

The Shakespeare Fellowship was founded in London in 1922 under the presidency of Sir George Greenwood.

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Discoverer of the True Shakespeare Passes

JOHN THOMAS LOONEY, 1870-1944

*It is the glory of God, says Solomon, to
conceal a thing: but the honour of kings
is to search out a matter.* A. E. Housman.

At his temporary home in Swadlincote, near Burton-on-Trent, Staffordshire, England, on the twentieth day of January, 1944, died the outstanding literary detective of all time, J. Thomas Looney, the man who discovered Edward de Vere, 17th Earl of Oxford, as the real personality behind the long-suspect literary alias of "William Shakespeare."

Mr. Looney had passed his seventy-third birthday. He had been in precarious health for about three years, following several tragic accidents that touched him closely. In 1940 he had been obliged to leave his home at Gateshead-on-Tyne when the Germans selected that part of England as a major blitz target. During the same year, all of the unsold copies of Mr. Looney's two published works on the authorship mystery—"Shakespeare" Identified and *The Poems of Edward de Vere*—were destroyed in the bombing of London.

Altogether, the final years of this remarkable scholar's career—though relieved by the steadfast love and admiration of his family and his many correspondents throughout the English-speaking world—typified much of the tragic frustration which the war has wrought upon so many Europeans of high mental attainments.

Unfortunately, Mr. Looney did not live to see his great achievement in literary detection accepted by Shakespearean scholars generally. Yet it seems perfectly safe to say that his masterpiece, "Shakespeare" Identified, will be read as long as men and women retain interest in the creative background of the Shakespearean plays and poems.

The whole theory and art of modern biography in its struggle to separate real achievement from myth and miracle, romance from documented fact, and to bring forth the true lineaments of the subject sought through the palimpsest of confused opinion was brilliantly justified in 1920 when Mr. Looney issued his study of the Poet Earl of Oxford as Shakespeare.

John Galsworthy's statement at that time, that "Shakespeare" Identified was "the greatest detective story I have ever read" has been echoed hundreds of times since by open-minded readers in many countries.

One of the practical results of the publication of Mr. Looney's discovery was the organization in London in 1922 of The Shakespeare Fellowship to promote study of the Shakespearean authorship problem along the scientific lines laid down by Mr. Looney. Colonel B. R. Ward, himself a distinguished Elizabethan student, and, incidentally, the officer who had active direction of the air defense of London during 1914-18, took the leading part in organizing The Fellowship and enlisted the interest of his friend, the late Sir George Greenwood, K. C., M. P., author of *The Shakespeare Problem Restated*, the classic anti-Stratford exposé, to accept the presidency of the group. Colonel Ward was the father of Captain Bernard M. Ward, author of *The Seventeenth Earl of Oxford*, first and most comprehensive biography of Edward de Vere, a book which must be read in conjunction with Mr. Looney's epoch-making study.

It is a noteworthy fact that in the generation that has passed since "*Shakespeare Identified*" appeared, no orthodox Stratfordian writer has been able to present anything even approaching a serious and convincing rebuttal of the Looney case for Oxford as the Elizabethan poet and playwright who used the name "William Shakespeare" as a nom-de-plume. The best any one has done has been to offer his own "authoritative" opinion that the Stratford myths and fables are to be taken as gospel through long usage.

Meanwhile, the shadows and tragic sensations of World War II have obscured development of important lines of argument corroborating Mr. Looney's pioneer work. But that this is a passing phase, and that the great variety, weight and realistic credibility of the contemporary documentation for Oxford will ultimately be recognized as the only solution of the great mystery of the Bard's true personality that logic can accept seems as certain as that law and order will finally triumph over world-chaos.

Our late friend and leader, J. Thomas Looney, was personally as modest and unassuming as he was bold and vigorous in conception and argument. He sought no wide acclaim, could not be persuaded to sit for a press photograph, and few of the many people who have been actively influenced by his writings during the past twenty-four years ever had the pleasure of meeting him. So far as can be learned, no biographical sketch of him is available in any work of reference. The present uncertainty in means of communication has also made it impossible at this time to secure the chronological facts regarding his career as a student, teacher and writer from his surviving relatives. Up to 1942, Mr. Looney did, however, keep up quite an extensive correspondence with students of the Oxford-Shakespeare evidence in the United States. Several of the letters that he wrote to these friends and literary colleagues should prove of unusual interest at this time, in lieu of a conventionally written obituary notice, for they contain interesting autobiographical sidelights and comments on the world at large which give us the measure of the man more vividly than any quantity of vital statistics.

Perhaps the best tribute we can pay, then, to the memory of J. Thomas Looney will be to let our old friend speak to us again in his own person. The following extracts are taken, with permission, from letters written during the last sixteen years of Mr. Looney's life:

To Mrs. Eva Turner Clark, 10th August, 1928

As I had already received word of your intended visit to England, your letter, though a great delight, was not altogether unexpected; and although it will not be possible to meet, I assure you that I thoroughly appreciate the kindness and the honour of your wish in the matter.

Will you therefore accept my sincere thanks for the invitation to meet you, and also for your good wishes respecting future literary work. Unfortunately I do not feel justified in holding out hope of making any further noticeable contribution to the literature of the "Shakespeare Problem." My distinctive task was to solve the problem; and that, I firmly believe, has been done. I am nothing loth, therefore, to leave to others the task and the honour of securing for Edward de Vere his right recognition by the general public. As to my own part, such frank recognition as appears in your own work, and in those of Colonel Ward and Captain (now Rear-Admiral) Holland, is all that I ask for the present; the rest is bound to come; and so I feel more and more inclined to turn back my very limited forces upon other interests that have dominated my mind for over thirty years and from which my Shakespeare researches were only intended as a temporary digression.

Those who can read between the lines of "*Shakespeare Identified*" will not have much difficulty in detecting the direction at least, of these other interests—though, naturally, I have avoided, in the main, using either my Shakespeare writings or correspondence for ventilating other matters. Nevertheless my writings have had the effect of bringing me personal relationships, implying sometimes a considerable amount of personal trust, and, naturally, if one is to be known publicly in this way, it ought to be chiefly for what one really is, and most earnestly aims at.

To put it briefly, then, I have for very many years had a settled sense of our own age as one of increasing social and moral disruption tending towards complete anarchy, and my great wish has been to make some kind of contribution towards the solving of a problem much vaster, and more serious in its incidence, than the "Shakespeare," or any merely literary problem, could possibly be.

In my search amongst the thinkers who have wrestled with this problem, I have come to form very decided views respecting its nature and the direction in which its solution is to be sought, as well as of the particular kind of developments

necessary for giving practical effect to it.

If, therefore, strength and opportunity be given me to use my pen to any purpose, my wish is to use it in the service of those larger claims. For the present, however, the demands made by professional work, upon energies considerably diminished as a result of an accident last year, impose a strain that will probably prevent my doing much of any consequence until my pension time arrives and so I am just looking forward, doing the best to keep alive my early enthusiasms in the hope of making a fresh start when the time comes "to retire"—still probably a couple of years off.

27. 8. 28

This letter, begun over a fortnight ago, had to be left unfinished; and I now return to it on the day you leave this country.

I sincerely hope that you have enjoyed your visit here and your return voyage, and have benefited in many ways from your trip to Europe. Your journey into Scotland would doubtless include Melrose, Abbotsford, & the Scott Country generally, which, if it lacks some of the impressiveness of the more northern scenery, compensates by the depth of its human appeal, through its association with the English (?) genius who comes next to Shakespeare in sureness of insight and range of sympathies.

I wonder whether, whilst in London, you found time for a visit to Castle Hedingham and Earl's Colne?

With all good wishes, Believe me, Yours very sincerely, J. T. Looney.

To Carolyn Wells, 6th December, 1932

The arrival this morning of some cuttings from America, including your interesting article in the New York American on "Stratford-on-Avon," has made me feel that I must not delay any longer in writing to you, and so carrying out an intention that has been in my mind for about three months—ever since I received, through the kindness of Mrs. (Oliver) Herford, a copy of your article of Aug. 29th on "Edward de Vere."

Immediately after reading the latter I got to work upon an article for some American magazine. Owing to domestic sickness, however, the work has been very intermittent and was only finished a couple of days ago. All correspondence that could be postponed has also been laid aside in the interim.

What I want to do now is simply to offer you my very warmest thanks for the delightful way in which you refer to my own work in your "Edward de Vere" article. To know that one's own words

have been read and re-read, in the way you describe, ought to be very gratifying. In some ways it is; but my dominant feeling in reading your three concluding paragraphs has been one of personal unworthiness and heavy responsibility. They are words of appreciation of which any author might well be proud; particularly as I know that they express a conviction you proclaimed with just as much confidence over twelve years ago, before anyone else in the literary world had rallied to the cause: when in fact, the general attitude was that of skepticism and even ridicule. (Not that I take any credit to myself for having patiently borne with the latter; for I have felt singularly indifferent to it from the first; perhaps because that, feeling so confident that the truth was clear, I felt some pity for minds that could not see it.)

The last few years, however, have made a marked change in the situation, and recognized scholars are coming round; but to myself, personally, the support that warms the heart is that which came in the early days from independent minds.

Believe me, Yours very sincerely, J. T. Looney.

To Charles Wisner Barrell, 6th June, 1937

Three numbers of The Saturday Review of Literature arrived yesterday, and although the outer label of the parcel does not indicate that you are the sender I have no doubt that, either directly or indirectly, I am indebted to your courtesy for the pleasure of reading your article and the discussion which resulted.

May I take the liberty of congratulating you on a very admirable paper—one of the best on the subject that I have been privileged to receive. I have already read it several times, each time with increased admiration, and I cannot conceive how anyone seriously interested in the great things of literature could possibly read it without being moved to go more deeply into the question.

If I were inclined to take exception to anything in your article it would be your taking any notice of the silly and childish jibes at my patronymic. Publishers and friends foresaw the handle it would provide for the critics, and wished me to adopt a non-de-plume. I declined very decidedly however, and lost one of the foremost English publishers in consequence; thus risking a premature disclosure of my discovery. It was, indeed, this fact which led me to deposit with the British Museum Librarian the sealed document referred to in the Preface to "Shakespeare" Identified.

One of my chief reasons for refusing to make the concession was that the people for whom I write are not the kind of people to whom the mere name of a writer would make any difference: & I think the high standard of the first converts to my views has justified the stand I took.

Another reason was the great respect I felt for others who have borne the name, & for whom I had no reason to be ashamed, either for their wisdom or probity.

In passing, it may interest you to know that the name is Manx, that my immediate forefathers came from the Isle of Man and the family is descended, as I have been informed, from the Earls of Derby once Kings of Man. I have no vanity about things of this kind; but they do help to make up the sum of those subtle influences by which a man's surname establishes links of sentiment with the distant past and thus come to have for him a kind of sacred claim which makes him resent a disrespectful use of it. It is this probably which has always dictated to people of good feeling the rule of treating the surnames of others with some respect: such surnames being not merely individual interests but symbols, as it were, of the whole line of a man's ancestors.

Whilst I am on the theme of personal references in your article I feel that I ought to let you know a little more about myself. I had hoped to have done so long before now but my illness in the early months of this year left me very weak, and even now any sustained mental effort exhausts me. I can therefore give you only a few brief indications.

Although, as you state, my life has been spent in the scholastic profession, and some of my daily work did contribute a definite stimulus to my Shakespeare enquiries, I would place professional studies and duties amongst the minor factors of my education and preparation for this particular piece of work.

To be quite frank about it, my professional career was only a makeshift and my professional studies only subordinate. Being brought up under religious and a strongly evangelical environment I decided at the age of 16 to enter the Christian ministry and began the necessary studies, taking up scholastic work as a temporary occupation. My studies for the ministry, however, brought me speedily up against grave and difficult problems which I did not hesitate to face, and by the age of 19 I found that I could not go forward under the conditions originally planned; and by the age of 22 I was obliged, as a consequence of the conclusion to which I had come, to abandon all thought of a religious vocation,

though without any definite plans or prospects for the future, whilst continuing for a few years longer the special studies upon which I was engaged.

The ten years from the age of 16 to 26 were years of close study: not, however, in the ordinary sense of accumulating erudition, but in reading and thought with a view to solving the most vital problems of life; and although these years include my college course and the necessary preparations for examinations, I cannot say, with every wish to be fair to lecturers and masters, that I owed much of value to them. My real teachers were books, & my problems I had to formulate and grapple with single-handed.

The authors who exercised the greatest influence over me were Channing, Carlyle, Emerson, John Stuart Mill, & Herbert Spencer, and my systematic studies were concerned mainly with mathematics, general science, philosophy, history & social & moral science. Throughout these years, however, the greater poets, Shakespeare, Wordsworth, Tennyson, Byron & Burns were my constant companions.

It was then, too, that I contracted the habit of stating my problems very definitely to myself and seeking for these problems some definite and satisfactory solution.

It was, then, in the pursuit of these studies that, in the quest of a philosophy of life—the old philosophy of the Christian faith having been broken down during the preceeding 10 years—I came to study seriously the works of Auguste Comte, which I had known previously only through the writings of John Stuart Mill, and came to realize that he presented the point of view towards which for the past ten years I had been spontaneously moving.

The effect of Comte's teaching was to coordinate the various interests—religious, social, philosophical, scientific, and poetic—that had previously engaged, and, in a measure, divided my attention.

It is no part of my present purpose to discuss Comte & Positivism. My point, in emphasizing the matter in this connection, is that no presentation of myself personally to public notice would be adequate without mention of the fact that for forty years I have been a student of the works of Auguste Comte, and associated with the Positivist movement in England; and that this has determined, more than any other single force, my attitude to every problem & interest of importance, not excepting the Shakespeare problem itself.

The part of my life prior to my special interest in Positivism I look back upon as the schooldays of

life. Positivism has been my real college and university.

Without Positivism I might possibly have solved the Shakespeare problem; but without it, and the influence it brought to bear upon me, by treatment of it would have been wholly different. In comparison with these influences, those of my professional training & work have been almost negligible.

Although to the outside world English Positivism is directly associated with the names of Frederick Harrison, Professor Beesley, & Dr. Bridges, the founder of the movement in England was Dr. Richard Congreve, the teacher, in fact, of these men, and the friend, & in a great measure the guide and teacher of George Eliot.

It was my special privilege, then, as a young man, to be brought into personal relationships with Dr. Congreve, a direct disciple & personal friend of Auguste Comte himself.

Dr. Congreve was then an old man; had, in fact entered the last year of his long life; but in his conversations with and letters to me he extended a marked confidence and encouraged me towards taking a leading place in the English Positivism movement.

Amongst other valued correspondents of those now distant years I would mention Dr. J. K. Ingram, one of the most scholarly men of his day: a friend of Gladstone's to whom the latter makes special reference in his diary (Jan. 16 & 17, 1873) as "the distinguished fellow of Trinity College" (see Morley's *Life of Gladstone*). He, too, was already an old man and had known Comte personally, and, on his death, was referred to in the Times as "one of the most learned men in Europe."

I am particularly proud of this correspondence, in that it was begun entirely upon Dr. Ingram's own initiative, and was marked not only by words of appreciation & confidence but also by gifts of books.

Auguste Comte died in 1857, and when, as a young man, I entered the movement in the last years of the century, there were still alive a few men who had known him personally, and beside these already mentioned there were one or two others that I was privileged to meet, and to receive directly from them. but most particularly from Dr. Congreve himself, definite knowledge of his personality.

One effect of the position in which I found myself placed was to cause me to overhaul and attempt to reduce to some kind of order the mental furniture with which our defective educational system

had provided me, and to fill up its many unavoidable gaps. And whatever success or failure may have attended the effort, it has been guided throughout by the principles and ideals supplied by Positivism. This is why I speak of Positivism as my real "college" and would point to it as the main educational influence to be credited with anything I may have been able to accomplish.

To put into a single sentence my chief debt to Positivism, I would say that it taught me to apply the principles, criteria & methods of science to all vital human problems. I had, indeed, been moving previously & spontaneously towards this, but found it immeasurably extended and systematised by Comte, and thus made a much more effective instrument for the discovery of truth; and in this way Positivism may be said to have contributed appreciably to the discovery of "Shakespeare."

It is, at any rate from this standpoint, that I should wish my Shakespeare researches to be judged.

My preparation for the work lay, not in literary scholarship, but in a life spent in facing definite problems, attempting their solution by the methods of science, and accepting the necessary logical conclusions, however unpalatable & inconvenient these might prove.

This is the first occasion upon which I have attempted to make a statement of the kind about myself with an idea of its being at some time given to the public; and I have done so not because I have any relish for this kind of personal publicity, but because it is becoming increasingly evident that the nature of my Shakespeare work has excited a natural curiosity which may become still more insistent in the future.

As, then, no one else is in a position to state the facts that actually matter, and as the years are slipping by only too quickly, I am taking advantage of the opportunity that appears to be opening of placing on record such relevant particulars about myself as I would wish to be known if the Future should show any concern about me.

I regard this letter therefore as a semi-public statement & give you permission to use its contents accordingly. It may be that I shall not have another opportunity of writing anything of a similar nature, and I would therefore ask you to preserve it, for the time being at any rate. Occasion may arise, making its publication *in extenso* necessary.

Again thanking you for letters and papers,

Yours very sincerely, J. Thomas Looney.

To Will D. Howe, M.A., Ph.D., 2 June, 1938

In thanking you very cordially for your letter may I take the liberty of welcoming you, if not as a convinced supporter of the Oxford cause, at any rate as a sympathetic student of it. Let me also assure you of the great pleasure and encouragement your personal interest in the case has given to me, quite apart from all publication projects. Your close connections with the literary life of America gives you exceptional advantages in spreading a knowledge of the case and I hope much from your influence in strengthening American interest.

I can perhaps best answer your first question by outlining briefly something of what has happened since "*Shakespeare*" Identified was published (1920).

As I indicated at the time, new material continued to flow in right up to the last moment before publication. My final Appendix (III) which dealt with the Grafton Portrait of Shakespeare, not only supplied a striking climax to the whole argument but opened up an entirely new line of investigation. This has been followed by other researchers who have made out a very convincing case for the general body of so-called "Shakespeare portraits" as portraiture of the Earl of Oxford.

In 1921 Cecil Palmer published for me an edition of the recognised poems of Oxford and I was able to embody in it an amount of new matter strengthening the very argument which connects Oxford's verses with the lyric work of Shakespeare. Subsequent study moreover of the development of verse forms, and the transition from long lines to pentameter verse, so noticeable in Oxford's verse and leaving traces in the latter "Shakespeare" writings, has served greatly to bridge the differences between the two sets of poems. A striking case in which identity of authorship, beneath differences of poetic form, is strengthened by a knowledge of this particular development of the poet's art is seen in the two poems on "Loss of Good Name" compared in Chapter VIII of "*Shakespeare*" Identified.

At the time when I was engaged upon this research, Colonel B. R. Ward, C.M.G., who had read "*Shakespeare*" Identified, undertook some special local researches at Hackney, London, where Oxford had been domiciled in his latter years. These investigations were directed specially to the question of the publication of the Shakespeare Sonnets. In this connection he made important discoveries which supplemented by facts and a correlation of dates

which I was able to contribute, furnished strong evidence that the publication of the Sonnets was directly connected with the winding up at Hackney of the Oxford establishment by Oxford's widow, and the discovery there of the MS., of the poems. The results were first published, in part, in the National Review, and subsequently in book form, by Mr. Cecil Palmer, under the title of *The Mystery of Mr. W. H.* (referring, of course, to the dedication of the Sonnets).

Hot-foot upon its publication, came a work of an entirely different and strikingly original character, entitled, *Shakespeare Through Oxford Glasses* by Rear-Admiral H. H. Holland, C. B. Starting from the assumption that Oxford was the author of the plays, and that the first drafts of them were therefore written much earlier than the recognised Shakespeare period, Admiral Holland, who possessed an exceptional knowledge of the passing events of those days, studied the plays from the standpoint of topical allusions, and found that whilst, as is generally acknowledged, they contain but few allusions to the times of their publication or supposed date, they are full of allusions to affairs of an earlier time, both in England and abroad. In thus supplying historic evidence of the early composition of the dramas, he placed on very sound foundations what in "*Shakespeare*" Identified had been treated mainly as a strong *a priori* assumption.

In this question of the actual dates of the first drafts of the plays lies, of course, the whole crux of the case, and it has been developed with great ability and unsparing labour by Mrs. Eva Turner Clark in her book, *Hidden Allusions in Shakespeare's Plays* (New York, 1931). It is remarkable then that quite apart from the authorship problem there has been a tendency amongst Shakespeare scholars of late years to assign to the plays an earlier date than formerly. An outstanding example is a work by a perfectly orthodox scholar (Dr. A. S. Cairncross) assigning to the Shakespeare *Hamlet* so early a date (1588) that it is difficult to see how it could be reconciled with orthodoxy.

To Mrs. Eva Turner Clark, 10th November, 1939

This is where our interest in Shakespeare and all the greatest of the poets comes in. In the centuries that lie ahead, when the words Nazi and Hitler are remembered only with feelings of disgust and aversion and as synonyms for cruelty and bad faith, Shakespeare, Wordsworth, Tennyson & Shelly will continue to be honoured as expressions of what is most enduring and characteristic of Humanity.

Amidst the darkness of the present times we shall do well therefore to make a special effort to keep alive every spark of interest in their work. More even than in normal times we need them today, however incompatible they may seem with the tragedy that overshadows us. My own work "*Shakespeare Identified*" was largely the result of an attempt to do this during the last war: a refusal to be engulfed by an untoward environment even when suffering most poignantly from the loss of many who were dear to me.

This then is part of our share in the present day struggle: to insist, even in the slaughter and distress of battle-fields and bombardments by sea and air on the supremacy of the things of the human soul.

To Charles Wisner Barrell, 15th May, 1942

The News-Letter for April arrived this morning and I have read this the critical chapter of your Sonnet researches with a more absorbing interest than I have read anything else for quite a long while. You have certainly fulfilled every promise and expectation suggested in the preliminary articles, and I congratulate you most heartily on a very notable elucidation of the age-long Sonnets Mystery. This and your unique work on the Shakespeare portraits will, I am confident, give your name an enduring and prominent place in the history of Shakespearean research.

Thanks to your very capable "sleuth-work," as you call it, the perplexing enigmas of the Sonnets have been finally resolved. At long last the Dark Lady and the Fair Youth—or, as we must now say the *two youths*—have been brought forth out of the shadows and made to stand in the full light of day. It is an outstanding event in literary history, and the honour belongs wholly to you. I sincerely trust that you will live to see your discoveries take their rightful place in Shakespeare annals and your labours recognised as they deserve.

In view of your disclosures respecting Anne Vavasor's relationship with the Earl of Oxford and her whole career, I suggest that you re-read his poem on *Women* which furnished the first clue to Shakespeare's identity and set going the whole Oxford movement. Every word of the poem seems to point directly to her personally and in no way implies a wholesale condemnation of her sex. Incidentally I would mention that the lady in his "Echo Poem," which is also given in full in "*Shakespeare Identified*," was Anne Vavasor. This is indicated at the head of the poem, but as I knew nothing of this lady at the time, the words were unintelligible, and

therefore omitted on the assumption that a mistake had been made either in transcription or printing. Now, of course, everything is perfectly clear.

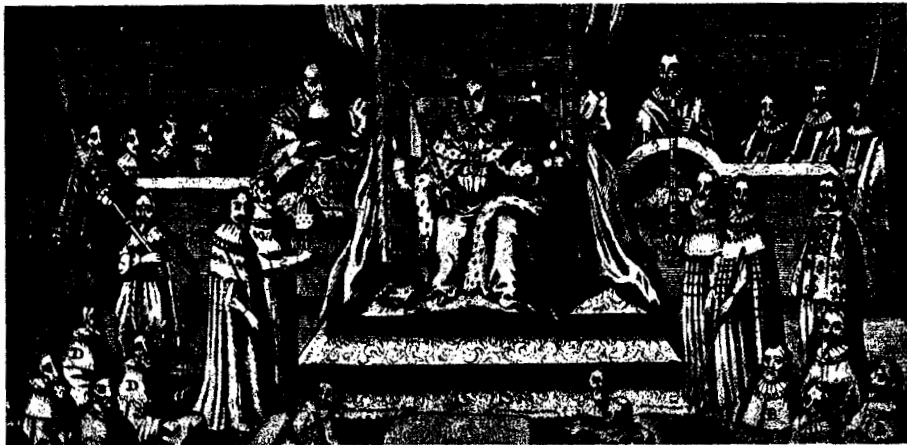
It is unpleasant that our Shakespeare researches should compel us to stir up so much Elizabethan mud, but when we have settled down to the new viewpoint, we shall be able to enjoy the literature just as we are able to read the poems of Burns, Byron and Shelley without an undue consciousness of their irregularities. In the Oxford-Shakespeare case there is at any rate the satisfaction, in bringing forward one set of irregularities, that suspicions of worse irregularities seem to be conclusively disposed of.

May I take the liberty of commenting upon one minor point in the early part of the article, which, however, in no way affects your argument. On page 28 you make reference to Henry Howard as the Iago of Oxford's matrimonial rupture, just as it is suggested in Captain Ward's life. In "*Shakespeare Identified*" I refer to Oxford's receiver as the Iago of the tangle. This however was not a mere supposition: it actually appears in the Burghley documents dealing with the rupture: a document which is published in the "Hatfield MSS." Captain Ward had in some way overlooked this very relevant memorandum of Burghley's; hence his theory about Henry Howard. Oxford's receiver as Iago, furnishes one of the strongest points in the *Othello* argument, whilst Iago's repeated: "Put money in thy purse," and his oft-quoted speech: "Who steals my purse &c.," is so evidently suggestive of the receiver's functions as to place the matter beyond doubt if Burghley's memorandum had left any room for such doubt. So explicit, however, is Burghley's statement upon the point, that it was Oxford's receiver who had aroused suspicion and that the trouble had arisen "through the double dealing of servants," that I should consider the *Receiver-Iago* identification as strong, probably, as any that I have established.

I am sorry that being cut off from the necessary books and papers, I am unable to furnish the precise references, but if the Calendared Hatfield MSS. are accessible, there should be no difficulty in locating the particular document.

I should be much obliged if you would find a means of making the correction in the pages of the News-Letter sometime, as I consider the *Othello* argument of special importance and the receiver as *Iago* a vital part of it.

With very kind regards, and again my warm congratulations, Yours very sincerely, J. T. Looney.



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Newly Discovered Oxford-Shakespeare Pictorial Evidence

By CHARLES WISNER BARRELL

The engraving reproduced above is the upper portion of the frontispiece to Sir Symonds D'Ewes' *Complete Journal of the House of Lords and the House of Commons Throughout the Whole Reign of Queen Elizabeth of Glorious Memory*, published in London, 1693.

This work is recognized as authoritative. Sir Symonds D'Ewes was born in 1602. He was a cousin of Sir Francis Bacon. He became the owner of Lord Oxford's ancestral estate of Lavenham, and through his marriage into the Clopton family of Suffolk and Warwickshire, provides an interesting link in the Oxford-Shakespeare associations. Sir Symonds' historical and antiquarian collections covering political and social affairs of the Tudor and Stuart periods were among the largest and most accurate ever assembled. We have no means of knowing at the present time who made this engraving of Queen Elizabeth at the opening of Parliament, surrounded by her chief counsellors and officials of state. But the fact that it illustrates D'Ewes' *Journal* gives it more than ordinary documentary weight.

Let us see who these personages may be. Sir Francis Walsingham and Sir Christopher Hatton are both identifiable, while Lord Burghley is shown as a man well up in years, and Leicester is not visible at all. The scene, therefore, must be meant to

represent the opening of the Parliament of February, 1589—following the defeat of the "Invincible Armada."

Lord Treasurer Burghley—he of the long white beard and black hood—props the throne at Elizabeth's right hand. Appropriately enough, he holds the state purse.

At Gloriana's left stands Walsingham, Principal Secretary of State, the "Queen's Moor," identifiable by his keen, saturnine countenance and black hair. This was the last Parliament that Sir Francis attended. Worn out by his exertions during the tense and fateful days of the Armada, he died in 1590. Leicester had passed away in the autumn of 1588.

Immediately below the throne is a large wool-sack which bears the caption "The Lord Chancellor's Seat." It is shown unoccupied, so that the Queen will not be obscured in any way. But Sir Christopher Hatton, the Lord Chancellor, can be plainly seen in the full picture, sitting on the long sack, just to the viewer's right of his official place. Hatton's hair is characteristically parted and smoothed down. His associate judges are pointing to him as their chief. The Parliament of 1589 also marked Hatton's last appearance in these surroundings, for he died in November, 1591, and the next



THIS SKETCH OF THE MATURE POET EARL OF OXFORD HOLDING THE SWORD OF STATE IN HIS OFFICIAL CAPACITY OF LORD GREAT CHAMBERLAIN OF ENGLAND, SHOWS HIM AS A FINE FIGURE OF A MAN—BY NO MEANS THE "LITTLE FELLOW" THAT SOME HAVE CONJECTURED. HIS ERECT, SOLDIERLY CARRIAGE, SPACIOUS FOREHEAD, PROMINENT NOSE AND SMALL MUSTACHE ALL RE-APPEAR IN AT LEAST EIGHT OF THE AUTHENTICALLY ANCIENT PAINTINGS OF THE BARD—MINUS THE HAIR, WHICH IS USUALLY PAINTED OUT TO CONFORM TO STRATFORDIAN STANDARDS. BETTER DRAWN VERSIONS OF THIS SAME FACE CAN BE FOUND IN SUCH FAMOUS "SHAKESPEARE PORTRAITS" AS THE ASHBOURNE, THE SO-CALLED "JANSSEN," THE SO-CALLED "ZUCCHERO," THE HAMPTON COURT PICTURE AND THE ANTIQUE PAINTING OF SHAKESPEARE WHICH HAD HUNG IN THE ROYAL COLLECTION AT WINDSOR PALACE FROM TIME IMMEMORIAL UNTIL THE LATTER PART OF THE 19th CENTURY—WHEN QUEEN VICTORIA PRESENTED IT AS A BIRTHDAY PRESENT TO LORD LYTTON, THE NOVELIST.

Parliament was not held until February, 1593.

Having thus fixed the date which our scene must represent, we can venture to identify some of the other notables pictured.

The official holding the ermine-trimmed Cap of Maintenance at the foot of the throne—on the Queen's right—should be William Paulet, 3rd Marquess of Winchester, for all authorities agree



INFRA-RED CLOSE-UP OF SWORD IN SHAKESPEARE'S RIGHT HAND, FROM THE HISTORIC "PORTRAIT OF THE BARD," OWNED BY THE KING OF ENGLAND AT HAMPTON COURT PALACE, AND REPRODUCED HERE BY PERMISSION OF THE PRESENT LORD CHAMBERLAIN OF THE KING'S HOUSEHOLD. OUR INFRA-RED PHOTOGRAPH SHOWS THE POET WITH THE SAME TYPE OF CROSS-HILTED CEREMONIAL SWORD THAT LORD OXFORD HOLDS BEFORE QUEEN ELIZABETH IN THE PARLIAMENT SCENE OF 1589. BUT THE HIGHLY SIGNIFICANT FACTS SHOULD BE NOTED THAT THE ORIGINAL LENGTH OF THE HORIZONTAL CROSS-GUARD HAS BEEN SHORTENED BY OVER-PAINTING, AND THAT THE BLADE HAS BEEN DAUBED WITH LAMPBLACK OR A LIKE SUBSTANCE—EVIDENTLY TO HIDE THE EMBOSSED DECORATIONS WHICH WOULD IDENTIFY IT TO THE NAKED EYE AS THE ELIZABETHAN SWORD OF STATE. NOTE ALSO HOW THE ORIGINAL RETICELLA POINT LACE CUFF OF THE NOBLEMAN HAS BEEN OVER-PAINTED TO GIVE THE EFFECT OF PLAIN LINEN—MORE IN KEEPING WITH STRATFORDIAN STANDARDS.

that this function was the hereditary right of the Marquesses of Winchester. Moreover, Paulet attended this Parliament. Next to the Marquess is either Sir Henry Carey, Baron Hunsdon, Lord Chamberlain of the Royal Household, or his Vice-Chamberlain, Sir Thomas Heneage. Behind Winchester and the Chamberlain, we see the Serjeant at Arms of the House of Lords with the crowned Mace.

And now we come to the most important of our identifications. For at the foot of the throne—Queen's left—stands none other than Edward de Vere, 17th Earl of Oxford, holding aloft the ceremonial Sword of State in his official capacity of Lord Great Chamberlain of England. J. H. Round and other authorities on Elizabethan officialdom tell us that one of the distinctive duties of the Lord Great Chamberlain was "the disposition of the Sword of State." On such occasions as the assembling of Parliament, he bore this ancient symbol of defence before the monarch. And if unable to be present himself, could depute his office to some other nobleman in the Queen's good graces.

The official who stands at Oxford's left in our antique sketch can be identified as the Earl Marshal, George Talbot, 6th Earl of Shrewsbury. Behind Shrewsbury appears the Garter King of Arms in his heraldic robe. Supervision of the office of Garter King of Arms was, and still is, one of the duties of the Earl Marshal, and the Garter King attends him, during such public ceremonies as the present one.

In the background, Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber appear to be represented behind Lord Burghley, while at Sir Francis Walsingham's left we seem to have three of the Privy Counsellors. Thomas Sackville, Lord Buckhurst, can be recognized as the stoutest of these veterans. The figure with the twisted neck, peering out from behind the tapestry, should be Burghley's son, Sir Robert Cecil. Years later, it will be recalled, Cecil hid himself behind the arras to eavesdrop on the testimony of Essex at the latter's examination for treason. This engraved pose is certainly typical of the master-spy.

All of these identifications may prove of general interest, but the picture of Oxford in his role of Lord Great Chamberlain of England will be particularly welcomed by every student of the Oxford-Shakespeare case.

When we consider the fact that Edward de Vere, Earl of Oxford, was undisputed holder of the oldest patent of nobility in England during the final fifteen years of his life—1590 to 1604—it seems strange indeed that so few pictures of this prominent and gifted man have come down to us.

There are more than twenty well-known life-paintings and miniatures of the Earl of Leicester, at least thirty contemporary portraits of Essex, some six or seven each of Buckhurst and Hatton, while Sir Sidney Lee mentions fifteen extant portraits of the 3rd Earl of Southampton. Yet Edward de Vere was even more at home in the field of art

than any of these—and outranked every one of them with generations to spare in social prestige.

It is, therefore, surprising—or shall we say consistent with the aura of studied neglect which has obscured the true personality of Lord Oxford—to find that up to the present only three representations of the Poet Earl have come to light in an unchanged and easily recognizable state.

These are: the life-size, half-length canvas of Oxford at 25, painted by a Flemish artist named Lewyn or Levins during the Earl's first visit to Paris in 1575, and now the property of the Duke of Portland; the less-than-life-size panel portrait evidently painted in 1585-86 by Marcus Gheeraedts the Younger and now owned by the Duke of St. Albans; and the drawing in the British Museum by Marcus Gheeraedts the Elder, showing Oxford, aged 22, carrying the same Sword of State we have here, before Queen Elizabeth during a Garter procession at Windsor in June, 1572.

An engraving of the Gheeraedts sketch was made during the 17th century by that great master, Wenceslaus Hollar. A reproduction of Hollar's work was printed in Capt. Bernard M. Ward's biography, *The Seventeenth Earl of Oxford* (1928). Mr. Looney had reproduced the Duke of Portland's painting as the frontispiece to "Shakespeare" *Identified* in 1920; and the first photographic reproduction to be made of the Duke of St. Albans' panel appeared among the illustrations that I used in the January, 1940, issue of *Scientific American* to identify the Ashbourne "portrait of Shakespeare" as a slightly disguised original painting of Lord Oxford by the Dutch master, Cornelius Ketel.

These three pictures—the Hollar engraving, the Portland canvas and the St. Albans Panel—have been the touchstones of pictorial research in solving the Oxford-Shakespeare mystery, beginning with Mr. Looney's great work in 1920. I am now happy to have the privilege of adding this fourth sketch of the Poet Earl to this invaluable collection. It is unique, in that it shows Oxford at a later period of life than any of the others, while responding graphically to Shakespearean comparisons.

In delineating Oxford in his official state capacity here, the fact that he was Lord Great Chamberlain of England is emphasized. But how many students of this remarkable man's career have ever realized that there are several documents of the Shakespearean Age in which the play-writing Earl—listed first by Francis Meres (1598) as "the best for comedy among us"—is specifically referred to

as "the Lord Chamberlain," instead of "the Lord Great Chamberlain?"

Such is the fact—a circumstance of truly startling implications—which must give professional Stratfordians food for serious cogitation. For the establishment of these previously unnoted references will throw a powerful new floodlight upon Oxford's relationship to the public presentation of his plays, illuminating at the same time realistic reasons why he was automatically debarred from claiming credit for their composition.

The present engraving makes one such outstanding reason very plain indeed. As official defender of the Crown, the Earl obviously would avoid bringing such an honor into disrepute by ever openly acknowledging his activities as a public entertainer—even though he might be the rarest genius in this field that the world has yet produced!

"And art is tongue-tied by authority," laments the Bard in one of his best-known sonnets.

We have known for many years now that Lord Oxford was considered a poet and dramatist of exceptional merit by his contemporaries; also that he was the patron of various companies of players, some of whom were celebrated for their association with Shakespearean roles.

Add to these well-documented facts this additional "clincher": that Oxford, the poet-dramatist and patron of Shakespearean actors, was known in many Elizabethan circles merely as "the Lord Chamberlain," and the mystery surrounding the actual personality of this key figure in our real life drama resolves itself as neatly as the denouement of a Sherlock Holmes story. For everybody knows that it was "Mr. William Shakespeare" himself who was the principal playwright of "the Lord Chamberlain's company." This official of state, whose nickname among his fellow playwrights was "gentle Master William," obviously produced his own plays. It becomes equally obvious that in doing this he was obliged to employ business agents—among others, a certain native of Warwickshire whose name could be confused in the public mind with the Lord Chamberlain's own well-selected pseudonym. Thus has "art" been most effectually "tongue-tied by authority" for more than three hundred years!

In another paper I intend to present the contemporary evidence for the Poet Earl as the authentic "Lord Chamberlain" of Shakespearean fame. The attested documentation should prove quite as revealing as the steel-cut outlines of the same man's figure in this long-neglected engraving.

Every new thing we learn about Lord Oxford

turns out to have strong Shakespearean connotations. No tiresome rumbledumble of Baconian cyphers or windy suspiration of hallowed Stratfordian conjecture comes between this man and his work. For instance, Oxford's familiarity with the Sword of State, here so clearly shown, reverberates in the plays. "Shakespeare" knows all about the "deputed Sword" and its companion symbols of state authority, such as the Spiritual and Temporal Swords of Justice. He has also given real thought to their emblematic relationship to heavenly justice and mercy—something that no other dramatist of the period appears to have done. In *Measure for Measure*, we read:

No ceremony that to great ones 'longs,
Not the king's crown nor the deputed sword,
The marshal's truncheon nor the judge's robe,
Becomes them with one half so good a grace
As mercy does.

Again, at the end of Act III, Scene 2, the Poet says:
He who the sword of Heaven will bear
Should be as holy as severe.

Turning back to our 1589 engraving, we find that the crudely rendered sketch of Lord Oxford's head recalls three or four of the best known ancient paintings that have passed for generations as "life portraits of the Bard." There is only one pronounced difference. Oxford has a full head of hair here. But, as my X-ray and infra-red dissections of three of the old "Shakespeare portraits" bear witness, the original sitter for these paintings also had plenty of hair on his head—before it was deliberately painted out to confuse the Earl's personality with that of the bald-headed business man of Stratford-on-Avon.

The engraving corroborates Oxford's identification as the subject of the ancient Hampton Court "portrait of Shakespeare" with new and particular verisimilitude. For in the painting the Poet holds in his right hand the same type of cross-hilted ceremonial sword that we here observe in the Sword of State. In fact, the Bard's "weapon" would have been recognized generations ago for what it is—the chief appurtenance of the office of Lord Chamberlain of England—were it not for the fact that the decorated blade of the sword in "Shakespeare's" hand was long since crudely blackened to disguise these tell-tale characteristics.

Here is a pretty problem in visual evidence for the Stratfordian experts to resolve in favor of their candidate, Willm Shakspeare. Step up and take the stand, gentlemen! Who will be the first this time to discredit our Oxford-Shakespeare testimony with lordly gesture?

The Elizabethan Outlook: A Re-Statement

By J. J. DWYER

A Cambridge scholar has recently written a little book of a hundred pages,* the importance of which will be promptly appreciated by students of the Shakespearean Question. It is written to counteract the traditional 19th Century view, assiduously repeated by innumerable writers, that in Elizabethan literature there is discernible a great new departure, a sudden and powerful liberation of the human mind from the shackles of medievalism.

On the first page we are told that Hamlet's famous words, "What a piece of work is man . . ."—always taken as one of the great versions of Renaissance humanism, an assertion of the dignity of man against the asceticisms of medieval misanthropy—"is in reality in the purest medieval tradition."

With an impressive assemblage of quotations from Spenser, Sidney, Raleigh, Hooker, Davies of Hereford, Shakespeare, and a number of others, not even excluding Milton, Dr. Tillyard argues that the Renaissance was "a phase of culture which nowadays tends ever more to lose its identity and turn out to be simply the late Middle Ages." These writers, he says, all "hold with earnestness, passion and assurance to the main outlines of the medieval world-picture, as modified by the Tudor régime, although they know that the coherence of the picture has been threatened." In short, they did not have anything like a modern outlook. Their general idea of things was the traditional Christian framework of a world made by God, complete and intricate in the order of its multifarious parts, but deranged and disastrously complicated by the transgression of man. The orthodox scheme of salvation was pervasive in the Elizabethan age and if anybody had a humanistic and secular outlook, it was not the poets and dramatists.

What were these main outlines? First, a general concept of Order, exemplified in the famous "de-gree" speech in *Troilus and Cressida*. Then the theological scheme of Sin and Salvation, briefly but profoundly embodied in Isabella's retort to Angelo in *Measure for Measure*:

Ang. Your brother is a forfeit of the law.

* * * * *

Isa. Why, all the souls that were, were forfeit once;

Elizabethan World Picture, by E. M. W. Tillyard, Litt. D. Macmillan Company, 60 Fifth Avenue, New York. \$1.75.

And He that might the vantage best have took

Found out the remedy.

Then, outside the official theology, a cosmological scheme described as The Chain of Being, a Series of Corresponding Planes, and the Cosmic Dance, each of which is discussed and illustrated at every turn by quotations from the Elizabethan dramatists.

The Chain of Being stretched from the throne of God down to the lowest of created things. We are told of the *primum mobile* and the sublunary sphere, of the influence of the stars, of the Four Elements and of much else that is found all through Shakespeare. The correspondences between members of the different orders within the universal order are likewise explained: how the Sovereign corresponds with the sun, and Man with the physical world, his limbs and bodily powers with the variety of ranks and functions in an ordered society: And there is a new and highly interesting interpretation of Lorenzo's speech on music in *The Merchant of Venice*. Finally, a short disquisition on the Cosmic Dance is clinched by quotation from the *Orchestra* of Sir John Davies who did not hesitate to express his sense of the majesty and sovereign power of Elizabeth by depicting her among her courtiers as the centre of the dance. The mortal moon was surrounded by a thousand lesser stars: it reflected the cosmic order and, to the mind of that age, there was no incongruity in the comparison.

What is the point of all this for the Fellowship? Dr. Tillyard raises no question of Authorship; but we can derive from his lucid exposition a good deal of corroboration for our own convictions. This remarkable book is, apart from its intrinsic interest, another striking instance of the overthrow of an "orthodox" academic view, dominant too long among the commentators, and it furnishes fresh proof, strong though indirect and unintentional, that the writer of the "Shakespeare" plays was fully acquainted with a large body of notions, religious, literary and political, all deeply interconnected, that could have been acquired and held only by a man who had received the then traditional education.

That traditional education, the inheritance of centuries, was the product of active minds, of many books and of much discussion. It had been gravely disturbed, though by no means abrogated, by the

Reformation. It had been thrown out of focus and its completeness and symmetry had been impaired; like much of the architecture of the time, it conformed neither to the transcendently ordered world of the Middle Ages nor to the æsthetically

ordered world of the Renaissance. But it was too rich and elaborate a thing to have been picked up by a young countryman in a couple of years, outside or inside the London theatres of the eighteenthies.

Salute to Canon Rendall!

The oldest active advocate of Edward de Vere as Shakespeare is the eminent British scholar, Gerald H. Rendall, B.D., Litt.D., LL. D., Hon. Canon of Chelmsford Cathedral. Born at Harrow in 1851, and now in his ninety-third year, Dr. Rendall has recently added another expertly written monograph to the valuable list of works he has contributed to the Oxford-Shakespeare case.

Shakespeare In Essex and East Anglia, traces the folklore, speech patterns and local color of Lord Oxford's personal background through the plays, revealing a vividly impressed series of hallmarks of the true Bard's creative hand. Dr. Rendall's essay fills a long-felt want; and while no claims are made for exhaustive handling of his subject, proponents of the Stratford-on-Avon native may well envy Oxfordians the acquisition of so able and erudite a spokesman.

It is to be greatly deplored that all of Dr. Rendall's books and pamphlets on various phases of the Oxford evidence are not readily available in American editions, for they would do much to offset some of the ill-considered sneers and studied misrepresentations of our case that have been spread abroad from time to time by such professional partisans of Stratfordian interests as Prof. E. E. Stoll, Prof. Oscar James Campbell, John Corbin and others. For the fact is that in the realm of authoritative scholarship, Gerald Henry Rendall's reputation overtops these captious representatives of the vested Shakespearean interests. An honor graduate of Harrow and Trinity College, Cambridge, during his long and constructive career, Dr. Rendall has served as Principal of University College, Liverpool; as Gladstone Professor of Greek; as Vice-Chancellor of Victoria University; as member of the Gresham University Commission; and from 1897 until his retirement in 1911 was Headmaster of the Charterhouse School, London. His translation of the works of Tertullianus was published by the Bohn Classical Library, his Biblical works are studied in most divinity schools, and his translation of the philosophy of

Marcus Aurelius is generally considered the best modern rendering.

Although nearly eighty years of age when J. Thomas Looney's solution of the Shakespeare mystery first came to his attention, and despite his admitted initial skepticism of so revolutionary an elucidation of the greatest of biographical problems, Dr. Rendall was finally so completely won over by the battering-ram logic and clear-cut documentation of "*Shakespeare Identified*" that he felt obliged to undertake the work of testing out in detail many of the general arguments that Mr. Looney had introduced. It is probably safe to say that few scholars in the world's history have ever shown a bolder and more resolute spirit of inquiry at such an age. The result has been (to date), three volumes and four pamphlets, all written in the vigorous and arresting style of a master of scholarly argument, as follows:

Shakespeare Sonnets and Edward de Vere (John Murray, London, 1930, 12 shillings); *Shakespeare: Handwriting and Spelling* (Cecil Palmer, London, 1931, 6 shillings); *Personal Clues in Shakespeare Poems & Sonnets* (John Lane, London, 1934, 8 shillings); *Ben Jonson and the First Folio* (1939); "*Ashbourne*" *Portrait of Shakespeare* (1940); *Arthur Golding, Shakespeare and Edward de Vere* (1941); and the present *Shakespeare In Essex and East Anglia*. The four pamphlets are priced at 2 shillings, 6 pence each. Copies of all of these works may now be secured by remitting directly to Canon Rendall, Dedham House, Dedham, Essex, England. A few copies of the "*Ashbourne*" *Portrait* and *Ben Jonson* can be supplied by the American Branch of The Fellowship at 30 cents each, postpaid.

Dr. Rendall's amazing intellectual vitality and "right copious industry" puts to shame many potentially able advocates of the Oxford-Shakespeare case of less than half his years. And, incidentally, he represents one of the biological reasons why the Germans, despite all their sound and fury, will never overcome the British. All honor to this dauntless old champion of truth!

Some Character Names In Shakespeare's Plays

The players . . . are the abstracts and brief chronicles of the time. Hamlet, II.ii.

By EVA TURNER CLARK

When Hamlet says to Polonius that "the players are the abstracts and brief chronicles of the time," it is the obvious intention of the dramatist to proclaim the fact that his plays carry references to contemporary individuals and to incidents in which these individuals are concerned. The statement can have no other meaning. In other words, many topicalities should be found in the plays.

The chronology followed by Sir Edmund Chambers and his predecessors, based on the life of William Shakspeare of Stratford, makes impossible the recognition of allusions to matters of contemporary interest, with the exception of a few which can be accounted for as insertions at the time of a revision.

The little that is known of the career of Shakspeare of Stratford indicates a person of little education, while the dramas clearly show that they were written by an individual of superior qualifications of every kind.

Mr. J. Thomas Looney propounded the theory in 1920 that Edward de Vere, seventeenth Earl of Oxford, noted by his contemporaries as "the best in comedy," was the possessor of the necessary qualifications. Others have followed in Mr. Looney's footsteps and have added further documentary evidence to his brilliant original thesis.

Edward de Vere was born in 1550, fourteen years before Shakspeare of Stratford, and this important fact in connection with the authorship problem makes possible an earlier dating of the plays than the Stratfordian chronology permits. De Vere's close connection with the stage is demonstrated by his employment as secretary of John Lyly, who was through the same years acting as vice-master of the playing company known as Paul's and as director of the comedians of the Queen's Company.

Malone, writing at the end of the eighteenth century, says:

"From some words spoken by Polonius in *Hamlet*, I think it is probable that there was an English play on Julius Cæsar before Shakspeare commenced as a writer for the stage. Stephen Gosson, in his *Plays Confuted in Five Actions*, published about 1582, mentions a play

entitled *The History of Caesar and Pompey*. . . It should also be remembered that our author has several plays founded on subjects which had been previously treated by others. Of this kind are *King John*, *Richard II*, *1 Henry IV*, *2 Henry IV*, *Henry V*, *Richard III*, *King Lear*, *Antony and Cleopatra*, *Measure for Measure*, *Taming of the Shrew*, *Merchant of Venice*, and, I believe, *Timon* and 2 and 3 *Henry VI*, whereas no proof has hitherto been produced that any contemporary writer ever presumed to new-model a story that had already employed the pen of Shakspeare."

The very subjects Malone listed should have made him suspicious of the attribution of authorship to the Stratford man, but no student of the plays in Malone's time considered the possibility of "Shakspeare" being a pen name. Because Shakspeare of Stratford was too young to have written the plays on Malone's list, it was supposed that he took them over and revamped them to his taste. Such plagiarism was accepted by Malone and his contemporaries as a common custom of Elizabeth's day, but if true, it should be recognized as detracting enormously from the greatness of his authorship. What author or authors wrote them in the first place? That is a question which has never been answered by Stratfordians.

Professor Cairncross has shown that Shakspeare wrote the tragedy of *Hamlet* as early as 1588 and his argument has not been refuted. Young Shakspeare of Stratford was in 1588 only twenty-four years old and, from the mere standpoint of age, he could not have written that powerful drama, for it would mean that most of the other Shakspeare plays had already been written, an accomplishment unthinkable before the age of twenty-four. In view of the result obtained by his painstaking study, it is difficult to conceive why Professor Cairncross continues to consider himself a Stratfordian. Or does he?

The difference in age of fourteen years between Edward de Vere and Shakspeare of Stratford makes possible the writing of the plays by the older man

during that earlier period noted by Malone, the time when contemporary critics proclaimed the Earl as the best dramatist. Several years later, when some of the plays were published, Edward de Vere, Earl of Oxford and Lord Great Chamberlain of England, forbidden by the conventions of that day to make use of his own name as author, chose as a pen name one similar to that of a man known and believed to have been employed by him.

By placing the plays some fourteen or fifteen years earlier than the Stratfordian chronology would have them written, I have, in *Hidden Allusions in Shakespeare's Plays*, pointed out many topicalities, references to contemporary events of importance or to trifling incidents. These are obvious when the plays are placed in that earlier period. Great events are often referred to many years after they occur, but this is not true of small matters, which are soon forgotten. For them to mean anything to an audience, they must be included in a play soon after they happen. For this reason, in arranging a chronology by allusions, more stress should be laid on insignificant happenings than upon important ones.

Topicalities heightened the interest of auditors in those days, just as references to contemporary matters in any day and on any stage give added zest to a play. Shakespeare's dramas are not dependent on references of a local or immediate character for we of today enjoy them without the slightest knowledge of the topicalities running through them.

In this paper, the identification of a few character names found in the comedies and tragedies will be attempted. In the Roman plays and the historical plays, the names are in general true to the periods they are supposed to represent, with the exception of *Henry IV* (Parts 1 and 2) and *Henry V*, into which are introduced scenes of comedy not based on history and these scenes contain some contemporary references.

Stratfordians consider *Cymbeline* a late play, though Coleridge and others believe it to have been written in the Master's youth, though possibly revised, as Robertson suggests, by Chapman in the "late period" (1609), where the usual chronology places it. The story of *Cymbeline* is best described as "An history of the cruelty of A Stepmother," a play produced before the Court at Richmond, December 28, 1578, and that, I contend, was the first title of *Cymbeline*.

Among the characters is "Iachimo, one of the French envoys." This name appears to have been

taken from that of Jacomo Manucci,* who was in the service of the English Embassy in France, as noted in the *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign*, 1577-1578. The Earl of Oxford almost certainly came in contact with this man while in Paris in 1575 and 1576.

"Cornelius, physician to the King," was the name of the physician to Charles V, who ruled over the greater part of Europe (aside from Russia) until his abdication in 1556. The Earl of Oxford was only six years of age when the abdication occurred, but the name of the physician to the great monarch would have been notable for years afterwards.

It is considered that *The Taming of the Shrew* is based on Ariosto's *Suppositi*, which was translated into English by George Gascoigne, the soldier-poet, before his death in 1577. From his earliest years, Lord Oxford had known the poet and it may be assumed that he wished to honor his dead friend by using his translation as the foundation for a new play. There is reason to believe that this light comedy was first produced January 1, 1578-9, before the Court at Richmond, as "A Morrall of the marryage of Mynde and Measure." Note how well this title applies to the comedy.

The character of "*Katharina, the Shrew*," bears the Italian form of Lord Oxford's half-sister Katherine, Lady Windsor, with whom he was not on friendly terms, though the willful mind appears to have belonged to his sister, Lady Mary Vere, who in 1577 was married to Peregrine Bertie, later "the great Lord Willoughby." In September following the marriage, Sir Thomas Cecil, brother-in-law of Lord Oxford, wrote to his father, Lord Burghley, that an "unkindness" had grown between the young couple, adding that he thinks the Lady Mary "will be beaten with that rod which heretofore she prepared for others." Perhaps in caricaturing his sister's behavior, Lord Oxford thought it well to give her a picture of herself as others saw her.

"*Baptista Minola*, father of Katharina," bears a composite of the names of two Italians, Baptista Nigrono and Benedict Spinola, whom Lord Oxford had known in Italy in 1575 and 1576, a fact pointed out by Mr. Looney in "*Shakespeare Identified in*

*Possibly the person referred to in the *Calendar of State Papers, Ireland*, 1574-1585, under date of January 23, 1585, as "The Pope's son, Signor Jacomo." Among the Salisbury MSS (III,262) is noted a letter written June 8, 1587, by Prospero Pelligrini to Giacopo Manucci. "Giacopo" is merely the kind of variation in spelling found so frequently in Elizabethan England. One can but wonder if the chief character in *The Tempest* received his name from Prospero Pelligrini.

Edward de Vere, Seventeenth Earl of Oxford, p. 227.

The name "*Petruchio*, husband of Katharina," was taken from Petruchius Ubaldinas, an Italian living in London who was engaged by the Lord Chamberlain to assist in the production of plays at Court this same season, 1578-9.

Records of the Court Revels show that on January 11, 1578-9, "A Double Maske"—"A Maske of Amasones" and "A Maske of knights," was produced at Court, the French Ambassador being present, though it is believed that this person was the Comte de Simier, the Duc d'Alençon's special envoy, who arrived in London on January 5th. Hume describes the entertainment then given as an imitation of a tournament between six ladies and a like number of gentlemen who surrendered to them. Because of the remarkable allusions to events of this period found in *Love's Labour's Lost*, which, in Act V, scene ii, contains what may be called a "tournament of wit" between several ladies and gentlemen, the conclusion is inescapable that this light comedy was first presented in 1578-9, the title of the "maske" only being listed in the badly kept records. As *Love's Labour's Lost* was "newly corrected and augmented" before its publication in 1598, there were doubtless some changes then made in the masque, as well as in the play.

The names of characters in this play are particularly significant. "*Boyet*, a Lord attending on the Princess of France," appears to have been given a name directly suggestive of Thomas Knyvet,* Gentleman of the Chamber to Queen Elizabeth. Mr. Looney points out the derivation of "Knyvet" from *krave*, an ancient equivalent of *boy*. As Knyvet was not a favorite of Lord Oxford, and later became a bitter enemy, it is not surprising to find him ridiculed in the comedy.

(To be continued)

News-Letters Bound

Bound copies of the NEWS-LETTER, Volume IV, may now be had, postpaid, for the sum of \$2.00 by addressing the Secretary of The Fellowship.

Readers who may wish to secure all printed copies of our publication from Volume I, Number 1, through Volume IV, Number 6, bound together in one large book, with indices, for a sum not to exceed \$5.00, should also communicate with the Secretary.

*This name is variously spelled in the old records, appearing as Knyvet, Knyvett, Knevett, and in other forms.

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Official organ of The Shakespeare Fellowship—American Branch—the QUARTERLY is the only publication now printed which is devoted chiefly to the perpetuation of documentary evidence that Edward de Vere, 17th Earl of Oxford (1550-1604) was the real creative personality behind the plays and poems of "Mr. William Shakespeare."

Occasional meetings of The Shakespeare Fellowship—American Branch—will be held, for which special notices will be sent to members. Dues for membership in the American Branch are \$2.50 per year, which sum includes one year's subscription to the QUARTERLY. Special rates of subscription to the publication which do not include membership in The Fellowship may be arranged for student groups and libraries.

The officers of the American Branch will act as an editorial board for the publication of the QUARTERLY, which will appear four times a year, i.e., in January, April, July and October.

News items, comments by readers and articles of interest to all students of Shakespeare and of the acknowledged mystery that surrounds the authorship of his works, will be welcomed. Such material must be of reasonable brevity. No compensation can be made to writers beyond the sincere thanks of the Editorial Board. Articles and letters will express the opinions of their authors, not necessarily that of The Shakespeare Fellowship—American Branch—as a body.

The Editors

The Shakespeare Fellowship

Quarterly

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In Facta Non Verba

In apologizing for tardiness in the distribution of the April QUARTERLY, the Editors must enter the plea that news of the death of Mr. J. Thomas Looney was so long delayed in reaching them that in order to pay some form of tribute to our deceased leader in the Oxford-Shakespeare movement, it became necessary to discard the previously planned contents of this issue and start afresh.

Articles, news items and commentaries that were either written or in type, ready to go into the April number before the present make-up was adopted, will appear in later issues. These include:

A new series of papers by Dr. Bénézet, featuring the phantom "creative" background of Stratfordia, a provocative discussion of the authorship of *Othello* and some clear-cut contemporary records of Lord Oxford in his role of "Gentle Master William Shakespeare," together with adequate presentation of Mrs. Clark's research on the "Character Names in the Plays."