

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

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## Incorporation of the Fellowship to Stimulate Oxford Research

To increase the circulation of the *QUARTERLY*, to raise sufficient funds to make known to a larger public the significance of the historical truths supporting the identification of Edward de Vere, 17th Earl of Oxford as the real "William Shakespeare," and at the same time to carry to conclusion many essential lines of research already undertaken, The Shakespeare Fellowship has been reorganized and incorporated as a literary and educational association under the laws of the District of Columbia.

The certificate of incorporation was issued under Title 29, Sections 601 and 602 of the Code of laws of the District of Columbia and filed with the Recorder of Deeds at Washington on February 20, 1945. Application for incorporation was signed by our Secretary-Treasurer, Charles Wisner Barrell, and by Mr. Burton Rice and Miss Margaret Sterbutzel, both of Washington, D. C. The Fellowship's Legal Adviser, Mr. Charlton Ogburn of Washington and New York, handled all legal details. Official name of the corporation is The Shakespeare Fellowship. Its business address is 321 Union Trust Building, 15th and H Streets, N.W., Washington 5, D. C. The present New York office of the Secretary-Treasurer, from which the *QUARTERLY* is issued, will be maintained, for the present, at least, at 17 East 48th Street, New York 17, N. Y.

As stated in our Certificate of Incorporation:

The business and purposes of the corporation for which it is formed are to stimulate and conduct research in the field of Elizabethan literature and history; to promote study of the plays and poems published under the name of "William Shakespeare"; to publish a periodical, entitled The Shakespeare Fellowship *QUARTERLY*, in which the results of such study and research

shall be presented to its members and to the general public; to print, publish and circulate pamphlets and books devoted to a better understanding of the Shakespearean works and of the personalities prominent in the Elizabethan and Jacobean eras, with special attention to the claims made for Edward de Vere, the 17th Earl of Oxford, as the creative personality responsible for the Shakespearean works; to promote public lectures and discussions and the presentation of radio programs, stage plays, illustrated talks and motion picture productions, designed to entertain and educate its members as well as the general public in all matters relating to the Shakespearean plays and poems and the creative background in which they originated.

On March 12th the first executive meeting, following the incorporation, was held at our Washington headquarters. Nine Trustees to manage the affairs of the corporation for the first year were elected. Their names and addresses follow:

Dr. Louis P. Bénézet, 3 Occum Ridge, Hanover, N. H.

Mrs. Eva Turner Clark, Fairmont Hotel, San Francisco, Cal.

James Stewart Cushman, 815 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

Charles Wisner Barrell, 17 East 48th Street, New York, N. Y.

Charlton Ogburn, Union Trust Building, Washington, D. C.

Dr. John Howard Dellinger, Bureau of Standards, Washington, D. C.

Frank C. Doble, 540 Huron Avenue, Cambridge, Mass.

Severo Mallet-Prevost, 63 Wall Street, New York, N. Y.

Burton Rice, 1028 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Washington, D. C.

The executives who have headed our group since its formation in 1939 were confirmed in office. These include Dr. Bénézet as President; Mrs. Clark and Mr. Cushman as Vice-Presidents, and Mr. Barrell as Secretary-Treasurer—all known through long association to Oxfordians here and abroad. But to widen our scope and at the same time to give recognition to two very able proponents of the Oxford evidence who have done work of outstanding value to the cause, the number of Vice-Presidents was increased to four, and Mr. Flodden W. Heron of 251 Post Street, San Francisco, California, and Mrs. Elsie Greene Holden of The Park Lane Hotel, Denver, Colorado, were unanimously elected Vice-Presidents to serve with the other executives.

## President Benezet's Lecture Tour

Immediately following incorporation of The Shakespeare Fellowship on February 20th last, our President, Dr. Louis P. Bénézet of Dartmouth, determined to make good our objective as an educational association, left the arctic cold of northern New England on a speaking tour which carried him as far south as Winter Park, Florida. Although largely unheralded by advance publicity, the trip proved a notable success. Dr. Bénézet brought the story of the poet Earl of Oxford's indubitable claims for premier consideration as the outstanding figure in the thrilling authorship mystery to at least two thousand, two hundred interested persons who had previously had either the sketchiest notions of "the Looney theory"—or none at all. All who have heard Dr. Bénézet hold forth on his favorite subject agree that the Oxford-Shakespeare case could not have a more versatile and effective champion in the hurly-burly of public debate.

On February 21st the President gave his first talk before a general assembly of the student body at the Connecticut State Teachers' College at Danbury, some 425 future teachers being present, plus 35 faculty members.

His next appearance was before a gathering of about 260 senior and junior students at the Montclair, New Jersey, High School, with seven or eight of their teachers and Prof. Harold Bohn of the Montclair State Teachers' College. After the talk,

Mr. Heron is President of the Book Club of California. He is also President of The Roxburghe Club of San Francisco, and President of The Literary Anniversary Club. He has one of the fine private book collections of the Pacific Coast. For many years past his talks on the Oxford-Shakespeare case have been features of the intellectual life of San Francisco and vicinity. His scholarship, coupled with vitality and enterprise make him a prime favorite with all Oxfordians who have come to know him.

Mrs. Elsie Greene Holden, though of New England descent, has spent most of her life in the Rocky Mountain capital. Her late husband, Dr. C. Walter Holden, was one of the leading physicians in that part of the United States. She has given a number of successful talks on the Oxford-Shakespeare case, and has interested both libraries and individuals in acquiring a better understanding of the facts behind the authorship mystery.

Prof. Bohn took the lead in the "questions" period which lasted forty-five minutes. While at first inclined to be a bit dogmatic in his opposition to many of Dr. Bénézet's arguments, this specialist in English literature finally subsided with the remark: "This theory is just too good. *I can't get through your armor.*" Like many another professional Stratfordian, Prof. Bohn had made the error of underrating the Oxford documentation. But unlike most of them, he is open-minded enough to admit that we have a strong case, once he has heard it briefed.

On the invitation of President H. A. Sprague of the Montclair State Teachers' College, Dr. Bénézet gave a fifty-minute talk to a large class of English students on February 26th. As always, the young people responded enthusiastically. Later in the day, another group of some ninety English students, who had been primed for the occasion by Prof. Bohn, listened to Dr. Bénézet. They also asked many questions of a keenly intelligent nature, showing that the undergraduate field in American colleges is not only ready but extremely willing to accept a full and fair account of the literary Earl who was known to his contemporaries of the Shakespearean Age by the revealing nickname of "Gentle Master William."

Starting south the same day, Dr. Bénézet arrived in time for dinner at the home of Miss Josephine

Pinckney, the novelist, in Charleston, South Carolina on February 27th. In addition to our President, the guests at this dinner included Miss Laura Bragg, former Curator of the Berkshire Museum at Pittsfield, Mass., and a member of The Fellowship; Col. Wiles, head of the Department of English at The Citadel, Charleston's famous military college; Mrs. Wiles; and the Rev. Mr. Neilson of the Charleston Unitarian Church. Miss Bragg, together with Mrs. F. J. Attaway of Charleston, had made the arrangements for Dr. Bénézet's appearance the same evening before an invited audience at the Unitarian Church.

This turned out to be a most intelligent and discriminating group, including the President of the Charleston Municipal College, the entire English Department of The Citadel, many of Charleston's best known writers, artists and editors, together with one of the professors of English from the University of North Carolina. Dr. Bénézet spoke for an hour and twenty minutes and then replied to questions for an additional forty-five minutes. Chief interest centered in the great mass of evidence which shows that so very many of the facts of Lord Oxford's private life—largely unknown until late years and first adequately presented by Mr. Barrell in Vols. III and IV of the NEWS-LETTER—are clearly and unmistakably referred to in "Shakespeare's" otherwise enigmatic *Sonnets*. Dr. Bénézet's handling of these dramatic and illuminating parallel circumstances was effective. At the end, Col. Wiles, who had asked many searching questions, admitted that the Oxford Sonnet argument is unanswerable. "The Earl must be the author of these poems; otherwise they have no personal meaning," he said. Confessing that when the Bénézet talk had been announced, he had expected to be more or less bored by it, the Rev. Mr. Neilson declared that he was so excited by what he had learned that he could hardly wait to re-read the *Sonnets* in the new light thrown upon them.

Continuing on to Florida, Dr. Bénézet addressed the famous University Club at Winter Park on March 1st, which has among its membership more than three hundred of America's best known men of literature, science, law and business. Some of these notables are members of the faculty of Rollins College in Winter Park. Incidentally, Rollins was the first college in the United States to subscribe for the NEWS-LETTER before it became the QUARTERLY. Dr. Bénézet's address before the University Club aroused so much outside interest in Winter Park that he was asked to repeat it for some of the

guests of the hotel at which he was staying.

From Florida our President traveled to Atlanta, where he was the guest of Dr. and Mrs. Davison and Prof. Pierre Porohovshikov, head of the Foreign Languages Department of Emory University. Formerly one of the legal lights of the old regime in Russia, Prof. Porohovshikov is one of the internationally known anti-Stratfordians. About eight years ago he published a work entitled *Shakespeare Unmasked* which sets forth his belief that the unfortunate young Earl of Rutland wrote some of the plays and poems. The book is brilliantly executed, but fails to take into account the very essential matter of chronology. In other words, Rutland, born late in 1579, was barely fourteen years of age at the time Philip Henslowe was presenting six or seven of the "Shakespeare" masterpieces; and only ten when Nash referred to *Hamlet* as an English tragedy known to the university audiences at Oxford and Cambridge. Moreover, having been legally declared sexually impotent at his wife's divorce suit, Rutland's interest in the opposite sex is known to have been somewhat less than vital: a circumstance which forever debars him from serious consideration as author of such works as *Romeo and Juliet* and the *Sonnets*. However, Prof. Porohovshikov has long been a member of The Fellowship and is too fair-minded and cosmopolitan a scholar not to appreciate the strength and variety of the evidence on Oxford's side. So it was under the Professor's auspices that Dr. Bénézet gave a talk to some two hundred of the upper grade students at the Boys' High School in Atlanta. His presentation of the poet Earl's documentation, particularly as it relates to the *Sonnets*, aroused general interest. Later the same day, and again at Prof. Porohovshikov's suggestion, another address along similar lines was given before Extension Classes of the University of Georgia.

On Tuesday, March 6th, Dr. Bénézet was invited to appear before the Shakespeare Circle at Dr. Davison's residence, where he was introduced by Prof. Porohovshikov to a representative gathering of Atlanta's keenest minds. The evening was devoted to a stimulating discussion of the *Sonnets* and to Oxford's creative characteristics as they are apparent in *Hamlet* and *Romeo and Juliet*.

From Atlanta Dr. Bénézet went to Black Mountain College, North Carolina. Here he was asked to speak to the entire faculty as well as the student body on March 8th. The lecture lasted for more than an hour and a half. By this time it had grown so late and so many questions remained to be

answered that it was arranged for Dr. Bénézet to give an additional hour's talk at teatime the following afternoon. This overflow meeting was also largely attended and enthusiastically applauded.

Dr. Bénézet is lavish in his praise of the spirit of wholesome inquiry which dominates the system of instruction at Black Mountain. He says that here, more than at any college he has visited, the English teachers display an open-minded eagerness to hear the facts about the authorship question and react without hostility or hysteria to logical arguments—no matter how devastating they may be to the cut-and-dried dogma of the Shakespeare text-books. This sounds almost too good to be true. Like The Shakespeare Fellowship, Black Mountain College seems worthy of liberal endowment. At present the North Carolina seat of learning is so poor that the students are erecting the buildings. And while the state will not permit the faculty to give the A.B. degree, their teaching standards are such that graduates are admitted to advanced work at Harvard and other first-line universities.

Leaving Black Mountain with some regret, Dr. Bénézet arrived in Washington on Sunday, March 11th. His appearance in the national capital had been arranged by Dr. and Mrs. John Howard Dellinger, both enthusiastic and well-grounded Oxfordians. Dr. Dellinger is one of America's foremost scientists in the field of electronics and has had an important part in the development of radar for our successful prosecution of the war. Members of The Fellowship should be proud to know that a man of his genius and judgment is one of our guiding executives.

Dr. Bénézet's Washington lecture was given at All Souls' Unitarian Church to an audience of about seventy-five, most of whom had some knowledge of the Oxford-Shakespeare case. During the half-hour devoted to questions, following his talk, Dr. Bénézet says he was surprised to find that all the "hecklers" were uniformly sympathetic. Several stated that at least the Oxford evidence explains most of the illogical mysteries that have always surrounded the Stratford story. At tea, after the lecture, discussion was continued for nearly an hour. Washington, home of the incomparable Folger Shakespeare Library which contains the most comprehensive collection of Shakespeareana in existence—a collection, by the way, so vastly superior to any real evidence of the Bard's personality or activities to be found in Stratford-on-Avon that the comparison is ludicrous—seems destined to be the seat of authentic information

from which the world will draw a true and revised opinion of the man who was "Shakespeare."

After attending the Reorganization Meeting of The Fellowship on March 12th, Dr. Bénézet went on to Philadelphia where he was entertained at a luncheon given by Mr. Leon J. Obermayer, President of the Philadelphia Board of Education, who is also one of our distinguished members. The other guests included Dr. Stoddard, Superintendent of the Philadelphia Schools, the two Associate Superintendents and the Business Manager of the School Board. Dr. Bénézet gave these gentlemen an informal talk on the Oxford case. (*Off the record*: we must expect reprisals from the book concerns who at present have the monopoly of supplying the text-books featuring the outworn myths and whole-cloth conjectures regarding the greatest name in English literature. The threat to this monopoly becomes apparent when the foremost educational leaders of a great English-speaking city seek first-hand information on the Oxford discoveries.)

At Bronxville, New York, Dr. Bénézet was invited to address a class of senior students at the High School on March 14th. The young people had just finished reading *Hamlet*, and they, as well as their teacher, were enchanted by the contemporary sidelights Dr. Bénézet was able to throw upon the play through its association with Oxford's private life and characteristic sympathies.

The same afternoon Dr. Bénézet appeared before a class in poetry taught by no less a notable than Genevieve Taggard, a true artist in the medium. At the close of the class, Miss Taggard asked Dr. Bénézet to tell her the story of the poet Earl's life as reflected in the *Sonnets*. He found her a most sympathetic and understanding listener. We hope that not only Miss Taggard, but all other real poets will join The Fellowship and read the evidence otherwise denied them by the short-sighted publishing clique here and abroad who fear that the truth about the authorship mystery may destroy the value of their investments in Stratfordian rumble-dumble.

Dr. Bénézet ended his speaking tour at Garden City, New York where he spoke first before the student body at Adelphi College on "Post-War Education." Afterwards, at a tea held by the faculty to which some of the advanced English students were invited, he presented the Oxford-Shakespeare case. The members of the student body present were so stimulated by the new point of view that they fairly clamored for information. Dr. Bénézet's objective of putting our cause before a truly representative stratum of intelligent Americans was excellently

achieved by his travels. The Fellowship owes him a profound debt of gratitude.

## Death of Canon Rendall

The Oxford-Shakespeare cause has lost a powerful advocate in the demise of Dr. Gerald Henry Rendall, Hon. Canon of Chelmsford Cathedral, on January 4, 1945 at his residence, Dedham House, Dedham, Essex, England. Born January 25, 1851, Dr. Rendall was within three weeks of his ninety-fourth birthday. Up to within a few months of his death, he was actively engaged in Oxford-Shakespeare research and publication. He was the last of the great Victorian scholars, a contemporary of Dickens and Thackeray, Tennyson, Browning and Matthew Arnold. He had studied the history and the creative background of the Elizabethan Age intensively and knew his Shakespeare as few readers do. And he considered J. T. Looney's identification of Edward de Vere as the real Bard the greatest achievement in literary detection in the English language.

For some time previous to his death, Dr. Rendall was the oldest retired Headmaster in Great Britain. In the words of his devoted friend and private secretary, Mr. J. O. Rickwood, "he had used his long life to the full with his great gifts of mind and learning." A sketch of Dr. Rendall's career appeared in the April, 1944 *QUARTERLY*, together with a detailed list of the three important volumes and four scholarly pamphlets devoted to various phases of the Oxford-Shakespeare research to which he gave much time from his eightieth year onward.

An honor graduate of Harrow and Trinity College, Cambridge, Dr. Rendall had lived up to the highest educational traditions of his country. He had been Gladstone Professor of Greek and Principal of University College, Liverpool; Vice-Chancellor of Victoria University, Manchester; a member of the Gresham University Commission; and at the time of his retirement in 1911 was Headmaster of the Charterhouse School. In addition to being Hon. Canon of Chelmsford, his degrees included those of Bachelor of Divinity, Doctor of Letters and Doctor of Laws. A highly accomplished Greek and Latin scholar, his translations were published in the Bohn Classical Library. That a man of his background should break with the orthodox Stratfordian *dicta* was something of a shock to the professional defenders of these hoary myths. But Dr. Rendall continued to put forward evidence of

high competence on behalf of Oxford until the last. His great learning, excellent taste and considered judgment will be sorely missed.

## Melville's "Capt. Vere"

Miss Clara Van Benthuyssen, well known in American musical circles and a charter member of The Fellowship, discloses the fact that Herman Melville gives the name of "Captain the Honourable Edward Vere" to one of the leading characters in his story "Billy Budd, Foretopman." This is one of the *Great Short Novels*, an anthology edited by Edward Weeks (1941). A highly dramatic tale of the Great Naval Mutiny at Spithead in 1797, it is written in Melville's most mature vein. "Aside from his qualities as a sea-officer," says Melville, "Captain Vere was an exceptional character. . . . He had a marked leaning towards everything intellectual. He loved books, never going to sea without a newly replenished library, compact, but of the best."

Melville seems to have sensed something of the high mental qualities of the Veres long before Looney's research was published. The story was composed between 1888 and 1891. This psychological tragedy in which Billy Budd and Captain Edward Vere figure so poignantly would not have been despised by the man who wrote *Hamlet*. It should interest every admirer of real literature and every student of Vere family history.

## That Continental Tour

Many favorable comments have been received on Mrs. Clark's study of "Lord Oxford's Shakespearean Travels on the European Continent" which appeared in our January issue. Mr. Joseph Henabury, film director for the late Douglas Fairbanks and other notable players, remarks that the parallels shown by Mrs. Clark are too striking to be ignored. Her article should be followed up with digests of certain forgotten writings of Charles Armitage Brown and Harriet Martineau which also prove beyond cavil that "Shakespeare" displays much personal, intimate knowledge of Italy—a country far beyond the ken of the Stratford native.

## Recognition of Merit

Some fifty of the leading public, university and college libraries of the United States have not only subscribed for the *QUARTERLY*, but have purchased complete files of our publication from Vol. 1, No. 1. Much of the evidence in the great authorship case is being made available for widespread, permanent consultation in this way.

## Earliest Authenticated "Shakespeare" Transcript Found With Oxford's Personal Poems

### A Solution of the Significant Proximity of Certain Verses in a Unique Elizabethan Manuscript Anthology

By CHARLES WISNER BARRELL

Some sixty years before J. Thomas Looney began work on his revolutionary identification of Edward de Vere, Earl of Oxford, as "Shakespeare," James Orchard Halliwell (later Halliwell-Phillips) one of the greatest collectors of Shakespeareana and most painstaking students of the Stratford native's career that has ever lived, brought out the fact that the names of the mysterious Bard and the mysterious poet Earl have actually been linked together in unmistakable significance since the 1590's, at least.

The evidence is contained in a small volume of poems copied in the handwriting of one Anne Cornwallis. And Halliwell-Phillips dates the transcription of this unique collection between the years 1585 and 1595. He published the first account of his acquisition of the russia leather-bound quarto bearing the large feminine signature, "Anne Cornwaleys her booke," in a volume entitled, *Catalogue of Shakespeare Reliques In the Possession of James Orchard Halliwell, Esq., F.R.S.* in the year 1852. Only seventy copies of the *Catalogue* were printed and it has now become so rare that comparatively few students of the authorship question even know of its existence. Through the courtesy of the Folger Shakespeare Library in Washington, I have been able to consult a copy and will now give a digest of Halliwell-Phillips' remarks on the Cornwallis manuscript together with some subsequent findings regarding the identity of the Elizabethan lady who made this contemporary collection of poems in her quaint and priceless little "commonplace book."

Halliwell-Phillips purchased the item from the Russell family of Enfield, following its acquisition by Dr. Russell at the sale of the Bright manuscript collection at Sotheby's auction rooms in London in June, 1844.

The description of the Cornwallis collection is given thus in Sotheby's sale catalogue:

\* \* \*

SHAKESPEARE. A POETICAL MISCELLANY  
OF THE REIGN OF ELIZABETH, containing

verses by Edward Vere, Earl of Oxford, Sir Edward Dyer, Vavasor, G. M., Sir P. Sidney, and Shakespeare; russia, 4 to.

The lines by Shakespeare are an elegant little poem which appeared first in *The Passionate Pilgrim*, 1599, a surreptitious publication in which they are most incorrectly given. The present Manuscript offers not only a better arrangement of the stanzas, but also a far superior text, in proof of which we subjoin the last stanza:—

#### Manuscript

Now hoe, inoughe, too much I fear;  
For if my ladye heare this songe,  
She will not sticke to ringe my eare,  
To teache my tongue to be soe longe;  
Yet would she blushe, here be it saide,  
To heare her secrets thus bewrayede.

#### Printed Text

(Poem XIX, *The Passionate Pilgrim*, 1599)

But soft; enough, too much I fear,  
Lest that my mistress hear my song;  
She'll not stick to round me i' the ear,  
To teach my tongue to be so long:  
Yet will she blush, here be it said,  
To hear her secrets so bewray'd.

In this (manuscript) reading we get rid of the harsh and false metre of the third (printed) line, and obtain a more natural imagery; the lady wringing her lover's ear for betraying her secrets, being certainly a more appropriate punishment for his fault than that of merely whispering (to) him.

Invention has been racked to account for the utter disappearance of the poems of Shakespeare in his own hand. The Rev. Mr. Hunter, in his recently published *New Illustrations of the Life and Writings of Shakespeare*, ingeniously supposes that the last descendant of the Poet, Lady Barnard (granddaughter of the Stratford citizen) in her over-religious zeal, may have destroyed any writings that remained in her hands. (Later research proves that she never possessed any such assumed writings. C.W.B.) To whatever cause it may be owing, it

is a certain fact that, at the present time, not a line of (William Shakspeare's) writing is known to exist. In the absence of his (literary) autographs, any contemporaneous manuscript is of importance; and in this view the present (Cornwallis) one may justly be deemed a literary curiosity of high interest.

\* \* \*

This account (remarks Halliwell-Phillips) is correct as far as it goes, but the compiler has omitted to notice the curiosity of the MS. as containing the earliest copy of any of Shakespeare's writings known to exist. The writing of the MS. is very early; and I very much doubt if any portion of the volume was written as late as 1590. (Some years later Halliwell-Phillips raised this estimated date to 1595.) If I am correct in this supposition, we have here a strong confirmation of Mr. Knight's opinion, that Shakespeare began to write at an earlier period than has been usually supposed.\* The MS. formerly belonged to Anne Cornwallis, and has her autograph, so that its descent from Vere, Earl of Oxford, is clearly deducible.

\* \* \*

Here we have the eminent Halliwell-Phillips—seemingly unbeknownst to Mr. Looney—pausing nearly a hundred years ago on the very threshold of a great discovery. Like Inspector Lestrade, he has the leading strings of a sensational solution to a fine mystery. But he fails to grasp their significance. The association of the names "Vere, Earl of Oxford" and "Shakespeare" seems important to him—though not *quite* important enough to call for a little extra research and deduction!

How ironical this will seem to present day students of the vast quantity of Oxford-Shakespeare testimony now available—that the otherwise insatiably curious and realistically-minded Halliwell-Phillips did not pursue at this time the clues that lay within his hands! Poe's reasoning in regard to the invisibility of *The Purloined Letter* is again proven basically sound. The thing best hidden is often that which lies most openly in view.

Halliwell-Phillips continues his 1852 commentary with a genealogical chart, showing that Anne Cornwallis (whom he identifies as a daughter of William Cornwallis and a granddaughter of Sir Thomas Cornwallis, Comptroller of the Royal Household under Mary Tudor) was a cousin of

Edward de Vere through her maternal grandfather, Lord Latimer. Like the 17th Earl of Oxford, Latimer was a blood descendant of Richard de Vere, 11th Earl of Oxford.

We will go on with Halliwell-Phillips' remarks on the manuscript collection before adding some comments of our own upon the actual identity of this poetry-collecting member of the Cornwallis family. Oxford's personal association with the house of Cornwallis will be shown to be a more interesting one than Halliwell-Phillips seems to have realized.

\* \* \*

The MS. commences (says H.P.) with some verses by J. Bentley, whose fame as an author rests solely on the present volume. It includes some poems printed in *The Paradise of Daintie Devices*, and one by G.M., supposed to be Gervase Markham. There is also a poem attributed to Sir P. Sidney, but it occurs in *England's Helicon*, with the name of Dyer attached to it.

In conclusion, I may observe that during a search of ten years (later extended to about fifty years), and after a careful examination of every collection of the kind I could meet with, either in public or private libraries, the present is the only specimen of any of Shakespeare's writings I have seen which was written in the sixteenth century. Scraps may be occasionally met with in miscellanies of a later date, but this volume, in point of antiquity, may be fairly considered to be unique in its kind, and as one of the most interesting illustrations of Shakespeare known to exist.

\* \* \*

Over and above this identification of the daughter of William Cornwallis as the original transcriber of the verses, Halliwell-Phillips is unquestionably right in dating their collection to a period within the 1580's, with the outside limit for their gathering placed at 1595.

This is due to the fact that the majority of the poems can be definitely shown to have been written well before 1586, the year in which Sir Philip Sidney died.

Unfortunately, I have not yet been able to consult the actual manuscript volume bearing Anne Cornwallis' signature. It is now owned by the Folger Library, but is still packed away with other treasures acquired from England. When it is available for consultation, we shall be able to see, for instance, just which verses are transcribed from *The Paradise of Dainty Devices*, first printed in 1576. Lord Oxford's initials appear upon seven

\* Charles Knight was one of the first Shakespeare editors to sense the unscientific, conjectural basis of the assumed Bard's creative chronology—the guesswork pattern of which has since been completely shattered by such notable investigators as Alexander, Cairncross, Hart, Mrs. Clark and Bédier.

lyrics therein. Several of Sir Philip Sidney's signed poems are known to have been wrongly attributed to his associates, among whom Sir Edward Dyer was prominent. *England's Helicon* (1600) contains more than one confused and confusing attribution. The initials G.M. may represent Gervase Markham, who had written his *Thyrsis and Daphne* "as early as 1593," as Halliwell-Phillips suggests. They could just as well stand for George Montemayor, a much better poet, who was born in Spain about 1520 and from whom "Shakespeare" is said to have translated some episodes used in the *Two Gentlemen of Verona*.

For a practical certainty we know that the *Echo* verses, which represent a collaboration between the Earl of Oxford and his mistress, Anne Vavasor, must have been composed during the earlier years of their liaison—between 1579 and 1581. After the latter date their relationship was never on the same carefree, playful basis apparent in these youthful lines.

The *Echo* verses have been reprinted many times by writers on the Oxford-Shakespeare case since their original inclusion in "*Shakespeare*" *Identified*. They appeared most recently in the NEWS-LETTER for June, 1942. But always, it seems, the copy used has been the one from the Rawlinson Poetical MS., 85.11, in the Bodleian Library. Sir Edmund Chambers, who has seen both the Rawlinson and the Cornwallis versions of the *Echo* song, says that the copies vary slightly, but that the names of Lord Oxford and Anne Vavasor are attached to each. The Shakespearean repetitions from these lyrics, as often pointed out, reappear both in Juliet's balcony speech and in *Venus and Adonis*, 829-34. Strangely enough, Halliwell-Phillips does not seem to have been aware of this fact.

It would surely be incredible for anyone to assume that Shakespeare of Stratford had easy access either to Anne Cornwallis' commonplace book or to the Rawlinson script. Hence, there is never any mention made in Stratfordian circles of the *Verses made by the earle of Oxforde and Mrs Ann Vavasor*—which lingered in the Bard's mind. Neither, for that matter, do Shakespeare's accepted biographers—other than Halliwell-Phillips—ever refer to the fact that "Shakespeare's" poem XIX in *The Passionate Pilgrim* first appears anonymously in the Cornwallis anthology. Not a word on so interesting a circumstance is given, for example, in Sir Sidney Lee's *Life of the alleged Bard*, although Lee devotes acres of space to tenuous speculation regarding the Stratford native's brain-pickings of suppositious "travelers" and "men prominent at

Court" who "are believed" to have supplied him with background color for his masterpieces!

Another very cogent reason for arguing that the Cornwallis transcripts were collected in the 1580's is the fact that the opening verses, bearing the name of "J. Bentley," may be assigned on the best of grounds to the noted Elizabethan actor, John Bentley, who was a leading man with the Queen's Players from 1583 until his death in August, 1585. The known facts of Bentley's career are briefly given in Nungezer's *Dictionary of Actors* (1929). Thomas Dekker in *A Knight's Conjuring* (1607) describes "inimitable Bentley" as a poet among poets; "though he had been a player, yet because he had been their lover, and a register to the Muses."

Thomas Nash, a contemporary and evident acquaintance, also pays high tribute to Bentley's creative quality in *Pierce Pennilesse* (1592), bracketing him with Tarlton, Ned Allen and William Knell as the foremost stage performers of Nash's memory. He says he hopes some day to write a full account of these players in Latin so that their accomplishments "shall be made known to France, Spain and Italie: and not a part that they surmounted in, more than other, but I will there note and set down, with the manner of their habits and attire." So when Nash tells us that John Bentley was an artist whose abilities should be signalized throughout Europe, we can be quite certain that he was literate enough to have composed the verses bearing his name in Anne Cornwallis' album. What a pity it is that Nash, the keenest and most garrulous chronicler of the Shakespearean age, never mentions the Stratford "genius" at all!

And so we see that by the ordinary rules of logic and chronology, Halliwell-Phillips is perfectly justified in dating the contents of the Cornwallis anthology according to his original estimate—between 1585 and 1590. For every identifiable contributor, with the sole exception of the uncertified marvel of Stratford, answers the requirements of the case without the slightest strain on credulity. The inclusion of "Shakespeare's" anonymous contribution is the one difficult thing to explain. That is apparently the very reason why the professional authorities so studiously avoid the problem.

In the first place, the poem—one of the bawdiest effusions to bear the Master's imprint—is plainly not a copy of the 1599 *Passionate Pilgrim* version. The latter is a pirate printer's mangled and mis-transcribed steal from this—the truer original. It would be absurd to argue otherwise. Moreover, if



it were the other way about, why should the collector leave the famous name of "Shakespeare" off the poem, while carefully setting down lesser ones? Such being the case, the 1599 date of the first printing of Poem XIX means absolutely nothing in respect to its original composition and acquisition by this Elizabethan lady of wealth and social position. Neither will it do for the Stratford conjecturalists to opine that their butcher's apprentice from the illiterate household by the Avonside "must have" scraped acquaintance with Anne Cornwallis shortly after he "ran from his master" to London—or to the Cornwallis estate in Norfolk—where he presented her with this humid commentary on the refined arts of love-making.

Although we must do violence to the Stratfordian's approved rule of side-stepping all such annoying dilemmas, an answer should be sought to these questions:

1) When and where was the material for this unique anthology collected?

2) Who was the particular Anne Cornwallis who transcribed the poems?

The best answers, I think, will be found in the documentation of the poet Earl of Oxford's private life.

This at once shows us that Lord Oxford was not only a distant relation of the Cornwallises of Brome, Norfolk, as Halliwell-Phillips emphasizes, but had intimate, personal contact with William Cornwallis, eldest son and heir of Sir Thomas Cornwallis, the statesman. Letters in the Cecil family collection at Hatfield House, as reproduced in the *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Marquess of Salisbury*, Vol. 3, pp. 377-8, under date of December 20th and December 31, 1588, tell us that some time previously, evidently in the autumn of the same year, the Earl of Oxford had sold his large and palatial estate in Bishopsgate Street Without, commonly called "Fisher's Folly," to William Cornwallis. The Earl had put through this deal hurriedly and secretly—without the knowledge or consent of his father-in-law Burghley—and very much to the Lord Treasurer's eventual chagrin.

The first letter explaining this transaction is written by Sir Thomas Cornwallis in reply to what must have been a sharp and serious reproof from Burghley. For Sir Thomas expresses himself as troubled, not to say frightened, by a turn of events which might loose the powerful Burghley's enmity. He disclaims all personal interest in the transaction, declares that he strongly advised his son against purchasing the property—which the Lord Treas-

urer evidently wished to hold against the support of Oxford's three surviving daughters by Anne Cecil—and eloquently begs Lord Burghley not to blame him for the actions of his headstrong son.

"I protest that I never saw nor heard any part of the assurance which hath passed between the Earl and my son," he declares. . . . "And, good my Lord, . . . think me not so doting and foolish in my age that for the attaining of Fisher's Folly, I would once put in adventure to lose the goodwill and favour which I have ever found towards me, since our first acquaintance."

In his later letter, Sir Thomas, having mollified Burghley, states that his son (William Cornwallis) "will not confess any intent or knowledge to defeat any purpose of your Lordship. For the secrecy he used he allegeth some reasons, but for the hasty conclusion (of the purchase) he layeth it wholly upon my Lord of Oxford."

Fisher's Folly was one of the show-places of Elizabethan London. It occupied the present site of Devonshire Square, just east of Bishopsgate Street Without. It is described as a huge structure with "gardens of pleasure, bowling-alleys and the like." Built by Jasper Fisher, one of the clerks in Chancery, and a member of the Goldsmiths' Company, the maintenance of this princely establishment proved such a strain on its builder's resources that the place was called Fisher's Folly. Oxford, with characteristic disregard of his own financial uncertainty, appears to have taken over the estate about 1584. Except for a visit which the Queen once paid him here, there is no record of the Earl having gone in for lavish entertaining while he owned the house. His city residence was still maintained at Oxford Court by London Stone. But by 1586 the poet's financial situation had become so precarious that he was obliged to accept a pension from the Crown. At the same time, he is known to have had many theatrical associations, he was still the acknowledged patron of many poets and dramatists,<sup>1</sup> and his own reputation as the best of the Court writers grew apace. All of these facts indicate that Lord Oxford had really acquired Fisher's Folly as headquarters for the school of poets and dramatists who openly acknowledged his patronage and leadership. These men included John Lyly, Thomas Watson, Robert Greene, Anthony Munday, Thomas Churchyard and Thomas Nash—all of whom tell us that they are, or have been, on terms of personal association with the Earl. In *Strange News Nash*

<sup>1</sup>See the testimony of Thomas Nash, Gabriel Harvey and others, as reproduced in the October, 1944 and January, 1945 *QUARTERLY*.

describes the household of the literary nobleman in London where he has done most of his writing.

The passage is somewhat heated, for it is in reply to Gabriel Harvey's strictures on Tom's personal activities:

"For the order of my life, it is as civil as a civil orange.<sup>2</sup> I lurk in no corners but converse in a house of credit, as well governed as any college, where there be more rare qualified men and selected good Scholars than in any Nobleman's house that I know in England. (My italics.)

"If I had committed such abominable villainies, or were a base shifting companion, it stood not with my Lord's honour to keep me. . . ."

These comments occur in the midst of surrounding references to the poet Earl of Oxford, the same "Gentle Master William Apis Lapis" to whom *Strange News* is dedicated, as we have shown.

Furthermore, the legal statement prepared by Thomas Kyd in 1593 to clear himself of the charge of heretical writing in collaboration with Marlowe, describes the same kind of an establishment, supported by a Lord with important theatrical and literary interests. Kyd's patron has always been a man of mystery to the orthodox "authorities." But he is obviously one and the same with Nash's patron—the poet Earl of Oxford.

All such evidence leads me to the conclusion that Fisher's Folly housed Oxford's circle of writers for a time.

After William (later Sir William) Cornwallis took the place over in 1588, he is known to have provided a situation in his household as "reader" for Thomas Watson, one of Oxford's literary proteges. Cornwallis tells a strange tale of his relations with Watson—whom he describes as a prolific popular playwright—in letters to Sir Thomas Heneage.\* The Cornwallis statements regarding Watson's playwrighting activities deserve, and shall have further investigation elsewhere. The point to be emphasized here is that it is abundantly apparent that the acquisition of Oxford's house by the Cornwallis family in 1588 provided the perfect opportunity for a member of that family to secure the copies of personal poems which are transcribed in the anthology bearing the signature of "Anne Cornwaleys." From some overlooked corner of the Earl's library at Fisher's Folly these verses could have been retrieved, the anonymous "Shakespeare"

poem among the others. This certainly bears every evidence of being one of Oxford's early commentaries upon his affair with Anne Vavasor.

And now, finally, as to the actual identity of Anne Cornwallis:

William Cornwallis had a daughter of that name. We do not know the date of her birth, although there were at least two adolescent children in the family in 1588.

Moreover, Cornwallis had an aunt named Anne who "died unmarried." His own mother—the wife of Sir Thomas Cornwallis—bore the same cognomen. Anne was also the name of both of the wives of Charles Cornwallis, William's younger brother.<sup>†</sup> Thus, we have four Anne Cornwallises, all closely connected with William Cornwallis of Fisher's Folly, either by blood or marriage—and all of them seemingly alive and of age to have transcribed "Anne Cornwaleys her Booke" within the period of the 1580's or early 1590's.

Here the case must rest for the present. But Lord Oxford's personal connection with the rare manuscript volume which contains the first authenticated transcription of a "Shakespeare" poem is clear and unmistakable, just as Halliwell-Phillips pointed out nearly a hundred years ago.

### A London Worthy's Letter

One of our British members who deserves well of The Fellowship is William Kent, Editor of the *London Encyclopedia* and author of the fine reference volume, *London Worthies*, in which he gives the fullest account of the Oxford-Shakespeare case yet to appear in any book of its kind. Mr. Kent, like many other Oxfordians in the war zone, has had to carry on his work under handicaps of tragic consequence. He wrote us in April, 1941 that most of his library has been destroyed by bombs. Not long ago we heard from him again:

"Last July we went through a third enemy attack. All our furniture went, and our flat was a heap of ruins. This was the work of a pilotless plane. Fortunately, injuries were slight. I have recovered some of my books this time, but many in a torn, filthy condition. I have also lost two valuable Shakespeare notebooks, containing material for a volume I contemplated. However, I have started new ones and, indeed, filled one already. But the loss is grievous. . . . I wonder if you could manage to send me duplicates of the NEWS-LETTERS and QUARTERLIES you sent me?"

We can, and certainly shall, Mr. Kent!

<sup>2</sup>A pun on Seville, from which London's oranges were imported. Note that Shakespeare uses the same pun in *Much Ado*, II. 1.263:

"The count is neither sad nor sick . . . but civil . . . civil as an orange."

\*Tower Miscell. Rolls No. 458 (Darrell papers &c.).

<sup>†</sup>See *New Light on Sir William Cornwallis the Essayist*, Review of English Studies, Vol. 8, pp. 155-69.

# The Stratford Defendant Compromised By His Own Advocates

By LOUIS P. BÉNÉZET, A.M., Pd.D.

\* \* *Continued from the January QUARTERLY* \* \*

It will be recalled that we granted, for the sake of argument, that Will Shakspeare, the lad from the home of illiterate parents had been admitted to the Stratford Latin Grammar School at the age of seven, although this is pure conjecture, and there is not a shred of evidence to support it.

Let us now summon another Stratfordian witness. This is Edgar I. Fripp, of Liverpool University. On pages 83 and 84 of his book, *Shakespeare, Man and Artist*, we read of Shakespeare's supposed entry into the school at Stratford. Mr. Fripp does not know what the entrance requirements were, but surmises that in addition to knowing how to read and write the boy shall be "fit for Latin Grammar."

He gives the entrance requirements of two similar schools. The first, St. Paul's, says, "If your child can read and write Latin and English sufficiently so that he be able to read and write his own lessons then he shall be admitted." This is dated 1537.

By 1578 Shrewsbury has the rule that "no scholar shall be admitted before he can write his name, read English perfectly, and have his 'Accidence' without book, give case of a noun or adjective, or parsing of a verb active and passive, and make a (Latin) verse by any of the concordances, the Latin words being given him." This staggered Mr. Fripp. He realized how he had barred out his young candidate, so added that Shrewsbury's standard was high and that Stratford in 1564 "permitted an easier examination." However, he does not tell us what it required.

But where would the son of illiterate parents ever learn, at the age of seven, "to read English perfectly" or even to write his name? Remember that in 1612 the best that he can do with his surname is "Sha (blot) p." We are told that his literate playmates had probably taught him to read (and write, and distinguish the case of a noun, etc.), and on the other hand possibly they hadn't! No; William Shakspeare of Stratford probably "picked up" enough learning so that just before he died he could write his full autograph, but to picture him entering, at seven, the kind of school that Dr. Fripp

describes is too great a breach of probability.

Fripp finally offers an explanation of the mystery. Says he: "We have mistaken Alderman Shakespeare if he had not a copy of the Geneva Bible in his house. His son shows such familiarity with the opening chapters that we may believe he spelled them out and almost learned them by heart." But the Stratfordian Countess de Chambrun has proved that John Shacksper, as the clerk spells his name, was a Catholic who would never have permitted his son to see a Geneva Bible.

All through his book Fripp is dropping little hints that bolster up the Oxford cause. He points out that Shakespeare, in *Love's Labour's Lost*, uses the name of the Frenchman, La Mothe, who came to England in 1572 as special envoy to plead the suit of the Duc d'Alençon for the hand of Elizabeth. This man Oxford knew personally. But how would the Stratford youth, who was barely eight years old at the time, ever have heard of him, and who in London theatrical society would recall his name twenty years afterwards, when Shakspeare is supposed, in Stratfordian circles, to have produced the play?

On page 63 Fripp tells of a tour of the players of John, Earl of Oxford, in 1560, and of the company of Edward, Earl of Oxford, in 1563, proving that the thirteen year old boy, a year after his father's death, was maintaining the players as his own company.

On page 69 Fripp gives an interesting table of the name of Shakespearean characters and their meanings, proving that the author understood obscure words in French, Italian, Latin and Greek. (Ophelia—help—and Desdemona—ill fortune—both from this last-named language.) He admits that Ben Jonson's story about the "small Latin" is false. "Shakespeare," he says, "became an excellent Latin scholar" and "critics inclined to underestimate his scholarship have had to confess their astonishment" at some of his keen uses of Latin phrases. Like Churton Collins, he fills pages and pages with proof of Shakespeare's wonderful knowledge of authors like Livy, Vergil, Horace,

Cæsar, Seneca, Plautus and other classical writers. Again the lie is given to Ben Jonson.

Fripp shows that Shakespeare knows the untranslated parts of Ovid as intimately as he does the *Metamorphoses*, which had been translated in 1567, as we remember, by Arthur Golding, Oxford's uncle. Next he testifies to his remarkable knowledge of music, which is like that of a professional. He says, "Shakespeare, we may be sure, was both a vocalist and an instrumentalist." He fails to tell us when and how the butcher's apprentice and prompter's attendant acquired all this skill. Also, does it not seem strange that this lover of music and instrumentalist does not have in his house one violin, cithern or flute at the time when he makes his will?

On page 138 Fripp, having filled his hero's youthful years full of training in the classics and in music, assigns him to three years in an attorney's office, and says that this is the natural inference "from his marriage in 1582 and his extraordinary knowledge, and large and accurate usage, in his writings *from the beginning* [italics mine] of legal terminology and procedure." . . . "His legal terms are legion: sometimes they are highly technical; frequently they are metaphorical; often they are wrought into the very fibre of his verse; but most remarkable of all, they flow from him, unawares," and so on for three more pages. He finally says that he is not maintaining "that Shakespeare was a barrister, but that he would have made a great one and had gained *somewhere* [italics mine] his trained legal insight." He goes on to say that "the facts demand professional experience in an attorney's office and without doubt at Stratford in or about the years 1579-87." But Sir George Greenwood points out that we have all sorts of legal papers from Stratford lawyers' offices, and nowhere is there a signature of Wm. Shakspeare in 1579-87 to be found among them. Besides, Adams is "sure" that he was teaching a country school at this period, and Professor Elze is "sure" that at this time he was travelling in Italy.

In 1587, according to Fripp, Shakespeare suddenly got tired of the "unromantic drudgery of an attorney's office," and packed off to London with the Queen's Company of actors.

Fripp waves aside all the old legends about poaching, butcher's apprenticeship, holding horses, attending prompters and the like, saying that they all date from periods "too remote in time" after Shakspeare's death "to concern the historian." He forgets that the one story to which he desperately

clings, *i.e.*, that Shakspeare's father had him attend school from his eighth to his thirteenth year, dates from Rowe, who wrote forty years after Aubrey and the others whom he refuses to believe.

Also, after contemptuously dismissing Aubrey's other yarns for being "too remote" in point of time, he makes a *volte-face* and discovers that "there is noticeable truth in the Aubrey legends that young Shakespeare before he left Stratford was 'inclined to acting' and could 'make a speech in high style'—but not while killing a calf!

Fripp gives the story of sonnets 153 and 154. He quotes a poem in Greek called Cupid's Torch, written by Marianus. It is unmistakably the original of the two sonnets. Says Fripp: "Shakespeare knew some Greek and may have read the original in 'Anthologia Graeca,' 1566." The present writer studied Greek for seven years, but finds several words in the stanza that would have caused him to refer to a lexicon. If Shakespeare could translate this poem, then Ben Jonson doubly lied. Mr. Fripp says it is "more likely" that he read it in a Latin translation. But the first Latin translation, he admits, was that of Lubinus, in 1603, and he has already set 1597 as the last possible date for the writing of the sonnet! Again the mark of the university man is evident.

Mr. Fripp devotes three or four pages to Shakespeare's military knowledge. He freely uses soldier jargon. Corselets, pauldrons, forgets, ancients, lieutenants, corporals, Bezonians, bilbos, and similar expressions are commonplace in his talk. Yet Fripp admits that "evidence is wanting that in 1588 or at any other time he bore arms in military service," although "in imagination and on the stage he was a true soldier."

Joseph Quincy Adams, in his *Life of William Shakespeare*, dwells upon the intimacy of Ben Jonson and Shakspeare. He makes much of the Mermaid Tavern, and describes the wit-combats which took place there. In *The Facts about Shakespeare* (1927 edition), page 39, Fuller's story about the wit-combats is given in full, but where Fuller says, "I behold," this version says, "I beheld," conveying the impression that Fuller, aged three, had been present. An American college president, in correspondence with the writer, when asked why he could not accept Oxford as Shakespeare, replied that he could not forget the testimony of those who were present at the bouts between Jonson and the Bard of Avon at the Mermaid.

Now comes Fripp, joining Sir E. K. Chambers in pronouncing the Mermaid story a bit of imagin-

tion. "There is no evidence," he writes, "to connect him with the Mermaid Tavern and Jonson's *confrères*. Probability is against it, if on no other ground than incompatibility of temper. Whatever the 'wit combats' imagined by Fuller and the respect and affection inspired in the greater by the less, Shakespeare and Jonson could not have been boon companions. The rich and generous genius of the one and the self-assertive, envious talent of the other were inconsistent, if not antagonistic." Here is one more Stratfordian who believes that Jonson's "love this side idolatry" was not genuine, but hollow, and dictated by other motives than sincerity.

*Shakespeare Personality*, by David Masson, contains many straws which indicate the direction of the wind. Space will not permit lengthy quotation. However, the tone of the book can be sensed from the following: (p. 15) "One omission in the will is rather curious. There is not the least allusion in it to books, papers or writings published. Plate is mentioned (he enumerates other items), but whatever books or papers there were in New Place go unnamed into 'household stuff.' There is not the least trace in the will of the usual anxiety of a dying author as to the fate of his literary remains." Imagine the "true and original copies" of *Hamlet* and *Othello* tossed into the junk barrel with the kitchen pots, the old shoes and other "household stuff"! It seems strange that other Stratfordians have failed to comment on this extraordinary and most significant omission in the will. Mr. Masson goes on to say that "strangely enough there is not a single sentimental phrase in the will." He comments on some other strange features of the story of Shakspeare's belongings and again reminds us that there apparently was no book in the whole of New Place. Says he: "Books that belonged to Ben Jonson, with his autograph in them, are not very rare." He goes on to say that the same is true of Milton, but "curiously" we have not a single book that belonged to Shakspeare. It does seem extraordinary, when we recall that long list of works that Dr. Neilson proves that he had read.

A last comment by Mr. Masson is worth recording. He is conscious of the baffling cloud of secrecy that surrounds the Shakespeare personality, and he wonders why. He speaks of the fact that in the works of Ben Jonson not only are the dedications "full of personal allusions, but in the appended miscellanies in verse and prose there is a perfect mine of particulars as to the author's relations with his contemporaries and his opinions of them." . . . "Contrast this," says Mr. Masson, "with what we

know of Shakespeare. Nothing on earth could get a poem out of him."

*To be continued.*

## Keep the Light Burning

Efforts to strengthen our membership must not be relaxed at this time despite the inescapable exigency of world-events. For, as the shattering tides of war subside, all civilized persons are bound to turn with freshened interest to those goodly intellectual pursuits which lift the mind of man above the level of the sub-human savages whose mad career is ending. This is our apology for trying to keep the Oxford-Shakespeare case alive in a devastated world. Members who have neglected to pay their dues can help by doing so at once.

## Oxford-Shakespeare Books

While they last, copies of a few books, pamphlets and bound volumes of The Shakespeare Fellowship NEWS-LETTER and QUARTERLY may be had from the Secretary at the following Special Prices, postpaid:

**THE MAN WHO WAS SHAKESPEARE** by Eva Turner Clark. A biography of the poet Earl of Oxford, presenting many angles of his career not previously covered. Handsomely illustrated. \$2.00.

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## Rare Military Volume Sponsored by Lord Oxford Issued By "Shakespeare's" First Publisher

John Harrison the Elder Provides Significant Link  
Between *The Defence of Militarie Profession*  
And First Quartos of the Bard's Poems

By CHARLES WISNER BARRELL

Shakespeare's knowledge of military technique, usage and terminology—like his knowledge of other highly specialized subjects, such as Court politics and precedence, the psychology of the Tudor aristocracy, civil and ecclesiastical law, music and horsemanship—is both extensive and accurate.

The author of *Othello* and the great historical plays beginning with *King John* and ending, say, with *3 Henry VI*, expresses the courtier-soldier's point of view too clearly and naturally and displays far too familiar a grasp of military methods, objectives and colloquialisms not to have acquired this knowledge through serious study—plus first-hand experience—of the arts of war. No such study and experience can be documented in the career of the Stratford native. The effort has frequently been made by his biographers, ending always in a dead-end of conjecture, exactly where all such efforts to account for the elusive William's presumably vast knowledge of so many cultural and technical specialties always end.

But the case is entirely different when we examine the claims for the poet-playwright Earl of Oxford as the real-life "Gentle Master William." In every outstanding instance of specialized knowledge credited to the author of the plays, Oxford's personal familiarity with the subject can be categorically documented. This is particularly true in respect to "Shakespeare's" fund of military information. A volume of respectable proportions could be compiled on the theme. That it has not been done seems odd, inasmuch as all soldier-scholars of the English-speaking world should find much therein to interest them. Some valuable commentaries on the subject exist, however, and the best of these are being compiled for future presentation in the *QUARTERLY*. The striking manner in which the Shakespearean selection and handling of military activities and personalities parallels the personal experiences, known associations and sympathies of the playwright Earl of Oxford should jolt the com-

placency of any Stratfordian who studies the evidence. None will be able to impeach its relevance and competence, however.

Detailed mention of Oxford's early training in military exercises, his remarkable prowess as a handler of the spear and other weapons in the lists, his personal participation in the military campaign of 1569-70 against the rebel Earls of the North, his brief experience as an acting General of Cavalry in the Lowlands in 1586, and his determined effort to take active part in the running sea-battle against the Spanish Armada in 1588, are all to be found in Capt. B. M. Ward's biography of the Earl, and need not detain us here. Neither is it necessary to reiterate the facts given in previous issues of this publication, which prove that Lord Oxford numbered among his personal followers and intimate associates such men of tested and approved military metal as "the brave Lord Willoughby," Captain Sir Roger Williams ("Shakespeare's" own Fluellen), Captain Maurice Denis of Lowlands fame, Thomas Radcliffe, 3rd Earl of Sussex, K. G., his cousins, Sir Francis and Lord Horatio Vere and, finally, his illegitimate son, Lieut.-Col. Sir Edward Vere, one of the most admired heroes of the Dutch struggle for independence.

All of these known circumstances help us in recreating the poet Earl's background and character. They also should indicate some of the reasons for his final selection of the militant pen-name of "William Shakespeare" under which to dispense the "rare devices of poetry," the notable comedies and those "deep draughts of the Muses"—otherwise unaccounted for in English literature—with which the literary nobleman is credited by the foremost critics of his own day.

What is not so well known to even the closest students of Lord Oxford's mysterious career is the fact that a book of moralized military commentary, compiled by an Elizabethan soldier, was dedicated to the Earl in 1578, the same year in which Dr. Gabriel Harvey publicly described Oxford as a

great scholar and voluminous writer of "English measures" whose countenance "shakes a spear."

Undoubtedly this book has been previously overlooked by Mr. Looney, Capt. Ward and other Oxford writers, chiefly because of its rarity. The Folger Shakespeare Library at Washington appears to own the only copy now catalogued in this part of the world. It is entitled:

*The Defence of Militarie profession, Wherein is eloquently shewed the due commendation of Martiall prowess, and plainly proved how necessary the exercise of Armes is for this our age.*

*Imprinted at London by Henry Middleton, for John Harrison, 1579.*

The author's name, as signed to the dedication, is "Geoffrey Gates." Although he expresses himself as a man of considerable military experience, little appears to be known of Gates beyond what he discloses of himself in his book. He was probably the grandson of Sir Geoffrey Gates of Essex and the son of Sir John Gates, an adherent of the Northumberland faction, who was beheaded August 22, 1553, for his implication in the effort to establish Lady Jane Grey as Queen of England in place of Mary Tudor. The Gates family of Essex had intermarried with the Clopton family of Essex and Warwickshire and was also allied to the Vavasor family of Copmanthorpe, Yorkshire, to which Anne Vavasor, Lord Oxford's mistress (the "Dark Lady of the Sonnets") belonged. Although of royal descent, the Gates family had been ruined by its political affiliations, and Geoffrey Gates, author of *The Defence of Military Profession*, states in his dedication of the book to Oxford that he is "an unlettered man" who has been too actively engaged to acquire literary polish and has been obliged "to take unto me a notarie to sett down in writing this drift in the defence and praise of warlike prowess." Very likely Lord Oxford himself—as was his habit with aspiring authors—helped Gates in laying out his book and seeing it through the press.

The dedication begins:

"To the Right honorable, *Edward de Vere*, Earle of Oxenford, viscount Bulbecke, Lord of Escalles and Baldesmere, and Lord Great Chamberlaine of England."

Then follows a long dissertation on experience as the great teacher in military and other affairs, ending on this personal note:

"And finally, the experience of the high-nobleness & honour of you, my singuler good Lord, doth embolden me (in the love of a faithful hart, to your renowned vertues) most humbly to commend this

little work to your honorable protection, that under the shielde of your noble favour and judgment, it may stande in grace before our nation, to some good effect. God graunt it. To whom be praise, & to your good Lordshippe, abundance of heavenly graces, and fatherly blessings, even to everlasting life. Amen. London, 23 Decemb. 1578.

Your honours most humble

*Geoffrey Gates.*

Henry Middleton, the printer of *The Defence of Military Profession*, was a competent craftsman, as the letter-press of this nearly four hundred year old blackletter quarto testifies. He had also printed some of the translations of Arthur Golding, including *The Psalms of David and Others*, which Golding dedicated to his nephew, the young Earl of Oxford, in 1571. Henry Middleton must have been favorably known to Gates' patron in 1578 for this reason. We can take it for granted that the Earl who—in Sir Sidney Lee's obtuse phrase—"squandered some portion of his patrimony on men of letters"—paid the cost of putting the earnest drill-master's military reflections into type.

But one of the significant Shakespearean connotations worthy of note in this connection is the name of the actual publisher or distributor of *The Defence of Military Profession*. This is John Harrison. The copyright entry in the *Stationers' Register* under date of 3rd December, 1578, reads:

Master Harrison, Upper Warden ("John Harrison the Elder" in Arber's editorial note): Received of him for his license to print *The Defence of militarie profession*, under the hands of the wardens, vi d. (six pence).

John Harrison the Elder, who served three terms each as Warden and Master of the Stationers' Company, is a man of unusual importance in Shakespearean bibliography. For, as it happens, he is the same bookseller from whose shop "At the signe of the White Greyhound in Paules Churchyard" the first two volumes that publicly displayed the great name of "William Shakespeare" were issued.

*Venus and Adonis* appeared in type in the late spring of 1593 and *The Rape of Lucrece* in the early summer of 1594. Both were "printed by Richard Field, for John Harrison."

Much has been made of the fact that Richard Field, the printer, was a native of Stratford-on-Avon. But he, too, can be brought into the Earl of Oxford's literary orbit because he started life as an apprentice in the shop of the famous Anglo-French printer, Thomas Vautrollier, who printed

three of Arthur Golding's books. After Vautrollier's death, Field inherited his employer's business by marrying his widow and heirress.

There can be no doubt, however, that John Harrison the Elder was the actual publisher of *Venus and Adonis* and *Lucrece* and the man chiefly responsible for the successful launching of these two epoch-making volumes.

Thus, while the Shakespearean connotations of the Poet Earl of Oxford's personal association with military men and his familiarity with their philosophy, as expressed by Geoffrey Gates, open an inviting new avenue of research in the authorship mystery, the name of the publisher concerned in serving the interests of Lord Oxford and his protegee in 1579 provides an equally arresting link between the same literary nobleman and the first two works bearing the cognomen of "William Shakespeare." It is further interesting to note that *Venus and Adonis* and *Lucrece* are generally believed by Shakespearean bibliographical authorities to be the only volumes bearing this name, the publication of which were personally approved by "Shakespeare." Both Field—Vautrollier's successor—and John Harrison the Elder bore honorable names in publishing circles. Neither appears to have engaged in "the frauds and stealths" of the pirates who stole and printed so many early mangled versions of the Bard's plays.

That John Harrison is particular proves a direct connection in the practical matter of publication between the Earl of Oxford's endowed military treatise of 1579 and the first works issued under "Gentle Master William's" new pen-name in 1593-94 marks another advance in Oxford-Shakespeare research.

Where coincidences cluster, factual evidence takes firm root.

### Foster of Iowa Speaks Out

One of America's outstanding examples of the scholar in big business is Mr. T. Henry Foster, for many years chief executive of the John Morrell Company of Ottumwa, Iowa. Mr. Foster is deeply versed in the Oxford-Shakespeare evidence and has been a member of The Fellowship since its organization in this country. Early this year he delivered a lecture entitled *A Business Man Looks at Literature* before the School of Journalism at the University of Iowa in Iowa City. In the course of his highly interesting remarks, Mr. Foster touched on Shakespeare's works. Then he paused:

"Permit me to digress here to ask a question and

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Official organ of The Shakespeare Fellowship in the U.S.A., 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."

Meetings of The Shakespeare Fellowship for educational and allied purposes will occasionally be held, in which members will be asked to cooperate. Membership dues are \$2.50 per year—U.S.A. money—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 Shakespeare Fellowship executives 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 as a literary and educational corporation.

#### The Editors

The Shakespeare Fellowship

#### Quarterly

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propose an answer. Is it possible that Shakspeare of Stratford-on-Avon, the butcher boy who could hardly write his own name, and who left not a single written line of manuscript, or a book, did not write the plays and poems generally attributed to him?

"The answer is that it is not only possible, but probably true. I will go further and say that now, although it is general currency, it is very difficult for an informed and unprejudiced person to accept the Stratford view of the authorship. There is ample evidence, irrefutable historical evidence—that William Shakspeare was not the author of the so-called 'Shakespeare' plays, poems and sonnets. Did time permit I would present the evidence, but that is another and longer story."

It is safe to say that the vast majority of open-minded men of great enterprise who, like Mr. Foster have helped make the United States what it is, will agree with him on the authorship question when the evidence he mentions is adequately put before them.