since my theory was launched are, therefore, welcome indications of that spirit of impartiality and truth by which alone any problem can be solved.

The question of motives for concealment is raised, and the view expressed that “the truth or untruth of my hypothesis apparently hinges upon the all-important question of the Earl’s motive.” From this view I am compelled to dissent; in such cases everything must hinge upon the weight of evidence for or against the hypothesis itself. The evidence that a given person had acted in a particular way might be absolutely incontrovertible, although his motives might be quite impenetrable.

“Shakespeare” has not, however, left us in the dark on this point, and I must confess at once my inability to appreciate the reviewer’s point of view respecting “Shakespeare’s” or Oxford’s reasons for self-effacement. If the sonnets had not been written we might have been placed under the necessity of surmising what his motives were. Then it would have been open for anyone to question the sufficiency of the reasons advanced. With the several passages in Shakespeare’s own personal poems dealing with this theme before us, I cannot see what else we can do but to take him at his word. Had the motives assigned in the sonnets been inapplicable to Oxford this would have furnished grounds for dispute. The disrepute into which his name had fallen is, unfortunately, one thing about which no difference of opinion is ever likely to arise. However insufficient the motive may appear to us, it was evidently sufficient for him, and before we could fittingly discuss it we should have to see the matter from his point of view.

Oxford’s poems unmistakably show an intense super-sensitiveness which is fully borne out by the Duke of Portland’s portrait of him⁷. Let the reader then peruse the Bedingfield letter⁸ and the sonnet “Love thy choice”⁹ in order first of all to realise the large place which the winning of honour and good name occupied in his outlook upon life, then turn to his poem on the loss of his good name.¹⁰ There is unmistakable evidence here of his having passed through a violent mental crisis in respect to these matters when but twenty-six years old; after which, although his life was immersed in literary and dramatic interests, it is questionable whether anything new was published under his name, notwithstanding the fact that he made a reputation in the writing of superior comedies, all of which are supposed to have perished.

Unsupported by any other evidence these things would have furnished a strong presumption in favour of the authorship theory I have propounded.

I am quite prepared to admit that the success of the secrecy both during Oxford's lifetime and after his death is very remarkable. What must be specially emphasised is that, whoever the author may have been, the maintaining of secrecy has been phenomenal. If the Stratford man were the author, the silence of contemporary documents in reference to all his literary and dramatic dealings with other people is as pronounced as if he had been in hiding. Under any hypothesis, then, we are bound to admit a most extraordinary avoidance of leakage. And, of course, such a state of things is much more compatible with a planned secrecy than with a secrecy without aim or intention. It may be, however, that we exaggerate the number of people who must have known who the real author was. One reliable and capable agent acting as intermediary would considerably diminish the necessity for others being in the secret. With Wriothesley, for example, acting as intermediary, there was no absolute necessity for even William Shakespeare knowing the name of the author of the plays. The social and political disturbances of the period immediately following Oxford's death would, moreover, assist in the preservation of the secret; and the political submergence of his own particular class would further facilitate matters. Nevertheless, it is not improbable that, once the new theory is well started, important papers may yet put in their appearance.

I may, at any rate, point out here, what I had missed in writing the book, that, although no relative or representative of the Stratford man's family appears in connection with the publication of the First Folio "Shakespeare," that work is dedicated to the husband of one of Oxford's daughters, Philip Herbert, and to one who had been engaged to another daughter, William Herbert.

J. Thomas Looney

* * * * *

April 23, 1920, Vol. 1/26, p. 484

C O R R E S P O N D E N C E .
THE SHAKESPEARE CONTROVERSY.
TO THE EDITOR OF "THE BOOKMAN'S JOURNAL."

SIR,—The very courteous and eminently fair way in which your reviewer, in his notice in the issue for March 19, and in his reply last week to my letter, has discussed the problem raised in my book on "Shakespeare" and Edward de Vere, only adds to my regret that he has not the time or the inclination to discuss the question more fully. Doubtless "The play's the thing"; but these,

I am convinced, will never be fully understood apart from the personality of the man who has left a permanent record and monument of himself in the great “Shakespeare” dramas.

Several other literary journals have commented adversely upon my references to “Oxford’s Boys,” asserting that I was apparently unaware that there were child-actors in Shakespeare’s days; that Oxford was a patron of one of these; and that an intelligent reading of “Hamlet” would have kept me right.

As on p. 513 I quote the passage in “Hamlet” which refers to these child-actors, and as the interpretation I put upon Hamlet’s question, “Do the boys carry it away?” shows that I had, at any rate, considered the matter, the first of these criticisms was evidently due to the inattention of the critics. They have, nevertheless, raised the important question of the relationship of Oxford’s Boys to Hamlet’s players; and this needs to be cleared up.

The impression evidently is that “Oxford’s Boys” were child-actors, like those referred to in “Hamlet.” Now, the one thing which Rosencrantz makes clear to Hamlet, is, that these “children” were engaged for pantomimic performances, in which there was crying out, singing, dumb-shows and noise; and that the performers were too young for dramatic dialogue, or, as he called it, “argument.” “Oxford’s Boys,” whatever their ages may have been, were certainly not children in this sense. The plays written by Lyly, which this company is reported to have performed, are not only dramatic dialogue, but dialogue of a most involved and elaborate character. And the lost dramas by Oxford are represented as being high-class literary productions. The play of Agamemnon and Ulysses, which his Boys performed before the Queen in 1584, would most certainly be of this nature. The material of this play may possibly be found actually deposited in Shakespeare’s play of “Troilus and Cressida.”

“Oxford’s Boys” were, moreover, a company which toured the country, visiting Stratford in 1584; and from this fact alone we should judge them to have been not only older than the “children” mentioned in “Hamlet,” but also older than the “choir boy” companies (which included their “gentlemen”) that performed in London. In the absence, therefore, of more precise knowledge of the actual ages of “Oxford’s Boys,” their tours, the kind of dramas they performed, the fact that they are not spoken of as “children” like some of the other companies of boys, but are spoken of as Oxford’s servants, and as a “company of players who had called themselves after their patron,” all justify an assumption that, even in the early years of the company’s existence, they were at least youths, if not young men.

Now, with regard to the company patronised by Hamlet, it is evident that they, too, at the time when Hamlet had been in close association with them, were “boys” in this sense. When the company and their patron meet again

at the period of the drama, Hamlet, in his greetings, refers to some of them having grown much taller, and having put on their first growth of beard since he last saw them. Evidently, then, Hamlet's company had not been all fully developed men in the earlier period. From every indication, Hamlet's players had been just what we judge "Oxford's Boys" to have been. And if we suppose this play to have been written at any time after 1590, Hamlet's greetings to his players are precisely what we might imagine Oxford then extending to his "Boys" of 1580-1587. A correspondence of this kind is certainly of more importance than the extent of my information upon obscure matters about which my critics have been much too confident.

I turn now to my interpretation of Hamlet's question: "Do the boys carry it away?" which differs from that of some of the commentators. The assumption has been that this passage refers to the child-actors. My interpretation has been that it refers to the company of actors which Hamlet had previously patronised. The question is not vital, and I have no great desire to press the matter. My object is merely to explain the interpretation, which I still think quite reasonable. This, then, is the situation.

Rosencrantz has informed Hamlet that the company he formerly patronised had had to leave the city and go on tour, partly because of their being ousted by these companies of children, who were incapable evidently of dramatic dialogue, and who were being specially catered for by the writers. There was no money being bid for "argument" unless the players and the poets came to blows upon the subject. Guildenstern remarks that there had been "much throwing about of brains," and Hamlet interposes the question:

"Do the boys carry it away?"

Rosencrantz answers:

"Ay, my lord, that they do, Hercules and his load too."

Rosencrantz seems, then, to have understood Hamlet's expression literally. His reference to Hercules and his load, suggestive of the physical act of carrying away, shows that he understood "the boys" to mean the players, who had had to come away from the city carrying their all with them.

"Shakespeare," however, elsewhere uses the expression "carries it away" in an idiomatic sense, in reference to fighting ("Romeo and Juliet," Act 3, Scene 1). As, then, Rosencrantz at the moment was referring to the fighting between the players and the poets, it is natural to suppose that Hamlet's question has reference to one of these, which, of course, would be the players and not the writers. Under either the literal or the idiomatic sense of the expression

“carry it away,” “the boys,” then, has reference to what I call Hamlet’s company; an interpretation which is borne out by Hamlet’s subsequent greetings to the players. Even should this rational interpretation have to be abandoned, the matter is not serious; and this interpretation of the passage is apparently the most serious defect that a none too generous antagonism has been able to discover in my pages.

Opponents of my authorship theory are, however, admitting the probability of Oxford’s being “Shakespeare’s” model for Hamlet. And, if this be granted, it is natural to suppose that “Shakespeare,” whoever he was, would represent Hamlet’s players somewhat in the light of Oxford’s Boys.

As, then, in my last letter, I concluded with an important element of evidence not included in the book, let me now point out that, according to the “*Variorum Hamlet*,” as far back as 1876, French¹¹ identified, not only Polonius with Burleigh, but even Ophelia with Lady Oxford.¹² How he missed identifying Hamlet with Oxford himself is one of these examples of the perversity of Fate which seems to have dogged the steps of Shakespearean research.

I notice, too, that the “*Variorum Hamlet*” contains quite a lengthy and recondite disquisition on one of Hamlet’s whimsicalities. Hamlet, in making a mocking verse upon his step-father, breaks the rhyme at the end, and instead of calling him an “ass,” calls him a “pajock”: a contemptuous expression for a peacock. Thus he puzzled the commentators, and none too satisfactory explanations have been proffered. When, however, it is remembered that Oxford’s step-father was a member of the Essex family of Tyrrel, and that the peacock’s tail is the distinctive feature of the family crest, the enigmatical allusion is explained. What are the chances that another dramatist, representing Oxford as Hamlet, would have introduced a connection like this?

I shall be greatly obliged, then, if any of your Essex readers can discover for me the precise date of Oxford’s mother’s marriage to Sir Charles (or Christopher) Tyrrel.¹³

Perhaps, too, some local antiquarian in the neighbourhood of Stoke Newington can find out whether Henry Wriothesley was god-father to Oxford’s heir, Henry de Vere, baptised at Stoke Newington in 1592; the year before “Shakespeare” dedicated the “first heir of (his) invention,” to that nobleman, of whom he speaks as “god-father” to the poem.

Yours faithfully,
J. Thomas Looney

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May 21, 1920, Vol. 2/30, p. 58-59.

C O R R E S P O N D E N C E .

THE IDENTITY OF SHAKESPEARE.

TO THE EDITOR OF "THE BOOKMAN'S JOURNAL."

SIR—As the best literary scholarship of England has for many years been focussed on Shakespeare, I was well aware that, in propounding a new theory of Shakespearean authorship, I was exposing myself to as severe an ordeal as any writer has been called upon to face: that the work would be rigorously overhauled in none too indulgent a spirit by men who know the subject in all its minutiae; and that, if the argument contained any fatal flaw, this would be detected immediately and the theory overthrown. The ordeal has been passed through; I have watched anxiously every criticism and suggestion that has been made, and what is the result? Slips of memory or of attention on a couple of words; annoying, no doubt, to an author, but quite irrelevant to the argument; a questionable interpretation of an obscure passage; suggested defects of presentation, some real, others merely capricious; but not a single really formidable or destructive objection to the theory has yet put in an appearance. On the other hand, those critics and reviewers who have made themselves most intimate with the many-sidedness of the evidence, have confessed themselves most impressed and "almost persuaded," sometimes apparently against their evident wish.

The only objection which demands serious attention, is, that Edward de Vere died in 1604. and that I have asserted that all the plays written after this date were not from the same pen as the other Shakespeare dramas. One critic states that I put forward the theory that these plays were finished by strange pens.

Were the readers and writers fully acquainted with what I have already written on this point, it would be unnecessary to deal with it here. Most Shakespeare students know that much of the dating of the plays is modern guesswork or inference, based upon the assumption that the Stratford actor was their author; and that even then the majority of them were published all together seven years after his death. In other words, "Shakespeare's" dramas are mainly a posthumous publication of writings accumulated and worked at during many years. and allowed to lie for years after their author's death. before being given to the world. What, then, are our chances of discovering the precise dates of their composition?

Take, for example, one of these so-called later plays, "The Winter's Tale," a work of which I have not treated in my book. If the reader will turn to the Variorum Edition he will find a list of authorities giving dates of composition for this one play ranging from 1590 to 1611¹⁴; that is to say, from fourteen years before Oxford's death until seven years after. "Lear" and "Macbeth," which have been usually assigned to the years immediately following Oxford's death, are there treated as uncertain, and assigned to a period which brings them within Oxford's lifetime.

Even if we accept roughly these inferential dates, what are the actual facts respecting the later plays? Now it is not I, but the best modern orthodox authorities who state that these later plays were written, finished off, or interpolated by other pens. After “Lear” and “Macbeth” comes “Timon of Athens,” and Sir Sidney Lee takes this as marking a period at which the author reverted to an “earlier habit of collaboration, and with another’s aid” produced his dramas; whilst Sir Walter Raleigh, the author of the “English Men of Letters” volume on Shakespeare, has a most striking sentence on the point:

At the beginning of his career Shakespeare made very free use of the work of other men. Towards the end of his career his work is once more found mixed with the work of other men, but this time there is generally reason to suspect that it is these others that have laid him under contribution, altering his completed plays, or completing his unfinished work by additions of their own.¹⁵

Is such a state of things more consistent with an author who had passed away leaving his unfinished writings in other hands, or with one who was still alive, intellectually vigorous, at the summit of his profession as a playwright, and but forty-three years of age? Briefly, these later plays, instead of presenting a difficulty, add their own peculiar quota of evidence in support of the theory that Edward de Vere was the author, and this, not through any theories which I have devised, but by the explicit statements of orthodox Shakespeareans. It is, of course, impossible to elaborate the matter within the space of a brief letter. The reader will, however, find quite sufficient, if not to satisfy him, at any rate to suggest a satisfactory standpoint, in the chapters in which I deal with certain posthumous considerations and with “The Tempest.”

In dealing with the actual publication of the plays we are on surer ground. We find then that a flood of publication which started in 1597 was continued up to the publication of “Hamlet” in 1604 (the year of Oxford’s death). There was then a complete stoppage, and with the exception of three plays published four years later, under unusual conditions. Nothing fresh was published until 1623 (seven years after William Shakespeare’s death). One of the most striking facts is that the time of Oxford’s death marks a radical change in Shakespeare’s style of versification. None of the plays published between 1597 and 1604 are marked by “weak-endings.” The later plays show an extraordinary development in this direction. The time of Oxford’s death also marks the closing of the series of sonnets which the poet had been writing for the past twelve or thirteen years; and this year of 1604 was for long held to be the identical year of William Shakespeare’s retirement to Stratford.¹⁶

Surely it is not too much to claim that the date of Oxford’s death, instead of being a weakness, is one of the strongest links in the chain of evidence.

J. Thomas Looney

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May 28, 1920, Vol. 2/31, p. 68.

C O R R E S P O N D E N C E .
THE IDENTITY OF SHAKESPEARE.
TO THE EDITOR OF "THE BOOKMAN'S JOURNAL."

SIR—Let me first correct a date given in my last letter. Referring to the uncertainty of the writing of "The Winter's Tale," I gave 1590 as the earliest supposed date; this should have been 1594. The correction in no way affects the argument.

The Rt. Hon. J. M. Robertson, in his letter, has the following statement: "Mr. Looney, I see, alleges that I attacked 'him' with intolerant denunciation. This is an 'unmitigated untruth.' I have passed 'no denunciation whatever.' " (My quotations.)

However distasteful the matter, no man can ignore a challenge of this nature, from whatever source it may come. It is of importance first of all, therefore, to make the statement more precise. My statement was that "Mr. Robertson hurled intolerant denunciations 'at my work' without having read it." ("Bookman's Journal," April 9.) The reference is to a review of the book which appeared in the "Yorkshire Post" on March 5¹⁷, and immediately elicited protests from correspondents who were neither "antis" nor known personally to myself. A few passages from this article will enable your readers to judge where the truth lies:

"Some authorities who unwittingly encouraged Mr. Looney to the top of his bent by too liberally over-praising the Earl's modest inspiration, may now begin to see that they have something to answer for."

"Mr. Looney satisfies himself of the 'identity of esthetic chalk and cheese.'"

"Thus are the remains of the master cut to fit the bed of Procrustes."

"Had he studied the versification question he could not have penned his 'unspeakable comments' on the greatest blank verse in our literature."

"Mr. Looney explains that his method is not literary. It certainly is not. ...But if he supposes his method is scientific...he deceives himself."

"His way of finding Oxford in the plays 'defies burlesque.' "

"To confute his re-statement of the anti-Stratfordian case would be a waste of time. The motley band of "antis" avow that their conclusions are foregone; and their constructive theories, pointing to all parts of the aristocratic compass, tell the value of their critical method. Anyone who will read Mr. Looney, page 477, may realise the 'kind of mentality that is at work' through the whole of the anti literature." (My quotations throughout.)

And now Mr. Robertson avers that he “passed no denunciation whatever.” He may, if he cares to, claim that every remark was justifiable; but few people will be able to “realise the mentality that is at work,” when he describes my remark as an “unmitigated untruth.”

What gives special character to his attack is the kind of examination to which he had subjected my work. This was revealed in one other sentence: “In 1590, when, as he (Mr. Looney) ‘hardily’ alleges ‘all’ the Shakespeare sonnets were written, Rutland was only ‘fourteen years old.’ ” As this is a complete misrepresentation of the view of the sonnets maintained throughout the book (the period 1590 to 1604 being assigned), it was at once evident that Mr. Robertson had merely dipped here and there into the work, in so hurried and perturbed a manner as to have missed not only the whole of important arguments, but even the sense of the sentence from which he was actually quoting. For I there state explicitly that the series was “brought to a close” before Rutland had “reached the ‘age of twenty-seven’ ” (p. 443). One of my arguments is that sonnet 125 probably refers to Queen Elizabeth’s funeral (1603), and another is that the series was brought abruptly to a close at the time of Oxford’s death (1604). The following list of references, any of which would have kept him right, will give some idea of the enormity of his blunder:

- Page 212-13. The sonnets refer to poems published under a mask in 1593 and 1594.
- Page 229. Sonnet 125 refers to the funeral of Queen Elizabeth or the coronation of James I (1603).
- Page 230. Repeats the above.
- Page 391. The sonnets make reference to the dedications (1593 and 1594).
- Page 395. Sonnet 125 seems to be pointing to Queen Elizabeth’s funeral (1603).
- Page 396. Repeats the above.
- Page 429. Southampton’s liberation (1603) referred to in the Sonnets.
- Page 430. Sonnets refer to events which took place in 1603.
- Page 432. Death of Oxford (1604) close the series of Sonnets.
- Page 437. Repeats this.
- Page 439. Sonnets 81 and 82 refer to the dedications (1593 and 1594).
- Page 440. Repeats this.
- Page 442. Repeats this.
- Page 443. The sentence, half of which Mr. Robertson quoted. (see above).
- Page 447. Sonnets written in 1593-4.
- Page 490. 1590 mentioned as date of “first Sonnets.”
- Page 491. 1603 mentioned as date of “last Sonnets.”

These, along with a reference to the closing of the series in the Contents Table (p. 10) and in the Index (p. 548) made it impossible for even a superficial reading of the book to result in so complete a misunderstanding. It will be noticed that he even takes me to task (Mr. Looney "hardily alleges") for saying something contrary to what I had repeated with an almost wearisome reiteration. It was with such a "knowledge" of the actual contents of my book as this single sentence betrayed that he wrote in the strain of the passages I have quoted from his article. Evidently he had run amok at the work, and when I characterise such treatment as "intolerant denunciation" he has the hardihood to speak of my "unmitigated untruth."

J. Thomas Looney

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March 25, 1921, Vol. 3/74, p. 388

C O R R E S P O N D E N C E .
STRATFORD AND STONY STRATFORD.
TO THE EDITOR OF "THE BOOKMAN'S JOURNAL."

SIR—Your contributor who reviewed my recent book, *The Poems of Edward de Vere*, is, I judge, the same writer that reviewed *Shakespeare Identified* last year; and I must again thank him for the courteous spirit of his present review. All the same, I think he is less just to the quality of Oxford's early poetry than he was in his former article. Oxford's lyrics, however, resemble the true "Shakespeare" work in that they grow upon one with frequent reading; and, therefore, it would not surprise me if, in time, your reviewer should come to extend rather than to modify his first appreciation.

What I am unable to understand is his view that the importance of "Shakespeare's" identity requires to be proved. If historic research has any value, if it is important that we should know the truth and form a just appreciation of any man whose labours have gone to shape the life and thought of his fellows, surely it is of importance to Englishmen that the truth should be known and justice should be done to the memory of the one Englishman who, more than any other, has established himself permanently in the intellectual life of mankind. "S." thinks that "the intellectual credit of England will take care of itself." I wish I could feel so sure about it myself. I am not now thinking wholly of the special problem with which I have become publicly associated (and which your reviewer seems to think—quite erroneously—is my chief intellectual interest), but rather of the present-day handling by the "intellectual classes" of all problems requiring *thought* rather

than erudition and literary style; and I must say that I have an uneasy feeling that the initiative which England held in the latter half of the nineteenth century is passing into other hands.

In this connection my immediate problem has furnished me with significant data. In America, for example, where certain sections of the “orthodox” have assailed my work with a hostility quite equal to what it has aroused in England, there have been people of standing, like Gelett Burgess¹⁸, Oliver Hereford¹⁹, Eric Schuler²⁰, Edwin Björtsman²¹, Frederick Taber Cooper²², and Caroline Wells²³, who have risen to the requirements of the problem. In England, so far, not a single writer of equal standing has been big enough to do the same.

Having said this, I owe it to one man, whose name is not yet so well known as it may become—the Rev. W. A. L. Elmslie²⁴, M.A., a literary and oriental scholar and author, formerly a lecturer at Cambridge and a Fellow of Christ’s College—to say that he has, by public lecture rather than by his pen, shown a courage and independence of judgment in respect to my theories quite equal to that of the better-known American writers. He, however, writes me: “I do not know what our literature experts are dreaming about that your book has not been the talk of the year.” Which, of course, is but confirmation of my fears respecting “the intellectual credit of England.”

I must apologise for allowing this letter to become unduly long.

—Yours sincerely,
J. Thomas Looney.
Gateshead-on-Tyne,
March 14, 1921.

Endnotes

1. In editing the letters I have retained Looney's British spellings of words such as "theatre," "apologise," "labours," and "realise." Regarding punctuation, the only changes I have made are eliminating the blank space before semicolons and colons, eliminating the blank space separating quote marks from the word just after or before them, and reducing to one the number of spaces between sentences. All other punctuation is as published in *The Bookman's Journal*.
2. Frank Harris, *The Man Shakespeare and His Tragic Life-story*. 1909: New York: Mitchell Kennerley. 2nd Edition, 1921: Girard, KS: Halderman-Julius Co. 3rd Ed. 1969: New York: Horizon Press.
3. Under the entry for "Edward de Vere," in volume 58 of the *Dictionary of National Biography* (1898), Sir Sidney Lee wrote that Oxford, "despite his violent and perverse temper, his eccentric taste in dress, and his reckless waste of substance, evinced a genuine taste in music and wrote verses of much lyric beauty. . . . A sufficient number of his poems is extant to corroborate Webbe's comment that he was the best of the courtier poets in the early days of Queen Elizabeth." In "*Shakespeare Identified*," p. 111-112, Looney describes Lee's *A Life of William Shakespeare* as "invaluable," and says that Lee "has furnished more material in support of my constructive argument than any other single modern writer."
4. W. J. Courthope, Professor of Poetry at the University of Oxford, described Oxford's verses as "distinguished for their wit . . . and terse ingenuity. . . . His studied concinnity of style is remarkable . . . He was not only witty himself but the cause of wit in others." For more information see Looney's "*Shakespeare Identified*," p. 121-125.
5. Dr. Grosart gathered together all of Oxford's extant recognized poems and published them in the "Fuller Worthies Library" in 1872. Oxford's poems, he wrote, "are not without touches of the true Singer and there is an atmosphere of graciousness and culture about them that is grateful." Of Oxford himself, he commented that "An unlifted shadow lies across his memory." For more information see Looney's description of Courthope's work in "*Shakespeare Identified*," p. 121-125.

6. The Rt. Hon. J. M. Robertson and J. Thomas Looney had had an earlier exchange of letters in *The Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer*, with Robertson's March 5, 1920 review being answered by Looney on March 11 and April 1. They clash again in *The Bookman's Journal*, with Looney responding on May 28 to Robertson's May 21 letter.
7. Today this portrait is more commonly referred to as the Welbeck portrait. It hangs in the Duke of Portland's place at Welbeck Abbey, near Worksop, Nottingham.
8. The Bedingfield Letter is the letter that Edward de Vere wrote to Thomas Bedingfield about his, Oxford's, decision to publish Bedingfield's translation in order to "erect you such a monument that in your lifetime you shall see how noble a shadow of your virtuous life shall remain when you are dead and gone." See "*Shakespeare*" *Identified*, p. 132-133 for more information.
9. "Love Thy Choice." See page 4 in *The Poems of Edward de Vere* edited by J. Thomas Looney (1921).
10. "Loss of Good Name." See page 22 in *The Poems of Edward de Vere* edited by J. Thomas Looney (1921).
11. George Russell French, *Shakspeareana Genealogica*. London: MacMillan and Co. 1869.
12. Looney could be referring to the original 1877 Variorum edition of *Hamlet* edited by Horace Howard Furness or to the New Variorum Edition published in 1918. Both contain commentaries on the play by Johnson, Coleridge, Goethe and others.
13. Looney made the same request in *Notes and Queries*, May 8, 1920, Vol. 208: 190.
14. See note 12.
15. Walter Raleigh, *Shakespeare*. New York and London: The Macmillan Company 1907.
16. Looney discusses this point at greater length on page 424 of "*Shakespeare*" *Identified*.
17. See note 6.

18. Gelett Burgess (1866-1951). A San Francisco area based artist, art critic and writer. In 1947-1949 Burgess would publish a number of important letters and articles supportive of Oxford's authorship in *The New York Herald Tribune*, *The Washington Post* and *The Saturday Review*. He and Looney also exchanged letters in 1920 and 1927.
19. Oliver Herford (1860-1935). British-born, but American, writer, illustrator and poet.
20. Eric Schuler (1889-1937). Worked in the copyright office in the Library of Congress. Served as secretary and treasurer of the Author's League of America.
21. Edwin Björkman (1866-1951). In the August 1920 issue of *The Bookman* (Vol. 51/9: 677-682) (not to be confused with *The Bookman's Journal*) he wrote one of the longest and most favorable reviews of "*Shakespeare Identified*."
22. Frederick Taber Cooper (1864-1937). Writer, professor at Columbia University, and editor of *The Forum*. Excerpt from his review of "*Shakespeare Identified*" in *The Forum*, spring 1920: "Here at last is a sane, dignified, arresting contribution to the much abused and sadly discredited Shakespeare controversy. It is one of the most ingenious pieces of minute, circumstantial evidence extant in literary criticism. . . . Every right-minded scholar who seriously cares for the welfare of letters in the bigger sense should face the problem that this book presents and argue it to a finish."
23. Carolyn Wells (1862-1942). A prolific writer noted for humor, poetry, and children's books. A letter from Looney to her is reprinted in the *Shakespeare Fellowship Quarterly*, Vol. V/2: 17-23. See also her letter to *The Saturday Review* (June 5, 1937), in which she states that "*Shakespeare Identified* is not only a fascinating book, it is clear and convincing argument that cannot be ignored or disbelieved by a thinking reader . . . anyone who has read Mr. Looney's book with an open mind has an open mind no longer; he is a disciple of Mr. Looney."
24. Rev. Walter Angus L. Elmslie (1856-1935). A Scottish Missionary.

