Calgreyhounds and the First Folios of Jonson and Shakespeare

by Michael Hyde

T he late Robert Brazil's research into the printing and publishing history of the Shakespeare quartos in his *Edward de Vere and the Shakespeare Printers* (2010) offers intriguing insights into the true authorship of the canon. Brazil found signs of Edward de Vere, 17th Earl of Oxford, throughout the quartos and in the First Folio by focusing on title pages and their printing emblems. One such discovery occurred when he pursued the Green Man emblem and its uses in Thomas Watson's *Hekatompathia* (1582) which was "dedicated to Oxford, edited by Oxford, and probably paid for by him" (169). He correctly notes that the *Hekatompathia* is "the acknowledged source for plot elements in Shakespeare's *Othello* and *Measure for Measure*." He calls this discovery "smoking gun territory" and we learn why when he compares this title page woodcut of Watson's work of 1582 with emblems that appear on both the dedication and the catalogue pages of the preface to the Shakespeare First Folio of 1623 (FF).

He states, "Incredibly, this emblem in the First Folio of Shakespeare is modeled on an emblem that first appeared in an Oxford related publication, *Hekatompathia*, of 1582… the emblem on *Hekatompathia* is nearly identical to the Folio Woodcut" (211). He continues, "if you compare the two cuts closely, you will see that they are not the same exact design, and the later emblem completes what is missing in the Original." That is, the 1582 woodcut shows "only the heads of the calgreyhounds" facing inwards in the lower right and left corners, while the Folio pages show the full animals, including their antlers, greyhound bodies, curled tails and claws.
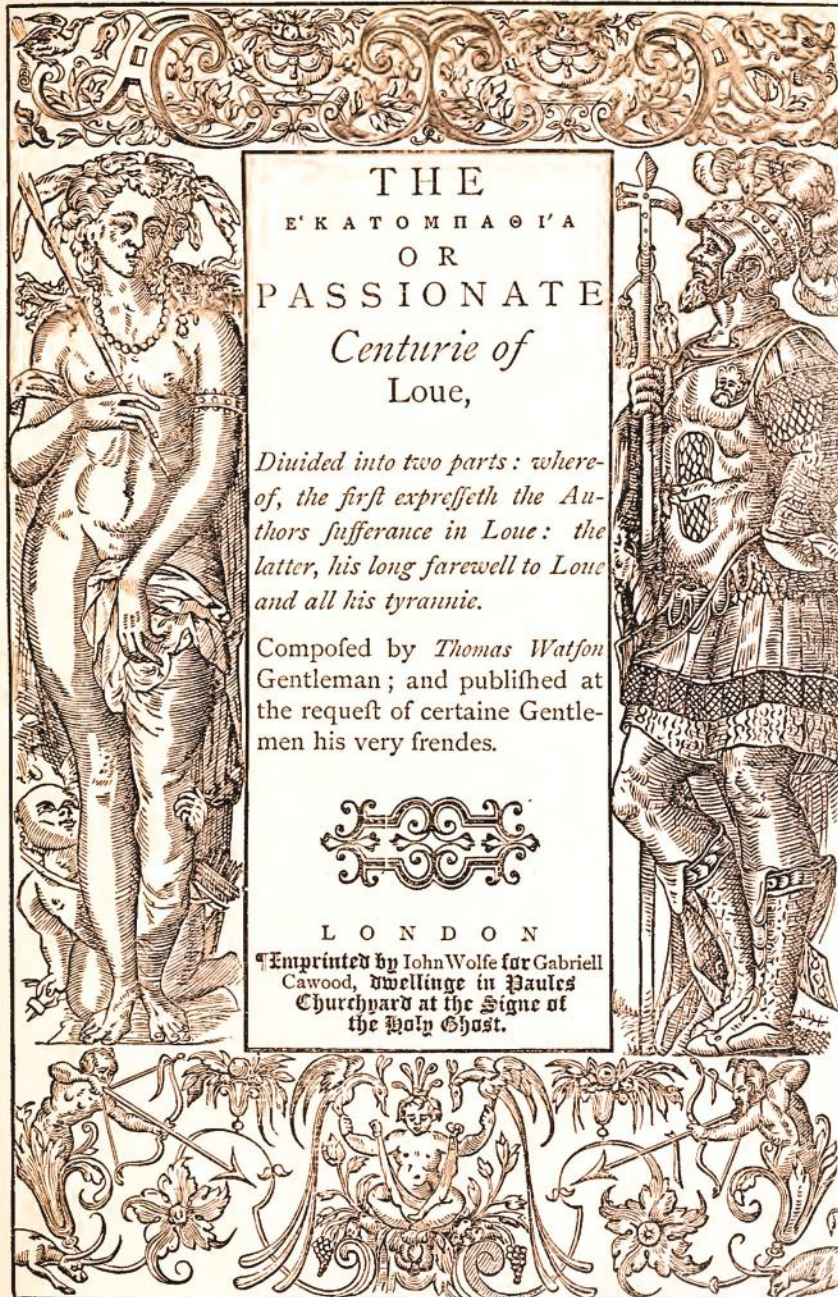
THE
Ε'ΚΑΤΟΜΠΑΘΙ'Α
OR
PASSIONATE
Centurie of
Loue,

*Diuided into two parts : where-
of, the first expresseth the Au-
thors sufferance in Loue : the
latter, his long farewell to Loue
and all his tyrannie.*

Composed by *Thomas Watson*
Gentleman ; and published at
the request of certaine Gentle-
men his very frendes.

LONDON
¶Emprinted by Iohn Wolfe for Gabriell
Cawood, dwellinge in Paules
Churchyard at the Signe of
the Holy Ghost.

Figure 1: Thomas Watson's Hekatompathia *(1582), dedicated to Oxford.*

I include the title page of the *Hekatompathia* (Figure 1) and four pages in FF, including the title page of *The Tempest* and the prologue page of *2 Henry IV* (Epilogve). This printer's woodcut emblem is manifested in the play texts of FF and not just the preface (see Figure 2, page 52).

As noted, Brazil finds the emblem with the completed calgreyhound beasts appearing on both the dedication page to the "Incomparable Brethren" (the Earls of Pembroke and Montgomery) as well on the catalogue page of the "severall Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies contained in this Volume." The FF only uses the bottom panel from the title page of *Hekatompathia* with the facing archers, the seated naked boy with branches sprouting from his head, and the calgreyhounds in the corners. There is no top ornamental scroll nor is there the large central image of a naked Venus holding an arrow—with Cupid at her feet—facing Mars dressed in full armor holding a sword as in the *Hekatompathia*.

A New Discovery

I can now add a new find to Brazil's discoveries and the two play text pages with the Wolfe emblem—an emblem with the brace of complete calgreyhound beasts also appears in Ben Jonson's 1616 First Folio on the prologue page to *Every Man in His Humour* (see Figure 3, page 53). The tracing of the ownership of the woodcut emblem from John Wolfe to the printing of Jonson's First Folio is straightforward. Wolfe became a close associate after 1591 of John Windet (see Wikipedia), who succeeded Wolfe as City Printer and, after Wolfe's death in 1601, took charge of administering Wolfe's estate. Wolfe passed on his printing ornaments and devices to Windet as early as 1594 when Wolfe stopped printing and focused on publishing. Windet had taken William Stansby as his apprentice as early as 1590; by 1597 Stansby was a freeman and member of the Stationers' Company—it is Stansby who was the printer in 1616 of Jonson's Folio works, carefully edited by Jonson.

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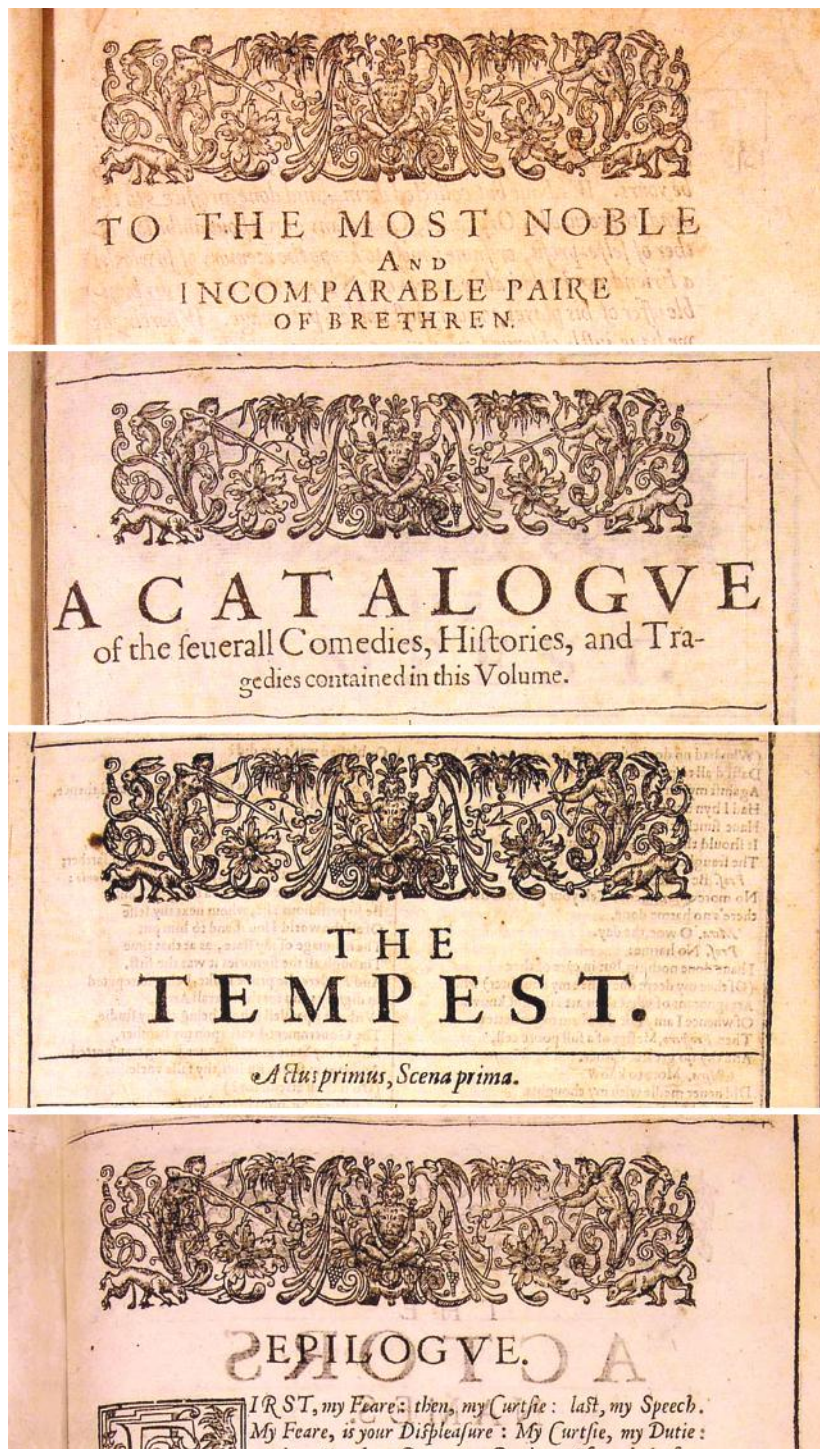
Figure 2: Four pages from the First Folio with woodcuts that included calgreyhounds: A) Two Noble Kinsmen, *B) the catalogue page, C)* The Tempest, *and D)* 2 Henry IV *Epilogue.*
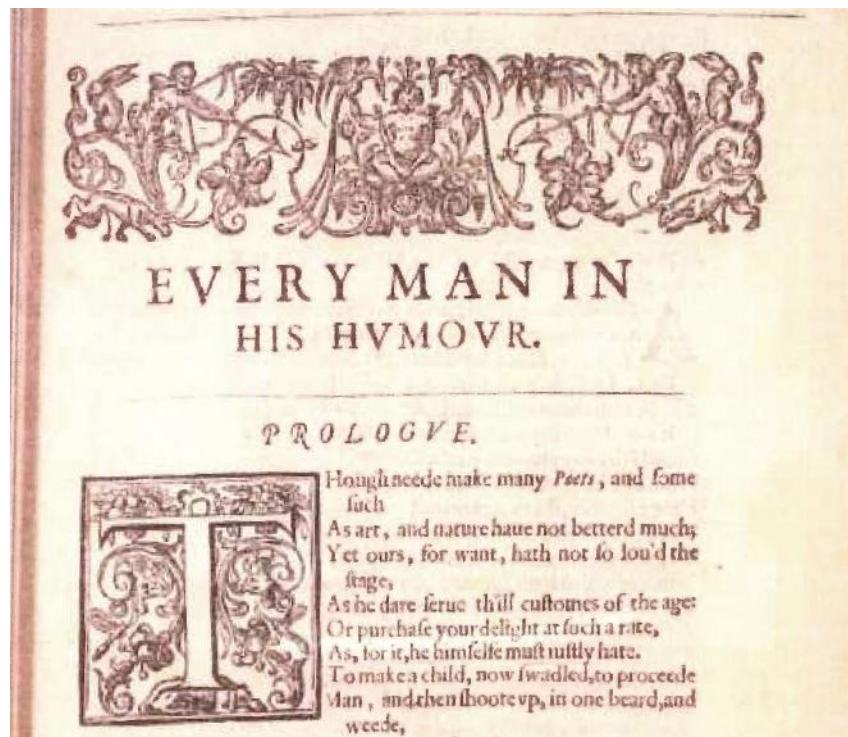
Figure 3: Ben Jonson's 1616 First Folio, showing the Prologue page to Every Man in His Humour.

Stansby took over Windet's shop at Cross Keys in 1610, and in 1611 inherited Windet's copyrights.

In addition, Wolfe's emblem reappears in the *Archaio-Ploutos* printed by the Jaggards in 1619, above "The Peroration Or Epilogue of the Whole Worke" (Ch. 24, 543). As Roger Stritmatter observed in his updated article on the *Archaio* in *Brief Chronicles* in 2016 with its *Minority Report on the Shakespeare First Folio*, "many of the same typographical devices which appeared four years later" (90) in the 1623 FF are found throughout the *Archaio*. We now specifically include the calgreyhound emblem. Stritmatter also argues convincingly that Susan Vere "is the primary dedicatee of the volume" (91). This claim finds support as we follow the trail of the calgreyhound emblem below.

First, we have the Wolfe emblem appearing on the title page and dedication to Edward de Vere of Watson's *Hekatompathia* in 1582. Next we move to the prologue of Jonson's 1616 Folio version of *Every Man in His Humour*, and thence from Stansby to Jaggard for use on the peroration page of the *Archaio* in 1619—and lastly four pages of the First Folio in 1623. In order by date, these works were dedicated to Edward de Vere, William Camden (Jonson's mentor and Clarenceux of the College of Heralds), Philip Herbert and Susan
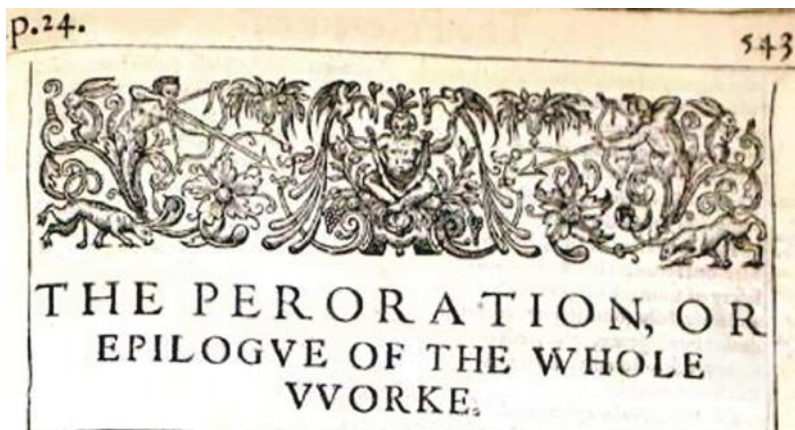
THE PERORATION, OR
EPILOGVE OF THE WHOLE
VVORKE.

Figure 4: Wolfe's emblem in the Archaio-Ploutos *printed by the Jaggards in 1619 (Ch. 24, 543).*

Vere, and ultimately William and Philip Herbert in the FF preface. The Vere family is involved as dedicatee in three of these four usages, and Ben Jonson in his folio dedicated his Epigram CIV to Susan de Vere.

The extant *Hekatompathia* manuscript in the British Library does not contain the calgreyhound emblem (British Lib. Harley MS 3287). Dana F. Sutton observes in the introduction to his online electronic version (@philological. bham.ac.uk/Watson/hekatompathia), "It is cause of astonishment that no previous editor of *Hekatompathia* consulted this manuscript." Sutton is not certain if this was the copy or manuscript that passed privately from Watson to various readers in 1580 and 1581—such as Edward de Vere and Sir George Buck, later Master of Revels (1610–1623) when the FF was being printed. Sutton also convincingly shows that Watson himself authored the headnotes and endnotes to the "Passionate Century" not de Vere, as was first suggested by Edward Arber in 1870. Watson cites his other works in the various passions and is clearly himself a "fictive author" who "warmed myself at a fictitious hearth." The Harley MS is in the same hand as several other MS works by Watson in the British Library, including the "Artificiosae Memoriae."

Various Green Man emblems appear some thirty times in the printed book, but the page with calgreyhounds at the bottom just once—on the title page of the work itself—followed by the dedication page to Edward de Vere. The cut-off greyhound heads with antlers result from cutting the woodblock to squeeze into the type bed; evidently the calgreyhound block was a late addition intended as a tribute to de Vere.

The one full-length study of Wolfe's printing career, by Clifford Chalmers Huffman in 1988 titled *Elizabethan Impressions*, demonstrates that Wolfe himself was very creative in his "decorative arabesques… each poem set on

its own page… filling empty spaces with ornamental woodcuts." Wolfe's initial London foray into printing involved almost entirely his importing Italian works printed both in the original and in translation, emerging "as the printer par excellence of Italian texts." Huffman states that Wolfe "created a cultural role for himself by publishing Machiavelli in Italian" in 1587. Wolfe even invented his own fictitious Roman printer, calling himself "Antoniello degli Antonielli," who sought "notorious or out-of-the way texts" like the *Hekatompathia*, his first English printed work but one with an extensive Italianate provenance. Watson was the perfect poet for Wolfe, who had printed his translation of the *Antigone* into Latin in 1581. Watson's 100 love "passions" contain numerous renderings and paraphrases from Petrarch, twelve translations from Serafino, and another thirteen from Strozza, Firenzuola, Parabosco and French poets, notably Ronsard. Edward de Vere was the perfect patron for Watson and Wolfe given his reputation as the Italianate Earl who sponsored other significant Italian translations into both Latin and English from authors such as Giralamo Cardano and Baldasare Castiglioni.

I believe that the calgreyhound emblem in *Hekatompathia* was Wolfe's creation, possibly with help from John Lyly, who was de Vere's secretary at this time. Lyly's own letter to Watson—"to the Author his friend"—is part of the prefatory material to *Hekatompathia*. There was no emblem book in English until that of Geoffrey Whitney in 1586, so Wolfe made his own adaptation of the de Vere calgreyhound—but from what source I cannot identify. Huffman describes Wolfe's own "very distinctive printer's device of a flowering palm tree with serpents and toads near the roots," but this emblem does not appear in the original *Hekatompathia* manuscript or printed book—only later in the Machiavelli and other Italian printing jobs. This implies that Wolfe himself added the calgreyhound images which were intended as a tribute to the patronage of de Vere.

Oxford's Involvement in *Hekatompathia*

Brazil's claim that "standard scholars of Watson have conceded that Vere wrote the witty editorial introductions throughout the book" (169) is erroneous. He did not have the advantage of Sutton's discovery of manuscripts in Watson's hand in Harley MS 3287, which were not posted until November 29, 2010. Watson himself states in his address to the Friendly Reader, "Yet for once I hope thou wilt respect of my travaile in penning these love passions or for pitie of my paines in suffering them (although but supposed)." Yet, as Watson acknowledges, de Vere had "favorably perused" and urged publication as for Bedingfield and others, but de Vere's role was primarily his enthusiastic patronage and financial support. It is worth noting with Sutton that the manuscript version is already dedicated to de Vere, as is the printed work, so no late changes occurred in the commentaries on each passion.

Seal of John de Vere, 13th Earl of Oxford

Arms of John de Vere, 15th Earl of Oxford as shown on his tomb.

Figure 5: Brazil's 2006 Shakespeare Matters *article, "Oxford's Heraldry Explained," shows all calgreyhounds rampant. Reprinted here are parts 7 and 8 from Figure Two.*

As Sutton states of Wolfe's work, "Hence the printer has conscientiously attempted to imitate design decisions made by the author."

The calgreyhound emblems are another story. Here it should be noted that Wolfe's calgreyhounds are horizontal moving figures, evidently in hunting mode with heads to the ground, as if following a scent. In heraldry, beasts can be presented in numerous positions: rampant, passant, guardant, trippant, regardant, and the one Wolfe used—courant. The previous images of the de Vere calgreyhounds discussed by Brazil in his 2006 *Shakespeare Matters* article, "Oxford's Heraldry Explained," provide figures which are all rampant, often used as supporters for a larger heraldic display. See Figure 5 above, with the seal of the 13th Earl John and the black marble tomb of the 15th Earl and his wife. These are the images cited and reproduced by heralds Colin Cole and Robyn Dennys in their *Dragonlore* article of 2003 which states "perhaps the most extraordinary of all these Tudor oddities" of mythical beasts is the calgreyhound image drawn from the contemporary seal of the Veres dating to 13th Earl John.

The Connecting Link

We have traced the literary trail of the calgreyhound emblem, moving from the Jonson Folio of 1616 to the Jaggards in the *Archaio Ploutos*. Jonson is

also a link in this chain with the Jaggards as ghost editor of the Shakespeare First Folio—despite the orthodox Stratfordian claim that Heminges and Condell were the FF editors. Jonson's extensive role in the Shakespeare FF begins with his "Address to the Reader" on page one, discussing the Droeshut engraving of Shakespeare, and his lengthy poem to the "Memory" of Shakespeare. He would have recognized and approved the calgreyhound emblems on the dedication & catalogue pages of FF, as he had himself used the emblem in his 1616 Folio.

Indeed, Jonson's efforts as a meticulous and demanding editor of his own Folio in 1616 strongly argue his having a greater editorial role in Shakespeare's FF. Jonson biographer David Riggs bluntly asserts Jonson's key role in the Shakespeare FF as a "triumph of sorts for Jonson": "Moreover, the men who prepared the folio for the press (and Jonson may well have been one of them) remade Shakespeare in Jonson's image" (276). As we have seen, this image includes reuse of the calgreyhound emblem from Jonson's Folio on the prologue page of his play, *Every Man In His Humour* and the four FF usages by Isaac Jaggard.

The use of Wolfe's emblems continued after FF, although they appear not to have been used from 1582 until the Jonson Folio in 1616. I have checked the A and B quartos of *2 Henry IV* first published in 1600, and they do not feature these Wolfe woodcut prints on the preface pages. Of course, *The Tempest* had never been printed until FF in 1623, so there is no quarto to investigate. Neither the 1660 Third Folio nor the 1685 Fourth Folio contain these woodcut emblems with the calgreyhounds. But the 1632 Second Folio is a different and more fascinating story.

The Second Folio features six uses of the Wolfe/Stansby woodblock, with two more being added to the prefatory pages. The two uses in the text on the first page of *The Tempest* and epilogue page of *2 Henry IV* are the same. The two woodblock imprints added in the preface are as follows: "On Worthy Master Shakespeare and his Poems" signed I. M. S. (John Smethwick); and "Upon the Effigies of my worthy Friend, the Author, Master William Shakespeare and his Workes," which contains on the same page the beginning of Milton's anonymous "An Epitaph on the Admirable Dramaticke Poet, W. Shakespeare." Also note that the next page squeezes together "The Workes of William Shakespeare" on the same page with "The Names of the Principall Actors," which had been separate pages in FF.

Isaac Jaggard died in 1627, so it was Robert Allot who obtained the copyright from Edward Blount to the FF plays of Shakespeare in 1630. Allot hired Thomas Cotes as printer; hence the title page inscriptions of the Second Folio state clearly "printed by Thomas Cotes for Robert Allot." While Allot is regarded as the prime mover in the 1632 Folio, it is probable that it was Cotes and his compositors who chose to make the extra use of the Wolfe

woodcut blocks with the calgreyhounds. The Wolfe woodcuts were striking enough to attract the attention of Cotes, who would use them several times in the Second Folio.

William Jaggard had printed for Edward Topsell in 1607 and 1608 two books whose illustrations of monsters and rare beasts became famous: *History of Four Footed Beasts*, and *History of Serpents*. The beasts and monsters in the gallery include the Gorgon, the Sphinx, the Manticore, the Lamia, a Winged Dragon, a Unicorn, and a dog-like creature called Another Monster. There is a "Gray-hound," but no calgreyhound like Wolfe's in these works. Clearly the Jaggards and Cotes were attracted by the mythical calgreyhound beast acquired from Wolfe/Stansby and chose it to use as the key emblem in both the First and Second Folios.

We are now in a position to ask whether Brazil's claim for the calgreyhound emblems in FF is truly a "smoking gun," supporting Edward de Vere as author of the Shakespeare canon. Brazil had noted the calgreyhound as early as October 1999 in his article "Unpacking the Merry Wives."

The Testimony of *Merry Wives of Windsor*

Brazil adds these comments to the dialogue of Page and Slender and Shallow concerning Page's greyhound being "outrun on Cotsall":

> this little bit of banter has nothing to do with the plot… [but] the language and the symbols are intriguing. A special greyhound, a 'Caleygreyhound,' was an heraldic symbol used by the earlier Earls of Oxford up to the sixteenth Earl, but was never used by Edward de Vere. His predecessors, the Earls John, often used arms with Calgrey-hounds as supporters (Dennys 153). The arms of Edward, the seven-teenth Earl, feature a Blue Boar and a Harpy as supporters (Ogburn 439). It may be that Oxford was prevented from using the Calgrey-hounds because of the loss of certain properties and/or titles, such as Keeper of the Forest of Essex, which may have been associated with these heraldic animals.

Brazil provides a similar reference to the calgreyhound in *Printers*:

> The calgreyhound is a mythical animal that is found in British Her-aldry in one place only. The Calgreyhound was used in the arms of the 13th–16th Earls of Oxford. For some reason Edward de Vere ceased using the calgreyhounds personally; but their appearance in the emblems of *Hekatomphathia*, which is dedicated to Oxford… and in the First Folio strongly suggests an intentional symbolic reference. The presence of the Calgreyhounds was recently noted as well by British researcher Christopher Bird. (211–212)

I have verified Brazil's 2010 comments on the 13th, 15th, and 16th Earls of Oxford and their use of calgreyhound emblems. Wikipedia echoes Brazil in these terms: "The de Vere family, who were the Earls of Oxford, used the calygreyhound in their coat of arms in the 15th and 16th centuries…. The calygreyhound is described consistently as having the head of a wildcat, the torso of a deer or antelope, antlers or horns, the hind legs of a lion or ox, and its tail like a lion or poodle." These statements are from the journal *Dragonlore* published on All Fool's Day 2003 as referenced above—a calgreyhound rampant fitting exactly this description. The cut-off heads of the calgreyhounds on the title page of *Hekatompathia* and the four pages of the full woodblock in FF are so far the only known uses of the calgreyhound heraldic emblem for Edward de Vere, 17th Earl of Oxford—even if Wolfe was the maker of the woodcut.

Probably the best known de Vere family emblem is the calgreyhound on the black marble tomb of John de Vere, 15th Earl of Oxford, in St. Nicholas Church near Castle Hedingham—there in the village church awaiting any curious tourist. Figure 5 shows the full seal of the 13th Earl—the great hero of Bosworth—with two facing calgreyhounds as supporters of the helmet stand and the blue boar atop the emblem. The 13th Earl's seal is the first known usage of the calgreyhound in de Vere heraldry. On page 19 of the *Shakspeare Matters* article, Brazil continues with what he dubs the "St. Albans

Figure 6: A part of a 1571 manuscript showing the shield of the 16th Earl, father of Edward de Vere.

genealogy of de Vere… a unique manuscript roll formerly in the possession of the modern Dukes of St. Albans." The manuscript dates to 1571 and is today in the private collection of Queen Elizabeth II. It was created, claims Brazil, in 1571–1572 as a celebratory commemorative tribute to the wedding of Anne Cecil and Edward de Vere—possibly, one wonders, by Lord Burghley, who could easily have done so with the College of Heralds. The shield of the 16th Earl, father of Edward de Vere, is a 21-coat device that "is supported by two calgreyhounds and crested with a blue boar."

Brazil believes that "the 16th Earl was the first Vere to bear these exact 21 coats." There is also in the St Albans manuscript an abbreviated version of the shield with sixteen coats which "given the context can only be that of the 16th or the 17th Earl."

Brazil concludes by contrasting Edward de Vere, who "never seemed to use the calgreyhound of 13th Earl John who left to his descendants a treasure of chattels with calgreyhound ornamentation… inherited by Edward de Vere which does include a tapestry with a hunting scene and greyhounds but makes no mention of calgreyhound devices." One wonders if de Vere chose in his emblems from 1574 to 1580 not to use the calgreyhound rampant of the St. Albans manuscript because he wanted to honor, with his own personal choices, the heraldic designs of his ancestors, not a new design created by Burghley? Or Brazil may have been correct in 1999 by wondering if de Vere's loss of the Waltham/Essex Forest prevented his heraldic use of the calgreyhound?

Missing Evidence in the First Folio

This would seem to argue from Brazil's own research that the calgreyhound emblems in FF are not a "smoking gun" for de Vere's authorship of the canon. However, it was Brazil, according to Katherine Chiljan, who first observed that the Shaksper family arms are inexplicably absent from the First Folio. Her endnote states "in 2005… the absence of the Shakespeare arms in the First Folio preface was pinpointed by Brazil in the online scholarly discussion group ElizaForum" (140). If we combine the manifest presence of the brace of calgreyhounds used on four pages of FF—transported from Watson in 1582, Jonson's Folio in 1616, and the *Archaio Ploutos* peroration in 1619—with Brazil's questioning the missing arms of Shaksper in FF, we do have a serious challenge to Stratfordian orthodoxy. Why? Because we have unearthed intriguing evidence from heraldry which helps to deconstruct the Stratford narrative and, conversely, adds weight to alternative readings of the traditional myth, based on empirical data.

Leah Marcus herself noted that the Droeshut image in the Preface to FF:

> has no frame, no ornamental borders…. Nor does the title page include the allegorical figures and devices that might be expected to surround the engraved image of the author in a volume of such size and costliness and which were included in a number of other volumes printed by William Jaggard. (*Puzzling Shakespeare*, 2)

She adds that such volumes as the 1616 Folio Works of King James I often show "highly personalized mottoes and emblems" (3)—ignoring or failing to notice the four uses of the calgreyhound from *Hekatompathia*, also used by Jonson in his 1616 Folio and in the *Archaio Ploutos* as we have shown. Jonson's own 1616 Folio and the *Archaio* do provide the elaborate ornamentation and borders that Marcus finds missing in FF.

Furthermore, the Shaksper arms were easily available to Jonson or the Jag-gards, obtainable from the nearby College of Heralds as the Folger's Heather Wolfe has recently shown us. She found in May 2016 the manuscript entitled "Promptuarium Armorum ('Storehouse of Arms') compiled by William Smith, Rouge Dragon Pursuivant… between 1602 and 1616." She shows us the sketches that led to the completed coat of arms for the Shaksper family that we are familiar with today—yellow shield, spear sinister, and falcon crest. But Wolfe fails to mention what is actually printed in FF—Wolfe's brace of calgreyhound emblems—and ignores what is not included, the Shaksper fam-ily coat of arms granted in 1596.

To echo Leah Marcus, it is especially puzzling that the controversial hard-won coat of arms of John/William Shaksper obtained between 1596–1599 was not blazoned in the First Folio. Otherwise, Will Shaksper could never have styled himself as "gent." on legal documents after 1601—which he did in a property deed for the Globe Theater in October 1601, one month after John's death. Nor could he have been described as "gentle" Shakespeare by several contributors to the First Folio's preface—most notably Ben Jonson in his poem to his beloved's memory. Instead, we have the unique calgreyhound emblem appearing on key pages of the First Folio, with its unique ancestry from Edward de Vere and the Earls of Oxford.

I believe Ben Jonson had to use ambiguous evidence because the patrons of the First Folio—the Herbert Family—wanted to sever de Vere from the plays and poems while still supporting the Protestant Patriot Party during the Spanish Marriage Crisis, which was only resolved in autumn 1623 (Johnston 95ff). It's why Jonson described the author as the "Sweet Swan of Avon," but separated it from the other biographical clue in FF—"thy Stratford moniment." The entire Jonson encomium and the images included in the FF—or left out—add up to a brilliant job of strategic deception.

Indeed, only the cognoscenti would know that the calgreyhounds were used by the de Vere Earls of Oxford, a very small number of people within the English nobility. It's a very detailed circumstantial case but, in the end, the Herbert brothers controlled the Shakespeare cover-up. They were deter-mined to defend their caste and protect their noble families from exposure and embarrassment even as they, at long last, released and published the plays, but not the poems and sonnets, of William Shakespeare.

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