Brief Chronicles:
An Interdisciplinary Journal of Authorship Studies

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Contributor Bios

Winifred L. Frazer (1916-1995) was Professor emeritus of literary studies at the University of Florida at Gainesville. Although focussing on Eugene O'Neill, Frazer also published on Faulkner, Shakespeare, and other writers. She was the author of *The Theme of Loneliness in Modern American Drama* (Univ. of Florida Press, 1960), the Twayne series biography of the arts patron Mabel Dodge Luhan (Twayne, 1984), and, with Jordan Y. Miller, *American Drama Between the Wars: A Critical History* (Twayne, 1991), as well as a regular contributor to the *Eugene O'Neill Newsletter*, the *Shakespeare-Oxford Society Newsletter*, and the *Shakespeare Newsletter*.

Richard Waugaman is a Clinical Professor of Psychiatry at Georgetown University School of Medicine and Training Analyst Emeritus at the Washington Psychoanalytic Institute. Dr. Waugaman is a regular contributor to numerous psychoanalytical journals and a reader at the Folger Shakespeare Library specializing in the psychology and history of pseudonymity. His publication credits also include *Notes and Queries* and (forthcoming) *Renaissance Studies*.

Nina Green holds a Master's degree in Educational Administration and an LL.B from the University of British Columbia. She lives in Kelowna, B.C., Canada, and has been independently researching the authorship question since 1988. From 1989-1994 she authored and published *The Edward de Vere Newsletter*. She currently maintains a website on the authorship issue at http://www.oxford-shakespeare.com/.

Robert Detobel of Frankfurt, Germany, is a translator and publicist, and co-editor (with Dr. Uwe Laugwitz) of the *Neues Shake-speare Journal,* to which he has contributed several articles. The journal, started in 1997, is the only Oxfordian publication in continental Europe. He also contributed articles to *The Elizabethan Review*, *The Oxfordian*, the *Shakespeare-Oxford Society Newsletter*, *Shakespeare Matters*, and the *de Vere Society Newsletter*. Together with the late KC Ligon he is the author of *Shakespeare and the Concealed Poet,* which is available online at www.elizabethanauthors.com, as well as being a contributor to Hanno Wember's German language authorship website. www.shake-speare-today.de, launched in October 2009.

K.C. Ligon (1948-2009) was a well-known actress, New York dialect coach, and scholar. She made her Broadway debut in *Under Milk Wood* at the age of eight, and subsequently appeared with her parents in the National Tour of *The Visit* with Alfred Lunt and Lynn Fontanne. She was a member of the first graduating class of what is now the Graduate Acting Program, Tisch School of the Arts. As an adult She starred in *Subject to Fits* at the New York Public Theater, and *Hamlet*, *The Importance of Being*

Earnest, and *Travesties* at the Mark Taper Forum, among others. Her dialect coach credits include the Naked Angels production of Emily Mann's play *Meshugah* at the Kirk Theatre, New York City (2003), Loretta Greco's production of *INKY* by Rinne Groff, for The Women's Project at the Julia Miles Theater (April 2005), and Jack Cummings III's production of Tad Mosel's *All the Way Home* at the Connelly Theatre (November 2006). She co-authored a series articles and a book with Mr. Detobel, including "The Harvey-Nashe Quarrel and *Love's Labor's Lost*."

Earl Showerman graduated from Harvard College and the University of Michigan Medical School, has been a patron of the Oregon Shakespeare Festival since 1974, and reads at the Hannon Library of Southern Oregon University in pursuit of the Shakespeare authorship question. He has served as a trustee of the Shakespeare Fellowship and The Shakespeare Authorship Coalition. Since 2005 he has presented and published a series of papers on the topic of Shakespeare's "greater Greek," explicating the Greek dramatic sources in *Hamlet, The Winter's Tale, Pericles, Much Ado about Nothing, Timon of Athens, Troilus and Cressida* and the Tudor interlude, *Horestes*.

Peter Moore (1949-2007) was an independent scholar, better known to peers in Europe than his native United States. Moore contributed articles to six peer-reviewed journals in Europe and the United States from 1993 to 2006, including *The English Historical Review*, *Notes and Queries* (England), *Neophilologus*, *English Studies* (Holland), *Cahiers Élisabéthains* (France) and *The Elizabethan Review* (United States). Moore's published papers on Shakespeare are collected in *The Lame Storyteller, Poor and Despised* (2009) from Verlag Uwe Laugwitz.

Michael Delahoyde is a Clinical Associate Professor in the Department of English, Washington State University. He has published articles on Shakespeare, Chaucer, dinosaur films, children's toys, and meat ads, and has been consulted and interviewed by producers at the Discovery Channel and Cinema Secrets, and by various magazines. He is a senior editor of the *Rocky Mountain Review of Languages and Literature*, the journal of the Rocky Mountain Modern Language Association.

Bonner Miller Cutting, a Trustee of the Shakespeare Fellowship, has presented papers at several authorship conferences and is working to expand the paper "Shakespeare's Will Considered Too Curiously" into a book. Ms. Cutting holds a BFA from Tulane University in New Orleans, where she was a member of Phi Beta Kappa, and an MA in music from McNeese State University in Lake Charles, LA.

Sky Gilbert is a noted novelist, playwright, poet, and filmmaker. He received his PhD in Theater Studies from the University of Toronto. Currently, he holds the University Chair in Creative Writing and Theater Studies at the University of Guelph in Ontario, Canada.

Roger Stritmatter is an Associate Professor of humanities at Coppin State University in Baltimore, MD. He has published on Shakespearean topics in a wide range of academic and popular contexts, including over 16 articles in peer reviewed journals, among them *Review of English Studies*, *Notes and Queries, Critical Survey, Cahiers Élisabéthains*, *The Rocky Mountain Review of Languages and Literature*, and *The Shakespeare Yearbook* (forthcoming, spring 2010). He holds a Masters Degree in Anthropology (New School for Social Research) and a PhD in Comparative Literature (University of Massachusetts at Amherst).

Lynne Kositsky is an award-winning Canadian poet and author, who has taught English and creative writing at all levels, from middle school to University. Both her poetry and her ten published historical novels have been critically acclaimed. Among her awards are the prestigious E. J. Pratt Medal and Award, and the Canadian Author and Bookman Award, and a White Raven Award. Her first novel, *Candles*, was short-listed for the Geoffrey Bilson Historical Award. Her 2004 Holocaust novel, *The Thought of High Windows*, received rave reviews in *The Horn Book*, *Kirkus*, *The Washington Post*, among many others, besides being short-listed for several prizes. It won the Canadian Jewish Book Award for Youth in 2006. With Professor Roger Stritmatter, Kositsky has written a whole series of articles on the *Tempest,* which have been published or are forthcoming at *Review of English Studies, The Oxfordian, Critical Survey* and *The Shakespeare Yearbook*. *Minerva's Voyage*, Lynne's most recent fiction book, is an adventure mystery based on a shipwreck in the Bermudas in 1609.

Hank Whittemore is an actor, playwright, journalist and author of eleven books, including one novel and ten non-fiction books. Most recently he wrote *The Monument: an Examination of Shakespeare's Sonnets* (2005), which forms the basis of the play, *Shake-speare's Treason*. He earned a B.A. from the University of Notre Dame and later appeared as an actor on the New York stage with Helen Hayes and Art Carney.

From the Editors

Welcome to the first issue *Brief Chronicles,* a peer-reviewed interdisciplinary journal of Shakespearean authorship studies. W.H. Furness, the father of the great Shakespeare editor H.H. Furness, best expressed the position of critical skepticism that still motivates the deliberations which inform our inquiry: "I am one of the many who has never been able to bring the life of William Shakespeare within planetary space of the plays. Are there any two things in the world more incongruous?"[1]

Furness was not alone in his skepticism. "Doubts about Shakespeare came early and grew rapidly," wrote Folger Library Educational Director Richmond Crinkley in a 1985 *Shakespeare Quarterly* review of Charlton Ogburn Jr.'s *The Mysterious William Shakespeare*. "They have a simple and direct plausibility. The plausibility has been reinforced by the tone and methods by which traditional scholarship has responded to the doubts."[2]

Brief Chronicles solicits articles that answer Crinkley's 1985 call for scholarship which transcends the increasingly irrelevant traditional division between "amateur" scholarship and "expert" authority. Our contributers will actively cross-examine the critical history of Shakespearean scholarship, as well as the original texts of the discipline, to reconstruct a more plausible image of the bard and his works than that found in such recent bardographies as Stephen Greenblatt's fanciful *Will in the World* or James Shapiro's award-winning study of the origins of the planks used to build the Globe Theatre,[3] *1599: A Year in the Life*. We solicit articles that shed light on the Shakespeare canon and its authorship, on theories and problems in the study of early modern authorship and literary creativity, and on related questions of early modern literary culture, aesthetics, bibliography, psychology, law, biography, theatrical and cultural history, linguistics, and the history of ideas — for all these domains of knowledge are implicated in the search for truth about Shakespeare.

This first issue of *Brief Chronicles* illustrates the comprehensive interdisciplinary character that we envision for the journal's future. Four contributors to our first issue hold PhDs in literary studies; two are MDs with records of publication on literary and historical topics, and six are independent scholars. Contributions cover topics as divergent as an analysis of the psychology of belief

in the orthodox view of Shakespeare (Waugaman), the misunderstood relevance of Francis Meres as an early witness in the authorship debate (Detobel and Ligon), why Shakespeare's last will and testament undermines the orthodox view of Shakespeare (Cutting), classical knowledge in the plays (Showerman), Hamlet's feminine side (Gilbert), and censorship in *Titus Andronicus* and its relevance to the authorship question (Delahoyde).

The issue is rounded out with reviews of three new books on the authorship question, each pursuing a different dimension of the case for Oxford's authorship: Thomas Hunter (PhD, English) reviews the revised 2009 edition of a book by a member of our editorial board, Warren Hope, *The Shakespeare Controversy,* which traces the history of the authorship question from the 18th century to the present; Austrian scholar Walter Klier, himself the author of *Das Shakespeare Komplott* (1994, 2004), reviews the latest Oxfordian book published in Germany, Kurt Kreiler's *Der Mann, der Shakespeare erfand* (*The Man who Invented Shakespeare*); Richard Waugaman contributes our third review, of Heward Wilkinson's *The Muse as Therapist: A New Poetic Paradigm for Psychotherapy*, which bypasses the increasingly irrelevant demand for proof of de Vere's authorship to explore the psychotherapeutic implications of a Shakespeare who was a real man.

We are pleased to dedicate this first issue to the memories of two recently deceased intellectual pioneers. Peter Moore (1949-2007) was an independent researcher, better known to scholars in Europe than his native United States. In addition to making regular contributions to the Shakespeare Oxford Society newsletter, Moore contributed articles to six peer-reviewed journals in Europe and the United States from 1993 to 2006, including *The English Historical Review*, *Notes and Queries* (England), *Neophilologus*, *English Studies* (Holland), *Cahiers Élisabéthains* (France) and *The Elizabethan Review* (United States). Moore's published papers on Shakespeare are collected in *The Lame Storyteller, Poor and Despised* (2009) from Verlag Uwe Laugwitz.

Winifred L. Frazer (1916-1995), Professor emeritus of literary studies at the University of Florida at Gainesville, was – like Peter Moore – an unlikely intellectual revolutionary. Known to most of her colleagues as a loyal adherent to the traditional view of Shakespeare, Frazer's expertise in early modern literary studies, as well as the history of dramatic genres, is attested in numerous publications. Although focussing on Eugene O'Neill, Frazer also published on Faulkner, Shakespeare, and other writers. She was the author of *The Theme of Loneliness in Modern American Drama* (Univ. of Florida Press, 1960), the Twayne series biography of the arts patron Mabel Dodge Luhan (Twayne, 1984), and, with Jordan Y. Miller, *American Drama Between the Wars: A Critical History* (Twayne, 1991), as well as a regular contributor to the *Eugene O'Neill Newsletter*, the *Shakespeare-Oxford Society Newsletter*, and the orthodox *Shakespeare Newsletter*.

But, like the object of her study in the article published here for the first time, Frazer lived a double life. Throughout the 1990s she toiled in academic obscurity in a series of articles, directly or indirectly connected to authorship, culminating in her never-published, "Censorship in the Strange Case of William Shakespeare: A Body

for the Canon." It would be an understatement to say that Frazer's essay, challenging the traditional view of the bard which most of Frazer's earnest colleagues *assumed*, did not elicit appropriate consideration. Submitted to *PMLA* in 1991, it was rejected and never appeared in print. However, it did inspire some revealing comments from anonymous peer reviewers. Retrospectively these constitute impressive testimony to the prejudicial reasoning (as well as some tiny steps toward self awareness) on which the perpetuation of the orthodox view of Shakespeare depends.

Wrote one reviewer: "That this paper should have come to me, at this time, is a sad irony. We have lately had on this campus a visit from the Earl of Burford, presenting this proposition (the Oxford case) in a less learned though more urbane manner." Accused by a friend of not listening to the Oxfordian arguments, this reader continues: "He was right; I have not listened. The arrival of this article from the heights of the MLA was a judgment." Strikingly, the reader does not offer a substantive critique of Frazer's argument, but goes on from this admission to argue that her conclusion must be wrong, because three U.S. Supreme Court Justices, and three "law Lords of the House of peers" had recently ruled in favor of the traditional view of Shakespeare. Moreover, continued the reviewer, since Oxford died in 1604 he could not have written *The Tempest*, and – he maintained – Donald Foster had proven through the use of computers that Shakespeare was an actor.

The second reader, apparently relieved that the first had so thoroughly demolished the substance of Frazer's case by responding to points not raised in her article, presenting interpretations as if they were unambiguous facts, and relying on a highly selective use of the argument *ab authoritatem*, could only "agree completely with the first reader's evaluation of this essay....that evaluation is so comprehensive and articulate that I shall have little to add...once again, the claim for Oxford is built on a teetering structure of inferences that topples when one recalls, as the first reader does, that Oxford died in 1604 and that works attributed to him continue to appear for the following decade."

Frazer makes the potent (and quite specific) empirical observation that, during the nineteen years between Oxford's death and the publication of the 1623 folio, only four new plays appeared in print, even though over half of them had still not been published. This sudden cessation of publication coincident with Oxford's death (and the arrival of James on the throne) contrasts to the steady stream of fifteen or more plays, averaging more than one per year, published over the shorter period between 1591 and Oxford's death. But Frazer's reviewers camouflage this provocative pattern behind evasive generalizations – implying, wholly without justification, that the existence of posthumous publication is an insuperable impediment to the theory of Oxford's authorship. Yet the pattern is clear, as Stephen Roth observed in his 2003 *Early Modern Literary Studies* review of Lukas Erne's *Shakespeare as Literary Dramatist:* "Erne does not provide a satisfying explanation for the sudden halt in registration of new Shakespeare plays around the time of James' accession."[3] Erne is not alone. Leading scholars, as the reviews of Frazer's article attest, have not explained the phenomenon in part because they typically cannot even bring themselves to admit that it exists (incidentally, the existence of

this pattern was first stressed by Looney as early as 1920).[4] And half the plays were *published for the first time* in the 1623 folio, seven years after the death of the alleged Stratford author. How does Frazer's anonymous reviewer explain *that*?

One must wonder why orthodox Shakespeareans don't just say what they are thinking about the chronology of the plays. They mean to say – but rarely will – that "many plays were *written after* Oxford died." Perhaps most won't say what they mean because they know in their heart of hearts that the claim is not susceptible to proof; to say it without equivocation only invites contradiction and – the thing orthodoxy fears above all else – an inquiry into the evidentiary basis for the claim. That way lies madness for believers in the traditional view of the bard.

"The objective of the members of an academic community," wrote Ecole de Haute International Professor of the history of ideas Louis J. Halle to Charlton Ogburn Jr. in 1988, in a letter congratulating him on *The Mysterious William Shakespeare* (1984), "is to learn to say what we all say in the language in which we say it....I have known students who, in their PhD dissertations, would say what they knew to be factually false because of the saying of it would identify them with the community in which they intended to make their careers. Such behavior, in my experience, is more the rule than the exception. In fact, it would be hard to find any exception in the academic communities I have known."

There are indeed few things in the world more incongruous than the traditional biography of Shakespeare and the literary work which that biography purports to elucidate. Thus, alone among writers, it may be said of Shakespeare that biography constitutes an impediment to criticism: the more a critic depends on it as a framing device, the less of significance he can tell us about the literary work. The flights of Borgesian fancy that Frazer documents – Shakespeare is a god, a ghost, a sacred idiot, or simply a lesson in postmodern metaphysical rhetoric – have hardly ceased since 1991. If anything, as Shakespearean orthodoxy enters the final phase of the denial process analyzed in Richard Waugaman's essay, scholars as diverse as Harold Bloom and Stephen Greenblatt only reiterate metaphysical evasions with renewed conviction. Bloom typifies the anxiety of Oxfordian influence in his formula – appearing, of all things, in a book purporting to rescue Shakespearean criticism from metaphysics – that Shakespeare is "at once no one and everyone, nothing and everything."[5]

Right. Did we mention that land for sale in Arizona?

As those who have considered the proposition with any care understand, the opposite is true for the Oxfordian scholar: here the biography fits the wit of the plays like a Cheveril glove. Hence, another popular gambit among apologists for Shakespearean orthodoxy, exemplified in Michael Shermer's recent *Scientific American* article, "Shakespeare, Interrupted,"[6] is to reduce the anti-Stratfordian argument to a matter of formal education, substituting the intimate revelations of the Oxfordian case for the straw man of a recycled "Shakespeare in Love" view of historical reality. Readers of J. Thomas Looney's classic *"Shakespeare" Identified* – the first work to place the name "Shakespeare" under postmodern quotation marks – are aware that for nearly ninety years the case has rested on a much more particular and

revealing formula. It is not just that "Shakespeare" was well educated (*pace* Shermer, he was), but that his works constitute a literary *apologia* for the life of another man – Edward de Vere, 17th Earl of Oxford.

Drawing attention to alleged external contradictions in the case for Oxford's authorship, such as the Jacobean publication of many of the plays, may be an effective distraction from this disturbing reality. But in the long run, as the evidence – which now includes the *critical* evidence of the history of *ad hoc* evasions by orthodox scholars – continues to accumulate, the outcome of the case cannot reasonably be doubted. As Robert Detobel and K.C. Ligon's analysis of Francis Meres illustrates, each argument that Shakespearean orthodoxy advances as a definitive refutation of the Oxfordian case inevitably gives way to a more judicious perspective when closely considered in the light of modern reason.

In fact, the chronology of the plays, and particularly those customarily assigned late dates in the orthodox chronology, is the real "teetering structure of inferences." The Oxfordians are not obliged to prove that the plays were written before 1604. On the contrary, the burden of proof lies with those who would disqualify consideration of the case for Oxford's authorship on the basis of a *conjectural* chronology. These would do well to recall the honest commentary of the late great E.K. Chambers: "There is much of conjecture, even as regards the order, and still more as regards the ascriptions to particular years. These are *partly arranged so as to provide a fairly even flow of production* when plague and inhibitions did not interrupt it."[7] In other words, the existing chronology is *not* independent of biographical assumptions, and those who claim such authority for it and use it as a basis to reject considering the Oxford case on its merits are being less than candid about the limits of our collective knowledge.

In retrospect, the first reviewer's reliance on Donald Foster's claims to show through "stylometric" analysis that the author of the plays was an actor may be the unkindest cut of all. Now that Foster has not only repudiated his own PhD dissertation in the *New York Times,* but has been successfully sued in his capacity as a *Vanity Fair* essayist for ruining Steven Hatfill's career by misidentifying him as the Anthrax terrorist, his methods may not seem quite so authoritative or attractive. Citing eighteen "discrete false statements" made in Foster's "expose" of Hatfill, an Eastern District Court complaint successfully alleged that Foster had ignored or actively suppressed contrary evidence, engaged in "circular reasoning," and published speculations "so inherently implausible that only a reckless person would put them in circulation." Foster's work betrayed a "complete inattention to even a rudimentary sense of balance or fairness" [8] toward an innocent man.

Does anyone in 2009 continue to place confidence in Foster's flawed attempt to employ "forensic science" to "prove that Shakespeare was an actor"? And what would that mean, anyway, about who the author actually *was*? One hardly needs a computer to realize that, whoever he was, he knew the stage better than most playwrights, not to mention most academicians.

Perhaps the most directly consequential of all the essays in this first issue is Robert Detobel and K.C. Ligon's "Francis Meres and the Earl of Oxford." Anyone

familiar with the discourse of authorship is aware to what extent traditional views of the bard have depended on the witness of Francis Meres 1598 *Palladis Tamia* for their plausibility. Meres is the one prominent voice of the 1590's who speaks of Shakespeare, apparently without equivocation, as the famous author of a dozen plays. Detobel and Ligon's analysis shows how fragile this dependence is. Drawing on the numerical structure embodied in Meres' own work, analyzed as a typical manifestatin of the early modern zeitgeist in works such as Kent A. Heiatt's *Short Times Endless Monument*[9] or Alistair Fowler's *Triumphal Forms*,[10] the article shows that although Meres on the surface pays lip service to the traditional view of authorship, in reality he identifies Oxford with "Shakespeare."

"In the progress of human knowledge," continued Halle to Ogburn, "a time does come when orthodoxy is seen to have points of implausibility. It is then that those who are not making their careers as insiders begin to be heard." We look forward in future issues of *Brief Chronicles* to continuing to publish articles and reviews that live up the exacting standards of scholarly excellence established in this inaugural issue. The Shakespearean question is more than a real-life whodunit. It is, in fact, the pre-eminent "paradigm shift" issue in the modern humanities curriculum, because it tests the academy's ability for self-correction on a global scale in response to new evidence generated substantially by amateurs – which is to say, by those who do what they do from love, not for the purposes of professional reputation or advancement. But, as the paradigm shifts, we expect to continue publishing in the tradition of Professor Frazer – cutting-edge scholarship by the growing number of former "insiders" who are now realizing, in the words of Supreme Court Justice Stevens, that the case against the traditional view of authorship has already been proven "beyond a reasonable doubt." [11]

It remains for us to explore the full implications of this extraordinary but, to our way of thinking, entirely justified finding.

Welcome to *Brief Chronicles*.

Endnotes

1 Reed, Edwin. *Noteworthy Opinions, Pro and Con: Bacon vs. Shakespere*. (Boston: Coburn Publishing, 1905), 9.

2 "New Perspectives on Authorship," *The Shakespeare Quarterly* 36 (1985), 518.

3 According to Anne Barton, reviewing Shapiro's *A Year in the Life* in the May 11, 2006, *New York Review of Books,* Shakespeareans have frequent recourse to the belief of John Updike that "biographies are really just novels with indexes." Barton admits that the epigram has a special significance for the bardographer: "That seems especially true with lives of Shakespeare." This sobering admission does not restrain the reviewer from singling out Shapiro's book as the cream of 2005 Shakespeare biographies as a book which "genuinely illuminates the plays and the man that wrote them." According to Barton, "Shapiro is particularly fine in his detailed account of how the timbers of the Shoreditch theatre were salvaged and stored (not, as often claimed, ferried at once across the Thames) and just what kind of carpentry and weather

conditions were required for reusing them for the Globe."

[4] Roth, Steve. "Review of Lukas Erne, *Shakespeare as Literary Dramatist*." *Early Modern Literary Studies* 9.3 / Special Issue 12 (January, 2004): 9.1-9, http://purl.oclc.org/emls/09-3/revroth.htm.

[5] Looney, J.T. *Shakespeare Identified in Edward de Vere, 17th Earl of Oxford*. (London: Cecil Palmer, 1920), 414-431.

[6] Bloom, Harold. *The Western Canon*: *The Books and the Schools of Ages* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 76.

[7] Shermer, Michael. "Shakespeare Interrupted," *Scientific American*, August 2009. Available online at http://www.michaelshermer.com/2009/08/shakespeare-interrupted.

[8] Chambers, E.K. *William Shakespeare: A Study of Facts and Problems* (Oxford: At the University Press, 1935), I: 269.

[9] A copy of the complaint is available at Ed Lake's Anthrax Investigation website, http://www.anthraxinvestigation.com/Hatfill-v-Foster.html.

[10] *Short Time's Endless Monument: The Symbolism of the Numbers in. Edmund Spenser's Epithalamion*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1960.

[11] *Triumphal Forms: Structural Patterns in Elizabethan Poetry*. Cambridge: The University Press, 1970. These and other works demonstrate the ubiquity of such numerical structures, used to convey esoteric meaning, in early modern literary works.

[12] Bravin, Jess. "Justice Stevens Renders an Opinion on Who Wrote Shakespeare's Plays: It Wasn't the Bard of Avon, He Says: 'Evidence Is Beyond a Reasonable Doubt,'" *Wall Street Journal*, April 18, 2009, 1. The article is available online at http://online.wsj.com/article/SB123998633934729551.html. For more detail on Stevens' case for Oxford's authorship of the canon, see Stevens, John Paul, "The Shakespeare Canon of Statutory Construction," *University of Pennsylvania Law Review,* 140 (1992): 1373-1387.

Censorship in the Strange Case of William Shakespeare: A Body for the Canon

Winifred L. Frazer

The literary theory positing the death of the author has become very popular as well as politically correct, in late twentieth-century literary criticism. As explained by Richard Levin through his disapproval of Feminist and Marxist interpretations in the 1990 *PMLA* article, "The Poetics and Politics of Bardicide,"[1] it has resulted even in the death of Shakespeare. Bardicide, however, is not possible without a body. I propose to show that for the designation of "William Shakespeare," also known as "William Shake-speare," there is no body. Nobody, according to the Renaissance records so far discovered, wrote the works attributed to that name. From New Critics to Deconstructionists of all persuasions, none has been able to provide an identifiable personality who shaped the greatest poetry and drama the Western World, and perhaps the whole world, has known. Besides William of Stratford, there have been in the last century-and-a-half three other significant and a number of less likely contenders, but none has seemed to supply the necessary connections between author and works, which exist for all other authors. Nobody has emerged so far who satisfies all critics.

An American judge has noted that if it had been a crime to write the poetry and plays of Shakespeare, William of Stratford could never have been convicted, and it should be added, neither, according to available evidence, could any other body in Elizabethan England. In order to help solve the case of the missing body, I propose to show how various levels of censorship — royal, political, and familial — functioned in Renaissance England to cover up the real body, which has been assumed by critics of several persuasions to be nobody *or* anybody *or* one of two bodies *or* a heavenly body *or* a ghostly body.

Annabel Patterson, for example, in discussing censorship of the Elizabethan stage, complains of Foucault's position, which leads to a "theory of the theater's 'containment' by the power system" or to the "dismissal of Shakespeare as *anybody*" (her italics) who wrote out of experience.[2] For our detective purposes, if Shakespeare was anybody, the collective genius of the age, it seems not to matter what body is assigned the role of author, and we may as well let things ride as they are – perhaps

the subconscious justification of Renaissance scholars, contrary to their view of authorship elsewhere, in assuming that the Stratfordian, without leaving any record of his growth, is the author of the Shakespearean works. Like Charles Dickens, who opined, "The life of Shakespeare is a fine mystery and I tremble every day lest something should turn up," we sense that England's star of poets should remain mysterious and apart from human kind. One wonders if the accusation of established scholars that anyone doubting the Stratford authorship is "naive" or "ignorant" or "obviously elitist" is due to fear of having the world's greatest literary mystery solved, and orthodox pronouncements revealed as hollow, self-serving rationalizations.

However that may be, a critic like William Kerrigan further complicates the search by explaining that "The traditional doctrine of the king's two bodies seems almost to have been made for Shakespeare," the private one deploying "the outward personality in a self-interested way."[3] If we assume that the public body is revealed in the plays, we still must search for the private body, and Shakespeare, the creator, whether somebody, nobody, anybody, or one of the two bodies, remains unrevealed. Even more troubling is Kerrigan's apparent endorsement of Borges' view of Shakespeare as an author who creates so prodigiously "because he himself is no one." The mystical Borges thought that "Shakespeare placed confessions of his inexistence in corners of his work," resulting in the conclusion that "Shakespeare is deity's signature."[4] Shakespeare, it now appears, is not any of the bodies proposed above, but God. In the same tone in which it is said, "God wrote the Bible," it is now proclaimed, "Shakespeare was an incomphrehensible genius," whose identification only the foolhardy seek. "Ghosts" is the suggestion of Marjorie Garber, who in *Shakespeare's Ghost Writers* concludes that the search for the true author is propelled by the "uncanniness" of the texts themselves.[5]

Rejecting the view that the author is a spectral nobody, I examine arguments for the two leading candidates today, illustrating throughout how various kinds of censorship functioned to suppress knowledge of the second, and then review five texts crucial to the Shakespeare story. The first candidate was a nobody, a village native, with, on the record, no education or talents, who for lack of any other body has held the field. The second was, at least temporarily, a somebody, perhaps for a while in the early fifteen-seventies the biggest somebody at court, the scion of one of England's oldest families, a patron of the arts, with no published plays and little poetry to his credit, but who ended life as a disgraced nobody who had gone "here and there" and made himself a "motley to the view" through his only half-suppressed reputation as a comic dramatist and patron of the theatre.

The first, according to records in Stratford, was christened as Gulielmus Shakspere on April 26, 1564, licensed to marry Anne Whately of Temple Grafton on November 27, 1582, and on a bond the next day, with the bride named Anne Hathway of Stratford, as *William Shagspere*. As the father of twins in 1585, his name was recorded as *William Shakspere*. In other Stratford documents his father's name appears as John *Shaxpere* and his daughter's as Susanna *Shaxpere*. His only extant handwriting samples consist of six signatures, written during the last four years of his life on legal documents: *Willn Shakp* (1612), *William Shakspe* (1613), *Wm Shakspe*

(1613), and finally as *William Shakspere*, *Willm Shakspere*, and *William Shakspeare* (1616) on his will. In none of these instances was the name spelled with an "e" at the end of the first syllable. Thus assumption must be made that it was pronounced with a short "a," and whether spelled with a "k," an "x,", a "g," or a "ck " was not pronounced like the word "shake." In Stratford records, the name never appeared hyphenated, suggesting that the name "Shakespeare" or "Shake-speare," if used by the Stratfordian, was a pseudonym different in connotation and pronunciation from his own.

There is no record of Shakspere's having any education, having written a letter, or having owned a book. Indeed, we know nothing more about Shakspere of Stratford today than when Howard Staunton, editor of the *Globe Illustrated Shakespeare* wrote in the middle of the nineteenth century:

> We may conjecture him to have arrived in London about 1586, and to have joined some theatrical company. How often and in what characters he performed; where he lived in London; who were his personal friends; what were his habits; what intercourse he maintained with his family; and to what degree he partook of the provincial excursions of his fellows during this period are points on which it has been shown we have scarcely any reliable information.[6]

Like many others, Staunton believes that Shakespeare left London for Stratford in about 1604 to "engage himself actively in agricultural pursuits."

Toward the end of the nineteenth century, Frederick Fleay, noting the valiant attempt of C. M. Ingleby to collect "Allusions" to Shakespeare, concludes that these "consist almost entirely of slight references to his published works, and have no bearing of importance on his career." Obviously puzzled, Fleay continues:"Nor indeed, have we extended material of any kind to aid us in this investigation; one source of information, which is abundant for most of his contemporaries, being in his case entirely absent. Neither as addressed to him by others, nor by him to others, do any commendatory verses exist in connection with any of his or other men's works published in his lifetime — a notable fact, in whatever way it be explained."[7] I propose to explain this "notable fact" as a result of the censorship imposed by Queen, Court, and family on the second candidate for the authorship of Shakespeare's works.

Edward de Vere was the only son of the 16th Earl of Oxford, the hereditary Great Lord Chamberlain of England, the dignitary who presided at the coronation of Queen Elizabeth and entertained the Queen with his troupe of players at his seat of Hedingham Castle when Edward was eleven years old. Born on or about April 12, 1550 (April 23, new style). Edward's early poetry appeared in various collections under several names: "E. O." in *The Paradise of Dainty Devices* (1576); "Earle of Oxenforde" and "L. OX" in *England's Helicon* (1600); "LO.OX," "Vere," "L.ox," and "Edward Earl of Oxford" in *England's Parnassus* (1600) and in various manuscripts; and according to J. Thomas Looney, under the signature of "Ignoto" in a number of poems in *England's Helicon*. Oxford wrote a laudatory preface and a poem for

Thomas Bedingfield's translation from the Latin of *Cardanus Comfort* (1573), a work "published by commaundment of the right honourable the Earle of Oxenforde."[8] He also wrote an introduction to Bartholomew Clerke's translation from Italian to Latin of Castiglione's *Courtier* (1572), using all his titles: Edward Vere, Earl of Oxford, Lord Great Chamberlain of England, Viscount Bulbeck and Baron Scales and Badlesmere.

Oxford was also well known as a patron of the arts, having had thirty-three works dedicated to him. According to Steven May, "The range of Oxford's patronage is as remarkable as its substance. Beginning about 1580 he was the nominal patron of a variety of dramatic troupes."[9] Besides modeling himself on the aristocratic ideal extolled in *The Courtier*, Oxford had triumphed with the spear at the great jousting tournament before the Queen in 1571. As Conyers Read explains: "Oxford, in short, when he became of age seemed to have everything. His family, the Veres, was one of the oldest and most distinguished in England. He was in person rather sturdy than tall, with hazel eyes and curly hair — a good dancer, a competent musician . . . a first-rate scholar, a fine horseman and now, as it appeared, already a master at the foremost of all courtly exercises, the tourney. No wonder that he speedily won for himself a high place in the royal favor."[10]

Such an ornament of the court could not have been known to have close connections with the common stage or to have played kingly parts in sport. So powerful was censorship in Elizabethan England that the obliteration of the author's body, leaving only his disembodied voice, was not the worst fate for which an offender might hope. According to Philip J. Finkelpearl, for the crime of speaking too freely about persons or state affairs, the Star Chamber imposed punishments of "fine, imprisonment, loss of ears or nailing to the pillory, slitting the nose, branding the forehead, whipping" and other physical cruelties "designed not for the protection of the innocent but for the conviction of the guilty."[11] If the hereditary Great Lord Chamberlain of England was a playwright, it was necessary to conceal his body, but undesirable to still the voice of one who brought so much pleasure to the Queen and the realm. Such an early play as *Love's Labour's Lost*, with its in-jokes about the Elizabethan court, could be enjoyed and no punishment decreed if written by a nobody.

Besides royal and political censorship, Oxford had familial restraints upon him. He was married at age twenty-one to Anne Cecil, daughter of the powerful William Cecil, Lord Burghley, who steered Elizabeth's ship of state for forty years. Robert Burghley then succeeded his father as chief minister to the Queen and to the King James. As a newly ennobled family the Cecils exercised their power to suppress any connection of Oxford with the stage, during his life and after his death. Oxford's three daughters, countesses associated with noble families, and his son, the Eighteenth Earl, serving the Queen under command of his gallant relative, Horatio Vere, maintained a silence about the author of the plays which made the Lord Chamberlain's Men the mainstay of the Renaissance theater.

Even in the case of courtly poetry, a strict self-censorship prevailed. Various poems which found their way into Elizabethan miscellanies, were, at least theoretically, printed without the consent of the writers. As J. W. Saunders points

out in "The Stigma of Print," "We have lost much Tudor poetry because it was never preserved in print — most of the work, for instance, of Dyer, Raleigh and Oxford."[12] Regretting the loss, Saunders notes, "Tudor poetry centered in the Court because Tudor life centered in the Prince," and "Like the other despots of the Renaissance the Tudors required good servants . . ."[13] Banishment from the royal presence or worse was the sort of fate imposed on a courtier rash enough to publish his poetry for the sake of publicity.

Various kinds of censorship explain why Oxford would have had to write under a pseudonym. In the case of a writer who was a commoner, quite the opposite was true, as Saunders explains:"Whereas for the amateur poets of the Court an avoidance of print was socially desirable, for the professional poets outside or only on the edge of Court circles the achievement of print became an economic necessity."[14] The writer who hoped to profit by his work had to make a reputation through getting his name in print. It follows that if censorship is to be considered a factor in the history of Renaissance literature, its influence was expressed in very different ways depending on the social class of the censored writer. While censorship which suppressed the name of a noble writer would have been influential for members of the aristocracy, such censorship could not have been similiarly consequential for professional writers from the middle class.

It should be noted that in the late 1580s, before the name of "Shakespeare" had appeared in print, two writers extolled Oxford as the most brilliant of all the courtly poets. William Webbe in *A Discourse on English Poetrie* (1586) wrote, "The Right Honourable the Earl of Oxford may challenge to himself the title of the most excellent among the rest." The anonymous *Arte of English Poesie* (1589), also praising the Courtly makers, "who have written excellently well," likewise concludes, "of which number is first that noble Gentleman Edward Earle of Oxford." Although these writers dare not mention Oxford's authorship of any particular poems or plays, they do make us wonder at the complete absence of the name of Oxford as poet subsequently, and they do seem to provide evidence of an identifiable body.

Biographers of Shakspere of Stratford have not been so fortunate, as will be shown by the following examination of five crucial texts: Robert Greene's *Groatsworth of Wit* (1592), William Shakespeare's dedication to *Venus and Adonis* (1593), Francis Meres' *Palladis Tamia* (1598), *Shake-speares Sonnets* (1609), and, most importantly, Ben Jonson's prefatory pieces to the First Folio of the plays (1623).

The name "Shakespeare" is not even mentioned by Robert Greene in *Groatsworth* or by Henry Chettle in *Kind-Heartes Dreame* (1592). Although attached to *Venus and Adonis* a year later, it did not appear as that of a playwright until six years later, in 1598, coincident with the appearance of Meres' *Palladis Tamia* and after as many as eight plays had already appeared in anonymous quartos. Yet, frustrated by the long period of Shakspere's "lost years," critics repeated without re-examination of the proof texts Edmund Malone's suggestion of two centuries ago that Chettle and Greene are referring to Shakespeare. Ivor Brown, for example, in *Shakespeare*, welcomes Greene as an antidote to the "great gap" of "hidden years" in his subject's life: "We have not a single documented fact about William Shakespeare between

the baptism of his twins Hamnet and Judith at Stratford on February 2, 1585, and the publication of Robert Greene's *Groats-worth of Wit* in London in 1592."[15] Another popular biographer, A.L. Rowse, borders on the ecstatic about *Groats-worth*: "Suddenly, in September 1592, the obscurity in which we have been so long wandering, with Shakespeare, is illuminated by a flash of light: Robert Greene's attack on him." [16] Brown and Rowse, like so many others, are more interested in "filling the gap" and "seeing the light" than in examining the evidence.

The seldom-read *Groats-worth* consists of the moralistic tale of Roberto, who, at the instigation of a wily actor, becomes a playwright —and ends up poor and deserted by the actors he has enriched. In the appended address Greene exhorts three fellow playwrights to distrust all actors.[17] Chettle, who after Greene's death published the tract, and perhaps rewrote (or even wrote) the admonition to the three playwrights, claims in the preface to *Kind-Hart* that two playwrights, neither of whom he knows, have complained to him about the passage. One, he cares not if he ever knows, but the other has such "facetious grace in writing" that he is sorry he had printed the warning.[18]

At least seven problematical assumptions are made by critics in trying to impose a connection between the two passages and William Shakespeare. The first is that the same William Shakespeare, described elsewhere only as "gentle" and "honey-tongued," is that "upstart crow," "rude groome," "painted monster," with a "tiger's heart," that pernicious player, like all of his kind, deserts the playwrights in need. Second, Shakespeare could be both that "upstart," that "ape" of a vile actor and that "rare wit" of a virtuous playwright. Third, Shakespeare plagiarized the "tiger's heart" line from Greene, thus angering Greene against him as a playwright, a suggestion made by Malone, of which S. Schoenbaum notes, "Malone is wrong.... that Shakespeare started out as a playwright by refurbishing the works of established authors."[19] Fourth, "Shake scene" is a pun on "Shake-speare," rather than contempt for a real scene-shaker like William Kempe, who, having replaced Richard Tarlton as the King of Clowns, was known to cavort around and shake a stage and who generally cause merriment among the groundlings with his own ad-libbed lines. A ballad, "The Crow Sits Upon the Wall," said to have been composed by Tarlton and acted out with clownish gestures, makes Kempe a likely "upstart Crow."[20]

The fifth dubious assumption is that Chettle is sincere in claiming that of the three playwrights addressed by Greene — the "famous gracer of tragedians" (Marlowe); "Young Juvenal . . . no one so well able to enveigh against vain men" (Nashe); "no less deserving than the other two ... in nothing inferior" (Peele) — he did not know two of them. Phoebe Sheavyn, writing on the literary life in London of the time, rightly points out that "the world they all lived in was so small that they all knew each other and were, in some sense, rivals."[21] Sixth, two playwrights would have cause to complain since Greene had complimented them.

The seventh and final seemingly insurmountable impossibility is that one of the playwrights – agreed by critics to be Marlowe, Nashe, and Peele[22] – could metamorphose into Shakespeare, whom Chettle compliments for his "civil demeanor and grace in writing." According to Fleay, "Shakespeare was not one of those who

took offense; they are expressly stated to have been two of the three authors addressed by Greene ..."[23]

The scholarly contortion necessary to make the cawing crowplayer, beautified with Greene's words into a playwright factotum, stealing the "tiger's-heart" line to put in a play of his own, caused Shakespearean J. S. Smart to declare: "This passage from Greene has had such a devastating effect on the Shakespearean study that we cannot but wish that it had never been written or never discovered."[24] Indeed without it one wonders if Shakespeare would ever have been considered an actor or the plagiarizer of others' work. Certainly he would *not have been* considered present in London in 1592. If a prominent scholar like Schoenbaum notes that the "upstart crow" epithet, which Malone called "the chief hinge of my argument,"[25] is incorrectly applied, it would seem that nobody with any real relationship to the Shakespeare canon is produced by either document.

For Stratfordian scholars to be aware of the power of censorship in pertinent cases is essential, but to see it as causing the concealment of a name which did not even exist in print until later is misguided. If instead of "making clear" or "filling the gap" or "bringing new light," *Groats-worth* and *Kind-Hart* merely muddied the waters, one turns hopefully to the first appearance of the name "William Shakespeare," presumed to be the author of the erotic narrative *Venus and Adonis*, but actually signed only to its dedication to the Earl of Southampton. In tone of sincere or assumed subservience, "Shakespeare" appeals for acceptance by this noble "Godfather" of the "unpolish'd lines" of "the first heir of my invention," which if this noble patron approves, he will "take advantage of all idle hours till I have honoured you with some graver labour." Although the Earl was an unpromising patron, not quite twenty years old, with his funds still under the control of Lord Burghley, and although it would seem that Shakespeare must have consumed many "idle hours" composing this first "heir" years before,[26] critics interpret the dedication as an appropriate preface to a prosperous patron. William Keach points out that all the other epyllia, such as Marlowe's *Hero and Leander* and Lodge's *Glaucus and Scilla*, were written by those associated with universities or Inns of Court, who lived in an environment in which ironic detachment and a pagan, rather than moralistic vision, made possible "an exploration of Ovidian eroticism and wit."[27]

The arrogant Ovidian inscription on the title page — translated as, "Let the common herd admire common things, so long as to me Apollo's self hands goblets brimming with the waters of Castaly"— seems to make this author, as well, a learned sophisticate. One would think that Oxford, who apparently considered himself far above the common herd and who had been tutored by Ovid's translator, his uncle Arthur Golding, would have prepared the inscription. Enlightenment comes from outrageous parody of the epyllion and of its dedication in *Oenone and Paris* by T.[homas] H.[eywood] only a year later. Writing to "the Curteous Readers," T. H. parodies many phrases from the *Venus* dedication: "Heare you have the first fruits of my endevours and the Maiden head of my pen…in some other Opere magis elaborato…be quit from the captious tongues and lavish tearmes of the detracting vulgar."[28] T. H. does not fail to note that Shakespeare's Latin motto translates

into a superior stance toward the vulgar crowd, and that the promise of a greater work, all the while apologizing for the lack of polish of the "first-try" effort, creates a purposefully humorous effect. According to Keach, "The comedy, satire, and witty eroticism of *Venus and Adonis* must have succeeded marvelously in diverting Southampton and his coterie."[29]

Of the two candidates, Shakspere would seem to have been too much of a newcomer to London to have got on joshing terms with the young nobleman, whereas Oxford was well situated within the court circle to have a bit of fun with the man betrothed at the time to his oldest daughter Elizabeth. In view of the censorship, royal and familial, which prevented a courtier from appearing in print, it was perhaps daring for a common playwright like Heywood to come close to revealing "William Shakespeare" a pseudonym. Heywood implies that like Apelles, the painter, as who would hide in a corner until he found out how viewers liked his work, so the author of *Venus and Adonis* is hiding behind a pseudonym to discover whether his work "prove deformed," which if so, he will "never after ear so barren a land." The popularity of the poem presumably assured the author's publication of the "graver labour," *The Rape of Lucrece,* in 1594. It too, however, bore the signature of William Shakespeare only on the intimate dedication to the same young nobleman, the Earl of Southampton. The writer, like Apelles, seemed still to be lurking in a corner, aware of the most rigid kind of social censorship. As Sir Walter Raleigh's biographer, Agnes Latham, notes of courtier poets: "To publish at all was bad form."[30]

Four years later in 1598 Francis Meres, a patriotic schoolmaster and rector, wrote *Palladis Tamia* (lit., "The Servant of Pallas Athena"), to prove that contemporary British artists of all kinds compared favorably with the ancients. Most often cited is Meres's mention that Shakespeare passed "his sugred Sonnets among his private friends,"[31] a custom among noblemen. Most startling, however, as if to make up for the doleful lack of previous documentation, Meres provides titles of an even dozen plays by Shakespeare — six comedies and six tragedies. By way of contrast, although the names of Marlowe, Peele, Watson, Kyd, Drayton, Chapman, Decker, Greene, Lodge, Nash, Heywood, Munday and Jonson are included in various sections on playwrights, none of their plays is listed. Nor are any listed for the Earl of Oxford, even though his name heads the list of the "Best for Comedy." Whether the name is first, as is sometimes alleged, because of Oxford's rank, or for some more pertinent reason, it at least constitutes testimony that Meres considered him among the other known playwrights. Thus, after the absence of the name "Shakespeare" since 1593 and 1594, Meres, in what looks like a deliberate, authorized public relations move, planted the titles of twelve plays in public consciousness. Orthodox Shakespeareans conveniently ignore the implications of the astonishing pattern of publication of Shakespearean plays over the decades after Meres' anouncement. From 1598, new Shakespeare plays were printed each year until the Earl's death in 1604. Thereafter no new plays, with three exceptions published in one two-year period,[32] appeared until the First Folio nearly two decades later, when more than half of the thirty-seven canonical plays appeared for the first time.

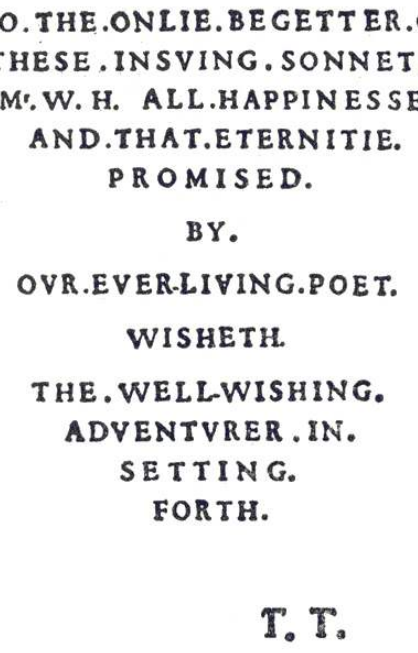

Figure One: Dedication page of the 1609 (Q) Sonnets, showing funeral urn design.

In 1609, five years after the death of Oxford and seven years before the death of Shakspere, there mysteriously appeared, and shortly disappeared, a book entitled *Shake-speares Sonnets*. On the dedicatory page we come upon a body; we sense a bardicide. Thomas Thorpe's epigraph is in the shape of a funeral urn (Figure One), the pointing after each word of the inscription is that found on tombstones, and the epithet, "ever-living poet," no matter to whom it refers, makes us think of the immortality of the soul and is not applied to a living person. In his prize-winning *PMLA* essay (1987), "Master W. H., R.I.P." Donald Foster, speculating about the identity of W. H., chose an apt title. In wishing that "W. H.," according to his thesis a misprint for "W. Sh," might Rest in Peace, he was adding to the funereal imagery of Thorpe's epigraph.

Foster has hardly laid to rest the controversy, for in arguing in his book, *Elegy by W. S.*, that Shakespeare had given Thorpe permission to print the sonnets, Foster contends: "According to the ethical standards of the age, it was perfectly acceptable to print a manuscript without the author's permission — but it was never allowed in such cases to use his name, except after his decease."[33] Of the alternatives, that Thorpe had permission or that Shakespeare was dead, critic Robert Giroux chooses neither. Believing that the publication of the sonnets "horrified"

Shakespeare, he deduces: "The appearance of these privately circulated and very personal poems so late in his career might well have been an embarrassment to their author, considering their nature. He may also have felt betrayed by the badly supervised and sloppily edited text of Q. There is a plausible explanation of the silence that greeted the sonnets in career might well have been an embarrassment to their author, 1609."[34] The "silence" that greeted the publication of the sonnets is indeed the awed silence with which one greets the desecration of a body — a private tomb opened to public view.

In the same year a quarto of *Troilus and Cressida* appeared with a preface advising readers that they were lucky to be able to purchase the book because it had barely made its "scape" from its "grand possessors." If the sonnets had also made their "escape," it might be the same "grand possessors" who exercised enough power of censorship to have them quickly withdrawn from publication. Whatever the case, the sonnets were not published again until 1640 in bowdlerized form by John Benson. The *Troilus* preface had begun: "A never writer to an ever reader," a reminder that in the miscellany, *A Hundreth Sundrie Flowres* (1573), poems signed "Ever or Never" (presumably for E. Vere or Ned Vere), are attributed by one editor, Ruth Loyd Miller, to Oxford.[35]

What we have located in the sonnets looks suspiciously like a body, perhaps a body for the whole canon, but no forensic expert has been able to determine whose it is. For its identity, we must move on to 1623 and Ben Jonson's editing of the First Folio of Shakespeare's plays.[36]

Since Ben Jonson had published his own Works in 1616, he was the appropriate choice to manage the publication of Shakespeare's plays seven years later. As the most prestigious epideictic poet in England at the time as well, it was advantageous for those who underwrote the huge expense of the Folio to obtain his services. He wrote the main eulogy, "To the Memory of My Beloved, the Author Mr. William Shakespeare: and What He Has Left Us," and the short poem to accompany the Droeshout engraving, "To the Reader," and in the opinion of such recognized authorities as W. W. Greg and A. C. Partridge, he also wrote the Dedication to the noble Herbert brothers, William, Earl of Pembroke, and Philip, Earl of Montgomery, and the promotional letter "To the Great Variety of Readers."

In trying to decode Jonson's words, I make the same assumption which, according to Jongsook Lee, the new historical critics espouse, that "In the Renaissance dissimulation was the mode of life and equivocation and defensive irony the mode of discourse." Holding that "institutionalized censorship" was "the crucial factor" in determining what writers could say, she suggests that Jonson offers "a particularly fitting example of the predicament of a poet who has to work with duplicitous words in a duplicitous world." Too often critics, in deducing the biography of Shakspere from Jonson's words, have fallen into the error of which she warns: "Taking what he says in his work at face value would be only a manifest symptom of one's dangerous gullibility."[37] I hope to avoid such error and circumvent the censorship under which I believe Jonson labored.

At the front of the Folio is the "figure" cut for Shakespeare by a Dutch engraver, Martin Droeshout, who (whether the younger or older), seven years after Shakspere's death, could not have drawn from life. Its purpose is questionable. Giroux points out: "The format and design of Jonson's folio, except for the title page, which has a classic ornamental frame instead of a portrait, were followed faithfully in the First Folio" (ix, x). I suggest that the purpose of the portrait— unnecessary in the case of Jonson's Works — was to provide a body for the canon, a body missing from the scene during the poet's lifetime. Still puzzling, however, since we see the picture, is the need for Ben's explanatory poem. Even more peculiar, Jonson conveys two opposite messages. On the one hand, the engraver has "hit / His face" with great accuracy — a situation which would seem to make it especially pleasurable to look at his face. On the other hand, however, the reader is advised to look "Not on his Picture." A later writer, Joseph Addison, tells us, "It is pleasant to look on the picture of any face where the resemblance is hit."[38]

I suggest that Jonson intends to advise the reader not to look at the face because the engraver has not hit, but hid it. The last six lines read:

> O, could he but haue drawne his wit
> As well as in brasse, as he hath hit His face;
> the Print would then surpasse
> All, that was euer writ in brasse.
> But, since he cannot, Reader,
> looke Not on his Picture, but his Booke.

Ben has already alerted us to "hidden" implications by his use of the nebulous word, "Figure," rather than "picture," "portrait," or "image," and "cut for" (not "of" or "from" the life), and by his use of "gentle" to describe the author. And we feel very unsure why the engraver "cannot" draw the wit of his subject: Is it because of ineptitude or because of censorship? In the last two lines Ben, no mean grammarian, has mixed his pronouns, so that "he" [the engraver] refers to "his Picture" and "his Booke." Whereas the "Picture" may belong to the engraver, the "Booke" must belong to Shakespeare.

It was not difficult to read "hid" for "hit" in pun-loving Renaissance England. If the engraver has hid the face of the poet, then we are sensibly advised not to look at the picture. If one argues that "hid" and "wit" don't quite rime, it is nevertheless a combination which Jonson seemed to favor. In "To the Great Variety of Readers," we find, ". . . his wit can no more lie hid, then it could be lost," and again in *Timber*, Jonson writes "...the power of liberal studies lies more hid than can be wrought out by profane wits. It is not every man's way to *hit*."[39] Whose countenance is bidden behind what appears to be a mask on the over-large floating head of the engraving is unknown, but Jonson alerts us to its being some body — perhaps his "beloved, the author."

As to the ensuing letters signed by John Heminge and Henry Condell, A. C. Partridge writes that Jonson, besides giving advice, "actually wrote four items

in the preliminary matter to the volume, the two poems already known to be his, the Dedication, and the Address to the Great Variety of Readers."[40] Even though, as Alfred Pollard notes, in order to protect their plays, the policy of the King's Men "was clearly against printing,"[41] critics assume that Heminge and Condell, out of affection for their fellow, dead for the past seven years, would jeopardize their company by publishing his plays. According to Gerald Eades Bentley, the Folio "put into the hands of every purchaser the largest available collection of plays suitable for public performance."[42] In fact on April 11, 1627, Heminge, in the name of the company, had to pay off the Master of the Revels "to forbid the playing of Shakespeare's plays, to the Red Bull Company."[43] Years later, that is, the company still suffered from the publication of the Folio — hardly a fate they would have brought on themselves. Fortunately for posterity, however, wealthy patrons saved the thirty-six plays in the Folio, more than half of which had never appeared in print.[44]

If Jonson was duplicitous in the poem on the "figure" for Shakespeare, and wrote the addresses signed by Heminge and Condell, we should expect further subterfuge in the main tribute, "To the Memory of My Beloved," from which we learn more about Shakespeare, little though it is and concealed as it may be, than from any other single source. Lawrence Lipking echoes our dismay at its first section. "Many readers, coming to the poem in hope of finding the way a great contemporary perceived Shakespeare's greatness, have been taken aback to find the first sixteen lines look past Shakespeare to debate the proper mode of praising him."[45]

Although critics have identified various sources, ancient and contemporary, for passages in Jonson's commendation of Shakespeare, none I believe has scrutinized the similarity between Jonson's sixteen-line introduction and the twenty-four line poem signed "Ignoto," one of seven "Commendatory Verses" preceding Spenser's The *Faerie Queene* (1590). Ignoto's poem, in contrast to the other six, which extol Spenser's artistry and loyalty to the Queen, is a graceful poem *to a poet*, comparing Spenser to a host, whose wine is good that it needs no commendation: "For when men know the goodness of the wyne, / Tis needless for the Hoast to have a sygne." There is a slightly ironic twist in the last stanza- "And thus I hang a garland at the dore"—for in the mercantile metaphor, Ignoto has hung out a sign, though not a boar's head. Like Jonson's poem, Ignoto's first stanza begins with an infinitive explaining the danger of "envy":

> TO looke upon a worke of rare devise
> The which a workman setteth out to view,
> And not to yield it the deserved prise
> That unto such a workmanship is dew,
> Doth either prove the judgement to be naught,
> Or els doth shew a mind with envy fraught.

Ignoto's first sentence is clearer to twentieth century readers than Jonson's — "To draw no envy (Shakespeare) on thy name/ Am I thus ample to thy Booke, and

Fame." We puzzle about "drawing envy" on a "name" and just what being "ample" to a "book" or to "fame" means.

In meter, rime, and sense, Jonson, in his next two lines — "While I confess thy writings to be such / As neither man nor Muse can praise too much"— echoes Ignoto's last two lines of the third stanza — "I here pronounce this workmanship is such, / As that no pen can set it forth too much." Using "writings" instead of "workmanship," Jonson keeps the "such-much" rime, the "such / As" structure, and repeats "to be such" from the first line of Ignoto's third stanza. Jonson has begun in first person, whereas Ignoto works through two stanzas of general speculation about "envy" and "judgement" before declaring, "I here pronounce…." By stanza three, however, he displays pride in his own "judgement," insisting, "Thus then, to shew my judgement to be such / As can discerne of colours blacke and white…" Jonson later in his tribute also makes a claim of discerning judgment: "For if I thought my judgment were of years, / I should commit thee surely with thy peers." Both poets thus take credit as superior critics of the work they evaluate.

In addition to similar meaning, Jonson reveals semantic and oral echoes in many lines. To commend a work which everyone agrees is worthy, says Ignoto in the second stanza, "Would raise a jealous doubt…whereto the prayse did tend." Jonson counters with "Or crafty malice might pretend this praise, / And think to ruin, where it seem'd to raise." Jonson's "pretend" has a sound like Ignoto's "did tend," and his end rimes, "praise" and "raise," are verbs which Ignoto uses within his two lines. In other examples, Jonson complains of that ignorance which at best "but echoes right," corresponding to Ignoto's condemnation of poor judgment or envy "That never gives to any man his right." Jonson concludes that Shakespeare is above the "need" of foolish praise, just as Ignoto insists that it is "needlesse" for Spenser to hang out a sign. Ignoto's contention that no one "goes about to discommend" Spenser, Jonson puts in the affirmative: "all men's suffrage" means that no one discommends Shakespeare.

To the end of the fourth stanza, Ignoto consistently controls the host-poet metaphor, and great as is the danger of over-praising Spenser to his detriment, asks only that Spenser be given his due: "And when your tast shall tell you this [the goodness of the wine] is trew, / Then looke you give your Hoast his utmost dew." Jonson on the other hand belabors the whore-matron analogy as illustration of "silliest ignorance," "blind affection," and "crafty malice," awkwardly twisting Horace's suggestion that a strumpet differs from a matron as a faithless parasite differs from a friend. Only by contortion can Shakespeare become the matron complimented by the whore. When Jonson finally turns to the subject of his eulogy, he forgets "the wayes" of modest praise, which he intended, and blasts forth with "Soule of the Age!" — a judgment with which we concur, but which shows Jonson's artistic inconsistency. If Ignoto's is the superior poem, Jonson paid silent tribute to its author, indicating for the cognoscenti that he considered himself likewise a great poet paying tribute to a great poet.

It is noteworthy that in dedicating *The Faerie Queene*, Spenser wrote a sonnet, "To the right Honourable the Earle of Oxenford, Lord High Chamberlayne of England." In contrast to his dedicatory sonnets to other nobles, whom he praised for their valor or noble heritage or patronage of the arts or management of affairs of state, Spenser praised Oxford as beloved of the muses," . . . for the love which thou doest beare / To th' Haliconian ymps, and they to thee; / They unto thee, and thou them, most deare." He also asks to be defended from "foule Envies poisnous bit," as Ignoto hopes to be freed from "envies tuch." It seems there is danger of envy all around: Ignoto envies Spenser; Spenser envies Oxford; Jonson envies Shakespeare while imitating Ignoto. Spenser might well be grateful to Oxford for the publication of *The Courtier*, whose purpose, like that of *The Faerie Queene*, was "to fashion a gentleman or noble person in vertuous and gentle discipline."

Jonson begins the eulogy itself by excusing Shakespeare's not being buried in Westminster Abbey, as was Beaumont, who died in 1616, six weeks before Shakspere's death. Shakespeare, says Jonson, is too great to be ranked with past poets or with his "peers": "And tell how far thou didst our Lyly outshine, / Or sporting Kyd, or Marlowe's mighty line" (29-30). Jonson puns with names, perhaps to distract the reader from the truth that Lyly, Kyd, and Marlowe were peers of Oxford, who came forth when "all the Muses still were in their prime" (44), not of Shakspere. According to Russ McDonald, "Shakespeare dominated the theatrical scene by the middle of the 1590s: The great crop of playwrights who had flourished at the beginning of the decade--Marlowe, Kyd, Lyly, Peele, Greene, and Lodge — were dead or had given up drama by 1593."[46] While it would be foolhardy to assume that Oxford wrote plays attributed to Lyly, Kyd or Marlowe, Jonson directs us to consider a possible relationship between "Shakespeare" and these writers of the 1570s and 80s. John Lyly's biographer, G. K. Hunter, explains that Lyly's debut as a dramatist, "must have been financed by Oxford; the boys for whose performances at court he was paid in 1584 were Oxford's boys and the opportunity to rehearse and perform at the private theatre in the Blackfriars was also due to Oxford's initiative."[47] After leaving Oxford's employment, Lyly never wrote any more plays. Another biographer of Lyly, Joseph Houppert, concludes that Lyly's position as Oxford's secretary "undoubtedly enhanced his literary potential. De Vere was himself a poet and playwright, although no plays bearing his name survive."[48]

Because of the censorship which allowed Oxford to be patron of a company of actors, but not a playwright, and because Shakspere in 1584 was fathering children in Stratford, the similarities between Lyly's *Gallathea* and *A Midsummer Night's Dream* seem to be borrowings *by* Shakespeare *from* Lyly rather than the reverse. Thomas Kyd's *The Spanish Tragedy* — which remained anonymous until ascribed to Kyd through a 1612 pun by Thomas Heywood, is said to have influenced *Hamlet*, and Marlowe's *Edward II* to have been a model for Shakespeare's history plays. The censorship which suppressed knowledge of Oxford was so restrictive and the ruse of Shakspere as author so successful that the history of Renaissance drama has been distorted. A close relationship between Oxford and each of the three "peers" is well documented; yet we assume that the genius who wrote *Dream*, *Hamlet*, and *Henry*

the Fifth, borrowed from those he outshone. But Jonson made the truth clear to his noble patrons and to cultured readers accustomed to decoding the stratagems imposed by censorship.

In the whole eulogy, the only qualification that Jonson makes about Shakespeare — "And though thou hadst small Latine and less Greeke" (31)—while fitting Shakspere, hardly seems to apply to Oxford, who could converse in Latin, French, and Italian and had degrees from both Oxford and Cambridge at an early age. The following comparison is strained, for if Shakespeare's plays are better than "all that insolent Greece or haughty Rome" (39) produced, what does it matter whether or not Shakespeare could read Latin or Greek? As Lipking notes, it is "the one piece of personal information" in the eulogy. Elsewhere, he contends, "the tributes, though affectionate, are so formal that they might apply to any great author."[49] While not accepting Dryden's "invidious Panegyrick" as an epithet for the ode, we must wonder at the caviling tone of the "Latin-Greek" line.

Although a modern reader would consider Oxford very learned, Steven May, in writing of the courtier poets, claims that both Oxford, "who kept a wavering hold upon the pinnacle of Elizabeth's favorites throughout the 1570s," and Edward Dyer lacked serious University classical training and that "Cecil, Ascham, Wilson, and Elizabeth took care that their dabbling in poetry did not violate their positions as state dignitaries."[50] In the case of poetry by courtiers, apparently a benign censorship prevailed, allowing for frivolity though a pseudonym or anonymity. Jonson, who would get no satisfaction out of deriding Shakspere's learning, might well have been unable to suppress annoyance at Oxford's dilettantism. Of course the reference conveniently also pointed to a Stratford native with Stratford grammar school education.

The one command to the reader in the whole poem is "Look how the father's face / lives in his issue; even so the race / Of Shakespeare's mind and manners brightly shines / in his well-turned and true-filed lines" (65-68). Always interpreted metaphorically, since Shakspere's issue consisted of two apparently uneducated daughters who never left Stratford,[51] the "face" would seem to be the same one which in "To the Reader," we were advised to "look not at." Now Jonson says with forceful rhetoric, "Look," not just as *any* father's face lives in his descendants, but look how *the particular face* "shines" in his "living line."

Jonson's imperative is reinforced by the genealogical terms: "father's face," "issue," "race," "mind and manners," and "lines." Lord Oxford's family line was one of the oldest in Britain; his issue consisted of three countesses, two of whom played in Jonson's masks at court, and a noble warrior heir, the Eighteenth Earl. One of the dedicatees of the Folio was the Earl of Montgomery, husband of Susan Vere. The brilliance of Oxford's mind was attested to by his tutors, and in sponsoring The Courtier's printing he established an ideal of manners. The British race, even the human race, should honor such lineage, whose issue quite literally did "shine forth" like the Star on the Vere Crest.

It was seemly for Jonson to compliment Oxford's living descendants, his noble patrons, "true-filed lines," being especially appropriate for the motto on the Vere crest: Vero Nihil Verius —"Nothing truer than truth" or "Nothing truer than Vere." Perhaps for the benefit of those not ignorant of the truth of Vere, he puns that Shakespeare seems "to shake a lance, / As brandished at the eyes of ignorance" (69-70) knowing that the Bulbec lion angrily brandishes a spear. Sara J. van den Berg, in her analysis of Jonson's poetry, concludes: "Because he can assume intimacy and equality when writing to artists when addressing the aristocracy, Jonson uses different conventions in the two situations. Only in the poem for Shakespeare does he combine both methods."[52] If she is correct, there is every reason to hold that the poet honored is an aristocrat.

By repeating the name "Shakespeare" four times in the eulogy and punning on it twice, Jonson deflects attention from "the Author," who in the title of the poem he seems to separate from the name. The poet is "made, as well as borne" (64), because although Oxford is "high-borne," he has been "made" into Shakespeare. Jonson had to be duplicitous. He remembered his own incarceration for offense against the Scots in the seemingly innocent play, *Eastward Hoe* (1605), during which he had come close to having his ears cut off; he knew that John Stubbs for *The Gaping Gulf* (1579), lost his right hand, that Fulke Greville, who wanted to write a history of Elizabeth's reign, was "prevented by [Robert] Cecil from getting access to the necessary documents,"[53] and that words judged slanderous against the Lord Treasurer, William Cecil, during Elizabeth's reign resulted in whipping on the pillory. Aware of the censorship of the powerful Cecils and of their family ties to Oxford, Jonson apotheosized the "Swan of Avon," emphasizing, nevertheless, that it is on the "banks of Thames" that he should he should appear, and making one wonder if just as Horace called Pindar "Swan of Thebes," so Jonson desires to call Shakespeare, who knew "Pindar's string," the "Swan of Thames." In spite of Shakespeare's having become an Avon product since the mid-18th century, when David Garrick promoted a great festival in Stratford, it must have seemed bewildering to readers in 1623 (even if it were true) to have the great London playwright designated as from a small Warwickshire town.

Delicately balancing the truth with the ruse, Jonson created an incredibly moving tribute. In a paper on censorship and the Shakespeare mystery, the emphasis of course must be on Oxford, who all evidence shows could not be known as a playwright for the public theater or even as a poet of erotica. In the case of Shakspere, except perhaps for minor revisions of plays by the Master of the Revels, censorship would seem to have played no part. Oxford, as Shakespeare, on the other hand, got away with plays which would have been censored if by a common playwright. How else to explain the satire of Lord Burghley as Polonius in *Hamlet,* or the fact that at the time of the Essex rebellion, for which Essex lost his head and Southampton was imprisoned, no punishment ensued for the author of *Richard II,* through which the conspirators thought to incite the crowds? We ask, therefore, how did a native Stratfordian with no standing at court, manage to escape the kind of imprisonment visited on Jonson Jonson for a seemingly lesser offense?

The final irony of the Oxford-Shakspere drama is illustrated by Woody Allen's movie *The Front* (1976). Set during the McCarthy era, the worst period of boundless censorship in America, a Hollywood script writer, blacklisted as a "communist," funnels his movie scripts through an ineffectual lunchroom cashier. This nobody becomes famous with a good income from the payoffs. Shakspere acquired a coat-of-arms, justifying Jonson's epithet of "gentle," and retired as the well-to-do squire of Stratford.

Since I agree with Richard Levin that the death of the author leaves a "hermeneutic vacuum."[54] I hope an E. Vere-living body, whose E. Vere y word does almost tell his Vere name, freed from censorship, will enliven Shakespeare's poetry and plays as well as a revised history of Renaissance drama.

Endnotes

1 Levin, Richard. "The Poetics and Politics of Bardicide," *PMLA* 105 (1990): 491-504.

2 Patterson, Annabel. *Shakespeare and the Popular Voice.* Cambridge, Ma.: Basil Blackwell, 1989, 24.

3 Kerrigan, William. "The Personal Shakespeare: Three Clues." *Shakespeare's Personality*. Ed. Norman Holland, et. al. Berkeley: U of California P, 1989. 175-190, 175.

4 Borges, Jorge Luis. "Everything and Nothing," *Selected Poems 1923-1967*, ed. Thomas DiGiovanni. New York, 1972, 177.

5 Garber, Marjorie. *Shakespeare's Ghost Writers.* New York: Methuen, 1987.

6 Staunton, Howard. *The Globe Illustrated Shakespeare.* London: G. Routledge, 1858-61. Reprint: New York: Crown Publishers, 1983, 2347.

7 Fleay, Frederick Gard. *A Chronicle History of the Life and Work of William Shakespeare.* New York: Scribner and Welford, 1886, 73-74.

8 Looney, J. Thomas. *"Shakespeare" Identified in Edward de Vere, 17th Earl of Oxford*. London: Cecil Palmer, 1920.

9 "The Poems of Edward DeVere, Seventeenth Earl of Oxford and of Robert Devereux, Second Earl of Essex." *Studies in Philology* 77 (1980): 1-43 and 67-83. Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1980, 9.

10 Read, Conyers. *Lord Burghley and Queen Elizabeth*. London: Jonathon Cape, 1960, 127.

11 Finkelpearl, Philip J. "'The Comedians' Liberty': Censorship of the Jacobean Stage Reconsidered." *English Literary Renaissance* 16 (Winter 1986): 123-38, 123.

12 Saunders, J. W. "The Stigma of Print: A Note on the Social Bases of Tudor Poetry," *Essays in Criticism*, 1951 I(2):139-164, 140.

13 Saunders, "Comedians," 150.

14 Saunders, "Comedians," 141.

[15] Brown, Ivor. Shakespeare. London: Collins, 1949, 72.

[16] Rowse, A. L. *William Shakespeare: A Biography.* New York: Harper and Row, 1963, 96.

[17] Greene, Robert. *Groats-worth of Witte Bought with a Million of Repentence.* 1592. New York: Burt Franklin, 1970.

[18] Chettle, Henrie. *Kind-Hartes Dreame: Containing Five Apparitions, with their Invectives Against Abuses Raigning* 1592. New York: Barnes and Noble, 1966.

[19] Schoenbaum, S. *Shakespeare's Lives.* Oxford: Oxford U P, 1991,121.

[20] The "Crow" ballad, attributed to Tarlton(xxxvi), appears in *A Collection of Seventy-Nine Black-Letter Ballads and Broadsides Printed in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth Between the Years 1559 and 1597*. London: Joseph Lilly, 1867. William Kempe, though the most likely "upstart crow" was not the only clown whom Greene disliked. According to Greene's biographer, the "most mysterious, malignant, and perhaps wittiest of Greene's enemies was Robert Wilson, second to Tarlton alone in comic power ... especially renowned for his ready repartees and quickness of wit" Greene's Works (1,238-39).

[21] Sheavyn, Phoebe. *The Literary Profession in the Elizabethan Age*. Edition revised by J.W. Saunders. New York: Barnes and Noble, 1967, 128.

[22] Schoenbaum, *Lives,* 23.

[23] Fleay, "*Chronicle History,*" 111.

[24] Smart, J.S. *Shakespeare: Truth and Tradition.* Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1966, 167.

[25] Schoenbam, *Lives,* 122.

[26] James P. Reardon in "Shakespeare's *Venus and Adonis* and Lodge's *Scilla's Metamorphosis*" (*Shakespeare Society Papers* III, Art. 16 [1847]: 143-46) notes: "I take it, that, like his 'sugred sonnets' mentioned by Meres in 1598, *Venus and Adonis* had been handed about in manuscript among his friends ...Lodge's poem [1589] . . . seems to adopt *Venus and Adonis* as a model."

[27] Keach, William. *Elizabethan Erotic Narratives: Irony and Pathos in the Ovidian Poetry of Shakespeare, Marlowe, and Their Contemporaries*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers U P, 1977, 32.

[28] Heywood, Thomas. *Oenone and Paris.* Ed. Joseph Quincy Adams. Washington D. C.: The Folger Shakespeare Library, 1943.

[29] Keach, "*Erotic Narratives*."

[30] Latham, Agnes. Ed. *The Poems of Sir Walter Raleigh.* Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 1929, 11.

[31] Meres, Francis. *Palladis Tamia: Wit's Treasury.* Preface by Arthur Freeman. New York: Garland Publishing Co., 1973.

[32] Between Oxford's death in 1604 and the Folio in 1623 (*Othello* in 1622), no new Shakespeare plays were published for two decades except *Troilus*, which "escaped," *Pericles* (1609), included in the Folio as Shakespeare's, and *King Lear* (1608),

apparently published to forestall a pirated edition.

[33] Foster, Donald. *Elegy by W. S.: A Study in Attribution*. Newark: U of Delaware P, 1989, 230.

[34] Giroux, Robert. *The Book Known as Q: A Consideration of Shakespeare's Sonnets*. New York: Vintage Books, 1983.

[35] Miller, Ruth Loyd, Ed. *A Hundreth Sundrie Flowres: From the Original Edition of 1573.* Port Washington, N. Y.: Kennikat Press Corp., 1975.

[36] All Folio quotations are from Shakespeare, William. *Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies. First Folio*. London, 1623. New Haven: Yale U P, 1954.

[37] Lee, Jongsook. *Ben Jonson's Poesis: a literary Dialectic of Ideal and History*. Charlottesville: U P of Virginia, 1989, 80.

[38] *Spectator*, June 30, 1712.

[39] Walker, Ralph S. *Ben Jonson's Timber or Discoveries*. Syracuse: Syracuse U P, 1953, 53.

[40] Partridge, A. C. *Orthography in Shakespeare and Elizabethan Drama*. Lincoln: U of Nebraska, 1964,137.

[41] Pollard, Alfred W. *Shakespeare's Fight with the Pirates and the Problems of the Transmission of his text.* Cambridge: Cambridge U P, 1920, 51.

[42] Bentley, Gerald Eades. *The Jacobean and Caroline Stage*. Vol 1. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1941.

[43] Wickham, Glynne William Gladstone, Herbert Berry, and William Ingram. *English Professional Theatre, 1530-1660.* Cambridge U P, 2000, 584.

[44] If Jonson wrote the Heminge-Condell letters, we should reevaluate their content. Far from being verified by Jonson's own writings elsewhere, they are only evidence of his reiterated opinions. In "To . . . Readers," we learn that what Shakespeare thought "he uttered with that easiness, that wee have scarse received from him a blot in his papers." We take as verification the remark in Jonson's *Timber*, "I remember the Players have often mentioned it as an honour to Shakespeare, that in his writing, whatsoever he penned, he never blotted a line." The truth would seem to be that Ben in both cases put words in the mouths of the players. The art-versus-nature controversy interested Jonson, but the players would have cared more if the censor had blotted out lines and eviscerated a scene, a practice probably not frequent if Shakespeare had influence with the Court-appointed Master of the Revels.

Another example of information which, upon examination, comes only from Ben Jonson is that Shakspere was an actor. In his Works (1616) Ben lists Shakespeare as one of the actors in his *Sejanus* (1603) and Shakespeare as one of the actors in his *Every Man Out of His Humor* (1598), and William Shakespeare heads the list of "The Names of the Principall Actors in All These Plays" in the First Folio. In no instance is there any record during his lifetime of Shakspere's having played any part.

[45] Lipking, Lawrence. *The Life of the Poet: Beginning and Ending Poetic Careers.* Chicago: The U

of Chicago P, 1981, 141-42.

[46] McDonald, Russ. *Shakespeare and Jonson Jonson and Shakespeare*. Lincoln U of Nebraska P, 1988, 18.

[47] Hunter, G. K. *John Lyly: The Humanist as Courtier*. Cambridge: Harvard U P, 1962, 70.

[48] Lipking, *Life*, 142.

[49] Houppert, Joseph W. *John Lyly*. Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1975, 14.

[50] May, Steven. *The Elizabethan Courtier Poets: The Poems and Their Contexts.* Columbia: U of Missouri P, 1991, 59.

[51] Richard Peterson in *Imitation and Praise in the Poems of Ben Jonson* (New Haven: Yale U P, 1981) comes nearer than others to looking at the passage in the genealogical terms which seem hard to avoid, but even he assumes a metaphor: "For in creating his 'living line' Shakespeare simultaneously creates a race of poetic children, simulcra of his own mental features…." (189).

[52] Sarah J. van den Berg, *The Action of Ben Jonson's Poetry*. Newark: U. of Delaware P., 1987, 154.

[53] Patterson, Annabel. *Shakespeare and the Popular Voice*. Cambridge, MA: Basil Blackwell, 1989, 78.

[54] Levin, "Poetics," 502.

The Psychology of Shakespearean Biography

Richard M. Waugaman

"What difference does it make who wrote the works of Shakespeare?"

"There is no question whatsoever who wrote Shakespeare."

"Shakespeare wrote Shakespeare!"

"We know more about the life of Shakespeare than we do about the lives of most other authors of that era."

"Only the lunatic fringe questions who Shakespeare was."

This is a small but representative sample of the reactions one encounters if one raises questions about who wrote Shakespeare. Why? I propose to examine this question. I would like to bring a psychoanalytic perspective to bear on the widespread intolerance for asking reasonable questions about who Shakespeare was. Such a perspective is uniquely helpful in taking a step back from this bitter controversy, and looking for underlying disavowed dynamics. The few psychoanalysts who have closely explored Freud's belief that Shakespeare was a pseudonym used by Edward de Vere (1550-1604) have indeed used a psychoanalytic approach — but in order to diagnose the "psychopathology" that led Freud into this supposedly embarrassing error.

During the years since Freud's death, however, the evidence supporting his hypothesis has become impossible to ignore.[1]

Orthodox reactions to an ultimately successful challenge of a cherished paradigm often pass through three stages: (1) "That's absurd!"; (2) "What difference would it make?"; and finally, (3) "Of course — I always said that!"[2] We don't assume that saying "Mark Twain wrote Mark Twain" eliminates the role of Samuel Clemens in those works. No one has found a single piece of evidence from Shakespeare's lifetime that proves conclusively that anyone thought he was a writer. Contemporary references to the name were in all likelihood references to the pseudonym that began appearing in 1593. What we know about the traditional Shakespeare from the historical record shows no connections with a literary career. The *ad hominem* attacks on anyone who challenges traditional beliefs about who wrote Shakespeare, rooted in

a long history of abuse, have grown more vicious, more frequent, and more desperate as the traditional authorship case collapses. Once we become better acquainted with the weakness of orthodox evidence, these *ad hominem* attacks become more understandable.

Literary studies lack a methodology that offers reliability and validity in assessing evidence for authorship. Further, scholars who have staked their careers and reputations on traditional authorship beliefs are bound to encounter severe cognitive dissonance when they try to weigh contrary evidence objectively. As a result, power, authority, and personal influence all play prominent roles in public positions on authorship on the part of Shakespeare scholars who have academic careers. Winning a Ph.D. in English; being hired, published, promoted, and respected by one's peers may all be jeopardized by expressing "heretical" opinions on authorship. Ironically, Keats famously said "Shakespeare possessed so enormously... *Negative Capability*, that is when man is capable of being in uncertainties, Mysteries, doubts, without any irritable reaching after fact & reason." Yet most scholars show little capacity to tolerate doubt as to authorship.

I believe there are many sources of the skepticism, apathy, and even hostility that face those who question the Shakespeare experts who espouse the traditional authorship theory. We trust experts, and we should-- usually. We assume science, when compared to literary studies, possesses a more reliable methodology for evaluating new theories. But recall that Alfred Wegener had accumulated overwhelming evidence for his theory of continental drift by 1915. He was a mere geographer, though, not a geologist. Geologists, the specialists in that field, argued that there was no known conceivable explanation of how continental drift could have occurred, so they ridiculed Wegener's theory. But, by the mid-1960s, new information about plate techtonics provided the missing pieces of explanatory theory, and geologists now fully accept Wegener's brilliant and well documented 1915 proposal.

The situation is analogous when it comes to de Vere as Shakespeare. We have abundant evidence that he was regarded by his contemporaries as the best of the Elizabethan courtier poets; that a few of his contemporaries knew he wrote anonymously; that he sponsored theatrical companies most of his life; and that he was regarded as one of the best Elizabethan authors of comedies. There are hundreds of connections between the content of the plays and poems of Shakespeare and the documented facts of de Vere's life. *But*, we still do not know with certainty why he wrote under a pseudonym. This crucial but missing piece of evidence is a major reason de Vere is not yet more widely accepted as Shakespeare.

In all likelihood, there were multiple internal and external reasons for his using a pseudonym. Many books published in 16th century England did not include the author's name. They were published anonymously, or with a pseudonym. Among the possible reasons for this tradition was the controversial nature of the contents of many books. Many authors in the era were punished for offending those in power. Even Ben Jonson was tortured for one of his plays. Most Elizabethan nobility did not publish poetry under their names during their lifetimes. The world of the theater

was held in some disrepute. De Vere/Shakespeare's history plays put the Tudor monarchs in the best possible light; their propaganda value may have been enhanced by attributing them to a commoner. In addition, my study of the psychology of pseudonymity offers many examples of writers whose creativity seemed to flourish when their authorship was concealed. If de Vere used one pseudonym, he probably disguised other writings as well. For example, I have recently published articles attributing two anonymous 1585 poems to de Vere/Shakespeare.[3]

Neal Ascherson writes that, in the introduction to his biography of George Orwell, Bernard Crick complained that 'most biographies were just dressed-up historical novels. They drafted a nicely shaped psychological plot for their subjects, and then—whenever the subject failed to follow that plot—twisted or invented the evidence... Catherine Carswell wrote a brave... biography... that was open about [Robert] Burns's indiscriminate sexual energy and his bawdy verse, and was rewarded with death threats.'[4]

Even reputable Shakespeare scholars such as Stephen Greenblatt have begun blurring the distinction between the known facts and speculative conjectures about the life of the alleged author. For example, Greenblatt writes misleadingly that the dedications of the long poems (*Venus and Adonis* and *The Rape of Lucrece*) "are the only such documents from Shakespeare's hand."[5] A trusting reader might falsely assume Greenblatt means "in Shakespeare's handwriting." There has been *no* new evidence linking "Hand D" in one manuscript page of the play *Sir Thomas More* with Shakespeare. Nevertheless, the Royal Shakespeare Company 2007 edition of the complete plays of Shakespeare now makes the unsupported claim that this page *is* in Shakespeare's handwriting (not that it "might be"). The claim is speculative, because the only samples we have that may *possibly* be in his handwriting are six signatures--but even the highly respected Shakespeare scholar Samuel Schoenbaum eventually admitted that each signature is different, and each even used different spelling. So it cannot be known with certainty that *any* of these signatures is genuine, much less that the manuscript in question is in Shakespeare's handwriting. (In fact, some of its spelling idiosyncracies are consistent with those of de Vere's letters.)

I would like to offer a brief, highly selective overview of the history of assumptions as to the authorship of Shakespeare's works. This history is not well known, but it is essential in understanding the psychology of "orthodox" reactions when their authorship beliefs are questioned. I will highlight those aspects of this history that are most problematic in confusing our search for the actual author of the works. Psychoanalysts have, with Freud, been deeply interested in Shakespeare's works. Coleridge, in fact, coined the word "psychoanalytical" to describe the richness of character in Shakespeare's works.

Since many critics consider the Sonnets to be the most autobiographical of Shakespeare's works, it is instructive to ponder their fate.[6] Only 13 copies of the first 1609 edition survive. They weren't published again until 1640, when John Benson published a tellingly mutilated version of them. Most significantly, he changed gendered pronouns to transform most of the 126 homosexual love poems into heterosexual love poems. Eight of these he omitted completely, including a

current favorite ("Shall I compare thee to a summer's day?"). It is often argued rather unpersuasively that only friendship is meant in the first 126 Sonnets. Why, then, did Benson have to change the gender and leave out eight of the best Sonnets? Benson, in 1640, surely knew more about how the original versions of these poems would be interpreted than do scholars today who claim they have no erotic content. Benson came close to consigning eight Sonnets to oblivion. It was only in 1780 that Malone restored the Sonnets to their original wording; he stated explicitly that 120 of them [sic] were addressed to a man.

There are few indications of any serious, widespread interest in knowing who wrote Shakespeare's works during his lifetime, or during the next century. The first brief biographical sketches were written in the early 18th century, starting with that by John Aubrey, then Nicholas Rowe. But a century had passed, so there were few reliable eye-witness accounts available to biographers. What they recorded instead were "legends" about Shakespeare, that were often accepted into the biographical record, with little evidence to attest their veracity. Most significantly, no one ever thought it necessary to present evidence that the plays and poems were in fact written by the traditional author. This never-proven assumption continues up to the present day, creating massive circularity. For example, it is assumed that Shakespeare from Stratford was the author, therefore it is assumed (without any real evidence) that he *must* have attended the Stratford grammar school (but literacy was an entrance requirement, and his parents were illiterate).

The first major turning point in popular interest in Shakespeare was in 1769. It is helpful to recall the context of that period in English intellectual history. By then, the Enlightenment had dealt a mortal blow to intellectuals' traditional religious beliefs, leaving something of a void. Enter David Garrick, the most prominent Shakespeare actor of the 18th century. He fostered a cult of personality, skillfully linking himself with Shakespeare the man, raising the public profile of both Shakespeare and Garrick. He commissioned paintings, medallions, and etchings that placed his likeness with Shakespeare's. Garrick brought the apotheosis of Shakespeare to a climax by holding the first Stratford "Jubilee" in 1769. This event succeeded in putting Stratford on the map as a sort of secular pilgrimage site (and ever since, with its 4 million annual tourists, its vast economic self-interest in maintaining the traditional authorship theory cannot be ignored).

Garrick was equally successful in enlarging and perpetuating the assumption that the son of Stratford was the author of Shakespeare's works. Prior to 1769, Shakespeare was associated primarily with London, rather than with Stratford. The new fascination with Shakespeare's alleged birthplace captured the emerging interest in Shakespeare the person. Previously, popular sentiment seemed to be an earlier version of the current "What difference would it make who wrote the works of Shakespeare?"

It was only *after* 1769 that there was serious, widespread interest in reconstructing Shakespeare's biography. Due to the paucity of biographical documentation, very little was known about Shakespeare of Stratford, and *nothing* proved that he was considered a writer by his contemporaries.[7] But the hunt was on

to find relevant biographical information. Now, there was an explosion of interest in the author, and a deep hunger for facts about Shakespeare that would illuminate his literary works. Biography in general flourished in the 19th century.

I do not exaggerate when I refer to the "apotheosis" of Shakespeare. As Christian Deelman writes, "The importance of the Jubilee in the history of Shakespeare's reputation can hardly be exaggerated. It marks the point at which Shakespeare stopped being regarded as an increasingly popular and admirable dramatist, *and became a god*."[8]

Benjamin Smith's "The Infant Shakespeare Attended by Nature and the Passions" (1799), based on the original painting, "The Infant Shakespeare" (1789), by George Romney. Image in the public domain.

There is substantial reason to believe this impulse towards divination is one of the most crucial dimensions of the psychology of traditional belief in Shakespeare. George Romney's 1789 painting, "The Infant Shakespeare, Surrounded by Nature and the Passions" powerfully illustrates this phenomenon. It was painted twenty years after Garrick's Stratford Jubilee. It is obviously modeled on the nativity of Jesus, with the infant Shakespeare taking the place of the baby Jesus. It was surely not because of its aesthetic merits that Henry Folger paid six times more for this painting than for any other work of art in his collection (the largest collection of Shakespearean art in the world). He undoubtedly sensed a much more psychological or spiritual, rather than artistic appeal in this painting.

What does this apotheosis of Shakespeare have to do with the issue of authorship? Everything. It conveys a subtle implication that Shakespeare's works

are like the Bible, making Shakespeare a sort of secular deity. We often speak of "the Bible and Shakespeare" as the greatest works of our literature. We are usually unaware, though, that we treat Shakespeare's works as *equivalent* to the Bible in many ways. They are a secular Bible, for anyone skeptical about the theological status of our traditional Bible. The thousands of Biblical echoes in the words, phrases, and ideas in Shakespeare's works deepen this link. Well, who wrote the Bible? Traditionally, God inspired it. Human beings only wrote it down, but believers maintain that God is the true author.

If God wrote the Bible, it is a waste of time to quibble over which human beings took His dictation. Similarly, Shakespeare of Stratford serves so perfectly in the role of author of Shakespeare's works because he had to be divinely inspired. Romney's "nativity" painting of Shakespeare embodies 18th century belief that Shakespeare proved genius stems from Nature, not from Nurture.

When thoughtful people became alarmed by finding no facts about Shakespeare's life that had any connection with his literary works, they were told they simply did not understand the nature of artistic genius. A real genius, they were informed, uses his imagination, not irrelevant life experiences. He is inspired by his creative imagination, just as the scribes who wrote down the Word of God were merely taking divinely inspired dictation. Traditional religious belief, including in the Bible as the inspired Word of God, subliminally paved the way for acceptance of Shakespeare as a secular, surrogate deity. The loss of traditional religious beliefs helped to clinch the deal. And "heretics" are still persecuted by those in power.

Since 1769 there was an increasingly desperate thirst to learn more about the "divine" Shakespeare. When each well that was dug proved to be dry, along came W.H. Ireland. In 1795, he showed to scholars a treasure trove of Shakespeare letters and other documents. Boswell was so moved that he kneeled before them. The Poet Laureate and other luminaries signed a "Certificate of Belief" attesting to the authenticity of these documents. They must have felt crushed when Ireland admitted a year later that he had forged everything.

In 1831, John Payne Collier said of Shakespeare, "the first observation that must be made is, that so few facts are extant regarding him." Collier soon rectified this embarrassing lack. In 1835, he published his electrifying discovery of previously unknown primary documents concerning Shakespeare. During the ensuing 20 years, he continued finding more and more documents that provided precisely the previously missing information about Shakespeare as a *literary* person. Collier's discoveries catapulted his reputation to the highest echelon of Shakespeare scholars.

Just when Shakespeare's status was finally being established securely, the claim of the man from Stratford suddenly and nearly disastrously collapsed. Collier, like Ireland, was found to have *forged* all the documents he claimed to have discovered. In retrospect, one can hardly blame either Collier or Ireland. Although ambitious and dishonest, they were also filling a deep need in admirers of Shakespeare to have some relics they could revere.

All these forgeries seem in fact to have gained an undeserved form of immortality, in *still* contributing to the widespread but mistaken belief that we have unquestioned documentation of who Shakespeare was. Like the century in which all editions of the Sonnets made them love poems to a woman, "evidence" that has since been discredited lives on, since it meets such powerful needs as to who we *want* Shakespeare to be. The Stratfordian Lynch states that "Some of the misinformation [Collier] introduced into his works in the 1830s continues to circulate in books and articles today. Lies, once they are accepted as true, take on a life of their own, one that lasts long after the original falsehoods have been exposed... It's reasonable to assume that many of the 'facts' about Shakespeare and his age were not discovered but invented...It should give us pause any time we think our knowledge about Shakespeare is on firm ground."[9] Lynch stops short of reaching the conclusion I am proposing: that Shakespeare was not in fact the man from Stratford.

In 1857, as Collier's forgeries were unraveling, Delia Bacon published the first book to challenge the man from Stratford as the author Shakespeare. Disillusionment over Ireland's and then Collier's false claims threatened to undermine traditional beliefs about authorship, repeating the loss of belief in God a century earlier. I suspect it made many open-minded intellectuals receptive to the first serious challenges to "orthodox" assumptions. Some of the most prominent authors of the 19th century became persuaded that, whoever he was, Shakespeare the author was *not* the man from Stratford. The list includes Walt Whitman, Henry James, and Mark Twain. Nathaniel Hawthorne wrote a preface to Bacon's 1857 book and helped get it published. Challenges to orthodox authorship beliefs have only increased since Bacon's book. Although Francis Bacon has not been accepted as Shakespeare, a new era in authorship scholarship blossomed. It was about 60 more years before someone first proposed Edward de Vere, Earl of Oxford, as Shakespeare, and his claim is increasingly accepted. The more that is learned about him, the more convincing his claim has become.

One of the 19th century's foremost Shakespeare scholars was Sidney Lee. In his 1898 biography of Shakespeare, he discussed the forgeries by Collier and his predecessors — "The intense interest which Shakespeare's life and work have long universally excited has tempted unprincipled or sportively mischievous writers from time to time to deceive the public by the forgery of documents purporting to supply new information. The forgers were especially active at the end of the [18th] century and during the middle years of the [19th] century."[10]

Note the words "sportively mischievous." Lee lets Collier off easy. Then, immediately after his summary of the Shakespeare forgeries, Lee turns to the authorship controversy. Lee helped begin the lively and continuing tradition of *ad hominem* in lieu of substantive, *ad rem* counterarguments. He was writing at a time when he had to argue against Bacon as the only other alleged author of Shakespeare's works. But the tone of Lee's arguments set the precedent that has been followed ever since in attacking subsequent "heresies." His four pages on the topic begin by referring to the "fantastic theory" that Shakespeare's works were not written by Shakespeare. He calls such a theory "perverse." He also calls theories that question

traditional authorship "strange," "unintelligible," "arbitrary and baseless," and argues that they have "no rational right to a hearing," continuing in the next paragraph, "Miss Delia Bacon, who was the first to spread abroad a spirit of skepticism respecting the established facts [sic] of Shakespeare's career, died insane." Notice the insinuation that heretics who dare question the "facts" may be insane. Perhaps Lee's invective stems from the defensiveness of orthodox Shakespeare scholars; having been taken in by Ireland's and Collier's forgeries for decades had weakened their credibility, and planted seeds of doubt among the general public. The rage of Shakespeare scholars toward the forgers continues to be displaced onto authorship skeptics.

Lee was one of the first Shakespeare scholars to argue we should dissociate the author's life experiences from his literary works. Given a complete lack of fit between the traditional author's life and the works, Lee suggested we should not expect to find any such correspondence —"it is dangerous to read into Shakespeare's dramatic utterances allusions to his personal experience."... "to assume that he wrote...from practical experience... is to underrate his intuitive power of realising life under almost every aspect *by force of his imagination*" (Lee's emphasis). Lee noted the striking financial success of the man from Stratford. That fact has at least indirectly contributed to the assumption that he was the author—Max Weber famously observed that we often regard financial success as a sign that one was divinely favored.[11]

Augustus Ralli, in his history of Shakespearean criticism until 1925, summarizes Lee's thesis that Shakespeare did not write from personal experience: "There is no tangible evidence that Shakespeare's tragic period had a personal cause... The external facts of his life show unbroken progress of prosperity... To seek in *mere personal experience* the key to his conquest of the topmost peaks of tragedy is to underrate his creative faculty and disparage the force of its magic [sic]... Shakespeare's dramatic work is impersonal, and does not show his idiosyncrasies... [There is] no self-evident revelation of personal experiences of emotion or passion [my emphasis]."[12]

Ralli tentatively voices his reservations about Lee's categorical rejection of Shakespeare's personal experiences as influencing his creative works — "[Lee] has been beguiled by his own phrases... it seems to us that he pondered the subject till his subconscious mind gathered force and supplied the best words for one solution, so that he became self-convinced and slightly overstated what after all belongs to conjecture." One of the most shocking aspects of Lee's position is that it represented a complete reversal from his earlier opinions, at least concerning the Sonnets. Initially, Lee held that "In [all but two of] the Sonnets Shakespeare avows... the experiences of his own heart." A few months later, Lee now said the Sonnets only created "the illusion of personal confession." I would speculate homophobia played a role in Lee's reversal — to read the Sonnets as autobiography confronts the objective reader with unavoidable evidence of the poet's bisexuality.

An anonymous author wrote in 1909, in reviewing a book that challenged the traditional authorship assumption, "Let us frankly admit that there are puzzles

in regard to Shakespeare's classical attainments, his knowledge of travel, and his knowledge of law. The biographers of Shakespeare without a doubt have been at fault here. Let us suppose for the sake of argument that there are one thousand ascertainable facts about Shakespeare. Of these Rowe, in 1709, discovered ten, of which seven have since been found to be more or less erroneous. The biographers of today are in possession, let us say, of about forty, and on the strength of these and their own ingenuity they presume to answer every conceivable puzzle that confronts the observer of the dramatist's career.... It makes us forget those very simple words that ought so often to be on our lips, '*We don't know*.' The ingenuity of the biographers is pleasing and even plausible, but its projections are like the Shakespeare portraits — no two are alike and the latest word of the last expert is that they are all fabrications, not to say impostures [reviewer's emphasis]."[13]

The prominent role "legend" plays in Shakespeare biographies is revealing. Most strikingly, the foremost 20th century Shakespeare biographer, Samuel Schoenbaum, was dismissive of anyone who introduced what he considered to be excessive speculation in their studies of Shakespeare's life. "[My] book... differs from most of the innumerable popular biographies of Shakespeare that *augment the facts with speculation* [my emphasis]."[14] It is surely no coincidence that the recent proliferation of new, highly speculative biographies of Shakespeare have appeared since Schoenbaum's death.

Nevertheless, Schoenbaum justified *his* inclusion of legends in Shakespeare's story: "Much of this [legendary and apocryphal] material is quite simply good fun, but the workings of myth have a place in the historical record, and may sometimes conceal elusive germs of truth." He actually once used the phrase "was indeed probably," a testament to his struggle to believe the unproven. Schoenbaum divided legends into plausible and implausible categories. He made this judgment based on his circular assumption that Shakespeare the author was Shakespeare of Stratford.

In the process, he rejected a wonderful story that gains in plausibility if one exercises skepticism as to the traditional theory of authorship. During a performance before Queen Elizabeth, the Queen was so determined to get "Shakespeare's" attention that she walked up to him on stage, dropped her glove, and blocked his path. He picked up her glove and returned it to her, while improvising two lines of iambic pentameter — "And though now bent on this embassy,/ Yet stop we to take up our Cousin's glove!" Schoenbaum argues against the veracity of this legend by claiming that "the Queen is not known to have professed admiration for Shakespeare ... and she restrained herself publicly (as in private) from flirtations with subjects of inferior station." Alternatively, we can hypothesize the story *is* accurate, then reach a different conclusion about Shakespeare's social class.

I assume that "Shakespeare" was de Vere's stage name when his plays were performed at court. My surmise is consistent with current scholarly opinion that Shakespeare stopped acting after 1603.[15] The 1825 record which Schoenbaum quotes for his anecdote stated, "It is well known that Queen Elizabeth was a great admirer of the immortal Shakspeare." The historical record leaves no doubt that she was in fact a great admirer of de Vere — they may have had an affair, for which

Elizabeth was rebuked in a letter from her sister. The Queen loved the perfumed gloves de Vere gave her when he returned from Italy — "She took such pleasure in these gloves that she was pictured with them upon her hands, and for many years afterwards it was called the 'Earl of Oxford's perfume'." Ben Jonson's collected works of 1616 list "William Shake-speare" as one of the principal actors in some of Jonson's plays when they were first performed at court, but *only* before 1604, the year of de Vere's death.

Schoenbaum was merciless in his *ad hominem* denigration of anyone who questions the traditional author. One of his milder attacks was on the "pattern of psychopathology" with "paranoid structures of thought" that he discovered in "recurring features of anti-Stratfordian behavior." He also invoked the language of religious dogma in calling us "heretics" and "schismatics." Is he protesting a bit too much?

So, what difference does it make who wrote the works of Shakespeare? A world of difference. Shakespeare scholarship has been marred by a series of blind spots. One can trace these blind spots over the centuries of Shakespeare criticism. The myth that nature alone, not education, produced his genius has led to a systematic devaluation of the extent of his scholarship and of the many books in several languages that influenced his works. Lee spoke for many Shakespeare scholars in discouraging us from looking for any links between the literary works and the author's life experiences. The Sonnets, especially, have elicited impassioned denials of any autobiographical connections. Respected literary scholars have *denied* that there is any connection between the plays and contemporary political events; that the Bible influenced his works; that he could read Italian or ancient Greek; or that he could have read widely at all. All these assumptions have been shown to be false. Gillespie recently published a 500-page supplement to past scholarship on Shakespeare's literary sources. Scholars can no longer deny Shakespeare's truly phenomenal erudition. It is now accepted that he read several foreign languages, and engaged in astonishingly nuanced debates on scholarly controversies in theology, literary theory, medicine, history, astronomy, and other subjects. In de Vere's Geneva Bible, he crossed out one word and substituted the translation of the Latin Vulgate Bible. His eminent childhood tutors were amazed by his intellect. The depth and complexity of his plays increases exponentially when we can link them with the author's life.[16]

Sadly, the need to ignore the person who wrote the works has lessened scholarly interest in Shakespeare's poetry, which was more popular during his lifetime than were his plays. His long poems outsold the early editions of his plays. The pseudonym "Shakespeare" appeared in print for the first time as the author of *Venus and Adonis* in 1593. Stritmatter has persuasively argued that this poem is a thinly disguised account of de Vere's affair with Queen Elizabeth.[17] It is therefore understandable that he did not publish it under his own name.

I hope I have succeeded in giving a sample of the systematic distortions that unquestioned traditional authorship assumptions have introduced into our understanding of Shakespeare and his works. It may be "painful," as Freud experienced, to relinquish the comfort of our long-held assumptions about who

Shakespeare was. But tolerating the disruptions of this paradigm shift is well worth it. I believe there will be a renaissance in Shakespeare studies as we deal with the authorship question more objectively. Psychoanalysts who love Shakespeare, and love the pursuit of the truth, have a crucial role to play in this renaissance.

Endnotes

[1] See, for example, Ogburn, Charlton, *The Mysterious William Shakespeare: The Man and the Myth* (New York: Dodd and Mead, 1984); Sobran, Joseph, *Alias Shakespeare* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1997); Stritmatter, Roger, *The Marginalia of Edward de Vere's Geneva Bible: Providential Discovery, Literary Reasoning, and Historical Consequence* (University of Massachusetts PhD dissertation, 2001); Farina, William, *De Vere As Shakespeare: An Oxfordian Reading of the Canon* (Mcfarland, 2006); Anderson, Mark, *'Shakespeare' by Another Name: The Life of Edward de Vere, Earl of Oxford, the Man Who Was Shakespeare* (New York: Gotham, 2006).

[2] For a more philosophical treatment of the stages by which one paradigm is replaced by another under the circumstances of "revolutionary science," see T. S. Kuhn's classic *Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1962).

[3] Waugaman, Richard M. "A Wanderlust Poem, Newly Attributed to Edward de Vere," *Shakespeare Matters* 7 (2007):21-23; "A Snail Poem, Newly Attributed to Edward de Vere," *Shakespeare Matters* 7 (2008), 6-11.

[4] Ascherson, Neal. *London Review of Books*, 12 March 2009, 3.

[5] Greenblatt, Stephen. *Will in the World: How Shakespeare Became Shakespeare*. (New York: Norton, 2004).

[6] Waugaman, Richard M. "The Bisexuality of Shakespeare's Sonnets and Implications for De Vere's Authorship." *The Psychoanalytic Review*, in press.

[7] Price, Diana. *Shakespeare's Unorthodox Biography*. (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2001).

[8] Quoted in Lynch, Jack. *Becoming Shakespeare*. (New York: Walker & Co., 2007), 243.

[9] Lynch, 237-38.

[10] Lee, Sidney. *A Life of William Shakespeare*. (New York: Macmillan, 1898).

[11] Weber, Max. T*he Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*. (London: Allen & Unwin, 1930).

[12] Ralli, Augustus. *History of Shakespearean Criticism*. (New York: Humanities Press, 1932/1965).

[13] Anonymous. Review of Greenwood. *Times Literary Supplement,* 1909.

[14] Schoenbaum, Samuel. *Shakespeare's Lives*. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991).

[15] Shapiro, James, personal communication, May 10, 2008. When I learned Shapiro was writing a book about the authorship controversy, I attempted a few months later to share some of my discoveries with him. He replied that it is his policy to read nothing that anyone sends to him on this matter.

[16] Waugaman, Richard M. "A Psychoanalytic Study of Edward de Vere's *The Tempest*," *J. Amer. Academy of Psychoanalysis*.

[17] Stritmatter, Roger. "A Law Case in Verse: *Venus and Adonis* and the Authorship Question." *Tennessee Law Review* 72 (2004): 171-219.

The Fall of the House of Oxford

Nina Green

Edward de Vere, 17th Earl of Oxford, was born on 12 April 1550, the only son of John de Vere (1516-1562), 16th Earl of Oxford, and his second wife, Margery Golding (d.1568). The 17th Earl has been libeled as a wastrel who dissipated a vast patrimony inherited from his father. The historical documents, however, tell a far different story.[1] On the contrary,

I. The fall of the house of Oxford began with the Protector Somerset's extortion against the 16th Earl in 1548-9;
II. Sir Robert Dudley (1533-1588), later Earl of Leicester, played a sinister role immediately prior to the 16th Earl's death in 1562, and was the only real beneficiary of the 16th Earl's death;
III. De Vere's inherited annual income amounted to only £2250, and he would never have received even that amount in any single year in his lifetime; and
IV. Queen Elizabeth's mismanagement of de Vere's wardship was a primary cause of his eventual financial downfall.

I. Somerset's extortion against the 16th Earl in 1548-9

The fall of the house of Oxford began with the Protector Somerset's extortion against Edward de Vere's father, John de Vere, the 16th Earl of Oxford.

During the first years of the minority of King Edward VI (1537-1553), the young King's uncle, Edward Seymour (c.1500-1552), Duke of Somerset, served as Protector of the Realm. In 1548-9, he abused his great power and authority to extort almost all the lands of the Oxford earldom[2] from the 16th Earl under the pretext of a marriage contract.[3] By his first wife, Dorothy Neville (d.1548), from whom he had been separated for several years before her death, the 16th Earl had one child who

had survived infancy, his daughter Katherine de Vere (1538-1600). On 30 January 1548 Somerset obtained license from the 10-year-old King authorizing the 16th Earl to alienate[4] some of his lands to Somerset,[5] and on 1 and 26 February 1548 Somerset forced the 16th Earl to enter into an indenture,[6] and a recognizance in the amount of £6000,[7] binding him to marry his nine-year-old daughter Katherine to the youngest son of Somerset's second marriage, Henry Seymour (1540-c.1600),[8] and to transfer legal title to the lands of the Oxford earldom in fee simple[9] to Somerset and his heirs by means of a fine[10] before 20 May 1548.[11] The circumstances of the signing of the indenture are described in a private Act of Parliament of 23 January 1552:

> [U]nder the colour of administration of justice, [Somerset] did convent before himself for certain supposed criminal causes John, Earl of Oxenford, one of the King's most loving subjects, who personally appeared before the said Duke, and then the said Duke so circumvented and coerced the said Earl of Oxenford to accomplish the desire of the said Duke (though it were unconscionable), and used such comminations[12] & threats towards him in that behalf that he, the Earl, did seal & subscribe with his own hand one counterpane of one indenture devised by the said Duke & his counsel bearing date the first day of February in the second year [1548] of our said Sovereign Lord the King his reign made between the said Duke on the one party and the said Earl on the other party.[13]

It is clear from the language of the Act that Somerset used coercion to blackmail the 16th Earl into breaking the ancient de Vere entails[14] and signing away the de Vere inheritance, but unfortunately the Act is silent as to the precise nature of the specious "criminal causes" which Somerset alleged against the 16th Earl, and the precise nature of Somerset's threats against him.[15]

This flagrant injustice against the 16th Earl was rectified by two private Acts of Parliament passed after Somerset fell from power and was beheaded on Tower Hill on 22 January 1552.[16] In a lawsuit brought by the Queen against de Vere in 1571, Sir James Dyer (1510–1582) referred to the private Act of Parliament of 23 January 1552 in his judgment:

> King Edward 6, having knowledge by information of his Council of the great spoil and disherison of John, late Earl of Oxford, by the circumvention, commination, coercion and other undue means of Edward, late Duke of Somerset, Governor of the King's person and Protector of the realm and people, practised and used in his time of his greatest power and authority with the said Earl whereby all ancient lands and possessions of the earldom of Oxford within the realm were conveyed by fine and indenture anno 2 Edward 6 [1548] to the said Duke in fee, and yet indeed by a metamorphosis entailed to him and his heirs begotten on the Lady Anne, his wife, by force of a statute made anno 32 Henry 8 [1540]. . . .[17]

It should be noted that Dyer's comments concerning Somerset's "great spoil and disherison" of the 16th Earl were not mere hearsay years after the fact. Dyer, elected to Parliament in 1542, was a member of the Parliament which passed the private Act of 23 January 1552 to which he alludes, and ended his parliamentary career as speaker in the last Parliament of Edward VI in March 1553.[18]

As noted by Dyer in his 1571 judgment, the fine which Somerset had forced the 16th Earl to enter into resulted in a legal "metamorphosis" by which the lands of the Oxford earldom, rather than being assured to the heirs of the 16th Earl's daughter, Katherine, and her prospective husband, Henry Seymour, instead became entailed to Somerset himself, and his male heirs by his second wife, Anne. This legal "metamorphosis" came about, as Dyer says, because of an earlier private Act of Parliament which Somerset had had passed in April 1540 by which he had disinherited his son and heir by his first marriage, John Seymour (d.1552), and had entailed his lands on his heirs by his second wife.[19]

As Dyer indicates, the 16th Earl's inheritance was disastrously affected by this entail of Somerset's. Equally disastrously affected were the rights of Somerset's son and heir by his first marriage, John Seymour (d.1552). Numerous other interests were affected by the entail as well, since Somerset's attainder[20] for felony meant that his assets were forfeited to the Crown. For all these reasons, Parliament struggled for several months with the drafting of a private Act to strike down the 1540 entail, rejecting several amendments along the way, and not finishing the business until 13 April 1552, at the very end of the parliamentary session:[21]

> Serious and revealing difficulties were also experienced by the government in driving through a private bill, to which the royal assent had been gained in advance, to repeal the entail of 32 Henry VIII against the Duke of Somerset's first marriage, procured, it was stated, 'by the power of his second wife over him'. The bill was first challenged by the Lords, who feared that such a measure might unsettle all land tenures, and was then re-drafted by the Commons who also declined to pass a supplementary bill confirming ex post facto the attainder of the Duke. Still another amendment dissolving the contract for the marriage of Somerset's son to the daughter of the Earl of Oxford was lost by a vote of 69 to 68, while the bill for striking down the entail remained belaboured until the very end of the session when it was passed, carrying with it the forfeiture of much of the Duke's estate to the crown. . . . Such property as Somerset had before the passage of the Act of 32 Henry VIII was to pass to John Seymour or his heirs; all acquired since was to pass to the King as a consequence of the Duke's treason, subject to the payment of his debts, the support of the children of the second marriage, and compensation for those cheated by Somerset.[22]

Although the private Act of Parliament which was finally passed on 13 April 1552 struck down Somerset's entail, that Act was in itself insufficient to undo the legal harm Somerset's extortion had caused to the 16th Earl, and in any event it was

not passed until the end of the parliamentary session. In the meantime Parliament had passed another private Act on 23 January 1552 specifically designed to rectify the injustice done to the 16th Earl by Somerset's extortion. As indicated in the will of John de Vere (1442-1513), 13th Earl of Oxford,[23] and as the 16th Earl stated in an indenture of 2 June 1562, the lands and offices of the Oxford earldom had, prior to Somerset's extortion, passed from male heir to male heir via "ancient entails":

> Witnesseth that whereas the earldom of Oxenford and the honours, castles, manors, lordships, lands, tenements, hereditaments and other the possessions of the same earldom, together with the office of Great Chamberlainship of England, the Lieutenantship of the Forest of Waltham and the keeping of the house and park of Havering, have of long time continued, remained, and been in the name of the Veres from heir male to heir male by title of an ancient entail thereof made long time past . . . .[24]

The fine of 10 February and 16 April 1548[25] which Somerset had extorted from the 16th Earl cut off the 'ancient entails', and Parliament either could not, or would not, restore them. Instead, by a private Act passed on 23 January 1552, Parliament declared the indenture of 1 February 1548 and the recognizance of £6000 of 26 February 1548 extorted from the 16th Earl by Somerset void, and decreed that the fine covering lands which the 16th Earl had held under the 'ancient entails' was now deemed to be to the 16th Earl's use:[26]

> The King his most excellent Highness for the great zeal which he beareth & intendeth unto the true & perfect execution & administration of justice committed unto his Highness' charge from Almighty God, not willing to permit or suffer the said now Earl or any other his loving subjects to be undone or disherited by any such wresting, circumvention, compassing, coercion, enforcement, fraud or deceit as the said Duke hath committed, practised & done unto the said now Earl in manner & form as is above remembered, is therefore pleased & contented that it be enacted by his Majesty with the assent of the Lords Spiritual & Temporal and the Commons in this present Parliament assembled, and by authority of the same, that the said indenture bearing date the first day of February in the said second year of our said Sovereign Lord the King his reign, and the said recognizance of the said sum of six thousand pounds . . . shall be of no force or effect in the law, but shall stand, remain & be annihilate, frustrate & void to all intents, constructions & purposes as if the said indenture & recognizance & every of them had never been had or made;
>
> And be it further enacted by the said authority that the said fine levied of the said honours, castles, manors, lands, tenements & hereditaments mentioned & comprised in the same fine shall be adjudged, deemed, accepted, reputed & taken to be from the time of the same fine levied to the use of the said now

> Earl for term of his life without impeachment of waste, & after his decease to the use of the eldest issue male of the body of the same now Earl lawfully begotten & of the heirs males of the body of that issue male begotten, and for default of such issue to the use of the right heirs of the said now Earl forever, and to none other use, uses or intents;[27]

In his judgment in 1571 in the lawsuit brought by the Queen against de Vere mentioned above, Dyer reiterates this legal position, stating that the Act had declared the indenture of 1 February 1548 ('the said indenture of conveyances') void, and had deemed the fine to be to the use of the 16th Earl and his heirs:

> King Edward 6 . . . was pleased that it should be enacted by authority of Parliament that the said indenture of conveyances should be utterly void, and that the said fine should be deemed to be to the use of the same Earl for term of his life without impeachment of waste, the remainder in use to the eldest issue male of his body lawfully begotten, and to the heirs male of the body of that issue male lawfully begotten, and for default of such issue to the use of the right heirs of the said Earl forever, and to no other uses save to all persons other than the King and his heirs and successors and all other lords and their heirs of whom any of the said lands were holden, such right etc., which exception was to take away the escheats or wardships[28] that might grow to the King or other lords by th' attainder of felony of the said Duke or by his death, dying seised but of a state tail, as doth appear by the Act.

Dyer then explains the legal consequences:

> Item, the rest of all the particular estates and interests of the brothers[29] executed, and of the father's wife, is expressly appointed to the father during his life, remainder to the son etc., as above, and thus by the Act he shall be adjudged in as purchaser, and not as heir by descent . . . But of all the lands that were given in tail by King Henry 8, the Queen shall have the whole in ward etc.[30]

Thus, after the fine of 10 February 1548 and the passage of the private Act of Parliament of 23 January 1552, the 16th Earl and his heirs did not hold the lands comprised in the fine as they had held them under the "ancient entails." In fact, according to Dyer's judgment, it would appear that the lands comprised in the fine and covered by the Act did not come to de Vere by descent at all, but rather as a purchaser.[31]

Additional clauses in the private Act of Parliament of 23 January 1552 attempted to right the wrongs done to others besides the 16th Earl whose interests had been affected by the fine, including the 16th Earl's second wife, two of his brothers, his daughter Katherine, and the King himself. The Act contained a saving clause which expressly dealt with the King's right to wardship:

> Provided always and be it enacted by the authority aforesaid that the King our Sovereign Lord, his heirs & successors, and all & every other person & persons of whom the premises or any parcel thereof be holden by any rent or service, shall have & enjoy all & singular such rents, tenths, tenures, seigniories & services, wardships, liveries & primer seisins of, in, out & to the premises & every parcel thereof as our said Sovereign Lord the King, his heirs & successors, and the said other person & persons & their heirs & every of them ought, might or should have had as if the said now Earl were thereof seised in fee simple and should die of the third part thereof seised in fee simple.[32]

This saving clause ostensibly preserved the King's rights in the lands comprised in the fine of 10 February 1548 during the 16th Earl's lifetime, and assumed even greater significance when the 16th Earl died leaving a minor heir, Edward de Vere, bringing the King's prerogative rights[33] into play.

Since 1540, the King's prerogative right to revenue from the lands of an underage heir had been limited in practical terms by the Statute of Wills,[34] and "The bill concerning the explanation of wills,"[35] which allowed a tenant in chief of the Crown who held an "estate of inheritance" (defined in the legislation as an "estate in fee simple") by knight service[36] to dispose in his last will and testament of two-thirds of his lands, leaving the full profits of the remaining third to the Crown for its prerogative rights of "custody, wardship and primer seisin."[37] From 1540 on, therefore, before the Crown could exercise its prerogative rights, the father of the heir must have died seised of at least an acre of land as a tenant in chief of the Crown by knight service. It should be noted that the clause in the private Act of Parliament of 23 January 1552 which preserves the King's rights makes no finding that the 16th Earl held any of the lands comprised in the fine of 10 February 1548 as a tenant in chief of the Crown by knight service. It leaves that issue entirely open, merely stating that if the 16th Earl does hold the lands comprised in the fine of the King by "any rent or service," the King will have all such rights as he would have had had the 16th Earl been seised of the lands in fee simple and died seised of the third part in fee simple.[38]

The obvious question then becomes whether, as a result of the 1548 fine which gave Somerset legal title to the 16th Earl's lands in fee simple and transferred to him the tenures by which the 16th Earl had held them from the Crown, Somerset had died in 1552 holding the lands comprised in the fine as a tenant in chief of the Crown by knight service.[39] It could be argued that he did. The Act attempts to get around this legal difficulty by making the deeming clause retroactive to the date on which the fine was levied in 1548 ("shall be adjudged, deemed, accepted, reputed & taken to be from the time of the same fine levied to the use of the said now Earl"). But the fact remains that before the deeming clause was enacted,[40] Somerset had already died holding the lands comprised in the fine by a tenure which triggered the King's prerogative rights. If Somerset had died holding the lands comprised in the fine as a tenant in chief of the Crown by knight service, it seems unlikely that the

tenures could somehow be transferred back to the 16th Earl retroactively merely by a deeming clause. Moreover, as noted above, Sir James Dyer held in his judgment in 1571 that the lands comprised in the fine did not come to de Vere by descent, but as a purchaser, a decision which implies that Dyer considered that the tenures had not been transferred back to the 16th Earl by the deeming clause.[41] It would thus appear that the saving clause in the Act did not after all provide a legal basis for the Queen's claim to de Vere's wardship ten years later insofar as the lands comprised in the fine were concerned, because the lands comprised in the fine were not held by the 16th Earl as a tenant in chief of the Crown by knight service when he died.[42]

It will likely never be known what motivated Somerset to wield his power so harshly against the 16th Earl in early 1548.[43] The event which gave him the opportunity to do so is, however, quite clear. The 16th Earl's wife, Dorothy Neville, died on 6 January 1548.[44] The 16th Earl was suddenly a widower with no wife by whom he might hope to produce a future male heir. His only child was his daughter, Katherine, and Somerset acted swiftly to secure her as a bride for his youngest son, Henry Seymour. Under the "ancient entails," however, the 16th Earl's lands would pass on his death to the next male de Vere heir. In order for Somerset to obtain the 16th Earl's lands, it was necessary for him to break the "ancient entails" by means of the legal documents which he speedily proceeded to extort from the 16th Earl, foremost among them the King's license to alienate of 30 January 1548.[45] The lands were then settled, to public appearances, on the heirs of young Katherine and Henry via the indenture of 1 February 1548, but by a "legal metamorphosis" were in reality secretly entailed to Somerset and his heirs, as Dyer explains, by the operation of the fine of 10 February 1548 in conjunction with the private Act of Parliament which Somerset had had passed in April 1540.

However, a few months after he had submitted to Somerset's extortion in early 1548, the 16th Earl boldly attempted to frustrate Somerset's purposes by secretly marrying Margery Golding on 1 August 1548.[46] The inheritance system was based on primogeniture,[47] and the 16th Earl clearly hoped by this second marriage to produce a male heir. This would not in itself have frustrated the legal steps Somerset had taken to appropriate the de Vere inheritance to the heirs of the marriage of his young son, Henry Seymour, and the 16th Earl's nine-year-old daughter, Katherine de Vere, but it was an obvious and necessary first step.[48] In the summer of 1548, Somerset was still at the height of his power, and the 16th Earl took a serious risk in entering into this secret marriage contrary to Somerset's wishes. Having lost almost everything already, however, the 16th Earl must have considered that he had little more to lose, and that taking this bold step was worth the risk. In any event, once the marriage was solemnized, it could not be undone,[49] even by Somerset, and on 12 April 1550, it produced the male heir on which the 16th Earl had pinned his hopes.[50]

Meanwhile, Somerset's opponents within the council had brought about his first fall from power. Several months prior to de Vere's birth, Somerset was imprisoned in the Tower, and his deposition as Lord Protector was confirmed by an Act of Parliament on 14 January 1550. Despite this serious setback, Somerset was pardoned and regained the young King's favor, but his political comeback was short-

lived. He was arrested for high treason on 16 October 1551, tried on 1 December, convicted of felony, and beheaded at Tower Hill on 22 January 1552.[51]

Although the rapacious Somerset could do him no more harm, and although he now had a male heir, the 16th Earl's fortunes failed to prosper because the events which followed Somerset's execution gave rise to enmity between the de Vere and Dudley families. The political vacuum after Somerset's fall had been filled by the rise to power of John Dudley (1504-1553), Duke of Northumberland. Northumberland prompted the young King Edward VI to alter the succession in favour of Northumberland's daughter-in-law, Lady Jane Grey, and when the King died on 6 July 1553, Northumberland had Lady Jane proclaimed Queen.[52] The 16th Earl did not support Northumberland's choice. Instead, after some persuasion he rallied his followers to Queen Mary, and was instrumental in her accession to the throne.[53] However, his service to the new Queen was not rewarded. The 16th Earl seems to have been regarded with suspicion by Mary and her advisors, and received no preferment during her reign. More importantly, however, the attainder and execution of Northumberland and the imprisonment of his sons which resulted in part from the 16th Earl's support of Mary sowed seeds of animosity toward the house of Oxford on the part of Northumberland's son, Sir Robert Dudley (1533-1588), later Earl of Leicester and Queen Elizabeth's favorite. Although Sir Robert Dudley gave few overt signs of his enmity, it seems clear from his lifelong opposition to de Vere's interests that he bore the house of Oxford a bitter and long-standing grudge.[54]

After the death of Queen Mary in 1558, the crown came to her sister, Elizabeth. As early as the eve of the new Queen's accession, Sir Robert Dudley was already considered one of her "intimates."[55] His rise to power had begun.

II. Sir Robert Dudley's sinister role in events prior to the 16th Earl's death

"'A poisons him i'th' garden for's estate"

Four years after the accession of Queen Elizabeth, the 16th Earl died on 3 August 1562. His death was sudden and unexpected. On 1 April 1562 the 16th Earl took recognizances in person from Robert Christmas (d.1584) and John Lovell,[56] and in midsummer 1562, in the company of Sir John Wentworth (1494-1567), he took pledges in person from various individuals.[57] Yet only a few weeks after performing the latter of these public duties, and only a month after having appeared personally in the Court of Chancery in London on 5 July 1562 to acknowledge two separate indentures,[58] he was dead.

In the weeks immediately prior to his death, the 16th Earl had entered into three legal agreements with far-reaching consequences — an indenture dealing with the settlement of his lands,[59] an indenture arranging a marriage contract for his son and heir,[60] and a last will and testament.[61] All three of these legal agreements prominently involved Sir Robert Dudley.

As mentioned above, from 1552 until his death the 16th Earl held the lands comprised in the fine under the deemed use mandated by the Act of Parliament of 23 January 1552 rather than under the "ancient entails" by which he had originally inherited them.[62] On 2 June 1562 the 16th Earl attempted to recreate something resembling the "ancient entails" by entering into an indenture which advanced or confirmed the interests in the 16th Earl's lands of his wife, Margery (nee Golding), his only son and heir, his son's future wife, "Lady Bulbeck," his three brothers, Aubrey, Robert and Geoffrey Vere, and the future male heirs of the Oxford earldom.[63]

To recreate the entails, it was necessary for the 16th Earl to appoint one or more trustees who would hold the lands to various uses. He chose for that purpose his nephew, Thomas Howard (1538-1572), 4th Duke of Norfolk, his brother-in-law,[64] Sir Thomas Golding (d.1571), and Sir Robert Dudley,[65] to whom the 16th Earl was not closely related by either blood or marriage,[66] and whom he had good reason to distrust because of the enmity engendered between the Dudleys and the de Veres when the 16th Earl had supported Mary as Queen rather than Northumberland's choice, Robert Dudley's sister-in-law, Lady Jane Grey.

It seems evident that the 16th Earl chose each of the three trustees to represent and protect the interests of a particular person or persons. In that regard, the appointment of two of the trustees poses no problem. Sir Thomas Golding (d.1571) was the eldest brother of the 16th Earl's wife, Margery Golding, while Norfolk was a first cousin of the 16th Earl's son and heir, and the nephew of the 16th Earl's three brothers. It was natural that the 16th Earl would appoint Sir Thomas Golding and the Duke of Norfolk to represent, respectively, the interests of his wife, and of his son and brothers. But what induced the 16th Earl to appoint Robert Dudley as a trustee? Whose interests was Dudley intended to represent? It seems clear that the 16th Earl appointed Dudley as a trustee to protect the interests of the future "Lady Bulbeck." But who was "Lady Bulbeck?"

The answer to that question can be found in the second of the three documents entered into by the 16th Earl in the summer of 1562. On 1 July 1562 the 16th Earl entered into an indenture[67] with Dudley's brother-in-law, Henry Hastings (1536?-1595), 3rd Earl of Huntingdon, for a marriage between the 16th Earl's twelve-year-old son and heir and one of the sisters of the Earl of Huntingdon, either Elizabeth or Mary,[68] provided that both bride and groom gave their own consents to the marriage upon reaching the age of eighteen.[69] Had he not already received prior assurances that Dudley's brother-in-law, Huntingdon, was prepared to enter into a marriage contract which would unite the two families, it is highly unlikely that the 16th Earl would have appointed Sir Robert Dudley as a trustee in the indenture of 2 June 1562. Negotiations for the marriage must therefore have been successfully concluded before the indenture of 2 June 1562, which provided for the future Lady Bulbeck's jointure, and the indenture of 1 July 1562, which formally settled the terms of the marriage agreement. The fact that the indenture of 2 June 1562 providing for the future Lady Bulbeck's jointure, and the indenture of 1 July 1562 formally settling the terms of the marriage agreement, were both acknowledged by the 16th Earl in Chancery on 5 July 1562, four days after the signing of the marriage

contract,[70] supports this conclusion.

These circumstances pointing to the marriage negotiations having been concluded before 2 June 1562 suggest that Sir Robert Dudley was directly involved in them, and that it was by helping to arrange the marriage that he gained the 16th Earl's confidence sufficiently to be appointed as one of the three trustees of the 16th Earl's lands under the indenture of 2 June 1562 to represent the interests of "Lady Bulbeck," the sister of his brother-in-law, the Earl of Huntingdon. The appointment of Dudley as a trustee in the indenture served as recognition that he had been a prime mover behind the marriage and that he had perhaps also been instrumental, as her favourite, in gaining the Queen's consent. Both the future "Lady Bulbeck" and her brother, the Earl of Huntingdon, had claims to the throne through their mother, Katherine Pole,[71] and it is highly unlikely that a marriage which involved a possible claimant to the throne would have been contracted without the Queen's prior knowledge and consent.[72]

Finally, on 28 July 1562, only five days before his death, the 16th Earl made a will in which he named Sir Robert Dudley as a supervisor.[73] Under normal circumstances, the executors appointed by the testator had the primary duty of carrying out the testator's intentions, and the role of a supervisor was minimal. However, in the case of the 16th Earl's will, administration was granted on 29 May 1563 to only one of the six executors named in the will, the 16th Earl's former servant, Robert Christmas (d.1584), who by that time was either already in, or shortly about to enter, Sir Robert Dudley's service.[74] Five of the six executors, including Edward de Vere and his mother, Margery Golding, took no part in the administration of the will, and Sir Robert Dudley's role thus became a highly significant one. It is difficult to escape the conclusion that the other five executors were forced out, and that Robert Christmas, as sole administrator, took direction from Sir Robert Dudley as supervisor of the 16th Earl's will. It was not until 19 April 1570 that de Vere was finally joined with Robert Christmas in the administration of the will.[75]

The making of a new will only five days before his death on 3 August 1562 has been construed by some as evidence that the Earl was putting his affairs in final order because he was in ill health and expecting to die shortly. However, this conclusion is strongly contradicted by the documents themselves. In the first place, the opening paragraph of the will contains none of the language denoting final illness which was usual in the Tudor period when a testator was on his deathbed ("being sick/weak in body but of good and perfect remembrance"). The opening paragraph of the will merely states that the 16th Earl was "of whole and perfect mind" at the time of the making of the will.

Secondly, it was necessary for the 16th Earl to bring his will into line with the indenture of 2 June 1562. As mentioned earlier, the indenture provided a jointure for the future Lady Bulbeck. It also augmented the jointure of the 16th Earl's second wife, Margery Golding, and its provisions in that regard were incompatible with the 16th Earl's previous will, made ten years earlier on 21 December 1552.[76] Because of Somerset's extortion, the 16th Earl had been unable to provide a jointure for his wife,

Margery Golding, at the time of their secret marriage in 1548. The private Act of Parliament of 23 January 1552 had authorized the Earl to assign specified manors in his will to his second wife, Margery Golding, as her jointure. By his will of 21 December 1552, the 16th Earl assigned all the specified manors to his wife, but added four other properties to her jointure by virtue of another provision of the Act which authorized him to alienate a limited number of specified manors.[77] In the indenture of 2 June 1562, the 16th Earl eliminated three of the four additional properties which he had assigned to Margery Golding in the 1552 will, and supplemented her jointure by the addition of eleven other properties.[78] The 1552 will thus assigned certain properties to Margery Golding while the 1562 indenture assigned other properties to her. This discrepancy constituted a sufficient and compelling reason by itself for the 16th Earl to execute a new will on 28 July 1562 in order to bring the provisions in his will for Margery Golding's jointure into line with the new provisions in the indenture of 2 June 1562.

Moreover, many other provisions in the 16th Earl's will of 21 December 1552 were out of date. Two executors named in the 1552 will had died, and no supervisors had been appointed. The 1552 will contained an obsolete provision for a marriage portion for the 16th Earl's then-unmarried daughter, Katherine de Vere (1538-1600), who had since married Edward (1532?-1575), 3rd Lord Windsor, but contained no provision for a marriage portion for his daughter Mary de Vere (d.1624), who had been born after the will was executed in 1552. There were obsolete bequests in the 1552 will to the 16th Earl's now-deceased brother-in-law, Sir Thomas Darcy (1506-1558), and to a long list of servants, a number of whom would have died or left the 16th Earl's service in the ten years which had passed since the making of the will.

It thus seems clear that the making of a new will by the 16th Earl in the late summer of 1562 had nothing to do with an expectation on his part that he would die shortly, and everything to do with bringing all his financial affairs into line with the marriage contract he had just negotiated for his son and heir and the indenture of 2 June 1562 he had just executed to provide a jointure for his son's prospective bride.

It is also important to note that by its very nature the marriage contract was a forward-looking agreement which depended on the 16th Earl being alive until his son was in a position to marry six years later, when he reached the age of eighteen. Thus, the provisions of two key clauses in the marriage contract itself constitute evidence that the 16th Earl was not in ill health and expecting to die in the summer of 1562. The first of these clauses provides that the marriage will take place within a month of the date on which de Vere reaches the age of eighteen:

> First, the said Earl of Oxenford doth covenant, promise and grant for him, his heirs, executors and administrators, to and with the said Earl of Huntingdon, his heirs, executors and administrators, by these presents that the said Lord Bulbeck, when he shall accomplish the age of eighteen years, shall within one month after marry and take to wife the said Lady Elizabeth or Lady Mary, sister of the said Earl of Huntingdon, if the said Lord Bulbeck and Lady Elizabeth or Lady Mary, whom the said Lord Bulbeck shall elect and

> choose to marry, will thereunto consent and agree, and the laws of God will it permit and suffer.

The second of these clauses stipulates that if the 16th Earl dies before the marriage can take place, any moneys paid pursuant to the contract by the Earl of Huntingdon must then be repaid within one year of the 16th Earl's death:

> And farther that if it shall happen the said Earl of Oxenford to decease before the said marriage had and solemnized, by reason whereof the same marriage cannot take effect without further charge to the said Earl of Huntingdon . . . that then within one whole year next after such death of the said Earl of Oxenford . . . the said Earl of Oxenford, his heirs, executors or assigns, shall well and truly content and repay or cause to be repaid unto the said Earl of Huntingdon, his executors or assigns, all such sums of money as by the same Earl of Oxenford, his executors or assigns, shall before that time have had and received of the said Earl of Huntingdon, his executors or assigns, in consideration of the said marriage, and also by good, sufficient and lawful means shall release, acquit, exonerate and discharge the same Earl of Huntingdon, his heirs, executors and administrators, of all such other sums of money covenanted, agreed or intended by these presents to be paid to the said Earl of Oxenford by the said Earl of Huntingdon, and then or after to become due to be paid and not paid for and in consideration of the said marriage or by reason of any agreement confirmed in these presents.

If any evidence were needed that the 16th Earl had no expectation whatever that he would be dead only a month after this contractual arrangement for his son's marriage was entered into, this clause supplies it. The marriage contract depended by its very nature on the 16th Earl being alive for the next six years, and contained a very specific provision that any moneys paid by the Earl of Huntingdon under it must be repaid if the 16th Earl were to die. Neither the 16th Earl nor the Earl of Huntingdon would have entered into the marriage contract if it were thought the 16th Earl would soon die.

The two clauses in the 16th Earl's indenture of 2 June 1562 entailing lands on de Vere's future bride, "Lady Bulbeck,"[79] are also strongly predicated on the assumption that the marriage would take place, and therefore suggest that the 16th Earl had no expectation that he would soon be dead. The first clause provides that certain lands will come to Lady Bulbeck immediately after the marriage, and after her death will go to Edward de Vere.[80] The second clause provides that certain lands will come to her after the death of the 16th Earl, and after her death will, also, go to Edward de Vere. [81] Thus, one clause provides for lands which will come to Lady Bulbeck immediately upon marriage to Edward de Vere during the 16th Earl's lifetime, while the other provides for additional lands which will come to her after the marriage and after the 16th Earl's death. They are clearly predicated on the expectation that the 16th Earl would be alive six years hence to see the marriage

take place. It would have been pointless for the 16th Earl to have entered into an indenture containing these clauses had he been in ill health and expecting to die shortly.

Nonetheless, within two months, the 16th Earl *was* dead, and the suspicion cannot be avoided that Dudley, who was so extensively involved in all the 16th Earl's affairs that summer, had some ominous foreknowledge of the 16th Earl's death which the 16th Earl himself did not have.

It is therefore revealing to step back and view these three legal documents from the perspective of Sir Robert Dudley's financial position in 1562. Dudley was already the favorite and reputed lover of Queen Elizabeth. However, he was still a mere knight, and his finances were in dire straits.[82] It is not an exaggeration to state that when the 16th Earl died on 3 August 1562, Robert Dudley was impecunious. The Dudley lands had been forfeited on his father the Duke of Northumberland's attainder and execution, and although Robert Dudley and his brothers were restored in blood in the first Parliament after Queen Elizabeth's accession in 1558, it was on condition that they surrender any claim to Northumberland's lands and offices.[83] Under these circumstances, the Queen could not shower largess upon Sir Robert Dudley without incurring criticism, particularly from members of the upper nobility. However, should Sir Robert Dudley suddenly become possessed of financial resources and status by his own means, additional preferments conferred on him by the Queen would not excite as much adverse comment, particularly if he were to come by those financial resources by way of an indenture in which he was joined as a party with one of the highest-ranking members of the nobility, Thomas Howard, 4th Duke of Norfolk, as was the case with the 16th Earl's indenture appointing Dudley and Norfolk as co-trustees.

With these legal documents in place, and Dudley involved in all three of and positioned to benefit from them, the 16th Earl's speedy demise would seem to have been inevitable. To put the matter bluntly, did Sir Robert Dudley think to himself that if the 16th Earl were dead and his son a ward, he could easily persuade the Queen to grant him the 16th Earl's lands during the wardship, and that any public objection could easily be silenced by the fact that he been appointed by the 16th Earl as a supervisor of his will and one of the trustees in the indenture of 2 June 1562? Did Sir Robert Dudley, almost before the ink was dry on the 16th Earl's will, arrange to have the 16th Earl "poisoned i'th' garden for's estate," as Hamlet remarks in the play within the play?[84] Subsequent events have made it clear that the 16th Earl's death was disastrous for everyone directly affected by it with the notable exception of Dudley. The primary beneficiary – in fact almost the only real beneficiary – of the 16th Earl's death was Sir Robert Dudley.[85] Four hundred years have passed, and the truth will never be known. However, the facts revealed by the historical documents alluded to in the foregoing paragraphs suggest that it would not have been unreasonable for de Vere to have entertained suspicions of foul play in the death of his father, nor, as Shakespeare, to have written a play about his suspicions, casting Dudley in the part of the usurper, King Claudius.

III. Edward de Vere's inherited annual income of £2250[86]

After the 16th Earl's death on 3 August and his burial on 31 August, matters moved quickly. The Earl's twelve-year-old son and heir was brought to London on 3 September to live at Cecil House in the Strand in the care of Sir William Cecil (1521-1598), later Lord Burghley, the Queen's Principal Secretary and Master of the Wards. De Vere had become Queen Elizabeth's ward.

Before dealing with the Queen's management of de Vere's wardship, however, it is necessary to establish the amount of net yearly revenue from lands and offices de Vere inherited from his father, in order to establish the value of his wardship to the Queen.[87]

It is unfortunate that so much misinformation has been promulgated concerning the amount de Vere inherited from his father, as there is clear evidence of it in several extant documents.[88] The starting point is the 16th Earl's own inheritance. The net yearly revenue from lands which the 16th Earl himself inherited from his father, the 15th Earl, was £1927 15s 6-3/4d. Thus, in round figures the 16th Earl inherited lands which generated net yearly revenue of somewhat less than £1930, and during his lifetime he sold several of those manors, thus decreasing his revenue stream.[89]

Twenty-two years later, just prior to his death, the 16th Earl covenanted in the marriage contract with the Earl of Huntingdon of 1 July 1562 that the net yearly revenue from his lands, including £800 worth of net yearly revenue which would not come into possession of his heir, until certain life interests, and in one case the term of 21 years, had expired, was £2000 per annum. It should be noted that the 16th Earl did not include in this figure the net yearly revenue from the office of Lord Great Chamberlain.[90] The Earl of Huntingdon was a prudent man who would have taken care to inform himself before entering into a marriage contract on behalf of his sister, and since he clearly accepted the round figure of £2000 per annum covenanted by the 16th Earl, there would appear to be little reason for modern historians to dispute it. The wording of the relevant clause is as follows:

> And that also he, the same Earl of Oxenford, shall leave and assure by good and lawful conveyance in the law unto the said Lord Bulbeck and his heirs males of his body, after the death of Dame Margery, Countess of Oxenford, now wife of the said Earl, and after the deaths of the brethren of the same Earl of Oxenford and their wives, and after twenty and one years fully expired after the death of the said Earl of Oxenford, lands, tenements and hereditaments in possession and reversion of the clear yearly value of two thousand pounds of lawful money of England over and above all charges and reprises of lands not improved within twenty years last past nor hereafter to be improved, that is to say, in possession immediately after the death of the said Earl, one thousand and two hundred pounds, and in reversion depending only upon the lives of the said Countess and brethren of the said Earl and their wives and upon the said 21 years, to the clear yearly value

> of eight hundred pounds over and above the said one thousand and two hundred pounds.[91]

The net yearly revenue in the inquisition post mortem[92] taken on 18 January 1563 after his death is consistent with the 16th Earl's valuation of £2000 per annum in the marriage contract, allowing for the fact that the valuation in the marriage contract is a round figure while the valuation in the inquisition post mortem is a detailed breakdown of the net yearly revenue manor by manor, and that the inquisition post mortem includes an additional £106 13s 4d in net yearly revenue from the office of Lord Great Chamberlain. The net yearly revenue from all the 16th Earl's lands and offices in the inquisition post mortem totals £2187 2s 7d.[93]

An undated official document, TNA SP 12/31/29, ff. 53-55, which appears to have been compiled about the same time as the inquisition *post mortem*, provides a comparable total for the net yearly revenue from the lands and offices inherited by de Vere. After minor arithmetical errors and the omission of the £66 yearly rent payable to the Crown for Colne Priory have been corrected, the net yearly revenue amounts to £2255 1s 9d. It should be noted that this document gives the same figure of £106 13s 4d for the office of Lord Great Chamberlain as does the inquisition post mortem.

Another official document tells a similar story, and the fact that it is an accounting document prepared by the Court of Wards vouches for its accuracy. TNA WARD 8/13 accounts for the net yearly revenue of de Vere's lands from 29 September 1563 to 29 September 1564, i.e., the year after his death, and the total from all lands and offices differs only slightly from the figures given in the two documents already mentioned. The net yearly revenue of all the 16th Earl's lands and offices given in TNA WARD 8/13, including £106 13s 4d for the office of Lord Great Chamberlain, totals £2233 13s 7d.

There is thus not a great deal of difference in figures for net yearly revenue among these four documents. If net yearly revenue from the office of Lord Great Chamberlain were added to the round figure of £2000 given by the 16th Earl for his lands, the total would be £2103 13s 4d. The total in the inquisition post mortem is £2187 2s 7d, that in TNA WARD 8/13 is £2233 13s 7d, while that in SP 12/31/29 is £2255 1s 9d. It thus seems safe to assess de Vere's net yearly revenue from all inherited lands and offices at approximately £2250.

Other documents setting out revenue from the 16th Earl's lands in individual counties confirm the figures given in the four documents already discussed which account for revenue from all counties and sources.[94] The most significant of these is the feodary[95] John Glascock's survey of all the 16th Earl's lands in Essex, which amounted to almost half the 16th Earl's total landholdings.[96] Feodaries were officials of the Court of Wards, and the Court relied heavily on their surveys for an accurate valuation of the net yearly revenue generated by the lands to be taken into wardship. Bell says, for example, that:

> The real significance of the feodaries' surveys as a cause of increased productivity [in the Court of Wards] lay in the higher values found in them

than in the inquisitions post mortem.[97]

Hurstfield makes a similar claim:

> Of the three surveys before him the Master [of the Court of Wards] invariably placed the greatest reliance upon the feodary's survey. The inquisition post mortem might establish that there was a wardship but the feodary's survey determined its value.[98]

That being the case, the fact that the figures for individual manors given in Glascock's survey of the 16th Earl's lands in Essex are virtually identical to those found in TNA WARD 8/13 suggests very strongly that the values given in those documents accurately represent the amounts at which the 16th Earl's lands were rented out at the time of his death.

Additional evidence suggesting that the net yearly revenue from the lands inherited by de Vere was approximately £2250 is found in documents which indicate that the fine for livery levied by the Court of Wards when he was granted licence to enter on his lands by the Queen's letters patent of 30 May 1572[99] was £1257 18s 3/4d.[100] There were two methods by which a ward could sue livery[101] in order to regain possession of his lands from the Queen on reaching the age of majority, a general livery and a special livery. When a ward sued a general livery, the fine levied was half the annual rental value of his lands.[102] Thus, if de Vere had sued a general livery,[103] the fine of £1257 18s 3/4d would indicate that the net yearly revenue from his inherited lands was double that amount, i.e. approximately £2500. However the suing of a general livery was a cumbersome procedure, and a more streamlined procedure known as a special livery was also available. If a ward chose to sue a special livery, however, the Crown "charged a heavy price for the privilege."[104] Thus, if de Vere sued a special livery, the fine of £1257 18s 3/4d represents more than half the net yearly revenue from his lands, indicating that the net yearly revenue was probably closer to £2250, as stated in the other extant documents, than to £2500.

An exception to both these procedures was a "special grant by the Crown absolving the heir from the elaborate process of suing livery."[105] The Queen's letters patent of 30 May 1572 suggest that de Vere was granted this exception, perhaps because his income had been kept from him for an entire year, presumably while the Queen was litigating her claim against him for the revenue from his mother's jointure after her death. The letters patent appear to grant de Vere license to enter on his lands without suing livery:

> [I]mmediately, without any proof of his age & without any other livery or prosecution of his inheritance or of any parcel thereof to be prosecuted out of our hands [+& those] of our heirs or successors according to the course of procedure of our Chancery, or according to the law by the course of procedure of our Court of Wards & Liveries or the law of our land of England, or by any other manner, might licitly & safely be able to enter, go into & seise all &

singular the honours, castles, lordships, manors . . . .

It is unlikely that the Queen would have granted this extraordinary privilege without levying an even higher fine than that which was levied for the privilege of suing a special livery, and it thus seems that the fine of £1257 18s 3/4d levied against de Vere represents more than half the total annual rental value of his lands, whether the letters patent are for the suing of a special livery or whether they grant de Vere an exemption from suing livery.

The combined evidence of the extant documents thus indicates that de Vere inherited lands and offices worth approximately £2250 per annum, and in fact TNA WARD 8/13, the most comprehensive of the official documents, gives the total yearly revenue of all de Vere's lands and offices, including the office of Lord Great Chamberlain, as £2233 13s 7d in the year following his father's death.

Annual revenue of £2250 did not constitute a large inheritance for a nobleman,[106] particularly a nobleman destined to live at court. The lifestyle of a courtier could not be maintained without preferment from the Queen, something de Vere never received.[107]

Furthermore, de Vere would never at any time in his life have received the full £2250 in net yearly revenue from his inherited lands and offices, (1) because of his wardship; (2) because of the fact that, as stated in the marriage contract of 1 July 1562, £800 worth of his inherited lands were held in reversion;[108] (3) because of the terms of his father's will, which set aside the revenue from certain lands for 20 years for payment of his debts and legacies.

Thus, during de Vere's wardship, £680 18s 2-3/4d per annum,[109] or 30% of his total revenue, went to the Queen as her "thirds," and from the Queen to Sir Robert Dudley under a grant of 22 October 1563, discussed more fully below.

Of the lands held in reversion, until her death on 2 December 1568[110] his mother Margery Golding, the widowed Countess of Oxford, received £444 15s per annum, or almost 20% of de Vere's net yearly revenue, as her jointure.[111] After Margery Golding's death, he should have received the income from these lands. However, the Queen initiated a lawsuit claiming that she was entitled to the remainder of the revenue from Margery Golding's jointure.[112] Moreover, the surviving documents show that the Queen not only intended to take from her young ward the revenue from the lands which had constituted his late mother's jointure,[113] but also another £343 6s 5-1/4d in net yearly revenue from lands which he had inherited in tail after his father's death.[114] This latter sum appears to have consisted principally of the revenue from Colne Priory and the office of Lord Great Chamberlain.[115]

Of the lands held in reversion, yet another £130 16s 8d, or almost 6% of his inherited income, went to de Vere's three paternal uncles and their wives during their lifetimes.

A further £333 18s 7d, or almost 15% of de Vere's net yearly revenue, was sequestered for twenty years from the date of the 16th Earl's death for payment of his debts, his legacies, and Katherine de Vere's marriage portion. No figures survive for

the 16th Earl's debts, and it is therefore not known to what degree they constituted a charge against his estate, but the legacies left by the 16th Earl total £3745 17s 1d, or 56% of the total net revenue of £6678 11s 8d which would have been generated over the twenty-year period from the lands set aside for payment of the 16th Earl's debts and legacies.[116]

De Vere's income over his lifetime can thus be summarized as follows. During his wardship, 30% of his net yearly revenue of £2250 went to the Queen as her "thirds," and from her to Sir Robert Dudley under the grant of 22 October 1563; another 20% went to his mother until her death on 2 December 1568 and was thereafter sequestered by the Queen until the matter was litigated in 1571; another 6% went to his three paternal uncles and their wives during their lifetimes; and a further 15% was set aside for twenty years for payment of the 16th Earl's debts and performance of his will. Thus, during the nine years of de Vere's minority, 71% of his net yearly revenue went to others, while only £643 5s 1-1/4d,[117] or 29%, went to the Court of Wards, whose officers expended it for his maintenance, and almost certainly for the maintenance of his sister Mary de Vere as well during her minority.[118]

When de Vere was granted license to enter on his lands on 30 May 1572, a year after reaching the age of majority, his financial situation improved considerably. In addition to the 29% which he had received during his minority, he was now eligible to receive the 30% which had gone to the Queen, and from her to Sir Robert Dudley during his wardship, as well as the 20% which represented his late mother's jointure, although it seems the Queen kept the latter from him until after she had litigated the matter in 1571. Thus, in 1572, after he was granted license to enter on his lands and began receiving the revenue from the lands which had constituted his mother's jointure, de Vere would have received the largest amount of income which ever came to him in any single year from his inherited lands and offices, i.e., 79% of the total £2250, or approximately £1777. In addition, it appears from the license that he would have received in that year the arrears owing for the year which had passed since he had come of age:

> And further of our more abundant grace we have given & granted....to the forenamed Edward, now Earl of Oxenford, all & singular the issues, rents, profits....of all and singular the foresaid honours, castles lordships, manors, lands . . . hitherto and thereafter resulting....to us....from the time at which the foresaid Edward, Earl of Oxenford, attained his full age of twenty-one years....

It was not until the deaths of his paternal uncles and their wives[119] that he was eligible to receive the additional 6% which went to them during their lifetimes, and it was not until after the expiration of the twenty-year term in 1583[120] that he was eligible to receive the additional 15% from the lands set aside for performance of his father's will. However, by the time de Vere was finally entitled to received this additional revenue in the 1580s, he had already sold off most of his lands, and the income stream from his lands had therefore shrunk dramatically. It is thus apparent

that the largest amount of income de Vere would ever have received in any single year from his inherited lands and offices was the 79%, or approximately £1777 plus arrears which he would likely have received in 1572. From 1573 on, his income stream diminished with each passing year as he sold off his lands. The first major sale occurred as early as 1573, when he sold his mansion at London Stone to Sir Ambrose Nicholas.[121] The high water mark of £1777 plus arrears in 1572 is thus far short of the imaginary net yearly revenue of £3500 or more with which modern historians have erroneously credited him, and which they have then vilified him for wasting in profligacy.[122]

Moreover, even in 1572, the windfall year in which de Vere would have received 79% of the total annual value of his inherited lands and offices, or approximately £1777 plus arrears, most of the money was already spoken for, and there was no possibility of his wasting it in profligate expenses even had he wished to. Every year there were the ongoing charges of maintaining his lands, as well as the expenses attendant on the establishment of a household for himself and his wife, Anne Cecil. Moreover, until his sister, Mary de Vere married in 1578,[123] he would have been responsible for her maintenance, which in 1573 was stated to be £100 a year.[124] In addition, there was the ongoing repayment of his debts, which on 30 January 1575 amounted to approximately £9096 10s 8-1/2d.[125] Some of these debts had been incurred by the ruinous expenses attendant on living the life of a courtier,[126] and £3457 of the total amount consisted of his debt to the Queen herself in the Court of Wards, discussed in greater detail below.

In 1573, de Vere assigned £400-£500 for the payment of his debts,[127] but he was not able to meet those obligations without selling land. Even after he had begun to resort to selling his lands, his failure to pay off his debts was the subject of public complaints from the Queen, his sister,[128] and others. In a letter to Lord Burghley from Siena on 3 January 1576, he wrote:

> My Lord, I am sorry to hear how hard my fortune is in England, as I perceive by your Lordship's letters. But knowing how vain a thing it is to linger a necessary mischief, to know the worst of myself & to let your Lordship understand wherein I would use your honourable friendship, in short, I have thus determined, that whereas I understand the greatness of my debt and greediness of my creditors grows so dishonourable to me and troublesome unto your Lordship that that land of mine which in Cornwall I have appointed to be sold (according to that first order for mine expenses in this travel) be gone through withal, and to stop my creditors' exclamations (or rather defamations I may call them), I shall desire your Lordship, by the virtue of this letter (which doth not err, as I take it, from any former purpose, which was that always upon my letter to authorize your Lordship to sell any portion of my land), that you will sell one hundred pound a year more of my land where your Lordship shall think fittest, to disburden me of my debts to her Majesty, my sister, or elsewhere I am exclaimed upon. Likewise, most earnestly I shall desire your Lordship to look into the lands of

> my father's will which, my sister being paid and the time expired, I take is to come into my hands.[129]

The Queen's public complaints in late 1575 and early 1576 that de Vere had failed to pay his debt to her in the Court of Wards must have been particularly galling to him, considering the enormous financial benefit which she had already reaped from his wardship, discussed more fully below.

In summary, de Vere's inherited annual income, relatively small as it was, diminished as it was by wardship, and encumbered as it was by debt, was clearly insufficient for him to maintain the lifestyle of a courtier for any prolonged period of time. So long as he remained at court, it was inevitable that he would go further into debt, and would be required to sell his lands to meet his living expenses.

IV. The Queen's mismanagement of de Vere's wardship

While misinformed commentators have attempted to explain de Vere's financial downfall by crediting him with a vastly inflated inherited annual income which he did not possess, the ultimate cause of his financial downfall has gone unnoticed. It was the Queen's mismanagement of de Vere's wardship and the stranglehold which she held over his finances during his entire lifetime which led inevitably to his financial ruin.

Before dealing with specific examples of the Queen's mismanagment of de Vere's wardship, it is necessary to consider how the assets which fell into the Queen's hands through prerogative wardship were valued. Hurstfield explains that there were two separate items to be sold, the wardship and the lease of the ward's lands, and the first step in arriving at a sale price for each of them was to determine the net yearly revenue[130] from all the lands held by the deceased tenant in chief at his death. To this end, an inquisition post mortem was taken, and the feodaries in the various counties in which the lands were held conducted surveys.[131] That done, two separate bargains were struck:

> The first was the sale of the wardship and what that involved: custody of the child and the right to marriage. This the guardian bought outright and the patent conferring the grant clearly stated that this royal grant belonged to him, his executors and assigns. . . .
> But, apart from the wardship, there were also the ward's lands to be leased away, and these called for a quite separate transaction. The crown had resumed possession of the land, because the ward could not render military service, and held it until the ward was of age and in a position both to serve the king and therefore reclaim his land, that is to say, to sue livery. Meanwhile the crown could let the land at an annual rent for the period of the minority. Sometimes it went to the purchaser of the wardship, sometimes to a complete stranger. There was first a 'fine' or premium to be paid by the lessee, usually half the rent of the lands, and there was the annual

rental for the property.

> But how should the master assess the price of the wardship? For that, too, he had to use as his basis the value of the inherited lands.[132]

With respect to the sale price of a wardship (i.e., the physical custody and guardianship of the ward, and the right to offer him a marriage), Hurstfield concludes that the formula generally followed by Lord Burghley as Master was that "the selling price followed fairly closely upon the annual value of the lands."[133] Hurstfield cites several cases from the "fourth year of Elizabeth's reign"[134] as evidence that this formula was then in use. Since the fourth year of Elizabeth's reign was the year in which he became a ward, it thus seems highly probable that his wardship was valued by the Court of Wards at £2250, a sum equal to the net yearly revenue from his lands.

With respect to the sale price for the lease of a ward's lands during his minority, Hurstfield concludes that the price generally charged was an annual rent equal to the net yearly revenue of one-third of the lands, plus an initial premium of half that amount. Applying that formula, the Queen was entitled to one-third of £2250, or £750 per year for each of the nine years of his wardship (£6750) plus an initial premium of half the annual rental value (£375), for a total of £7125.

The purchaser of a wardship often hoped to marry a ward to his daughter, thus bringing the ward's inheritance into the family, or if not, to make a profit by selling the ward's marriage to a third party. But how did the lessee of a ward's lands expect to make a profit if he was required to pay the Queen an annual rent equal to the net yearly revenue of the lands plus an initial premium? Hurstfield attempts to answer this question by claiming that the rents in the feodaries' surveys were artificially low, with the implication that the lessee could raise them:

> This rental was easy enough to assess: it was the same as the figure provided by the feodary's survey. Low it undoubtedly was (and that is where the lessee gained enormously), but it was as high as the current attitudes and procedures would allow.

There is, however, no evidence for Hurstfield's claim that the tenant in chief's lands were undervalued in the feodaries' surveys. Hurstfield also says that the Court of Wards relied on the feodaries' surveys because of their accuracy, while Bell says that in many cases the rental values in the feodaries' surveys were actually higher than those found in the inquisitions post mortem.[135]

The answer to the question of how a lessee could make a profit from a ward's lands leased to him by the Queen, or whether indeed the lessee did make a profit, lies in distinguishing among the attitudes toward profit on the part of three very different types of lessees. In some cases, the ward's mother or another family member purchased both the wardship and the lease of the lands, and at great personal hardship simply gave up the revenue from one-third of the family's lands to the Queen during the wardship, paying her the annual rental value of the lands

as assessed by the feodary's survey without, of course, making a profit of any kind. In other cases, both the wardship and the lease of the lands were purchased by someone with a daughter to whom he hoped to marry his ward. In such a case, the purchaser would also pay the Queen the annual rental value of the lands as assessed by the feodary's survey throughout the wardship without making a profit because eventually the lands would end up in the family through the marriage. The third type of purchaser was one who had every intention of making a profit, and who would not hesitate to rack the tenants by raising rents, to neglect the maintenance of buildings, to sell off woods or to otherwise despoil the lands. It was not unusual for a ward's lands to be ruined during his wardship if they fell into the hands of this type of purchaser. As Hurstfield says:

> The lease of the ward's lands could, by the nature of things, be only of limited duration. His death, or his coming of age, would terminate it. Here were all the temptations to a lessee to force the land to yield a quick return. . . . Sir Thomas Smith, who quoted some frank comments about the education of wards, had even sharper words to say about the treatment of their estates. Their inheritance, he tells us, when they came of age, consisted of 'woods decayed, old houses, stock wasted, land ploughed to the bare'.[136]

The Queen put the core de Vere lands into the hands of her favorite Dudley, who by all accounts was precisely this third type of purchaser. Although there is little direct evidence of his stewardship of the core de Vere lands, the blistering criticism in *Leicester's Commonwealth* concerning the practices by which he stripped lands of their assets and left them worthless[137] renders it likely that the core de Vere lands were badly mismanaged during his minority, and that the officers put in place by Dudley served his interests, not those of the young de Vere. A particularly revealing example of Dudley's rapaciousness which also illuminates his attitude towards the de Vere family is afforded by his callous treatment of the 16th Earl's widow, Margery Golding, when at Michaelmas 1563 he denied her rent corn for her household from the tenants of Colne Priory.[138]

With the value to the Queen of de Vere's wardship established at £2250, and the value to her of the lease of his lands during his minority established at £7125, we can now turn to several specific examples of the Queen's mismanagement of the wardship:

1. Her failure to properly determine the legal basis of her claim to Edward de Vere's wardship;
2. Her seizure of more than the one-third of the revenue from de Vere's lands to which she was legally entitled under the Statute of Wills;
3. Her grant of the core de Vere lands to her favourite, Sir Robert Dudley, in order to 'benefit' him;
4. Her lawsuits against de Vere for the remainder of the revenue from the lands which had constituted his mother's jointure, and for the revenue during his entire

wardship from lands and offices which had descended to him in tail;
5. Her fine of £2000 against de Vere in the Court of Wards for his wardship;
6. Her failure to follow the clause in the 16th Earl's will which would have ensured that de Vere had adequate funds available to pay the fine for his livery when he came of age;
7. Her failure to further the marriage contract for de Vere which had been entered into by the 16th Earl and the 3rd Earl of Huntingdon;
8. Her unfulfilled promises to de Vere in his youth which induced him to spend money which he could ill afford to spend.

1. The Queen's failure to properly determine the legal basis of her claim to Edward de Vere's wardship

The legal basis of the Queen's right to de Vere's wardship was not a cut and dried matter. Had Somerset died holding legal title to the 16th Earl's lands comprised in the fine of 10 February 1548 as a tenant in chief of the Crown by knight service? If so, was it possible for the private Act of Parliament of 23 January 1552 to have transferred those tenures back to the 16th Earl retroactively after Somerset's death simply by deeming the 1548 fine to the 16th Earl's use? Was Sir James Dyer correct in holding in 1571 that de Vere had taken the lands comprised in the fine as a purchaser and not by descent? If so, how can Dyer's judgment be reconciled with statements in the inquisition post mortem of 18 January 1563 which find that the 16th Earl held those same lands as a tenant in chief of the Crown by knight service?[139] What was the effect of the saving clause in the private Act of Parliament of 23 January 1552? Did it preserve the Crown's right to wardship, or was the Crown's right to wardship only preserved if the essential precondition of wardship had been met, namely that the 16th Earl had died seised in his demesne as of fee of at least one acre of land held from the Crown in chief by knight service? What legal effect had the 16th Earl's attempt to recreate the ancient entails and his appointment of trustees holding his lands to his use in his indenture of 2 June 1562 had on the tenures by which he held his lands at his death? It seems clear that these complex legal issues should have been carefully investigated, and perhaps even litigated, before the Queen seized de Vere's person and lands into wardship, but they were not. De Vere's wardship was unique. Unlike any other wardship, it was ostensibly governed by the terms of the private Act of Parliament of 23 January 1552, and not merely by the rights of prerogative wardship and the Statute of Wills. It was thus fraught from the outset with potential legal problems which were never properly resolved.[140]

As the Queen herself did not take the initiative in carefully investigating her legal right to de Vere's wardship, it was up to the three trustees appointed under the 16th Earl's indenture of 2 June 1562 to urge her to do so. As both the 16th Earl's trustee under the indenture and a supervisor of his will, it would seem that Dudley had an even greater responsibility to vigorously protect de Vere's interests than the other two trustees. However, instead of insisting that the legal issues concerning

the Queen's right to de Vere's wardship be properly resolved, Dudley immediately, with the Queen's blessing, assumed de facto control of the core de Vere lands in East Anglia.[141] His two co-trustees under the indenture, the 16th Earl's nephew, the Duke of Norfolk, and his brother-in-law, Sir Thomas Golding, also abrogated their responsibilities as trustees and passively acquiesced in the Queen's assertion of wardship rights and Dudley's assumption of *de facto* control over the core de Vere lands. Sir Thomas Golding can perhaps be partly excused for not taking the lead when his co-trustees, Norfolk, one of the highest-ranking members of the nobility, and Dudley, the Queen's favorite, had failed to do so. But Norfolk's neglect of his late uncle's interests, and his failure to protect the rights of his young first cousin, against the Queen and Dudley are more difficult to explain or condone.

In short, the three co-trustees apparently did nothing to urge that the legal issues be properly investigated before the Queen asserted wardship rights over de Vere, and the Queen herself simply ignored the legal complexities. De Vere became the Queen's ward on 3 August 1562, and the way was paved for a mismanagement of his wardship by the Queen which led to his eventual financial ruin.

2. The Queen's seizure of more than the one-third of the revenue from de Vere's lands to which she was legally entitled under the Statute of Wills

The Statute of Wills of 1540 provided much-needed clarity on the issue of the King's prerogative rights when a tenant in chief died holding land by knight service:

> And it is further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That all and singular person and persons having any manors, lands, tenements or hereditaments of estate of inheritance holden of the King's highness in chief by knights service, or of the nature of knights service in chief, from the said twentieth day of July shall have full power and authority, by his last will, by writing, or otherwise by any act or acts lawfully executed in his life, to give, dispose, will or assign two parts of the same manors, lands, tenements, or hereditaments in three parts to be divided, (2) or else as much of the said manors, lands, tenements, or hereditaments, as shall extend or amount to the yearly value of two parts of the same, in three parts to be divided, in certainty and by special divisions, as it may be known in severalty, (3) to and for the advancement of his wife, preferment of his children, and payment of his debts, or otherwise at his will and pleasure; any law, statute, custom or other thing to the contrary thereof notwithstanding;
>
> Saving and reserving to the King our sovereign lord, the custody, wardship and primer seisin, or any of them, as the case shall require, of as much of the same manor, lands, tenements or hereditaments, as shall amount and extend to the full and clear yearly value of the third part thereof, without any diminution, dower, fraud, covin, charge or abridgment of any of the same third part, or of the full profits thereof;

> Saving also and reserving to the King our said sovereign lord, all fines for alienations of all such manors, lands, tenements and hereditaments, holden of the King by knights service in chief, whereof there shall be any alteration of freehold or inheritance made by will or otherwise, as is abovesaid.[142]

The effect of this legislation was felt in every corner of the realm. Henry VII had been assiduous in searching out his tenants in chief, and his son and heir, Henry VIII, had granted out much additional land by knight service. It was now clear that any tenant in chief who held so much as an acre of land by knight service could devise two-thirds of his lands by will,[143] but on his death the remaining one-third would be subject to the King's prerogative rights of custody, wardship and primer seisin. If the heir were of full age, the King would take and retain seisin of one-third of his lands until the heir had sued livery, performed homage, and paid a relief[144] equivalent to the net yearly revenue from all his inherited lands for the first year. If the heir were underage, the King would seize the physical custody and guardianship of the heir, which included the right to his marriage, and would take the net yearly revenue from one-third of the ward's lands during his minority. The King would retain both the person of the heir and the net yearly revenue from one-third of his lands until the heir came of age and sued livery, performed homage, and paid a relief equivalent to half the net yearly revenue from all his inherited lands.

The Statute of Wills thus imposed an inheritance tax on the heir of every tenant in chief in the realm, whether the heir was of full age or underage.[145] The burden on the underage heir was, of course, by far the more onerous since it involved the guardianship and physical custody of his person, the right to his marriage, and the net yearly revenue from one-third of his lands during his entire minority, as well as the requirement that he sue livery and pay a relief when he came of age, just as an heir of full age had to do.

Such a system had to be imposed on every heir in the realm whose father had died holding as a tenant in chief by knight service, whether the heir was of full age or not, generated a considerable bureaucracy. More importantly, it generated a very large number of underage wards. The Crown obviously could not keep all these underage wards or their lands in its own hands, and in almost every case the underage heir and his lands were disposed of by sale. Hurstfield describes the stark realities of Tudor wardship:

> If a tenant of the crown died, while holding land by a so-called knight-service, then his heir, if under age, became a ward of the crown. He rarely stayed a royal ward except in name. Soon his guardianship would be sold, sometimes to his mother, more often to a complete stranger. With his guardianship would go his 'marriage' – the right to offer him a bride whom he could rarely afford to refuse, for his refusal meant that he must pay a crushing fine to his guardian. Meanwhile his land would also have passed into wardship, either to his guardian or to someone else, for them to snatch a quick profit until the ward was old enough to reclaim his own.[146]

Under circumstances which imposed such harsh conditions, the least that could be expected of the Queen was that she would take no more than that to which she was legally entitled. Having asserted her prerogative wardship rights over de Vere, to what was the Queen legally entitled? First, she was entitled to his wardship. This included the right to retain his physical custody and guardianship and the right to offer him a marriage in her own hands, or alternatively, to sell those rights to a third party. Second, the Queen was entitled under the Statute of Wills to a third part of the revenue from his lands during his minority.[147]

The strict letter of the law conflicted, however, with the Queen's desire to benefit her favorite, Sir Robert Dudley. The latter won out. By an indenture of 22 October 1563, the Queen granted more than a one-third part of de Vere's lands to Sir Robert Dudley during de Vere's minority. The indenture opens with specific mention of the Queen's "special determination" to "benefit" Dudley:

> This indenture made between the most excellent princess and our most dread Sovereign Lady Elizabeth, by the grace of God Queen of England, France & Ireland, Defender of the Faith, etc. of thone party, & the right honourable Lord Robert Dudley, Knight of the Order of the Garter, Master of the Queen's Majesty's Horses, & one of her Highness' Privy Council, of thother party, witnesseth that our said Sovereign Lady, with the advice of the Master & Council of her Grace's Court of Wards & Liveries, knowing her Majesty's special determination therein to benefit the said Lord Robert Dudley, is contented & pleased to grant, & by these presents doth grant, demise & to farm let unto the said Lord Robert Dudley all the manors, lands, tenements, with all & singular their appurtenances in the Counties of Essex, Suffolk and Cambridgeshire, late the inheritance of the right honourable John de Vere, Earl of Oxford, hereafter particularly declared . . . . [148]

Although the opening words of the indenture state that the Queen had entered into the indenture with the advice of the Master and Council of the Court of Wards and Liveries, the inclusion of the qualifying phrase "knowing her Majesty's special determination therein to benefit the said Lord Robert Dudley" suggests that the Master and Council of the Court of Wards had reservations about what was being done, and wanted it to be very clear why the grant was being made.

A related document contains an admission that the Queen had taken, and granted to Dudley, more than the third part of de Vere's net yearly revenue to which she was legally entitled under the Statute of Wills:

> Provided also that where before it appeareth that divers of the said annuities be going out of divers manors, lands & tenements which be at these presents in the possession of the now Earl, the Queen's Majesty's ward, & come to him as a purchaser, it is now ordered that the same shall be paid out of such of the manors, lands & tenements as be appointed to her Majesty for her third part

for that her Highness hath more than a full third part.[149]

To rectify the injustice that the Queen had taken more than her "thirds," it was ordered that certain annuities would be paid out of the revenue from the lands which she had taken as her "thirds," rather than out of lands which had come to de Vere as joint purchaser with his father, the 16th Earl. The lands which came to him as joint purchaser are identified in TNA SP/44/19, ff. 41-50.[150] However, the accounts in that document suggest that in fact the annuities were not paid out of the lands which the Queen had taken, and that they continued to be deducted from the revenue of the manors which had come to him as joint purchaser with his father.[151]

3. The Queen's grant of the core de Vere lands to her favorite, Sir Robert Dudley, in order to 'benefit' him

As mentioned above, having taken more than the one-third interest in the net yearly revenue from de Vere's lands to which she was entitled under the Statute of Wills, the Queen turned her share over to Dudley by an indenture dated 22 October 1563, which formalized the *de facto* control which Dudley had already exercised over the core de Vere lands for the year which immediately followed the 16th Earl's death.

Dudley's impecuniousness was thus forever altered by the 16th Earl's sudden death, which propelled his spectacular rise to fortune. Once he was in *de facto* control of the core de Vere lands after the 16th Earl's death on 3 August 1562, the Queen felt free to shower him with additional lands and titles. In October 1562 he was appointed to the Privy Council, on 9 June 1563 he was granted the lordships of Kenilworth, Denbigh and Chirk, and on 29 September 1564 he was created Earl of Leicester and Baron of Denbigh.[152] Thus, even without the revenue from the Queen's grant to him of the core de Vere lands, Dudley's fortune was made; the grant had given him the stature which was the prerequisite enabling the Queen to bestow further largesse on him.

In stark contrast to the impetus which it gave to Dudley's fortunes, the Queen's grant to him of the core de Vere lands in East Anglia laid the foundation for de Vere's eventual financial downfall. As mentioned earlier, it was not unusual for a ward's lands to be ruined during his wardship, and the harsh criticism of his conduct as a landlord in *Leicester's Commonwealth* gives good reason to suspect that de Vere's lands were much impaired when they were finally returned to him in 1572:

> [Dudley], that may chop & change what lands he listeth with her Majesty, despoil them of all their woods and commodities, and rack them afterward to the uttermost penny, and then return the same so tenter-stretched and bare-shorn into her Majesty's hands again by fresh exchange, rent for rent, for other lands never enhanced before . . . .
> [Dudley], that taketh in whole forests, commons, woods & pastures to himself, compelling the tenants to pay him new rent and what he cesseth....[153]

As to Dudley's raising of rents, it is noteworthy that the net yearly revenue from core de Vere lands is valued elsewhere in TNA WARD 8/13 at £680 18s 2-3/4d per annum, while in the indenture of grant to Dudley in TNA WARD 8/13 the net yearly revenue from these same lands is valued at the much higher figure of £859 9s 8d per annum. This latter figure includes substantial rent increases amounting to approximately £178. It seems clear that Dudley raised rents immediately after the 16th Earl's death, likely causing hardship to the tenants.[154] Not all the rent increases would necessarily have been levied on existing tenants, however. Undoubtedly one of the reasons Dudley wanted the core de Vere lands, and the reason the Queen exchanged some of the lands she had originally taken in other counties as her thirds for additional core de Vere lands in East Anglia,[155] is that some of the manors and lands in East Anglia had been occupied personally by the 16th Earl, and Dudley could lease these out during de Vere's minority.[156] Dudley thus profited enormously from a benefit which should have accrued to de Vere, and it was the Queen herself who facilitated the transfer of that profit from her young ward to her favorite.

It is also noteworthy that the Queen waived the customary initial premium in her indenture of grant to Dudley.[157] As mentioned earlier, it was customary for the Queen to levy a premium when she leased a ward's lands to a third party during the ward's minority, and to require the lessee to provide three guarantors for its payment.

> [The premium] might be paid in half-yearly instalments stretching over a period of years. In these cases, which represented the overwhelming majority, a group of guarantors would enter upon 'obligations', fiduciary undertakings that the sums would be paid at the appropriate times. The 'obligation' was usually one third higher than the instalments due and was cancelled when the payment was made. There were usually three guarantors, though there might be more or less.[158]

Although she chose to forgo the premium, a truly enormous amount of revenue accrued to the Queen, to Dudley, or to both, from her "thirds" in de Vere's lands. As mentioned earlier, the lease of his lands during his minority was worth £7125 to the Queen, consisting of one-third of the net yearly revenue of £2250, or £750 per year, which, over the nine years of his minority, would have yielded her £6750, plus a premium of £375. However, the value of the net yearly revenue from these same lands in the indenture of grant to Dudley in TNA WARD 8/13/ totals £859 9s 8d. In other words, the Queen granted Dudley lands worth £109 per year in excess of the £750 to which she was entitled, and in the process valued the net yearly revenue from the same lands at only £680 18s 2-3/4d elsewhere in WARD 8/13, a figure £178 less than the figure at which the same lands are valued in the grant. What this confusing sleight of hand means is that lands which were valued on her own books in the Court of Wards at £680 18s 2-3/4d per annum were being leased out by the Queen for an additional £178 more than that because Dudley had increased rents to the tenants, and had been able to lease out for his own profit lands

which had been occupied by the 16th Earl. Thus, whereas the Queen's total profit from leasing the lands should have been only £6750 (since she had chosen to forego the premium of £375), her profit was the much greater sum of £7735 7s, or an extra £985. And in fact, if Dudley continued to raise rents, as seems likely, the yield could have been much higher. Thus, when he came of age, de Vere had already given up £7735 7s in income.

There is a serious question as to whether this enormous sum actually went into the Queen's coffers or remained in Dudley's. Did Dudley actually pay to the Queen's feodaries the annual rent of £803 9s 8-1/2d stipulated in the Queen's grant?[159] It is stated in the grant itself that at the time of its making on 22 October 1563, Dudley already owed "forthwith" £1061 10s 7-3/4d, including arrearages,[160] presumably because he had been in de facto possession of the core de Vere lands for more than a year prior to the formal making of the grant, and had paid nothing to the Court of Wards while reaping the profits from the rents paid by the tenants. If Dudley ever paid the rent due to the Queen for the core de Vere lands during de Vere's minority, no record of the payments has survived.

4. The Queen's lawsuits against de Vere for the remainder of the revenue from the lands which had constituted his mother's jointure, and for the revenue during his entire wardship from lands and offices which had descended to him in tail

The Queen's depredations against de Vere during his minority did not stop at taking more than the one-third of the net yearly revenue from his lands to which she was legally entitled. As his wardship approached its end, the Queen initiated a lawsuit with the objective of encroaching still further on the two-thirds of his revenue to which she had no legal entitlement.[161] As mentioned earlier, a judgment by Sir James Dyer in 1571 indicates that the Queen claimed a remainder interest in revenue from lands in which the 16th Earl's widow, Margery Golding, Countess of Oxford, who had died on 2 December 1568, had held a life estate as her jointure. Basing his judgment on the provisions of the private Act of Parliament of 23 January 1552 and the Statute of Wills, he held that the Queen was not entitled to the revenue from the lands of Margery Golding's jointure after her death, and that both King Edward VI and the makers of the private Act of Parliament of 23 January 1552 had clearly intended that "no more than the third part of the whole [lands] should be in ward."[162]

The references in Dyer's judgment to a second lawsuit or claim by the Queen are obscure, but a document dating from February 1570[163] indicates that at the time it was prepared the Queen had made two separate claims against de Vere, one for £343 6s 5-1/4d per annum for the entire nine years of his wardship for the revenue from lands and offices which he had inherited in tail (principally Colne Priory and the office of Lord Great Chamberlain), and the other for £471 19s 5-1/4d per annum for the revenue from the date of his mother's death for the lands which had comprised her jointure. Both claims were in addition to the third part of the net yearly revenue

from de Vere's total landed inheritance which the Queen had already taken and granted to Dudley.

The first claim would have amounted to more than £3000. The legal basis for it is unclear as the Queen had already taken the net yearly revenue from Colne Priory as part of her "thirds," and granted it to Dudley, so that during the wardship either the Queen, or Dudley, or both, had already received the revenue from the lands which de Vere had inherited in tail. Only the revenue from the office of Lord Great Chamberlain had gone to de Vere during his wardship.[164] It thus seems that, having taken the lands in question as part of her "thirds," and having received the revenue from them already, the Queen was seeking to take the revenues a second time in the form of a judgment against de Vere for £3000. Sir James Dyer's judgment[165] on this second claim consists of a single sentence:

> But of all the lands that were given in tail by King Henry 8, the Queen shall have the whole in ward etc.

Dyer thus seems to allow the Queen the revenue from the lands comprised in Henry VIII's grant of Colne Priory, but to exclude the revenue from the office of Lord Great Chamberlain. This finding is not surprising, since the Statute of Wills speaks only of lands held of the Crown as a tenant-in-chief by knight service, not offices. What this judgment meant in practical terms is difficult to determine.

What motivated the Queen to make these legal claims against de Vere is also unclear, but it is likely that Sir Robert Dudley whispered encouragement in her ear. He seems to have lived his life by Machiavelli's principle that having made an enemy, one must destroy him, and that ruining an enemy financially is a very effective method of destruction. It is also difficult not to suspect that that there is some relationship between the Queen's failure to prevail in these claims and the punitive fine of £2000 levied against de Vere in the Court of Wards shortly thereafter.

5. The Queen's fine of £2000 against de Vere in the Court of Wards for his wardship

It is tempting to call this fine illegal, admittedly a strong term in view of the wide-ranging nature of the royal prerogative. However, "the father of English legal history," John Selden (1584-1654), did not hesitate to use the term: "In all times the Princes in England have done something illegal, to get money."[166] Nor was this fine the only action taken by the Queen against de Vere which might be termed illegal. Later in his life the Queen refused him leave to try his claim to the Lieutenantship of the Forest of Waltham and the keeping of the house and park of Havering in the courts,[167] and ordered Sir Christopher Hatton (1540-1591) to arbitrate the matter. When Hatton was ready to render his decision, however, the Queen refused to hear it. As de Vere wrote to Lord Burghley in a letter of 25 October 1593, the Queen was "resolved to dispose thereof at her pleasure," whether it was legally hers or not:

> After much ado, and a good year spent by delays from her Majesty, my Lord Chancellor, then Sir Christopher Hatton, being earnestly called upon, appointed a time of hearing, both for her Majesty's learned counsel at the law and mine, whereupon what he conceived thereby of my title, he was ready to have made his report unto her Majesty. But such was my misfortune (I do not think her mind to do me any wrong), that she flatly refused therein to hear my Lord Chancellor, and for a final answer commanded me no more to follow the suit for, whether it was hers or mine, she was resolved to dispose thereof at her pleasure. A strange sentence, methought, which, being justly considered, I may say she had done me more favour if she had suffered me to try my title at law, than this arbitrament under pretence of expedition and grace; the extremity had been far more safe than the remedy which I was persuaded to accept.[168]

As discussed earlier, de Vere's wardship was worth £2250 to the Queen, while the leasing out of her one-third interest in the revenue from his lands during his minority was worth £7125 to her. She could have realized £9375 had she sold both these assets to third parties in 1562.[169]

The Queen did not, however, sell both assets in 1562. She granted her "thirds" in de Vere's lands to Dudley under circumstances which raise questions as to whether she received any rent at all, and she chose not to sell the wardship, making a conscious decision to forgo the £2250 she could have had for it. She may have been constrained by social pressures from selling his wardship. Although the wardships of the underage heirs of tenants in chief from all other classes of Elizabethan society were routinely sold off by the Court of Wards to willing purchasers, the wardships of young noblemen remained unsold, and the Queen remained the legal guardian of these noble wards until they came of age.[170] Bell writes:

> It must be admitted that the position of the nobleman left a minor is obscure. It was categorically stated in 1604 that he paid a fine only, the wardship being granted to his own use. But this claim is not substantiated by the records of the Court, which show that such wardships were frequently granted to third parties, and the even more curious point has been brought out by Mr Hurstfield that, for some of the most important noblemen's wardships falling during Burghley's mastership, there is no record of a grant either to the ward himself or to another. But whatever may have been the theoretical position of the noble ward, there is little doubt that, in practice, he was placed in the household of some great man, and in this way something of the real intentions of medieval wardship was fulfilled.[171]

Bell indicates that in 1604, at the beginning of King James' reign, by paying a fine a young nobleman could have his wardship granted to his own use. But this was not an option in Queen Elizabeth's day. The decision whether a young nobleman's wardship would be sold rested with the Queen. However, having chosen not to sell de

Vere's wardship to a third party in 1562 for £2250, could the Queen then legally sell it to de Vere himself after he had come of age in the form of a crushing fine of £2000 in the Court of Wards? The answer would appear to be no, because once he had come of age there would have been no wardship left to sell. Yet that is precisely what the Queen did. A contemporary document sets out a schedule for de Vere's repayment of the £2000 fine for his wardship:

> The whole fine for the wardship of the right honourable Edward, Earl of Oxenford, was stalled to be paid by ten obligations of £200 apiece, due as followeth.[172]

On what legal basis the Queen purported to sell de Vere's own wardship to him after he had come of age remains, to say the least, obscure.[173]

6. The Queen's failure to follow the clause in the 16th Earl's will which would have ensured that de Vere had adequate funds available to pay the fine for his livery when he came of age

Another way in which the Queen mismanaged de Vere's wardship was in failing to ensure that he had sufficient funds to pay the fine for his livery when he came of age.

As mentioned earlier, during the nine years of his minority, 71% of his net yearly revenue went to others, while only 29% went to the Court of Wards, whose officials controlled it and expended it for his maintenance and almost certainly for the maintenance of his sister Mary. The foreseeable result of this state was that when de Vere came of age he would likely have no funds with which to pay the heavy fine imposed by the Court of Wards when he sued livery unless some provision were made by his legal guardian for this eventuality while he was a ward. The Queen was de Vere's legal guardian during his wardship, yet she made no such provision. When he came of age, there had been no funds available to him to pay the £1257 18s 3/4d fine assessed against him in the Court of Wards when he was granted license to enter on his lands, much less the £2000 fine assessed for his wardship. This situation came about despite a letter from his mother, Margery Golding, to Sir William Cecil on 7 May 1565, which merits quotation in full because of the seriousness of the matter involved:

> My commendations to you remembered, whereas my Lord of Oxenford my son, now the Queen's Majesty's ward, is by law entitled to have a certain portion of his inheritance from the death of my late Lord and husband, his father, and presently to his use to be received, and as I understand the same portion particularly is set forth by order of the Queen's Majesty's honorable Court of Wards and Liveries, if it might stand with your pleasure that the same portion so set forth might by your order be committed to some such of

> his friends during his minority so as he might be truly answered of the whole issues and profits of the same at his full age, he should have good cause to think himself much bound to you for the same, for otherwise when he shall come to his full age he shall not be able either to furnish his house with stuff or other provision meet for one of his calling, neither be able to bear the charges of the suit of his livery, which charges were foreseen and provided for by my said late Lord and husband and his counsel learned by such devises as they made that his said son should thus be entitled to a portion of his inheritance during his minority. And if the same portion should remain in the hands of my Lord now in his minority, and not committed to some such persons as should be bound to answer him the same at his full age, the care which my said Lord, his father, and his counsel learned had for the aid and relief of him at his full age might come to small effect, which matter moveth me earnestly to become a suitor to you in this behalf. And in case it might please you to think me, being his natural mother, meet to be one to have the order, receipt and government of the said portion, joined with some other of worship and substance and Robert Christmas for the true answering of the mean profits of the same to my Lord at his full age, I would willingly travail to procure such persons to join with me in it as shall be to your contentation, and therewith they to be bound in such bonds for the true answering of the said revenues and profits as shall seem unto you good. And herein I shall especially pray you I may understand your pleasure by the bringer hereof. And so with my hearty thanks for your gentleness toward me showed, I take my leave this 7th day of May, 1565.[174]

In her letter, Margery Golding refers to this clause in the 16th Earl's will:

> Item, I will, give and bequeath unto my son Edward, Lord Bulbeck, one thousand marks [=£666 13s 4d] of lawful money of England, to be paid unto him by my said executors as it may conveniently be levied of the manors, lands and tenements hereafter by me bequeathed to the use of this my last will.[175]

It is clear that the 16th Earl had, in consultation with his legal counsel, attempted to ensure that if his son became a ward he would have funds on reaching the age of majority to set up his household and to pay the heavy fine which would be assessed by the Court of Wards when he sued his livery. It is equally clear that the young de Vere's mother was concerned that the Queen, as de Vere's legal guardian, was not seeing that the 16th Earl's foresighted plan was carried out. The cavalier manner in which the Queen abrogated her responsibilities, and even prevented de Vere's own mother and friends from at least partially protecting him from financial disaster, is shocking.

7. The Queen's failure to further the marriage contract for de Vere which had been entered into by the 16th Earl and the 3rd Earl of Huntingdon

Among the Elizabethan nobility, marriages were of paramount importance in ensuring the continued financial success of a family. As mentioned earlier, the 16th Earl had entered into a marriage contract for his son and heir with the Earl of Huntingdon. When the 16th Earl died a month later, it would have been a simple matter for the Queen, as his legal guardian with the right to control his marriage, to have entered into a new marriage contract with her kinsman, the Earl of Huntingdon. Instead, she deliberately allowed any prospect of it to fade into oblivion, even though the marriage would have been a financially beneficial and socially appropriate. She chose to ignore the 16th Earl's intent as cavalierly as she had ignored the law entitling her to no more than a third of the net yearly revenue from the young de Vere's lands during his minority. The 1562 marriage contract was never heard of again.

After he came of age, de Vere negotiated a marriage with Lord Burghley's daughter, Anne Cecil. We first hear of his prospective marriage three months after he had reached the age of majority, in a letter of 28 July 1571 written by Lord St. John to the Earl of Rutland:

> Th' Earl of Oxenford hath gotten him a wife – or at the least a wife hath caught him – that is Mistress Anne Cecil, whereunto the Queen hath given her consent.[176]

It should be noted that the consent alluded to by Lord St. John does not appear to be the Queen's consent as de Vere's legal guardian since he had come of age several months earlier. It was consent of a more practical nature. For a courtier to marry without the Queen's express consent was to invite disaster, as Sir Walter Raleigh and others found out to their dismay.

The fact that the Queen gave her consent indicates that she favored the marriage, a conclusion which is strengthened by the fact that the wedding took place at court at Whitehall on 16 December 1571, presumably in the Queen's presence. There is, however, an aspect of the ceremony which is troubling. De Vere had been contracted by the 16th Earl to marry a sister of the 3rd Earl of Huntingdon, but instead, in what can only, under the circumstances, be considered a bizarre double wedding, he married Anne Cecil. In his uncle George Golding's words, "the same day, year and place" of de Vere's marriage, Lord Herbert married de Vere's intended bride, Elizabeth Hastings.[177] The peculiar symmetry of this double wedding suggests that the Queen perhaps had some qualms as to whether the earlier marriage contract had really been validly dispensed with.

The right to arrange or sell a ward's marriage was a valuable incident of wardship. The Queen could have sold the wardship, which of course included the right to his marriage, to a third party for £2250 in 1562, but she chose to forgo the sale of it. The right to offer de Vere a marriage herself, and to reap the financial benefit of so doing from a third party, then remained with her until he came of age.

Had he refused a marriage offered to him by the Queen as his legal guardian, he would have been liable to pay a crushing fine.[178] But she chose to forgo that right as well. The reason is unclear. Perhaps it was because of lingering doubts concerning the earlier marriage contract made by the 16th Earl, or perhaps because the Queen was not personally enamored of the idea of her courtiers marrying. But whatever the reason, de Vere reached the age of majority without having been offered a marriage by his legal guardian, and once he reached the age of majority on 12 April 1571, it would seem that the Queen no longer had any right to offer him a marriage.

Having thus forgone her right to sell de Vere's marriage, the Queen then assessed a fine of £2000 against him in the Court of Wards for his wardship.[179] Confusingly, the fine is referred to in some documents as a fine for his marriage,[180] and that may in fact be what it really was, since according to some of the older authorities on prerogative wardship:

> [T]he king will have the value of the ward's marriage even if he does not offer him a marriage, unlike a common person who must offer a marriage and have the ward reject it to get the value of the marriage.[181]

If this was the ground on which the Queen based the fine, it would appear that she was relying on a very narrow and highly inequitable interpretation of her prerogative rights. She had denied de Vere a socially appropriate and financially beneficial marriage arranged for him by his father, and had already reaped a very substantial financial benefit from his wardship. The enormous sum of £7735 7s had gone into her coffers from de Vere's lands during his minority, or if not into her own coffers, then into Sir Robert Dudley's coffers by her express wish and direction. In addition, the Queen had levied a fine of £1257 18s 3/4d when she granted de Vere license to enter on his lands. Moreover, there is no evidence that the Queen granted an exhibition for de Vere's maintenance during his minority.[182] He had apparently been supported entirely from the revenue from his own lands for the nine years during which he was her ward. The fine of £2000 levied when he came of age thus remains a legal anomaly, and if it was not actually illegal, there can be no question that it was a harsh and heavy-handed abuse of royal prerogative.

8. The Queen's unfulfilled promises to de Vere which induced him to spend money in his youth which he could ill afford to spend

Late in his life, on 2 February 1601, de Vere wrote to his brother-in-law, Sir Robert Cecil:

> But if it shall please her Majesty in regard of my youth, time & fortune spent in her court, adding thereto her Majesty's favours & promises which drew me on without any mistrust the more to presume in mine own expenses, to confer so good a turn to me, that then with your good word and brotherly friendship you will encourage her forward and further it as you may, for

> I know her Majesty is of that princely disposition that they shall not be deceived which put their trust in her.[183]

It would appear that the Queen's promises of preferment to de Vere in his youth, particularly in the early 1570s when he was one of her favorites, encouraged him to live as one of her courtiers, wearing costly fashions to please her eye, bestowing jewels on her for New Year's gifts, and otherwise incurring ruinous expenses in the hope of the preferment which the Queen never granted him, although she showered other favorites with honors, lands and titles. It is not unreasonable to speculate that the impression given to de Vere by the Queen that his financial future was secure played a large part in his decision to remain at court and to expend considerable sums in his youth on clothing, jewels and other accoutrements of court life which he could ill afford. By the time he realized that he was destined never to receive preferment from the Queen, it was too late. His money had been vainly spent, the Queen had imposed crippling fines on him in the Court of Wards, and his lands were gone.

Conclusion

The fines assessed by the Queen against de Vere in the Court of Wards included £2000 for his wardship, £1257 18s 3/4d for livery, and £48 19s 9-1/4d for mean rates. The total amounted to £3306 17s 10d.[184] This shockingly large debt was guaranteed by bonds to the Court of Wards entered into in 1571/2 by de Vere in the amount of £11,000, as he later reminded Lord Burghley in a letter dated 30 June 1591.[185] De Vere's own bonds to the Court of Wards were in turn guaranteed by bonds to the Court of Wards in the amount of £5000 each entered into in 1572 by two guarantors, his first cousin, John (d.1581), Lord Darcy of Chiche,[186] and Sir William Waldegrave of Smallbridge.[187] In return for these guarantees, Edward de Vere entered into two statutes[188] of £6000 apiece to John, Lord Darcy, and Sir William Waldegrave.[189] Moreover, each time de Vere sold land, he was required to enter into a recognizance to the purchaser to save the purchaser harmless from possible extents[190] by the Queen against the land for his debt to the Court of Wards. TNA 30/34/14 indicates that by 1587 there were still £150,000 worth of these recognizances outstanding.[191] This huge superstructure of debt impacted on every transaction de Vere made concerning the lands which he had inherited from his father.

It is thus clear that from the moment he came of age and entered into possession of his lands in 1572, de Vere was well on the road to financial ruin.[192] He owed a very large debt to the Court of Wards, and was beset with a serious cash flow problem. Cash flow problems were not uncommon for members of the nobility in a society in which credit was difficult to obtain, but in Edward de Vere's case they were exacerbated by the fact that his lands were already tied up as security for thousands of pounds worth of bonds in the Court of Wards.[193] He was thus unable from the

outset to ameliorate his cash flow problems by borrowing against his lands, and it was the Queen herself who had put him in that position.

To get out from under this crushing burden of debt, de Vere was required to adhere to a rigid repayment schedule set out by the Court of Wards. A copy of the schedule indicates that from 1572 on he was to pay £200 a year for the fine for his wardship, and £100 a year for the fine for livery until the entire debt of £3306 17s 10d had been retired.[194] Notes made by Lord Burghley indicate, however, that de Vere made only a single payment of £200, and that all his bonds but one were therefore forfeited to the Court of Wards. The forfeitures amounted to £11,446 13s 4d,[195] and apart from the single payment of £200, his original debt had not been repaid either. By 1591, then, according to Lord Burghley's notes, de Vere owed the Court of Wards the staggering sum of £14,553 12s 1d, consisting of the unpaid portion of the original debt, i.e. £3106 18s 9d, and £11,446 13s 4d in forfeitures.[196]

De Vere had received nothing tangible in return for this enormous debt to the Court of Wards. The debt merely represented fines, the largest of them perhaps illegal, levied against him by the Court for his wardship and livery, and the forfeitures which followed upon his non-payment of those fines. One must wonder why he did not make the annual payments of £300 to the Court of Wards required under the schedule for repayment. Why did he not avoid, if possible, the disastrous forfeitures which accrued as each payment date was missed, particularly when Lord Burghley had provided a marriage portion for his daughter, Anne Cecil, in the amount of £3000, which could have been applied against the debt?[197]

The answer to these questions would appear to be provided in the letter quoted above, in which he states that the Queen's promises had lulled him into a false sense of security. Many members of the nobility had substantial and long-standing debts to the Crown, particularly the Queen's favorites.[198] There was no reason for de Vere, in his youth, to think that he would be treated differently from other members of the nobility with respect to repayment of his debt. Lulled by that false sense of security, he doubtless deferred the payment to the Court of Wards in favor of the payment of other more pressing current expenses, thinking that when preferment eventually came to him, it would be an easy matter to square things with the Court of Wards. Preferment never came, however, and his financial situation steadily worsened with the continued sale of his lands.

Under these circumstances, it does not seem unfair to place a large part of the blame for de Vere's eventual financial downfall on the Queen. It appears never to have occurred to historians to do so, but when one considers de Vere's relatively small inheritance, the unfulfilled promises of preferment the Queen made to him in his youth which induced him to expend sums he could ill afford, her shocking mismanagement of his wardship, and the enormous fine of £2000 she imposed on him in the Court of Wards, it is difficult not to place most of the blame for de Vere's financial downfall squarely where it belongs, on the Queen herself. Her lifelong infatuation with Dudley and her desire to "benefit" him in 1562 far outweighed her concern for the twelve-year-old boy who became her ward after his father's death

in that year. While de Vere himself cannot be entirely absolved of responsibility, it is clear that the Queen's role in actively setting the stage for his eventual financial downfall is far greater than has been heretofore realized.

For an instructive comparison one need look no further than another of the noble wards to whom the Queen stood as legal guardian at the same time. Edward Manners (1549-1587), 3rd Earl of Rutland, inherited annual income of £2485, an amount comparable to de Vere's £2250. However the Queen did not lease those lands out to one of her favourites. Lord Burghley managed Edward Manners' lands during his minority, and his prudent care was such that Rutland was able to live "in considerable splendour both at Court and in the country" for the remaining fourteen years of his life.[199]

Would that Edward de Vere had been as fortunate!

Endnotes

1 Most of the documents cited in these endnotes can be accessed on the Documents page of The Oxford Authorship Site at http://www.oxford-shakespeare.com/. The following abbreviations are used in the endnotes: TNA = The National Archives; BL = British Library; ERO = Essex Record Office; CP = Cecil Papers; APC = Acts of the Privy Council; HL = Huntington Library; DNB = Dictionary of National Biography, online edition; OED = Oxford English Dictionary, online edition.

2 The fine extorted from the 16th Earl by Somerset comprised all the lands which the 16th Earl held in 1548 with the exception of lands in Chester, lands in Langdon Hills and Wennington, and the lands comprised in Henry VIII's grant of Colne Priory to John de Vere (1482-1540), 15th Earl of Oxford, and his heirs by letters patent dated 22 July 1536 (see TNA C 66/668 mbs. 26-27, and ERO D/DPr/631). Somerset may have exempted Colne Priory from the fine because he had qualms about appropriating a large grant which had been made by his recently deceased brother-in-law, Henry VIII (1491-1547). The 16th Earl's lands in Chester may have been omitted because by the statute *De modo levandi fines* of 18 Edward I, no fine could be levied unless upon a suit commenced by writ, and the King's writ did not run in the county palatine of Chester, which had its own courts (see William Cruise, *A Digest of the Laws of England Respecting Real Property,* Vol. 3 (London: Saunders and Benning, 1835), 71, 102).

3 While it does not explain Somerset's extortion against the 16th Earl in 1548, it should be noted that only two years earlier there had been enmity between Somerset and the 16th Earl's brother-in-law, Henry Howard (1517-1547), Earl of Surrey. According to the DNB entry for Howard: "Seeking political alliance to safeguard his family's position, in June 1546 Norfolk proposed marriages between the Howards and Seymours. But Surrey had turned against the earl of Hertford and his brother, Sir Thomas Seymour." The feeling was mutual. From the DNB entry for Somerset: "In April he was closely involved in the prosecution of Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, who was convicted for eating meat during Lent and breaking windows while carousing through the streets of London." Surrey was executed on Tower Hill on 19 January 1547, only a year before Somerset's extortion against the 16th Earl.

4 To transfer to the ownership of another. (OED)

5 TNA E 328/345. All the lands included in the license were said to be held by the 16th Earl as

tenant in chief of the Crown by knight service.

[6] A deed between two or more parties with mutual covenants, executed in two or more copies, all having their tops or edges correspondingly indented or serrated for identification and security. (OED)

[7] A bond or obligation by which a person undertakes before a court or magistrate to perform some act or observe some condition, such as to pay a debt, or appear when summoned. (OED)

[8] Henry Seymour (1540-c.1600) later married Joan or Jane Percy, the daughter of Thomas Percy (1528-1572), 7th Earl of Northumberland (see DNB articles on Henry Seymour's mother, Anne, Duchess of Somerset, and Joan or Jane Percy's father, Thomas Percy, Earl of Northumberland). She is said to have been born in 1567 in Cockermouth, and to have died after 1591. They had no children.

[9] An estate in land, etc., belonging to the owner and his heirs for ever, without limitation to any particular class of heirs. (OED)

[10] A fine or 'final agreement' was the compromise of a fictitious or collusive suit for the possession of lands. (OED) For the fine of 10 February and 16 April 1548, see TNA E 328/403, and Marc Fitch and Frederick Emmison, eds., *Feet of Fines for Essex, Vol V: 1547-1580* (Oxford: Leopard's Head Press, 1991), 9. The fine states that the 16th Earl received 40,000 marks in silver from Somerset in payment for the lands, but the private Act of Parliament of 23 January 1552 by which the 16th Earl's lands were restored to him after Somerset's extortion makes it clear that the 16th Earl received nothing for transferring title to the lands of the Oxford earldom to Somerset (see HL/PO/PB/1/1551/5E6n35). Joined with Somerset as grantees in the fine were his brother-in-law, Sir Michael Stanhope (d.1552), his first cousin (and the 16th Earl's brother-in-law), Sir Thomas Darcy (1506-1558), and the 16th Earl's legal counsellor, John Lucas (d.1556). The roles played by Stanhope, Darcy and Lucas are not entirely clear, and the legal interests they acquired by way of the fine are equally unclear, since the Act of Parliament which rectified Somerset's extortion against the 16th Earl contains no specific discussion of the issue.

[11] No copy of either the indenture of 1 February 1548 or the recognizance of 26 February 1548 has survived, but they are discussed in the Act by which the 16th Earl's lands were restored to him after Somerset's execution, and in the letters patent of 22 January 1553 by which King Edward VI restored certain bonds, jewels and other chattels to the 16th Earl (see TNA C 66/848). The terms of the indenture of 1 February 1548 were likely very similar to the terms of the licence to alienate of 30 January 1548.

[12] Denunciation of punishment or vengeance. (OED)

[13] The original Act in the House of Lords Record Office, HL/PO/PB/1/1551/5E6n35, is undated, and there is some question as to whether it was passed on 22 or 23 January. The preponderance of evidence suggests that it was passed on 23 January. Two copies of the original are also extant, TNA C 89/4/18, dated 17 May 1552, and TNA C 89/4/12, dated 12 February 1566. An earlier private Act of Parliament passed in 1547 which might have shed further light on Somerset's extortion against the 16th Earl has been lost. It is listed in the catalog of the Parliamentary Archives at the House of Lords as HL/PO/PB/1/1547/MISSING. Private Act, 1 Edward VI, c. 7, An Act concerning the Lands and Possessions of the Earl of Oxford.

[14] The settlement of the succession of a landed estate, so that it cannot be bequeathed at pleasure by any one possessor. (OED)

[15] In a lawsuit in 1585 it was alleged that the 16th Earl went through a form of marriage with his mistress, a certain Joan Jockey, after he and his first wife, Dorothy Neville, had separated and before Dorothy Neville's death. However, this bigamous marriage, if it actually occurred, would have been an ecclesiastical, not a criminal, matter, and the Act specifically states that Somerset purported to act "under the colour of administration of justice," and mentions specious "criminal causes" alleged by Somerset against the 16th Earl. For details of the Joan Jockey incident, see HL EL5870.

[16] HL/PO/PB/1/1551/5E6n35 and HL/PO/PB/1/1551/5E6n37.

[17] J.H. Baker, ed., *Reports from the Lost Notebooks of Sir James Dyer* (London: Selden Society, 1994), 196-8.

[18] See DNB entry for Sir James Dyer.

[19] See 32 Henry VIII, c. 78. The clause in the private Act of Parliament of April 1540 which wrought the legal "metamorphosis" is described in the Act which repealed it as follows: "And it was further enacted by the same Act that all other manors, lands, tenements and hereditaments with th' appurtenances which after the making of the same former Act should happen to come to the said late Duke and his heirs in fee simple in possession, reversion or remainder by descent, gift, purchase or otherwise should by virtue of the said Act be deemed and judged in and to the said late Duke and his heirs males lawfully begotten upon the body of the said Lady Anne, then his wife" (see HL/PO/PB/1/1551/5E6n37). The provision secretly converted the lands of the Oxford earldom comprised in the fine of 10 February 1548 into lands entailed on Somerset and his heirs by his second wife, Anne. The provisions of the indenture of 1 February 1548 which purported to assure the lands to the 16th Earl's daughter Katherine and her prospective husband, Henry Seymour, thus merely served as cover for the real nature of the transaction.

[20] The legal consequences of judgment of death or outlawry, in respect of treason or felony, viz. forfeiture of estate real and personal, corruption of blood, so that the condemned could neither inherit nor transmit by descent, and generally, extinction of all civil rights and capacities. (OED)

[21] HL/PO/PB/1/1551/5E6n37.

[22] W.K. Jordan, *Edward VI: The Threshold of Power* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1970), 337.

[23] TNA PROB 11/17, ff. 82-90.

[24] TNA C 54/626.

[25] The fine was made before the Justices of the Common Pleas on 10 February, and granted and recorded before the same Justices on 16 April 1548. It will be referred to hereafter as the fine of 10 February 1548.

[26] A trust or confidence reposed in a person for the holding of property, etc., of which another receives or is entitled to the profits or benefits. (OED) The Statute of Uses had been passed in 1536 by Henry VIII in order to prevent the severance of legal from beneficial ownership (see 27 Henry VIII, c. 10).

[27] HL/PO/PB/1/1551/5E6n35.

[28] In feudal law, the guardianship and custody of the person and lands of a minor with all profits accruing during his minority. (OED)

[29] The 16th Earl's brothers, Aubrey and Geoffrey Vere.

[30] As mentioned above, the "lands given in tail by King Henry 8" consisted of Henry VIII's grant of Colne Priory to the 15th Earl. Sir James Dyer's comment suggests that the lands comprised in this grant were the only lands held by the 16th Earl at his death as

a tenant in chief of the Crown by knight service.

[31] A person who acquires property, especially land, in any way other than by inheritance. (OED)

[32] HL/PO/PB/1/1551/5E6n35.

[33] Of, relating to, or arising from prerogative or special privilege, privileged; specifically of, relating to, or arising from royal or governmental prerogative. (OED)

[34] 32 Henry VIII, c. 1.

[35] 33-34 Henry VIII, c. 5.

[36] Under the feudal system: The military service which a knight was bound to render as a condition of holding his lands; hence, the tenure of land under the condition of performing military service. (OED) The question of which lands the 16th Earl actually held by knight service after he had been restored to a use in his lands by the 1552 Act of Parliament does not appear to have been properly investigated by the officials who conducted his inquisition post mortem.

[37] Feudal law: The right of the English Crown, on the death of a tenant-in-chief, to take and retain seisin of land until the heir has performed homage and paid relief (subsequently regarded as equivalent to the profits of the inherited estate for the first year). (OED)

[38] An obvious reference to the language of the Statute of Wills and "The bill concerning the explanation of wills."

[39] King Edward VI's license to alienate had specified that the tenures were to be transferred. In the case of each manor, the license specifies that Somerset is to hold the lands 'by the services thereof owed & of right customary' (see TNA E 328/345).

[40] The Act refers to "the late attainder & death of the said late Duke," making it clear that it was enacted after his death.

[41] The complexity of the legal issues involved is evidenced by the fact that the case was argued on three separate occasions. Dyer writes of his initial judgment: "And of that opinion was Wilbraham, now Attorney of the Court of Wards. But the opinion of Keilway, Surveyor of the Liveries, and of the whole counsel of the same court, and the opinion of Saunders, Chief Baron, and of Lord Burghley, Master of the Wards, in the inner chamber of the same court the following Trinity term was against Wilbraham and Dyer. But afterwards the matter was ordered by assent of the Queen that the opinion of Walsh and Southcote, JJ., should be examined in the cause, who gave their opinions with Dyer and Wilbraham, and accordingly the matter was there decreed and ordered."

[42] Queen Elizabeth's letters patent of 30 May 1572 licensing de Vere to enter on his lands make no mention of the private Act of Parliament of 23 January 1552. It appears that at the time of the license in 1572 she based her claim to de Vere's wardship on the fact that Somerset had exempted Henry VIII's grant of Colne Priory from the 1548 fine, with the result that the 16th Earl continued to hold Colne Priory as a tenant in chief by knight service (see TNA C 66/668 mbs. 26-27, ERO D/DPr/631 and TNA E 328/403).

[43] Somerset's animosity towards the 16th Earl was apparent as early as 21 May 1547, only a few months after King Henry VIII's death, when Somerset ordered the 16th Earl to surrender his patent for the office of Lord Great Chamberlain "for the clear extinction of his pretenced claim to the said office, whereunto he could show nothing of good ground to have right to the same" (see John Roche Dasent, ed., *Acts of the Privy Council, New Series, Vol. II: A.D. 1547-1550* [London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office,

1890], 93).

44 HL EL5870.

45 TNA E 328/345.

46 ERO T/R 168/2. The 16th Earl had for some months planned to marry his first wife's goddaughter and waiting gentlewoman, Dorothy Foster, but Somerset and his brother-in-law Sir Michael Stanhope (d.1552), and his first cousin (and the 16th Earl's brother-in-law), Sir Thomas Darcy (1506)-1558), had taken active steps to restrict contact between the two (see TNA SP 10/1/45). She later married John Anson, and died at Felsted in Essex, c. 1556-7 (see HL EL5870).

47 The right of succession and inheritance due to a firstborn, especially a firstborn son. (OED)

48 The 16th Earl would have been given some hope by clauses in the license to alienate of 30 January 1548 which provided that for lack of issue of his daughter Katherine and her husband, Henry Seymour, certain lands would come to the 16th Earl's male heir. However, this was false hope because of the legal "metamorphosis" by which those lands had already become secretly entailed on Somerset and the heirs of his second marriage by the combined operation of the fine of 10 February 1548 and the private Act of Parliament of April 1540.

49 Although he could not undo the marriage, Somerset had already ensured, via the fine of 10 February 1548, that the 16th Earl could not assign any lands to his new wife as her jointure. Moreover, after learning of the 16th Earl's secret marriage, Somerset took steps to ensure that the 16th Earl could not bestow any jewels or other personal possessions on her. On 13 September 1548 Somerset forced the 16th Earl to enter into a recognizance for 500 marks to guarantee that he would not dispose of any of his personal possessions before Christmas of that year without Somerset's express permission (see Dasent, 221-2). A few months later Somerset forced the 16th Earl to make an unalterable will by which he bequeathed all his jewels and other personal possessions to his daughter, Katherine. No copy of this will survives. However, it is referred to in the letters patent of 22 January 1553 by which King Edward VI restored the 16th Earl's personal possessions to him (see TNA C 66/848).

50 De Vere's birthdate is given at the end of the inquisition *post mortem* taken after the 16th Earl's death (see TNA C 142/136/12).

51 See DNB entry for Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerset.

52 Lady Jane Grey (1537-1544), the "nine days Queen" and her husband, Lord Guildford Dudley (c.1535–1554), were executed on 12 February 1554. See DNB entry, "Jane Grey."

53 For an account of the 16th Earl's support of Queen Mary, see Diarmaid MacCulloch, ed. & trans., *"The Vita Mariae Angliae Reginae* of Robert Wingfield of Brantham" in *Camden Miscellany XXVIII*, Camden 4th series, vol. 29, (London: Royal Historical Society, 1984), 181-301, at 263-4, 266.

54 During the attempt to put his sister-in-law, Lady Jane Grey, on the throne, Sir Robert Dudley, then a young man of 19, worked alongside his father, John, Duke of Northumberland. On 19 July 1553 he proclaimed Jane as Queen at King's Lynn. As a result of his part in the effort to supplant Queen Mary, Dudley was arrested in July 1553 and imprisoned in the Tower until the autumn of 1554 (see MacCullough, 254, 296, 341).

55 See DNB entry, "Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester."

56 ERO Q/SR 5/121.

57 ERO Q/SR 6/25.

[58] An endorsement in Latin on the 16th Earl's indenture of 2 June 1562 states that he appeared in Chancery on 5 July 1562 to acknowledge the indenture (see TNA C 54/626), while an endorsement in Latin on it of 1 July 1562 states that it was also acknowledged, presumably along with the recognizance in the amount of £3000 mentioned therein, in Chancery on 5 July 1562 (see HL HAP o/s Box 3 (19)).

[59] TNA C 54/626. The only lands held by the 16th Earl not included in the indenture were the lands comprised in Henry VIII's grant of Colne Priory and the manors of Christian Malford, Thorncombe, Colbrooke and Acton Trussell.

[60] HL HAP o/s Box 3 (19).

[61] TNA PROB 11/46, ff. 174v-176.

[62] As noted above, the only lands not comprised in the fine were the 16th Earl's lands in Chester, Wennington, and Langdon Hills, and those included in Henry VIII's grant of Colne Priory.

[63] TNA C 54/626. In his will of 28 July 1562, the 16th Earl referred to the indenture as a "late deed of entail" (see TNA PROB 11/46, ff. 174v-6).

[64] Norfolk's parents were Henry Howard (1517-1547), Earl of Surrey, and his wife Frances de Vere (d.1577), sister of the 16th Earl of Oxford.

[65] Sir Robert Dudley was knighted in 1550. In the indenture and in other documents of the period he is styled "Lord Robert Dudley," the courtesy title for a Duke's younger son. On what basis that title was preserved after his father's attainder is unclear.

[66] Sir Robert Dudley was related by marriage to Thomas Howard (1538-1572), 4th Duke of Norfolk. His brother, Henry Dudley (d.1557), had married Margaret Audley (d.1564). After Henry Dudley's death, Margaret married Norfolk, and was his wife at the time of the making of the 16th Earl's indenture of 2 June 1562. This relationship between the Dudleys and the 16th Earl's nephew, Thomas Howard, 4th Duke of Norfolk, through Margaret Audley likely helped Sir Robert Dudley earn the 16th Earl's confidence in the summer of 1562.

[67] HL HAP o/s Box 3(19). The indenture is signed and sealed by the 16th Earl, and is endorsed: "Signed, sealed and delivered on the day and year above-written in the presence of John Wentworth and Thomas Golding, knights, John Gybon and Henry Golding, esquires, John Booth, Jasper Jones and John Lovell, gentlemen."

[68] Mary Hastings died unmarried before 1589, having received a proposal of marriage in 1583 from Czar Ivan the Terrible. Elizabeth Hastings (d.1621) married Edward Somerset (c.1550-1628), Earl of Worcester, in 1571. See Claire Cross, *The Puritan Earl* (London: Macmillan, 1966), 29-30. Their father, Francis Hastings (1514-1560), 2nd Earl of Huntingdon, bequeathed each of his daughters £1000 towards her marriage: "I will and devise that every of my said daughters (except my said daughter Clinton) shall have one thousand pounds of lawful money towards her marriage paid to her as every of the said daughters shall accomplish the age of 18 years old, or else before that time at the time of her marriage if she be married before that age" (see TNA PROB 11/4, ff. 57-62).

[69] The entry for Henry Hastings (1536?-1595), 3rd Earl of Huntingdon in the DNB takes notice of the closeness between the Dudley and Hastings families: "During the reign of Edward VI the second earl of Huntingdon threw in his lot with the Duke of Northumberland, sealing the alliance with the marriage of his eldest son to Katherine Dudley (c.1538–1620), the duke's youngest daughter, on 25 May 1553. Both Huntingdon and Lord Hastings backed Northumberland in his attempt to divert the succession in favour of Lady Jane Grey in July 1553, and on Mary Tudor's triumph

they found themselves imprisoned for a time in the Tower." The 3rd Earl and his wife Katherine (nee Dudley) had no children. A marriage between de Vere and one of the 3rd Earl's sisters was thus the only alliance under the circumstances through which Sir Robert Dudley could earn the 16th Earl's goodwill by playing matchmaker.

70 Translated from the Latin, the endorsement reads: And it is to be remembered that on the fifth day of July in the year above-written the forenamed John de Vere, Earl of Oxford, came before the said Lady the Queen in her Chancery and acknowledged the foresaid indenture and all & singular in it contained & specified in the form above-written.

71 The great-grandmother of the Earl of Huntingdon and his sisters was Margaret, Countess of Salisbury (executed 1541), the daughter of George, Duke of Clarence, brother of King Edward IV and King Richard III.

72 It is also worth remarking that his brother-in-law Huntingdon's claim to the throne was later covertly but vigorously advanced by Sir Robert Dudley (then Earl of Leicester), according to the author of *Leicester's Commonwealth*. See *Leicester's Commonwealth* at http://www.oxford-shakespeare.com/leicester.html.

73 For the original will, see TNA PROB 10/51. For the Prerogative Court of Canterbury copy, see TNA PROB 11/46, ff. 174v-6. A supervisor or overseer was appointed by a testator to assist the executors of a will. (OED)

74 For evidence that Robert Christmas entered Dudley's service not long after the 16th Earl's death and while he was administering the 16th Earl's will, see TNA WARD 8/13, in which Robert Christmas is referred to as "steward of the manor of East Bergholt." The 16th Earl's inquisition post mortem does not state that the 16th Earl had appointed Robert Christmas as steward of the manor, which suggests that it was Dudley who did so, particularly since Dudley's accounts for all the manors of the Oxford earldom which he enjoyed by the Queen's grant during de Vere's minority were administered through the manor of East Bergholt. See also BL Lansdowne 6/34, ff. 96-7, a letter dated 11 October 1563 from Margery Golding, Countess of Oxford, to Sir William Cecil, in which she claims that Robert Christmas' man, in Dudley's name, had commanded the tenants not to provide her with rent corn at Michaelmas for her household provision. See also TNA SP 15/13/5, a letter dated 6 February 1566 from Sir William Cecil and other members of the Court of Wards addressed "To our loving friend Robert Christmas, gentleman, servant unto the right honourable the Earl of Leicester." Simon Adams writes that "Robert Christmas (d.1584), MP, was a central figure in Dudley's household between 1565 and the late 1570s. He received livery and a badge in 1567, and in 1571 was described as Dudley's treasurer (*Black Book*, 36)." See Simon Adams, ed., *Household Accounts and Disbursement Books of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, 1558-1561, 1584-1586*, Camden Society, 5th series, vol. 6 (London: Royal Historical Society, 1995), 17. One of the first to notice the role played by Sir Robert Dudley and Robert Christmas with respect to the 16th Earl's lands was Gwynneth Bowen. See her two-part article "What happened at Hedingham and Earls Colne?" *Shakespearean Authorship Review*, Summer 1970 and Spring 1971, at http://www.sourcetext.com/sourcebook/library/bowen/index.htm. A complicated web of relationships by marriage linking the 16th Earl, Dudley, and Christmas makes the grant of administration of the 16th Earl's will to Christmas as sole administrator highly suspicious. Christmas was the son of John Christmas, a wealthy alderman in Colchester. John Christmas's cousin was Lord Chancellor Sir Thomas Audley (1488-1544), who had been born at Earls Colne (one of the principal residences of

the Earls of Oxford), had served as town clerk of Colchester, and had married, as his first wife, Cristina (d.1538), the daughter of Sir Thomas Barnardiston (see Laquita M. Higgs, *Godliness and Governance in Tudor Colchester* [Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998], 25, 32, 50, and DNB entry for Sir Thomas Audley). Cristina's brother, Sir Thomas Barnardiston, was married to Anne (nee Lucas), the sister of John Lucas (d.1556), another of the 16th Earl's most trusted servants. Lucas was related by marriage to Robert Christmas; he married, as his second wife, Elizabeth (nee Christmas), the daughter of Robert's brother, George Christmas (d.1567) (see Higgs, 133). George Christmas (d.1567), in turn, was related to the 16th Earl's brother-in-law, Henry Golding. George Christmas married Bridget (nee Foster), the sister of George Foster (d.1556), the first husband of Alice (nee Clovyle) Golding (d.1587), who after George Foster's death married the 16th Earl's brother-in-law, Henry Golding (d.1576). See Walter C. Metcalfe, ed., *The Visitations of Suffolk* (Exeter: William Pollard, 1882), 29-30, and Reginald M. Glencross, *Administrations in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury* (Exeter: William Pollard, 1912), 77. Even more significantly, Robert Christmas was related by marriage to Sir Robert Dudley through Margaret Audley (1540–1564), one of the daughters of Lord Chancellor Audley by his second wife, who married, first, Robert Dudley's brother, Henry Dudley (1531?–1557), and then the 16th Earl of Oxford's nephew, Thomas Howard (1538-1572), 4th Duke of Norfolk.

75 See the note in TNA PROB 11/46, ff. 174v-6.

76 BL MS Stowe Charter 633-4.

77 The properties added were the manor of Lamport in Northamptonshire, the lands and tenements called Paynes in Pentlow in Essex, and the manors of Munslow with the members, and Norton in Hales in Salop, with the proviso that if manors in Salop were sold, Margery Golding would receive the rents.

78 Barwicks, Scotneys, Gibcrack and Fingrith in Essex, Fowlmere in Cambridge, and Warmingham, North Rode, Blacon, Ashton, Worleston and the Gate of Westchester in Chester.

79 See TNA C 54/626. De Vere's title during his father's lifetime was Lord Bulbeck, and any wife whom he married while his father was still alive would be styled "Lady Bulbeck."

80 "To th' use of the Lady Bulbeck immediately after marriage solemnized with the said Edward, Lord Bulbeck, for term of her life, and after her decease then to th' use of the said Edward, Lord Bulbeck."

81 "To th' use of him, the said Earl, for term of his life without impeachment of any waste, and after his decease to th' use of the said Lady Bulbeck, wife to the said Edward, Lord Bulbeck, for term of her life, and after her decease to th' use of the said Edward, Lord Bulbeck."

82 Simon Adams states that the lands Northumberland had purchased for his son were lost in Northumberland's attainder, and therefore on his release from prison in 1554 Robert Dudley was "propertyless." He was unable even to inherit the fifty marks' worth of land left to him under the terms of his mother's will until Queen Mary waived her rights to the estate, which permitted the negotiation of a family agreement in November 1555 in which Robert Dudley is described as having been "left with nothing to live by." The agreement permitted Robert Dudley to purchase the manor of Hales Owen from his mother's estate, but according to Adams, "by the summer of 1557 parts of Hales Owen had been heavily mortgaged." See Simon Adams, "The Dudley Clientele, 1553-1563," in *The Tudor Nobility*, ed. G.W. Bernard (Manchester:

Manchester University Press, 1992), 250.

[83] See DNB entry, "Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester."

[84] Dudley's contemporary reputation as a poisoner is recorded in *Leicester's Commonwealth* and other contemporary documents. These sources suggest that his practice was not to do the deed himself, but rather to have trusted associates carry out his instructions. Dudley's most trusted associate in the 16th Earl's household appears to have been Robert Christmas (d.1584).

[85] Christmas also reaped a substantial financial benefit from the 16th Earl's will in the form of a bequest of the lease of the manor of Weybourn, a lease which would have generated £597 3s 9d in revenue over its 21-year duration. This fact makes the relationship between Sir Robert Dudley and Robert Christmas, the appointment of Robert Christmas as sole administrator of the 16th Earl's will, and his carrying out of the administration while he was in Sir Robert Dudley's service, all the more suspicious.

[86] The sale value of de Vere's lands is a separate issue. McGlynn notes that monastic lands had sold at 20 years purchase during the reign of Henry VIII, and that those sales represented current market price (see Margaret McGlynn, *The Royal Prerogative and the Learning of the Inns of Court* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003], 214). If that ratio is applied to de Vere's lands, the sale value of his inherited lands was 20 times the net yearly revenue of £2250, or approximately £45,000 in total.

[87] The value of an inheritance, and thus of a wardship, was based on the net yearly revenue generated by the lands left by the deceased tenant in chief, not on the sale value of the lands, since the Crown could not sell the lands outright. The Crown could merely lease its one-third interest in the lands of the deceased tenant in chief to a third party for the duration of the heir's wardship, basing the price it sought for the lease on the net yearly revenue generated by the lands.

[88] A perhaps apocryphal story told of John de Vere (1499-1526), 14th Earl of Oxford, that "some had offered to pay the Earl of Oxford £12,000 per year when he came into his inheritance" was mistakenly applied to Edward de Vere by Sir Thomas Wilson (d.1629) in his manuscript "The State of England Anno Dom. 1600" (see TNA SP 12/280), and Sir George Buck (d.1622) in his manuscript life of Richard III (see BL Cotton Tiberius E.X., and Arthur Noel Kincaid, ed., *The History of King Richard III* [1619] *by Sir George Buck, Master of the Revels* [Gloucester: Alan Sutton, 1979], 169-70). For the story concerning the 14th Earl, see Thomas Wright, *The History and Topography of the County of Essex,* vol. I, (London: George Virtue, 1836), 515-16. Unfortunately Wilson's egregiously mistaken figure has been accepted at face value by some modern historians. See Roger Schofield, "Taxation and the Political Limits of the Tudor state," in *Law and Government Under the Tudors* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 227-56 at 241: 'The annual incomes of the peers, therefore, would seem to have been ludicrously undervalued in the later sixteenth century, and this inference is confirmed in those cases in which the subsidy assessments can be compared with independent evidence. For example, the Earl of Oxford was independently estimated as worth £12,000 per annum in the 1570s, yet he was assessed at £1000 in the subsidies of 1571 and 1576, £200 in 1581 and £100 thereafter'.

[89] TNA SC 11/919, mbs. 450-457. Revenue from the office of Lord Great Chamberlain is not included in this document. Considerable confusion about the 16th Earl's net yearly revenue has arisen from Stone's estimate that the *gross* rental value of the 16th Earl's lands in 1559 was £3000-£3,999. Stone does not cite the documents on which he based the estimate. It is thus not possible to compare Stone's estimate for *gross*

rental of the 16th Earl's lands in 1559 with the precise breakdown of the net yearly revenue of the lands inherited by the 16th Earl in TNA SC 11/919, mbs. 450-457, but it seems clear from the latter document that Stone's estimate is far too high, even for gross rental. See Lawrence Stone, *The Crisis of the Aristocracy, 1558-1641* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), 760.

90 As the Statute of Wills confines itself to lands and makes no mention of offices, it could be argued that the revenue of £103 13s 4d from the office of Lord Great Chamberlain should be excluded from the calculation of the total revenue from which the Queen took her third part. However since the revenue from the office of Lord Great Chamberlain is included in all the relevant documents apart from the marriage contract, it has not been deducted from any of the figures given in this article.

91 HL HAP o/s Box 3(19).

92 TNA C 142/136/12. *Inquisitio post mortem*, an inquisition after death. In old English law, an inquisition of office held, during the continuance of the military tenures, upon the death of every one of the king's tenants, to inquire of what lands he died seised, who was his heir, and of what age, in order to entitle the king to his marriage, wardship, relief, primer seisin, or other advantages. *Black's Law Dictionary*, rev. 4th ed. (St Paul, Minnesota: West Publishing, 1968), 929.

93 It should be noted that the inquisition post mortem includes net yearly revenue of £24 from the manor of Mountnessing which the 16th Earl held in reversion after the death of Agnes Wilford. De Vere received no revenue from this reversion during his minority, as Agnes Wilford was still alive in 1573, when she and her husband, William Wilford, quitclaimed "whatever [interest in Mountnessing] they had for the life of Agnes" to John Jackson (see Fitch, 175). Mountnessing is not mentioned in either TNA WARD 8/13 or TNA SP 12/31/29, ff. 53-55. For the sake of completeness in comparing the inquisition post mortem with those two documents, the total in the inquisition post mortem could be decreased by £24. It should also be noted that the Archbishop of Canterbury successfully made a retroactive claim of private wardship in 1567 for one-third of the revenue from the manor of Fleet, which decreased the net revenue which de Vere actually received during his minority by £12 13s 4d per annum (see TNA WARD 9/105, f. 145v).

94 Other Court of Wards documents which provide annual rentals for portions of de Vere's lands, and which confirm figures given in the documents already cited, include TNA SP 12/33/32, ff. 76-81 and TNA SP 12/44/19, ff. 41-50.

95 An officer of the ancient Court of Wards. (OED)

96 ERO D/DU 65/72.

97 H.E. Bell, *An Introduction to the History and Records of the Court of Wards & Liveries* (Holmes Beach, Florida: William W. Gaunt, 1986), 55.

98 Joel Hurstfield, *The Queen's Wards* (London: Frank Cass, 1973), 85.

99 TNA C 66/1090, mbs. 29-30.

100 The figure is taken from CP 25/105. The figures given for livery in TNA C 2/Eliz/T6/48 and in Lord Burghley's notes in BL Lansdowne 68/11, ff. 22-3, 28 vary slightly, but the differences amount to only a shilling.

101 The legal delivery of real property into a person's possession; (also) a writ by which possession of property is obtained from the Court of Wards and Liveries. (OED)

102 Hurstfield, 172-3.

103 A general livery was sued by writ and required proof of age. The Queen's letters patent of 30 May 1572 granting de Vere license to enter on his lands without proof of age make

it clear that he did not sue a general livery.

104 McGlynn, 147.

105 Hurstfield, 168.

106 Stone concludes that "in the early seventeenth century an earl could not maintain a suitable establishment at the top of the scale on much less than £5,000 a year: £500 for clothes and other personal needs; £1,000 allowance to wife and family, £1,500 to £2,000 for the kitchen, £500 for the stables, £400 for miscellaneous tradesmen's bills, £500 for wages and liveries, £400 for repairs to houses, and £100 for gifts and alms. In addition there was parliamentary taxation, which might amount to as much as £200 a year, pensions to old servants, which varied enormously in size, and the cost of estate management. There were rents of land on lease and fee-farm land, legal costs, and the expense of running parks and gardens and the demesne farm. Over and above all these recurrent charges, there were the extraordinary demands for capital expenditure on marriage portions for daughters, new buildings and royal service, to say nothing of the drain of interest charges on loans and the repayment of capital" (see Stone, *Crisis*, 548).

107 Stone refers to "the cost of attendance at Court in the hope of office, which in the long run was likely to empty the purse of the average baron, unless the Crown came to the rescue" (see Stone, *Crisis*, 186). Although the Queen never appointed de Vere to the Privy Council or any other publicly acknowledged office, he did receive the grant of Castle Rising in Norfolk by letters patent of 15 January 1578. Castle Rising had been the property of his first cousin, Thomas Howard, 4th Duke of Norfolk, whose life de Vere had attempted to save before he was executed for treason on 2 June 1572. By its very nature, the grant would have produced friction between de Vere and his first cousin, Lord Henry Howard (1540-1614), Norfolk's brother, and his first cousin once removed, Norfolk's eldest son, Philip Howard (1557-1595), 13th Earl of Arundel. Moreover, the yearly fees which de Vere was required to pay to the Queen and others for Castle Rising appear to have almost equaled the annual revenue from the property. Within six months of the grant, on 22 June 1578, de Vere sold Castle Rising to Philip Howard's servant, Roger Townshend (c.1544–1590). It seems possible that the entire transaction was a means by which Castle Rising was indirectly returned to the Howards. See TNA C 66/1165, mbs. 34-7 and Norfolk Record Office HOW 144.

108 Phrase "in reversion," conditional upon the expiry of a grant or the death of a person. (OED)

109 The discrepancy between the figure of £680 18s 2-3/4d given in Parts 1-25 of WARD 8/13 for the Queen's thirds, and the much higher figure of £859 9s 8d for the identical lands given in the Queen's grant to Sir Robert Dudley in Part 25 of WARD 8/13 is explained by the fact that as soon as he took possession of the core de Vere lands, Dudley raised rents to the existing tenants and rented out manors and other lands which the 16th Earl had used for the personal occupation and sustenance of himself and his household during his lifetime.

110 Philip Morant, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Essex*, vol. 2 (London: T. Osborne, 1768), 328.

111 TNA WARD 8/13.

112 TNA SP 12/66/47, f. 135, and Baker, 196-8. In TNA WARD 8/13, the annual rental value of the Countess of Oxford's jointure is stated to be £444 15s; in TNA SP 12/66/47, f. 135 it is stated to be £471 19s 5-1/4d.

113 See Baker, 196-8.

114 For the lands and offices which descended to de Vere in tail see TNA SP 12/31/29, ff. 53-

5.

115 A license to traverse (IND 1/10291) in Michaelmas 1573 perhaps indicates that a lawsuit by the Queen against de Vere involving the revenue from Colne Priory and the office of Lord Great Chamberlain was litigated in that year. See Baker, 196. There is also a reference to one or the other of these lawsuits in a memorandum in which Lord Burghley writes that "I did use all the good means that I could to have the case adjudged for him [i.e. de Vere] for the arrearages of lands that descended to him over and above the thirds" (see CP 9/92).

116 TNA PROB 11/46, ff. 174v-6.

117 The figures given in TNA SP 12/44/19, ff. 41-50 suggest that this amount was actually slightly less because certain rents were in arrears.

118 De Vere's maintenance included such items as the cost of room and board for himself and his servants, his clothing, his horses, his education, and all other necessary expenses for someone of his station in life.

119 Although their dates of death are not recorded, Aubrey and Geoffrey Vere had both apparently died by 18 April 1580, when separate fines were levied of the manor of Battles Hall in which Aubrey held a life estate (see TNA CP 25/2/131/1677/22ELIZIEASTER, Item 9) and the manor of Gutteridge, in which Geoffrey held a life estate (see TNA CP 25/2/131/1677/22ELIZIEASTER, Item 6). Their wives were presumably dead by that date as well. Although Battles Hall was not sold to the brother of the composer William Byrd (d.1623) until 1580, on 20 January 1577 a fine was levied of the manor to de Vere's friend and kinsman, Charles Arundel, likely for the purpose of regularizing de Vere's title to the property (see TNA CP 25/2/130/1665/19 ELIZIHIL, Item 31). The life estate in certain lands held by de Vere's third paternal uncle, Robert Vere (d.1598), is mentioned in TNA C 54/626. Robert Vere disposed of his life estate by a fine of 29 June 1579 after the death of his first wife, Barbara (nee Cornwall), the widow of Francis Berners, at which time de Vere also sold his reversionary interest in the lands in question, apparently at his uncle's request (see TNA CP 25/2/131/1675/21/22ELIZITRIN, Item 10 and TNA C 3/251/104).

120 Despite the term of 20 years stipulated in the 16th Earl's will (see TNA PROB 11/46, ff. 174-6v), this revenue appears to have been sequestered from de Vere until 1583, i.e., for 21 years after his father's death. It should also be noted that in the relevant clause the 16th Earl not only set aside the revenue from the enumerated lands for payment of his debts and legacies, but also the residue of all his goods, chattels, jewels, apparel and any debts owing to him, so that there was, in fact, a larger sum available for payment of the 16th Earl's debts and legacies than the annual revenue from the stipulated lands alone.

121 See the will of Sir Ambrose Nicholas, TNA PROB 11/60, and TNA 30/34/14, no. 3.

122 It is a sad commentary on scholarship that modern historians castigate de Vere for profligacy without providing evidence of specific expenditures which could be so characterized. de Vere's continental tour and the renovation of his London mansion of Fisher's Folly appear to have constituted his largest expenditures, and both were reasonable undertakings for someone of his station in life.

123 CP 160/119. Mary de Vere's marriage portion of two thousand marks [=£1333 6s 8d] was to be paid to her by the 16th Earl's executors on the day of her marriage.

124 CP 159/113.

125 See ERO D/Drg2/25.

126 For example, de Vere owed the very large sum of £918 to Thomas Skinner, mercer, and other large sums to jewelers, goldsmiths, haberdashers, tailors and embroiderers.
127 CP 159/113.
128 It appears that de Vere is speaking here of his stepsister Katherine, Lady Windsor, not his sister Mary de Vere. Katherine had been assigned a marriage portion of £1000 in the Act of Parliament by which the 16th Earl's lands were restored to him (see HL/PO/PB/A/1551/5E6n35). One thousand marks [=£666 13s 4d] was still owing when her father-in-law, William (1498-1558), 2nd Lord Windsor, made his will on 10 August 1558 (see TNA PROB 11/42A, ff. 91-4). In addition, the 16th Earl had left Katherine and her husband, Edward (1532?-1575), 3rd Lord Windsor, a legacy of 300 marks [=£200] in his will. Lord Windsor had died on 24 January 1575. Thus the legacy, if still unpaid, was now Katherine's alone. Mary de Vere had been left a marriage portion of 2000 marks [=£1333 13s 4d] in the 16th Earl's will. Katherine's marriage portion of £1000, her legacy of 300 marks, and Mary de Vere's marriage portion of 2000 marks were all to be raised from the revenue of the lands set aside for 20 years in the 16th Earl's will for payment of his debts and performance of his will.
129 CP 8/12.
130 Hurstfield prefers the term "annual rental value."
131 Hurstfield, 84.
132 Hurstfield, 84-5.
133 Hurstfield, 86.
134 Hurstfield, 86.
135 See Hurstfield, 85, and Bell, 55.
136 Hurstfield, 121, quoting from a manuscript treatise on the Court of Wards and Liveries in BL Lansdowne 121, f. 30r.
137 See *Leicester's Commonwealth* at http://www.oxford-shakespeare.com/leicester.html.
138 BL Lansdowne 6/34, ff. 96-7.
139 The jurors in the inquisition *post mortem* had stated in 1563 that the honor or manor of Castle Hedingham and the manors of Lamarsh, Colne Wake, East Bergholt, Thorncombe and Christian Malford were held of the Queen in chief by knight service. Their findings appear to be contradicted by Sir James Dyer's judgment in 1571. Moreover, before stating that Castle Hedingham was held by knight service, the jurors had stated in a prior clause that the tenure by which the honor or manor of Castle Hedingham was held was unknown to them.
140 A statute of 1549 ordained that when an inquisition could not discover the tenure by which land was held, or from whom it was held, it would not automatically be taken as a tenure for the king. Instead a *melius inquierendum* would issue, to inquire further (see McGlynn, 238, and 2 & 3 Edw. VI c. 8, *Statutes of the Realm*, vol. 4, 47-48).
141 Evidence that Sir Robert Dudley had assumed *de facto* control over the core de Vere lands in East Anglia immediately after the 16th Earl's death is found in the Queen's grant of 22 October 1563, by which date Dudley already owed the Queen the sum of £1061 10s 7-3/4d for those lands. Moreover the grant itself states that Dudley is to have and to hold the lands "from the day of the death of the said John de Vere" (see TNA WARD 8/13, Part 25, manor of East Bergholt). The status which his control over these lands gave Dudley can be gauged by a reference in 1565 to "the manor of Heveningham [=Hedingham] Castle, of which the Earl of Leicester is lord" (see TNA SP 12/37/33).
142 32 Henry VIII, c. 1.
143 In practical terms, few tenants in chief disposed of two-thirds of their lands by will. The

widow of the tenant in chief usually held a life estate in the revenue from certain lands as her jointure, and the revenue from other lands was usually set aside for a period of 21 years by the tenant in chief in his will for the payment of his debts and legacies. After the death of the widow and the expiry of the 21-year term, these lands would come to the heir, often under an entail in the original grant.

144 A payment, varying in value and kind according to rank and tenure, made to the overlord by the heir of a feudal tenant on taking up possession of the vacant estate. (OED)

145 The King's prerogative rights were, of course, not new. They had existed since the feudal period. What was new was the provision that a tenant in chief could dispose by will of two-thirds of his lands provided that he left one-third for the exercise of the King's prerogative rights.

146 Hurstfield, 18.

147 Since the Statute of Wills confines itself to lands and makes no mention of offices, it could be argued that the revenue of £103 13s 4d from the office of Lord Great Chamberlain should be excluded from the calculation of the total revenue from which the Queen took her third part.

148 See TNA WARD 8/13, Part 25, manor of East Bergholt.

149 See the grant in TNA WARD 8/13, Part 25, manor of East Bergholt.

150 For these manors, see also TNA SP 12/33/32, ff. 76-81.

151 The manors which came to de Vere as joint purchaser with his father were Castle Camps, Abington, Chesham Higham, Chesham Bury, Whitchurch, Aston Sandford, Acton Trussell, Christian Malford, Thorncombe, Colbrooke, and all his manors in Cornwall. Only a few of the fees and annuities listed in the Queen's decree came out of these manors. They included fees and annuities to Henry Golding, John Lovell, Edward Clere, Richard Wood and John Clench. TNA SP 12/44/119, ff. 41-50 indicates that the fees and annuities of Henry Golding, John Lovell and Richard Wood at least continued to be paid out of de Vere's manors, despite the Queen's decree.

152 See DNB entry for Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester.

153 See *Leicester's Commonwealth* at http://www.oxford-shakespeare.com/leicester.html.

154 As noted earlier, the fact that Dudley immediately raised the rents does not mean that the lands were necessarily undervalued. Dudley had no long-term commitment to the tenants, and the increases likely reflect his desire to turn a quick profit and his lack of concern for the interests of either de Vere or his tenants.

155 See TNA SP 12/31/29, ff. 53-55 for the lands which the Queen originally took as her thirds. Interestingly, the lands originally taken by the Queen as her thirds in this document total only £642 9s 10d, a very modest sum when compared to the revenue of £859 9s 8d per annum which she granted to Dudley on 22 October 1563.

156 TNA SP 12/31/29, ff. 53-55. Essentially, the Queen exchanged the lands comprised in Henry VIII's valuable grant of Colne Priory for the lands in scattered counties which she taken earlier.

157 The Queen's lease dated 28 June 1582 to her kinsman, Charles (1526-1624), 2nd Lord Howard of Effingham, of her thirds in the lands of her ward, Henry Wriothesley (1573-1624), 3rd Earl of Southampton, is an example of a lease in standard form against which the irregularities in the Queen's lease to Sir Robert Dudley can be measured. For example, the Queen did not waive the initial premium in her indenture of lease to Lord Howard of Effingham (see Hampshire Record Office 5M53/273).

158 Hurstfield, 88.

159 The lands were valued in the grant at £859 9s 8d. Under the terms of the grant, Dudley

was required to pay the Queen's feodaries in Essex, Suffolk and Cambridge a total of £803 9s 8-1/2d. The difference of £55 19s 11-1/2d was comprised of various deductions and reprises listed in the grant itself. It should be noted that the yearly rent to the Queen of £66 which ought to have been included in the grant and paid by Dudley for the very valuable property of Colne Priory was omitted from the grant, a matter brought to the attention of Dudley's servant, Robert Christmas, in a letter dated 6 February 1566 from Lord Burghley and other officers of the Court of Wards, by which time the rent was three years in arrears (see TNA SP 15/13/5).

160 TNA WARD 8/13, Part 25, manor of East Bergholt.

161 It is not clear whether there was a single lawsuit with two separate claims or two separate lawsuits.

162 See Baker, 196-8.

163 TNA SP 12/66/47, f. 135.

164 TNA SP 12/31/29, ff. 53-55 states that the lands which descended to de Vere in tail were Colne Priory, Barwick Hall, Inglesthorpe, Colneford Mill, the rectories of Belchamp and Bentley, Hedingham nunnery with the demesne lands, certain lands in Wennington and Langdon Hills, all in Essex; Hinxton and the rectory of Wickham in Cambridgeshire; and three tenements in the City of London and the office of Lord Great Chamberlain, for a total of £343 6s 5-1/4d. All were included in the Queen's grant to Dudley with the exception of the office of Lord Great Chamberlain, and all were included in Henry VIII's grant of Colne Priory with the except of the office of Lord Great Chamberlain and the lands in Wennington and Langdon Hills. It is not clear how the lands in Wennington and Langdon Hills descended in tail.

165 It is not entirely clear whether the second claim was before him for judgment at that time, or whether it had been dealt with earlier, and Dyer was merely reiterating the earlier finding of the court.

166 *The Table-talk of John Selden*, quoted in the OED under the definition of "illegal."

167 The 16th Earl included the Lieutenantship of the Forest of Waltham and the keeping of the house and park of Havering as one of his inherited offices in his indenture of 2 June 1562, but although the jurors made many references to the indenture in the inquisition post mortem of 18 January 1563, they pointedly refrained from any mention of this office.

168 BL Harley 6996/22, ff. 42-3.

169 Hurstfield notes that the grant of the "body" of a ward was "by letters patent issued under the Great Seal," and included an exhibition or maintenance allowance paid by the Court of Wards to the guardian during the ward's minority, the "custodium" or actual possession of the ward, and the maritagium, the right to marry the ward to whomever the guardian chose. See Hurstfield, 89. See also Bell, 122, in which it is stated that the Court of Wards generally gave the legal guardian "along with the wardship of the body, an annuity or exhibition out of the ward's lands, which was intended to be spent on the heir's maintenance and education. In the later days of the Court the exhibition had settled down to an average of one tenth of the yearly value of the lands, but earlier it was more generous."

170 The wardships of Edward de Vere, 17th Earl of Oxford; Philip Howard (1557-1595), 13th Earl of Arundel; Edward Manners (1549-1587), 3rd Earl of Rutland; Roger Manners (1576-1612), 5th Earl of Rutland; Robert Devereux (1565-1601), 2nd Earl of Essex, and Philip (1555-1625), 3rd Lord Wharton, were not sold. The only young nobleman whose wardship was sold during Queen Elizabeth's reign was Henry Wriothesley

(1573-1624), 3rd Earl of Southampton (see Hurstfield, 249, and G.P.V. Akrigg, *Shakespeare and the Earl of Southampton* [Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968], 21-2). According to Akrigg, Southampton's lands were valued at £1,097, and his wardship and marriage were sold to Charles (1526-1624), 2nd Lord Howard of Effingham, for £1000. The sale price confirms Hurstfield's suggestion that the sale price of a wardship was the annual rental value of the lands. By indenture dated 28 June 1582 the Queen also transferred her one-third interest in the revenue from Southampton's lands to Lord Howard during Southampton's minority for £370 8-1/2d per annum plus an initial premium of £200 (see Hampshire Record Office 5M53/273). The sale of Southampton's wardship and the lease of his lands to Lord Howard may have been the result of a deliberate attempt to prevent the wardship and lands from going to Dudley, who was favored by Southampton's mother (see Charlotte Carmichael Stopes, *The Life of Henry, Third Earl of Southampton, Shakespeare's Patron* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1922], 9). Lord Howard was a first cousin of Henry Radcliffe (c.1507-1557), 2nd Earl of Sussex. Southampton's maternal grandmother, Jane Radcliffe, was Henry Radcliffe's half-sister. Thus, although Southampton's wardship was sold, it was sold within the family, and more importantly, it was apparently deliberately kept from Dudley, perhaps because by 1581 it had become abundantly clear how disastrously his control of the core lands of the Oxford earldom had affected de Vere's financial situation. In 1588, Lord Burghley also opposed Dudley's efforts to obtain the wardship of Roger Manners (1576-1612), 5th Earl of Rutland, likely for the same reason.

171 Bell, 124.

172 CP 25/105. The document is undated. However, as a relatively small payment in it for mean rates was scheduled to be paid by de Vere on 1 November 1571, the document indicates that de Vere had entered into at least one of the obligations comprising his debt to the Court of Wards by 1 November 1571. There are also notes in Lord Burghley's hand on BL Lansdowne 68/11, ff. 22-3 referring to the bonds entered into by de Vere to pay for his wardship: "9 obligations for his wardship – debt £1800 – penalty £2700"; "for covenants upon his wardship £3000."

173 De Vere was technically still in wardship until the Queen granted him license to enter on his lands on 30 May 1572, over a year after he had come of age on 12 April 1571. However this would be tenuous ground on which to base an argument that the Queen granted his wardship to his own use for a fine of £2000.

174 TNA SP 12/36/47.

175 TNA PROB 11/46, ff. 174v-6.

176 HMC Rutland, i, 94.

177 ERO D/DRg 2/24.

178 The 3rd Earl of Southampton was allegedly assessed an enormous fine of £5000 for refusing the marriage proposed for him by his legal guardian to de Vere's daughter, Elizabeth. It is not known whether Southampton paid the fine since the sole reference to it is found in a letter from the Jesuit Henry Garnet endorsed 19 November 1594, about six weeks after Southampton reached the age of majority, stating that "The young Earl of Southampton, refusing the Lady Vere, payeth £5000 of present payment." See Stonyhurst MSS., Anglia. Vol. I, n. 82, cited in Akrigg, 39.

179 For the fine of £2000, see TNA C 2/Eliz/T6/48, CP 25/105, BL Lansdowne 68/11, ff. 22-3, 28.

180 While it is referred to in CP 25/105 and in Lord Burghley's notes in BL Lansdowne 68/11,

ff. 22-3 as a fine for wardship, in TNA C 2/Eliz/T6/48 it is referred to as a fine for "wardship and marriage," while de Vere himself refers to it in BL Lansdowne 68/11, ff. 22-23 and 28 simply as "the fine of my marriage." Hurstfield is not helpful on this point. He writes that de Vere "had entered into obligations to purchase his marriage from the Court of Wards, a necessary procedure before he could be free to marry Anne Cecil," treating the situation as though it were a matter of course for a ward to purchase his own marriage from the Queen, rather than the anomaly it actually was (see Hurstfield, 253).

181 McGlynn, 53.

182 An allowance of money for a person's support. (OED) A guardian's obligations included a ward's "drink, food and clothing" (see McGlynn, 157).

183 CP 76/34.

184 The figures are taken from CP 25/105. The figures given in TNA C 2/Eliz/T6/48 and in Lord Burghley's notes in BL Lansdowne 68/11, ff. 22-3, 28 vary slightly, but the differences amount to no more than a shilling. The total debt is given in Lord Burghley's notes as £3306 18s 9d.

185 BL Lansdowne 68/11, ff. 22-3, 28.

186 John (d.1581), Lord Darcy of Chiche was the son of Thomas (d.1558), Lord Darcy of Chiche, and his second wife, the 16th Earl of Oxford's sister, Elizabeth de Vere. As noted below, Darcy had previously been married to Audrey Rainsford, the sister of Juliane Rainsford, the mother of de Vere's other guarantor, Sir William Waldegrave (d.1613).

187 There is a monument in the Church of St. Mary the Virgin in Bures, Suffolk, to Sir William Waldegrave with the inscription "Here lieth buried Sir William Waldegrave, knight, and Dame Elizabeth, his wife, who lived together in godly marriage 21 years, and had issue 6 sons and 4 daughters. The said Elizabeth departed this life the 10th day of May in the year of Our Lord 1581, and the said Sir William deceased the 1st day of August in the year of Our Lord 1613." Waldegrave was the son of Sir William Waldegrave (1507-1554) and his wife, Juliane, the daughter of Sir John Rainsford (d.1559) of Bradfield in Essex. As noted above, Juliane Rainsford's sister, Audrey, married, as his first wife, Thomas (d.1558), Lord Darcy of Chiche, a marriage not noticed in *The Complete Peerage*, but noticed in the biography of Sir John Rainsford (d.1559) in *The History of Parliament* at http://www.histparl.ac.uk. Sir William Waldegrave's wife, Elizabeth, is said to have been a sister of Thomas Mildmay; it seems likely she was also a sister of Sir Walter Mildmay (1521-1589). After her death, Sir William Waldegrave (d.1613) married Grissell, the youngest daughter of William (1506-1563), 1st Baron Paget of Beaudesert.

188 A Statute Merchant or a Statute Staple was a bond or recognizance by which the creditor had the power of holding the debtor's lands in case of default. (OED)

189 TNA C 2/Eliz/T6/48. Lord Burghley refers in BL Lansdowne 103/47, f. 109 to the "2 statutes made to the Lord Darcy and Sir William Waldegrave of £12,000 by the Earl of Oxford" (see Christopher Paul, "A Crisis of Scholarship: Misreading the Earl of Oxford," *The Oxfordian*, vol. 9 [2006], 91-112 at 111).

190 In full, "writ of extent": A writ to recover debts of record due to the Crown, under which the body, lands, and goods of the debtor may be all seized at once to compel payment of the debt. (OED)

191 The figure of £150,000 includes the two statutes of £6000 apiece to Darcy and Waldegrave.

192 Even Nelson, who has little sympathy for de Vere's financial difficulties, admits that in 1571, even taking into account Lord Burghley's promise of a marriage portion for Anne Cecil in the amount of £3,000 "Oxford's financial condition was nonetheless dire" (see Alan H. Nelson, *Monstrous Adversary; The life of Edward de Vere, 17th Earl of Oxford* [Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2003], 74).

193 See also Nina Green, "An Earl in Bondage," *The Shakespeare Oxford Society Newsletter* (Summer 2004), vol. 40, no. 3, at 1, 13-17.

194 CP 25/105.

195 In BL Lansdowne 68/11, ff. 22-3, 28, de Vere gives the figure for the forfeitures in round numbers as £11,000.

196 BL Lansdowne 68/11, f. 22. As mentioned earlier, the figures in TNA C 2/Eliz/T6/48, CP 25/105 and BL Lansdowne 68/11, f. 22 vary by a shilling, but the difference is insignificant. De Vere's original debt to the Court of Wards in round figures was £3306, of which he paid £200, and the total amount of bonds he forfeited for non-payment of the rest of the original debt, in round figures, was £11, 446.

197 Although de Vere and Anne Cecil were married on 16 December 1571, Lord Burghley had not yet paid this marriage portion by 2 September 1573, at which time de Vere wrote: "And for [Anne Cecil's] jointure, £669 6s 8d, in consideration whereof I require of your Lordship for my marriage money £3000, and am content to resign over Combe again." (see CP 159/113). A later note made by Lord Burghley suggests that the marriage portion had been paid prior to 25 April 1576: "£3000 given with her, beside half as much otherwise expended" (see CP 160/99). See also Stone, *Crisis,* 638.

198 Dudley himself died owing the crown £35,087, while Sir Christopher Hatton died owing about £42,000. See Mary E. Hazard, *Elizabethan Silent Language* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2000), 118.

199 Lawrence Stone, *Family and Fortune* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973), 171-3.

Francis Meres and the Earl of Oxford

Robert Detobel and K.C. Ligon

> "As early as 1598 a shameless name-dropper named Francis Meres began the liturgical chant, claiming that 'As Plautus and Seneca are accounted the best for Comedy and Tragedy among the Latines: so Shakespeare among the English is the most excellent in both kinds for the stage."[1]
>
> "In truth, Meres was neither a profound nor industrious gatherer of commonplaces; in many respects the *Palladis Tamia* seems to be the work of a hack who had a contracted obligation to fulfill."[2]
>
> "This chapter uses the simile format to compare classical authors to their contemporary English counterparts, and it constitutes a unique and extremely valuable survey of English literature at the end of the sixteenth century."[3]

Who was Francis Meres, really? An attentive observer of the London literary scene who recognized Shakespeare's incommensurable genius and left an "extremely valuable survey" of contemporary English literature?

Or was he a "shameless name-dropper," the first high-priest of bardolatry, reeling off names of ancient and English authors like names of saints in a litany? And what kind of work is this *Palladis Tamia,* more particularly the "Comparative Discourse" in which Shakespeare is likened to Plautus for comedy and to Seneca for tragedy? The reputable scholar G.E. Bentley puts it in a row of popular commonplace books of the age: "John Cotgrave's *English Treasury of Wit and Language*, 1655, is a book of quotations much in the tradition of earlier commonplace books like *Politeuphuia*, *Wits Commonwealth*, 1597, *Palladis Tamia*, *Wits Treasury*, 1598, *Wits Theatre of the Little World*, 1599, *Belvedere*, 1600, and *Wits Labyrinth*, 1648. Like the other five, it consists of a large number of quotations from a variety of authors, classified according to subjects — Adversity, Beauty, Chastity, Envy, Heaven, Sin, Women."[4]

In Bentley's chronological listing it stands between two other commonplace

books, the first and third part of the series *Wit's Commonwealth*. The first part of *Wit's Commonwealth*, *Politeuphuia*, opens with a section "Of God"; the third part of *Wit's Commonwealth*, *Theatre of the Little World*, opens with a section "Of God"; the second part of *Wit's Commonwealth*, Francis Meres's *Palladis Tamia - Wit's Treasury*, opens with a section "Of God." What distinguishes Meres's commonplace book from the other two of the series is the presence of a section on art, mainly literature, in which Meres heaps praise on four contemporary poets: Michael Drayton, Samuel Daniel, Edmund Spenser and above all William Shakespeare, and simply lists a great number of others, in the overwhelming majority of cases without mentioning more than their bare names.

The heading "A comparative discourse of our English Poets, with the *Greeke, Latine, and Italian Poets*" is misleading. The first paragraph contains no "discourse" at all, only a simple symmetric arrangement of names of ancient and English authors. The second paragraph contains only a short piece of discourse: "As *Homer* is reputed the Prince of Greek Poets; and *Petrarch* of Italian Poets: so *Chaucer* is accounted the God of English Poets." Yet, this morsel is not Meres'own but a quotation from William Webbe's *Discourse of English Poetry*, published in 1585, thirteen years before *Palladis Tamia*: "*Chaucer*, who for that excellent fame which he obtained in his Poetry was always accounted the God of English Poets." Apparently G.E. Bentley did not hold Meres' discourse to be of a sufficiently distinctive quality to set his commonplace book apart from the other ones. Nor did Meres himself claim such a distinction. In his dedication to Thomas Eliot of the Middle Temple he acknowledges in somewhat bombastic similes that his book is the second part of a triad of commonplace books under the generic name *Wit's Commonwealth*:

"And now I have my wished desire. Wherefore I may rejoice for three things, as *Philip* King of *Macedonia* rejoiced. He joiced that he had won the Games at *Olympus* by the running of his chariots; that his captain *Parmenio* had overthrown the Dardarians; and that his wife *Olympia* had born him a son, called Alexander: So I exceedingly rejoice, and am glad at my heart, that the first part of *Wit's Commonwealth*, containing sentences, hath like a brave champion gloriously marched and got such renowned fame by swift running, equivalent with *Philip*'s chariots, that thrice within one year it hath run through the press. If this second part of mine, called *Wit's Treasury* containing similitudes, being a stalk of the same stem, shall have the like footmanship, and find the same success, then with *Parmenio* I shall be the second in *Philip*'s joy. And then *Philip*'s joy will eftsoon be full, for his *Alexander*, whom not *Olympia*, but a worthy scholar is conceiving, who will fill the third part of *Wit's Commonwealth* with more glorious examples than great Alexander did the world with valiant and heroical exploits."

Though Meres places the gathering of commonplaces above the historical feats of Alexander the Great he did not, in fact, think higher of his task than that of John Bodenham's, the gatherer of the commonplaces for parts 1 and 3 of *Wit's Commonwealth*. In 1904 Gregory Smith qualified Meres' "Comparative Discourse" within *Palladis Tamia* as a "directory of writers" and his method as "absolute scissors and paste."[5] It is not much of an exaggeration.

Don C. Allen probably came closest to the mark when he spoke of one who "had a contracted obligation to fulfill." Though Meres was without doubt more than a "hack," his "Comparative Discourse" is no less a compilation than the rest of his book, or than the other two books of the *Wit's Commonwealth* series are. The above verbatim borrowing from another work is the rule, not the exception. Hardly any textual passage in "Comparative Discourse" is not borrowed from existing works. Meres has therefore occasionally been accused of plagiarism.

What might we expect as we inch along in a jam of fifty-eight paragraphs, all of them shaped according to the same monotonous formula? The first paragraph reads:

> As Greece had three Poets of great antiquity *Orpheus*, *Linus*, *Musoeus* and Italy, other three auncient Poets, *Livius Andronicus*, *Ennius*, *Plautus*: So hath England three auncient Poets, *Chaucer*, *Gower*, *Lydgate*.

Few begin differently. They all take the form of an equation with the As-side listing ancient authors (in a few cases an Italian and in even fewer cases a French or Spanish author), and an equal number of English authors listed on the So-side. The message is a simple one: the symmetry asserts that English literature can stand the comparison with ancient literature. Were it not for the symmetric structure, Meres' "Comparative Discourse" would be an amorphous succession of names. It is still a monotonous one. But:

> Sometimes in a heap of mud,
> A piece of gold is shut.

Wit's Commonwealth*: a Publishing Project*

The commonplace book series *Wit's Commonwealth* presents all the features of a project of one or more publishers. Who could have ordered *Palladis Tamia*, the second part of *Wit's Commonwealth*? It is reasonable to search Meres' employers among the publishers of *Wit's Commonwealth*, the whole of the series. We meet two old acquaintances: the publisher of the first and third part was Nicholas Ling, the printer of both was James Roberts. *Palladis Tamia* was published by Cuthbert Burby and printed by Peter Short. But Cuthbert Burby stood in some partnership relation with Nicholas Ling. In 1607, shortly before his death, he transferred some of his copies to the latter. On the publishing side, then, we have two men who were occcasional partners. Cuthbert Burby published the two amended second issues of *Love's Labour's Lost* (1598) and *Romeo and Juliet* (1599). He also published Meres' translation of the second book of Luis de Granada's *A Sinner's Guide*. Ling and Burby may have been Meres' employers.

Was Meres a "Plagiarist"?

In his *Discourse of English Poetry* (1585) William Webbe writes: "And *Cicero* in his *Tusculane* questions is of that minde, that a Poet cannot expresse verses aboundantly...."[6] Meres repeats this phrase *verbatim*, and, likewise, does not scruple to borrow almost literally from other authors, most heavily from Puttenham's *The Arte of English Poesie*. A list is prefixed to his book naming the authors from whom he quotes; among them Philip Sidney and John Harington in the section "Poetry" preceding the two sections "Poets" and "A comparative discourse." But authors from whom he borrows in these two latter sections are not listed: Webbe, Puttenham, Roger Ascham, and others. Should Meres, therefore, be accused of plagiarism?

Actually, we do not think so. After all, the "Comparative Discourse" was part of his commonplace book. A commonplace book by definition is a collection of citations. Hence, Meres continued to practice what he did in the rest of his book, where he translates quotes ordered according to subjects, though here, in the "Comparative Discourse," without listing the sources. Given that few of his comments are his own and that not a single work is mentioned for the majority of listed authors, calling Meres a "literary critic," and his "Comparative Discourse" an "extremely valuable survey of English literature," seems very wide of the mark indeed.

Meres' "Expertise"

Nonetheless, two mentions seem to indicate that Meres was keeping his ear to the literary ground. He knew that Michael Drayton was busy writing his *Poly-Olbion*. "Michael Drayton is now in penning in English verse a Poem called *Poly-olbion* Geographical and Hydrographicall of all the forests, woods, mountaines, fountaines, rivers, lakes, flouds, bathes and springs that be in England." The work was not published until 1612/13. He also includes Everard Guilpin's satire *Skialetheia*, registered as late as 15 September 1598, a full week after the registration of *Palladis Tamia*.

But one man would have known better than anyone, even Francis Meres, about Guilpin's forthcoming satire: Nicholas Ling. It was entered to him and he published it. The printer was again James Roberts. Possibly, the work was still in the process of being printed when Meres' *Palladis Tamia* was published. Ling must also have known that Drayton was composing his *Poly-Olbion*. Had he not died in 1607 he is likely to have published that work. He published nearly all the works of Drayton before 1607, always with James Roberts as printer. Nicholas Ling thus appears as the driving force behind the whole *Wit's Commonwealth* project. He signed the dedication and the epistle to the reader of the first part and it is likely that the unsigned dedication and epistle of the third part are also his work.

Meres' Method

In paragraph 36 on iambic poets or hexametrists, Meres clearly describes his method: "Among the Greeks I will name but two for Iambics, *Archilochus Parius* and *Hipponax Ephesius*: So amongst us I name but two iambical poets, *Gabriel Harvey*, and *Richard Stanyhurst*, because I have seene no more in this kind."

Don C. Allen[7] was probably the first to discover the main source from which Meres had taken the names of the ancient authors, Ravisius Textor's *Officina*, a then widely used encyclopedia.[8] Textor, of course, lists many more ancient authors of alexandrines (iambic hexameters). But as Meres can only find two English hexametrists, he selects only two from Textor. In the same way he chooses only as many ancient authors of tragedy as he can find English ones (fourteen), the same for comedy (sixteen), and so on.

In one case, however, Meres commits a blunder serious enough to have his scholarship called into question by Allen. "It should be apparent from this account that Meres's statements about Greek and Latin poets were at second hand. However, Meres commits a greater sin than ignorance, since he gives definite evidence on one occasion that he was stupid. In his section on satirists, Meres records among the Latin writers of this sort Lucullus and Lucilius. The latter name falls within the definition, but the former, Lucullus, was at best a historian."[9] The paragraph in question reads [the numbering is ours]:

> As 1. *Horace*, 2. *Lucilius*, 3. *Iuvenall*, 4. *Persius* & 5. *Lucullus* are the best for Satire among the Latins: So with us in the same faculty these are chiefe 1. *Piers Plowman*, 2. *Lodge*, 3. *Hall* of Imanuel Colledge in Cambridge, 4. the Authour of *Pigmalions Image*, *and certaine Satyrs*, 5. *the Author of Skialetheia*.

The author of *Pygmalion's Image and certain satires*, published in 1598 by E. Mattes and printed by James Roberts, was Kinsayder, the pseudonym of John Marston. Meres knew Kinsayder to be a pseudonym and thus omitted the name. Of course James Roberts and Nicholas Ling must also have known it. Guilpin's *Skialetheia* had been published anonymously by Nicholas Ling and printed by James Roberts. How was Meres "stupid"? The error in the case of Lucullus is Textor's, not Meres', since the tenth paragraph in Textor's list begins: "Lucullus Satyrographus, ex Arunca urbe Italiae." This clearly explains Meres' error and provides a very tangible proof of his use of the *Officina*. However, if this is accepted, how can Lucilius, who is not found in Textor's catalog (but whom Meres places correctly among the Latin satirists), be accounted for? The *Officina* gives the explanation of this and also indicates Meres' method of compiling data."[10] Immediately after the heading "De poetis Graecis et Latinis" Textor refers to Petrus Crinitus, an author of the biographies of ninety-five poets. "These biographies were exceedingly popular in the first half of the century and were used for the *vitae* of most editions of classical authors published at that time. In this small book there is no mention of Lucullus,

but in the same order as that of the *Officina* is noticed: "C. Lucilius Satyrarum scriptor... Ex Arunca urbe Ausoniae fuit."[11]

Our hypothesis is that Meres was less stupid than tricky. The only difference between Crinitus and Textor is that the former uses the ancient name of Italy: Ausonia. As the name of the author differs only by three letters and the name of the town is identical, this can hardly have been the cause of the error. But Meres was facing a difficulty. In all other cases he could find names in overplus in Textor's *Officina* to select as many authors in the genre as there were English authors. Here, for satirists, the situation was reversed. Textor mentions only four satirists but there were many more English satirists at hand. Disregarding the printing error in Textor allowed Meres to add one name more. It was not a scholarly procedure, but he could keep to his symmetric structure. Still, the paragraph conspicuously lacks one name. Though separately mentioned, Thomas Nashe, the outstanding satirist of the 1590s, is left out in favour of two newcomers, Marston and Guilpin. This decision seems to have rested more on commercial than scholarly considerations. Guilpin was published by Ling and printed by Roberts, Marston was printed by Roberts.

Infatuated with Numerology

Meres' dedication begins with the words "Tria sunt omnia" ("all things come in threes"). Apart from the last sentence, every other line in the euphuistic dedication is a variation on this motto. It returns in his "Comparative Discourse." In numerology three, and its multiples six and twelve, are perfect numbers. Four poets are given special mention in the "Comparative Discourse": Edmund Spenser, William Shakespeare, Samuel Daniel, and Michael Drayton. Spenser and Daniel are given three paragraphs, Shakespeare four, Drayton six.

Spenser published his *Fairie Queene* in two parts, books I-III in 1590, books IV-VI in 1596, and each of them is mentioned in a paragraph. The third paragraph is for *The Shepherd's Calendar.* None of his other publications — the collected poems in *Complaints* (1591), *Daphnaida* (1591), *Colin Clouts come home againe* (1595), the sonnet cycle *Amoretti* and *Epithalamion* (1595) — is mentioned.

Samuel Daniel is mentioned with three works: *Delia*, *Rosamond* and *Civil Wars*. His tragedy *Cleopatra* (1594) is omitted.

Michael Drayton is mentioned with six works : *The civil wars of Edward the second, and the Barons* (*Mortimeriados, or the Baron's Wars*); *England's Heroical Epistles*; *Robert of Normandy*; *Matilda*; *Peirs Gaveston*; *Poly-Olbion*. *Idea* (1593) and *Endimion and Phoebe* (1595) are omitted.

Symmetry and homespun numerology are thus favored over completeness, and this holds true in Shakespeare's case. Of four paragraphs, two contain general statements without mention of works. One paragraph cites his poems, honoring the "all good things come in threes" principle by mentioning *Venus and Adonis*, *The Rape of Lucrece*, and the *Sonnets*, subsuming the rest under "&c." Twelve plays are mentioned, six comedies and six tragedies.

Balancing and counterbalancing are other quirks exhibited by Meres. Among the comedies, *Love's Labour's Lost* is counterbalanced by *Love's Labour's Won*, a title which, as far as we know, has never been convincingly traced[12] and has triggered much speculation about which play could actually be meant. Though *Much Ado About Nothing* and *All's Well That Ends Well* seem plausible candidates, it cannot be ruled out that the title simply derives from Meres's fondness of antithesis, a figure which looms large in euphuistic style. He practices the same in his paragraphs on tragedy and comedy, mentioning for tragedy first an author of the University of Cambridge, then one of Oxford, following the reverse order in the paragraph on comedy.

Meres's Arithmetic "Errors"

From the paragraph on satirists we have seen how tenaciously Meres adhered to symmetry. He was even prepared to use a cheap trick, profiting from a printing error to get one ancient satirist, more than he had found in his source, the *Officina* of Ravisius Textor, and willing to deny the true standing of the foremost contemporary satirist Thomas Nashe. To control whether Meres always counted correctly seems as sensible as counting sheep to fall asleep. However, one person has not thought it beneath his scientific dignity to do exactly that. In a speech delivered to the De Vere Society in England the late Enoch Powell noted that Meres did not list the same number of ancient and English authors of comedy. There were sixteen ancient and seventeen English authors, Powell pointed out. The paragraph, in other words, was unbalanced! He concluded: "It would be a natural assumption that one name was added without corresponding adjustment of the symmetry. It also happens to be the one place where there is a reference to Edward Earl of Oxford."[13]

Other inferences are possible. Orthodox scholars could argue that this proves "beyond doubt" that Oxford and Shakespeare were two different persons. Oxfordians, however, could argue that the asymmetry is a deliberate imbalance, and that it points to the identity of Oxford as Shakespeare; the asymmetry would thus be illusory, the paragraph *looks* asymmetrical but is not. Powell's observation on the unequality between the number of ancient and English authors is correct, but to test the validity of his interpretation it would be necessary to examine whether the rule of symmetry had been broken in other paragraphs. Suddenly, a dreadfully tedious occupation looked, if not exciting, much less tedious and at any rate, worth the counting. Certainly, if this were the only paragraph where Meres missed his numbers, the supernumerary might be significant.

Results

Meres always observes some kind of symmetry, which is achieved in three ways:

1) The same number of Greek, Latin, and English poets.
   As seen above, in the first paragraph three Greek (*Orpheus*, *Linus*,

Musoeus) and three Latin authors (*Livius Andronicus*, *Ennius*, *Plautus*) are set against three English authors (*Chaucer*, *Gower*, *Lydgate*).

In the second paragraph we have one Greek (*Homer*) and one Italian (*Petrarch*) against one English (*Chaucer*). Also para. 8: eight Greek and eight Latin against eight English. Para. 12, one Greek (*Theocritus*) and one Latin (*Virgil*) against one English (*Spenser*). To this can be added the rather odd para. 52: "As *Achilles* tortured the dead body of *Hector*, and as *Antonius*, and his *Fulvia* tormented the liveless corps of *Cicero*: So *Gabriel Harvey* hath shewed the same inhumanity to *Greene* that lies full low in his grave."

2) One poet is set off against each of two poets.

In Para. 9, *Xenophon* & *Heliodorus*, both Greek authors, are likened to *Sir Philip Sidney*, in para. 12, *Lucan* to *Daniel* & *Drayton*. The proportion 2:1 counterbalances the proportion 1:2.

3) A difference in the **number of poets** is made up for by **adding works.** Thus, in para. 18, *Drayton* is mentioned with three works:

As *Accius*, *M. Attilius* and *Milithus* were called Tragoediographi, because they writ Tragedies: So may we truly term *Michael Drayton* Tragoediographus, for his passionate penning the downfals of valiant *Robert of Normandy*, chast *Matilda*, and great *Gaveston*.

Paragraph 38 on pastoral poetry contains another example.

4) In all other paragraphs there is always the same number on the **As-side** (Greek, Latin, Italian, French (1), Spanish (1), and the **So-side** (English).

However, four paragraphs present exceptions to this established pattern. The asymmetry is not balanced out by any devices. In these four cases there is a supernumerary. To restore symmetry we would have to posit the phrase from Shakespeare's sonnet 136: "Among a number one is reckoned none."

These four paragraphs are:

Paragraph 7: [numbering is ours]:

As these Neoterickes [1] *Iovianus Pontanus* [2] *Politianus* [3] *Marullus Tarchaniota* [4] the two *Strozæ*, the father and the son, [5] *Palingenius* [6] *Mantuanus* [7] *Philelphus* [8] *Quintianus Stoa* [9] *Germanus Brixius* have obtained renown and good place among the ancient Latin Poets: so also these English men being Latine Poets [1] *Gualter Haddon* [2] *Nicholas Car* [3]

Gabriel Harvey [4] *Christopher Ocland* [5] *Thomas Newton* with his *Leyland* [6] *Thomas Watson* [7] *Thomas Campion* [8] *Brunswerd* & [9] *Willey*, have attained good report and honorable advancement in the Latin Empyre.

The two Strozzi are the Latin writing Florentines, Vespasiano Strozzi (1424-1505), the father, and Ercole Strozzi (1473-1508), the son. Is there really asymmetry? The answer is yes, and no. There is **asymmetry of persons** (10: 9), but **symmetry of names**, as only **one name** is given for the **two** Strozzi. One name thus stands for two persons.

Paragraph 39:

These and many other *Epigrammatists* the Latin tongue hath [1] *Q. Catulus* [2] *Porcius Licinius* [3] *Quintus Cornificius* [4] *Martial* [5] *Cn. Getulicus*, and [6] wittie sir *Thomas Moore*: so in English we have these, So [1] *Heywood* [2] *Drante* [3] *Kendal* [4] *Bastard* [5] *Davies*.

We have six Latin epigrammatists, including Sir Thomas More, who wrote in Latin, and only five English epigrammatists. There is undeniably asymmetry of names, but the asymmetry of persons is only apparent. The name **Davies** stands for **two contemporeanous epigrammatists**, Sir John Davies (1569-1626) and John Davies of Hereford (ca. 1565-1618). So we have the reverse relation of para. 7, namely *asymmetry of names but symmetry of persons* operated by the same means: one name stands for two persons.

Schematically,

Para. 7 : N, P+1 (on As-side) : N, P (on So-side);
Para. 39 : N+1, P (on As-side) : N, P (on So-side).

Counterbalancing requires this to be mirrored on the So-side. What we have to find are two paragraphs of this structure:

Para. X: N, P (on As-side) : N, P+1 (on So-side)
Para. Y: N, P (on As-side) : N+1, P (on So-side).

"Paragraph X" is paragraph 46, on the art of translation:

As [1] *Terence* for his translations out of *Appolodorus & Menander*, and [2] *Aquilus* for his translation out of *Menander*, and [3] *C. Germanicus Augustus* for his out of *Aratus*, and [4] *Ausonius* for his translated *Epigrams* out of Greeke, and [5] Doctor *Johnson* for his *Frogge-fight* out of *Homer*, and [6] *Watson* for his *Antigone* out of

> *Sophocles*, have good commendations: So these versifiers for their learned translations are of good note among us, [1] *Phaere* for *Virgils Aeneads*, [2] *Golding* for *Ovids Metamorphosis* [3] *Harington* for his *Orlando Furioso* [4] the translators of *Seneca*'s *Tragedies* [5] *Barnabe Googe* for *Palingenius* [6] *Turbervile* for *Ovids Epistles* and *Mantuan* and [7] *Chapman* for his inchoate *Homer*.

The translators of Seneca are given as a nameless entity, as a one-ness. We have an equal number of names but not of persons. A nameless collectivity stands for several persons.

"Paragraph Y" is 34, on comedy:

> The best Poets for Comedy among the Greeks are these [1] *Menander* [2] *Aristophanes* [3] *Eupolis Atheniensis* [4] *Alexius Terius* [5] *Nicostratus* [6] *Amipsias Atheniensis* [7] *Anaxandrides Rhodius* [8] Aristonymus [9] Archippus Atheniensis and [10] Callias Atheniensis and among the Latines [11] *Plautus* [12] *Terence* [13] *Naevius* [14] *Sext*. *Turpilius* [15] *Licinius Imbrex* and [16] *Virgilius Romanus*: so the best for Comedy amongst us bee [1] *Edward* Earl of Oxford [2] Doctor *Gager* of Oxford [3] Master *Rowley*, once a rare Scholler of learned Pembroke Hall in Cambridge [4] Master *Edwardes* one of her Majesty's Chapel, [5] eloquent and witty *John Lily* [6] *Lodge* [7] *Gascoigne* [8] *Greene* [9] *Shakespeare* [10] *Thomas Nashe* [11] *Thomas Heywood* [12] *Anthony Munday*, our best plotter [13] *Chapman* [14] *Porter* [15] *Wilson* [16] *Hathway* [17] *Henry Chettle*.

We have N + 1 names. To be balanced as group, it is necessary that P, the number of persons, should be the same (as in the case of the two epigrammatists John Davies). Which means that two names must stand for one and the same person.

Theoretically there are as many possibilities as combinations: 17!/16!2! = 17x16 : 2 = 136. It is not necessary to check each of them. An overwhelming preponderance of evidence already adduced in a series of compelling studies suggest the obvious conclusion that the duplicated names are "Shakspeare" and Edward de Vere, 17th Earl of Oxford, Lord Great Chamberlain of England. Far from contradicting this body of evidence, Meres' arithmetical arrangements confirm the hypothesis and show that contemporary insiders like Meres not only understood the authorship ruse but found ingenious methods to communicate their knowledge: Edward, Earl of Oxford, and Shakespeare are one and the same person.

Can this pattern of deviations from symmetry, in itself balanced, be ascribed to mere chance? We do not think this a reasonable assumption, the less so because the square of departures carries a meaning, a contrapuntal composition on the theme, "What's in a name?" In one case the crucial name indicates the relation from father to son; in the second case the name stands for two unrelated namesakes; in the third case, the item causing the asymmetry of person is an anonymous entity; in the fourth case the relationship is pseudonymous.

It seems as if we are encountering an example of the phenomena historians have frequently observed in courtly society: something is concealed, and at the same time revealed. Here de Vere is concealed and at the same time, by a fugue-like textural procedure, revealed as Shakespeare.

Which 16th- and 17th-century reader would have seen it? Kent A. Hieatt may give us a hint.[14] The work analyzes Edmund Spenser's poem *Epithalamion*. He points out that, as in other works of the Renaissance, the poem follows a symbolic structure. "Understanding of this symbolism requires at least some knowledge of the geography and values of a particular medieval-Renaissance world-view... This method requires that beneath a simple literal surface profound symbolic communication of an integrated continuity should take place covertly...."

Elizabethan readers were better exercised in allegorical, multi-layer reading, especially those persons to whom court rituals were familiar. Ultimately, Meres' list of the "best for Comedy" is not so very different from Spenser's arrangement in the fourth Book of *The Fairie Queene***.** Alistair Fowler explains that the eighteen knights symbolize concord.[15] But "concord is repeatedly impaired by significant departures from the pattern." The departure from the pattern consists in the inclusion of a mock knight named Braggadocchio. And he adds:

> Although several features of the tournament episode remain obscure, we can at least be sure that it is not intended merely as a portrayal of physical conflict...It is meant rather as a poetic imitation of a *balletic* tournament, of a kind which actually took place in the sixteenth century. Frances Yates' recent account of tournaments at the Valois court has indicated some of the ways in which ideals of political and cosmic order were set forth by means of symbolic arrangements. The symbolism of place and number in Spenser's tournament is in a similar mode.[16]

To understand what "actually took place" in the sixteeenth century, we would do well to learn this courtly language again. "Comparative discourse" does not operate quite in the manner of Spenser's tournament, but the device is analogous. The symmetry is broken and at the same time preserved, through the ambivalent use of names.

Endnotes

[1] Taylor, Gary. *Reinventing Shakespeare*. London: The Hogarth Press. 1990, 380.
[2] Meres, Francis. *Palladis Tamia. Wits Treasury*. Printed by P. Short for Cuthbert Burbie. 1598. Facsimile Reprint of the Church copy in the Henry E. Huntington Library. Introduction by Don C. Allen, vii.
[3] Entry on Meres by David Kathman, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.
[4] Bentley, Gerald Eades. "John Cotgrave's *English Treasury of Wit and Language* and the Elizabethan Drama" in *Studies in Philology*, Vol. XL, 1943, 186.
[5] Smith, G. Gregory. *Elizabethan Critical Essays*., vol. I, xiii and xxi.
[6] Webbe, William. "A Discourse of English Poetry" in Gregory Smith, *Critical Essays*, Vol. I, 231.
[7] Allen, Don C. "The Classical Scholarship of Francis Meres" in *PMLA*, XLVIII: 1 (March 1933), 418-425.
[8] The work can be accessed on the Web at http://bibserv21.bib.uni-mannheim.de:8080/openedu/library/opac/library.opac.detail.html?pos=1&query=ut%3D%22officina%22&sort=py+desc%2C+ti+asc&mode=titles
[9] Allen, "Classical Scholarship," 425.
[10] Allen, "Classical Scholarship."
[11] Allen, "Classical Scholarship."
[12] The booklist of the stationer Christopher Hunt seems to indicate that the title was known. But so little is further known about this list that it seems premature to consider it definitive evidence for the existence of such a title.
[13] Powell, Enoch. *Francis Meres and the Authorship Question. A paper delivered to the de Vere Society, Oxford, on the twenty-fifth of February 1988 by the Rt. Hon. J. Enoch Powell* (unpublished manuscript).
[14] Hieatt, Kent A. *Short Time's Endless Monument*, Columbia: Columbia University Press, 1960, 6.
[15] Fowler, Alistair. *Spenser and the Number of Time*, London, 1964, 179.
[16] Fowler, 179-180.

Shakespeare's Many Much Ado's: *Alcestis*, Hercules, and *Love's Labour's Wonne*

Earl Showerman

Twentieth century scholarship has largely disputed the possibility that Shakespeare employed Greek dramatic sources in writing his plays. The consensus has been that most of the Greek canon, including the works of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, had not been translated or printed in England by Shakespeare's time, and as Greek poetry was not included in the curriculum of English grammar schools, the author could not have been directly influenced by the Attic tragedians.

In his 1903 *Classical Mythology in Shakespeare*, Yale University Professor Robert Kilburn Root voiced the opinion on Shakespeare's 'lesse Greek' that presaged a century of scholarly neglect: "It is at any rate certain that he nowhere alludes to any characters or episodes of Greek drama, that they extended no influence whatsoever on his conception of mythology."[1] One hundred years later A. D. Nuttall, in "Action at a distance: Shakespeare and the Greeks," published in Martindale and Taylor's *Shakespeare and the Classics* (2004), succinctly summarized the continued prevailing opinion on the author's use of Greek sources:

> That Shakespeare was cut off from Greek poetry and drama is probably a bleak truth that we should accept. A case can be made – and has been made – for Shakespeare's having some knowledge of certain Greek plays, such as Aeschylus' *Agamemnon*, Euripides' *Orestes*, *Alcestis*, and *Hecuba*, by way of available Latin versions, but this, surely, is an area in which the faint occasional echoes mean less than the circumambient silence. When we consider how hungrily Shakespeare feeds upon Ovid, learning from him, or extending him at every turn, it becomes more evident that he cannot in any serious sense have found his way to Euripides.[2]

In a succeeding chapter in Martindale and Taylor, "Shakespeare and Greek tragedy: strange relationship," Michael Silk ultimately admits numerous "unmistakable" commonalities between Shakespeare and the Greeks, although he also echoes the assertions of Root and Nuttall.

> Against all the odds, perhaps, there is a real affinity between Greek and Shakespearean tragedy. What there is not is any 'reception' in the ordinary sense: any influence of Greek tragedy on Shakespeare; any Shakespearean 'reading' of the Attic drama. There is no reason to suppose that Shakespeare ever encountered any of the Greek tragedians, either in the original language or otherwise.[3]

There exists, however, a century-old tradition of scholarship, including the works of W.W. Lloyd, A.E. Haigh and H.R.D. Anders, who recognized elements derived from Euripides' *Alcestis* in the statue scene of *The Winter's Tale*. Renowned Greek scholars Gilbert Murray and H.D.F. Kitto found potent traces of Aeschylus' *Oresteia* in *Hamlet*. George Stevens, J.A.K. Thompson, J. Churton Collins and Emrys Jones have variously suggested that *Titus Andronicus* was indebted to Euripides' *Hecuba* and Sophocles' *Ajax*. A.D. Nuttall himself has argued for a profound Sophoclean influence on *Timon of Athens*, comparing it repeatedly to *Oedipus at Colonus*. Nuttal nonetheless refers to his analysis as only pressing "an analogy" and he retreats from ever suggesting there was a "direct influence" on Shakespeare by Sophocles."[4]

In "'Look down and see what death is doing': Gods and Greeks in *The Winter's Tale,*"[5] I reviewed the early scholarship of Lloyd, Haigh, Anders, Israel Gollancz and William Theobold, writers who all recognized Shakespeare's debt to Euripides' *Alcestis* for the statue scene. Remarkably, there is evidence that 18th century Shakespearean dramaturgy even recognized this connection; in a Johann Zoffany portrait of the actress Elizabeth Farren as Hermione in the statue scene, Farren is shown leaning on a pedestal with a bas relief depicting two scenes from *Alcestis*.[6]

The early scholars appear to have limited their analyses to comparisons of the dramaturgy and speeches of the final scenes from these plays, and thus failed to identify the significance of several other noteworthy parallels between Euripides' and Shakespeare's dramas. None of them noted the obvious reference to a substitute statue in *Alcestis,* one that Euripides' King Admetus vows to adore in language reminiscent of Leontes' emotional outpouring on first viewing the statue of Hermione. These late 19th century scholars also failed to describe how Apollo is preeminent and prophetic in both these plays, delivering the prologue in Euripides and providing the oracular verdict of Hermione's innocence and Leontes' tyranny in Shakespeare.

Sarah Dewar-Watson's article in the Spring 2009 *Shakespeare Quarterly*, "The *Alcestis* and the Statue Scene in *The Winter's Tale,*"[7] may signal a renewal of interest in the Greek dramas as Shakespearean sources. Arguing that several verbal echoes exist

between George Buchanan's Latin translation of *Alcestis* and Shakespeare's romance, Dewar-Watson concludes that there is a substantial link to the statue scene and that, "In the absence of any conclusive indication that Shakespeare came into direct contact with Greek tragedy, evidence of this kind confirms that classical drama was accessible to him in a variety of other forms. It is clear that Shakespeare's use of neo-Latin writers and translators such as Buchanan demands further attention."[8]

Alcestis

It is also surprising that none of these scholars have suggested that the final scene of *Alcestis* is also strikingly similar to the last scene of *Much Ado about Nothing*. Given Shakespeare's tendency to populate his plays with characters from Plutarch's *Lives* and employ plots from Greek romance, it is surprising that more modern critics have not challenged the assumptions of Root, Nutall and Silk regarding their exclusion of the Greek dramas.

Two modern Shakespeare scholars, however, have recently recognized the distinctly Greek-like dramaturgy in the last act of *Much Ado about Nothing*. Shakespeare editors Jonathan Bate (Modern Library, 2007) and Claire McEachern (Arden, 2006) have both suggested that *Much Ado*'s final scene is likely to have been based on Euripides' tragicomedy, *Alcestis*. Confirming Bate's earlier assessment of the importance of Euripides' play in his 1994 essay, "Dying to Live in *Much Ado about Nothing,*"[9] McEachern's introduction notes that Shakespeare's dramaturgy in the marriage masque scene is much closer to Euripides' depiction in *Alcestis* than to Bandello's story, which is set in Messina and is considered the primary source of the Hero-Claudio plot:

> Unlike Sir Timbreo, but like Admetus, Claudio must accept his second bride without seeing her face, a stipulation that reverses the terms of his initial error (in which he identified a woman by outward signs rather than inner conviction), and forces him to have faith where once he lacked it. Hero's mock funeral, in turn, recalls and prefigures other of Shakespeare's mock deaths, such as Juliet's or Helena's or Hermione's, in which heroines undergo a trial passage to the underworld. Euripides' *Alcestis* is also structurally similar to *Much Ado* in its use of comic scenes (those of Hercules' drunken festivities during the heroine's funeral) to counterpoint the apparent tragedy and hint at the comic ending to come.[10]

While the scholarship of Bate and McEachern seems to confirm Shakespeare's direct debt to *Alcestis* in *Much Ado*, as with the earlier scholars, they also have fallen short in identifying the full spectrum of Euripidean elements in Shakespeare's comedy. Both note the obvious parallels between the royal reunion scene in *Alcestis* and wedding scene in *Much Ado*, but both miss the possibility that the chorus of *Alcestis* is arguably the direct source of the funerary ritual at Hero's tomb in Act 5. Furthermore, Bate and McEachern also ignore the significance of

Shakespeare's many allusions to Hercules in *Much Ado* as further evidence of a connection to Euripides' tragicomedy. In *Alcestis* Hercules performs the role of *deus ex machina*. In fact, a close examination of the Herculean allusions in *Much Ado* suggests a debt not only to Euripides, but to non-dramatic Greek sources, including Homer and Lucian.

Shakespeare's use of Euripidean dramaturgy in *Much Ado* is different from *The Winter's Tale* in that it creates a meta-theatric representation of resurrection, one where the audience and most of the players are aware that the heroine lives and that there is a plot to restore her honor. Claudio and Don Pedro, however, must perform the mourning rites at Hero's tomb and only then are they allowed to learn of Don John's villainous deception. In the reunion and marriage scenes both Queen Alcestis and Hero are wearing veils when they are brought before King Admetus and Claudio. Both Admetus and Claudio are contrite, having been shamed by their willingness to sacrifice their wives, and both are required by honor to take the hands of the mysteriously veiled women before them. Only with the removal of the veils are they allowed to know their wives' true identities. Although Bate offhandedly suggests otherwise, none of the other accepted sources of *Much Ado about Nothing* includes this particular device of a veiled bride's reunion with her beloved.

Given the dramatic similarities in the final scenes of these two plays, I do not believe that it is mere coincidence that Hercules is alluded to on four occasions in *Much Ado,* and that the first of these allusions even suggests a connection to Hercules' role as savior and matchmaker in *Alcestis,* where he rescues the queen at her tomb by grappling with Death. The only episode among his many labors, adventures and romances in which Hercules performs such a duty is in this reunion of the king and queen in Euripides' tragicomedy. In the final scene Hercules reports how he acted heroically in retrieving the queen from the underworld, but Euripides actually portrays him quite satirically. In the midst of a series of pathetic scenes in *Alcestis,* Hercules staggers drunkenly on stage, raving about the blessings of wine and perfections of Aphrodite, unknowingly offending the horrified servants of the grief-stricken household. In this regard, Euripides' Hercules is similar to Shakespeare's Benedick, who is made a fool for love before Beatrice can dispatch him on the perilous mission to challenge Claudio and rescue Hero's honor.

Shakespeare alludes to Hercules in his dramas, referring to him no less than thirty-five times, far more often than any other classical hero or god. In this, he may have followed the example the greatest poets of antiquity from Hesiod to Ovid, who wrote about Hercules' auspicious birth, many labors and voyages, death, and apotheosis. Combined with the dramatic representations by Sophocles, Euripides and Seneca and the writings of Apollodorus and Diodorus, Hercules' stories comprise a rich mythology of human struggles against supernatural forces that inspired many Renaissance writers. Hercules as archetypal hero provided the personal template of tragic characters for both Marlowe and Shakespeare. We will argue here that Hercules also provided Shakespeare with comedic possibilities.

While Robert K. Root catalogued the many and varied allusions to Hercules in the Shakespeare canon, he restricted himself to citing sources in Ovid's

Metamorphoses and *Heroides* and Seneca's tragedies. Root considered the playwright's knowledge of the Hercules mythology to be "exceedingly scanty." He does not consider Euripides' two dramas about Hercules, *Heracles* and *Alcestis,* nor does he credit other Hercules sources that Shakespeare editors have subsequently identified, including Lucian's dialogues and Cooper's *Thesaurus,* as possible sources for the Herculean allusions in the canon. Root, though well versed in both classical literature and Shakespeare, was unable to acknowledge any debt to Greek poetic and dramatic sources most likely because he believed that they would not have been available to the playwright.

Jonathan Bate reopens the question of *Alcestis* as a Shakespeare source in "Dying to Live." He argues that the final scene of *Much Ado*, as well as the statue scene in *The Winter's Tale*, were based on *Alcestis.* Although Bate neglects to cite or quote any of the older scholarship on *Winter's Tale*, he is perhaps the first modern Shakespeare scholar to make this claim for *Much Ado*. Noting that an apparent death followed by a return to the living is an effective comedic device, Bate argues that comedy is often close to tragedy, and that the audience shares a vicarious rebirth through the return of Hero in *Much Ado* and Hermione in *The Winter's Tale:*

> One way of putting it would be to say that *The Winter's Tale*, with its hinged tragicomic structure, is the logical conclusion of Shakespeare's work. That play is certainly the fully matured reworking of *Much Ado*. The temporary consignment to the grave is not only an analogue for the audience's experience in the theatre, and for the tragic element in comedy, it is also central to most myths and religions….Shakespeare made much of certain classical myths of temporary death and rebirth – the dying god, Adonis; Proserpina, goddess of spring, who dies to live and who is the archetype of Marina and Perdita; Orpheus bringing Eurydice back from the underworld.
>
> The ultimate "source" for the Hero plot of *Much Ado* is a Greek myth, that of *Alcestis*. Shakespeare could have known a Latin translation of Euripides' play on the subject; he certainly received the story at secondhand through the prose romances that were the direct sources of *Much Ado about Nothing*.[11]

Bate's argument on Euripides' tragicomedy as a source for Shakespeare is most likely correct; however, his assumption on the availability of a Latin translation in England is questionable. In addition, there was no depiction of a veiled Queen or bride returning from the dead to be reunited with her husband in any of the prose romances considered to be sources for Shakespeare's comedy. There was but one Latin translation of *Alcestis* published before or during Shakespeare's lifetime. George Buchanan (1506-82) was a Scottish Latinist, court tutor and historian, who published many works and translations. Buchanan allegedly knew Latin poetry "like his native tongue" and his most famous pupil was Michel de Montaigne. In the 1540s, while residing in Bordeaux as professor of Latin, he translated Euripides' *Medea* and *Alcestis*. Buchanan's Latin *Alcestis* was first published in 1557 by Henri

Estienne in Paris, and it was published a second time in 1567, again in Paris, this time in a collection of Greek dramas.

To accept *Alcestis* as a Shakespeare source, one would have to postulate that the playwright either had access to one of these rare Latin editions of Euripides published in France, or to someone who possessed a Greek edition of *Alcestis* and was capable of translating it. As 20th century scholars have generally agreed that Shakespeare's education would not have included translation of Greek poetry or drama, this adds to the existing challenge posed by the recognized sources for *Much Ado,* because Mateo Bandello's romance (which is set in Messina and has a character named Lionato in the role of father of the bride) was only available in Italian or French editions during Shakespeare's life. Neither French nor Italian would have been taught at the Stratford school.

Bate's claim that the prose romances that are the acknowledged sources of *Much Ado* would have informed the final scene of the play is also unsupported; he does not identify any specific source other than *Alcestis* for the reunion scene of a nobleman with his mysteriously veiled betrothed. Neither of the primary sources of *Much Ado* — Ludovico Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*, translated into English by Peter Beverly as the *History of Ariodante and Genevra* (1566), and Bandello's *La Prima Parte de le Novelle* (1554), translated into French in 1569 by Francois de Belleforest in his *Histoire Tragiques* — include a scene in which the estranged couple were brought back together in the same manner as the wedding of Hero and Claudio. George Pettie's interpretation of the story, "Admetus and Alcestis," which appeared in his 1576 collection, *Petite Pallace of Pleasure*, emphasizes the travails of the star-crossed lovers but does not include a scene in which the queen is restored from the dead and secretly returned with the king. That the final scenes of *Much Ado* and *Winter's Tale* are specifically and directly indebted to Euripides' representation in *Alcestis* is the only supportable conclusion.

In his article "Dying to Live," Bate follows William Hazlitt's assertion that Hero is the principal figure in *Much Ado*, and that her passivity and relative silence contrast dramatically with the fact that she is the most discussed character in the comedy. Like Hermione, Hero is presumed dead and is absent for much of Acts IV and V:

> She is a character who is talked about far more than she talks. And when we begin to look at her in this light we begin to come to the centre of the play, for talking about people is one of the central activities in the play. Messina is full of hearsay: … Key moments occur when people overhear conversations about themselves or others.[12]

Claudio, newly engaged to Hero, says prophetically, "Silence is the perfectest herald of joy" (2.1.281). As Hero remains speechless, her actions are presented only by allusions to her kissing and whispering in her beloved's ear. Bate quotes Hazlitt's reason for admiring Hero so much in his *Characters in Shakespear's Plays* (1817): "The justification of Hero in the end, and her restoration to the confidence and arms of

her lover, is brought about by one of those temporary consignments to the grave of which Shakespeare seems to have been fond."[13] Friar Francis' speeches (4.1.200-243) are crucial here in that they lay out the strategy for transforming Hero's "slander to remorse."

> She, dying, as must be maintained,
> Upon the instant that she was accused,
> Shall be lamented, pitied and excused
> Of every hearer. For it so falls out
> That what we have we prize not to the worth
> Whiles we enjoy it, but being lacked and lost,
> Why, then we rack the value, then we find
> The virtue that possession would not show us
> Whiles it was ours. So will it fare with Claudio:
> When he shall hear she died upon his words,
> Th'idea of her life shall sweetly creep
> Into his study of imagination,
> And every lovely organ of her life
> Shall come appareled in more precious habit,
> More moving, delicate, and full of life,
> Into the eye and prospect of his soul
> Than when she lived indeed. Then shall he mourn
> (4.1.214-230)[14]

Bate calls this moment the very heart of the play. To him Hero's apparent death and silence are reminiscent of her classical namesake, Leander's Hero, who drowns herself rather than live without her beloved. According to Bate, Hero is probably named as a representative of Ovid's *Heroides*, the catalog of worthy women of antiquity who were betrayed and abandoned by their husbands and lovers. Hero and the other heroines of the *Heroides* are essentially tragic figures; in that Ovidian text there are no second chances. *Much Ado* is more in a romance mold, and this suggests a generic link with Euripides' *Alcestis*. The latter was a kind of transcended tragedy; it was performed in the position usually held by the comic satyr-play, as fourth in a group of dramas, following and in some senses defusing or providing relief from three tragedies. It is a potential tragedy, but one with last-minute relief. Life is heightened because of the process of going through death: The pattern is that of many works in the romance tradition and of several of Shakespeare's later comedies — *Much Ado, All's Well That Ends Well, Pericles* and *The Winter's Tale*.[15]

The plot of *Alcestis* is nicely summarized by Bate in "Dying to Live": Apollo delivers the prologue, which relates how Zeus killed the physician Asclepius with a thunderbolt for the sin of raising the dead. In revenge, Asclepius' father, Apollo, killed the Cyclops who forged Zeus' weapon, which resulted in Apollo's exile from Olympus; his punishment was to serve King Admetus for one year. Admetus treated the disguised god well, and was rewarded by Apollo, who later convinced the Fates to

delay Admetus' death, if he could persuade another to die in his place. Queen Alcestis alone agreed to take his place, and this is the day that she must die. Alcestis is quite willing to die to keep her children from ever being fatherless, but insists during her deathbed scene that Admetus not remarry for the sake of their children. Admetus agrees and goes on to say "that he will have a statue of her made and kept in the house in memory of her. He speaks of the image of her coming to him in his dreams; there is an interesting consonance here with that powerful passage in the Friar's key speech."[16]

Immediately after Alcestis dies and her body has been removed, Hercules arrives and Admetus insists on offering him hospitality, equivocating with his honored guest about who had died in order to conceal the grief of the household. Hercules unknowingly creates offense by getting drunk, and then disappears. The audience learns later that he has gone to the tomb of the queen and seized Death, forcing her release. In the final scene, after the Chorus has sung a four-stanza hymn honoring Alcestis and lamenting her fate, a veiled woman is brought forward by Hercules and presented to a repentant Admetus. The king resists at first, to honor his commitment to Alcestis to not remarry, but eventually yields to Hercules' insistence and takes the hand of the mysteriously silent woman. Alcestis is then unveiled to his astonishment and gratitude as the play concludes.

Several details of this are close to *The Winter's Tale*, but one particular feature is especially striking: Alcestis does not speak. This motif is taken into the mythic structure when Herakles explains that she will not be allowed to speak for three days, by which time her obligations to the gods of the underworld will have been washed away. Alcestis functions as the archetypal silenced woman, and in this, she is a precedent for Hero, who is allowed to say so little throughout the play and is given only two brief factual speeches on her unveiling at the climax.[17]

Bate asserts that *Alcestis* may not be the primary source of the Hero plot, but Euripides' heroine nonetheless serves as a "powerful, mythic prototype" for women like Hero, Hermione, and Helena in *All's Well That Ends Well*, who are silenced by a temporary consignment to the grave. As in *All's Well That Ends Well* and *The Winter's Tale*, the actual death of the myth is replaced by a self-conscious stage trick. Theophanies like that of Apollo and superhuman interventions like that of Herakles are replaced by domesticated divine agents: the Friar's scheme, Helena's self-contrived devices, Paulina' s priestess-like art. Silence is not given a mythico-religious cause but becomes a psychological and social reality.[18]

Ovid's *Heroides* was well known during the Elizabethan age. Michael Drayton's *England's Heroycall Epistles*, published and reprinted several times between 1597 and 1599, was a popular imitation of Ovid's poems, and it was contemporaneous with *Much Ado*. In Ovid's poems, the heroines often refer to their tombs and several of them inscribe their own epitaph.

The epitaph and tomb scene makes Hero recognizable as one of the *Heroides*. Her name makes this link: It sets up a prototype that can be recognized by the audience. This is something different from a direct source. Hero's swooning and supposed death, together with the obsequies and epitaph, derive more directly

from the novella by Bandello that is almost certainly the play's primary source, but Shakespeare's effect turns on the change in name from Bandello's Fenicia to the more symbolic and Ovidian Hero.[19]

Though Bate's argument on the symbolic significance of Hero's name is relevant, he failed to note the distinct parallels between the Chorus near the conclusion of *Alcestis* and the tomb rites in Act 5, Scene 3, in *Much Ado*. In Euripides' drama, after Admetus has lamented his cowardly shame and sunk down in misery, covering his head with his robe, the Chorus sings its lamentation on how neither knowledge of "Orphic symbols" nor "the herbs given by Phoebus to the children of Asclepius" avails against man's mortality, that Fate's "fierce will knows not gentleness." The last stanzas serve as a paean to Alcestis, the "blessed spirit," and include expressions suggestive of Shakespeare's epitaph and song dedicated to Hero in *Much Ado*:

> And the Goddess has bound you
> Ineluctably in the gyves of her hands.
> Yield.
> Can your tears give life to the dead?
> For the sons of the Gods
> Swoon in the shadow of Death.
> Dear was she in our midst,
> Dear still among the dead,
> For the noblest of women was she
> Who lay in her bed.
>
> Ah!
> Let the grave of your spouse
> Be no more counted as a tomb,
> But revered as the Gods,
> And greeted by all who pass by!
> The wanderer shall turn from his path,
> Saying: 'She died for her lord:
> A blessed spirit she is now.
> Hail, O sacred lady, be our friend!'
> Thus shall men speak of her.
> (986-1005)[20]

The tomb scene in *Much Ado* is very short, only 33 lines long, and half of the lines comprise the epitaph and dirge. This very solemn scene concludes with Don Pedro's description of dawn in an allusion to Apollo, "the wheels of Phoebus" (5.3.26), whose preeminence in *Alcestis* and *The Winter's Tale* has already been established. Hero's epitaph, remarkably, sounds very much like the *Alcestis* Chorus in that both proclaim the particular sacrifices of the deceased women, which merits their fame:

Done to death by slanderous tongues
  Was the Hero that here lies:
Death, in guerdon of her wrongs,
  Gives her fame which never dies:
So the life that died with shame,
  Lives in death with glorious fame.
(5.3.3-8)

As soon as the epitaph is hung, Claudio calls for music and this "solemn hymn."

Pardon, goddess of the night,
Those that slew thy virgin knight,
For the which with songs of woe
Round about her tomb we go.
Midnight, assist our moan,
Help us sigh and groan,
Heavily, heavily.
Graves yawn and yield your dead,
Till death be uttered
Heavily, heavily.
(5.3.12-21)

If, as Bate has suggested, Claudio is modeled after Euripides' Admetus, whose contrition and sense of shame are well developed, then we must take seriously his vow of an annual sackcloth visit to Hero's monument. Arden editor Claire McEachern suggests that the "goddess of the night" here is likely to be an allusion to Diana, goddess of the moon and of chastity. She also notes that "Round about her tomb we go" refers to the practice of circling clockwise, "a traditional way of averting evil."[21] One is immediately reminded here of Greek choruses which danced as they sang, and often circled in unison in alternating directions, changing direction with each stanza. McEachern reports that the first Folio edition of *Much Ado* substituted the words, "Heavenly, heavenly" for line 21, which could certainly be an allusion to the possibility of resurrection.

The tomb scene in *Much Ado* thus resembles in specific details the scene at the tomb described by the Chorus in *Alcestis*. Both reflect a sober, melancholic pathos, and both are immediately followed by joyful reunions of the heroes-in-mourning to their mysteriously veiled wives, returned from the grave. As coherent as Bate is about Shakespeare's dependency on *Alcestis* for the plot and dramaturgy of the last scene of *Much Ado*, he reiterates his unsupported assumptions in the concluding paragraph of his otherwise brilliant discussion:

> Did Shakespeare know the *Alcestis* story? There were sixteenth-century Latin translations of Euripides' play; there is a brief version of the story in Chaucer's *Legend of Good Women*. But the story is also told in an Elizabethan collection of romances, George Pettie's *A Petite Pallace of Pettie his Pleasure*. One tale in there ("Cephalus and Procris") is a likely secondary source for *Othello*, a play with a theme of wrongful accusation of a wife that is closely linked to both *Much Ado* and *The Winter's Tale*; Pettie's "Admetus and Alcest" has an Admetus who first learns in his sleep that Alcestis will return from the dead, and when he learns this "he had much ado to keep his soul in his body from flying to meet her." I do not attach great significance to the common phrase "much ado" appearing here, but it would be intriguing if Shakespeare did know Pettie's version of the tale....[22]

Bate is technically correct because of Buchanan's Latin *Alcestis*, but it was written and published in France. As for Chaucer as an Alcestis source, his poetic introduction to *Legend* does include a long discourse by Queen Alcestis, who offers the poet advice on ways to mend his troubled relationship with the queen's second husband, the God of Love. However, *Legend* does not describe her return from the dead or even mention a reunion with King Admetus. In George Pettie's 1576 rendition, "Admetus and Alcest," the relevant text also does not duplicate in any way Euripides' scene of the resurrection of the Queen.

> And Proserpine ye goddess of hell especiallye pitying ye parting of this loving couple (for yt she her selfe knew the paine of partinge from freinds, beeing by Dys stolen from her mother (Ceres) put life into his wife againe, and with speed sent her unto him. Who beeing certified here of in his sleepe, early in ye morning waited for her coming seing her come a far of hee had much a do to kepe his soule in his body from flying to meet her. Beeing come he received her as joyfully, as shee came willingly, & so they lived longe time together in most contented happinesse.[23]

While effectively focusing on the Hero and Claudio plot and establishing a credible argument about *Much Ado*'s debt to *Alcestis*, Bate regrettably fails to cite a reliable source published in England that depicts a scene of a veiled reunion similar to Euripides' and Shakespeare's plays. He also seems to have overlooked the remarkable similarities between the *Alcestis* Chorus and the tomb scene in *Much Ado*. Relevant to the argument of a connection between Euripides and Shakespeare, Bate does not consider the significance of the unusual number of allusions to Hercules in *Much Ado*, or whether they offer possible additional connections to *Alcestis,* where Hercules plays such a pivotal role in the drama. An examination of Shakespeare's clever use of the Hercules mythography in *Much Ado* is overdue.

Hercules

The allusions to Hercules in *Much Ado* are highly intriguing, and reinforce a perception that Shakespeare's Benedick is modeled as a comedic "Herculean hero." At the end of Act 2, Scene 1, immediately after Don Pedro has successfully wooed for Hero's hand in Claudio's name, Beatrice courteously rejects his marriage proposal, saying "Your grace is too costly to wear every day," thus alluding to her low social status in relation to the Prince. Don Pedro then resolves that Beatrice "were an excellent wife for Benedick." (2.1.324). Vowing to use the days before Claudio and Hero's wedding to good romantic purpose, Don Pedro hatches a conspiracy of matchmaking between the unlikely couple:

> Come you shake your head at so long a breathing, but I warrant thee, Claudio, the time shall not go dully by us. I will, in the interim, undertake one of Hercules' labours, which is to bring Signor Benedick and the Lady Beatrice into a mountain of affection th'one to th'other. I would fain have it a match, and I doubt not but to fashion it, if you three will but minister such assistance as I will give you direction. (2.2.334-41)

Don Pedro likens his challenge to one of Hercules' famous twelve labors. These were quite well known to Elizabethan writers, but none of them resembles this type of a matchmaking challenge. Robert Root pointed out a century ago how often Shakespeare makes very specific allusions to episodes in the demigod's mythology, including a number of his labors, the events of his youth, his relationship with Queen Omphale as her slave, and the circumstances of his death. While Hercules' mythology is not without its sexual heroism (in one tale he makes love to the fifty daughters of King Thespius, begetting fifty sons), only one episode includes a story in which Hercules acts in a way that unites separated lovers. The one exception that features the hero as matchmaker among all his labors, deeds and adventures is Euripides' *Alcestis*.

In *Alcestis* Heracles, as he is known to the Greeks, provides the comic relief in an otherwise highly charged, tragic melodrama. The appearance of Apollo and Death at the beginning of the play sets a solemn tone, which is followed by the pathetic scenes in which the queen bids farewell to her family and household and dies amidst great lamentation. These scenes are followed by the wretched argument between Admetus and his father, Pheres, resulting in the King's angrily disowning his father. Finally, after these miserable, degraded characters exit, a servant enters and begins complaining bitterly that Heracles has been the worst guest Admetus has ever welcomed to his hearth:

> ...knowing our misfortune, he did not soberly accept what was offered him, but if anything was not served to him he ordered us to bring it. In both hands he took the cup of ivy-wood, and drank the unmixed wine of the dark grape-

> mother, until he was encompassed and heated with the flame of wine. He crowned his head with myrtle sprays, howling discordant songs. There was he caring nothing for Admetus's misery, and we servants weeping for our queen; and yet we hide our tear-laden eyes from the guest, for Admetus had commanded. (750-60)

Heracles then staggers drunkenly on stage, merrily sporting the myrtle wreath and carrying a wineskin in his hands. He begins by advising the servant to not be so sullen, but show a cheerful heart. Having been misled by Admetus into believing the dead woman was a stranger to the household, Heracles instructs the servant with "drunken gravity:"

> Know the nature of human life? Don't think you do. You couldn't. Listen to me. All mortals must die. Isn't one who knows if he'll be alive tomorrow morning. Who knows where fortune will lead? Nobody can teach it. Nobody learn it by rules. So, rejoice in what you hear and learn from me! Drink! Count each day as it comes as Life – and leave the rest to Fortune. Above all, honor the Love Goddess, sweetest of all Gods to mortal men, a kindly goddess! Put all the rest aside….To all solemn and frowning men, life I say is not life, but a disaster. (784-800)

These platitudes expressed in an intoxicated manner by the misinformed and unsteady hero would have been the first light moment in an otherwise gloomy drama. Hercules' simple-minded discourse on the virtues of wine and of the kindness of the love goddess is truly laughable. Arden editor McEachern has taken note of this in her introduction to *Much Ado*: "Euripides' *Alcestis* is also structurally similar to *Much Ado* in its use of comic scenes (those of Hercules' drunken festivities during the heroine's funeral) to counterpoint the apparent tragedy and hint at the comic ending to come."[24]

Hercules' speeches here even seem to parallel Benedick's ironic long speeches about love in Act 2, Scene 3 (1-34 and 213-237), where he first rails against it and then suddenly embraces his new passion, cleverly inverting every point in his earlier speech after secretly hearing of Beatrice's supposed great affection for him.

> This can be no trick…. It seems her affections have their full bent. Love me? Why, it must be requited…. They say the lady is fair – 'tis a truth, I can bear them witness. And virtuous – 'tis so, I cannot reprove it. And wise, but for loving me. By my troth, it is no addition to her wit – nor no great argument of her folly, for I will be horribly in love with her. (213-27)

Euripides' Heracles has his own immediate conversion from drunkenness to sober, implacable determination once he learns that it was actually Queen Alcestis whom the household was mourning when he accepted Admetus' hospitality.

> O heart of me, much enduring heart, O right arm, now indeed must you show what son was born to Zeus and Alcmena.... For I must save this dead woman, and bring back Alcestis to this house as a grace to Admetus.
>
> I shall watch for Death, the black-robed Lord of the Dead, and I know I shall find him near the tomb, drinking the blood of the sacrifices. If I can leap upon him from an ambush, seize him, grasp him in my arms, no power in the world shall tear his bruised sides from me until he has yielded up this woman. If I miss my prey, if he does not come near the bleeding sacrifice, I will go down to Kore and her lord in their sunless dwelling, and I will make my entreaty to them, and I know they will give me Alcestis to bring back to the hands of the host who welcomed me, who did not repulse me from his house, though he was smitten with a heavy woe which most nobly he hid from me! Where would be a warmer welcome in Thessaly or in all the dwellings of Hellas?
>
> (840-860)

Heracles accomplishes his goal exactly as he had predicted. In the final scene of the play, he returns with the veiled Alcestis in hand, first chiding his host for concealing his grief, and then graciously offering the hand of the veiled woman beside him, making up a story about how he had won her as a prize in an athletic competition. Insisting his host take the woman's hand, Heracles then unveils Alcestis, who remains silent, presaging the near silence of Shakespeare's Hero and Hermione. *Alcestis* ends with King Admetus' farewell to Heracles and call for prayer and music:

> Good fortune to you and come back here! In all the city and in the four quarters of Thessaly let there be choruses to rejoice at this good fortune, and let the altars smoke with the flesh of oxen in sacrifice! Today we have changed the past for a better life. I am happy.
>
> (1153-58)

In *Much Ado about Nothing,* it is Benedick who performs the Herculean task of facing death in challenging Claudio, the instrument of Hero's slander and the cause of her near-death. Shakespeare's depiction of Benedick as a Herculean hero, as first a fool for love and later as a serious man who chooses to sacrifice himself for a virtuous woman's honor, is reinforced when he is provoked by Beatrice's mocking challenge to redress Hero's dishonor by referring to Hercules' valor:

> But manhood is melted into curtsies, valour into compliment, and men are only turned into tongue, and trim ones, too. He is now as valiant as Hercules that only tells a lie and swears it. I cannot be a man with wishing, therefore I will die a woman with grieving.
>
> (4.1.317-321)

Seven lines later Benedick declares, "Enough, I am engaged. I will challenge him." Benedick is in fact the first character to allude to Hercules in Act 2, Scene 1 of *Much Ado*, and on this occasion as a barbed insult to Beatrice who had bested him in their most recent battle of wits. A careful examination of the classical allusions in this speech reveals how source-rich and subtle is Shakespeare's employment of this archetypal hero:

> She told me, not thinking I had been myself, that I was the prince's jester, that I was duller than a great thaw, huddling jest upon jest with such impossible conveyance upon me that I stood like a man at a mark, with a whole army shooting at me. She speaks poniards, and every word stabs. If her breath were as terrible as her terminations there were no living near her, she would infect to the North Star. I would not marry her though she were endowed with all that Adam had left him before he transgressed. She would have made Hercules have turned a spit, yea, and have cleft his club to make the fire too. Come, talk not of her, you shall find her the eternal Ate in good apparel.
>
> (2.1.222-234)

The image of Benedick as archery target, "a man at the mark" and of Beatrice's powerful penetrating wit as she "speaks poniards" is most probably an allusion to Lucian's satiric dialogue, *Heracles, An Introductory Lecture*. Neither Bate nor McEachern make note of this, but Shakespeare's image of eloquence, of words delivered with "impossible conveyance" as arrows, seems to me to be derived directly from Lucian:

> Indeed, we refer the achievements of the original Heracles, from first to last, to his wisdom and persuasive eloquence. His shafts, as I take it, are no other than his words; swift, keen-pointed, true-aimed to do deadly execution on the soul.' And in conclusion he reminded me of our own phrase, 'winged words.'[25]

McEachern includes these footnotes in the Arden edition regarding Benedick's reference to Hercules having "turned a spit": "Turning the roasting spit over the fire was considered the most menial of Elizabethan kitchen tasks. Hercules' club was a massive (and phallic) one, and splitting it into firewood would have been an arduous as well as emasculating task for him to undertake. The misogyny of Benedick's caricatures increases as he elaborates them."[26] Robert K. Root agrees with McEachern's interpretation of "turned a spit," and suggests that this image refers to Hercules doing women's work in service to Queen Omphale.[27] Hercules served Omphale as her slave in order to expiate the sin of killing a friend. His heroic deeds in her service included capturing notorious thieves, razing the cities of Omphale's enemies and killing giant serpents that threatened her people. However, he would also be required to wear women's clothing with jeweled necklaces and

golden bracelets, and to clumsily spin wool while he recounted his great deeds to the women in Omphale's court. In jest, the queen would wear his lion pelt and swing his club. He was not assigned to kitchen duties, however, according to Robert Graves' detailed and richly referenced recounting of Hercules' adventures in *The Greek Myths*. Shakespeare, nonetheless, has already implied earlier in the scene that Beatrice is to be associated with Omphale:

> **Beatrice:** Lord, I could not endure a husband with a beard on his face! I had rather lie in the woolen.
> **Leonato:** You may light upon a husband that hath no beard.
> **Beatrice:** What should I do with him? Dress him in my apparel and make him my waiting-gentlewoman? (2.1.26-30)

"Turned a spit" could also refer to something far more sinister than menial kitchen labor. The phrasing has a cannibalistic overtone, one that parallels the many metaphors of carnality identified by McEachern[28]. Hercules does die by fire because his skin was burned from a sacrificial shirt his wife Deianeira sent to him, one that she had unknowingly tainted with Hydra's poison from the vengeful, dead centaur Nessus. Here is how Robert Graves describes the scene of Hercules giving his final sacrifice:

> He was pouring wine from a bowl on the altars and throwing frankincense on the flames when he let out a sudden yell as if he had been bitten by a serpent. The heat had melted the Hydra's poison in Nessus's blood, which coursed all over Heracles limbs, corroding his flesh. Soon the pain was beyond endurance and, bellowing in anguish, he overturned the altars. He tried to rip off the shirt, but it clung to him so fast that his flesh came away with it, laying bare the bones. His blood hissed and bubbled like spring water when red hot metal is being tempered.[29]

Another nuance to this image is the possibility that the author is referring to Hercules' funeral pyre. Suffering excruciating pain from the Nessus shirt, Hercules was conveyed to the peak of Mount Oeta and there a pile of oak branches and trunks of the wild olive were built, and he spread his lions pelt and laid down using his club as a pillow, in the end "looking as blissful as a garlanded guest surrounded by wine-cups. Thunderbolts then fell from the sky and at once reduced the pyre to ashes."[30]

Benedick's referring to Beatrice as "the eternal Ate in good attire" is a Homeric image from *The Iliad*. In Book 19 of the Greek epic, Zeus describes how this goddess of discord was the cause of Hercules' being forced to perform his twelve labors for King Eurystheus. Although Hesiod, Aeschylus and Apollodorus all describe other episodes in the mythology of this troublesome goddess, I believe Homer is the only direct literary source for the difficulties Hercules will suffer because of the actions of Ate. What is problematic here in grasping Shakespeare's use of a Homeric goddess is the fact that Books 11 to 24 of the *Iliad*, as well as the works of Hesiod,

Aeschylus and Apollodorus, were untranslated from the Greek by the time *Much Ado* was known to have been written.

Noting that Ate is the goddess who also instigated the Trojan War, McEachern recounts how *The Lamentable Tragedy of Locrine* (1595) represents Ate as a chorus entering "with thunder and lightening, all in black, with a burning torch in one hand and a bloody sword in the other, and warning that 'a woman was the only cause / That civil discord was then stirred up.'"[31] An intriguing reference to Shakespeare's use of Ate is found in Howard Furness' New Variorum edition of *Much Ado about Nothing* (1899), where he discusses a curious allusion to Ate by Berowne in *Love's Labour's Lost*. At the presentation of the Nine Worthies Berowne exclaims: "More Ates, more Ates, stir them on, stir them on!" (5.2.685-6). Furness raises a very good question: "Where did Shakespeare get acquainted with this divinity, whose name does not occur, I believe, even in any Latin author?"[32]

Shakespeare's multiple allusions to Hercules in *Much Ado*, first by Benedick to insult Beatrice, then by Don Pedro to unite the quarreling couple in love, and finally by Beatrice to provoke Benedick to challenge Claudio, invites an analysis of Benedick as a "Herculean hero," a hero with both the comedic and the heroic qualities of Euripides' depiction in *Alcestis*. Truly as a wine-happy fool raving about the goddess of love, Hercules is no more pathetic than Shakespeare's Benedick, himself converted in one brief interlude from misogynist-in-chief to sonnet-writing lover. That Hercules is the character Beatrice invokes to motivate Benedick to risk his life is inherent to the design of *Much Ado*. When Benedick says, "I am engaged, I will challenge him" (4.1.328), McEachern asserts that this is the defining moment for the hero and indicates a "crucial switch of allegiance from the world of his male companions to a woman's belief."[33] Benedick abandons the world of verbal jousting in order to challenge "Lord Lack-beard" (5.1.187), a most un-Herculean image.

Shakespeare and other Renaissance playwrights used Hercules as the model for a number of different characters, according to Yale University Professor Eugene Waith in *The Herculean Hero* (1962). Examining characters for the Herculean imprint from Marlowe, Chapman, Shakespeare and Dryden, Waith writes, "Hercules was for many Greeks and Romans and for many men of the Renaissance the hero of heroes, he was also an extreme example of character traits which were often deplored in later ages....The number of striking allusions shows that the English playwrights I discuss were aware of resemblances between their heroes and Hercules, though there is no indication that any one depiction of him served as a model."[34] Waith's depiction of Hercules as a tragic heroic archetype is compelling. He suggests that Hercules was the ideal model of a man of action who must fight against his fate and who is impelled toward what Waith terms boundary situations. "No hero fights harder against his destiny or tries more desperately to extend the limits of his sovereignty than does the Herculean hero."[35]

Waith notes that Hercules is the hero who best exemplifies the Greek ideal of *areté*, which combined a proud and courtly morality with a warlike valor. As such, Hercules served as the embodiment of moral energy triumphing through physical means. The legends of Hercules used by the Renaissance writers were derived from

a variety of sources, including the classical mythographers, poets, and playwrights, including Sophocles, Euripides and Seneca. Waith's primary interest in Hercules is as a glorious, stoic, tragic hero, and he does not even comment on Euripides' comedic use of the hero in *Alcestis*. Regarding the classical dramatists' treatment of Hercules, he writes:

> He is a warrior whose extraordinary strength is matched by his valour and fortitude. His self-assurance and self-centeredness amount to inordinate pride, but are not treated as *hamartia*. Though his savage anger is at times almost brutal, he is capable of great devotion, is dedicated to a heroic ideal, and is regarded as a benefactor of humanity. In him, *areté* is pushed to the ultimate degree; yet in defiance of justice, he is rewarded with extraordinary suffering.[36]

Using this model, Waith makes strong cases for Mark Antony and Coriolanus to be seen as Herculean heroes. Mark Antony, according to Plutarch, actually claimed direct descent from Hercules and attired himself accordingly with a sword and rough mantle whenever he spoke publicly. Waith suggests that Hercules relationship to Queen Omphale is the model for Antony's having become an effeminate libertine under the influence of Cleopatra; "We hear from Cleopatra herself how she 'put her tires and mantles on him' (2.5.22) while she wore his sword, a prank which seems to symbolize all too exactly the transformation lamented by Caesar. It is Hercules unmanned by Omphale."[37] Waith argues that Shakespeare emphasizes Antony's flaws as much as he honors his reputation for valor, showing both his rage and his bounteous generosity, and he finds Antony's suicide completely consistent with his heroic patron's nature:

> If in some respects he is no longer Herculean, in others he is more so than ever. This situation seems to be reflected in the allusions to Hercules, for although "the god Hercules, whom Antony lov'd," is said to be leaving him on the eve of his last battles (4.3.15) some of the most striking identifications with Hercules are made shortly after Antony's death.[38]

Similarly, Waith points out how Coriolanus is not only presented as a god, but he is directly compared to Hercules, "like a thing / Made by some other deity than Nature." Shakespeare's Coriolanus is thus depicted as the hero who will "shake your Rome" like Hercules shook down the "mellow fruit," an allusion to the Apples of the Hesperides, the hero's eleventh labor.

If Professor Waith is correct in his argument that Shakespeare modeled tragic figures on Herculean characteristics, is it not likely that the playwright would do the same for comedy? After all, the Greek dramatists certainly understood Hercules' comedic as well as tragic potential. Benedick, of all of Shakespeare's comedic characters, is the one who most closely bears the Herculean imprint, one that combines the comic intoxication of the lover with the fearlessness of a hero who

would risk death to rescue a woman's honor. If *Alcestis* is a direct source for *Much Ado* and features a satiric treatment of Hercules — and there are numerous allusions to Hercules in this comedy — is not Shakespeare's Benedick another cleverly crafted comedic Herculean hero, akin to Waith's selections of Mark Antony and Coriolanus? After all, classical authors used Hercules in comedic as well as tragic roles. In "At the Crossroads of Myth: The Hermeneutics of Hercules from Ovid to Shakespeare," Jeff Shulman reports:

> ...it is, in fact, the comic Hercules that enjoys the greatest popularity. Serious criticism of Hercules is offered occasionally, but by and large the satiric temper of the classical authors is a fairly tolerant one; and the presentation of Hercules burlesquing his many heroic manifestations in feats of gluttony, libertinism and general strutting around is seen in Aeschylus' *Heralds*, Sophocles' *Herakles at Taenarus*, Ion's *Omphale*, Aristophanes' *Birds*, & Euripides' *Syleus* and *Alcestis*...The important thing about Ovid's handling of the Hercules myth is that he pays equal attention to both the heroic and the satiric traditions of interpretation...."[39]

The one allusion to Hercules in the play that does not directly relate to the romantic plot is spoken by Borachio, Don John's co-conspirator. During his lengthy interrogation by the Watch, Borachio uses a pastiche of pagan and Christian images:

> Seest thou not, I say, what a deformed thief this fashion is, how giddily 'a turns about all the hot-bloods between fourteen and five-and-thirty, sometimes fashioning them like Pharaoh's soldiers in the reechy painting, sometimes like god Bels's priest in the old church window, sometimes like the shaven Hercules in the smirched worm-eaten tapestry, where his codpiece seems as massy as his club.
>
> (3.3.126-133)

Arden editor Claire McEachern adeptly interprets this dense sequence of religious allusions: "Pharaoh's soldiers in the reechy painting" refers to depictions of the Egyptian army that drowned in the Red Sea pursuing the Israelites in smoke-stained paintings and frescoes on old church walls; "god Bel's priests in the old church window" refers to the biblical story of Daniel overthrowing the priests of Baal for their idolatry, depicted in stained glass windows of Catholic churches;" and "The shaven Hercules in the smirch worm-eaten tapestry, where his codpiece seems as massy as his club" seems more likely to be an allusion to Samson than to Hercules, who never shaved.[40]

Although the mocking tone of Borachio's allusion to Hercules suggests the villain does not know the difference between the Hebrew strongman, Samson, and the Greek demigod, in some early Christian teachings these heroes were actually conflated. Hercules at the crossroads, a popular representation of the youthful (and therefore beardless) Hercules, poised between the paths of virtue and vice, is another

possible interpretation. Shakespeare's mixing classical and Christian allusions in this comic scene may even have encoded religious significance. In *Shadowplay: The Hidden Beliefs and Coded Politics of William Shakespeare* (2005) Claire Asquith included Hercules in her glossary of "coded terms."

> **Hercules:** The classical hero who fought the many-headed hydra, Hercules was a favorite Counter-Reformation image of resistance to the many heads of heresy. Shakespeare's Hercules, often a humiliated figure, is associated with various aspects of resistance to the Reformation in England.[41]

Borachio's speech seems more a satiric representation of the "old church," and his allusion to Hercules suggests an intentional commentary on the confusion between the Greek and Jewish heroes. Furness, quoting Warburton in his footnote, writes that this passage definitely meant Samson, "the usual subject of old tapestry....What authorized the poet to give this name to Samson was the folly of certain Christian mythologists, who pretend that the Grecian Hercules was the Jewish Samson."[42] While Furness expressed the opinion that Borachio's allusion to Hercules was none other than Hercules shaven and adorned in women's clothing while in service to Omphale, his appendices included this commentary by A.E. Brae on this image: "The real allusion is evidently to the Hercules Gallus, about which there is a long description in one of Lucian's minor treatises. This, the French Hercules, was an emblem of eloquence, and was represented as a bald old man with a *huge club*!"[43]

No scholar has previously considered another possibility, that the "shaven Hercules" could be a mocking reference to Hercule Valois, later renamed François, the Duke of Alençon and Anjou, and Queen Elizabeth's most ardent suitor in the early 1580s. According to Francis Yates,[44] the Valois Tapestries were eight superlative panels commissioned by Catherine de Medici and created in Antwerp during the early 1580s as a tribute to her son, Anjou, who had recently been made Duke of Brabant by William of Orange. Francois Hercule Valois is featured in two of the panels and appears to be partially shaven in the tapestry. Another contemporary portrait of Valois shows him to be clean shaven. Roger Stritmatter[45] has recently reviewed the evidence that Shakespeare mocked Valois by allegorizing him as Bottom in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. This suggests the distinct possibility that Borachio's commentary on the "hot-bloods between fourteen and thirty-five" could actually be an allusion to the unlikely romance between Valois and Elizabeth; he was seventeen when the marriage negotiations were begun in 1572, and she was thirty-nine. That Alençon and Elizabeth acted like "hot-bloods," stealing away to his bedchamber unchaperoned every morning during his secret visits to court, is well attested by historian Martin Hume (in the *Courtships of Queen Elizabeth: A History of the Various Negotiations for her Marriage)* and, more recently, by Susan Doran (in *Monarchy and Matrimony: The Courtships of Elizabeth I* [1996]). In *Elizabeth and Leicester* (1944), Milton Waldman wrote that "Elizabeth mooned over him in corners, publicly kissed him, and succeeded in convincing everybody, including more than probably herself, that the long looked-for love which might be consummated in marriage had at last overtaken her."[46]

That Hercules served as a favorite allusion in Shakespeare is attested by the numerous references to the hero in the canon. Plays with Hercules allusions include *Much Ado*, *Love's Labor's Lost*, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, *Merry Wives, Merchant of Venice, As You Like It, All's Well That Ends Well, Taming of the Shrew, Cymbeline, Coriolanus*, *Hamlet, Two Noble Kinsmen, Antony and Cleopatra, Henry IV* and *I Henry VI*. In *Love's Labour's Lost* Hercules even appears, albeit incorrectly, as one of the nine worthies. He is also alluded to under his birth name, Alcides, in *Taming of the Shrew, Merchant of Venice, King John, Antony and Cleopatra* and *I* and *III Henry VI*.

In *Classical Mythology in Shakespeare* Robert Root argued that while Shakespeare's allusions to Hercules were extraordinarily numerous, the author's grasp of the myth was quite limited, and that the playwright derived his Hercules material from "conversations and miscellaneous reading" as well as "more accurate knowledge gained from Ovid's incomplete version of the myth, and possibly from the English translation of Seneca."[47] Although asserting initially that most of Shakespeare's allusions to Hercules represent only a type of strength or valor, he nonetheless recounts in great detail how the playwright was familiar with many of the labors, deeds and other episodes from Hercules' life.

Root identifies multiple allusions to the Nemean Lion (*LLL, Hamlet, MSND* and *KJ*), which was the first of Hercules' labors, and while not constituting direct allusions to Hercules, he notes there are six references to the Lernean Hydra, the destruction of which was Hercules' second labor. Retrieving the Apples of the Hesperides was his eleventh labor and is alluded to three times (*LLL, Hamlet* and *Pericles*) and his twelfth labor, the kidnapping of Cerberus from the underworld, was alluded to in *Love's Labor's Lost*. In this comedy, Moth also plays Hercules in the masque of the Nine Worthies, strangling the serpents sent by Hera to kill the infant hero. According to Root, these allusions to Hercules' labors were probably based on Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, which is also the likely source for the allusions to Hercules' love of Queen Omphale in both *LLL* and *Much Ado*. Professor Root also noted many allusions demonstrating Shakespeare's knowledge of the circumstances of Hercules' death:

> The attempt made by the Centaur Nessus to ravish Deianira (*Metamorphoses* 9.101) is alluded to in *All's Well that Ends Well* (4.3.283), and the poisoned Nessus-shirt in *Antony and Cleopatra* (4.12.43), and probably also in *As You Like It* (2.3.14-15). As to Hercules' death, Shakespeare is fairly explicit. He twice refers to the page of Lichias, who was thrown far into the air by the enraged hero; *Merchant of Venice* (2.1.32) and *Anthony and Cleopatra* (4.12.45), a detail which may have been learned from *Metamorphoses* (9.217-18), but the phrase ...seems nearer to the Senecan account of *Hercules Oetaeus* (815-22).[48]

Robert Root points out that Shakespeare even seems to have mimicked John Studley's 1571 English translation of Seneca's *Hercules Oetaeus* in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* where Bottom claims to be able to "play 'erc'les rarely" and recites these lines: "The raging rocks / And Shivering shocks / Shall break the locks / Of prison

gates; / And Phibbus' car / Shall shine from far, / And make and mar / The foolish Fates" (1.2). Root correctly notes that Studley's *Hercles* "recounts his own exploits in bad verse with excessive use of alliteration."[49] Studley translated four dramas of Seneca, dedicated his *Agamemnon* (1566) to William Cecil, and was intimate with members of the Inns of Court. Shakespeare seems to be masterfully mocking them all, Hercules, Bottom, Studley and Seneca.

Root incorrectly asserts, however, that Shakespeare was confused regarding Hercules' retrieving the golden apples of the Hesperides referred to in *Coriolanus* (4.6) and *Love's Labour's Lost* (4.3). He writes that in these plays "Hercules gathers the fruit himself; while, according to the myth, he sent Atlas to do it for him. It was during Atlas' errand that Hercules bore his burden for him."[50] In *Hamlet,* Hercules bearing the globe is alluded to by Rosenkrantz (2.2), so Shakespeare appears to have been aware of another version of the eleventh labor. In *Heracles: The Twelve Labors and the Hero in Ancient Art and Literature* (1986), Frank Brommer elaborates the origins of both renditions of this myth:

> The literature of the 5th century brings together the apples and the scene at the end of the world. Sophocles in *Trachiniae* describes the hero's arrival at the lair of the snake which lived at the outermost edge of the world guarding the apples. It seems that Heracles himself overcomes the snake. In his *Heracles,* Euripides states specifically that Hercules killed the snake and picked the fruit. Pherecydes, on the other hand, had another version: Hercules orders Atlas to pick the apples while he himself carries the heavens.[51]

Brommer points out that Diodorus later followed the text of Euripides while Apollodorus borrows from Pherecydes, so that two contradictory literary versions of the eleventh labor existed in later renditions. Root inexplicably also did not take into consideration the possibility that Shakespeare may have known the version found in Cooper's *Thesaurus*. In *Renaissance Dictionaries and Shakespeare,* the authors quote Cooper's entry on this question: "The twelfth and last labour was the taking of the *golden* Apples, out of the *gardeynes Hesperides*, and sleaying the terrible Dragon, which continually watching kept those Apples, which were *called golden* for the beautie of them."[52]

Root's categorical rejection of the Greek dramas as a Shakespeare source would lead him away from considering *Alcestis* as the inspiration for the final scenes of *Much Ado* or recognizing the literary significance of the play's Herculean allusions. In my opinion, there may be two other relevant Herculean allusions in Shakespeare that refer to Euripides' *Alcestis*. Bottom's doggerel-like recitation that "Phibbus' car shall shine from far, and make and mar the foolish Fates" may be a satiric reflection on Apollo's prologue speech in *Alcestis* where he admits to tricking the Fates. In addition, Hamlet's final words to Laertes after they have argued and grappled at Ophelia's grave, may be an allusion to Hercules grappling with Death at Queen Alcestis' tomb.

> Hear you, sir,
> What is the reason that you use me thus?
> I loved you ever. But it is no matter.
> Let Hercules himself do what he may,
> The cat will mew and the dog will have his day.
> (5.1.278-82)[53]

Hamlet's obscure speech has instigated a wide variety of interpretations, but no editors have suggested the obvious association with Alcestis' rescue by Hercules. Oxford edition editor G.R. Hibbard's footnote reflects the level of interpretive confusion: "This is one of those enigmatic remarks that Hamlet so often produces. It seems to say more than logic can extract from it. However, as Hercules is sometimes associated with rant in Shakespeare's mind,...it is reasonable to assume that Hamlet sees Laertes as Hercules. As for the cat and the dog, both behave naturally; and nothing Hercules can do will stop them."[54] The Arden editor suggests these lines may mean that Hamlet has been attacked physically by Laertes and that even Hercules couldn't stop him from doing what he intended. Norton editor Stephen Greenblatt interprets the lines to mean that despite Laertes' Herculean ranting, his day will come. The phrase "every dog will have his day" was proverbial, probably first written down by Erasmus, and implied that a time will come when fortune will smile. As for the cat and dog, could these not refer to Hercules' first and last labors, the killing of the Nemean Lion and the capture of Cerberus, the three-headed guard dog of the Underworld? Hamlet is simply saying again that he is no Hercules and that Ophelia, unlike Alcestis, cannot be brought back to life.

There is one more Herculean element in *Much Ado* that warrants attention, and this refers to spelling of Benedick's name in the quarto edition. Beatrice cleverly suggests a possibility of madness when she likens Benedick's relationship to Claudio to an infectious disease that would require an exorcism:

> O Lord, he will hang upon him like a disease! He is sooner caught than the pestilence, and the taker runs presently mad. God help the noble Claudio! If he have caught the Benedick, it will cost him a thousand pound ere 'a be cured.
> (1.1.81-5)

In the quarto of *Much Ado*, Benedick is spelled 'Benedict.' According to Claire McEachern, 'benedicts' were the "Catholic priests qualified to perform exorcisms, and madness was often thought to be caused by demonic possession, hence *caught the Benedict*."[55] This suggestion of Benedick's madness has Herculean implications as the hero, in a fit of madness induced by Hera, murdered his wife and their children, for which his twelve labors were prescribed so he could be purified.

Was Shakespeare's knowledge of the myths of Hercules "exceedingly scanty," as Robert Root concluded a century ago? A better case can be made for an expanded view of Shakespeare's knowledge of Hercules' mythography, which is reflected in both highly inventive allusions and the characterization of both tragic and comedic

heroes. The literary evidence suggests the playwright was not limited by the incomplete Herculean mythography of the Latin poets Ovid and Seneca, but was also familiar with the Greek poets, satirists and historians: Homer, Euripides, Diodorus, Apollodorus, and Lucian. The breadth of Shakespeare's familiarity with Hercules myths seems wide enough to have required access to both untranslated Greek as well as continental Latin editions. Since a case has already been made for Shakespeare's direct debt to Euripides' *Alcestis*, we can conclude that Root, Nuttall, Silk and the other critics who have expressed prejudice against the Greek dramas do not base their case on a rational consideration of the literary evidence.

Language

Oxfordians interested in building a case for Edward de Vere as author of *Much Ado about Nothing* will particularly appreciate McEachern's Arden edition, where she builds a powerful case for multiple literary associations with sources connected to the Earl of Oxford. These include the works of John Lyly and Anthony Munday, Oxford's personal secretaries in the 1580s, Edmund Spenser, Thomas Watson and Bartholomew Clerke, translator of Baldassare Castiglione, all of whom dedicated works to de Vere.

Recognizing the importance of social discourse in this play, McEachern writes, "The leisured and literate universe of Baldassare Castiglione's *Il libro del Cortegiano* (1528) provides another source of the play's social climate (as well as the typology of a courtly world in which beautiful people pass the time with elegant conversation and literary games)."[56] Castiglione's *The Book of the Courtier* had been translated from Italian into English by Sir Thomas Hoby in 1561, and quickly became the "holy writ for English gentlemen."[57] Oxford's sponsorship of Clerke's Latin translation (1572), in which the Earl wrote a long and fluent prefatory letter in Latin, would have made Castiglione's courtly philosophy available to scholars, even on the Continent. McEachern asserts that many of the comedies' comments on female infidelity echo those of John Lyly's *Euphues: The Anatomy of Wit* and *Euphues and His England,* which Lyly dedicated to the Earl of Oxford. Regarding the euphuistic style of the *Much Ado*, she writes:

> The prevalence of the dialogue convention in Renaissance prose fiction and rhetorical manuals – Castiglione's *Cortegiano*, Stephano Guazzo's *La civil conversazione* (1574), Lyly's *Anatomy of Wit* (1578) and *Euphues and His England* (1580) – bespeaks its availability for dramatic representation. Yet *Much Ado*, with its emphasis on wit, is particularly devoted to rhetorical contest, and these texts are especially pertinent. Many of Benedick's comments on the fair sex derive from Lyly, and Castiglione offers another model of intellectual contest and compatibility between the sexes....[58]

Lyly's titles coined the pompous style of speech spoken in Shakespeare's comedy. McEachern points out how euphuism consists of syntactic parallels and

inversions, and decidedly competitive turning and returning of one's terms and those of others. She argues that more than a stylistic feature of the play, euphuism provides the "articulated currency" by which the men of the play create community. In this regard, Beatrice's verbal sparring with Benedick is seen by Don Pedro as proof that she would be "an excellent wife" for him. Euphuism is thus not only a source of the play's prose stylings, but also provides a medium for its gender roles. Dialogue becomes a marker of social identity. Lyly's works often featured protracted discourses among friends on topics such as love and philosophy and McEachern offers this precise description of the spectrum of rhetorical devices employed by Lyly and the other euphuistic writers:

> It is a style characterized by techniques of amplification such as parallelism and antithesis, chiasmus, strings of rhetorical questions, structural symmetries and turns of logic, and full of internal poetic effects generated by alliteration, syllabic echoing, the repetition of verbal roots, rhyme, puns, phrases patterned on sound and syntax, and myriad rhetorical figures identifiable only to the connoisseur. Crowning these aural effects were displays of humanist learning: epigrams, aphorisms, proverbs, classical allusions and examples, fables, and information from natural and un-natural history. In other words, this is a prose as complicated, and as figuratively rich, as any verse.[59]

Euphuism was employed by many Renaissance humanists and is "modeled after Ciceronian oratory in its copiousness and ornament; its balances and symmetries were meant to connote not merely rhetorical poise but ethical temperance."[60] John Donne, Thomas Nashe, Thomas Lodge and Ben Jonson were all practitioners. Noting that the combative tone of euphuism derives from roots in debate forms, McEachern finally argues that euphuism in Shakespeare even provided a social map, a means of determining rank and status, that it is "as much sociolect as aesthetic."

> The writer must aspire to an encyclopedic range of reference and reiteration, whilst managing to stay on topic, balancing digressive expansion against thematic pertinence. This is the style that Benedick might call 'so good a continuer.'[61]

Much Ado is written largely (70%) in prose and the euphuistic style dominates the Beatrice and Benedick dialogues as well as Benedick's inverted long monologues in Act 2, where he is transformed from an outspoken misogynist to a romantic poet and defender of female virtue. It is no coincidence that the passages in *Much Ado* that display the most virtuoso
instances of euphuism are those where a debate is underway, where a character is engaged in argument with himself, or where high feeling – either rage or contempt – propels the language. Indignation and invective, contempt and disdain are the motive

forces of this style.[62]

In his dedicatory epistle to Edward de Vere, Lyly admits that in composing *Euphues*, he regularly visited "Homer's basin" to "lap up" the literary musings of his unnamed patron. Mark Anderson in *Shakespeare By Another Name* (2005) writes that Lyly actually wrote *Euphues* to satirize the euphuistic style:

> Thus Lyly created a parody, with de Vere's encouragement and perhaps even collaboration, using pompous and overblown language that is the hallmark of the "Euphuistic" style, making Lyly's protagonist an antithesis of Castiglione's ideal. Euphues, as painted by Lyly's brush, is boorish, misogynistic, bullheaded, insensate, arrogant, and deaf to others' advice but quick to dispense his own.[63]

While John Lyly's *Endymion* depicted a comedic police interception not unlike the Watch in *Much Ado*, the most likely source for the Watch is Anthony Munday's play *Fedele and Fortunio* (1584), an adaptation of the Italian Pasaqualigo's *Il Fedele*. The argument for *Fedele and Fortunio* being a source for *Much Ado* has been elucidated recently by Joaquin Anyó in "More on the Sources of Much Ado about Nothing" in *Notes and Queries*. Bullough suggested that Shakespeare got the idea for Dogberry's and Verges' detainment of Borachio from Munday's Captain Crackstone, and that the very same language is used in the two plays, "We charge you in the Prince's name" (3.3.157):

> This will explain the title of 'prince' of Don Pedro, king in Bandello. There is no prince in other arrests in Shakespeare. The editor of Munday's play, Hosley, portrays the talking of Crackstone, a parallel character to Dogberry, in a very similar way as the latter: 'he uses malapropisms, creates monstrous "cannibal words," coins silly neologisms, transposes the key terms of phrases, says the opposite of what he means, speaks mock-Latin…'[64]

McEachern also cites Edmund Spenser's *The Faerie Queene* (1590) Book 2, canto 4, as another possible source, as it includes a rendition of the Ariosto story, which illustrates the dangers of intemperate, vengeful action. Spenser dedicated a sonnet to Edward de Vere in Book 4 of *The Faerie Queene*, referring to him as "most dear" to the "Heliconian imps," presumably in reference to the circle of poets supported by the Earl, including himself, Lyly, Munday, Robert Greene and Thomas Watson.

Finally, Thomas Watson dedicated his collection of one hundred sonnets, *The Hekatompathia* or *Passionate Century of Love* (1582), to de Vere. McEachern notes that Don Pedro's line to Benedick, "In time the savage bull doth bear the yoke" (1.1.242) is a near-direct quote from sonnet 47 of *Hekatompathia*, "In time the Bull is brought to weare the yoake."[65] Watson's dedication to him states specifically that de Vere had reviewed the volume in manuscript: "your Honor had willingly vouchsafed the acceptance of this work, and at convenient leisures favorable perused it, being as yet

but in written hand...."[66]

Love's Labour's Wonne

Writing on the "The Hermeneutics of Hercules from Ovid to Shakespeare" (1983), Jeff Shulman includes this passage regarding the Herculean elements in another comedy:

> In *Love's Labour's Lost,* Shakespeare found a mythic paradigm for the separate but equal follies of narcissism and fanaticism in the single figure of Hercules, next to Cupid the most frequently mentioned mythological character in the play. What appealed to Shakespeare in the history of this myth was the Ovidian idea that the two types of Hercules could be seen as integrally related aspects of the same figure. Shakespeare dramatizes the Ovidian formula by presenting his young lords initially as the heroic type of Hercules and then as the amorous type.... It is Ovid's metamorphosis of the heroic that informs the path of mythic allusion in *Love's Labours Lost*.[67]

Shulman's commentary on the prominence of Hercules in *Love's Labour's Lost* suggests a direct comparison to *Much Ado,* where Benedick is also portrayed as initially heroic and then amorous. The Herculean theme in *Love's Labour's Lost* suggests the figure of a young hero standing at the crossroads of life, as in the tradition of the Choice of Hercules, a parable attributed to the fifth century (B.C.) sophist, Prodicus. The Choice shows Hercules preferring the more arduous, uphill, philosophic path of virtue to the inferior path of carnal pleasure. Shulman suggests Shakespeare incorporated a French source for the theme of Hercules' Choice in the philosophy of King Ferdinand:

> It may be that Le Fevre's Hercules, certainly familiar to Shakespeare by the time of *Troilus and Cressida*, affected the treatment of the Hercules theme in *Love's Labour's Lost*. Le Fevre presents Hercules...partly in the tradition of his championship of the intellect, "full of philosophie and expert in all scyence," and may have suggested Ferdinand's hunt for intellectual fame. This aspect of the hero was popular with the neo-Platonic dilettantes of court circles, as in Castiglione's description of Hercules' apotheosis.[68]

Consider how closely *Much Ado*, with its many Herculean allusions and hero and its euphuistic style, matches the underlying myths and language in *Love's Labour's Lost*. Stephen Greenblatt, in his textual note on *Much Ado* in *The Norton Shakespeare* (1997) writes, "Francis Meres does not include *Much Ado about Nothing* in a list of Shakespeare's plays he compiled in September, 1598 (unless that is what he meant by the play he calls *Love's Labour's Wonne*)."[69] A number of scholars have also argued that *Much Ado* had been performed by 1598, when Meres compiled his list of twelve known dramas by Shakespeare. Thus, there appears to be at least a temporal

link between these two comedies.

Howard Furness' 1899 edition included commentaries from A.E. Brae's 1860 *Collier, Coleridge and Shakespeare,* in which Brae presents a compelling case for *Much Ado* being the lost comedy, *Love's Labour's Wonne* in showing manifold similarities between *Much Ado* and *Love's Labour's Lost*. Brae's discussion includes an analysis of the parallel relationships between the major couples, Beatrice and Benedick and Rosaline and Berowne, and the employment of euphuistic language in both comedies. He cites the common imagery of several specific speeches, such as his comparison of Dogberry ("A good old man, sir; he will be talking; - an honest soul, i'faith, sir; all men are not alike; alas good neighbor.") with Costard ("There an't shall please you; a foolish mild man; an honest man, look you, and soon dash'd! He is a marvelous good neighbor"). Brae even identified the common Herculean, mythopoetic context that most scholars have inexplicably overlooked:

> But it seems to have escaped notice on all hands that the *mythological* sense of *Love's Labour* would be much more consonant with the age in which Shakespeare wrote, than the *sentimental* sense. That is, that *Love's Labours* in the dramatic writing of that time, would be much more likely to be understood as the jests or exploits of the *deity* Love, in the same sense as the fabled *Labours of Hercules*.[70]

There are more allusions to Cupid and Hercules in these two comedies than in any dramas in the Shakespeare canon. Both plays present a matrix of linked classical allusions amplified with euphuistic discourse. *Much Ado about Nothing* is ultimately a story about the triumph of love through the labors of many characters, including Don Pedro, Friar Francis, Beatrice, Benedick and Dogberry, which is quite literally a drama that is much ado about love won.

Conclusion

Much Ado about Nothing provides compelling examples of Shakespeare's direct literary debt to Greek sources. Shakespeare editors Jonathan Bate and Claire McEachern have provided proof of this in recent years, resurrecting a consideration of the importance of Euripides' tragicomedy, *Alcestis*, after nearly a century of scholarly neglect. An analysis of the Herculean allusions in *Much Ado* reveals a wide number of likely literary sources, including the works of Euripides, Lucian and Homer, and supports the idea that Shakespeare was well versed in the Greek canon. Shakespeare even seems to portray Benedick as a Herculean hero, albeit a comedic one, based on the Hercules in *Alcestis*. Both Hercules and Benedick are presented as deluded fools for love or the love goddess, who exercise their honor by risking death in order to redeem noble women. Both provide comic relief with bombastic speeches laced with hyperbole. Benedick even identifies Beatrice with Ate, Hercules' natal nemesis, and with Queen Omphale, the hero's lover and ruler.

When one considers the acknowledged sources of *Much Ado*, it could be argued that this comedy is the most "Oxfordian" of all the plays for its connections to Edward de Vere's literary patronage. The works dedicated to him by John Lyly, Anthony Munday, and Thomas Watson have all been identified as primary sources for this comedy. That both *Much Ado* and *The Winter's Tale* must now also be recognized as borrowing dramaturgy from a Greek tragicomedy also reinforces Oxford's authorship claim. De Vere's education and access to the Greek classics is well documented. For a number of years the young Oxford lived in the home of Cambridge scholar and Greek orator, Sir Thomas Smith, who lectured in Greek from Homer, Aristotle, Euripides and Aristophanes.

For nearly a decade Oxford also lived at Cecil House, where he was in close contact with England's leading translators, including his maternal uncle, Arthur Golding (Ovid's *The Metamorphoses,* 1567), George Gascoigne (Euripides' *Phoenissiae*, 1572), and Arthur Hall (the first ten books of Homer's *Iliad*, 1581). Smith and Cecil possessed Greek editions of Homer, Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides and Plato in their libraries, and Cecil's collection also included editions of Ariosto, Bandello, Belleforest and Buchanan.[71] Oxford's mother-in-law, Mildred Cecil, a highly regarded Greek scholar in her own right, even carried on a correspondence with George Buchanan, whose Latin *Alcestis* is arguably Shakespeare's direct source for several dramas.

Finally, the evidence that *Much Ado about Nothing* was originally titled *Love's Labour's Wonne* gains greater coherence, because *Love's Labour's Lost* and *Much Ado* share character parallels, mythopoetic roots in the Herculean canon, and the euphuistic language of love. Rediscovering Euripides' *Alcestis* in Shakespeare and recognizing the importance of the Herculean elements in these comedies enhances our understanding of their origins and their meanings, and at the same time challenges traditional scholarship.

Endnotes

1 Robert Kilburn Root, *Classical Mythology in Shakespeare* (New York: Gordion Press, Inc. 1965 -1903), 6.

2 A.D. Nuttall, "Shakespeare and the Greeks," in *Shakespeare and the Classics*. ed. Charles Martindale & A.B. Taylor (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 210.

3 Michael Silk, "Shakespeare and Greek Tragedy: Strange Relationship" in *Shakespeare and the Classics*. ed. Charles Martindale & A.B. Taylor (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 241.

4 A.D. Nuttall, Twayne's New Critical Introductions to Shakespeare: *Timon of Athens*. (Boston: G.K. Hall & Co., 1989), 107.

5 Earl Showerman, "'Look Down and See What Death Is Doing': Gods and Greeks in

The Winter's Tale," *The Oxfordian* 10 (2007), 55-6.

[6] Stephen Orgel, *Imagining Shakespeare: A History of Texts and Visions* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 130.

[7] Sarah Dewar-Watson, "The *Alcestis* and the Statue scene in *The Winter's Tale*." *Shakespeare Quarterly* 60 (2009), 73-80.

[8] Dewar-Watson, 80.

[9] Jonathan Bate, "Dying to Live in *Much Ado about Nothing.*" In *Surprised by Scenes: Essays in Honor of Professor Yasunai Takahashi*, ed. Yasunari Takada (Tokyo: Kenkyusha, 1994), 69-85.

[10] Claire McEachern, ed. *Much Ado about Nothing,* (London: The Arden Shakespeare, 2006), 21-2.

[11] Bate, "Dying to Live," 79.

[12] Bate, "Dying to Live," 72.

[13] Bate, "Dying to Live," 77.

[14] Shakespeare, William. *Much Ado about Nothing.* ed. Claire McEachern (London: Arden Shakespeare, 2006), 271. Subsequent quotations from *Much Ado* included.

[15] Bate, "Dying to Live," 83.

[16] Bate, "Dying to Live," 81.

[17] Bate, "Dying to Live," 81.

[18] Bate, "Dying to Live," 81.

[19] Bate, "Dying to Live," 82.

[20] Euripides. *Alcestis*. Trans. Richard Aldington in *The Complete Greek Drama*. ed. Whitney J. Oates and Eugene O'Neill. (New York: Random House, 1938), 709-710. Subsequent quotations from *Alcestis* included.

[21] McEachern, *Much Ado,* 308.

[22] Bate, "Dying to Live," 84.

[23] Hartman, Herbert. Ed. *A Petite Pallace of Pettie his Pleasure*. (London: Oxford University, 1938) 145.

[24] McEachern, *Much Ado*, 22.

[25] *Works of Lucian of Samosata - Volume 3*. trans. Fowler, H.W. and Fowler F.G. (Charleston: bibliobazaar, 2007), 254.

[26] McEachern, *Much Ado*, 193.

[27] Root, *Classical Mythology,* 73. Root noted that two Hercules allusions in *Much Ado* refer to Omphale (2.1.261 and 3.3.145), and that, "The last passage suggests that the subject was a favorite one in tapestry."

[28] McEachern, *Much Ado*, 75.

[29] Robert Graves, *The Greek Myths* (London: Penguin Books, 1955), 565.

[30] Graves, *Greek Myths*, 566.

[31] McEachern, *Much Ado*, 193.

[32] Horace Howard Furness. ed. New Variorum Edition of *Much Adoe about Nothing*. (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott, 1927), 84.

[33] McEachern, *Much Ado*, 227.
[34] Eugene M. Waith. The *Herculean Hero in Marlowe, Chapman, Shakespeare and Dryden*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1962), 13.
[35] Waith, *The Herculean Hero*, 15.
[36] Waith, *Herculean Hero,* 38.
[37] Waith, *Herculean Hero,* 113.
[38] Waith, *Herculean Hero,* 115.
[39] Jeff Shulman. "At the Crossroads of Myth: The Hermeneutics of Hercules from Ovid to Shakespeare," *E.L.H.* 50 (1983), 90.
[40] 243.
[41] Claire Asquith. *Shadowplay: The Hidden Beliefs and Coded Politics of William Shakespeare*. (New York: Public Affairs, 2005), 293.
[42] Furness, *Much Adoe* 170.
[43] Furness, *Much Adoe* 171.
[44] Francis A. Yates. *The Valois Tapestries*. (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1959).
[45] Roger Stritmatter, Roger. "On the Chronology and Performance Venue of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*." *The Oxfordian*: 9 (2006), 81-90.
[46] Milton Waldman. *Elizabeth and Leicester*. (London: Collins, 1969), 159-160.
[47] Root, *Classical Mythology,* 71.
[48] Root, *Classical Mythology,* 73.
[49] Root, *Classical Mythology,* 74.
[50] Root, *Classical Mythology,* 72.
[51] Frank Brommer. *Heracles: The Twelve Labors of the Hero in Ancient Art and Literature.* trans. Shirley Schwartz. (New Rochelle: Aristide D. Caratzas, 1986), 49.
[52] Dewitt T. Starnes and Ernest William Talbert. *Classical Myth and Legend in Renaissance Dictionaries*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1955), 114.
[53] Shakespeare. *Hamlet.* ed. G.R. Hibbard. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), 334.
[54] Hibbard, *Hamlet*, 334.
[55] McEachern, *Much Ado,* 155.
[56] McEachern, *Much Ado,* 12.
[57] Mark Anderson. *Shakespeare by Another Name: The Life of Edward de Vere, Earl of Oxford.* (New York: Gotham, 2005), 52.
[58] McEachern, *Much Ado,* 26.
[59] McEachern, *Much Ado,* 65.
[60] McEachern, *Much Ado,* 65-6.
[61] McEachern, *Much Ado,* 67.
[62] McEachern, *Much Ado,* 70.
[63] Anderson, 160.
[64] Joaquim Anyó. "More on the Sources of Much Ado about Nothing." *Notes and Queries* 55 (2008), 187.
[65] McEachern, *Much Ado,* 166.

[66] Anderson, *Shakespeare By Another Name,*182.
[67] Schulman, "Crossroads," 99.
[68] "Crossroads," 99.
[69] Greenblatt. Ed. *The Norton Shakespeare*, (New York: W.W. Norton & Co.,1997), 1388.
[70] Furness, *Much Adoe*, 369.
[71] Eddi Jolly. "Shakespeare and Burghley's Library: *Biblioteca Illustris: Sive Catalogus Variorum Librorum*." *The Oxfordian* 3 (2000), 12.

Epicurean Time in *Macbeth*

Peter R. Moore

Macbeth may be described as a man advancing erratically toward power and then to destruction, blundering between indecision and impetuosity. His personal motivations appear to be his ambitions, his fears, and his submission to his wife's stronger character. However, Macbeth also contends with two abstract, intertwined forces: time and religion.

Regarding time, Shakespeare uses that word and its derivatives far more frequently in *Macbeth* than in any other play.[1] Time is indeed important in *Macbeth*, for example, Macbeth's letter to his wife reporting the witch's prediction that he would be King with "the coming on of time" (1.5.9-10), followed by her brutal response to his hesitance to act: "Nor time nor place, / Did then adhere, and yet you would make them both: / They have made themselves, and that their fitness now / Does unmake you" (1.7.51-4). But how does this differ from any other play with a well constructed plot? Does one event not set another in motion just as much in *Hamlet* or *Othello* as in *Macbeth*? Answering these questions – unfolding the role of time in *Macbeth* – is the purpose of this essay.

Regarding religion, Macbeth responds to the discovery of the truth of the witch's initial prediction of his advancement by asking Banquo: "Do you not *hope* your children shall be kings, / When those that gave the Thane of Cawdor to me / *Promis'd* no less to them?" (1.3.118-20).[2] The words "hope" and "promise" come from St. Paul, most notably in the Acts of the Apostles, where Paul tells King Agrippa of the resurrection of the dead: "And now I stand and am accused for the *hope* of the *promes* made of God vnto our fathers" (26:6).[3] These two words appear also in Ephesians 2:12 and Titus 1:2, in affirmation of God's promise to Christians. Banquo unites the two words in his soliloquy at the start of Act 3: "Thou hast it now: King, Cawdor, Glamis, all, / As the weïrd women *promis'd* . . . Why . . . / May they not be my oracles as well, / And set me up in *hope*?" (3.1.1-10). Finally recognizing the full deception of

the prophecies, Macbeth denounces the "juggling fiends . . . / That keep the word of *promise* to our ear, / And break it to our *hope*" (5.8.19-22). In other words, Macbeth applies the concepts of his original Christianity to his newfound trust – for he has no allegiance – while Banquo struggles to resist the same temptation. As will be shown, Macbeth's interweaving and replacement of doctrines and ideas applies not only to religion and time, but also to religion, superstition and philosophy.

Regarding the combination of religion and time, Macbeth provides an excellent example at the start of Act 1, scene 7, in his soliloquy on whether or not to murder Duncan. Macbeth opens with the consideration that if he could get away with the assassination "here, upon this bank and shoal of time" (1.7.6), he would risk the life to come. He continues by remarking that he would still have judgment here on earth, presumably referring to Genesis 9:6, "Whoso shedeth mans blood, by man shal his blood be shed," reinforced by the fact that Duncan's saintliness will draw heavenly hosts to denounce to all humanity so damnable a deed. Macbeth concludes that the risks are too great, but promptly tells his wife that he must not forfeit the popularity bought by his recent victories. The soliloquy's opening is a web of evasion and ambiguity, requiring clarification from later lines and scenes, in which it typifies the play's protagonist. To begin with, Macbeth could mean either that in return for success he would willingly risk the life to come, or that the life to come is a risk still to be counted, as indicated by his reference thirteen lines later to "the deep damnation" that would fall on the murderer. Moreover, Macbeth ought to be in no doubt that such a heinous crime would amount to forfeiting, not risking, the life to come, though his subsequent reference to damnation implies recognition of reality on this point. And then there is Macbeth's chosen pronoun in "We'ld jump [i.e., risk or hazard] the life to come." Is Macbeth prematurely assuming the royal plural, is he referring to both himself and Lady Macbeth, or is he simply unwilling to say "I"? In any event, he seems prepared to write off one of two divine punishments, as if time ended with his own death – a matter to which he returns later in the play.

The Concepts of Time and Eternity

The concept of time as understood by educated people in Shakespeare's day came from classical philosophy. As no attempt will be made here to show that Shakespeare had personally studied the works in question,[4] a synopsis relevant to the literature of his age will be offered instead. Aristotle taught that time measures motion or change, and would not exist without them; that sleep is outside of time, for no change of consciousness occurs; that certain things are eternal, meaning outside of time, such as mathematical truths; and, paradoxically, that the past and future do not exist, although they did and will, while the present is not part of time as it has no duration, therefore – apparently – time does not exist. Plotinus, expanding on Plato, defined eternity as a state outside of time, in which past and future unite with the present, or, in eternity all three tenses are simultaneous; otherwise, time is the life of the soul as it moves from one act or event to another. Responding to Aristotle's paradox, Augustine asserts that there is "a present time of past things; a present

time of present things; and a present time of future things....The present time of past things is our memory; the present time of present things is our sight [*contuitus*, "perception"]; the present time of future things our expectation."[5] Note the similarity of Augustine's explanation of the existence of time to Plotinus's definition of eternity, in that both unite past, present, and future. Finally, Boethius's *Consolation of Philosophy* became the principal means of transmission of this knowledge through the Dark and Middle Ages; translated into English by Chaucer and then others, it was available in print in several sixteenth century editions.[6]

Tudor and Stuart writers counted on their readers' knowledge of the classical heritage on time and eternity. Perhaps the best known example on time and motion is Ralegh's: "tell time it metes but motion"[7]; on eternity, perhaps Milton's: "Him God beholding from his prospect high, / Wherein past, present, future he beholds."[8]

Shakespeare's view of these essentials features most prominently in *As You Like It*, in the conversation between Rosalind and Orlando in the Forest of Arden. When the latter asks, "Who stays it [Time] still withal?", Rosalind's answer covers both the link of time to motion and the extra-chronological status of sleep: "With lawyers in the vacation; for they sleep between term and term, and then they perceive not how Time moves."[9] The special status of sleep also occurs implicitly in *Winter's Tale*: "I turn my glass, and give my scene such growing / As you had slept between" (4.1.16-17). Shakespeare's most intriguing passage on eternity comes in *Merry Wives of Windsor*, when Mistress Ford, outraged by Falstaff's presumptuous love letter, remarks: "If I would but go to hell for an eternal moment or so, I could be knighted" (2.1.49-50). At first glance, her expression, "an eternal moment," seems a silly contradiction, though quite apt to the humor of the scene. However, on reflection, an eternal moment makes sense. Mrs. Ford's eyes could go blank for a moment or two from the point of view of an observer while she visited eternity – infernal or otherwise – where time does not exist, and where a moment and a century are indistinguishable.

Time in Acts 1-3 of *Macbeth*

The first three acts of *Macbeth* invoke Time in various ways, often returning to them later in the play, but each act also includes one or more critical decisions or events that foreshadow or shape the plot. Otherwise, Time seems a presence in the play – albeit offstage – that pulls or pushes the characters this way and that, or, to put it another way, Shakespeare seems to be exercising his audiences on the subject of time. Act 1 serves a threshold, as it were, Act 2 as the doorknob, and Act 3 as the hinges. Then, in Acts 4 and 5, Macbeth challenges Time: Act 4 is the door itself, while Act 5 leads to what lies beyond.

Time's first critical event in Act 1 is the witches' prediction that Macbeth shall be Thane of Cawdor and then King; the latter motivates the plot, while the former provides a preliminary verification of the witches' reliability. Satan presumably stands behind the witches' words, but the prediction and its resultant temptation operate in Time's framework. Time's second critical intervention is

Duncan's decision to spend a night at Macbeth's castle. The choice may be Duncan's, or it could be ascribed to fate, fortune, or chance, but it creates a situation – an opportunity for regicide and usurpation – controlled by the passage of Time.

Otherwise, Macbeth first responds to the witches by allowing his present to be overwhelmed by the future: "Present fears / Are less than horrible imaginings: / My thought, whose murther yet is but fantastical, / Shakes so my single state of man that function / Is smother'd in surmise, and nothing is / But what is not" (1.3.137-42). Then, quite sensibly, he returns to honesty or, to put things less favorably, lapses into passivity: "If chance will have me king, why, chance may crown me / Without my stir" (1.3.143-4); "Come what come may, / Time and the hour runs through the roughest day" (1.3.146-7); and, writing to his wife, that he shall be King, with "the coming on of time" (1.5.9). Lady Macbeth's first response, like her husband's, is to grasp for the future: "Thy letters have transported me beyond / This ignorant present, and I feel now / The future in the instant" (1.5.56-8). When he loses his nerve after the "bank and shoal of time" soliloquy, she reacts in terms of time: "From this time / Such I account thy love" (1.7.38-9). Then she quashes his protests by reminding him that he initiated the matter: "Nor time, nor place, / Did then adhere, and yet you would make them both: / They have made themselves, and that their fitness now / Does unmake you" (1.7.51-4).[10]

In Act 2, some unknown force responds to Duncan's murder by denying future sleep, humanity's refuge from Time, to Macbeth.

> Methought I heard a voice cry, "Sleep no more! / Macbeth does murder sleep" . . . Still it cried, "Sleep no more!" to all the house; / Glamis hath murther'd sleep, and therefore Cawdor / Shall sleep no more – Macbeth shall sleep no more" (2.1.30-40).

The voice could arise from Macbeth's own conscience or from various external powers – we do not know which – but this immediate response to murder comes within the domain of Time. Two other time-related items in this Act deserve mention. First, when Macduff asks Macbeth why he slaughtered Duncan's sleeping grooms, Macbeth deftly answers: "Who can be wise, amaz'd, temp'rate, and furious / Loyal, and neutral, in a moment?" (2.3.108-09). This speech, which asks rhetorically, "Who can simultaneously be opposites?" parallels Plotinus's definition of eternity and Augustine's affirmation of the actuality of Time, both of which require the simultaneity of different tenses. Finally, Malcolm's question to his brother, "What should be spoken here, where our fate, / Hid in an auger-hole, may rush and seize us?" (2.3.121-2), is reminiscent of one of Augustine's puzzles about the past and future: "have they a being also; but such as proceeds out of some unknown secret, when out of the future, the present is made; and returns it into some secret again, when the past is made out of the present?"[11]

In Act 3, at least five significant events happen with regard to time, each extending backward in the play as well as forward. Hence, as characterized above, Act 3 resembles a hinge, or, more precisely, a two-way hinge allowing motion in

either direction. The following brief descriptions of the five discuss only the backward movement, with the forward reserved for now.

After his meeting with Banquo, Macbeth launches a soliloquy on the threat posed by his former comrade, including: "For Banquo's issue have I filed my mind, / For them the gracious Duncan have I murther'd, / . . . / Only for them; and mine eternal jewel / Given to the common enemy of man, / To make them kings – the seeds of Banquo kings! / Rather than so, come fate into the list, / And champion me to th' utterance!" (3.1.64-71). The reference to giving his soul to Satan harks back to the "bank and shoal of time" soliloquy, which left in doubt the question of whether Macbeth accepted that his crimes implied damnation. It appears here that he does accept that he is damned, but simply regards it as a cost of getting his way here on earth.

Then, in conversation with his wife, we learn that the prophetic voice that assailed Macbeth after Duncan's murder has come true: "But let the frame of things disjoint, both the worlds suffer, / Ere we will eat our meal in fear, and sleep / In the affliction of these terrible dreams / That shake us nightly. Better be with the dead, / Whom we, to gain our peace, have sent to peace, / Than on the torture of the mind to lie / In restless ecstasy." (3.2.16-22). More on this topic, sleep and its relationship to time, lies ahead.

As a result of becoming unnerved by the appearance of Banquo's Ghost at the feast, Macbeth exclaims that: "Blood hath been shed ere now, i' th'olden time, / Ere humane statute purg'd the gentle weal; / Ay, and since too, murthers have been perform'd / . . . the time has been, / That, when the brains were out, the man would die, / And there an end" (3.4.74-9). These words obviously look back to some distant past – the olden time – but they also foreshadow, or alert the audience to, the new belief that Macbeth partially adopts in Act 4: Epicureanism.

Then, after babbling about secret murderers being revealed by stones, trees, and birds, Macbeth suddenly rallies by asking, "What is the night?" (3.4.125). Very much in command of himself, Macbeth discourses on Macduff's absence from the feast, what his army of spies will tell him on that subject, and then: "I will to-morrow / (And betimes I will) to the weïrd sisters. / More shall they speak; . . . I am in blood / Stepp'd in so far that, should I wade no more, / Returning were as tedious as go o'er. / Strange things I have in head, that will to hand; / Which must be acted ere they may be scann'd." (3.4.131-9). The image of stepping through blood[12] recalls the "bank and shoal of time" soliloquy in the sense of picturing time or life as flowing water, as well as in the ambiguities of both passages. Does Macbeth really believe that "returning" through his bloodshed would merely be tedious? And what would it mean to return: surely, as Claudius understood, repentance, confession, yielding the fruits of crime, and accepting both human and divine consequences? Macbeth's last two lines reverse his view from returning in time to upcoming events which must be acted ere they be scanned, which anticipates his planned visit to the witches.

Finally, Macbeth's response to his wife's call to sleep has implications that stretch in two directions: "Come, we'll to sleep. My strange and self-abuse / Is the initiate fear that wants hard use: / We are yet but young in deed." (3.4.140-3).

Somehow, perhaps again anticipating the power of the witches, Macbeth no longer worries about his sleep being destroyed by terrible dreams. Less obviously, Macbeth's reference to self-abuse, like his earlier remark on the olden time, points to the Epicureanism that lies ahead.

In sum, the multiple tentacles of Time extending across, before, and beyond Act 3 merit the classical term *epitasis*, "that part of a play when the plot thickens," or, as Ben Jonson put it, "the business of the play."[13] The references or topics that Time points forward to include: damnation; the security of sleep; the olden times; pausing in a stream of blood; acting deeds before they may be scanned; and self-abuse.

Time in Acts 4-5 of *Macbeth*

In Act 4, Macbeth settles upon two courses of action regarding the problem of Time. First, he reveals himself to be a follower of some of the doctrines of the Greek philosopher Epicurus. These include disbelief in any afterlife; hence Macbeth's death will bring an end to Time. Next, he decides that he must keep up with, or travel as fast as Time, lest it leave him behind. These decisions carry over into Act 5, along with an unintended consequence: Lady Macbeth falls out of Time and into Eternity. The dramatic effectiveness of these three events depends not only on how the playwright stages them, but also on the audience's awareness of his intent.

Regarding Epicureanism, Shakespeare, as shown in some of his other plays, could rely on the audience's general knowledge, as well as on a scripted sermon that each member should have heard annually. Regarding the other two items, and assuming the audience's general knowledge of Time and Eternity, Shakespeare chose the difficult course of staging a truism and a paradox. On the one hand, Time moves at the same rate for all: sixty seconds per minute, sixty minutes per hour, for both the sluggard and the dynamo. How then does an actor run as fast as Time? On the other hand, how can one actor show past, present, and future all at once?

Epicureanism

Although strongly present earlier in the play, Epicureanism receives its formal introduction in Act 5, as Macbeth contemplates English invaders supported by rebellious Scottish nobles:

> Bring me no more reports, let them fly all.
> Till Birnam wood remove to Dunsinane
> I cannot taint with fear. What's the boy Malcolm?
> Was he not born of woman? The spirits that know
> All mortal consequences have pronounc'd me thus:
> "Fear not, Macbeth, no man that's born of woman
> Shall e'er have power upon thee." Then fly, false thanes,
> And mingle with the English epicures!
>
> (5.3.1-8)

Macbeth's sneer at the English epicures has two meanings, which arise from both the philosophical and vulgar understandings of "epicure." First, while he openly proclaims himself to be protected by prophecies, the Epicureans scoffed at any sort of soothsaying or omens,[14] and the willingness of the English to attack shows disbelief in Macbeth's prophecies – hence the English are epicures. Macbeth's second meaning results from his military experience, his plan for the coming campaign, and a national stereotype from Shakespeare's day.

In those times, it was held that, although the English were the most valiant of all nations on the battlefield, the English soldier needed plenty of beef and a warm, dry place to sleep, without which he would go home. Consequently, the way to defeat the English was not to confront them face-to-face, but to drag out the campaign into winter, while forcing them to conduct sieges. Contemporary examples of the stereotype are readily found.

In 1519 the Venetian ambassador observed that English soldiers "insist on being paid monthly, nor do they choose to suffer any hardship; but when they have their comforts [*commodita*], they will then do battle daily, with a courage, vigour, and valour, that defy exaggeration."[15] Elis Gruffydd, a Welsh soldier in the Duke of Suffolk's expedition of 1523, recorded that the King of France "did not make much haste to turn back to drive the English from his kingdom since he was sufficiently familiar with them to know that . . . as soon as winter came it was sure that they would keep to their custom as they were used to do" and go home, which they did. In 1543, Gruffydd served at the siege of Montreuil, where the French commander responded to the Duke of Norfolk's demand for surrender by telling him to "take his pleasure in hunting with hawks and hounds about the country while the weather is fine and mild and by winter according to the old English custom you will go home to your kinsmen," as they did.[16] A specific link of the vice to the nation comes in a 1614 item: "Poysoning to Italie, drunkennesses to Germanie, Epicureanism to England."[17] English awareness of the stereotype also appears in *1 Henry VI*, where the Duke of Alençon remarks of the English besiegers of Orleans that:

> They want their porridge and their fat bull-beeves:
> Either they must be dieted like mules
> And have their provender tied to their mouths,
> Or piteous they will look, like drowned mice.
>
> (1.2.9-12)

Likewise, on the eve of Agincourt in *Henry V*, when Orleans remarks that the English are out of beef, the Constable replies, "Then we shall find tomorrow they have only stomachs to eat and none to fight" (3.7.152-4).[18]

As an able general, Macbeth takes his enemy's weakness into account as he waits for them in his fortress on Dunsinane Hill:

> Our castle's strength
> Will laugh a siege to scorn; here let them lie
> Till famine and the ague eat them up.
> Were they not forc'd with those that should be ours,
> We might have met them dareful, beard to beard,
> And beat them backward home.
> (5.5.2-7)

The last three lines clearly show that Macbeth foresees the English, not the Scots rebels, as the victims of hunger and disease.

Analysis of Macbeth's slap at the English epicures presents two common views of Epicureanism in Shakespere's age. On the one hand, an epicure was one who followed the teachings of the ancient philosopher Epicurus, which included the non-interest and non-interference of the gods in human affairs by either prophecy or direct intervention; the nonexistence of any afterlife, hence the simultaneous death of body and soul; avoidance of public affairs; and asceticism in one's personal life. Given his trust in prophecies as well as his royal ambitions, Macbeth obviously does not qualify as a full-fledged Epicurean. On the other hand, rival classical schools of philosophy, subsequently joined by Christianity, slandered epicures as nothing more than hedonists or voluptuaries – atheists who loved luxury. Again, Macbeth does not fit the mold. However, the theology of the Anglican Church offered a simpler picture of epicures.

Unless a church possessed a minister licensed to preach his own sermon once a month, ministers of the Church of England read their congregations the prescribed sermon from the *Book of Homilies* every Sunday and holy day, beginning anew each year, thus guaranteeing a high degree of common public knowledge, if not necessarily agreement. The homily for Rogation Week, "That all good things commeth from God," contains three parts, each read on a different day. The second part concerns those who looked elsewhere for help:

> Epicures they bee that imagine that he [God] walketh about the coastes of the heauens, & hath no respect of these inferiour things, but that all these things should proceede either by chance or at aduenture, or else by disposition of fortune, and GOD to haue no stroke in them. What other thing is this to say, then as the foole supposeth in his heart, there is no GOD?

The fools in question had, however, a supernatural alternative:

> I would to GOD (my friendes) that in our wants and necessities, we would goe to GOD . . . If wee did, wee should not seeke our want and necessitie of the deuill and his ministers so oft as wee doe, as dayly experience declareth it. For if wee stand in necessitie of corporall health, whither goe the common people, but to charmes, witchcraftes and other delusions of the Deuill? . . . If

> the Merchaunt . . . knew that GOD is the giuer of riches, hee woulde content himselfe with so much as by iust meanes approued of GOD, . . . hee would neuer procure his gaine and aske his goods at the Deuils hand. GOD forbid ye will say, that any man should take his riches of the Deuill . . . And all they that giue themselues to such meanes, and have renounced the true meanes that GOD hath appoynted, haue forsaken him, and are become worshippers of the Deuill . . . They be such as kneele downe to the deuill at his bidding, and worship him: For he promiseth them for so doing, that he will giue them the world, and the goods therein. They cannot otherwise better serue the deuill, then to doe his pleasure and commandement.[19]

The fundamental Epicurean doctrine of God's indifference or impotence thus leads fools to forsake the divine for the infernal, a reasonable description of Macbeth's philosophy.

Otherwise, Epicureanism is specifically denounced in Acts of the Apostles 17:18, besides being attacked in marginal notes to I Corinthians 15:32 and II Peter 3:5 of the 1560 Geneva Bible,[20] as well as in notes to Luke 6:20, Acts 2:23, and II Peter 3:3 of the 1576 Tomson-Geneva New Testament.[21] The burden of these notes is that Epicureanism is anti-Christian and atheistic, while, as a consequence of denying the afterlife, it promotes hedonism here on earth. Aside from *Macbeth*, Shakespeare stressed the sensualist side of Epicureansim in *Merry Wives* (2.2.287), *King Lear* (1.4.244) and *Antony and Cleopatra* (2.1.24), while referring to two of its philosophical aspects in *Julius Caesar* (5.1.76) and *Antony and Cleopatra* (2.7.52).

As discussed above, Macbeth makes a single remark on Epicureanism with a double meaning in Act 5, scene 3, but he clearly adopts part of the doctrines of Epicurus in Act 4, scene 1, having already mulled over the topic in Act 3, scene 4. After Banquo's Ghost disrupts the feast, Macbeth makes two comments agreeable to Epicureanism, although both may be commonplaces, along with one that is decidedly Epicurean. Marveling at the Ghost's appearance, Macbeth exclaims that if graves reject our corpses, "our monuments / Shall be the maws of kites" (3.4.71-2), in agreement with a similar remark in one of the most important statements of Epicurean doctrine, *De Rerum Natura*; however, as the Loeb editor notes, the concept was common to many classical and Renaissance authors.[22] At the end of the scene, Macbeth dismisses the reality of the Ghost as a result of "self-abuse," meaning self-deception, which Shakespeare could easily have picked up as an Epicurean belief from Plutarch's "Life of Marcus Brutus," the primary source for *Julius Caesar*;[23] however, again, the belief cannot be confined to Epicurus and his followers. On the other hand, right after his complaint about the maws of kites, Macbeth observes that murders occurred "i' th' olden time, / Ere humane statute purg'd the gentle weal" (3.4.74-5), a puzzling bit of information for which *Macbeth's* editors offer no source.[24] Macbeth's historical knowledge does not come from the Bible, where divine statute, the Sixth Commandment, prohibits murder, nor does it arise from the classical progression of gold, silver, bronze, and iron ages, followed by the flood, as in the opening of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. Macbeth's belief, however, coincides with human history as narrated

in Books V and VI of *De Rerum Natura*, wherein savage primitive humanity first created civilization and then purged it by establishing statutes against homicide.[25]

Macbeth's announcement of his own partial adoption of the teachings of Epicurus comes in his second meeting with the witches, after the two prophecies assure him that he cannot be killed by man or be vanquished. He then exults that: "Our high-plac'd Macbeth / Shall live the lease of nature, pay his breath / To time and mortal custom" (4.1.98-100). This statement of satisfaction that he will live out old age and die a natural death is thoroughly Epicurean, and yet such sentiments can hardly be called exclusively Epicurean. For now, however, Macbeth's relief at his prophesied invincibility serves two further purposes. First, in keeping with Epicurus's doctrine, time ends with his own death. Second, Macbeth need no longer be concerned about damnation, as he was in his "bank and shoal of time" and "mine eternal jewel" soliloquies, because he has ceased to believe in the afterlife.

Yet, on being informed that his wife is dead, Macbeth finally rejects the Epicurean view of time.

> She should have died hereafter;
> There would have been a time for such a word.
> Tomorrow and tomorrow and tomorrow
> Creeps in this petty pace from day to day
> To the last syllable of recorded time,
> And all our yesterdays have lighted fools
> The way to dusty death. Out, out brief candle!
> Life's but a walking shadow, a poor player
> That struts and frets his hour upon the stage
> And then is heard no more. It is a tale
> Told by an idiot, full of sound and fury,
> Signifying nothing.
>
> (5.5.17-28)

As Fast as Time

Immediately after meeting with the witches and learning the future, Macbeth discovers that Macduff, whom he intends to kill, has fled to England. He responds:

> Time, thou anticipat'st my dread exploits:
> The flighty purpose never is o'ertook
> Unless the deed go with it. From this moment
> The very firstlings of my heart shall be
> The firstlings of my hand. And even now,
> To crown my thoughts with acts, be it thought and done:
> The castle of Macduff I will surprise,
> Seize upon Fife; give to th' edge o' th' sword
> His wife, his babes, and all unfortunate souls

That trace him in his line. No boasting like a fool;
This deed I'll do before this purpose cool.
(4.1.144-54)

On one hand, Macbeth may be said to recognize his own indecisiveness, and to adopt the motto: he who hesitates is lost. On the other hand, Macbeth directly challenges Time, which he now regards as an adversary.

Lady Macbeth and Eternity

At the start of Act 1, scene 5, Lady Macbeth reads in her husband's letter that the witches hailed him as Thane of Cawdor and future king, and how he promptly learned that Duncan had granted him the former title. She then reflects on her husband's lack of ruthlessness, which must be made good by her own resolution. Next she learns that Duncan comes to stay for the night and that Macbeth's arrival is imminent, whereupon she appeals to diabolical spirits to fill her with total cruelty. Macbeth enters, Lady Macbeth greets him with his new title, then alludes to greater things to come, concluding, as noted above that she has been transported beyond the present into the future. Her assertion of feeling – not of anticipating or expecting, as Augustine puts it – the future in the present amounts to an implication of eternity, a collapsing of the future onto the present. Furthermore, Lady Macbeth's words do not exist in isolation, instead they anticipate her final appearance on stage.

By the time of her sleepwalking scene, Lady Macbeth lives in semi-darkness, as she requires light beside her night and day. Her waiting-gentlewoman and a doctor observe her walking with her candle, repeating or varying speeches uttered at the killings of Duncan, Banquo, and Lady Macduff, but jumbled together, out of their chronological order.

Lady Macbeth has manifestly lost the present tense, especially since she is asleep, in agreement with Aristotle, but she possesses the past – actually the past possesses her – and likewise with the future in hell, to which she refers. In other words, Lady Macbeth has slipped into that timeless eternity so jokingly alluded to by Mistress Ford.

That Lady Macbeth's sleepwalking lies outside of time may be verified by contrasting it to Augustine's definition of the present. He begins by noting that the past and future do not exist, but continues by arguing that "a present time of past things; a present time of present things; and a present time of future things" exist in our souls and nowhere else. Specifically (as noted above): "The present time of past things is our memory; the present time of present things is our sight; the present time of future things our expectation." Lady Macbeth cannot see or experience the present:

Doct. You see her eyes are open.
Gent. Ay, but their sense are shut.
(5.1.24-5)

Lady Macbeth can, on the other hand, see, smell, and imagine the past: the spot of blood that will not be wiped away. She does not simply remember the past in her speeches and acts; instead she relives it. And her words, "Hell is murky" (5.1.36) [26] remind of the conclusion of her imprecation to diabolical spirits to fill her with cruelty:

> Come, thick night,
> And pall thee in the dunnest smoke of hell,
> That my keen knife see not the wound it makes,
> Nor heaven peep through the blanket of the dark.
>
> (1.5.50-3)

However, Lady Macbeth saw quite clearly on the night of Duncan's murder, well enough to recognize the sleeping King's resemblance to her own father (2.2.12-13). Thus, her "Hell is murky" in Act 5 is not simply a recollection of her words in Act 1, but is a response to her current condition. In her sleep, Lady Macbeth does not expect to go to murky hell; as indicated by her use of the present tense, she is already there.

Endnotes

1 On this topic, see Frank Kermode, *Shakespeare's Language* (New York, 2000), 201-16, to whom I am indebted. The relative frequency of "time," "times," etc. in *Macbeth* is 0.291, next comes *As You Like It* at 0.219, while the average for all of Shakespeare's plays is 0.15, though for the Sonnets the count is 0.44; Marvin Spevack, *A Complete and Systematic Concordance to the Works of Shakespeare* (Hildesheim, 1968). See also A. C. Bradley, *Shakespearean Tragedy* (London, 1991), note EE, 459-60; and A. R. Braunmuller, ed., *Macbeth* (Cambridge, 1997), 15-24.

2 Unless otherwise noted, all Shakespeare quotations are from *The Riverside Shakespeare, Second Edition*, eds. G. Blakemore Evans and J. J. M. Tobin (Boston, 1997).

3 Unless otherwise noted, all biblical quotations are from *The Geneva Bible, A facsimile of the 1560 edition*, ed. Lloyd E. Berry (Madison, Wisconsin, 1969).

4 Most notably: Plato, *Timaeus*; Aristotle, *Physics*; Plotinus, *Enneads*, 3.7.3,11.

5 *St. Augustine's Confessions*, tr. William Watts (London, 1631) and W. H. D. Rouse (Loeb edition 1912), XI.xx. Other items: I, "Your Father knoweth what you have need of, before you ask" (Matt. 6:8); VI, counting time by syllables, also in XXII, XXVI, and XXVIII; XI, definitions of time and eternity; XIV, defines eternity; XVII, the present comes out of a secret place, then returns; XX, defines the three presents; XXVIII, the three tenses are in the mind. See also *The Teacher* on sleep, madness, the reliability of the senses, and the fact that mathematical truth remains even if the human race sleeps.

6 Boethius, *Consolation of Philosophy*, 1525 (Walton trans.) 1532 (Chaucer). Defines both Time and Eternity.

7 *The Poems of Sir Walter Ralegh*, ed. Agnes C. Latham, "The Lie." For other examples, see

The Poems of George Chapman, ed. Phyllis Brooks Bartlett, "Hero and Leander," p. 138, ll. 187-8, "Now (as swift as Time / Doth follow Motion)"; and *The Poems of Sir John Davies*, ed. Robert Krueger, "Orchestra": p. 97, st. 23, "Time the measure of all moving things is"; pp. 123-4, st. 126.

[8] Milton on eternity *Paradise Lost,* 3.77-8. For other examples, see *Selected Poems of Fulke Greville*, ed. Thom Gunn, "Caelica," 86, ll. 22-4, p. 119, "To see itself in that eternal glass, / Where time doth end, and thoughts accuse the dead, / Where all to come, is one with all that was"; and Sir Thomas Browne, *Pseudodoxia Epidemica* (1645), "For unto God a thousand years are no more than one moment . . . for all parts of time are alike unto him, unto whom none are referrible; and all things present, unto whom nothing is past or to come" (Bk. 7, Ch. 3, p. 493).

[9] *As You Like It*, 3.2.330-3; see ll. 299-33 for the entire dialogue on time.

[10] Cf. *Measure for Measure*: "Had time coher'd with place, or place with wishing" (2.1.11).

[11] Augustine, *Confessions* (Loeb), XI.xvii, vol. 2, p. 247.

[12] Cf. *Richard III*, 4.2.63-4: "But I am in / So far in blood that sin will pluck on sin."

[13] Cuddon, J. A. *The Penguin Dictionary of Literary terms and Literary Theory*, Third Edition (London, 1991); Ben Jonson, Argument to *The New Inn of the Light Heart*, *The Complete Plays of Ben Jonson*, intro. Felix E. Schelling (London, 1910).

[14] As Cassius says to Messala at Philippi: "You know that I held Epicurus strong, / And his opinion; now I change my mind, / And partly credit things that do presage," going on to explain the omen of the appearance above their army of birds of carrion, in place of two eagles that had accompanied them on the march (*Julius Caesar*, 5.1.76-88).

[15] Giustinian, Sebastian. *Four Years at the Court of Henry VIII*, tr. Rawdon Brown (London, 1854), 316.

[16] Davies, M. B. "Suffolk's Expedition to Mondidier," *Fouad I University, Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts*, VII (July 1944), 38. Davies, "The 'Enterprises' of Paris and Boulogne," *Fouad I*, IX.I (May 1949), 55.

[17] *OED*, Epicurism, 2.b.

[18] In his footnote to this passage in the Second Arden *Henry V* (London, 1954), J. H. Walter offers several more examples of the stereotype.

[19] *Certaine Sermons or Homilies, Appointed to be Read in Churches In the Time of Queen Elizabeth I (1547-1571)*, A facsimile reproduction of the edition of 1623, eds. Mary Ellen Rickey and Thomas B. Stroup (Gainesville, Florida, 1968), The Second Tome, 223, 225. See also Naseeb Shaheen, *Biblical References in Shakespeare's Plays* (Newark, Delaware, 1999), 51, 53, 55-8 on the Homilies, and Appendix C on Shakespeare's dramatic use of them.

[20] *The Geneva Bible, A facsimile of the 1560 edition*, ed. Lloyd E. Berry (Madison, Wisconsin, 1969).

[21] *The Geneva Bible, The Annotated New Testament, 1602 Edition*, ed. Gerald T. Sheppard (Cleveland, Ohio, 1989).

[22] Lucretius, *De Rerum Natura*, eds. W. H. D. Rouse and Martin Ferguson Smith (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1992), V.993-4, 454-5.

[23] *Julius Caesar*, ed. David Daniell (Walton-on-Thames, Surrey, 1998), Appendix, 351.

[24] Editors on the "olden time": Wilson (1947) defines "purge," "humane," "gentle"; Muir (1951) same as Wilson; Hunter (1967) general explanation, no source; Foakes (1968) same as Wilson; Brooke (1990) similar to Wilson, cites Empson; Braunmuller (1997) same as Wilson; Miola (2004) defines "weal."

[25] Lucretius, *De Rerum*, V.1136-50.

[26] Braunmuller, 1997: "she repeats words that the audience supposes Macbeth said." Hunter, 1967, quotes Wilson's "abyss at her feet" remark; Muir, 1951/72, cites Bradley, and "In I.vii Macbeth never appeals to moral principles, and he would jump the life to come"; Wilson, 1950/60, "A sudden glimpse into the abyss at her feet"; Miola, 2004/ xiii, cites the McKellen/Dench Macbeth, who apparently returns to Christianity.

Edward de Vere's Hand in *Titus Andronicus*

Michael Delahoyde

Even though *Sweeney Todd, The Demon Barber of Fleet Street* — a blood-and-gore revenge tragedy involving over-the-top butchery, madness, and cannibalistic pie-eating — keeps enjoying at least moderate successes, "All lovers of Shakespeare," acknowledges Harold Goddard, "would be glad to relieve the poet of responsibility for that concentrated brew of blood and horror, *Titus Andronicus*."[1] Grim assessments of the play's wobbly focus, crude characterization, and uneven or inappropriate poetry, its pre-Brechtian "alienation effect,"[2] and the obvious emphasis on gratuitous and extremely grisly violence — all make this play second-rate in the minds of most critics. With "no intrinsic value," proclaims Harold Bloom, who tries to view the play as a parody of Marlovian bombast, "It matters only because Shakespeare, alas, undoubtedly wrote it."[3] There has in fact been some reluctance to accept the play into the canon, where even now, notes Marjorie Garber, it is apt to be "regarded as a Shakespearean stepchild rather than a legitimate heir."[4] The Reduced Shakespeare Company's dismissive assessment is that Shakespeare "seems to have gone through a brief Quentin Tarantino phase."[5]

So, if we cannot successfully ignore this seemingly early play (which I did manage to do through eight years of teaching Shakespeare until the university launched its own production), then what are we to do with *Titus Andronicus*? How are we to understand this play?

I believe that some Shakespeare works teach us not just life-wisdom compressed into handy Shakespearean gems, although we do get this statement in *Titus*: "Wilt thou draw near the nature of the gods? / Draw near them then in being merciful. / Sweet mercy is nobility's true badge" (1.1.117-119).[6] Unfortunately, as Goddard points out, this is "advice which almost no one in the play, including the speaker [Tamora], ever follows."[7] Sometimes, though, a Shakespeare work also

teaches us how to read a Shakespeare work. In an *Oxfordian* article I showed images from the Sala di Troia in the Palazzo Ducale in Mantua that Shakespearean consensus declares are those referred to in the *Lucrece* poem.[8] One of the implications of those having served as the Trojan War images Lucrece herself observes in the poem is that the work now typically known as *The Rape of Lucrece* is one that itself demonstrates to us how to read for meaning. Lucrece applies the Trojan War story to her own plight allegorically, indicating that so too should we (or, originally, Queen Elizabeth) apply the Lucrece story allegorically to contemporary situations. This creative/interpretive principle is itself the foundation for Plutarch's *Parallel Lives of the Noble Greeks and Romans*, with its 23 pairings of historical Greek personages matched with, for Plutarch, recent celebrities, whereby the antique history illuminates the more contemporary. Plutarch provided not only source material to Shakespeare in the form of characters and plot events for *Julius Caesar*, *Antony and Cleopatra*, *Timon of Athens*, *Coriolanus*, and others, but also a way of seeing ancient history as cautionary in its applicability to current events.

A close reading of *Titus Andronicus* will lead one to the same conclusion: that this is a play that instructs us on how to read it properly. Much of *Titus Andronicus* consists of a nightmarish playing out of metaphoric language in literalized plot and action. Ultimately, Shakespeare prompts us to read back what we are seeing into the realm of metaphor, where another story of severing and mutilation comes into focus.

The action begins at the Roman Capitol, the senate and tribunes waiting for a resolution to the issue of who will be the new emperor. Saturninus, the older son of the prior emperor, vies with his brother Bassianus who supports an election process. We may have here a political or national allegory. Certainly this interpretive impulse can be seen in orthodox criticism of the play, with such claims as:

- "Characters use the image of the body politic to portray a Rome no less fragmented than the bodies of the various Andronici become."[9]
- "Bassianus' wish to defend the Mother of Cities from assault and 'dishonour' is primarily a wish to protect her from rape, to defend her 'passage' and protect her 'virtue' and her 'continence.'"[10]
- "Shakespeare chooses to identify Lavinia's violation with the violation of Rome and of all civilized value."[11]

Indeed, Lavinia is the name of the traditional mother of Rome, daughter of the king of Latium, quarreled over by Aeneas and Turnus. Aeneas killed Turnus, married Lavinia, and founded the Roman race.

But this national dimension comes into no focus until one brings Oxfordian perspectives to bear on the play. Thus, accepting an earlier composition date than orthodoxy will allow, we may find significance in the fact that the French courtier Simier used the name Saturn in reference to Philip of Spain in letters to Queen Elizabeth.[12] The sketchy Oxfordian scholarship suggests that the playwright wrote an early version of *Titus Andronicus* after the "Spanish Fury" against the Dutch Protestants in November 1576, in order to warn that Spain and its horrors presented

a real danger.[13] In this view, Saturninus represents Philip of Spain, Tamora is Mary Stuart, and Lavinia is partly Queen Elizabeth and partly the city of Antwerp, ravished "within its walls and in its low-lying situation" by the Spanish Fury.[14] Antwerp did get its name -- *Hand-werpen*, or hand-throwing — from a legend concerning amputation as a tariff .[15] So even the first act presents the essential warning: an alliance between Saturninus — Spain, or Philip of Spain — and Tamora of the Goths — France, or Mary Stuart and her "French Connection"?[16] or Catherine de Medici?[17] — means disaster for the Andronici — the Vere ancestry[18] and including also, especially, Elizabeth. Shakespeare has characters refer to Lavinia as "Rome's rich ornament," "Rome's royal mistress" (1.1.52, 241), and one is apt to think in similarly national terms of Queen Elizabeth. In this regard, it is shocking to think of Shakespeare having Lavinia in the play raped and mutilated, however metaphorically this is meant. Nevertheless, given how vain we know Elizabeth was concerning her long white hands, consider how effectively conveyed the warning would be when her uncle Marcus first sees Lavinia after the Goth brothers have chopped off her hands and ripped out her tongue. Marcus laments the loss of Lavinia's musical abilities: "O, had the monster seen those lily hands / Tremble like aspen leaves upon a lute" (2.4.44-45), "Or had he heard the heavenly harmony / Which that sweet tongue hath made" (2.4.48-49). And perhaps in this latter reference Oxford is countering Arundel's accusation that he, Oxford, had insulted the Queen's singing voice. This detail would then come from a time when Oxford returned to the play, reworking it to enable an application to events involved in his banishment and disgrace in the early 1580s.[19] Tamora becomes conspiracy personified[20] and emphasis is placed on Aaron, the first two syllables of (Charles) Arundel, the English traitor who ended up working with the Spanish to get the English crown for Mary Stuart.[21]

Literal beheadings and amputations had to have troubled Oxford before he dramatized such brutality in the play. Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey (1517-1547) — uncle to the 17th Earl and the last person executed by Henry VIII about nine days before the death of the King (and the day Howard's father was scheduled to die too) — was a "literary hero and inspiration" to Oxford:[22] essentially responsible for blank verse in English, the unrhymed iambic pentameter lines that Shakespeare established as the quintessential English poetic mode. Surrey, moreover, is responsible for the so-called "Shakespearean" sonnet format, since he and Thomas Wyatt are the chief representatives of English poetry during the early and mid-1500s. Surrey's eldest son and heir, Oxford's first cousin, Thomas Howard, 4th Duke of Norfolk, was similarly beheaded in June 1572, when Oxford was a young man. In November 1579 the husband of Oxford's first cousin Anne Vere, the unfortunately named John Stubbs, had his right hand publicly amputated for writing a pamphlet critical of the Queen's proposed marriage to the Duke of Alençon and therefore judged seditious.[23] The pamphlet's printer and distributor were also condemned to having their right hands cut off.[24] This particular punishment itself, then, treated the hand symbolically; its removal, as in the play, is not just a disempowerment but actually a kind of silencing.

Such politics and punishments may have inspired, if that is the right word, the strata beneath the final version of the play as we now have it. But when at least

the particular international dangers became more or less obsolete, for the final version of *Titus Andronicus*, Oxford re-allegorized much of the key gruesome features of the play to represent a later and more personal type of maiming. By the time of this revision, Oxford had advanced light-years artistically, and artfully.

We now have in Act I, during the contention over the emperorship, an infusion of metaphoric and metonymic references to body parts. We hear of "eyes" (1.1.11) "hearts" (1.1.207), and "voices" (1.1.218). More importantly and even from the second line, we start encountering words such as "arms" (1.1.2, 30, 32, 38), "hand" (1.1.163), and "head" (1.1.186) -- all terms used metaphorically, for now, but not without hints of the graphic eventualities: "Be candidates then and put it on, / And help to set a head on headless Rome" (1.1.185-186).

Most of these isolated body parts and physical features will be severed from various characters during the course of the play, even as now in Act I the order is given to sacrifice a captured Goth soldier, the son of Tamora: "hew his limbs" (1.1.97, 129), comes the call, and soon "Alarbus' limbs are lopp'd / And entrails feed the sacrificing fire" (1.1.143-144). Saturninus fancies Tamora, and she peculiarly vows to be his "handmaid" (1.1.331). Titus' daughter Lavinia, whom Saturninus initially sought to make his Empress, has been kidnapped by her brother to prevent the marriage; and Saturninus tells Titus, "Thou and thy faction shall repent this rape" (1.1.404). He uses the term "rape" in the older, more general Latinate sense of *raptus*: theft. "Early statutory law dating from the late thirteenth century conflated sexual assault with abduction, blurring the distinction between the two…. During the sixteenth century, however, the definition of rape came to exclude abduction."[25] Just as so many other Act I metaphors "will come to grisly life,"[26] this term too will soon refer to its more brutal manifestation. "Throughout the [Act I] sequence the emphasis is on Bassianus's rights, and throughout the sequence Lavinia is silent…. Raped and silent in the woods [in Act II], she has already been raped and silent in Rome."[27] So rape, as well as hands, heads, tongues,[28] and other horrors of the play begin as relatively innocuous or figurative terms: "the metaphoric impact of the tragedy can only be realized by forcing the metaphors to take on dramatic life…. Stated metaphorically, the most profound impulse in *Titus* is to make the word become flesh."[29]

An isolated example of the play's self-contained process of this kind of literalizing may be found in the vivid fly-killing scene (Act III scene ii) when Titus first expresses compassion for a fly carelessly stabbed by his brother Marcus: it is an act of murder and tyranny, as the fly had a family. But Marcus compares the black fly to Aaron and Titus begs pardon, borrowing a knife to smash the insect further. Unconnectedly, late in the play, Aaron will vaunt, "Tut, I have done a thousand dreadful things / As willingly as one would kill a fly" (5.1.141-142). Some Shakespeareans feel that the chronologically earlier fly-killing scene was a late insertion in the play.[30] Perhaps it was prompted by this comment of Aaron's and functions therefore as another displaced literalizing of a figurative phrase.

The fly-killing is an especially particular instance of the phenomenon; but the image of the pit haunts this play throughout and similarly morphs between

literal and figurative. The literal pit "becomes the central image upon the stage"[31] when Lavinia has been dragged away to her off-stage rape. Bassianus' corpse has been tossed into this pit before two of the Andronici, Quintus and Martius, come upon it, the latter brother soon falling in accidentally. That this serves as "Bassianus' grave" (2.3.240) aligns the image with the tombs of the Andronici in which Titus' war-hero son was interred at the start of the play. But Shakespeare enriches the image as Quintus ponders, "What subtile hole is this, / Whose mouth is covered with growing briers, / Upon whose leaves are drops of new-shed blood" (2.3.198-200). The insistence here that we are seeing a "blood-stained hole" (2.3.210), a "blood-drinking pit" (2.3.224), provides the grisly aspect to the oral metaphor: the pit as a bloody mouth, a nightmarish image that will manifest literally in the banquet scene of the final act. "The pit, like the tomb of the Andronici, is a dark hole that swallows life; now Tamora will be made to imitate it.... In revenge Titus compels Chiron and Demetrius to enter Tamora's body, making her the final image of the hole in the earth that swallows men."[32] Until that climactic moment of revenge, the imagery of eating will weave throughout the play with such utterances as Titus' reassurance to his son Lucius, "How happy art thou then, / From these devourers to be banished" (3.1.56-57), considering especially the "consuming sorrow" (3.1.61) engulfing the Andronici. Other figurative "feeding" (3.1.74), "gnawing" (5.2.31), and "swallow[ing]" (3.1.97) will also continue being invoked.

More so than "mouth" or "pit," the key words in *Titus*, used casually and figuratively at first before becoming horrifically literalized, are those referring to body parts that will be torn from various victims in the course of the play. "Hands and heads abound in the text of *Titus Andronicus* as well as in the prop room for the production."[33] In Act III, Quintus and Martius are condemned as guilty of the murder of Bassianus. Lavinia has been raped and mutilated by the true murderers, Tamora's two sons, who have ripped out her tongue and amputated her hands. Aaron the Moor, for psychotic sport, tells Titus, his brother Marcus, and his remaining son Lucius that if one of them will send his severed hand to Saturninus, the Emperor will release the two boys. "Lend me thy hand," says Titus to Aaron, "and I will give thee mine" (3.1.187) -- a disturbing proximity of the metaphoric and the nauseatingly literal. The amputation is carried out, and Titus treats the lopping off of his hand as a triumph; his brother and son who vied for the dubious privilege will just have to "ease their stomachs with their bitter tongues" (3.1.233). When Aaron's macabre joke is revealed Titus' severed hand is returned to him along with the severed heads of his two sons -- a possibly deranged Titus with eerie competence delegates the removal of these gruesome "props" from the stage:

> The vow is made. Come, brother, take a head,
> And in this hand the other will I bear;
> And, Lavinia, thou shalt be employ'd;
> Bear thou my hand, sweet wench, between thy teeth.
> (3.2.279-282)

In text and film versions of this scene, the moment of Lavinia carrying Titus' severed hand in her mouth seems over-the-top, but not nearly as effective as on stage, where the actress must scoot along the floor trying to clench the grisly prop in her mouth without the aid of hands. Nervous laughter usually bursts from audiences uncertain how to respond. The moment is so extremely bizarre and visually arresting that it demands of us a kind of retreat into metaphoric interpretation.

Critics have indeed sought to understand Lavinia symbolically. As far as they go, we can agree with the inconsequential assertions about the severed hand in the scene: that "In this semiotics the hand is the preeminent sign for political and personal agency,"[34] and that "An instrument of reason, obviously voluntary in its motion, the hand serves as the physical link between intention (or volition) and act."[35] Therefore, "when, at the end of 3.1, she [Lavinia] carries Titus's hand offstage in her mouth, she symbolizes her instrumentality as the vehicle and emblem of *his* efficacious action."[36] But except briefly as a cook's assistant, Lavinia never does serve as this vehicle for Titus in the play. We may also grant that "Her mutilated body 'articulates' Titus' own suffering and victimization" and "transforms her irremediable condition into the emblem of his,"[37] and that "Lavinia is 'an emblem for the plight of the voiceless Andronici in a now alien Rome.'"[38] But these assertions seem too generic, and the meaning they claim to find in Lavinia amounts only to some form or other of static abstraction. These interpretations ignore the action in the play from this scene early in Act III and beyond, which does point us down some compelling associative pathways. In her commentary on Lavinia, Gillian Kendall brings us further along:

> When the disfigured Lavinia enters, it is as if she were no longer simply a character in the play but an emblem -- an emblem of the way in which, throughout this play, facts resist the violent manner in which characters define and transform their world through language. In some sense, of course, this is paradoxical. Lavinia, as speechless emblem, becomes a work of art (made by Shakespeare) designed to show the limits of art and artful language.[39]

More specifically, the mutilated Lavinia in the middle acts of the play is repeatedly associated with text and textual communication. For example, when Titus attempts to "read" her gestures, he calls her "Thou map of woe, that thus dost talk in signs!" (3.2.12); "I, of these, will wrest an alphabet, / And by still practice learn to know thy meaning" (3.2.44-45). As Kendall sees it, "After her rape and mutilation, she becomes a kind of code, a cipher that needs deciphering. But she is also a cipher in the sense of being a null. The other characters speak of her as if she were an object -- to be bestowed, seized, praised, raped, mutilated. It is as if there were no person there."[40] But rather than lament this depersonalization and its insensitive antifeminist implications, let us consider the perspective that "the 'alphabet' that Titus is wresting from Lavinia 'represents the beginnings of a definition of Shakespeare's medium and his art: part picture, part word, part sound; part ancient

book, part modern dumb show; part mute actor, part vocal interpreter.'"[41] In other words, suppose the relationship between father Titus and daughter Lavinia in one sense at least represents that of creator and created, of an author and his work.

Further associating her with text, Lavinia finds a way to communicate at the start of Act IV through Shakespeare's own key textual source in this play and what is probably in the larger sense, given its ubiquitous influence throughout the canon, Shakespeare's favorite book: Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, itself made physically manifest on the stage in a kind of cameo appearance.[42] "My mother gave it me," says young Lucius (4.1.43), a comment arbitrary and extraneous in context but of interest to Oxfordians as Arthur Golding, the credited translator of the work into English in the 1560s, was related to Edward de Vere through his mother, Arthur Golding's sister. While Lavinia chases after young Lucius for the book, misinterpretations of her frenzied pursuit among the other characters abound.[43] Titus, for one, assumes that she wishes to read in order to "beguile thy sorrow" (4.1.35) and offers, "Come and take choice of all my library" (4.1.34). (And few find it odd that, even if it weren't an anachronism anyway, a grain-merchant with no books mentioned in his last will would assign the character trait of pride in his library to a Roman war-dog.) But Lavinia uses her stumps to flip to Ovid's tale of the rape of Philomela in order to signify her own story of victimization. Shortly after her violation, Demetrius had taunted, "See how with signs and tokens she can scrowl" (2.4.5). The ugly word "scrowl," presumably a variation of "scrawl," emphasizes the crude subhuman aspect of the kind of attempt at communication to which Lavinia is limited. However, following uncle Marcus' example, guiding a staff with her mouth and stumps, Lavinia is in fact able to "scrowl" in the dirt the names of her rapists. "Shakespeare effects a most witty poetic justice. Lavinia's lips do speak; her handless hands, indeed, do write!"[44] This is Shakespeare's plot invention, surpassing Ovid's solution (Philomela's needlecraft) just as he had added the amputation of hands to his victimized female character.

Now "that we may know the traitors and the truth" (4.1.76), young Lucius can regard Chiron and Demetrius as "both decipher'd, that's the news, / For villains mark'd with rape" (4.2.8-9). And although a life-long warrior, Titus eschews for some significant time now the kind of revenge one would expect -- bloody slaughter -- in favor of plans more involved with texts: not daggers but, instead, "another course" (4.1.119). To Tamora's sons he sends weapons from his armory wrapped in "A scroll, and written round about" (4.2.18). Titus bombards the Emperor's palace with arrows and gets away with it since the texts attached to the missiles suggest he is insane and shooting at the Roman gods in the sky. When Tamora seeks to torment him further, she finds Titus reluctant to leave his study and apparently raving: "See here in bloody lines I have set down: / And what is written shall be executed" (5.2.14-15). In one key sense, "what is written" is the pair of names of the rapists, though scrawled by Lavinia earlier, and they shall indeed be literally "executed." When Titus in this same late scene has his opportunity to begin carrying out his final revenge by capturing Tamora's sons, it is imperative to Titus that these enemies be robbed of their ability to speak, and Titus focuses on the bodily symbol of communication, their mouths:

"stop their mouths if they begin to cry" (5.2.161), "Stop close their mouths, let them not speak a word" (5.2.164), "stop their mouths, let them not speak to me" (5.2.167). Titus spells out his intention in a climactic mélange of thematic concerns from throughout the play: communication, eating, "pits" and graves, Ovidian text.

> This one hand yet is left to cut your throats,
> Whiles that Lavinia 'tween her stumps doth hold
> The basin that receives your guilty blood.
> . . .
> Hark, villains, I will grind your bones to dust,
> And with your blood and it I'll make a paste,
> And of the paste a coffin I will rear,
> And make two pasties of your shameful heads,
> And bid that strumpet, your unhallowed dam,
> Like to the earth swallow her own increase.
> . . .
> For worse than Philomel you us'd my daughter,
> And worse than Progne I will be reveng'd.
> (5.2.181-195)[45]

As the revenge at last turns actual and bloody, the textual theme recedes, just as has Lavinia's seeming importance; but of course revenge drama demands this form of catharsis finally. "With the bloody banquet, Titus' revenge is perfected, and the killings which now follow in rapid-fire order and within an almost ludicrous rhymed interlude are anti-climactic."[46] Obligatory to the genre, the action here near the end of the final act does not, however, illuminate for us the thematic implications nor the significance, I think, of the earlier scene of Lavinia carrying her father's hand in her mouth.

Meanwhile, the subplot involving the villainous moor, Aaron, is also reaching its resolution. This subplot underlines Shakespeare's attention in the play to matters beyond mere text, and indeed to the issue of authorship itself. Critics have recognized that in his chilling "lunatic humor," "Aaron displays an odd kind of detached artistry."[47] Early in the play when suggesting that Tamora's sons might consider raping Lavinia, Aaron had noted, "The forest walks are wide and spacious, / And many unfrequented plots are there" (2.1.114-115). He means "plots" topographically, but the sinister inflection of the more literary meaning operates throughout the play in association with Aaron. Just as Stanley Wells sees the villain Iago in *Othello* as a kind of "surrogate playwright, controlling the plot, making it up as he goes along with improvisatory genius,"[48] so too does Aaron direct other characters, set the stage (planting false evidence against the Andronici, for example), determine what other characters see and how they interpret it (especially manipulating Saturninus), and display other functions we can associate with a stage manager or playwright. When Aaron bargains for the life of his son (the illegitimate boy of the Empress, Tamora), promising to show "wondrous things" (5.1.55), he

especially sounds like this kind of author:

> 'Twill vex thy soul to hear what I will speak:
> For I must talk of murthers, rapes, and massacres,
> Acts of black night, abominable deeds,
> Complots of mischief, treason, villainies,
> Ruthful to hear, yet pitiously perform'd.
> And this shall all be buried in my death,
> Unless thou swear to me my child shall live.
> (5.1.62-68)

This moor's plots, or "Complots," sound a little, at least, like the Shakespeare catalogue of histories and tragedies. "Complots of mischief" may be taken to refer to the comedies, though of course in the context here emphasis is on the darker more dire stories.

More specifically, Aaron claims to have "digg'd up dead men from their graves" (5.1.135), literalizing what Shakespeare has done with Julius Caesar, fifteenth-century English kings, Antony and Cleopatra, Timon of Athens, and others. Aaron claims to have taken these corpses,

> And set them upright at their dear friends' door
> Even when their sorrows almost was forgot,
> And on their skins, as on the bark of trees,
> Have with my knife carved in Roman letters,
> 'Let not your sorrow die, though I am dead.'
> Tut, I have done a thousand dreadful things
> As willingly as one would kill a fly,
> And nothing grieves me heartily indeed
> But that I cannot do ten thousand more.
> (5.1.136-144)

As Aaron has purportedly carved messages on their corpses physically (5.1.138f), so has Shakespeare as playwright used his dramatically resurrected personages to convey political and personal messages to monarch and court.

Whether or not one sees Titus and Aaron as mirror-images of each other, or doppelgangers, in the play,[49] they are united in the implications of the figurative language and its literal manifestations. Aaron is accused finally of having "been breeder of these dire events" (5.3.178), events that cast him in the role of "author," while Titus is the literal father of Lavinia, who, correspondingly, seems to function as a mutilated text.

One critic seems accidentally to have nearly struck upon the Oxfordian explanation to the mystery of Lavinia: "she comes closest to standing in the situation of the author of the work. After her mutilation, she is not forbidden to write; in fact, she *must* write."[50] But this same critic also claims of Lavinia, Titus' offspring, "She is

the text for their and our interpretation, a 'map of woe' whom, like a map we must learn to read."[51] This critic apprehends further, "the central image, Lavinia, seems to enfold a further secret, not just the secret of her rapists names."[52] But Stratfordian orthodoxy hits the inevitable wall, and the most that can finally be said from that perspective is that "literature and its interpretation are physical necessities for naming a violation — a way of pointing the finger (even without a finger to point) and naming names (even without a tongue to 'blab')."[53] Impressive-sounding about fury, but signifying anything?

"Write down thy mind" (2.4.3), Chiron (whose name is derived from the Greek word for "hand") had mockingly invited the mutilated Lavinia. And a central Oxfordian premise is that this is exactly what Edward de Vere did. In a play as nightmarish as *Titus Andronicus*, the mind he wrote down was clearly distressed by a horror urging the playwright unto the verge of nihilism. Psychologists can add much to an understanding of the phenomenon of authorship as disguised autobiography:

> This repetition of the past is essential to the process of developing psychological control over the ferocities just passed.... [T]he basic repetitive structure of the drama provides the means of managing the anxieties which the events arouse. Repetition and remembrance become revocation: memory and control. Dramatic structure thus supports ego structure. Our own psychological patterns of repetition leading to mastery are reflected and strengthened by dramatic repetition.[54]

In a play so concerned with themes of authorship and text, as both the Aaron and Lavinia plots demonstrate, Titus' horror is a literal manifestation of the playwright's own horror. His creation — offspring/text — has been taken and mutilated. His hand — the symbol of his agency and authorship has been severed. Figuratively speaking, this is what was done to Oxford. In the last revision of *Titus Andronicus* (as in the Sonnets and elsewhere), it is clear that Oxford knew he would not be given credit for his works.

Their proximity to the centers of power caused both Titus Andronicus and Edward de Vere to suffer persecutions unjust enough to drive them each to excruciating emotional states probably approaching madness. If we think creatively and artistically, moving freely between the realms of the figurative and the physicalized — sensitive, in experiencing this play, to "the prophetic literalness of its metaphors"[55] — we can understand that each was forced to, or at least cornered into, amputating his own hand. Each had his creation, or offspring, mutilated and rendered almost entirely incapable of communicating its own truth.

If it is an unbearably brutal play, it is because *Titus Andronicus* literalizes the brutality of what was done to Edward de Vere. But as close to complete despair and nihilism as this play comes, it also demonstrates the fact that the "raped" (or stolen) and mutilated text can still, however faintly and telegraphically, convey its truth. It can still speak indirectly at least in "scrowls." And, as in the bizarre scene of Lavinia transporting her father's hand in her muted mouth, it can still be seen carrying

the presence of its creator's hand, even though that hand has been severed from its unfortunate possessor, the 17th Earl of Oxford, to whom we can offer the same encouragement that is given during the key scene of Lavinia's scrowling:

> Heaven guide thy pen to print thy sorrows plain,
> That we may know the traitors and the truth!
> (4.1.75-76)

Endnotes

[1] Goddard, Harold C. *The Meaning of Shakespeare. Volume 1* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1951), 33.

A version of this paper was presented at the 12th annual Shakespeare Authorship Studies Conference in Portland, Oregon, April 2008.

[2] Bloom, Harold. *Shakespeare: The Invention of the Human* (NY: Riverhead Books, 1998), 79.

[3] Bloom, *Shakespeare*, 86.

[4] Garber, Marjorie. *Shakespeare After All* (NY: Pantheon Books, 2004), 75.

[5] The Reduced Shakespeare Company, *The Complete Works of William Shakespeare (Abridged)*, VHS, Acorn Media, 2001.

[6] All play quotations are from *The Riverside Shakespeare*, 2nd ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1997).

[7] Goddard, *Meaning 1*:34.

[8] Delahoyde, Michael. "De Vere's *Lucrece* and Romano's *Sala di Troia*," *The Oxfordian* 9 (2006): 50-65.

[9] Kendall, Gillian Murray. "'Lend me thy Hand': Metaphor and Mayhem in *Titus Andronicus*," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 40.3 (Autumn 1989), 300. Bernice Harris notes: "Shakespeare's *Titus Andronicus* dramatizes a crisis of authority. The question is not simply, 'Who will be the new emperor?' It is also a question of who will decide and on what terms" ("Sexuality as a Signifier for Power Relations: Using Lavinia, of Shakespeare's *Titus Andronicus*," *Criticism* 38.3 (Summer 1996), 393), questions of succession faced during the Elizabethan period.

[10] David Willbern, "Rape and Revenge in *Titus Andronicus*," *English Literary Renaissance* 8.2 (Spring 1978), 161. "Titus, too, associates Rome with a mother's womb: especially the center of his Rome, the ancestral tomb of the Andronici" (162).

[11] Tricomi, Albert H. "The Aesthetics of Violence in *Titus Andronicus*," *Shakespeare Survey* 27 (1974): 17.

[12] Ogburn, Dorothy and Charlton Ogburn, *This Star of England* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, Pub., 1952), 348.

[13] Clark, Eva Turner. *Hidden Allusions in Shakespeare's Plays*, 1931. 3rd ed. by Ruth Loyd Miller (Port Washington: Kennikat Press, 1974), 49. What David Roper finds from another angle also supports an earlier date of initial composition that orthodoxy can allow; see "The Peacham Chronogram: Compelling Evidence Dates *Titus Andronicus* to 1575," *The Shakespeare Oxford Newsletter* 37.3 (Fall 2001), 1, 14-17, 21; and also "The Peacham Document Revisited." *The Shakespeare Oxford Newsletter* 38.1 (Winter 2002), 9, 17.

[14] Clark, *Hidden Allusions*, 52.

[15] Clark, *Hidden Allusions*, 56; cf. Ogburn and Ogburn, *This Star of England*, 355.
[16] Clark, *Hidden Allusions*, 50-54.
[17] Ogburn and Ogburn, *This Star*, 142.
[18] Ogburn and Ogburn, *This Star*, 148.
[19] Ogburn and Ogburn, *This Star*, 344; cf. Mark Anderson, *"Shakespeare" By Another Name* (NY: Gotham Books, 2005), 183-184.
[20] Ogburn and Ogburn, *This Star*, 348.
[21] Clark, *Hidden Allusions*, 50 & 54. The last syllable of Arundel, "dell," is key to the rape scene, though the word comes out only in numerous synonyms; see again Clark *Hidden Allusions in Shakespeare's Play*, 50, and also Ogburn and Ogburn, *This Star of England*, 347-348.
[22] Joseph Sobran, *Alias Shakespeare: Solving the Greatest Literary Mystery of All Time* (NY: The Free Press, 1997), 6.
[23] The full title of Stubbs' pamphlet was *The Discovery of a Gaping Gulf Wherinto England is Like to Be Swallowed by Another French Marriage if the Lord Forbid Not the Banns by Letting Her Majesty See the Sin and Punishment Thereof*. In discussing *Titus*, Rowe notes Stubbs' amputation, but of course leaves comparatively vague the relevance to the playwright ("Dismembering and Forgetting in *Titus Andronicus*," 284).
[24] Thanks are extended to readers for *Brief Chronicles* for drawing more of my attention to these public and historical brutalities that touched Oxford's life.
[25] Emily Detmer-Goebel, "The Need for Lavinia's Voice: *Titus Andronicus* and the Telling of Rape," *Shakespeare Studies* 29 (2001): 77. "Several legal historians conclude that the ['rape'] laws were often used to address consenting relationships that were against the parents' wishes" (78). This has traditionally been the explanation for the charge of *raptus* against Chaucer in 1381.
[26] Garber, *Shakespeare After All*, 76-77.
[27] Leggatt, Alexander. "*Titus Andronicus*: A Modern Perspective," in *Titus Andronicus*, ed. Barbara A. Mowat and Paul Werstine. Folger Shakespeare Library (NY: Washington Square Press, 2005), 243.
[28] Chiron accuses Demetrius "that thund'rest with thy tongue" (II.i.58). Demetrius will "Thrust those reproachful speeches down his [Chiron's] throat" (II.i.55).
[29] Tricomi, "The Aesthetics of Violence in *Titus Andronicus*," 14. Kendall agrees that "Words in this play tend to become detached from (con)text and made grossly real. Language itself generates horror as words disengage from casual usage and become literalized" ("'Lend me thy Hand': Metaphor and Mayhem in *Titus Andronicus*," 299).
[30] E.g., Stanley Wells, *Shakespeare: A Life in Drama* (NY: W.W. Norton and Co., 1997), 73.
[31] Tricomi, "The Aesthetics of Violence in *Titus Andronicus*," 18.
[32] Leggatt, "Modern Perspective," 246. Willbern makes the point that "'The abhorred pit' will soon assume its central and over-determined symbolic significance as vagina, womb, tomb, and mouth" ("Rape and Revenge in *Titus Andronicus*," 169). Later in the play, "Titus will create a 'coffin' (pastry) to be devoured as the perfect mirror-vengeance for the coffin that devours. The 'devouring receptacle,' 'the swallowing womb,' the 'blood-drinking pit,' is once again dramatically symbolized as Tamora sits 'eating the flesh that she herself hath bred' (V.iii.62)" (Willbern, "Rape and Revenge in *Titus Andronicus*," 179).
[33] Kendall, "'Lend me thy Hand,'" 299. Tricomi points out: "In a play preeminently concerned with the mutilation of the human body, Titus makes nearly sixty references, figurative as well as literal, to the word 'hands' and eighteen more to the word 'head',

or to one of its derivative forms. Far from being divorced from the action as many critics claim, the figurative language points continually toward the lurid events that govern the tragedy" ("The Aesthetics of Violence in *Titus Andronicus*," 11). He adds, "hands become powerful dramatic symbols, not simply because they are mentioned sixty times in the text, but because they become *images in action* whose significance we experience visually and not merely verbally, in abstraction" (14).

[34] Rowe, Katherine A. "Dismembering and Forgetting in *Titus Andronicus*," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 45.3 (Autumn 1994), 280.

[35] Rowe, "Dismembering," 282. Similarly, Mary Laughlin Fawcett asserts that "the hand completes the tongue" ("Arms/Words/Tears: Language and the Body in *Titus Andronicus*," *ELH* 50.1 [Spring 1983], 262).

[36] Rowe, "Dismembering," 296.

[37] E. Green, Douglas. "Interpreting 'her martyr'd signs': Gender and Tragedy in *Titus Andronicus*," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 40.3 (Fall 1989), 322.

[38] Danson, Lawrence, qtd. in Harris, "Sexuality as a Signifier for Power Relations: Using Lavinia, of Shakespeare's *Titus Andronicus*," 394.

[39] Kendall, "'Lend me thy Hand,'" 306. Harris also finds this insight valuable enough to quote in "Sexuality as a Signifier for Power Relations: Using Lavinia, of Shakespeare's *Titus Andronicus*," 395.

[40] Kendall, "'Lend me thy Hand,'" 314. Detmer-Goebel agrees: "Lavinia becomes an emblem, a cipher, a mirror, a text, or, in the words of Titus, a 'map of woe' to read (3.2.12)" ("The Need for Lavinia's Voice: *Titus Andronicus* and the Telling of Rape," 83). It is easy for feminist critics to object to this interpretive enterprise. As Bernice Harris notes, "Lavinia – first as virgin daughter, then chaste wife, and finally mutilated widow – is repeatedly read as a signifier for something else" in the scholarship ("Sexuality as a Signifier for Power Relations: Using Lavinia, of Shakespeare's *Titus Andronicus*," 384). She continues: "if Lavinia is always seen as a literary construction, or a 'textual determination,' to use Jonathan Goldberg's term, then emotional involvement in the misogynist brutality depicted in this play can be dismissed. A literary critic is required to turn a brutal rape into a literary device or a metaphoric device of language, devoid of literal meaning, as Marcus does on seeing Lavinia" (395).

[41] Barkan, qtd. in Green, "Interpreting 'her martyr'd signs': Gender and Tragedy in *Titus Andronicus*," 324n. Recent Oxfordian studies of *As You Like It* similarly treat Audrey as a text whose possession through marriage is vied for by Touchstone and William. Who will marry her? = whose name will she have? See Alex McNeil, "*As You Like It*: Is Touchstone vs. William the First Authorship Story?" *Shakespeare Matters* 2.3 (Spring 2003), 1, 14-22], in which "Audrey … is not merely a country wench, but represents the author's dramatic works" (17).

[42] Other evidence of the influence of Golding on *Titus Andronicus* specifically occurs in the mentions of the babbling echo (2.3.14f; 4.2.150f). See Anthony Brian Taylor, "Golding's 'Metamorphoses' and 'Titus Andronicus,' *Notes and Queries* (April 1978), 118.

[43] Detmer-Goebel refers to one such example of misinterpretation: "These men are so used to being the 'generator' of meaning and interpretations that they fumble when Lavinia tries to convey meaning. When she holds up her arms, Marcus cannot tell if she is reporting the number of her assailants or swearing revenge (4.1.30-40)" ("The Need for Lavinia's Voice: *Titus Andronicus* and the Telling of Rape," 84).

[44] Tricomi, "Aesthetics of Violence," 16. As Kendall notes about Shakespeare's use of Ovid, "Titus adapts the tale of Philomela and rewrites old stories with a new alphabet" ('Lend me thy Hand': Metaphor and Mayhem in *Titus Andronicus*," 304). Fawcett focuses on the similar sounding words evoked by the term "scrowls": "Lavinia's 'signs' are more than scowls or scolds, while her 'tokens' are less than, or different from, scrawls or scrolls" ("Arms/Words/Tears: Language and the Body in *Titus Andronicus*," 261).

[45] In discussing this particular culinary form of vengeance, Harvard Shakespearean Marjorie Garber adds "A personal note: It was the staging of this scene, in Julie Taymor's film *Titus* (1999), that turned me – a lifelong meat-eater – against the eating of mammals' flesh" (*Shakespeare After All*, 85).

[46] Willbern, "Rape and Revenge," 180.

[47] Tricomi, "Aesthetics of Violence," 15.

[48] Wells, *Shakespeare*, 249. The occurrence of the term "evermore" (IV.ii.56) addressed to Aaron could be taken as an Oxford pun – E.Ver = Moor – further identifying the character with the playwright.

[49] "Titus, the patriarchal insider pushed from the center to the margins of his world, and Aaron, the proud outsider who prowls his way to the center by devouring everything in his path, only to discover that his rough nihilism melts in the fact of paternity. Taymor, and her film, understands that 'Titus and Aaron are mirrors, absolute mirrors of each other'" (Johnson-Haddad, qtd. in Samuel Crowl, *Shakespeare and Film: A Norton Guide* [NY: W.W. Norton & Co., 2008], 95. "In the same line he [Aaron] objectifies the child as 'treasure,' certainly an echo of Titus's attitude toward his sons, whose bodies he deposits like war booty in the family tomb" (Nanette Jaynes, "Shakespeare's *Titus Andronicus*," *Explicator* 52.3 [Spring 1994], 132. "Aaron's knowledge of the classics incites the rape, but the same text fuels Titus's method for revenge. Thus, the texts of Lucrece and Philomela seem to operate as cultural scripts for action" (Detmer-Goebel, "The Need for Lavinia's Voice: *Titus Andronicus* and the Telling of Rape," 83). The end of Aaron in the play does drive home the eating and "pit" themes. He rants, "Ah, why should wrath be mute and fury dumb? / I am no baby, I, that with base prayers / I should repent the evils I have done" (V.iii.184-186), on which Willbern comments: "Aaron's denial discloses an unconscious fantasy. He is indeed like a baby, half-born and half-buried and half-devoured by the earth, crying for food" ("Rape and Revenge in *Titus Andronicus*," 181). Green supplements with the fate additionally of Tamora's corpse: "the live burial of the still-railing Aaron and the casting forth of Tamora's body signify what this patriarchy cannot digest" ("Interpreting 'her martyr'd signs': Gender and Tragedy in *Titus Andronicus*," 326).

[50] Fawcett, "Arms/Words/Tears," 266.

[51] Fawcett, "Arms/Words/Tears," 265.

[52] Fawcett, "Arms/Words/Tears," 272.

[53] Fawcett, "Arms/Words/Tears," 274. Perhaps the central truth -- or name -- in *Titus Andronicus* is revealed in Titus' own exclamation: "O, O, O" (3.2.68).

[54] Willbern, "Rape and Revenge," 180.

[55] Tricomi, "Aesthetics of Violence," 11.

Shakespeare's Will….. Considered Too Curiously

Bonner Miller Cutting

The last will and testament of William Shakespeare went unnoticed for approximately a century after his death in Stratford-on-Avon on April 23, 1616. The engraver and antiquarian George Vertue is credited with noting the existence of a copy in 1737.[1, 2, 3] The will that is considered to be the original may (or may not) be the one discovered by the Reverend Joseph Greene ten years later in 1747.[4, 5, 6] Subsequently, several copies of the Will were published,[7] though the Prerogative Court of Canterbury steadfastly refused to allow an actual facsimile to be made. [8] Finally in 1851, the eminent 19th century scholar James Halliwell obtained permission from the Court to release Shakespeare's Will to the "patient world" in a form as close to the original as possible. In a limited edition of 100 copies, the original character of the will was displayed with the interlineations and alterations set forth as best as could be done in type.[9] On viewing the content of the will in its entirety, the Prerogative Court's reluctance to make the will available in its original form can be easily understood.

The purpose of this paper is to put the will of William Shackspere of Stratford-on-Avon in its social, historical, and legal perspective. This will be accomplished by a comparison with contemporaneous wills of the day, and by an examination of the circumstances surrounding the creation of the document itself. Preparation for this paper has included a study of over 2,000 wills and an extensive bibliography dealing with will-making in early modern England.

It is primarily the wills of gentlemen that have been chosen as "comparables" for a frame of reference, though occasionally the wills of esquires, yeomen, tradesmen or people with theatrical connections will be used.[10] Unfortunately many of the wills are available only in abstracts and this limits the comparison of some aspects of the language found in the will of the man from Stratford, hereafter to be called "Mr. Shackspeare" as his name appears in the document. The will itself will be called the

"Stratford Will."

Wills of the era were written out in a variety of secretary hands, and even skilled paleographers have made mistakes in transcriptions.[11] In fact, an example of such a mistake occurs in the Stratford Will when, amusingly, the notorious bequest of the "*second* best bed" had originally been transcribed as the "*brown* best bed." [12] This error was corrected toward the end of the 18th century by Edmund Malone, a correction which of course unleashed a storm of controversy within the orthodox community as some scholars have regarded it as a disparagement of his wife while others have tried to transform it into a mark of affection.[13] As we take a closer look at this document, it may become apparent that orthodox scholars have more to lament than a single unfortunate word choice.

The will takes up three pages, and although there is room to spare on the third page, it is still rather lengthy in comparison to many wills of the day. It is written in facile secretary hand conjectured by Mark Eccles to be that of Francis Collins, a solicitor of Stratford, though the consensus favors a clerk or scrivener, further conjectured to perhaps have been someone in Collins' office.[14] Attempts to claim it as Shakespeare's own hand have not been credible, and are gainsaid, of course, by his three scrawled signatures.

The Stratford Will follows the standard format popularized in the handbooks of Henry Swinburne and William West.[15] However, when other wills are examined, the mindset and personalities of the testators are readily discernable despite the standardized language. People say what was on their minds in an authentic voice. It is self-evident that the testators themselves dictated their own wills.[16]

However, searching the Stratford Will for "Shakespeare's voice" has been discouraged by Shakespearean authorities. In his *Study of Facts and Problems*, Sir Edmund K. Chambers tried to run interference on the prospect of perusing Shakespeare's will for evidence of literary activity, stating with a flourish of righteous indignation: "A will is a legal instrument for devising property, and not a literary autobiography." [17] This caveat is an indication that scholars, perhaps instinctively, sense that close contact with the realities of the Stratford man's life will present more obstacles for them to overcome. They're right. At issue is not just the efficacy of the Stratford Will as a literary vessel, but also what it reveals of the personal effects of this inimitable historical figure, and what these in turn reveal of *his* life and thought. As we shall soon see, there is not the slightest glimmer of a cultivated mind anywhere to be found in the Stratford Will.

Viewing the will in the best possible light, the exalted 19th century authority James Halliwell sums it up as "the testimonies we may cherish of his last faltering accents to the world he was leaving." [18] Failing such eloquence, many scholars are resigned to accepting the Stratford Will more simply as "an enigma." [19] A closer look may show that the will is not an enigma; it is a disaster.

The rationale often used to explain the all-too-obvious deficiencies in the will is that "Shakespeare" relied on the services of an attorney. This argument has two failings. First, it begs the question why an individual with the storehouse of legal knowledge manifest in the Shakespeare Canon would *need* a country solicitor

to write out what is a comparatively simple document. Orthodox scholars credit "Shakespeare" with legal competency obtained from his property transactions and various legal skirmishes in Stratford-on-Avon.[20] If the orthodox story is true, then these ways and means provided him with a sufficient legal background to write, for example, *The Merchant of Venice*, *Richard II*, and *Measure for Measure*. It should not have been a hill to climb for him to prepare his own will. The second problem is that wills were frequently written out by scribes, not attorneys, and, as previously mentioned, an unknown scrivener is thought to have copied out the Stratford Will. The orthodox response is that "Shakespeare" was too ill to do this for himself during the last months of his life, and this answer may be satisfactory enough — for the time being — in light of the will's three quaky signatures.

The question of who served as an amanuensis in writing out wills has been addressed by Margaret Spufford in *Contrasting Communities,* and it appears that wills were often written by village scribes performing a neighborly service.[21] E.A.J. Honigmann concurs in his helpful book on *Playhouse Wills*, noting that it was not unusual for testators to turn to "a literate neighbor" to pen their wills.[22] [23] That literate neighbors often served in this capacity restructures the question: The right question to ask is not why "Shakespeare" might have chosen someone else to write his own will, but why someone else did not ask Shakespeare to compose a will for him? It would seem reasonable that during his earlier years in Stratford (maybe his "lost years"?) and most especially during his later years of comfortable retirement there that his family, friends and neighbors would *seek him out* for this task. In fact, no member of his own family made a will at all – neither his father nor his mother or his three brothers.[24]

A critical study of the Stratford Will usually begins with a recitation of items that the will does *not* contain. This will be my point of departure as well. As everyone knows, there is no mention of books. No further elaboration is needed on the difficulties created by this absence. Even with the dichotomy that exists between minimalist and maximalist schools of thought on Shakespeare's education in the Stratford Grammar School,[25] no orthodox scholar has ever conceded that "Shakespeare" simply did not own any books, and the search for his missing library has been going on for centuries. Consistent with the lack of books is the fact that there is no mention of the kinds of *furniture* that would hold books, as there is in other wills. There are no cupboards, hampers, cases, boxes, presses or chests that might contain books.[26] There is no desk for writing or pen and ink with which to write.[27, 28] Using examples from other contemporaneous wills, a clothier of Gosfield bequeathed "a great chest to bestow my books in" and "one little chest which I lay my writings in." A yeoman of Broomfield listed "the chest at my bed's feet wherein my evidences and writings lie." [29]

The lack of books in the Stratford Will is a serious enough omission to press orthodox scholars to search for an alternative explanation. Some say that the books were included in the "household stuffe." When the term "household stuffe" is examined in the context of other wills (and one is hard-pressed to find a will that does not include this as it is standard verbiage) it is clearly a catch-all phrase for

miscellaneous articles too inconsequential to itemize. It is generally found in a list along with bedding, plate, jewels, kitchen equipment, farm implements, farm animals and food stuffs.[30] A typical example is a testator who left to his wife his "household stuff, plate, jewels, my milch kine, 6 geldings and her own colt." [31] The wording in the Stratford Will follows this pattern, as "all the rest of my goods chattels Leases plate Jewels and household stuffe whatsoer" are left to his daughter Susanna, but not to his wife as is the norm.[32] Not incidentally, scholars have noticed a peculiar redundancy in this phrase. Earlier in the will Mr. Shackspere had left "*all my plate"* to his granddaughter -- with the specific exception of the silver bowl. As the plate has already been completely accounted for, there is no residual plate left to be bequeathed again; therefore, another indication that the language is merely formulaic.[33]

An example of a more careful testator is John Bentley, a servant to a knight, who leaves to his wife "all the other my household stuff not hereafter specially bequeathed." Then, he leaves to his son a list of books that will knock your socks off. His itemized books include music books, Dictionaries of Cowper's, Barrett's, and Thomasin's, dictionaries in Greek, Latin and "other languages whatsoever," Tully's Offices, books "pertaining to divinity," "all other my books in English written or printed whatsoever," statute books, law books, a Livius and "my maps." To his "singular good master," he bequeaths "my new bible in Latin, imprinted in Venice," and to his Lady, a "very pleasant book called the "Instruction of a Christian Woman made by Ludovicus Vives." [34] One might wonder why "Shakespeare" did not take advantage of this golden opportunity to leave a special book to an important person in his life – perhaps Southampton?

Most recently, Stanley Wells, the Chairman of the Shakespeare Birthplace Trust, has come to the rescue with another escape hatch for the books. In an article in *The Stage* magazine, he waves off the books to an inventory – which, of course, is conveniently lost.[35] Actually, the proposal of an inventory has been suggested before, by Sir Edmund K. Chambers for one, and so it is worth a moment of consideration.[36] Approximately 2 million wills survive from early modern England, and inventories are still extant for about half of them.[37] Of these surviving inventories, very few include books, and this may be the major reason why the inventory rationale has not caught on.[38] In fact, according to the historian Dr. F. G. Emmison, "wills yield far more details than some inventories in which only valuation totals of items are given," and he notes, furthermore, that wills themselves often functioned as "quasi-inventories" with detailed bequests of movables, furnishings, and of course, as we have seen, books.[39] [40] [41]

Music and musical instruments are part and parcel of Shakespeare's imagery, as well as accoutrements of an actor's vocation. The lack of musical instruments in the Stratford Will is indeed curious. This is an important point and one illustration of Shakespeare's musical imagery is in order. Upon hearing of his banishment, the Duke of Norfolk seizes upon a musical metaphor in Act I of *Richard II*, and one might ponder why the individual who wrote these words left no evidence of an interest in music among his personal effects:

> The language I have learned these forty years,
> My native English, now I must forego:
> And now my tongue's use is to me no more,
> Than an unstringed viol or a harp;
> Or like a cunning instrument cased up,
> Or, being open, put into his hands,
> That knows no touch to tune the harmony.[42]

It is noteworthy that, by contrast, the actor Augustine Phillips of the Lord Chamberlain's Men left to his apprentice his base vial, a Citterne, a Bandore and a Lute.[43] Many ordinary citizens of the classes of gentlemen and yeomen, bequeathed a fair number of lutes, viols, and virginals. However, musical instruments were a rarity in Stratford-on-Avon – only two wills of Stratford citizens contain them. A physician's widow had a fiddle, and a man referred to as "a very cultured gentleman" owned a virginal, two viols, a cittern, a recorder, a flute and some music books.[44]

Moreover, there is nothing else in the will that even implies that the testator pursued a cultured life or had a theatrical career – with the exception of the bequest of the rings to the actors interlined on the second page. There is no mention of the stock that he is credited with owning in the acting company and the theater in London and no mention of theatrical apparel or memorabilia.[45] There are no maps, another bit of lacunae for a dramatist who set many of his masterpieces in foreign countries to which he himself did not travel.[46] There are no wall hangings, no pictures, no art works of any kind. That items such as these would have been valuable heirlooms is one thing, but far more troubling is that it all adds up to a *lack of intellectual property*. And it gets worse: in the Stratford Will there is no mention of education of any kind, for anyone.

In reading through many wills, bequests to minor children are almost universally accompanied with instructions for the child's education. For someone who supposedly pulled himself up by his own bootstraps and attained the measure of erudition that is found in the Shakespeare Canon, it is simply bizarre that Mr. Shackspeare did not provide for the education of his only grandchild Elizabeth Hall – or for any future grandchildren yet to be born. We will overlook the fact that his daughters were arguably illiterate and examine the bequests to his granddaughter. She is named three times: first with a reversionary interest of 100 pounds if his younger daughter Judith dies; second with "all my plate;" and third she is the "Niece Hall," the residual legatee for all the "premises" that remain after the default of the heirs male enumerated up through seven sons. If Mr. Shackspeare had just followed up any one of these bequests to his granddaughter with the simple phrase "to provide for her education" or "to be brought up in learning," it would have been a Godsend. It would have been more of a saving grace than the interlineations of the rings to Heminge, Burbage, and Condell.

This apparent lack of interest in education is in stark contrast to many other testators of the time. A yeoman of Rochford left an annuity to keep his son at "grammar school until 15 and afterwards in one of the universities and after that in

one of the inns of Chancery or Court for his better preferment and advancement." [47] Even female heirs, though not provided for as regularly as their male counterparts, were not entirely excluded from the prospect of an education. Tomas Collte, a gentleman of Waltham, left a hearty 50 pound annuity "toward the education and bringing up of my two daughters during their minority," and if they died without issue, this money was to go to the "setting up of a free school for ever for the teaching of poor men's children." [48] Jacob Meade provided for the education of his granddaughter.[49] In a short will of less than a page, a clothier of Dedham included a bequest "to the maintenance of poor students at Cambridge that…sincerely seek God's glory." [50] Mr. Shackspeare left his godson 20 shillings in gold. A widow of Chingford left to her godson 20 shillings — the same amount — but with the instruction that it was "to buy him books." [51] It does not speak well for the orthodox position that relatively obscure people had the presence of mind to provide for their children's education – and for that of others too – and the Bard did not.

Moreover, it was not unusual for thoughtful testators to leave endowments directly to schools and universities. A yeoman of Wivenhoe left money to St John's College, Cambridge, "for the maintenance of poor scholars there and especially such as shall come out of the Grammar School of Colchester." [52] An esquire left an annuity to the Free School of Chelmsford in order that the school "may be better maintained and the youth and children may be the better attended and instructed in learning and virtue." [53] A clothier willed that after the death of his sister, "the tenement given to her [will go] to the Governors of the public Grammar School in Dedham and their successors for ever, to be employed for a dwelling house for a school master to teach children to read and write…." [54]

Last on this point, the actor Edward Alleyn should not be overlooked as his life's journey parallels that of the man who is generally believed to be "Shakespeare." Born into humble circumstances, Alleyn had a successful career on the London stage and became wealthy in subsequent businesses. He founded Dulwich College and provided substantially for its continuance in his will.[55] In summary, a quote from Dr. Robin Fox: "A mark of a man's success in business was that he should endow a school in his birthplace." [56] It's superfluous to point out what an egregious omission it is that the individual revered through the centuries for his "universal sympathy" left *nothing* to the Stratford Grammar School. This oversight is all the more imponderable as this school was the source of the putative education that supposedly enabled him to write the Shakespeare Canon, not to mention the primary institution for the advancement of learning in the community in which future generations of his own family would be brought up.

Bequests for repairs of roads and bridges were common, and annual annuities not unknown. For someone who spent the better part of his working life traveling back and forth to London, this is a puzzling lapse of community spirit. Sir John Wentworth left an annual allotment of 10 pounds "to the amending of the most needy places in the highway between St Anne's chapel and Braintree." [57] And speaking of Braintree, it seems this little town inspired an enormous sense of civic pride. A yeoman of the town left in his will an annuity to be used for "an honest poor man"

to "rake, shovel and make clean all the streets…..clean the waterways and channels of the town….and take a view of all the ditches, wholves, grates and straits where the water hath any course to descend from the town." [58]

Then as now, churches were frequent beneficiaries, and specific bequests for the repair of steeples, casting of bells, as well as for general repairs and maintenance are legion.[59] It would seem reasonable that Mr. Shackspeare, who could anticipate burial in the chancel of Stratford's Holy Trinity Church as a result of his ownership of tithes, might have given a thought to the preservation of his final resting place, all the more especially as he is credited with the poem on his tombstone that instructs his remains there to be undisturbed.

Charitable giving was a use to which wills were frequently put. Often testators forgave debts owed to them, something that does not appear in the Stratford Will, nor would one expect it to given Mr. Shackspeare's inclination to litigate over small sums.[60] In fact, testators had an obligation for "charitable deeds," one of four obligations put in place in an act of 1529 during the reign of Henry VIII. The Stratford Will does fulfill this obligation with a tersely worded bequest to the poor, to be found as part of four bequests lumped together in a single item on the middle page of the will.[61]

By contrast, many testators revealed a compassionate spirit with elaborate provisions for the poor. A yeoman of Harlow set out legacies to the poor in eleven towns, as well as to the poor prisoners of Colchester, Newgate, the Marshalsea, the King's Bench, Ludgate and all London, and Stortford, with additional bequests "to every of the said prisons 10s; to be distributed within 18 months after my decease." In addition, this testator left monetary gifts to a string of relatives, godchildren, and servants, and apparently even his haberdasher. Then thinking it through, he further specified that if any of the legatees died before receipt of the money, that part should go to the poorest of the community and the rest to the repair of the highways. [62]

This example of beneficence is not unique, and the charitable obligation of testators was often met in a spirit of generosity that squares far better with the custom of the times than the solitary bequest in the Stratford Will. In a study of wills in 10 counties, a total of 3.1 million pounds was bequeathed to charitable causes in early modern England, reaching its peak from 1611 to 1640.[63] According to a comprehensive study on early English philanthropy: "a veritable revolution had occurred during which private donors, men who held in view a vision of the future, [sought to] ….repair the damage [that] society had sustained from the slow ruin of the Middle Ages." [64] Apparently, this "revolution" passed by Mr. Shackspeare of Stratford, unnoticed.

It is now time to turn our attention from what is *not* in the Stratford Will to what actually *is* there. It is thought that the will was originally drafted in January of 1616, then amended on March 25, 1616 to the final form in which it is cherished today. It is also thought that the will was written out in one hand, but with *two* kinds of ink, one that is darker than the other. We will return to this anomaly shortly. But first, a look at the will.

It opens with a Religious Preamble. Would it surprise you to know that the greatest poet in England took his statement of faith straight out of a standardized handbook? The common formula used here, found in William West's popular *Symbolaeographia,* is clearly a Protestant testimonial. The ramifications of this will be studied more extensively at a later time:

> Sicke of bodie but of good and perfect memory (God be praised)……. First I commend my soule into the handes of god my maker, hoping assuredly through the only merits of Jesus Christ my Savior to bee made partaker of life everlasting. And I commend my bodie to the earth whereof it is made. [65, 66, 67]

The following example is from the will of one Jacob Meade, a waterman who died in 1624 in the County of Surrey. The Religious Preamble is nearly identical with the Stratford Will.

Jacob Meade	William Shackspere
….sick in body but of good and	in perfect health[68]
perfect memory (praysed bee god	& memory god be praysed
therefore) doe make and ordayne this	doe make & ordayne this
my Last wyll and testament in	my last will & testament in
manner and forme ffollowyinge	manner and forme following
that is to say)	That is to saye
first I Coment my soulle	ffirst I commend my soule
unto the hands	into the handes
of Almighty god my maker Assuredly	of my god my creator
hoping through	hoping & assuredly beleeving
the only merits of	through thonelie merittes of
Jesus Chryst my saviour to bee made	Jesus Christe my savior to be
partaker of Lyf everlasting And I	made partaker of life everlasting
Comend my Body to the earth	And my bodye to the Earth
whearof it was made [69]	whereof yt ys made

Perhaps West's *Symbolaeographia* should be added to the list of sources for Shakespeare. But in a more serious vein, it was not *de rigueur* to use a pre-existing formula, and testators could follow their religious inclinations with some degree of freedom of expression. A more prolix example is found in the will of Edward Pudsey:[70]

> I doe wholly betake and Committe unto the infinitt mercye of Almightye god, meekly acknowledginge both by originall corruption and by my many actuall transgressions (in his Justice) damnation to be my due, yet assuredly beleevinge by taking hold with ye hand of faith upon the gracious promises of our mercifull father to all repentant sinners in his holy writt delivered, And

> upon the merrittes bitter death, and earnest mediation of our sweet saviour Christ Jesus, That I am one of the elect before all worldes, ffor the holy and blessed spirit doth assure my spirit, That I am freed from all my infinite sinnes, and transgressions and the punishment thereunto due, And so being justified by the merciful Imputation of Christes righteousness, rest assured to bee glorified both in soule and bodye. [71]

After the Religious Preamble, it was usual for the testator to dive into what was foremost on his mind. Testators often began the will proper with instructions for their own burial, something not touched upon in the Stratford Will.[72] Thereafter, testators generally turned their attention to their real estate holdings, which in turn often overlapped with the provisions for their surviving spouse if they had one.

An example is found in the will of a gentleman of Romford who with classic simplicity took only a sentence to devise "To my wife my lands and goods for life." [73] Some testators could get caught up in a maze of minutia, and provisions for the spouse could be quite elaborate. A gentleman of Wisdens began: "To Audrey my wife 6 silver spoons, a silver salt and such bedsteads, bedding, linen, brass, pewter, cobirons, spits, and irons, dripping pans, trivets, pothangers, coffers, cupboards, presses, tables, stools, forms and household stuffe……" along with "a saw, a mattock, a shod shovel, a spade, a grinding stone, a plough, a coulter, an axe, a pitchfork….. my best black mare, 6 kine, 10 sheep….half my hogs, poultry, tubs, barrels, trays and cheese motes, my malt mill, the weights and scales" ……you get the picture. Poor Audrey. What a micro-manager her husband must have been.[74] In providing for the surviving spouse, most testators fall somewhere in between these two extremes.

If the first-off-the-top theory holds, then what was foremost on the mind of William Shackspere was his daughter Judith, and he launches into a fairly complex arrangement for her support that takes up most of the first page. His concern is supported by the facts. Her marriage to Thomas Quiney took place on February 10, 1616 between the first draft of his will in January and its finalization in March. It appears that many of the alterations reflect the changes in Judith's situation after her marriage was a *fait accompli* and unpleasant circumstances came to light. By March, Judith's husband had been brought up on charges that he had impregnated another woman who died in childbirth, and they were both excommunicated for marrying during the Lenten Season. Thus, the consensus of orthodoxy that these changes were a sign of disapproval or distrust of his new son-in-law seems to be well taken.

But there is more to be gleaned from these bequests. Of the £350 to be distributed by his executors, £300 was to go to Judith if she was living at specified times, with residuary legatees listed in the event of her death. Clearly Judith was to get the lion's share of the money, with the object to provide for her maintenance while keeping the money out of the hands of her new husband — who peculiarly *is not named*.[75]

Another curiosity is to be found in the financial terminology. The lump sums are called "stock," and before Judith receives these pay-outs she is to get what is termed "consideration" according to a rate of "two shillings in the pound." In short,

this is 10% interest. Mr. Shackspere's fixation on the details of principal and interest and its dispersal to Judith are noteworthy. That he was a money lender should not be doubted.[76, 77]

Ultimately, the "stock" will go to Judith's husband once he has settled upon her lands of equivalent value – which brings in another peculiarity observed by Samuel Tannenbaum and E.K. Chambers: the will is ambiguous on the amount that her husband must match in lands. Is it to be the £100 marriage "portion" interlined at the beginning of the will, or the L300 cash bequest in full? [78], [79]

Last it should be noted that the bequest of £50 had some strings attached to it. In order to receive this amount, Judith was required to surrender "all her estate and right" in the copyhold manor of Rowington to her older sister. This begs the question of just how Judith came to have "rights" to the Rowington house in the first place. But it is a shrewd move on the part of Mr. Shackspeare to keep the property out of the reach of Judith's potentially wastrel husband, and the complexities of these arrangements indicate, if nothing else, that he possessed testamentary capacity. [80]

Next, he gives his permission to his sister and her family to continue living in one of his houses, and sets the rent at the nominal amount of 12 pence annually. Scholars believe that the Harts were living in the house on Henley Street, now the Birthplace, and though I have no reason to disagree with this, no home is identified in the will, which only reads "the house and the appurtenances in Stratford wherein she dwelleth." He bequeaths £20 to his sister as well as all his clothes, and this is also reasonable as she has three sons. Next, he gives monetary gifts of L5 to each of her boys, one of whose names he cannot remember – so much for the "perfect memory."

After giving his plate to his granddaughter, there is a hodge-podge of four bequests in one item: the aforementioned £10 to the poor, the sword to Thomas Combe, and monetary gifts to his overseers Thomas Russell and Francis Collins. This is followed by the Ring Paragraph. This messy paragraph contains eight bequests: rings to two Stratford friends, three monetary gifts with no specified purpose, and of course the curious interlineation of the money to his "fellows" Heminge, Burbage and Condell to purchase rings. With the exception of the 20 shillings to his godson, the other bequests are all for 26s and 8d.

Rings were popular gifts and testators often bequeathed their own. But when money was allocated for the purchase of rings, as it is in the Stratford Will, instructions were usually included for the type of ring to be purchased or for an inscription to be engraved on it. Mr. Shakespere's bequest of rings is entered with no comment. As for the interlineation to the actors, it should be noted that they are the only legatees in the will who are outside of the testator's immediate family and his close circle of friends in Stratford-on-Avon. It should also be noted that this line is so jammed between the original lines that the scrivener could barely fit it in. This bequest is curious enough to warrant a close study of the handwriting and the ink, but that is of course beyond the scope of this paper as well as beyond the pale for doting orthodoxy.

It has taken the testator a while to get around to devising his most valuable

property: his real estate. Having already pressured Judith to surrender her "rights" to the manor of Rowington to her older sister, he now devises his remaining four residences and land in and around Stratford also to Susanna. Although Mr. Shackspeare cannot necessarily be faulted for this, many gentry and yeoman often devised property more equitably when two or more heirs were involved.[81] For example, a gentleman of Shelley split up his property giving a manor home to each of his 5 sons.[82]

As this part of the will deals with the real estate, it would have been a logical place for Mr. Shackspeare to address which house in Stratford would be set aside for his wife for the duration of her life. Though he had already reserved one of the homes for his sister's family, we know of course that he made no such provisions for Anne, much to the consternation of his future admirers. Instead, his thoughts turned to Susanna, and the next twelve lines are devoted to a monotonous recital plodding through seven "heirs male of her body lawfully issuing."

In the spring of 1616, Susanna was 32 years old, and her only child, Elizabeth Hall, was eight. With her biological clock ticking, the prospect of the desired male heir or heirs was becoming less of a physiological possibility. It begs the question: Where in the world are these seven "heirs male" supposed to come from? It is a strange litany to find in a will when all of the heirs thus enumerated are yet to be born. The closest comparison I can find is in the will of Richard Bower, a theatrical manager, who has a similar clause reiterated through five heirs, but in his case, all of the these children are living.[83] It takes six more lines for Mr. Shackspeare to direct "the premises," on "default of such issue," to the heirs of his granddaughter and lastly to the heirs of Judith, thus a total of 18 lines focusing on the delicate matter of his succession. When one considers that the oft-quoted bequest of the rings to his fellow actors was crammed in between the lines just above this, it seems strange that "Shakespeare," noted for his literary compression, did not make better use of the available space.

Be that as it may, the thought of future generations of his family might have been what brought his wife to mind, for here is where we find the single bequest to her that has been so derided over the centuries: "Item I give unto my wife my second best bed with the furniture." With the will coming to a merciful close, this bequest has been interlined in the nick of time. It is clearly an afterthought. After this, all that is left is the residual phrase with the "household stuff," previously discussed, and the obligatory legalese in which his executors and overseers are appointed and instructed to pay his debts, legacies, and funeral expenses.

It is, of course, the "second best bed" that must be examined more closely. Laboring in "Shakespeare's" defense, orthodox scholars struggle to find a rationale that makes this bequest more palatable. The one most often used is that "Shakespeare" understood that the common law "dower rights" would take over and his widow would be entitled to a third of his property. Therefore, no special provisions for her maintenance would be required. Everything would just fall into place for her.[84] This assumption on the part of posterity is not borne out by the wills of other testators of the time who provided for the surviving spouse, often,

as we have already seen, in great detail.[85] Also, as noted earlier in this paper, Mr. Shackspeare did not even follow the normal pattern making Anne the residual legatee in the bequest of the "household stuffe."

A worse problem, though, is that the common law practice of the "widow's thirds" was not necessarily in effect in Warwickshire where what is known as "the custom of the manor" may have prevailed.[86, 87] According to experts in the property laws of early modern England, by the beginning of the 17th century the "common law thirds" was followed only in London, in Wales and in the county of York; it appears to have been losing ground in the rest of England during the preceding century. [88] For reasons unknown, legal historians profess ignorance of exactly what prevailed in the county of Warwickshire in the legal tug-of-war between the widow's thirds — which gave more protection to the wife's interests — or the custom of the manner — which allowed the testator greater latitude to devise and bequeath his real estate and goods more to his own liking.[89]

Nevertheless, with or without the common law, some element of common sense might be applied, and an important function of a will is to remove the causes of potential disputes among the heirs after the testator's death.[90] Without the specific reservation of property for her maintenance, Mrs. Shackspere would *have had to litigate* to "claim dower" and thereby discover exactly what her "widow's thirds" might be.[91] In any event, using the courts as a back-stop was not a considerate thing for a testator to do.[92] Now it might have been that this smorgasbord of evolving laws and customs was as opaque to testators then as it is to historians now, but this is all the more reason for the testator to make reasonable provisions for his wife who was, as a practical matter, primarily dependent upon his kindness.[93, 94]

That it was Mr. Shackspeare's intent to eliminate his wife from an inheritance is amplified with the bequest of the second best bed. It seems that a small bequest such as this could have wiped out whatever dower rights a surviving spouse might have had in her husband's estate, if indeed dower rights were still functioning in Warwickshire to some degree. Although the debate on the ramifications of a small bequest on property rights is on-going among legal historians, a very real possibility exists that with the bequest of the second best bed combined with the failure to provide anything else for his wife, Mr. Shackspeare effectively and coldly disinherited Mrs. Shackspeare.[95, 96]

There is more to support this troubling conclusion. Mr. Shackspere did not appoint Anne his executrix, though the appointment of the surviving spouse as executrix was the common practice in wills of the era.[97] This oversight might indicate either a lack of capacity on her part, or a great estrangement between them. If the former is the case, then his lack of provision for the necessities of her life is even more disturbing. Scholars invariably choose the latter explanation, and close their eyes to the fact that the custom of the widow as executrix was so wide-spread as to indicate that it was a standardized practice and had little or nothing to do with affinity.[98] Also, as a fall-back position, she could have been made a co-executor with one of the daughters, and co-executorships were also commonplace.[99]

That Mr. Shackspeare did not make his wife his executrix is perplexing, but

that he did not refer to her by name is amazing. In addition, he neglects the usual terms of endearment – such as "my loving wife" and "my well beloved wife." Of course the orthodox response would again be to treat this as a sign of estrangement between them, but this language is so ubiquitous in wills of the time that it is clearly a formality and does not necessarily reflect the testator's true feelings. The other women in his immediate family are called by name: Susanna, 5 times; Judith, 5 times; granddaughter Elizabeth, 3 times; and sister Joan, 3 times.[100]

Thus five things indicate that Mr. Shackspere, by deliberate intent, wrote his wife out of his will. Most important is his failure to provide the ways and means for her existence. Next is the disparagement of the small bequest of the second best bed followed by his failure to name her as the residual legatee, his failure to appoint her his executrix, and his neglect to even address her by name.

Switching gears now to an overview of the Stratford Will, it strikes one that it is such a mess. [101, 102] Not only is it chocked full of corrections, cancellations and interlineations, but it is all thrown together without punctuation or paragraphs.[103] It even ends on a sour note: the preparer had originally written that the testator would put his "seal" to it, indicating that a signature was not expected. The word "seal" was crossed out and altered to "hand" in the later draft.[104]

The difficulties in the Stratford Will are apparent enough for the 20th century authority E. K. Chambers to admit that it has some "odd features." [105]

> The writing at the foot of sheet 1 is cramped and comes very near the bottom margin. That at the top of sheet 2 begins with two lines written higher up than one would expect from a comparison with the other sheets. And these are followed by a cancelled passage, with which they can never have had any sense-connection. This passage must originally have been the conclusion of something other than what now precedes it.

Chambers description of the disparity between pages one and two is right on target. To explain these irregularities, he continues with this hypothesis:

> In January of 1616, Shakespeare gave instructions for a will. Collins prepared a complete draft… it was not then executed. But on March 25, 1616, Shakespeare sent for Collins. The changes he desired in the opening provisions were so substantial that it was thought best to prepare a new sheet 1"…… In re-drafting page 1, the "clerk made, and afterwards corrected, the slip of transcribing 'January' from the old draft." The new provisions "proved so much longer than those which they replaced, so as to crowd the writing [at the bottom of the page] and necessitate the carrying of two lines on to the old sheet 2, where they were inserted before a cancelled passage.[106, 107]

In his *Documentary Life*, Samuel Schoenbaum concurs with Chambers' proposal of the first page re-copy.[108] Yet one problem with Chambers explanation

is that it does not account for the anomaly of the different inks. Apparently the first page is written in a darker ink, and we are told that *all* of the corrections and additions on *all* three pages are in the darker ink. Handwriting authorities believe that all the emendations are in the same hand.[109]

The oddities and deficiencies of the Stratford Will have been defended on the grounds that the testator was ill; thus, posterity should cut him some slack. Schoenbaum writes that "Collins never got round to having a fair copy of the will made, probably because of haste occasioned by the seriousness of the testator's condition." [110] But several more things should be taken into consideration in forming an opinion as to the meaning of it all.

First, there is the long clause about the seven sons which might indicate that the testator was losing his grip on reality. As previously noted, the prospect of Susanna having more children at all, much less seven sons, was becoming more distant with each passing year.

Next, the lines that have been crossed out at the top of page two are suspicious. This is what was written initially: "to be sett out for her within *one Year* after my decease by my executors with the advise and direccions of my overseers for her best proffitt *until her marriage* and then *the same* with the *increase thereof* to be paid unto her."

The testator does not seem to be anticipating an imminent marriage for Judith. He is providing for his younger daughter's maintenance for an unknown interval of time. The money is to be set up for her within one year of his death and then "the increase thereof" will accrue from that point – and this will take time. "The same" refers to the principal, directly conflicting with the instructions on the first page in which the prime objective is to keep the principal *out* of her hands for fear it would go to her husband as she was "covert baron."

Last of all, the difficulties presented by the darker and lighter inks cannot be so easily overcome by Chambers' theory that the first page was re-copied from the draft dictated in January. This is a crucial point. One authority notes that "it seems highly unlikely that the scrivener would mistake the month of March for January." [111] Indeed, it does not make sense for the scrivener to reiterate an incorrect date and then correct it. The next mistake occurs in the sentence "I give and bequeath unto my *sonne-in-L*," with the words *"sonne-in-L"* crossed out and immediately followed with "daughter Judith." Whatever the testator had in mind when he dictated the words "sonne-in-L" is far removed from what follows next as he focuses on Judith; hence, "sonne-in-L" is stricken out. This is a false start. Why would it be repeated in a re-copy? Especially when the many changes that warranted the re-copy put space at a premium? Additional "mistakes" and "corrections" on the first page give it a look of painful authenticity.

To account for these oddities, I propose that the scrivener was using the darker ink in *both* January and March.[112] Not to be overlooked is the curious fact that the signature of Francis Collins at the end of the will is in the *lighter* ink of pages 2 and 3, but the remaining witnesses are in the *darker* ink. [113]

With due respect to E.K. Chambers, I suggest another hypothesis that

could account for all of these anomalies. I propose that the will as it exists today is a revision of a will that originated *prior* to January of 1616 when Judith's marriage was not yet on the horizon and Susanna had more childbearing years ahead of her. I propose that page one can be taken at face value, initiated in January and finalized in March; pages two and three were taken from an earlier will still on file at Collins' office and *updated* in the January to March time frame to fit the testator's circumstances in 1616.

Anomalies in the paper further support this proposal. Samuel Tannenbaum acknowledges that each page of paper is of a different "make." The watermarks on pages 1 and 2 are different, and page 3 has no watermark at all. The sheets are of different sizes, close but not exact. Curiously, only page 2 bears the Arabic numeral "2." [114] Along with the different inks, the dissimilar batches of paper suggest a time-line considerably more disjunct than merely a will begun in January and corrected in March of 1616.

Actually, Chambers is not completely off base about the first page re-copy. I propose that the intent in January of 1616 was to update all three pages of an earlier will, but, as Chambers thought, the changes on page one proved too extensive in light of Judith's upcoming marriage, thus a new page one was drafted in January and further corrected in March along with the corrections on pages two and three. This suggestion is consistent with Collins' signature in the lighter ink of the earlier time frame. More witnesses were called in when the will was finalized in March of 1616, and they signed (or the scrivener signed on their behalf) in the dark ink.[115]

Following this line of thought that pages two and three come from an earlier document, the devising of the Blackfriars Gatehouse on page two indicates that 1613 was the earliest time frame in which page 2 could have been written. A date three years earlier correlates better with Susanna's childbearing years and Judith's single status.

But why should this matter? It would not invalidate the will. An example of a will that was extensively revised is that of William Cecil, Lord Burghley himself, who made numerous emendations between first drawing up his will in 1579 and his death 19 years later in 1598.[116] However, when the Stratford Will is considered in light of an earlier date for pages 2 and 3, it becomes *exponentially* more difficult to reconcile it with the official story. Compassion for a dying man can cover a world of sins, but if this is the will of a man who is still whole and hearty, still around and about London, still buying property and still — allegedly — writing plays, then the incongruities that arise from an earlier date of pages 2 and 3 are devastating. For example, how strange it is that the face-saving bequest of rings to his fellow actors appears in an interlineation on page 2 — a peculiar afterthought in 1616, but an outrageous oversight if the testator was still part of the theater scene in London in 1613! Also, it is odd that this change, as well as the others, were not added as a codicil in either January or March of 1616, as there was plenty of room left at the bottom of page three to amend the will in this manner.[117] [118]

In conclusion, nothing in this document indicates that the testator led a cultured life or even possessed a cultivated intellect. There are no books, papers,

writings, manuscripts, musical instruments, art, tapestries, maps, shares in a theatrical company, theatrical attire or memorabilia. He did not provide for the education of his heirs – or for anyone else. His failure to provide for the maintenance of his unnamed surviving spouse is more deplorable than the bequest of his second best bed. There is nothing suggestive of civic pride such as bequests to schools, colleges, almshouses, hospitals, and churches, nor did he think to give to civic projects such as the repair of roads and bridges. Such bequests as these are missing despite the fact that he had accumulated a sizeable estate with 5 homes and had considerable income from additional property.

The language is clumsy, riddled with ambiguities and oversights which could open the door for disputes among his heirs. Incongruities abound. Nearly a page of the will is devoted to the monetary bequests to his younger daughter Judith. He states that she is to be paid 10% interest, yet it is unclear what value of land is to be settled on her at her marriage. His sister is to pay an annual rent of 12 pence for a house, yet it is unclear which house he has reserved for her family.

The original language at the top of page two does not connect to page one, and the different inks used on these unmatched pages open up the possibility that this will was a revision of a will written as much as three years earlier – with the first page copied out again. This is a chilling prospect for orthodoxy as it makes the deficiencies in the will all the more difficult to explain away.

All this notwithstanding, I leave you with one last thought from the monumental treatise on wills by Henry Swinburne. Published in 1590, his book ends with the statement that even when all the legalities are observed and formal language properly in place, still "it's the mind, not the words, that giveth life to the testament." As we read through this dull, wretched document, the last words of William Shackspeare of Stratford-on-Avon, we are left with the inescapable conclusion that the mind that gave life to the greatest literary works in the English language is a mind *not* to be found here.[119]

Endnotes

1 Schoenbaum, Samuel. *A Documentary Life*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1975. 242. A marked amount of confusion exists about the "finding" of the will. Schoenbaum persists in setting out: "The copy mentioned by Vertue is very likely the one independently discovered by the Revd Joseph Greene in Stratford a decade later. His transcript, with a covering letter (dated 17 September 1747) to the Hon. James West, is in the British Library (MS Lansdowne 721, ff.2-6). The copy found by Greene, which belongs to the first half of the seventeenth century and which was probably made after Dr. Hall's death in 1635, is now in the Shakespeare Birthplace Trust records Office." Schoenbaum then directs the reader to the article by Levi Fox, "An Early copy of Shakespeare's Will," *Shakespeare Survey 4* (Cambridge, 1951, 69-77.)

2 Honigmann, E. A. J., and Brock, Susan. *Playhouse Wills 1558-1642 An Edition of wills by Shakespeare and his contemporaries in the London Theatre*. Great Britain: Manchester

University Press, 1993. 108--109. Honigmann and Brock concur with the Vertue discovery date of 1737, but do not clarify the question as to whether the document was the one now considered to be the "original" (and the transcript of which is published in their book) or the one called the "Birthplace Copy." It is noted therein that a transcript was printed in the posthumous edition of Lewis Theobald's *Works of Shakespeare*, 3rd ed, 8 vols, London, 1752.

[3] Nicoll, Allardyce, editor. *Shakespeare Survey 5 An Annual survey of Shakespeare Study and Production*. "New Place: The Only Representation of Shakespeare's House, from an Unpublished Manuscript by Frank Simpson." UK: Cambridge University Press, 1952. The reference to Shakespeare's will on page 56 deserves comment. Though Vertue was a respected antiquarian of the era, there are several mistakes in his information. It appears that he believes that Shakespeare's sister's name was "Elizabeth;" it was Joan. Lady Barnard was his granddaughter, not his great-granddaughter. He is credited with ownership of the Maiden Head and Swan Inns, presumably in Stratford. This property is not accounted for in his will or in any conveyance documents of the time; thus the basis of Vertue's confusion is unknown. Of more immediate interest to this study is the provenance of the copy: "a Copy of the original in poses (sic) of this/ Man [Shakespeare Hart] and may be seen in Doctor's Commons from whence they had it."

[4] Schoenbaum, 242.

[5] Tannenbaum, Samuel A. *Problems in Shakespeare's Penmanship*. New York: Kraus Reprint Company, 1966, 69.

[6] Rogers, Joyce. *The Second Best Bed Shakespeare's Will in a New Light*. United States: Greenwood Press, 1993, 14-15.

[7] Schoenbaum, 242 The earliest published transcript appeared in the posthumous third edition of Lewis Theobald's Works of Shakespeare (1752). According to Schoenbaum, "others have supposed that the original will was first printed in *Biographia Britannica* in 1763."

[8] Halliwell, J. O. *Shakespeare's Will Copied from the Original in the Prerogative Court*. London: John Russell Smith, 1851. Reprinted from an original in the Folger Shakespeare Library. USA: AMS Press, 1974. Preface page iii.

[9] Halliwell, Preface pages iii, iv. The original copyist was a Mr. T. Rodd, whose "tolerably accurate transcript" was reviewed and corrected by Halliwell.

[10] Honigmann, 8-9. Honigmann recognizes that Shakespeare's will "stands out as *different*," (italics mine) a nice way of making allowances for it. A discussion of these "differences" is one of the purposes of this study.

[11] These include facile secretary, set secretary, hybrid secretary, engrossing secretary, rapid secretary, and fluent secretary, all with additional use of italics, abbreviations, and otiose superscript.

[12] Rogers, 71.

[13] Rogers. Focusing on the phrase the "second best bed," Rogers attempts to glamorize this "notorious bequest" by conflating it with ecclesiastical laws, traditions and terminology.

[14] Rogers, 15-16. Eccles insists that Collins penned the will. As reported in Schoenbaum's *Documentary Life*, N. E. Nash finds it "differs considerably from specimens of Collins' hand in other documents."

[15] Honigmann and Brock, 18.

[16] Alsop, J.D. "Religious Preambles in Early Modern English Wills as Formulae." *Journal*

of Ecclesiastical History, Volume 40, No 1, January, 1989. 19-27. An example of a testator in dire circumstances is Edmund Winstanley, a gentleman of Lancashire. Winstanley died the day after his will was prepared, and as the will was subsequently contested, there is testimony extant from the scrivener concerning the preparation of the will. It was deemed clear that despite the "somewhat confused behavior of the testator," he was nonetheless "in control of the procedure."

17 Chambers, Sir E.K. *William Shakespeare A study of Facts and Problems*. Vol II. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1930, 178.

18 Halliwell-Phillips, James. Life, Volume II, 244. As quoted in Rogers, 10.

19 Rogers, xv.

20 Obgurn, Charlton. *The Mysterious William Shakespeare The Myth and the Reality*. New York: Dodd, Meade & Company, 1984. 296.

21 Spufford, Margaret. *Contrasting Communities English Villagers in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*. Great Britain: Cambridge University Press, 1974, 320-334. In the chapter "Wills and Their Writers," the scribes under discussion are predominantly ordinary citizens, though Spufford notes that village scribes could "range from the lord or lessee of the manor to the vicar, curate, church clerk or churchwarden to the schoolmaster, a shopkeeper, or any one of the literate yeoman or even husbandmen in a village who could be called in to perform this last neighborly office for a dying man" (333).

22 Honigmann and Brock, 19.

23 Alsop, 20. "It appears that a large number of wills in early modern England were written by professional notaries, scribes, clergy, family, friends and neighbours for both literate and non-literate testators."

24 Greer, Germaine. *Shakespeare's Wife*. New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 2007, 315.

25 Fox, Robin. "Shakespeare's Education? The Grammar School Reconsidered." Unpublished paper delivered at SOS/SF conference, White Plains, NY, 2008, 7.

26 Du Maurier, Daphne. *The Winding Stair Francis Bacon, His Rise and Fall*. New York: Doubleday & Company, 1977. 198. In his will, Bacon instructs his executors "to take into their hands all of my papers whatsoever, which are either in cabinets, boxes or presses and then to seal up until they may at their leisure peruse them."

27 Price, Diana. *Shakespeare's Unorthodox Biography*. Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 2001, 146-147.

28 Vaisey, D.G. "Probate inventories and Provincial Retailers." 97. *Probate Records and the Local Community*. Phillip Riden, editor. Gloucester: Alan Sutton, 1985.

29 Emmison, F. G. Elizabethan Life: Wills of Essex Gentry and Yeomen. Chelmsford: Essex County Council, 1980, 144-145, 90.

30 Emmison, F. G. *Elizabethan Life: Wills of Essex Gentry and Merchants*. Chelmsford: Essex County Council, 1978. 50, 51, 73, 282, 285.

31 Emmison, 95.

32 Trussler, Simon. *Will's Will The Last Wishes of William Shakespeare*. United Kingdom: The National Archives, 2007, 12-13.

33 Chambers, E.K. *William Shakespeare A Study of Facts and Problems. Volume II*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1930. Chambers picks up on this as an inconsistency on page 176.

34 Emmison, 1980, 105-106.

35 Wells, Stanley. *The Stage*. The article can be accessed under "Contrary Views" on the Shakespeare Authorship Coalition website: http://www.doubyaboutwill.org/debate

36 Chambers, II, 178-179.

[37] Arkell, Tom, Nesta Evans, Nigel Goose. *When Death Do Us Part Understanding and Interpreting the Probate Recores of Early Modern England*. Oxford: Leopard's Head Press Limited, 2000. 103-104. In the chapter on probate accounts, Any Erickson notes that "at most only 1/3 of the population made a will," and this corresponds with modern time.

[38] Arkell, Tom, Nesta Evans, Nigel Goose. *When Death Do Us Part Understanding and Interpreting the Probate Records of Early Modern England*. Oxford: Leopard's Head Press Limited, 2000, 94.

[39] Emmison, viii.

[40] An additional observation on the subject of inventories: the abbreviation "Inv ex" (standing for "inventory exhibition") is found at the bottom right of the last page of the Stratford Will. This indicates that an inventory was produced at probate. According to Dr. Erickson, an inventory was required for any estate with a value exceeding L5, and the estate of Mr. Shackspere is conservatively estimated at a much greater value. Thus it is reasonable to assume that an inventory was produced at probate. Strangely, though, *no valuation* seems to have survived in the records of the Probate Court. By contrast, the records of the valuations of the remaining goods of the actor Robert Armin, the playwright Samuel Rowley, and even Ben Jonson have survived, the latter having left the nominal estate of L8 8s 10d. (Honigmann, 97, 139, 234.)

[41] Erickson, Amy Louise, *Women and Property in Early Modern England*. London: Routledge, 1993. 15.

[42] Elson, Louis C. *Shakespeare in Music*. New York: Ams Press, 1971. Reprinted from the edition of 1901, Boston, 28.

[43] Honigmann and Brock, 73.

[44] Arkell, Tom, Nesta Evans, Nigel Goose. *When Death Do Us Part Understanding and Interpreting the Probate Records of Early Modern England*. Oxford: Leopard's Head Press Limited, 2000, 94.

[45] Chambers, 52-71. Chambers acknowledges that no shares of the Globe or the Blackfriars are mentioned in the Stratford Will and gives several theories to account for the lack of a paper trail. He discusses the litigation pursuant to the disposition of these shares by others with theatrical connections, and notes the substantial value of these shares which included an interest in the profits of the company as well as the capital value of the properties, apparel, and books.

[46] Honigmann and Brock, 200. Sir John Astley (who is identified as a gentleman) itemized in his will his "great Mappe of all my lands" and also "my book of Ortelius his mapps and my booke of postures for the warres sent mee out of the low cuntreys...."

[47] Emmison, 1980, 93-94. The testator was Thomas Collen who died in June, 1584.

[48] Emmison, 1978, 184-185.

[49] Honigmann and Brock, 134-135. Price, 147.

[50] Emmison, 1978, 315-316.

[51] Emmison, 1980, 93-94. This was Margaret Rampston who died in October of 1590.

[52] Emmison, 1980, 124-125. This is found in the highly detailed will of Henry Foote who died in March, 1595. His wife is to have her "choice of the best copyhold for life." Also she is given specific permission to "lop, fell or take any timber or trees on the copyhold only for necessary housebote, firebote, gatebote, ploughbote, stilebote, hedgebote and stakebote...."

[53] Emmison, 1978, 112. Thomas Mildmay's carefully thought-out will provides generously

for the education and maintenance of his children, as well as extensive philanthropic bequests.

[54] Emmison, 1978, 308. In addition, Edmund Sherman desired that "one poor child" be "freely" taught as a result of this bequest to the school.

[55] Honigmann, 150-154.

[56] Dr. Fox goes on to say in his paper presented at the SOS/SF Conference in White Plains, NY that this trend resulted in "a list of schools endowed by tailors, brewers, mercers, drapers, skinners, and goldsmiths….one of the most famous being the Merchant Tailors founded in 1560."

[57] Emmison, 1978, 45

[58] Emmison, 1980, 132.

[59] Emmison, 1980. 46, 48, 60, 62, 73, 84.

[60] Honigmann, 134. Emmison, 1980. 38, 46, 87. 105.

[61] Arkell, 24. Although the absence of bequests in these areas did not invalidate the will, most testators cover all four of them. The remaining 3 "obligations" were payment of debts, providing for their surviving spouse, and the support of their children until marriage.

[62] Emmison, 1980, 122-123. This remarkable series of charitable bequests is found in the will of George Derrington who died in 1574.

[63] Arkell, 50-51. In the chapter on "Wills as an Historical Source," Nigel Goose and Nesta Evans in turn reference a monumental study by W.K. Jordan, *Philanthropy in England*. (London, 1959).

[64] Goose and Evans, quoting W. K. Jordan. 50.

[65] Houlbrooke, Ralph. *Death, Religion & the Family in England 1480-1750*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998, 123. This is the "pattern of the formulary" for religious preambles as presented in William West's *Symbolaeographia*.

[66] Schoenbaum, 246. Schoenbaum considerately provides the passage almost in full, and footnotes it to page 643 of West's book. However, in a curious sentence, he does his best to divert attention from the startling fact that the Bard did not leave the world with an original statement by faith: "To find here a confession of personal faith is to consider the matter too curiously."

[67] Lewis, B. Roland. *The Shakespeare Documents. Vol II.* California: Stanford University Press, 1940, 482 It seems that Lewis is the first authority to report this information, noting that "One would think that William Shakespeare virtually copied his *Notificatio* and its exordium from William West's *Simboleographie* (1605), a volume of typical legal forms widely used in his day." Lewis continues with helpful accounts of religious preambles sampled from other wills.

[68] In regard to the state of the testator's health, most follow West's formula verbatim, adhering to the phrase "sick in body." The only divergence from the formula in the Stratford Will is the testator's avowal to "perfect health."

[69] Honigmann and Brock, 134.

[70] Edward Pudsey is an historical person of interest. Identified by Honigmann simply as a "play-goer," he kept notebooks that contain extended passages of many plays of the era, including most notably Shakespeare's *Othello*.

[71] Honigmann and Brock, 92.

[72] Houlebrooke, 124-125. It was more in keeping with the Post-Reformation religious preambles to omit instructions for the place of burial, as the destination of the soul was all that mattered. "Complicated feelings aroused by mortal remains" was

considered to have been associated with Catholic rites.

[73] Emmison, 1980, 29. Will of John Carewe, gentleman.

[74] Emmison, 1980, 30. Will of John Cartmell, gentleman.

[75] Honigmann and Brock, 134. Mr. Shackspere was not alone in his concern over a potentially wastrel son-in-law. Another striking similarity between the Stratford Will and the will of Jacob Meade is the bequest of a cash sum to his daughter with only the interest to be paid to her while her husband is alive.

[76] It appears that 10% interest was an established rate in both the public and private sector. P.M. Handover writes in *The Second Cecil The Rise to Power* (Great Britain: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1939) that in government transactions, the interest rate of 10% was considered "normal though ruinous." 64.

[77] The word "consideration" used in a financial context as terminology for "interest" on principal does not appear in the Shakespeare Canon, nor is the word "stock" used as a term for "principal." A check in Spevack's *The Harvard Concordance to Shakespeare* shows that "consideration" appears in the Canon 8 times, and is clearly meant to indicate reflection or judgment, as in *Henry V*, I.i. 28: "Yea, at that very moment/ *Consideration* like an angel came/ and whipt th'offending Adam out of him." The word appears in other variants a total of 79 times, and none of these carry a connotation of interest on money. Likewise, the word "stock" does not occur anywhere n the Canon in a financial context. The word appears 26 times, occasionally as a shortened form for "stockings," but more often as an indicator of quality descent, as in *Henry V*, I ii, 70-71: "Of Charles the Duke of Lorraine, sole heir make / Of the true line and *stock* of Charles the Great." In other variants, "stockings" are always socks, and "stocks" a holding contraption into which someone is placed for punishment.

[78] Tannenbaum, Samuel A. *Problems in Shakespere's Penmanship Including a Study of the Poet's Will*. New York: The Century Company, 1927. 98-103.

[79] Chambers, 178.

[80] Tannenbaum, 98-102. Noting that "the matter might have proved a source of expensive litigation," Tannenbaum provides a detailed analysis of vague and ambiguous "Judith Page," and criticizes many earlier scholars for their various misinterpretations.

[81] Erickson, Amy Louise. *Women and Property in Early Modern England*. London and New York: Routledge, 1993. 68-78. In the chapter "The Overall Distribution of Property," Dr. Erickson discusses the changes that occurred as the practice of a more equitable distribution of property evolved among testators. She concludes: "The allocation of parental wealth among offspring among the majority of the population was made upon a basis of remarkable equality" (78).

[82] Emmison, 1980, 44-45.

[83] Honigmann and Brock, 41-42.

[84] Chambers, II, 176. Chambers notes that "Mrs. Shakespeare would have been entitled by common law to her dower of a life interest in one-third of any of the testator's heritable estates on which dower had not, as in the case of the Blackfriars property, been legally barred; and to residence in his principal house. Chambers references Challis, 345.

[85] Emmison, 1980. 90-91. John Brette, a yeoman of Broomfield, is another example of a testator who carefully considered his wife's future living accommodations, stating his wish that "my wife shall have free egress and regress to come to the fire in the hall to dress her meat and into the kitchen to brew her drink, bake her bread and wash, and she shall keep some poultry and 2 hogs."

[86] Cox, Jeff and Nancy. "Probate 1500-1800: A System in Transition." Tom Arkell, et.al. *When Death Do Us Part*. Great Britain: Leopard' s Head Press, 2000, 22-24.

[87] Honigmann, 14-15. Honigmann provides a concise overview of the decline of the feudal custom of the widow's dower rights, while noting that the orthodox Shakespearean authority B. Roland Lewis "argues persuasively" against it, i.e. that the dower thirds was still observed. Obviously, this tricky historical legal question has been picked up by literary scholars with the intent to keep the rationale in place that "Shakespeare" would have "understood" that his wife would be taken care of by law. However, Honigmann states unequivocally that "There is, inconveniently, no evidence that it [the right of the widow to 1/3 of her husband's property] was observed in Warwickshire."

[88] Erickson, 28. Dr. Erickson has footnoted this carefully, reporting that "dower rights" were eliminated by statute in the province of York in 1692, Wales in 1696, and finally in the City of London in 1725 (146).

[89] Chambers, II. 177.

[90] Houlbrooke, Ralph, 91-94.

[91] Emmison, 1978, 232-233. Thomas Noke, a gentleman of Hatfield Broad Oak, left a yearly annuity and property to his wife "on condition that she shall not claim dower in my other lands." Such as this is not unusual.

[92] Emmison, 1978, 310. Henry Standishe, a tanner in the county of Essex, made precise allocation of his real property "in satisfaction of dower," and listed personal property to be given by her to his children "as she by her motherly love and discretion shall think good."

[93] Arkell, 19-24. A good account of these issues and supporting documentary records can be found in the chapter by Nancy and Jeff Cox.

[94] Erickson, 32. Dr. Erickson concurs. "Early modern wills were primarily concerned with provisions for widows and children…."

[95] Greenblatt, Stephen. *Will in the World*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2004. 146.

[96] Houlbrooke, 94. The small bequest supports the unfortunate conclusion that the person *was* remembered by the testator.

[97] Houlbrooke, 136. The custom of making the executor also the residual legatee was widespread, and this was "clearly regarded by many testator as a mark of favour as well as trust." Moreover, "married men relied first and foremost on their wives," and the wife was appointed the executrix 63% to 96% of the time, depending on the jurisdiction.

[98] Greer, Germaine. 315. Greer quotes from Sir Thomas Smith's *The Commonwealth of England and the Maner of Government thereof*.

[99] Emmison, 1978. 215, 206, 210,

[100] Stone, Lawrence. *Family, Sex and Marriage in England 1500-1800*. New York: Harper & Row, 1979. 219. Stone documents that the expectation of a "companionate marriage" was more than a century away.

[101] Tannenbaum, 80-81. In his discussion of the appearance of the Stratford Will, Tannenbaum refers to it as a "slovenly looking document made to do duty for the final will."

[102] Cox, Jane. *Shakespeare in the Public Records. "Shakespeare's Will and Signatures."* London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1985. 24-35. Cox, the long-time custodian of the documents in the Public Records Office where the will is now kept, has put forth the opinion that this is the Register copy, not the original will. This postulate has

carried little or no currency over the years. For one thing, if it were a copy, it seems that a copyist could have done a better job. Indeed, an example of an immaculate register copy can be found on page 360 in Arkell's book in the will of Jone Stanley. The entire will and the signatures of the witnesses are in the hand of the copyist, but the testator's signature is omitted. This seems to have been the standard practice. Breaking with this convention, Ms. Cox suggests that the signatures have been forged. If this were the case, three of the Bard's "six sacred signatures" would vanish, and this presents another downside to her theory.

103 Rogers, 13. This is considered to be a characteristic of Francis Collins, in whose office it is also thought the will was composed.

104 Ogburn, 36-37. Ogburn points out that this takes a toll on the "illness" theory. "Are we to believe that the solicitor, being unaccustomed to having Mr. Shakspere sign papers, prepares the will for his seal, then, upon discovering him to be too ill to control his hand, elects to have him sign the three pages of the will after all? Or that Mr. Shakpere himself decides to reverse his practice now that signing has become almost impossible?"

105 Chambers, II, 175.

106 Chambers, II, 175.

107 Tannenbaum, Samuel. 95-96. Tannenbaum notes the increased number of lines per inches as well as the number of words per line, indicating clearly that "the scrivener knew he had to get a good deal more on the page than would go there if he wrote in his usual manner."

108 Scheombaum, 246.

109 Rogers, 16-19.

110 Schoenbaum, 246.

111 Rogers, 18.

112 Rogers, 18.

113 Honigmann, 200. Two inks appear in the will of Sir John Astley, and the darker ink is considered to have been the one used at the later time.

114 Tannenbaum, 69, 103.

115 Tannenbaum, It is thought that the 4 witnesses names are in the same hand and were therefore copied by the scrivener, though even if this is it case, it would not impair the validity of their testimony.

116 Houlbrooke, 89. Accordingly, "an alteration in the provisions of an existing will created a new one, though additions could be made to a will by means of a codicil, so long as it was not contrary to anything in the will."

117 After Probate in June of 1616, recorded in Latin at the bottom right of page three, nothing further could be added.

118 Honigmann, E.A.J., "Shakespeare Will and the Testamentary Tradition" in *Shakespeare and Cultural Traditions: Selected Proceedings of the International Shakespeare Association World Congress, Tokyo, 1991*, ed. Tetsuo Kishi, Roger Pringle, and Stanley Wells (Newark: University of Delaware, 1994). 131. Honigmann notes that this is "a more heavily revised will than any I have seen."

119 Swineburne, Henry. *A Treatise of Testaments and Last Wills, Part VII*. London: John Windet, 1590, 520.

A Sparrow Falls: Olivier's Feminine Hamlet

Sky Gilbert

In 1921, Clemence Dane's *Will Shakespeare* opened in London. Largely forgotten now, Dane's play portrayed a Shakespeare who kills Christopher Marlowe in a fit of jealous rage because both are enamored of a young actress who enjoys dressing as a boy. The reviewer in *The Times Literary Supplement* was both appalled and unforgiving: "we do not believe, and do not wish to believe, that Shakespeare was like that." [1] Present day Stratfordians who vehemently oppose Oxford as a possible candidate for the "real" Shakespeare, rarely speak with such candor. However, Alan Nelson in his recent biography of Edward de Vere, *Monstrous Adversary*, frankly admits he intends to destroy Oxford's reputation in order to challenge the likelihood that Oxford could have written Shakespeare's plays: "Oxford has also been touted, for the last eighty years, as the author of the poems and plays of William Shakespeare. It has become a matter of urgency to measure the real Oxford against the myth." [2]

Particularly interesting is Nelson's focus on what he obviously perceives as one of Oxford's most significant character flaws: his alleged propensity for buggery. One of the chapters in *Monstrous Adversary* is titled "Sodomite," and in his introduction Nelson finds fault with one of the earliest and most prominent Oxfordians, Bernard M. Ward. Nelson suggests that in Ward's biography of Oxford "solid information is thus suppressed in the interest of good form, and also, in Ward's case, to protect Oxford's reputation." [3] What "solid information"? Nelson suggests Oxford's enemies accused him of being a sodomite but "where anyone who casts half an eye over the libel manuscripts in the PRO [Public Record Office] will encounter the words 'sodomy' and 'buggery,' Ward retreats into circumlocution."[4] The accusation of sexual non-conformity has often been laid to Oxford's charge. To A.L. Rowse in the Frontline *Shakespeare Mystery*, it is self-evident that Oxford was a "roaring homo" — Shakespeare, correspondingly, was "abnormally heterosexual." The Nelson-Rowse approach makes two questionable assumptions — first, that a great artist must necessarily be a "good" person, and second, that homosexuality is a flaw unlikely to be found in a man whom many consider to be the greatest poet of all time. Whatever Oxford's sexuality, he was clearly not a homosexual by modern terms. We do know

that he was married to two women by whom he had five children, and a mistress by whom he had another child. Moreover, none of the charges of buggery made against him by Howard and Arundel, themselves accused by Oxford of high treason, resulted in prosecution by the Queen's government. That Oxford may well have been bisexual, on the other hand, seems plausible on several counts, including internal evidence from the plays.

The issue of exactly how "flawed" the personality of a great artist may conceivably be is too complex to deal with here. But the assumption of homosexuality as a personality flaw is reflected in the 20th century critical interpretation of *Hamlet*, and in 20th century films and theatrical productions of the play. Nelson's character assassination of the Earl of Oxford is a typical manifestation of the difficulty that western culture has had, historically, with accepting male effeminacy and its perceived link with same-sex desire. This struggle is reflected in recent productions of Shakespeare's work as well as in the plays themselves. The contrast between Laurence Olivier's iconic 1948 film of *Hamlet* and Franco Zeffirelli's 1990 version starring Mel Gibson provides a penetrating lens to examine Shakespeare's work in relationship to same sex-desire.

Queer theory has rejected the notion that the homosexual character type as we know it today had much to do with same-sex desire during early modern England. Few would deny that same-sex desire existed at the time, but sodomy – the word that was most often associated with it during the Renaissance – had an enormous number of associations:

> Sodomy is, as a sexual act, anything that threatens alliance – any sexual act, that is, that does not promote the aim of married procreative sex (anal intercourse, fellatio, masturbation, bestiality – any of these may fall under the label of sodomy in various early legal codifications and learned discourses) [. . .]. These acts – or accusations of their performance – emerge into visibility only when those who are said to have done them also can be called traitors, heretics, or the like, at the very least, disturbers of the social order that alliance – marriage arrangements – maintained. [5]

In other words, the definition of sodomy in the early modern period was fluid, and though that definition was associated with what we would now call "gay" sexual acts, it was not necessarily limited to them. It is interesting that Nelson in his "Sodomite" chapter also mentions an accusation of bestiality hurled against Oxford when he glancingly mentions that "evidence for Oxford's bestiality is entirely hearsay...." [6] Of course, the fact that Nelson deems it hearsay does not stop him from prominently mentioning it. But here Nelson finds himself implicated in the early modern tradition of associating sodomy with all things base, radical and threatening to traditional marriage.

A few pages after discussing Oxford's possible sodomitical and bestial practices, Nelson (in a chapter titled "A Passing Singular Odd Man") quotes Harvey's characterization of Oxford as effeminate: "No wordes but valorous, no workes but

woomanish onely. For life Magnificoes, not a beck but glorious in shew, In deede most friuolous not a looke but Tuscanish always.'" [7] Was effeminacy associated with same-sex desire during the Renaissance? Foucault theorized that the creation of the modern notion of the homosexual occurred sometime after the trials of Oscar Wilde; that it was not until 1900 that effeminacy became firmly associated with sodomy and created an understanding of what we now perceive as the modern homosexual character. But recently David Halperin has contradicted this queer theory orthodoxy, suggesting that effeminacy (along with pederasty, male friendship and passivity) have long been considered aspects of same-sex desire. Halperin posits that though the modern concept of the homosexual character is relatively new, some characteristics and behaviors associated with it today (i.e., effeminacy) may have also been associated with same-sex desire in the past: "the definitional incoherence at the core of the modern notion of homosexuality is a sign of its historical evolution: it results from the way homosexuality has effectively incorporated without homogenizing earlier models of same sex sexual relations and sex and gender deviance, models directly in conflict with the category of homosexuality that has nonetheless absorbed them." [8]

In other words, today we comfortably accept the stereotype of effeminate "designer guys" on television as typical homosexuals, whereas in the Renaissance – although effeminate men were not necessarily a homosexual type — effeminacy (along with male passivity, pederasty and male friendship) was associated with same-sex desire. For instance, in 1513 Spanish explorer Balboa fed 40 North American aboriginal men to his dogs. He apparently suspected them of sodomitical practices because they were effeminate, i.e., "bedecked in women's apparell." [9] In his book on boy actors, Robertson Davies quotes William Prynne, a post-Jacobean anti-theatricalist, who (writing in 1632) elaborates on the Renaissance association made between boys who dressed as women to perform the female roles in Shakespeare's plays, and sodomy: "Lastly, this putting on of woman's array especially to act a lascivious, amorous, whorish, Love-sicke Play upon the Stage…but likewise instigates them to selfe-pollution, (a sinne for which Onan was destroyed): and to that unnatural Sondomitacall sinne of uncleannesse." [10] Linda Dowling traces the history of what she calls "the effeminatus," i.e., the feminine male figure in her book *Hellenism and Homosexuality in Victorian Oxford*. She suggests that western culture has been haunted by the fear of the effeminatus, who has always been associated with the failure of heterosexuality: "the issue of sterility[…]had always been central to the issue of effeminacy and the effeminatus." [11]

Utilizing the association of effeminacy and sodomy to denigrate a man's character is thus nothing new; and Nelson's focus on these so-called flaws in Oxford is consistent with the early modern notion of male weakness. But even if an effeminate sodomite had written Shakespeare's plays, what does that have to do with the work itself? If Oxford (or the man from Stratford) were effeminate sodomites, does that mean that they might have written about these subjects? Speculations about a dead author's intentions result in nothing more than that: speculation. But a close reading of the text of *Hamlet*, and also an examination of the text in

performance, reveals that, although Nelson's accusations against Oxford may simply be an attempt at character assassination, issues of effeminacy and sexuality are and always have been central to our perception of one of Shakespeare's most famous plays. Critics rarely raise the issue of Hamlet's sexuality, but they often discuss his effeminacy, sometimes openly, and sometimes in the context of his inaction. I would suggest that Hamlet is effeminate – by both early modern and contemporary standards – and that the transhistorical link between homosexuality and effeminacy makes any discussion of Hamlet's feminine characteristics necessarily a discussion of his sexuality.

Hamlet's character "flaws" are relevant to the authorship question because Oxfordians have suggested that there are striking similarities between incidents in Oxford's life and the incidents in *Hamlet*. Stratfordians, on the other hand, often seem uncomfortable drawing comparisons between the man from Stratford and Hamlet's fictional life. Many Stratfordians would argue that Shakespeare's greatness transcends the trivial notion of autobiographical fiction, or quite simply that attempts to trace any author's life through his or her works is futile. But others see *Hamlet* as a play that can be contextualized biographically, for instance one written with reference to the son of the man from Stratford (Hamnet). Harold Bloom, for instance, suggests that Shakespeare may have been writing about his son:

> Moralists don't want to acknowledge that Falstaff, more than Prospero, catches something crucial in Shakespeare's spirit, but if I had to guess at Shakespeare's self-representation, I would find it in Falstaff. Hamlet, though, is Shakespeare's ideal son, as Hal is Falstaff's. My assertion here is not my own; it belongs to James Joyce who first identified Hamlet the Dane with Shakespeare's son, Hamnet who died at the age of eleven in 1596. [12]

Significantly, Bloom offers no justification for his notion that Shakespeare was writing about his son through the character of Hamlet. Perhaps this is because the tendency to think of Hamlet as a boy has a foundation in the text itself. The gravedigger refers to Hamlet as being thirty years old, saying that he became a sexton on "that very day that young Hamlet was born" [13] and has been sexton "man and boy, thirty years." [14] This statement of Hamlet's age seems to contradict what is evident – that Hamlet is still a student at the beginning of the play, as Claudius speaks of his intention "in going back to school in Wittenberg." [15] Elizabethan university students often graduated at the precocious age of seventeen, so scholars sometimes joke that Shakespeare made a mistake in the play (intentionally or not) by aging Hamlet thirteen years over the course of a theatrical action which seems to take considerably less time than that. But it seems clear that whether or not Shakespeare made a mistake about representing Hamlet's age, the play presents us with a character who is essentially more boy than man. The fact that Hamlet has the same name as his father requires that he be sometimes referred to in the play as "young" Hamlet. But, more than that, Hamlet's primary obsession is a child's obsession, not an adult's: his relationship with his parents. The plot of the play is focused upon Hamlet's anxieties

about his mother, his father, and his stepfather, and thus, no matter what Hamlet's actual age might be, perpetually a son.

Hamlet criticizes himself for being more womanly than manly, and is clearly not secure in his identity as an adult male. Indeed there are many moments in the play where Hamlet points to his own effeminacy, characterizing himself as more like a boy or a woman than a man. One of the essential distinctions made between men and boys in Shakespeare's day was facial hair, and when Hamlet discourses on his own cowardice in his second soliloquy, he imagines himself beardless: "Am I a coward? Who calls me a villain? Breaks my pate across? Plucks off my beard and blows it in my face?" [16] A few lines later, Hamlet criticizes himself for his lack of action and obsession with talk by comparing himself to a female prostitute: "Must I like a whore unpack my heart with words/ And fall a-cursing like a very drab, a stallion!" [17] Shakespeare could not be clearer that Hamlet is emasculated by his own lack of action. Near the end of the play, Hamlet again compares his misgivings about the upcoming duel with Laertes as womanish: "It is but foolery, but it is such a kind of gainsgiving as would perhaps trouble a woman." [18]

Hamlet's effeminacy is most clearly evident in contrast to Laertes, who, though he is also young and concerned with issues of being a son to a dead father, acts and speaks like an adult, masculine male. In the final scene of act four, when Laertes learns of his sister's death, he allows himself to cry, but only briefly, acknowledging that to be ruled by grief, and its subsequent inaction, is womanish:

> Too much of water hast thou, poor Ophelia,
> and therefore I forbid my tears. But yet
> It is our trick — nature her custom holds,
> Let shame say what it will. [Weeps.]
> When these are gone
> The woman will be out. [19]

Laertes must apologize for his tears, which he cannot help but shed over his sister, but after shedding them, he must quickly leave that 'womanish' part of him behind, and move ahead to action, avenging her death. Laertes is the opposite of Hamlet in this respect; the prince spends the entire play ruminating on what course of action to take, consumed with grief for his father, and anger at his father and stepmother.

The Elizabethan theory of humors is relevant here: Temperaments were thought to be fourfold (sanguine, phlegmatic, choleric, and melancholic), and were associated with various degrees of wetness and heat. For Elizabethans the danger was that the individual might not maintain an balance among all four humors, but instead be consumed by an unhealthy disequilibrium. By shedding tears and moving on, Laertes is showing a healthy masculine reaction to his sister's death, because he does not linger in the moist, cold phlegmatic zone of misery (where, like Ophelia, he might drown). Hamlet, on the other hand, does not experience the healthy purging

of emotion and its resultant call to action; instead he dwells in an unhealthy area that many critics have associated with the humor of melancholia – coldness and dryness.

Hamlet is cold and dry because he lives excessively in his mind. As Marvin Hunt points out, melancholia was an illness Elizabethans associated with students and intellectuals: "Students, Democritus notes, are especially vulnerable because their lives are characteristically sedentary and devoted to study[....]They dote also because they are excessively contemplative, which 'dries the brain and extinguisheth natural heat.'" [20] Hunt's history of *Hamlet* criticism, *Looking for Hamlet,* makes it clear that approaches to the play changed significantly during the early 20th century. At that time the focus shifted from Coleridge's 19th century vision of a man of inaction, lost in thought, to A.C. Bradley's more modern early 20th century vision of a man incapacitated by mental illness.

From the outset, critics and adaptors of *Hamlet* over the centuries have hotly debated Hamlet's preference for thinking and worrying over acting to avenge his father's death. Some are uncomfortable with this important aspect of Hamlet's character. In Restoration productions of the play, Hunt tells us, "aspects of Hamlet's character that register indecision, obsessive thought and melancholy were cut[....] Betterton's Hamlet is no 'dull and muddy-mettled rascal'; he does not accuse himself of being a coward, of being 'pigeon-livered' and lacking gall[....]but much else that indicated Hamlet's 'sensitivity and intellectuality' was removed." [21] Hamlet's inability to find a balance between action and thought (which is at the very center of his effeminacy) was thus less accentuated in 17th century productions of the play.

As Hunt observes, it took Samuel Taylor Coleridge (more than a hundred years later) to forge a penetrating analysis of *Hamlet* that foregrounded Hamlet's deeply indecisive nature, suggesting it was dramaturgically and thematically significant. Coleridge's interpretation of Hamlet's "madness" acknowledges that, although Hamlet may be putting on an "antic disposition" to fool his stepfather, he is also, through his obsession with the workings of his own mind, commenting on the relationship between language and truth. Hunt suggests that Coleridge views Hamlet's madness as a representation of a profound imbalance, not only between thought and action, but between reality and fantasy:

> By considering the relationship between thought and action, Coleridge introduces a reading of *Hamlet* that underlies virtually all modern (and postmodern) positions on the play, one that hinges upon a belief that reality is a matter of perception, of thought; nothing is either good or bad, as Hamlet says, but thinking makes it so.[22]

Hunt suggests that A.C. Bradley (writing about Hamlet a little more than a hundred years after Coleridge in 1904) brings us the first psychoanalytical analysis of Hamlet which, paradoxically, challenges Coleridge's characterization of Hamlet as a man of inaction, and suggests that instead he is the victim of an illness: "Bradley concurs with what he calls the modern 'pathologist' who 'emphasizes that Hamlet's melancholy is no mere common depression of spirits,' but rather a form of 'mental

disease.'" [23] Finally, Hunt suggests that Bradley's interpretation opened the door to the perception of Hamlet as being mentally ill in the modern sense, although Bradley himself doesn't see Hamlet as melancholic or insane, but, rather, pathologically depressed (admittedly a fine distinction).

T. S. Eliot's analysis of *Hamlet* followed Bradley's. It is significant not only because he introduces the idea of the objective correlative, or even because he famously labels the play an artistic failure. It is also significant because Eliot (though he seems on the surface to reject the notion of psychoanalyzing Hamlet) exemplifies the 20th century insecurity about Hamlet's sexuality: "*Hamlet*, like the sonnets, is full of some stuff that the writer could not drag into light, contemplate or manipulate into art." [24] Of course what has perplexed critics about the sonnets for centuries is the fact that so many are unapologetically addressed to a young man. Eliot also says that "intense feeling, ecstatic or terrible, without an object or exceeding its object, is something which every person of sensibility has known; it is doubtless a study for pathologists"[25] – suggesting that Hamlet's excessive love for his mother is an Oedipal problem requiring psychiatric intervention. Significantly, Eliot characterizes Hamlet as a not fully mature male: "It often occurs in adolescence: the ordinary person puts these feelings to sleep, or trims down his feelings to fit the business world." [26] At the end of his essay, Eliot suggests mysteriously that in *Hamlet* "Shakespeare tackled a problem that was too much for him. Why he attempted it at all is an insoluble puzzle; under compulsion of what experience he attempted to express the inexpressibly horrible we cannot ever know." [27] Eliot seems to be suggesting that Hamlet's childish attachment to his mother, and his over-emotionalism, as well as perhaps his homosexuality ("stuff that the writer could not drag into light") makes the character unsuitable as a subject of tragedy.

Eliot's essay is important because it exemplifies the dead end that is the unavoidable consequence of the 20th century obsession with psychoanalyzing Hamlet. Eliot believes that to pathologize Hamlet is to erase his profundity as a character, but that Shakespeare's play makes that kind of pathologizing inevitable. Hamlet is not man enough to be profound; he is an adolescent, swamped with feeling and concealing secrets that are more suited to a psychiatrist's couch than a tragedy. Is it possible to take such a misshapen personality – underdeveloped, womanish, and adolescent – seriously? Laurence Olivier and Franco Zeffirelli may or may not have read Eliot's essay, but their films present distinctly polarized responses to Eliot's thesis. The 20th century saw the birth of the concept of the effeminate homosexual type (and the consequent pathologization of homosexuality), so directors of *Hamlet* necessarily must decide whether or not to interpret Hamlet as feminine; for an effeminate Hamlet may be a homosexual Hamlet, or at the very least one who is neurotic but not profound. Olivier's 1948 film offers an unapologetically feminine version of the character, a person who is more boy than man, challenging Eliot's notion that a deeply tortured, adolescent Hamlet is not the proper subject for tragedy. In contrast, Zeffirelli's 1990 film, starring Mel Gibson, attempts to redeem the character by portraying Hamlet as a masculine man of action.

Significantly, Olivier's film begins with quotations summarizing Hamlet's problem that might very well have been taken from Coleridge's analysis of the play. *Hamlet* is "a tragedy of a man who would not make up his mind." [28] Olivier must have been aware of a female character who would have been well known to British and American audiences in 1948, when his film was made – Liza in *Lady in the Dark* (the famous Weill/Gershwin musical). *Lady in the Dark* opened in 1941 in New York City and starred one of Olivier's friends, Gertrude Lawrence. In the hit show, Lawrence portrayed a woman whose difficulty making up her mind was so central to the plot that at the climactic moment of the play the chorus sang to her: "Anyone with vision/ Comes to this decision:/ Don't make up your mind!"[29] Liza was a neurotic woman who, like Hamlet, could not make important decisions in her life, and the play was centered around her visit to a psychiatrist's office.

Olivier's portrayal of Hamlet is (on the surface at least) distinctly boyish and feminine. Olivier was forty-one when he played the role, far older than the fictional character. His Hamlet sports striking blonde hair styled in a Little Lord Fauntleroy cut, frilly necklines and tights. The camera first catches him sitting in a chair with his leg out and his hand resting limply on the armrest. The outward appearance of Olivier's Hamlet is strikingly unmanly, in part simply because it is odd to see a man Olivier's age dressed in such a fashion. His actions suit his attire: This Hamlet cries when his father tells him that he was murdered by Claudius, and faints after The Ghost exits. His tone with Ophelia is predominantly gentle, and he delivers the "to be or not to be" soliloquy reclining on a rock. He spends much of his time sitting and contemplating as the voiceovers of soliloquies run through his head.

Mel Gibson's Hamlet makes a very different impression. Unlike Olivier, Gibson is much closer in age to any one of Hamlet's possible ages (Gibson was thirty-four when he made the film) and he sports a full head of dark hair and manly beard. Though the Zeffirelli film contains no opening phrase to encapsulate it, accompanying the film on DVD is an interview with Gibson in which he says of Hamlet, "he may have been brooding and introspective but he was also an athlete." [30] This quote summarizes the almost crusading nature of Gibson's anti-wimp approach to the character. Unlike Olivier, Gibson never wears tights, though he does sport tight leather leggings. Early on Zeffirelli and Gibson take advantage of several opportunities to establish the character's masculinity. For instance, after the Ghost exits, as Hamlet speaks of writing it all down ("My tables! meet it is I set it down)," [31] Gibson jumps about and waves his sword in vengeful fashion, in stark contrast to the text's suggestion of Hamlet's thoughtfulness. Gibson even manages to make Hamlet's famous entrance a moment of fierce activity: he rips pages out of his book while supposedly reading, and throws them on the floor. This makes it questionable whether this Hamlet is, indeed, much of a reader at all.

But the difference between the two Hamlets is most starkly evident through their relationships with others. For instance, Olivier excises Rosencrantz and Guildenstern from the film. This is possibly because the two young men are characterized by Claudius as "being of so young days brought up with him." [32] The aging Olivier may well have looked incongruous chumming about with two post-

adolescent boys in his frilly neckwear and tights. Zeffirelli and Gibson, on the other hand, give special pride of place to Rosencrantz and Guildenstern, emphasizing the manly bonding that Gibson's character has with his boyhood chums. In the second scene of Act Two (when Hamlet first meets the two in the play) they are outdoors, and Hamlet savagely devours a piece of meat. Zeffirelli frames the scene as a visit – by a bunch of young rascals – to an adventure hut they often frequented as boys.

In contrast, although the character of Osric is a very important in Olivier's *Hamlet*, his role in the Gibson/Zeffirelli version is circumscribed. Described as a "waterfly"[33] by Hamlet during his meeting with the character late in the play, Osric is an obvious flatterer in both movies (and in the text). Olivier goes one step further and turns him into a classic homosexual character type in the Oscar Wilde tradition – not merely unctuous but absurdly effeminate. This characterization serves to distance Olivier from homosexuality. Whether this was a conscious motive on Olivier's part, one cannot say. At any rate, Olivier's thoughtful, blonde, beardless Hamlet seems more substantial in contrast to the girlish Osric, substantial in a way he might not have appeared in contrast to Rosencrantz and Guildenstern.

Another boyhood friend of Hamlet's, Horatio, is also downplayed in the Zeffirelli/Gibson version. His final discussion with Horatio before the duel with Laertes is significantly cut. For instance, the line, "there is special providence in the fall of a sparrow"[34] is removed, moving the emphasis in the speech from Hamlet's acceptance of fate to a more fighting-ready line, "the readiness is all"[35] (Zeffirelli also cuts the key line in this scene where Hamlet expresses his fears that would "trouble a woman.") In contrast, Olivier frames this scene on a beautiful stairwell with the two passing open windows, and the lines about fate, and Hamlet's feminine fears are included.

But for anyone wishing to compare different directorial approaches to the play is the closet scene between Hamlet and his mother. The films approach it very differently. In both movies Hamlet climbs into bed with his mother – but this often happens in productions of the play, partially because it takes place in Gertrude's bedroom and partially because there is some suggestion of an inappropriate or even incestuous love/hate relationship between mother and son. But, though both Hamlets end up in bed with Gertrude, the scenes have different implications. Gibson jumps into bed with his mother violently, in a way that, if it suggests anything sexual it all, it would be rape. Certainly the action is violent enough to justify Gertrude's urgent questions – "What wilt thou do? Thou wilt not murder me."[37] In contrast, the approach that Olivier makes to his mother is sexual – a case of arrested sexual development, or at least of extremely inappropriate intimacy. In both films, Hamlet kisses his mother on the lips; however, Olivier's Hamlet, who is usually indecisive and inactive, initiates the kiss, whereas Gibson is clearly kissed *by* his mother *against* his will. Olivier's obsession with his mother in this scene offers a practical solution to the dramaturgical problem of the dead body of Polonius lying behind the arras. Both mother and son ignore it because their relationship with each other is so overpowering that even a dead body in the same room cannot compete.

The difference between these interpretations exemplifies the fundamental difference between the movies and their approaches to the play's theme. Olivier's Hamlet kisses his mother passionately, obeying an impulse that he himself clearly doesn't understand. By the end of the scene he has his head in her lap and is clearly relishing the attention from her, almost as if he has finally wrenched her away from Claudius and gotten her all to himself. Gibson's Hamlet, by contrast, is passionately kissed by his mother; he is clearly horrified, and attempts to move away from her.

Olivier's Hamlet is not so much a stranger in a hostile world but is trapped in a universe of his own creation, one that horrifies him, and from which he can't escape. He is truly mad; the tortuous universe that he lives in is the product of his own intense and overwrought thinking. He is not only a man who cannot *make up* his mind, but one who *lives in* his mind, not necessarily *on* this earth. As Hamlet says (in a phrase which though justly famous, is only to be found in the Folio) "nothing is good or bad but that thinking makes it so."[37] Gibson, on the other hand, takes Marcellus' "Something is rotten in the state of Denmark"[38] quite literally – his Hamlet is no modern anti-hero who has created a nightmare life from his own fevered imagination. Instead he is a noble, reasonable man struggling in an evil, disordered world.

Gibson's Hamlet is certainly a thoughtful man as well as one of action. The difference is that his obviously uncompromising analytical brain is weighing evidence throughout the play, trying to figure out if in fact the Ghost has been telling him the truth. He clearly would act if he had enough evidence. He is a reasonable man (much like modern day reasonable men) who will not believe a ghost (no matter how real it seems) until he is sure that the ghost's claims are actually true. These moments of evidence gathering and thought are quite clear in Act Three, as Hamlet watches Claudius watching the play, and later decides not to kill Claudius when he is praying. Olivier, on the other hand, is a melancholic in the original Renaissance sense, a man who thinks too much about things in general. Olivier's film offers us a series of moments in which we are offered the opportunity to watch Hamlet thinking through and experiencing various epiphanies of emotional and intellectual agony. One of them is when Hamlet calls Claudius "mother" in Act Four. Claudius asks Hamlet to explain his remark and Hamlet says, "My mother. Father and mother is man and wife. Man and wife is one flesh. So – my mother." [39]

This is one of the many moments (another is when Hamlet is musing over Yorick's skull) when Olivier's Hamlet endures a painful transformation before our eyes. He is imagining his stepfather and mother having sex when he speaks to Claudius of being "one flesh" with his mother; and he is horrified, disgusted, disappointed and frightened – by their bodies, and by the human body in general. Similarly, he is deeply moved by the notion of how close we all are to death when he speaks about Yorick. Indeed Hamlet's realizations almost all concern the body, its immediacy and primacy, in contrast to the human brain that is, paradoxically, part of the body, and yet is the only organ through which we may think about the physical world. Olivier's Hamlet reaches the point where he releases himself to fate, and brings us the achingly beautiful attack on Claudius. He flings himself across the

room from the stairs, and flies, literally – like a bird or an avenging angel – finally giving himself up to his inexorable fate. In other words, even Olivier's final "act" is not so much an act, as a relinquishing of his will to live, as it is a fall from a great height (literally) and a graceful, eloquent, melancholic release. In contrast, Gibson, in typical heroic fashion, clearly relishes his battle with Laertes and his opportunity to kill Claudius. His final calm is that of a man who has "done the right thing" and has acted decisively, as a masculine man always should.

Olivier is, of course, a much better actor than Gibson, but this is a moot point. Zeffirelli has craftily created a film that Olivier would not have been comfortable in, but that Gibson is very at home with as an actor, a typical patriarchal tale in which a young man learns how to grow up and ultimately revenge his father – a saga of masculinity learned, tested and finally triumphing. Olivier also created for *Hamlet* the kind of acting opportunities that matched his talents, but these are opportunities that Shakespeare offers to any actor, male or female, who is willing to faithfully play the character he created.

Shakespeare's Hamlet is more than simply indecisive. He is a person who confronts the very tenuous, complex and ultimately incomprehensible relationship between the mind and the body. But when Fortinbras kisses Hamlet's brow at the end of Olivier's film, he leaves us with the idea that Hamlet's femininity – his sensitivity, his thoughtfulness, his susceptibleness to feeling, and his hesitation to act – represents the epitome of humanity, in fact the most human way to be. Olivier invites us, through Fortinbras' kiss, to love even this freakish, blonde, limp-wristed, melancholic, overgrown boy. He bravely suggests that this Hamlet is the best that we can be – not a strong king, but a "sweet prince" and a fallen sparrow. Why? Because Hamlet's center was his and our noblest, and most human, part – his mental and spiritual being.

If, as I am suggesting, Olivier's conception of Hamlet is closer to the playwright's original conception, does it bring us any closer to discovering the identity of the "real" Shakespeare? Perhaps not. But we can learn one thing: Shakespeare was a man who, through what is arguably his greatest character, dared to valorize the feminine, and portrayed it as the best in us all.

Endnotes

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[13] *Hamlet. The Arden Shakespeare*. Third Series. London: Cengage Learning, 2006, 5.1.139.
[14] *Hamlet*, 5.1.153.
[15] *Hamlet*, 1.2.113.
[16] *Hamlet*, 2.3.506-508.
[17] *Hamlet*, 2.3.520-522. It is interesting to note that "stallion" is defined in the Arden edition as a male prostitute.
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[19] *Hamlet*, 4.7.183-1867.
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[26] Eliot, *Sacred,* 94.
[27] Eliot, *Sacred,* 94.
[28] *Hamlet*. Dir. Laurence Olivier. Perf. Laurence Olivier, Basil Sydney, Eileen Herlie, Stanley Holloway, Jean Simmons. Criterion, 1948. DVD.
[29] Hart, Moss and Ira Gershwin. *Lady in the Dark*. New York: Random House, 1941, 134. Kurt Weill composed the music for the show.
[30] Mel Gibson. Interview. *Hamlet*. Dir. Franco Zeffirelli. Perf. Glenn Close, Alan Bates, Paul Scofield. Universal, 1990. Video.
[31] *Hamlet*, 1.5.107.
[32] *Hamlet*, 2.2.11.
[33] *Hamlet*. 5.2.69.
[34] *Hamlet*, 5.2.197-198.
[35] *Hamlet*, 5.2.200.
[36] *Hamlet*, 3.4.20.
[37] *Hamlet*, Appendix, 466.
[38] *Hamlet*, 1.4.90.
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How Shakespeare Got His *Tempest*: Another "Just So" Story

Roger Stritmatter and Lynne Kositsky

Abstract

The one-hundred-year tradition identifying William Strachey's *True Reportory* (*TR*)* as a paramount *Tempest* source and influence is rooted in a history of critical error and omission and contradicted by a host of stubborn facts about *TR's* genesis and textuality. Alden Vaughan's recent critique of our *Review of English Studies* article perpetuates this tradition of error, failing to provide a substantive critique of the theory that *TR*, as subsequently published in 1625, was not completed until at least 1612, far too late for it to have been a *Tempest* source. The recent discovery in Bermuda of an early draft of the Strachey manuscript, lacking in plausible ties to *The Tempest*, compounds the crisis of the orthodox paradigm by supplying a textual exemplar confirming our argument: That if any version of Strachey's text returned on the July 1610 Gates' voyage, it would have been a much abbreviated draft lacking the literary and rhetorical flourishes of the published document. Neither Vaughan nor the sources on which he depends (Kathman, Cawley, etc.) have established evidence "from sign" of *TR's* influence on *Tempest*; a far more persuasive source of Shakespeare's New World imagery and ethos is Richard Eden's 1555 translation of Iberian travel narratives, *Decades of the Newe Worlde*.

* Abbreviations used in this article: *TR=True Reportory*; *TD=True Declaration of the Estate of the Colony in Virgini*a (S122265); *B*=Hume manuscript of early *TR* draft; Discovery=Jourdain's *Discovery of the Barmudas* (S109240); *PP=Purchas His Pilgrimes* (S111862); *H of T= History of Travail in Virginia*.

In a recent *Shakespeare Quarterly* article, "William Strachey's 'True Reportory' and Shakespeare: a Closer Look at the Evidence,"[1] Alden Vaughan critiques our 2007 *Review of English Studies* (*RES*) article,[2] which questioned the reliability of the longstanding claim that Strachey's manuscript, not published until 1625, was transmitted to England and accessible to Shakespeare in 1610. Regrettably, Vaughan's "Just So" story of how Shakespeare got his tale does not live up to the subtitle's promise. Instead of inviting a closer look at the evidence, Vaughan's case for the traditional identification of Strachey's manuscript[3] as a paramount *Tempest* source and inspiration tries to make a weak argument appear not merely persuasive, but inevitable; in the process it perpetuates longstanding but dubious assumptions, misconstrues factual evidence, attributes to us arguments we did not make, and promotes an inaccurate view of *Tempest* critical history. The efficacy of Vaughan's critique, moreover, depends substantially on the reader's acceptance of highly prejudicial language designed to compensate for the inadequacies of more rational discourse;[4] his version of the intellectual history of the case for Strachey's influence on *The Tempest,* as expressed in *SQ*, is effectively Manichean: there are heroes such as Edmund Malone[5] and Morton Luce, who advocate the "standard thesis," and there are "people determined to find a date earlier than 1604 for the *Tempest*'s composition,"[6] who are "in denial of the obvious."[7]

This characterization misrepresents the basis for doubting the "standard thesis," and constitutes an oversimplification of the history of the debate, substituting an *ad hominem,* which challenges our motives rather than responding to our arguments, for a reasoned defense of the traditional view. Before examining Vaughan's case in detail, let us therefore consider the logical relationship between theories of influence and theories of chronology, which is by no means as simple as Vaughan implies. Of course, if advocates of the "standard thesis" could conclusively prove Shakespeare's dependence on Strachey's text, it would require the play to have been written in or after fall, 1610, but *the reverse does not hold*. While the argument that Shakespeare did not depend on Strachey *opens the door to* theories of earlier composition, too closely connecting Strachey with theories of *Tempest* chronology only promotes confusion and misunderstanding. Sources can only establish a *terminus a quo* (a date "after which"), which is often much earlier than the actual composition date, never a *terminus ad quem* ("before which"). It is thus entirely possible – although not our own view – that Shakespeare did not make use of Strachey but wrote *Tempest* in 1608, 1609, or even 1611.

Vaughan's emphasis on chronology as the determining factor in doubts about Strachey's influence also misrepresents the history of skepticism. Contemporary skeptics of the Strachey theory include David Lindley[8] and Andrew Gurr,[9] neither of whom, to our knowledge, has ever advocated a Tempest composition date any earlier than 1608-9. Elze[10] – writing, it should be noted, fifty years before the

"Oxfordians" came on the scene – advocated a date as early as 1604, Hunter (1839),[11] on the other hand, was at least as concerned with geography as with chronology; as an early proponent of the view that Shakespeare's *Tempest* landscape was more Mediterranean than Atlantic, he not only found Malone's assertions connecting the play to Sylvester Jourdain's *Discovery of the Barmudas* and to *True Declaration*, as did many subsequent scholars, implausible, but also considered them a geographical red herring. Nor was Kenneth Muir engaging in chronological revisionism when he expressed the conviction – without ever wholly repudiating a link between *The Tempest* and the Gates shipwreck – that "the extent of the verbal echoes of [the Bermuda] pamphlets has been exaggerated."[12]

Moreover, such contemporary critics as Penny McCarthy have suggested earlier *Tempest* dates without even considering the Strachey question. McCarthy, who found evidence that *The Tempest* was staged as early as 1599, cogently identifies the Achilles heel of the orthodox chronological framework when she notes that "the whole edifice of what is here for short-hand called 'the consensus' [of the chronology of the plays] rests dangerously on the assumption that date of composition must be close to date of first performance/publication/ mention" but that "there is no reason why Shakespeare's plays should have been originally written close to the first [documentary] record of their existence."[13] McCarthy's argument exemplifies the well-understood principle, applicable to all the historical sciences, that surviving evidence for innovation (including the composition dates of plays) always constitutes a *terminus ad quem*, not an *a quo*. This results from the simple fact that evidence degrades over time;[14] where it is scarce or fragile (as are early modern theatrical records, for example), the earliest exemplars in a series are likely to degrade or be lost more readily than later ones.[15] A method that neglects this principle will typically produce a reconstruction that postdates to a greater or lesser extent the actual occurrence of a given innovation.

Most important, as we shall see, Vaughan's response presents as factual narrative scenarios that are wholly without evidentiary basis. His notion of *Tempest* critical history, for instance, is flawed by confusion even over the definition of such basic terms as the "standard thesis" he is defending. On one hand, he explicitly defines this as "the assumption" that has "long persisted" that "somehow Shakespeare read Strachey's manuscript (or a copy) and that [*Tempest*] reveals its influence."[16] Surprisingly, given this definition, he asserts that the two "principal authors"[17] of the thesis are Edmund Malone (1808) and Arden editor Morton Luce (1901). As any reader of our *RES* article is aware, however, this is incorrect. Although Malone did (as Vaughan subsequently qualifies) posit that the 1609 *Sea Venture* shipwreck, generally construed, was "the determining evidence for the *Tempest*'s date of origin,"[18] he was *not* an advocate of the standard thesis as defined by Vaughan. On the contrary, Malone argued primarily for the influence of another Bermuda pamphlet, Sylvester Jourdain's *Discovery of the Barmudas* (1610). A reader of Vaughan's essay will even be surprised to learn that although Malone in fact lists fourteen texts related to the Virginia exploration and Bermuda wreck as possible *Tempest* sources, Strachey's *True Reportory*, the existence of which he was apparently

entirely unaware, is not one of them.[19]

To notice that Vaughan not only begins his case by identifying Malone as an advocate of the "standard thesis," but concludes by unequivocally stating that "Malone and Luce were right,"[20] is to be made aware that Vaughan's entire argument hinges on a fundamental misconception. Although Malone and Luce shared the belief that the Gates/Somers wreck influenced Shakespeare in some way, they held quite different views of how the incident exercised this alleged influence; indeed, Luce is highly critical of Malone's errors and omissions, and would no doubt be surprised to find himself lumped in with Malone as one of the two founders of the modern "standard thesis."[21] Having begun by conflating the distinct positions of Malone and Luce, and then sidelining Furness, Elze, and Hunter as irrelevant to *Tempest* critical history, Vaughan, perhaps not surprisingly, omits the role of these later critics in shaping the "standard thesis"; instead he constructs a monolithic orthodoxy that never existed, ignoring the process by which the orthodox paradigm was transformed over decades of revision, during which one implausible theory – originally Malone's – was brought into doubt, silently rejected, and then replaced with an alternative, all with very little explicit acknowledgement of how the theory had evolved. By inaccurately elevating Malone and Luce as co-architects of a now indisputable "standard thesis," Vaughan perpetuates the forgetfulness on which the traditional view is predicated, and on which it depends to retain an aura of authority.

Unlike Malone, Luce *was* an advocate of the Strachey theory. Although he was apparently the first of several to attempt a detailed exposition of the supposed linguistic and thematic links between Strachey's document and *The Tempest*,[22] he appears to have obtained the idea of *TR*'s significance from W.H. Furness' Variorum.[23] A realistic critical history therefore cannot overlook the implications of Furness' vital role in the development of the "standard thesis," or conceal his relevance behind such nebulous adjectives as "ambivalent"; as we have already noted, Furness apparently turned to *TR* as a possible source only because Elze and Hunter had undermined Malone's chief nominee, Jourdain, as a plausible candidate for *Tempest* influence.[24]

Critical scrutiny of Luce's methods, moreover, reveals the frailty of any modern theory that relies on his authority. Luce deals with the influence of the Bermuda pamphlets in two places. His introduction cursorily identifies "three pamphlets" of the Bermuda adventure that "must have left a deep impression throughout England" by carrying "news of the storm" that had already "reached England before the end of 1609."[25] The three "pamphlets" are Sylvester Jourdain's *Discovery of the Barmudas*, which Luce dates 13 October, 1610; *True Declaration* (*TD*), dated "autumn of 1610"; and a third, untitled, "of earlier date" but "by William Strachey, who had lived in the 'Black friers,' wrote poetry, and very possibly had talk with Shakespeare."[26] Luce's claim that Strachey's text – which he inaccurately terms a "pamphlet" – is "of earlier date" than *Discovery* and *TD* is based on an unambiguous misconception. Unlike the two other dates given by Luce, the July 15, 1610, date for *TR* is not, as we discussed, a date of registration or publication;[27] on the contrary, it is a date *internal to the document*, subsequently copied by editor Purchas[28] and perpetuated over many decades of academic error as a reliable *terminus ad quem*. The

relevance of this distinction becomes apparent when we notice that Luce fails to mention the availability of a comparable internal date for *Discovery,* which breaks off its narrative on June 19, when Sir George Somers departed to fetch supplies from Bermuda. This date, *three-and-one-half weeks before TR*'s July 15 date, wholly invalidates Luce's argument that *TR* antedates *Discovery*.

This is an inauspicious beginning for an analysis now credited with establishing the "standard thesis" of Strachey's influence. In the first place, Luce applies a misleading and inconsistent bibliographical standard. The first two documents are named and dated. The third, only later identified as "Strachey's Letter or Reportory,"[29] is nameless but is said – incorrectly, as we have seen – to be earlier than the other two, and to be a "pamphlet." Close reading of Appendix 1 confirms that Luce's analysis of Strachey is badly flawed. Here Luce reprints bibliographical particulars of no fewer than eighteen possibly relevant Virginia or Bermuda publications, dated 1608-13.[30] All but one – the manuscript of Lord de La Warre's dispatch of 7 July, 1610[31] – are published documents, including, of course, *TR*. And all of them, *except for Strachey's document*, are accurately listed under their dates of publication (or registration). Only Strachey is listed using the July 15, 1610, internal date originating towards the end of the manuscript (reproduced in the 1625 editorial apparatus, and treated by modern scholars at least since Luce as the composition date). No other item is designated by a date other than its actual publication or registration date.[32]

But surely Luce, somewhere in his Arden edition, makes clear that Strachey's document was not published until 1625? Surprisingly – and suggestively –he does not. Luce does admit that "apart from Purchas, which of course is *too late for The Tempest*, I cannot trace any printing or publication of this letter."[33] The admission reveals the extent to which Luce struggled to resolve the apparent contradiction between the publication date of Strachey's manuscript and his desire to read it as Shakespeare's source. But a reader will search Luce's book in vain – through a dozen references to the name Purchas – for any mention of the pertinent but troubling fact that the text which Luce would make the foundation of his case for *Tempest* influence is not just "too late" – it was not published until *fourteen years after* the November 1, 1611, first recorded production of Shakespeare's play. Luce is consequently forced to conclude, without ever fully acknowledging the contradiction between the facts and his scenario, that Shakespeare must have read the document in manuscript.[34] And without embarking on the kind of elaborate narratives later devised by Gayley and Vaughan to explain Shakespeare's access to an unpublished manuscript, Luce lays the foundation for further "inquiry" not only by noting that "the original document is said to have been one of the manuscripts preserved by Hakluyt,"[35] but – most significantly – introducing Strachey as an associate of the Blackfriars theatre and undoubted confidante of the bard's.

The Concluding Excerpt from *TD:* Strachey, Hakluyt, or Purchas?

Purchas' *TR* concludes with an extended excerpt (Folios 1756-1758) from *True Declaration* (registered Nov. 8, 1610), introduced with a first person transition acknowledging that *TD* has already been published. *TR* editor Louis B. Wright's suggestion was that the first person pronoun in the transitional phrase, "I have here inserted this their publicke testimony," belongs to Purchas. We questioned whether the interpolation should be attributed to Purchas or to Strachey himself, and examined a number of problems associated with either option. Vaughan, on the other hand, is committed to a third possibility, by far the least likely, that Hakluyt, whose estate apparently transmitted the document to Purchas in 1616, is responsible for the *TD* addendum. To support the hypothesis of Hakluyt as the amender, Vaughan places great emphasis on two formal characteristics of Purchas' text. Neither, however, is as conclusive as he insists.

In the Table of Contents to *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, Purchas explains that narratives modified by Hakluyt are identified by an appended "H"; those modified by Purchas himself are identified with a "P"; those to which both men made significant contributions are labeled with both initials. To Vaughan, the fact that there is no editorial "P" attached to the apparatus for Strachey's narrative therefore constitutes unambiguous proof that Purchas cannot be the amender: for Purchas "to substantially alter a text he received from Hakluyt without adding a 'P' in the table of contents would have compromised his stated rules and denied a collaboration of which he would have been proud."[36]

Unfortunately, Vaughan's *presumption* of Purchas' editorial consistency[37] is contradicted by the demonstrable facts of Purchas' practice:[38] PP contains several clear examples of Purchas doing exactly what Vaughan insists he would not do. Neither H nor P, for example, is prefixed to Purchas' Table of Contents entry for Sir Arthur Gorges' *A Large Relation of the Said Island Voyage* title.[39] In a side note to the text, Purchas declares, "I have not added a word of mine but the title and marginal notes."[40] And yet, in his introductory sentence to the text, Purchas states: "and for the more plaine manifesting of the message, I have thought it not amisse, here *to insert the true Copie of the instructions verbatim* that our general sent by Master Robert Knolles into England …."[41]

Likewise, in his *The Historie of Lopez Vaza Portugall*, another section of *PP* with neither H or P appended, Purchas states in a side note: "Part of this discourse was published by M. Hak, out of a written copy containing the whole. I have *added and inserted those things which I thought fit*, leaving out such as before have been by others delivered."[42]

Vaughan also argues that Hakluyt is the responsible editor because the concluding *TD* extract is "printed in italics, so readers cannot miss [its] separate identity";[43] by "separate identity," he means that Strachey cannot be responsible for the quote. He will later go on to chastise scholars who, because they depend on modern editions, fail to "understand the signals included in early modern printing."[44] In this case, however, it would appear that Vaughan himself has not carefully

consulted the original, or, if he has, is ignoring the implications of the volume's actual typographical conventions. Italics in fact occur throughout *TR* to denote material that is being quoted, apparently by Strachey himself, from external sources; the italics of the concluding excerpt from *TD* therefore do not prove Vaughan's point that the amender cannot be Strachey, let alone that he must be Hakluyt.

Examination of Hakluyt's and Purchas' published works, on the other hand, reveals that the language of the transitional phrase – "I have here inserted" –directly controverts Vaughan's theory. Using word search functions, Lynne Kositsky and Tom Reedy[45] determined that Hakluyt very rarely uses the word "inserted" in his transitional introductions;[46] he strongly prefers the word "annexed." However, when appending parts of another work, Purchas frequently uses "inserted."[47]

Finally, Vaughan's confidence that Hakluyt is responsible for the emendations to Strachey's text, including the final *TD* excerpt, is called into question by existing Hakluyt scholarship, which unambiguously supports a contrary view. Hakluyt scholar George Bruner Parks, for example, comments extensively on the differences in style and temperament between the two editors:

> What Hakluyt did not [characteristically] do was to cut down the narrative itself. Purchas, his successor, did and was praised for it by our eighteenth century critic. The difference between the two men and their methods is radical. Purchas, using in large part Hakluyt's own collections, was to write a history of travel and so to satisfy the amateur reader....Wherever possible he used the work of others, weaving it into his own frame. But Hakluyt was not writing a history. He was compiling archives of history and was obliged to print his documents complete.[48]

And

> What [Purchas] added in his own way was unimportant; but what he later subtracted was disastrous. 'Tedious' was a favorite editorial word of Purchas; and, when a manuscript was 'tedious' he abridged it or even omitted it entirely.[49]

Having ignored these problems, including Parks' analysis of the sharp contrast in style between the two editors (which clearly supports the inference of Purchas, not Hakluyt, as the editor), Vaughan later goes so far as to claim that it is "obvious" that the *TD* extract was added by Hakluyt "in the fall of 1610."[50] But there is scant basis for claiming that this scenario is real, let alone asserting that it is "obvious"; even if Vaughan could establish, as he does not, that the excerpt was added by Hakluyt, it would not prove *when* Hakluyt received the document or when the alteration was made. Indeed, throughout his analysis "obvious" appears frequently, clearly meaning "without substantive evidence"; Vaughan's *a priori* scenario is not constructed from factual evidence, but instead serves the rhetorical function of conveniently *requiring* the manuscript to have been returned to London on the

summer 1610 crossing, in time for Shakespeare to consult it before the November 1, 1611, *Tempest* production.

Although Vaughan characterizes our method on this point as one of "peremptorily rejecting"[51] Wright's theory, ironically he engages in his own doubtfully credible critique of Wright's position. Here, for the first time, he insists on the manuscript's July 15, 1610, "date of completion"[52] as an established fact, but does not take up the issue of how the editor would have known this and does not supply an accurate description of the date's textual origin. Instead, following in the tradition set down by Luce for avoiding uncomfortable subjects, he perpetuates Luce's unexamined myth, ignoring the original context of the date's genesis from within the manuscript. In this original context, it is, however, clear that the date refers to an event *happening within the narrative and that therefore by definition it antedates the document's actual completion*.[53] By forcing readers to accept this date as a true date of completion, Strachey's original editor, followed by scholars such as Luce and Vaughan, has magically translated a date that in its original context was only a *terminus a quo* into a *terminus ad quem*.

In view of these manifold problems, one may safely conclude that Vaughan's theory that Hakluyt appended the concluding *TD* excerpt to *TR* is the least likely of the three possible explanations. The comparative linguistic and circumstantial evidence tends to support Wright's initial theory of Purchas as the amender, but there remains a case to be made for Strachey aa – contrary to Vaughan's implication – there are several other instances of particular authors appending materials to their contributions to *PP*,[54] and the portions of *TR* that Vaughan himself attributes to Strachey frequently use italics to mark Strachey's own interjected material.

The Appending of *TD* to *TR*

Why wouldn't a document allegedly completed in 1610, about a highly dramatic event – the "most newsworthy event of the day"[55] in Vaughan's account – be published until fifteen years after being placed in its final literary form? Of course, in the early modern period delays in publication were the norm, but in cases of highly topical and dramatic subjects like this one a hiatus of fifteen years deserves an explanation. Vaughan is swift to assure readers that the reason is – naturally – obvious: "Strachey's letter would not have pleased the Virginia Company in 1610 or for many years thereafter."[56] Unfortunately, this assertion, a longstanding hypothesis of the "standard thesis,"[57] is based on interpretative, intrinsically subjective evidence. If the manuscript was completed in 1610, the delay must be explained, and making Strachey's tract into a controversial or "subversive" account of the colonization effort is a convenient way to rationalize the delay. It also props up Vaughan's otherwise unsupported theory of Hakluyt as the editor responsible for the concluding *TD* extract: To make Strachey's tract more acceptable to Virginia Company authorities, asserts Vaughan, Hakluyt appended the *TD* extract, effectively "palliating" Strachey's "grim picture" of the Virginia Colony.

While this theory is not entirely without merit, it also seems strangely contradicted by the actual contents of the *TD* extract; although somewhat abbreviated, these hardly seem designed to "palliate" Strachey's negativism. Indeed, the appended *TD* excerpt recounts, among other Jamestown horrors, "miseries… violent storm…dissension… woes… negligence …idleness… improvidence….mutinous loiterers…treasons…conspiracy…famine…. penury… piracy…ambush and murder by the Indians…" and "embezzlement of…provisions."[58]

Surely, for Vaughan to suggest that Hakluyt or anyone else would have added such a piece of narrative to Strachey's own account in order to "palliate" the image of the Jamestown colony is to run *ad hoc* from the Scylla of one uncomfortable proposition into the Charybdis of another.[59] Notwithstanding these apparent problems, Vaughan assures us that Strachey's letter would not only have incurred the official displeasure of the Virginia Company, but that the published documents of the wreck by contrast reflect the ambitions and policies of the Company: not only was *TD* a "palliative" antidote to Strachey's excesses, but Jourdain's *Discovery* was a piece of orthodox "company propaganda."[60] Vaughan also stresses that Hakluyt, to whom he assigns the responsibility for preparing Strachey's subversive account for publication, was a loyal and influential member of the Company. He seems unaware of the troubling contradiction posed by this scenario: Why would a Company loyalist attempt to "palliate" Strachey's document[61] by appending a second narrative that includes not only the previously mentioned colonial woes[62] but also prominent mention of the "tragical history of the man eating his dead wife," which details that the husband "cut her in pieces and hid her in diverse parts of his house"?[63] Indeed, Vaughan's argument ties itself up in knots; according to him, Hakluyt undertook the insertion of the TD passage with the aim of achieving "the widest possible circulation"[64] for Strachey's controversial manuscript. In the end, however, the loyal and talented Hakluyt only produced a document that, even after his palliations, "would not have pleased the…Company in 1610 or many years thereafter."[65] Vaughan's need to portray *Discovery* as the innocent counterpart to Strachey's tract leads him into manifest errors of fact, such as when he insists that Jourdain said "nothing at all about conditions in Virginia, even the abandonment of Jamestown on the eve of De La Warre's arrival."[66] The claim suggests a lack of attention on Vaughan's part, also evident in many other instances, to the relevant texts: Although his account is abbreviated and sanitized compared to Strachey's, Jourdain *does* discuss the decision of the demoralized and hungry colonists to return to England on the eve of De La Warre's arrival. [67]

But the absence of a coherent perspective leads to further unresolved, sometimes unconsidered, contradictions. Vaughan's insistence that Strachey's document was completed in Virginia on July 15, 1610, is joined to an elaborate defense of a scenario (of doubtful credibility) in which Hakluyt completes the same manuscript several months later in London. The presence of this unresolved contradiction suggests a need to reassure readers that, one way or another, Strachey's manuscript, in its published form, was available to influence Shakespeare in 1610: By laboring so earnestly to insist on Hakluyt's fall 1610 role as an editor, Vaughan

undermines the credibility of his claim that the manuscript in its entirety was completed in Virginia in July.[68] One may doubt, moreover, Vaughan's assumption that just because it appeared in print, Jourdain's *Discovery* was approved by the Virginia Company. Malone – who is not trying to construct a wishful tale in which *TD* is the authorized alternative to Strachey's unacceptable realism – notes that *Discovery* does not appear in the Stationers' Register, and proposes that this absence in the records is a sign of "apprehension…that [Jourdain's] publication might have been forbidden by authority."[69] This theory is more consistent with the available evidence, both external and internal, than is Vaughan's attempt to transform Jourdain's pamphlet into an orthodox, authorized publication. But if the independent agency of publishers, anxious for a bestseller, can ensure the publication of one "forbidden" pamphlet, why not another? Malone's analysis casts a spotlight on the implausible notion that opposition of the Virginia Company to Strachey's pamphlet, even if it existed, is *sufficient* to explain the long hiatus between *TR*'s composition and its publication.

Strachey's Plagiarism

Although Vaughan criticizes us for highlighting Strachey's well-deserved reputation as a plagiarist, ironically, he admits that Strachey "borrowed freely, unashamedly, and often without specific attribution"[70] from other writers.[71] Strachey's pattern of plagiarism is indeed extensive in *History of Travel* (*H of T*) — and by no means limited to his appropriations of Smith. It goes well beyond the examples Vaughan acknowledges, and is so firmly established in the critical literature (much of which Vaughan does not mention)[72] that examples have been cited from all his works. And while Vaughan admits that *H of T* "borrowed extensively from Captain John Smith's writings," as "has long been recognized," he also categorically insists that "that fact has nothing to do with 'True Reportory,' despite Stritmatter and Kositsky's assertions."[73]

This position is not only based on a misreading of Strachey's character and habits, but also depends on a misconception of the role of circumstantial evidence in historical analysis. The evidence for Strachey's plagiaristic habits[74] is sufficiently impressive to engender the speculation that one reason Strachey had such difficulty publishing his *H of T* – which despite circulating in at least three Jacobean manuscripts was not printed until the 19th century[75] – might well have been that his contemporaries, including the elite of the Virginia Company (by whom he was not rehired after his brief service as the Colony's secretary), looked askance at his copying habits. If so, this model might also help to explain *TR*'s delayed publication. In any case, given this pattern – two of Strachey's three major works were published posthumously – and given the unmistakable evidence of intertextuality between *TR* and several other Bermuda pamphlets, it strains credulity to claim, as Vaughan does, that Strachey's pattern of plagiarism is irrelevant to ascertaining the extent of *TR* copying from contemporaneous documents – and, consequently, its date of completion. To artificially isolate *TR* from an author whom even Vaughan

acknowledges was a habitual borrower, he must therefore stand our argument on its head, mistaking conclusions for premises and asserting that "Stritmatter and Kositsky's parallel column charts that purport to show Strachey purloining words and phrases from other texts are based on *the erroneous belief* that *TR* came last in the chronological sequence"[76] and referring to our "*mistaken belief* that *TR* was not completed until 1612."[77]

There is no basis in our article for these assertions. What Vaughan refers to as a "belief" was in fact a carefully elaborated hypothesis; if Vaughan wants to show that it was a "mistaken" hypothesis, he should do so through a critique of our argument rather than by spinning an entertaining but implausible narrative which misconstrues our case. Indeed, the better part of our essay is devoted to disproving the longstanding conviction, never grounded in a critical method, that *TR* was in fact completed on July 15, 1610. Instead, we argued, a preponderance of the evidence suggests a completion date of sometime in 1612;[78] our tables do not depend on this as an assumption, but serve to demonstrate that it is a logical *conclusion* grounded in relevant evidence.

According to Vaughan, it is based on this "mistaken belief" in a 1612 completion date that we accuse Strachey of "plundering most of his narrative and his subsequent *Virginia Britannia* from earlier or contemporaneous writers."[79] But, once again, the argument is a straw man. We did not "accuse Strachey of plundering *most of his narrative*….from earlier or contemporaneous writers"; our case that Strachey *was the likely borrower* from texts not available to him until after his return to England in 1611 was, however, based on several predicates, which Vaughan either mentions fleetingly or passes over altogether in his haste to substitute his own idiosyncratic version of our "belief" for an accurate summary of our actual analysis:

> 1) Strachey's well known reputation as a plagiarist of contemporaneous and earlier texts, as documented by Culliford, Da Costa, etc.;
> 2) TR's appropriation, evident on a close view to anyone familiar with the relevant texts, of numerous printed sources such as Eden, Hakluyt, etc., which give it the appearance of a literary document contrived or rewritten at leisure in London;
> 3) Apparent intertextuality showing previously unacknowledged or under-acknowledged connections between TR and contemporaneous documents such as TD;
> 4) The likely difficulty of obtaining books, writing supplies, and sufficient leisure to compose a 24,000-word document in Jamestown;
> 5) Strachey's own statement, in his epistle dedicatory to *Lawes* (1612), that he is still working on an unfinished eyewitness account of his Virginia and Bermuda experiences.[80]

It seems ironic that Professor Vaughan can label us as being "in denial" of a scenario which is to him "obvious," while ignoring such telling elements of circumstantial evidence as Strachey's own published dedication to *Lawes*.

A second critique of our earlier article is in many ways similar to Vaughan's. In his 2009 *RES* article, "Dating William Strachey's 'A True Reportory of the Wracke and Redemption of Sir Thomas Gates': A Comparative Textual Study," Tom Reedy endeavors to demonstrate that our argument for the influence of *TD* on *TR* (one of several elements of our case for a *TR* manuscript not completed until 1612), is better explained by the premise that *TD* borrowed from *TR*. Reedy agrees with us that the evidence for intertextuality between *TD* and *TR* is beyond dispute. The only real question is whether one document depends on the other (and, if so, which one), or whether the two documents are instead linked by a common ancestor.

It is important to note that the author of *TD* acknowledges the use of sources, explicitly "profess[ing] that he will relate nothing [concerning Virginia] but what he hath from the secrets of the Judicial Council of Virginia, from the letters of Lord la Warre, from the mouth of Sir Thomas Gates."[81] The "secrets"[82] from the members of "The Judicial Council of Virginia"[83] could include other written or verbal reports from Gates, as well as reports from Somers, Percy, Wainman, Newport—significant because Newport, as Captain, could supply special nautical information such as the ships' bearings, probably not determinable by non-mariners—Argall, Hamor, and several others.[84] We are also told that De La Warre contributed "letters," which demonstrates that he submitted, in addition to his dispatch, at least one other report to the company. Only two surviving documents fit the description of "letters" from De La Warre (Harl. 7009.58 and a letter to Lord Salisbury), but it is certainly plausible that there were originally more.

The De La Warre dispatch, dated July 7 (a week before the terminal date in Strachey's *TR* text), is one of the most obvious common sources for *TD* and *TR*[85] and in fact shares extensive language with both. But it also appears that Strachey and the writers of *TD* made use of a document originating with George Percy or other early colonists, for both *TR* and *TD* narrate events that took place in Virginia before Strachey arrived there.[86] Culliford points out that Strachey borrows in *H of T* from Percy's manuscript copy of *Discourse of the plantation of the southerne colonie in Virginia by the English*, 1606 (181), but echoes of Percy's manuscript of 1606 can also be found in *TR*.[87] Finally, it appears that there also existed at one time a secret report, attributed to Captain Newport, which would have been given to the council when Newport returned to England in September 1610.[88]

The abundance of possible shared sources for *TR* and *TD* invalidates the claim that *TR* influenced the composition of *TD*. The direct evidence, admittedly slight, suggests that if there is an unmediated connection between the two documents, Strachey is more probably the borrower. This was his pattern.

The Martin Letter

To Vaughan the theory that *TR* "was Strachey's response to a (Dec. 1610) letter from Richard Martin…requesting information about the Colony's… characteristics," is "implausible."[89] Once again, Vaughan misconstrues our position. Nowhere do we argue that *TR* "was Strachey's response to a letter from Richard

Martin." On the contrary, we analyzed Martin's letter as one of several significant circumstantial elements in the case against the scenario that *TR* in (or near to) its eventual *published* form had been transmitted to England in fall 1610. This is because, among other elements contained in Strachey's document, such as the storm and shipwreck, life on Bermuda, and many pages of materials also contained in the 7 July de La Warre dispatch, *TR* details answers to a number of the questions posed in Martin's letter.[90] The available evidence suggests that Strachey incorporated into *TR* elements of a response composed as a separate, much shorter document, answering Martin's queries, as he appears to have kept copies of everything he wrote or came across.[91] If correct, this scenario confirms other evidence supporting a post-1610 terminus a quo for the finished version of *TR*. If the scenario is wrong, on the other hand, then Vaughan should answer a question he ignores: If Strachey's letter was transmitted to England in fall, 1610, why would Martin, as Secretary of the Virginia Company, in December have needed to ask questions already answered in that document? But in place of thoughtful deliberation, Vaughan misstates our position and responds to something we did not say.[92]

B to the Rescue

Inexplicably, Vaughan introduces as part of his case a 19th century manuscript copy[93] of "an earlier version"[94] of *TR* (hereafter referred to as "B") discovered in Bermuda in a Tucker family trunk in 1983[95] and reprinted in 2001 by Ivor Noël Hume. A number of Vaughan's conclusions, including his assessment that B represents an anterior state of *TR*, that it "contains clear internal evidence that it is not simply a poor transcript of the Hakluyt-Purchas version,"[96] and that the manuscript "raises intriguing possibilities"[97] seem beyond reasonable dispute. Others seem less plausible. Vaughan is confident that B is an asset to the traditional view of Strachey's manuscript: Strachey is indubitably the author of B,[98] the revision of B into *TR* took place in Virginia, and the motivation for the revision can be traced to Strachey's ambition to promote himself within the Company. Strachey not only "saw an opportunity for further advancement" through his pen, but understood that the Bermuda shipwreck narrative "was bound to be popular back home," and set out while still in Jamestown to expand the document, "borrowing more freely from other writers (by memory or, more probably, from books available in Jamestown)…."[99] As appealing as this scenario may sound, it is fancifully improbable for several reasons; moreover, it depends on an intrinsic contradiction, as Vaughan acknowledges: "Why Strachey did not foresee the Company's displeasure at his account of those weeks is hard to fathom."[100]

Most important, it is far less clear that the B manuscript supports the traditional view of Strachey's influence on *Tempest*; on the contrary, it tends instead to confirm our own view, as articulated in *RES,* that *TR* in its subsequently published form did not go back to England on the July 1610 Gates voyage. In fact the B manuscript represents the best possible evidence supporting an alternative to the scenario Vaughan confidently identifies as not only "obvious" but "virtually

certain":[101] If some version of the Strachey document, which in its published form runs to 24,000 words, returned on the 1610 Gates' voyage, it was more likely a highly abbreviated version, far closer to B than the *TR* published fifteen years later by Purchas. Without knowing of the existence of the B manuscript,[102] we posited this scenario and suggested that only later, probably around 1612, would the original manuscript have been revised and amplified in England, taking into account numerous sources and resources likely not available in Virginia.

Many evident characteristics of B are consistent with this interpretation. B is an anonymous manuscript only one quarter the length of *TR*; it is markedly less literary in character than Purchas' published text, and uses fewer external sources: Except for one apparent passage from Oviedo, and some "storm set" details, much briefer than those in *TR,* which appear to have originated in other texts such as Tomson and De Ulloa in Hakluyt, B contains few hints of literary pretension or bookish influence. It contains almost none of the background from Eden, Willes, Acosta, Horace, Virgil, etc., that supplies *TR*'s literary and historical context. Also missing are the many elements from the de La Warre dispatch that are interwoven in Strachey's finished publication,[103] as well as those portions of *TR* that we identified as plausibly being written in response to Martin's December 1610 questions.[104] Finally, B is not addressed to a "noble lady" or anyone else.[105]

When one adds to all these considerations the testimony of Strachey's own 1612 dedication of *Lawes*, which refers to his as yet unperfected narrative of the "Bermudas…and…Virginia," recounting how he has "beene a sufferer and an eie witnesse," and promising that "*the full story of both in due time* shall consecrate unto your views…[and]deliver them perfect unto your judgements,"[106] it is difficult to escape the impression that Vaughan's scenario of a *TR* manuscript completed by Strachey himself before July 15, 1610, amended by Hakluyt in late 1610, and passed on to Shakespeare well before November 1611, is a house of cards liable to topple with the faintest critical breeze.[107] It is therefore predictable that Strachey's 1612 admission, which contradicts Vaughan's "just so" story, finds no place in his recent article. The implication is beyond reasonable doubt: Strachey refers to a Bermuda manuscript, plausibly similar to that now preserved in B, which he still intends, in 1612, to further develop before submitting to the Council in London.[108] In other words, B completes the circumstantial case for our original argument that *TR* in the form eventually published by Purchas was not completed until sometime during or after 1612, too late to have been a conceivable source for Shakespeare's *Tempest*.

"Now Bound For England"

Perhaps the most creative element in Vaughan's attempted refutation of our case involves an imaginative scenario invoked to explain the last days of Strachey's manuscript in Virginia before it left – as he believes – downriver on its way to England on Gates' voyage. In the passage immediately preceding the concluding interpolation from TD, the Purchas copy describes the departure of Sir Thomas Gates on the return voyage to England:

> And the fifteenth day of July, in the "Blessing," Captain Adams brought [the king of Warraskoyak, Sasenticum, and his son Kainta] to Point Comfort, where at that time (as well to take his leave of the lieutenant general, Sir Thomas Gates, now bound for England, as to dispatch the ships) the lord governor and captain general had pitched his tent at Algernon Fort. The king's son, Kainta, the lord governor and captain general hath sent now into England until the ships arrive here again the next spring, dismissing the old werowance and the other with all terms of kindness and friendship, promising further designs to be effected by him, to which he hath bound himself by divers savage ceremonies and admirations.[109]

According to Vaughan, the phrase "now bound for England" in the concluding passage before the transitional sentence introducing the *TD* excerpt means that the ships were anchored at Point Comfort but "ready to cross Chesapeake Bay and enter the Atlantic as soon as winds and tide permit."[110] During this wait, the ships were able to "take on whatever small cargo went down the river that day, *almost certainly* including several letters besides Strachey's." [111]

This scenario, which Vaughan does not substantiate with factual evidence, is at best implausible. To begin with, both "now" and "bound for" are ambiguous, and can either mean – as Vaughan prefers – that a ship is waiting to leave, or that it has already left port. "Bound for" can even mean that a ship is in mid-ocean as many examples from the period attest.[112] Vaughan's definition of "now,"[113] misleadingly, omits all *OED* definitions except for the one which supports his case, effectively depriving the reader of the opportunity to consider for himself or herself which definition is most pertinent to the passage.[114]

Omission of relevant *OED* definitions is, however, only one of several flaws in Vaughan's argument on this point. Even more interesting, for example, is the final sentence describing the sailing of Gates' fleet: "The king's son, Kainta, the Lord Governor and Captain General, *hath sent now* into England until the ships arrive here again the next spring."[115] The most natural interpretation of this phrase, based on comparative evidence, is that it was written after the mid-July 1610 sailing of the fleet, by a writer who was either still in America (with his unfinished manuscript), or possibly back in England imaginatively positioning himself as still in America for the edification of an actual or imagined noble patron; the usage "hath sent" places the action squarely in the past.[116] Strachey, himself, writing of what one must assume is the July 15 sailing of the fleet (as there is no mention anywhere of other ships going to England in July), uses a similar construction to indicate past action:

> The ninth of July (1610), [Gates] prepared his forces, and early in the morning set upon a town of theirs, some four miles from Algernon Fort, called Kecoughtan, and had soon taken it without loss or hurt of any of his men. The governor and his women fled (the young King Powhatan's

> son not being there), but left his poor baggage and treasure to the spoil of our soldiers; which was only a few baskets of old wheat and some other of peas and beans, a little tobacco, and some few women's girdles of silk, of the grass silk, not without art and much neatness finely wrought; of which *I have sent* divers into England (being at the taking of the town), and *would have sent* Your Ladyship some of them had they been a present so worthy.[117]

In itself this passage supplies compelling reason to reject Vaughan's traditionalist scenario, however forcefully articulated, that Strachey's document as later published by Purchas returned to England on the July 1610 Gates voyage. Strachey's "would have sent" is in the conditional perfect; when added to the perfect tense, it confirms unambiguously that the described events are both past and completed; the ships have already sailed, and Strachey is excusing himself, after the fact, for not having sent any of the girdles to the "noble lady."

In place of such close textual analysis, which at every turn undermines his assumptions, Vaughan argues in large measure through the construction of an imaginative narrative scenario: "Officials at Point Comfort," we are informed, "communicated [during this period] intermittently with Jamestown by small vessel."[118] While it seems natural to assume that such a system must have existed, its relevance to Vaughan's narrative seems doubtful at best. For one thing, he omits to mention that the upriver and downriver trip could each have taken as long as two days.[119] The scenario is, however, *necessary* to justify Vaughan's conviction that Strachey sent the manuscript downriver from Jamestown to the departing ship.[120] According to Vaughan, Strachey completed his missive on July 15 at Jamestown, "perhaps early in the day," and "several letters besides Strachey's" were "almost certainly"[121] transmitted on the same boat while the ships were waiting at Point Comfort for the right sailing conditions. Once again, the convenient phrase, "almost certainly," transmutes conjecture into fact, erasing the chronological and practical improbabilities invoked by Vaughan's scenario. Vaughan has not demonstrated that such a system was in place for the period mentioned, or that the Strachey document was finished, or that it was transmitted by water from Jamestown, yet now several other letters have "almost certainly" joined the *TR* manuscript on its wholly hypothetical downriver voyage. One wonders if, after taking note of the tide and the weather, the helmsman was obliged to wait, possibly during as long as two days, for Strachey's very important document and entourage of ghostly letters to wend their way to Point Comfort.

One may well wonder, also, why Vaughan goes to such lengths to invent a scenario in which Strachey's document (as later published as *TR*) was transmitted downriver from Jamestown to Point Comfort at the last minute before the Gates ships departed on or about July 15. In part the scenario is an expedient to counter the straightforward proposition that a version of B, not *TR*, returned to England on Gates' voyage. But Vaughan is also anxious to reconcile a troubling anomaly in

Strachey's New World narratives. At issue is an anecdote, recounted in both *TR* and *H of T*, but in different versions. In *TR* the son of the local chief Sasenticum, Kainta, leaves for England on one of the departing ships, probably *The Blessing*. In *H of T*, however, the native son – now named Tangoit and with a different father, Tackonekintaco – does not go to England, but is substituted for a nephew who is imprisoned on the Delawarr before escaping.

These differing versions pose problems for Vaughan, even though he is confident that both refer to the same event "because it happened in 1610 at Point Comfort just before Newport left for England with Gates."[122] Vaughan's scenario of the ships transporting *TR* downriver at the last minute while Strachey remained in Jamestown is constructed to solve the riddle of why Strachey would present the same episode differently in his two accounts. It simultaneously obviates the need to question Strachey's reliability as a historical witness and allows Vaughan to convert the discrepancy into an attempted *coup de grace* to our view that *TR* was not placed in its final form until after Strachey had returned to England. According to him,

> Strachey *must have* learned the first of these details after he put his letter aboard the *Blessing* or the *Hercules* and *he may not have heard the whole story until the ships were on the Atlantic and de La Warre was back at Jamestown*. Had Strachey had the opportunity, he would, of course, have corrected his account of the negotiations with Powhatan...[123]

Although Vaughan is uncompromising in 2008 that the account in *H of T* must be the correct one, as recently as 2006 he was far less certain:

> Perhaps a third Powhatan visitor [to England] was Kainta, son of a local chief, captured by the English during the intermittent hostilities and – again, according to Strachey -- 'sent now [c. July 1610] into England, untill the ships arrive here againe the next Spring.' But Kainta may not have left Chesapeake Bay. Strachey's subsequent account of the Chief's son relates that the English accepted a substitute hostage, who soon escaped.[124]

We cannot be sure which of the two versions is correct, according to Vaughan, because "There is no further evidence."[125] This is Vaughan's way of acknowledging that the sole source of this dramatic anecdote, in either version, is William Strachey. It appears nowhere else in the Bermuda narratives.

Further problems must be glossed over to make Vaughan's story plausible. There is a discrepancy in names besides those of the Werowance and his son. Strachey disagrees with himself about the name of the Captain who transported the Indians to Point Comfort. In *TR* it is Adams, and in *H of T* Newport.[126] Vaughan hastens to assure readers that the name differences of the Indian father and son are irrelevant, as natives often had more than one name: "The names of two Indians, but not their identities, are different."[127] But authorities on early

Virginia history contradict Vaughan's assertion: According to Lyon Gardiner Tyler, Sasenticum and Tackonekintaco were not the same person, Sasenticum being a minor Werowance of the village of Mathomank on Burwell's Bay.[128] John Bennett Boddie agrees (in identical language), adding that Tackonekintaco was the Werowance of Karraskoyak.[129] The two sites, both located on the western bank of the James River downriver from Jamestown,[130] are clearly marked on John Smith's map as different villages.

Perhaps the most damaging contradiction in Vaughan's account is also the most obvious: if Strachey was not in Point Comfort to begin with, how would he have known that a native youth – by any name – had been taken prisoner only one day before the ship arrived? Karraskoyak was downriver from Jamestown, so the ship carrying the Werowance, his son, and "one of his chief men" could not have passed by it. According to Strachey, the captives arrived at Point Comfort July 15, the day that Vaughan (among others) states that Strachey completed his manuscript,[131] and put it aboard a boat to go downriver.[132] Obviously, this scenario does not work.

Finally, it deserves to be noted that Vaughan's theory requires the Virginia Colony Secretary to have sent back on the Gates voyage an account of "Kainta" that everyone aboard would have known to be false. If Strachey was, as Vaughan also assures us, laboring to ingratiate himself with the leadership of the Virginia Company, this hardly seems like an effective strategy.

Such compound problems suggest a different explanation for the varying versions of Strachey's account from the brittle scenario Vaughan labors so industriously to construct. Vaughan's explanation uses the *assumption* of Strachey's reliability as a historical narrator to help establish a scenario that otherwise suffers from its own credibility problems, and invokes contradictions that he does not acknowledge; it is worth recalling Vaughan's own admission that "Strachey related many events he had witnessed, but he also borrowed freely, unashamedly, and often without specific attribution."[133]

In this case it looks as though the first version of the two differing accounts may actually represent Strachey's creative rearrangement, to suit his own purposes, of a well documented and publicized event that, *according to several other independent sources*, had taken place not in 1610, but in 1608. In a spring 1608 dispatch to Spain, the Spanish ambassador Don Pedro De Zuniga wrote about a young Indian, Namontack, said to be a son of the chief, but more likely his servant, exchanged by Powhatan for an English youth named Thomas Savage. Namontack was put aboard Newport's ship in early 1608 and taken to England, from whence he later returned. These events survive in several slightly differing accounts,[134] including one by John Smith:

> With many pretty Discourses to renew their old acquaintance, this great King [Powhatan] and our Captain spent the time, till the ebb left our Barge aground. Then renewing their feasts with feats, dancing and singing, and such like mirth, we quartered that night with Powhatan. The next day Newport came ashore and received as much content as

> those people could give him: a boy named Thomas Savage was then given unto Powhatan, whom Newport called his son; for whom Powhatan gave him Namontack his trusty servant, and one of a shrewd, subtle capacity. Three or four days more we spent in feasting, dancing, and trading, wherein Powhatan carried himself so proudly, yet discreetly (in his Savage manner) as made us all admire his natural gifts, considering his education.[135]

Another incident from around 1609, recorded by George Percy in *A True Relation,* may have served to inspire Strachey's *H of T* version, in which the native boy escapes the fate of being brought to England by jumping ship and possibly drowning. In *H of T* Strachey states that

> The imposture nephew, privie before hand to the falcehood of the old man, watchinge his opportunity, leapt over bord one night (being kept in the Delawarr); and to be more sure of him at that tyme, fettered both leggs togither, and a sea gowne uppon him, yet he adventured to get clier by swiming, and either to recover the south shoare, or to sinck in the attempt. Which of either was his fortune we knowe not, only (if he miscarried) we never found his body nor gowne...[136]

Percy's account from 1609 reproduces a similar anecdote:[137]

> Captain Martin did appoint with half of our men to take the Island... Martin seized the king's son and one other Indian and brought them bound unto the Island where I was, when a ship boy, taking up a pistol accidentally, not meaning any harm, the pistol suddenly fired and shot the Savage prisoner into the breast. And thereupon what with his passion and fear he broke the cords asunder where with he was tied and did swim over unto the main with his wound bleeding.[138]

Although there is no final proof that either of these sensational incidents was the inspiration for Strachey's accounts in *TR* and *H of T*, it is interesting to note the impressive similarities, as well as to remember that it is to Strachey, and Strachey alone, that we owe record of an Indian boy (by any name) on the verge of being transported to England on Gates' boat, whereas the 1608 "Namontack" anecdote was mentioned by several independent sources, and so appears to be factual.

If this were the only discrepancy of this kind in Strachey's narratives, we would be inclined to ignore it. But given that his is the only contemporaneous account of the Bermuda wreck that includes reference to St. Elmo's Fire, the decision to cut down the mainmast, and the possible splitting of the ship, one may be forgiven the suspicion that Vaughan is right to emphasize the extent to which Strachey "borrowed freely and unashamedly" from other sources — including both Smith and Percy elsewhere in his works — and that he did so in order to enhance the literary appeal of his narratives, sometimes at the expense of historical accuracy.

"Modern Challenges": A Response

As we have seen, Vaughan neglects the influential skepticism of such 19th-century critics of Malone's actual theory as Elze or Hunter, whose criticisms of the theory of Jourdain's influence eventually induced Furness and Luce to devise the modern view implicating *TR* instead. His summary of modern challenges to the "standard thesis" of Strachey's influence is equally idiosyncratic. For example, rather than citing our detailed *RES* analysis of the many reasons for supposing that the scenario of Strachey completing *TR* in Virginia is implausible, he cites a third-party source, quoting Lynne Kositsky's informal verbal remarks at a Concordia University debate.[139] To revert to our case as originally articulated in *RES*,

> Circumstances in Jamestown during the weeks Strachey allegedly composed the letter could not have been worse. When the Bermuda survivors returned to Virginia in May 1610, they had discovered a settlement burnt and in ruins (Wright 63-65, Major xxvi-xxvii). Under such circumstances, paper and books must both have been in limited supply. And yet, Strachey's letter, approximately 24,000 words in length, makes copious use of at least a dozen external sources, some mentioned by name, others silently appropriated.[140]

Only by ignoring our actual, well-defined position in print and relying on a third-party account of verbal remarks at a conference, can Vaughan reduce this multivariable analysis to the *reductio ad absurdum* of whether there was enough paper for Strachey to complete his 24,000 word manuscript in Virginia.[141] As is evident from all accounts of the circumstances in the Colony during the weeks in which Vaughan insists Strachey completed the *TR* manuscript, including Strachey's own, the likelihood that paper was in short supply was only one of several challenges that Strachey would have faced in composing his document in Virginia.

Another of Vaughan's more unfortunate mistakes occurs when he accuses us of mistaking evidence that he himself evidently fails to understand. Thus, according to Vaughan,

> The authors sometimes miss the message in the very words they select for comparison. Although they position "True Reportory" after Strachey's *Virginia Britania* (1612), they fail to notice that while *Virginia Britania* says that Virginia's Cape Henry is named "in honour of that our most royall deceased prince," "True Reportory" reports the cape to have been named "in honour of our young Prince." Implicitly, Henry is still alive. The sequence of the texts is obviously not what Stritmatter and Kositsky imagine it to be.[142]

There are several errors here. First, we did not claim that *H of T* was a *TR* source, or that it was written before the latter text. What we said was that "many of the sources identified as influences on *H of T*, [i.e., Virginia Britania*]* a book written in England between 1612 and 1618, also influenced *TR*, suggesting that this work or parts of it may likewise have been written in England, using the same "reference library," long after July 1610."[143] These include Smith's *Map*, which, as our table shows, seems to have influenced both *H of T* and *TR*.

Vaughan's mistake, moreover, is based on a flawed understanding of the known facts,[144] which he could have ascertained either by consulting the original *H of T* manuscripts, or simply heeding the analysis of Strachey's biographer Culliford, who clarifies that the language Vaughan erroneously supposes original to *H of T* was not added until around 1617:

> We do not know in what month in 1612 A Map of Virginia [by Smith] was published, but it must have been early in the year, since the fair copy of The Historie of Travaile was completed before November 6th of that year, when Prince Henry died and his younger brother Charles became Prince of Wales. Strachey, quoting Smith [without attribution – S. & K.] tells us, "The Cape of this bay, on the south side, we call Cape Henry, in honour of our most Royall Prince…The north foreland of this bay, which the Indians terme Accowmack, we call Cape Charles, in honour of our Princely Duke of York." *This is altered in the copy presented to Bacon in 1618 by the insertion of "deceased" before "Prince" and the changing of "Our Princely Duke of York" to "our now Prince, at that time Duke of York." These additions appear to have been made in 1617*; hence all three copies of the manuscript must have been completed before the death of Henry.[145]

True Reportory and *Tempest*

According to Vaughan, only two pages into his analysis, it is "*almost certain* that two or more manuscript versions of Strachey's letter circulated within the Company and, presumably, among some of its friends"[146] shortly after Gates arrived in London. By the end of Vaughan's entertaining narrative it has become a "*virtual certainty* that Strachey's letter reached London in September 1610" and an "*overwhelming probability* that at least two copies circulated widely among company officials and their friends."[147] One of the earliest beneficiaries, naturally, was Hakluyt, who, we are assured, "had immediate access" to the manuscript;[148] another was the author of TD, presumably revising his work for publication, who likewise "*almost certainly* had a copy of Strachey's letter on hand as he wrote the Company's apologia."[149]

The extent of Vaughan's dependence on self-assured phrases of this kind should, we submit, suggest a basis for the very doubt he intends to obviate. Like most critical links in the chain of his argument, Vaughan leaves largely undefended

the notion that a clear case can be made for the intertextuality of *Tempest* and Strachey's narrative. He assures us of the "virtual certainty" that Strachey's manuscript made it to England in time to be edited and revised by Hakluyt and then passed off to Shakespeare in some smoky tavern in the winter of 1610-1611. We are expected to overlook the contradiction that although this highly sensitive document could not be published, as it was regarded by the Virginia Council as an extremely dangerous document, it was freely made available to the dramatist for the purposes of composing a public play. But let us concede that all this, although seemingly implausible, is not impossible, and ask: what use did Shakespeare make of the gift? Unless there is independent evidence "from sign" for Strachey's influence on Shakespeare, Vaughan's elaborate defense of the premise that Shakespeare *could have seen* and copied *TR* is pointless. And if such independent evidence really existed, Vaughan's narrative of how Shakespeare got his Strachey would also be irrelevant; we would know, empirically, that somehow he did, and could willingly suspend disbelief as to how.

The plausibility of Vaughan's case therefore depends heavily on his assumption that the question of Strachey's direct influence is beyond reasonable dispute: "Most readers of *The Tempest* have found its congruities with the "close at hand 'True Reportory' too numerous and too vivid to be coincidental"; [150] consequently he insists that "it is beyond the scope of this essay to retrace every resonance of Strachey's letter in Shakespeare's play."[151] Instead, like Hume, Vaughan depends on the hallowed tradition that "the Shakespeare connection…is a non-issue. That the playwright took his theme from accounts of the wreck and salvation of Somers' company….*cannot be doubted*."[152]

Vaughan identifies "three lengthy assessments" on which this conviction depends – Morton Luce's "Parallel Passages" appended to the 1901 Arden *Tempest*, Robert Ralston Cawley's 1926 survey,[153] and David Kathman's 1996 internet list.[154] We ask to what extent do these studies actually establish that Strachey's influence is "beyond a reasonable doubt?"[155] Our detailed reply to the most recent and comprehensive of these treatments[156] fails to inspire confidence in the credibility of the traditional case for Strachey's literary influence. After exhaustive analysis of Kathman's evidence (which reproduces nearly every salient piece of evidence from the earlier treatments to which Vaughan alludes), we concluded that

> The evidence for Shakespeare's alleged reliance on Strachey's Bermuda narrative can no longer be accepted as substantive. In nearly every case cited by Kathman, the earlier sources or Shakespeare himself supplies as good or better examples of intertextuality. The possibility that Shakespeare relied instead, primarily, on some combination of the noted sources -Eden and either Ariosto or Erasmus - all available to him much earlier than 1611, can no longer be dismissed.[157]

Vaughan admits that "Shakespeare borrowed widely and eclectically" from "English and continental literature," and even that a thorough search might

"uncover earlier sources for many, if not most, of the *Tempest*'s similarities to 'True Reportory.'"[158] Strachey, however, "bundled them conveniently, if unintentionally, at just the right moment for dramatic adaptation," and therefore "the argument that Shakespeare could have gotten every detail of the storm, and every similarity of word and phrase from other sources stretches credulity to the limits."[159]

What stretches credulity to the limits, and beyond, is Vaughan's implication that Shakespeare is provably indebted to Strachey for "every detail of the [*Tempest*] storm." Indeed, it is doubtful that there is a credible basis to impute to Strachey *any kind* of influence on Shakespeare's storm scene, let alone the kind of transparent and comprehensive influence implied by Vaughan's loose phraseology. The basis for this doubt is simple and, oddly, has been overlooked or ignored for decades: The playwright himself had already anticipated in earlier works, perhaps with the assistance of such Renaissance commonplaces as Erasmus, Hakluyt, and Eden, almost all the dramatic storm elements realized in Tempest. As our 2005 online rebuttal to Kathman shows, with the possible exception of the St. Elmo's fire detail, every storm image motif Kathman (or any of Vaughan's other authorities) would derive from Strachey is *found in Shakespearean storm scenes and imagery long predating The Tempest* (See Appendix A for details).

As the only *Tempest* storm element arguably without such Shakespearean precedent, the St. Elmo's fire motif furnishes an apt illustration of the intrinsically inconclusive reasoning on which the Strachey theory has historically depended. Vaughan insists – without supplying the slightest justification – that "'True Reportory' was probably *The Tempest*'s immediate inspiration"[160] for the motif. But assertion does not make it so; Vaughan's source Cawley, who gives an impressive résumé of the numerous potential sources, both ancient and Renaissance, for the popular topic, provides a useful antidote to Vaughan's "probably":

> Douce (*Illustrations of Shakespeare*, London, 1839, p. 3) cites [St Elmo's Fire] in Pliny, Seneca, Erasmus, Schotti, Eden, and Batman. It is mentioned also by Hakluyt, Purchas, Thevet, Le Loyer, and as illustration in prose or verse it was used by Chapman, Phineas Fletcher, Gomersall, Bacon, Fulke Greville, Drayton, Thomas Watson, Drummond, Lodge, and Thomas Heywood. I am inclined to believe, therefore, *since the idea was obviously so current, that Gayley has slightly overestimated Shakspere's indebtedness to this particular version. That Strachey recalled it to his mind I have no doubt. But the features mentioned are common in the other versions.* Le Loyer (*Treatise of Specters*, London, 1605, fol. 67v), for instance, speaks of men who "see the fire .... to flie uppon their shippe, and to alight uppon the toppe of the mast." And Hakluyt, as Luce remarks (Arden ed., p. 163), has "beak" and "it would be in two or three places at once."[161]

Cawley anticipates Vaughan's conviction, forcefully attesting that he has "no doubt" that Strachey was responsible for calling the motif to Shakespeare's mind.

Strangely, however, all the evidence of his passage suggests a contrary conclusion. Not only does Cawley fail to offer evidence supporting Strachey's direct influence on Shakespeare, he even admits that "the features mentioned [by Gayley] are common to the other versions." On the other hand, Gayley, Cawley, Kathman, and Vaughan have all failed to notice that certain apparently unique characteristics of Pygafetta's account of St. Elmo's fire, as reproduced in Richard Eden's *Decades of the Newe Worlde*,[162] show clear evidence of having influenced Shakespeare's conception of the phenomenon as being the product of the "spirit" Ariel.[163] In Pygafetta's account we read not only that "there appeared in theyr shyppes certeyne flames of fyre burnynge very cleare.... uppon the masts of the shyppes," but that, uniquely, *"sum ignorant folkes thynke [these] to bee spirites or such other phantasies*."[164] Although Shakespeare seems to have known more than one account of St. Elmo's fire, only from Eden could he have taken inspiration for the idea embodied in his play that the phenomenon is caused by Ariel-like "spirits."[165]

Vaughan's list of thematic parallels between *The Tempest* and Strachey's text follows the pattern, established by Luce, Cawley, and Gayley, of alternating attestation of belief with flimsy evidence, uncomplicated by any obligation to consult alternative sources to test the reliability of alleged correlations. Vaughan claims, for example, that in both Strachey and *Tempest,* "the island refuge is bountiful but troubled by storm and rife with danger from its other denizens."[166] We are at a loss to understand what "denizens" of Bermuda threatened the English survivors in Strachey's narrative. Likewise, Vaughan asserts that in both texts "everyone aboard miraculously survives, while the remainder of both fleets sail safely toward their destinations."[167] But Vaughan is apparently not aware, first, that not all the other ships of the third supply made it to Jamestown,[168] or second – and more significantly – that comparison of Shakespeare's specific language with that found in the same account of Pygafetta from which he took the idea of "spritely" St. Elmo's fire, shows – conclusively – that the real source of this *Tempest* motif is Eden (Table One):

by reason whereof, they so wandered owte of theyr course and were *disparsed in sunder*, that they in maner dispayred to *meete ageyne.* But as God wolde, *the seas and tempest being quieted,* they came safely to theyr determined course... (217v).	and for the rest o' th' fleet (*Which I dispers'd)*, they *have all met again*, And are upon the Mediterranean float Bound sadly home for Naples... (1.2.232-35)

Table One: Pygafetta (left) in Eden and *Temp*. 1.2.232.-35 (right).

Vaughan's avoidance of Eden's demonstrable *Tempest* influence leads to many similar instances of exaggerated confidence in the theory of Shakespeare's

dependence on Strachey. "In both texts," he asserts, "conspiracies among the shipwrecked Europeans threaten the lives of the leaders and the islands' tranquility."[169] But in our analysis of Eden, we have shown that the same pattern occurs over many pages of Eden's extensive narration, which details numerous conspiratorial plots of conquistadors in the new world;[170] moreover, unlike Strachey or the Bermuda pamphlets generally, Eden also furnishes a model for the *Tempest* portrait of Caliban as a rebellious savage enslaved by Prospero's magic, an image which, as Tristan Marshall has suggested, recalls "Spanish printed accounts of their exploits in South America,"[171] of which Eden's *Decades* was by far the most influential. Only Eden, likewise, could have suggested to Shakespeare the *Tempest* pattern in which the old world plots of Italo-Spanish dynasties (Prospero's dethroning by Antonio and Alonso) furnishes the seeds of "new world" conspiracy and revolt. Indeed, Eden's translation of Peter Martyr's book alludes to the real-world intrigues of the Milanese Sforzas[172] and their Aragonese relations – for whom the names "Alonso" and "Ferdinand" were hereditary – in plots and counterplots that provide a historical template for the sibling contretemps between Prospero and Antonio, and Alonso's similar betrayal of Prospero, in Shakespeare's play.

But Vaughan is so concerned to fit the square peg of Strachey's narrative into the round hole of Shakespeare's play that he is forced to deny the humanity of Caliban in order to suit his argument that the *Tempest* landscape, like Bermuda, is without native inhabitants.[173] It may be worth recalling, in response, that Shakespeare's drama begins with a party of shipwrecked Italo-Spanish Milanese and Neapolitans on a Mediterranean island located just off the route between Tunis and Naples.[174] It is already well-peopled with spirits, refugees (Prospero and Miranda), and a native islander – who, contrary to Vaughan's implication, we safely regard as being every bit as human as the recently shipwrecked Europeans.

We do not propose here to offer a comprehensive critique of the three lengthy treatments that Vaughan cites in support of the traditional but still largely unexamined view that, as Gayley extravagantly concludes, Shakespeare "knew his Strachey from first to last."[175] Nor can we do more than point to a few reasons why Eden's *Decades of the Newe Worlde* furnishes a *Tempest* ur-text that is so much richer than Strachey that if its riches had been appreciated by 19th or 20th century critics, an entire history of modern critical error would have been obviated. A more comprehensive review of the substantiating evidence, "'O Brave New World': *The Tempest* and Peter Martyr's *De Orbe Novo,"* appeared in the Fall 2009 issue of *Critical Survey*. It should be evident, however, even from this brief treatment, that the thematic "parallels" which Vaughan cites in favor of Strachey's influence are either based on misconceptions or else far better answered by alternative sources, especially Eden (although the influence of such Mediterranean texts as *The Aeneid*[176] and *Orlando Furioso,*[177] as well as Erasmus' 'Naufragium,'[178] are also well attested in the critical literature and are far more intimately connected to the themes and symbolism of Shakespeare's play than any of the Bermuda pamphlets). It is thus no surprise that, after going to such extravagant lengths to propound his "just so" story about how Shakespeare got his tale, Vaughan concedes that "Shakespeare borrowed widely and eclectically" from "English and continental literature," and even that a thorough

search might "uncover earlier sources for many, if not most, of the *Tempest*'s similarities to 'True Reportory.'"[179]

True, Vaughan goes on from this admission to argue that, because "the abundant thematic and verbal parallels between the play and 'True Reportory' have persuaded generations of readers that Shakespeare borrowed liberally from Strachey's dramatic narrative,"[180] we are obliged to perpetuate the tradition of error on which this belief has depended. The irony is impressive. What matters is not so much what past readers of *The Tempest* allegedly have believed, but whether present and future readers will continue believing in a "just-so" story about how Shakespeare got his *Tempest* that is by now wearing intellectually threadbare.

Appendix A

Table of David Kathman's Alleged Storm Scene Influences with Antecedent Passages in Shakespeare. Motifs allegedly derived from Strachey were known to and used by Shakespeare years or decades before *Tempest* (After Stritmatter and Kositsky 2005)

"Parallels" between *True Reportory* and *Tempest* storms. Excerpted from David Kathman's "Dating the *Tempest*."	**Other Shakespeare works with related language or themes. All citations from *Shakespeare Searched*.**
1) The "Sea-Venture" was one of a fleet of nine ships which set out in 1609 to strengthen the English colony in Virginia; it carried Gates, the newly appointed Governor of Virginia, and his entourage. A storm separated the Sea-Venture from the other ships, and the rest of the fleet continued on safely to Virginia, assuming that Gates had drowned. And for the rest o' th' fleet (Which I dispers'd), they have all met again, And are upon the Mediterranean float Bound sadly home for Naples, Supposing that they saw the King's ship wrack'd, And his great person perish. (1.2.232-37)	***Elze writes: "Not only on Columbus's first voyage of discovery was the flag-ship separated from the others in a similar way, but also in Drake's voyage round the world (1577-1580) the same thing happened in the Straits of Magellan, so that Drake had to sail on alone along the west coast of America."* (11)** ***This very common pattern, found in several other narratives of the time, occurs, for example, in Tomson in Hakluyt (1600). There were eight ships in the fleet. They were on a voyage when a wind came up followed by a tempest, and "eight ships that were together were so dispersed that [they] could not see one another." Eventually the ships managed to find one another and sail away, but Tomson's ship was lost.*** **Our sever'd navy** too **Have knit again**, and fleet, threatening most sea-like. *Antony and Cleopatra.* (3.13.205-206)

2) Strachey describes the storm as "roaring" and "beat[ing] all light from heaven; which like an hell of darknesse turned blacke upon us . . . The sea swelled above the clouds, which gave battel unto heaven" (6-7). In *The Tempest*, Miranda describes the waters as being in a "roar," and says that "The sky it seems would pour down stinking pitch, / But that the Sea, mounting to th' welkins cheek, / Dashes the fire out." (1.2.1-5)	***Parallel phraseology is ubiquitous in Shakespeare, starting as early as Titus Andronicus, written more than sixteen years before Strachey's narrative:*** If the winds rage, doth not **the sea wax mad, Threatening the welkin** with his big-swoln face? And wilt thou have a reason for this coil? *Titus Andronicus* (3.1.224) I have seen **The ambitious ocean swell and rage and foam,** /To be exalted with the threatening clouds: But never till to-night, never till now, Did I go through **a tempest dropping fire.** Either there is a **civil strife** in heaven, Or else the world, too saucy with the gods, Incenses them to send destruction. *Julius Caesar* (1.3.6-7) **I never saw The heavens so dim by day.** A savage clamour! Well may I get aboard! This is the chase: I am gone for ever. *Winter's Tale* (3.3.60-63) I have seen two such sights, by sea and by land! but I am **not to say it is a sea, for it is now the sky: betwixt the firmament and it you cannot thrust** **a bodkin's point... now the ship boring the moon with her main-mast** , and anon swallowed with yest and froth, as you'd thrust a cork into a hogshead. *Winter's Tale* (3.3.88-91) The **sea**, with such a storm as his bare head In **hell-black night** endured, would have buoy'd up, **And quench'd the stelled fires…** *King Lear* (3.7. 67)

3) Strachey says that "Our clamours dround in the windes, and the windes in thunder. Prayers might well be in the heart and lips, but drowned in the outcries of the officers" (7); in the play the boatswain says, "A plague upon this howling; they are louder than the weather, or our office" (1.1.36-7), and a few lines later the mariners cry, "To prayers! To prayers!" (1.1.51).	***Again the concept Kathman would derive from Strachey was used by Shakespeare at least by 1599, the generally accepted date for* Henry V:** humbly **pray them** to admit the excuse… Behold, the English beach Pales in **the flood** with **men, with wives, and boys,/ Whose shouts and claps out-voice the deep-mouth'd sea**… *Henry V*, prologue, 5.9-11. **how the poor souls roared**, and the **sea mocked them**; and how the poor gentleman roared and the bear mocked him, both roaring louder than **the sea or weather.** *Winter's Tale* (3.3.104-105)
4) Strachey tells how "in the beginning of the storme we had received likewise a mighty leake" (8); Gonzalo says the ship in the play is "as leaky as an unstanched wench" (1.1.47-48).	***Nor did Shakespeare require Strachey to instruct him that ships sometimes leaked:*** **Leak'd is our bark** *Timon of Athens* (4.2.23) **Her boat hath a leak** *King Lear* (3.6.17) ***Or that "leaky" could be a metaphor:*** Sir, sir, thou'rt **so leaky** *Antony and Cleopatra* (3.11.80)

5) Strachey says that "there was not a moment in which the sodaine splitting, or instant oversetting of the Shippe was not expected" (8); the mariners in the play cry, "We split, we split!" (1.1.61).	***Or that ships "split":*** That the ship Should house him safe is **wreck'd and split** *Pericles,* Prologue to Act 2 (31-32) Assure yourself, after **our ship did split**… *Twelfth Night* (1.2.9) Whiles, in his moan, the ship **splits** on the ro ck… *3 Henry VI* (5.4.10)
6) Strachey tells how "we . . . had now purposed to have cut down the Maine Mast" (12); the boatswain in the play cries, "Down with the topmast!" (1.1.34).	***Or that masts were blown overboard or taken down:*** What though **the mast** be now blown overboard, The cable broke, the holding-anchor lost, And half our sailors swallow'd in the flood? *3 Henry VI* (5.4.3-5)

7) Strachey tells how the sailors "threw over-boord much luggage . . . and staved many a Butt of Beere, Hogsheads of Oyle, Syder, Wine, and Vinegar, and heaved away all our Ordnance on the Starboord side" (12). Stephano says that "I escap'd upon a butt of sack which the sailors heav'd o'erboard" (2.2.121-22), and later tells Caliban to "bear this away where my hogshead of wine is" (4.1.250-51); both Caliban (4.1.231) and Alonso (5.1.299) call the stolen apparel "luggage."	***In Strachey, the "luggage" is thrown overboard, and many of the casks are "staved" – pierced so that the drink ran out and into the sea. In Tempest, Stephano survives drowning by floating ashore on a full hogshead of wine, which he later consumes with the revelers. Although we would never cite these discrepancies as evidence that Shakespeare could not have relied on an account such as Strachey's, it is obvious that the critical lexical items on which the comparison depends were part of his vocabulary long before Tempest was written:*** Come, bring your **luggage** nobly on your back *1Henry IV* (5.4.160) I must stay with the lackeys, with **the luggage** of our camp *Henry V* (4. 4.69-70) Kill the poys and **the luggage** … *Henry V* (4.7.1) Overboard: What though the mast be now blown **over-board**, The cable broke, the holding-anchor lost, And half our sailors swallow'd in the flood? *3 Henry VI* (5.4.3-5) I threw her **overboard** with these very arms. *Pericles* (5.3.21)

8) Strachey says that "who was most armed, and best prepared, was not a little shaken" (6); Prospero asks, "Who was so firm, so constant, that this coil / Would not infect his reason?" (1.2.207-08).	***Both the grammatical construction and the language is original to Shakespeare, repeated many times, not an imitation of Strachey:*** Or **who is he so fond** will be the tomb Of his self-love, to stop posterity? (Sonnet 3) **What is your substance**, whereof are you made, That millions of strange shadows on you tend? (Sonnet 53) ***Moreover, Shakespeare had also spontaneously linked them to the idea of a human "coil," in response to a terrifying storm, decades before conceiving Tempest:*** **If there were reason for these miseries**, Then into limits could I bind my woes: When heaven doth weep, doth not the earth o'erflow? If the winds rage, doth not the sea wax mad, Threatening the welkin with his big-swoln face? And **wilt thou have a reason for this coil ?** *Titus Andronicus* (3.1.220-225)
9) Strachey says that "Our Governour was . . . both by his speech and authoritie heartening every man unto his labour" (10); as soon as he appears, King Alonso says, "Good boatswain, have care. Where's the Master? Play the men"	***Kathman seems unaware that the phrase, "play the men" occurs in the Bible (Gen. and most Tudor trans., 2 Sam. 13.28; Gen. only, 1 Sam. 4.9; 2 Sam. 1.12, AV only), as well as being well attested in Shakespeare's earlier works:*** When they shall hear how we have **play'd the men**. *1 Henry VI* (1.1.17)

10) Strachey: "Sir George Somers . . . had an apparition of a little round light, like a faint Starre, trembling, and streaming along with a sparkeling blaze, halfe the height upon the Maine Mast, and shooting sometimes from Shroud to Shroud, tempting to settle as it were upon any of the foure Shrouds . . . running sometimes along the Maine-yard to the very end, and then returning . . . but upon a sodaine, towards the morning watch, they lost the sight of it, and knew not which way it made . . . Could it have served us now miraculously to have taken our height by, it might have strucken amazement" (11-12).	*The account of St. Elmo's fire as part of the Bermuda tempest is unique to Strachey, which has provoked the suspicion that the event represents Strachey's literary embroidery, borrowed from one of a large number of precedent sources, which include Eden, Erasmus, Ariosto, De Ulloa, Tomson, etc. For the case that Shakespeare's version more closely resembles the account found in Eden, see Stritmatter and Kositsky, "Brave New World."*
Ariel. I boarded the King's ship; now on the beak, Now in the waist, the deck, in every cabin, I flam'd amazement. Sometimes I'ld divide, And burn in many places; on the topmast, The yards and boresprit, would I flame distinctly, Then meet and join. Jove's lightning, the precursors O' th' dreadful thunder-claps, more momentary And sight-outrunning were not (1.2.196-203)	*Although this is the only one of Kathman's examples of storm motifs supposedly derived from the Bermuda literature for which there is no obvious precedent in Shakespeare, examples from Lear and Julius Caesar may prove an interesting point of reference:* The **sea**, with such a storm as his bare head In **hell**-black night endured, would have buoy'd up, And quench'd **the stelled fires**… *King Lear* (3.7.65-67) *(Pliny called St. Elmo's Fire "stars".)* A tempest **dropping fire**… *Julius Caesar* (1.3.10)

11) Jourdain says that "all our men, being utterly spent, tyred, and disabled for longer labour, were even resolved, without any hope of their lives, to shut up the hatches" (4-5) and "were fallen asleepe in corners" (6); Ariel describes "The mariners all under hatches stowed, / Who, with a charm joined to their suff'red labor / I have left asleep" (1.2.230-32). Strachey mentions "hatches" four times (10, 10, 13, 25); Shakespeare in Act 5 again mentions "the mariners asleep / Under the hatches" (5.98-99), and the boatswain says, "We were dead of sleep, / And (how we know not) all clapp'd under hatches" (5.230-31).	*To Kathman it is significant that both Shakespeare and Jourdain – not Strachey – mention "hatches." The significant discrepancies between the two versions are, however, omitted from Kathman's essay: in Shakespeare the sailors fell asleep in the hold, i.e., under the hatches, but in Jourdain the water was so deep in the holds that they had given up hope of bailing it out, and wanted to shut the hatches up and stay above them. In Jourdain's text, moreover, the motif of sailors falling asleep in corners has nothing to do with the shutting of the hatches. Kathman has spliced together two unrelated passages in order to create a stronger impression of intertextuality.* *In any case, Shakespeare had been writing about hatches for at least twelve years before* Tempest: If he come **under my hatches**, I'll never to sea again. *Merry Wives of Windsor* (2.1.19) And, in my company, my brother Gloucester; Who from my cabin tempted me to walk Upon the **hatches**: thence we looked toward England As we paced along Upon the giddy footing of the **hatches**, Methought that Gloucester stumbled; and, in falling, Struck me, that thought to stay him, overboard, Into the tumbling billows of the main. *Richard III* (1.4.9-18) I stood upon the **hatches** in the storm… *2 Henry VI* (3.2.104) Sir, we have a chest beneath the **hatches**, caulked and bitumed ready. *Pericles* (3.1.75-76)

12) Jourdain says that the sailors "drunke one to the other, taking their last leave one of the other" (5); in the play the boatswain says, "What, must our mouths be cold?" (1.1.52), after which Antonio complains, "We are merely cheated of our lives by drunkards" (1.1.56), and Sebastian says "Let's take our leave of him" (1.1.64).	***Kathman finds it significant that both Jourdain and Shakespeare mention sailors who had been drinking, but it is obvious that the cliché had occurred to Shakespeare long before Jourdain's account was written:*** Lives **like a drunken sailor on a mast** Ready with every nod to tumble down/Into the fatal bowels of the deep. *Richard III* (3.5.103-105) ***There is no mention in Jourdain (or Strachey) of the critical Tempest element that the negligence of the drinking sailors resulted in loss of life. For a parallel to this passage, we must turn to the earliest account of Henry May's Bermudian shipwreck in 1593:*** ***It was his fortune to have his ship cast away, upon the north-west part of the isle of Bermuda...The pilots… certified the captaine that they were out of all danger; so they demanded of him their wine of height, the which they had…After they had their wine, careless of their charge which they took in hand, being as it were drunken, through their negligence a number of good men were cast away (Foster 28).***

13) Strachey says that "death is accompanied at no time, nor place with circumstances so uncapable of particularities of goodnesse and inward comforts, as at Sea" (6); Gonzalo says, "Now would I give a thousand furlongs of sea for an acre of barren ground, long heath, brown furze, any thing. The wills above be done! But I would fain die a dry death" (1.1.65-68). 14) Strachey tells how "we were inforced to run [the ship] ashoare, as neere the land as we could, which brought us within three quarters of a mile of shoare" (13); Jourdain adds that the ship "fell in between two rockes, where she was fast lodged and locked, for further budging" (7). Ariel in *The Tempest*, after confirming for Prospero that the ship was "nigh shore" (1.2.216) says, "Safely in harbor / Is the King's ship, in the deep nook" (1.2.226-27).	***Surprisingly, Kathman does not notice that the idea of a nautical voyager preferring or being destined to a "dry death" occurs conspicuously in*** **Two Gentlemen of Verona,** ***a play written many years before*** **Tempest:** Go, go, be gone, **to save your ship from wreck,** Which cannot perish having thee aboard, **Being destined to a drier death on shore.** *Two Gentlemen of Verona* (1.1.139-141)
15) Strachey tells how "we were inforced to run [the ship] ashoare, as neere the land as we could, which brought us within three quarters of a mile of shoare" (13); Jourdain adds that the ship "fell in between two rockes, where she was fast lodged and locked, for further budging" (7). Ariel in *The Tempest*, after confirming for Prospero that the ship was "nigh shore" (1.2.216) says, "Safely in harbor / Is the King's ship, in the deep nook" (1.2.226-27).	My name, Pericles; My education....in arts and arms; Who, looking for adventures in the world, Was by the rough seas reft of ships and men, And after **shipwreck driven upon this shore.** *Pericles* (2.3.87-91) Whiles, in his moan, **the ship splits on the** rock, Which industry and courage might have saved? *3 Henry VI* (5.4.10-11)

Endnotes

[1] Vaughan, Alden. "William Strachey's 'True Reportory' and Shakespeare: a Closer Look at the Evidence," *Shakespeare Quarterly* Fall *2008,* 245-73.

[2] Stritmatter, Roger and Lynne Kositsky. "Shakespeare and the Voyagers Revisited," *Review of English Studies*, 58:236 (Fall 2007), 447-472.

[3] Abbreviations used in this article: *TR=True Reportory*; *TD=True Declaration of the Estate of the Colony in Virgini*a (S122265); *B*=Hume manuscript of early *TR* draft; Discovery=Jourdain's *Discovery of the Barmudas* (S109240); *PP=Purchas His Pilgrimes* (S111862); *H of T= History of Travail in Virginia*.

[4] Vaughan, "Evidence," 245. In addition to challenging our presumed motives (to redate the *Tempest* before 1604), Vaughan disparages us as "the prominent anti-Stratfordians" who have "launched *an unparalleled attack*….on Strachey and his letter" (262; emphasis added). As this quotation illustrates, Vaughan's lack of objectivity is conspicuous in the prejudicial verbs used to summarize our discourse: not only do we "attack"; we also "charge"; "label"; "misrepresent" and "berate," and all in the same paragraph! These terms, however, are more indicative of Professor Vaughan's state of mind than they are descriptive of the actual tone and manner of our article. We did not "launch an unparalleled attack" on anything; however, we did invite readers to critically consider the unexamined "assumptions" – to again use Vaughan's own revealing word – bolstering the standard thesis of Strachey's influence on *The Tempest*.

[5] Malone, Edmund. *Account of the Incidents from which The Title and Part of the Story of Shakespeare's Tempest Were derived: and its True Date Ascertained*, 1808.

[6] Vaughan, "Evidence," 245.

[7] Vaughan, "Evidence," 267.

[8] Shaksper discussion group, 03/20/01, http://www.shaksper.net/archives/2001/0650.html. In Lindley's view, while "the Strachey letter is a *possible* source for *The Tempest,* it is not a *necessary* source, in the way that Ovid or Montaigne both are, nor does it provide a particular point of reference in the way that The Aeneid does." Accessed 2/7/09. Our emphasis. Lindley is of course, discussing only the direct evidence "from sign" for Strachey's influence on *Tempest,* not the circumstantial question of whether Strachey's text was completed in time for it to have even been a "possible" source.

[9] Gurr, Andrew. "*The Tempest*'s Tempest at Blackfriars," *Shakespeare Survey* 41, 91-102. In personal communication with the authors (11/28/05), Gurr confirms his belief that *Tempest* may be dated too early for Strachey to have been a source, even assuming a traditional scenario like Vaughan's.

[10] Elze, Karl. "The Date of *The Tempest*" in *Essays on Shakespeare*. Translated with the author's sanction by Dora L. Schmitz. London: Macmillan & Co., 1874.

[11] Hunter, Rev. Joseph. *Disquisition on the Scene, Origin, Date & etc. of Shakespeare's Tempest* (1839). Perhaps it is not surprising that Vaughan's summary of the traditions of doubt over the Strachey theory (245-46) is conspicuously devoid of any citations to the 19th century debate over the Malone theory. Citing this relevant scholarship – including such early critics of the Malone hypothesis as Hunter (1839) or Elze (1874), not to mention modern critics of the Strachey theory such as Lindley or Gurr, would have jeopardized Vaughan's implicit thesis that there is a necessary connection between skepticism over the "standard thesis" and either chronological revisionism or an anti-Stratfordian perspective.

[12] Muir, Kenneth. *The Sources of Shakespeare's Plays*, New Haven, Ct.: Yale University Press, 1977, 280.

[13] McCarthy, Penny. "Some *Quises* and *Quems*: Shakespeare's True Debt to Nashe," in *New Studies in the Shakespearean Heroine. The Shakespeare Yearbook*, 14 (2004), 176.

[14] Thus, in progressive sciences such as archaeology, where technological advances and robust research programs continue to recover additional data, the dates of sequences such as the earliest human habitation of the Americas, continue to be revised backward.

[15] Moreover, absence of evidence is not evidence of absence. Some plays may not have been produced until long after their dates of composition or completion.

[16] Vaughan, "Evidence," 245.

[17] Vaughan, "Evidence," 245.

[18] Vaughan, "Evidence," 245.

[19] Luce, Morton (ed). *The Tempest*. London: Methuen & Co., 1902, summarizes: Malone's list "excludes the most important of all these contemporary documents, viz. Strachey's Reportory or Letter" (149). Instead of basing his case on Strachey, as Vaughan incorrectly implies, Malone's alleged verbal parallels (30-34) are based on Jourdain and TD.

[20] Vaughan, "Evidence," 273.

[21] Understanding how Malone and Luce each came to hold his opinion is essential to a full appreciation of the extent of Vaughan's own errors. Malone did identify a pamphlet, which he erroneously attributed to Strachey, as a possible candidate for Tempest influence. *The Proceedings of the English Colonie in Virginia*, from 1606 to the Present Year 1612, ascribed to "W.S." (xxx), actually written by John Smith, does not mention the Bermuda shipwreck, and today is not regarded, even by Vaughan, as a hypothetical *Tempest* source. Another Malone nominee, Sylvester Jourdain's *Discovery of the Barmudas* (1610; republished with emendations as by "W.C." in 1613), does describe the Bermuda shipwreck, and did manage to gain

traction during the 19th century as a possible *Tempest* source, only to be refuted – convincingly, in our view – by Hunter and Elze (and, ultimately, Furness) as improbable. Vaughan goes out of his way to minimize, as inimical to his monolithic view of critical history, the extended history of disagreement over the vector of influence through which the Somers wreck allegedly excited Shakespeare's imagination. This history, recounted in abbreviated form in our *RES* article, goes back to the 19th century disputes between Malone and his critics, most prominently Hunter and Elze, includes the confusions of Furness (1892), and continues up to the present in the lack of agreement between Vaughan and Hume over whether the B and *TR* (see our analysis below, FN 152) versions of the Strachey narrative constitute equally probable sources of *Tempest* influence.

[22] The development of the theory of Strachey's influence, up to and including Vaughan's article, constitutes a tangled web of misconstruction, assumption, and error, involving the critical intervention of at least half a dozen scholars, among whom Luce is only one critical link in the chain. Furness in 1892 had already successfully challenged some of Malone's misconceptions, given fair play to the objections of such 19th-century skeptics as Elze and Hunter, and named, for the first time *True Reportory* – which he had, however, not yet seen or read – as a hypothetical alternative to Malone's fourteen unfruitful speculations, but it remained for Luce to transform Furness' speculations into what would shortly become the "standard thesis." It is instructive to review, as Vaughan does not, the actual merits and weaknesses of the case Luce made for Strachey's influence (and, to a lesser extent, TD) on *Tempest*.

[23] Furness, Horace Howard. *The Tempest: A New Variorum Edition Shakespeare*. New York: Dover. 1964 reprint of 1892 ed. Furness was apparently first to propose that *The Tempest* might be indebted to a work by William Strachey. To match his source with the play, he invented an imaginary 1612 publication date for *True Reportory,* and then supposed that *The Tempest* itself was not written until 1613 (312-313).

[24] Stritmatter and Kositsky, 448 fn. 2. Furness accurately summarizes the view of Elze and Hunter – among others – that "the parallelisms which were to Malone so remarkable and so convincing in Jourdain's pamphlet, were either commonplace or non-existent" (313). Charles Mills Gayley, agreeing two decades later, concedes that "from none of [alleged parallels in the first pages] should we conclude that [Shakespeare] was dependent on Jourdain," and in the remainder of the book "there is nothing uniquely suggestive of any feature of Shakespeare's *Tempest*" (*Shakespeare and the Founders of Liberty in America,* New York, MacMillan, 1917, 48). This concession is remarkable given Gayley's corresponding confidence in Strachey's role in shaping The Tempest.

[25] Luce, Arden, xiii.

[26] Luce, Arden, xiv.

[27] Stritmatter and Kositsky, "Voyagers," 450.

[28] Or Hakluyt. See discussion, infra.

[29] Luce, Arden, 152; 154.

[30] Luce, Arden, 152.

[31] Harl. 7009, fol. 58.

[32] It might be argued that Luce's omission merely results from less strict standards of documentation employed in early 20th century scholarship, but this theory is contradicted by Luce's fastidious attention to bibliographical detail for the other texts in question (which differs only from wholly modern conventions by not listing STC numbers, which did not exist in 1902). His omission of the Purchas date is all the more conspicuous by contrast.

[33] Luce, Arden, 154; emphasis added.

[34] Luce, Arden, 154.

[35] Luce, Arden, 154.

[36] Vaughan, "Evidence," 251.

[37] Not only does Vaughan neglect to address the fundamental problems of whether Purchas applied his system consistently (he did not), but he also fails to clarify what Purchas' nomenclature was even *supposed* to denote. Vaughan's own analysis shows that the absence of a "P" *does not mean* that Purchas merely reprinted a received Hakluyt text unmodified. The extent of the modification required to justify, in Purchas' own mind, the addition of the "P" is not clarified by Vaughan's analysis, which instead depends on the reader's acceptance of unjustified assumptions convenient to Vaughan's argument. It is by no means obvious, as Vaughan requires, that Purchas would not add the *TD* conclusion to the Strachey document as descended through Hakluyt without feeling any obligation to append a "P" to the chapter's Table of Contents, or even remembering to do so. Vaughan's argument that Purchas would not have failed to annotate his modifications – because he would have been "proud" of his "collaboration" with Hakluyt – is to confuse a credible theory of Purchas' motivation with Vaughan's need to assure the reader that his scenario is the only plausible one.

[38] The passage from Strachey's narrative that would seem most objectionable to the Virginia company, namely his vivid description of the desolate condition of Jamestown on the 23 May 1609 arrival of the Bermuda survivors, is borrowed by Strachey from de La Warre's June 7 Dispatch to the Company: "Viewing the fort, we found the palisades torn down, the ports open, the gates from off the hinges, and empty (which owner's death had taken from them) rent up and burnt, rather than the dwellers would step into the woods a stone's cast off from them to fetch other firewood. And, it is true,

the Indian killed as fast without, if our men stirred but beyond the hounds of their blockhouse, as famine and pestilence did within" (Wright 64). While it is conceivable that the Virginia Company authorities would have opposed the publication of such a description, it is important to remember that similar vividly negative reports of colonial life are documented in the published literature of the day. For example, T*he New Life of Virginea: Declaring the former successe and present estate of that plantation Being the Second part of Nova Britannia,* a work "Published by Authoritie of his MAJESTIES COUNSELL of Virginea" in 1612 reports on Jamestown "as a hostile Campe within it selfe: in which distemper that envious man stept in, sowing plentifull tares in the hearts of all, which grew to such speedie confusion, that in few moneths, Ambition, sloth and idlenes had devoured the fruits of former labours, planting and sowing were cleane given over, *the houses decaied, the Church fell to ruine, the store was spent, the cattell consumed, our people starved, and the poore Indians by wrongs and injuries were made our enemies, two of the ships returning home perished upon the point of Ushant, the rest of the fleet came ship after ship, laden with nothing but bad reports and letters of discouragement*" (*Virtual Jamestown*; our emphasis; 1612)

[39] PP, 3.XXXI.2 (A3v).

[40] *PP*, 4.10.1950.

[41] *PP*, 4.10.1950. Our emphasis.

[42] *PP,* 4.1432. Our emphasis. We are indebted to Tom Reedy for these and following examples of Purchas' and Hakluyt's contrasting editorial styles.

[43] Vaughan "Evidence," 249.

[44] Vaughan "Evidence," 267. fn 55.

[45] Personal communication, 1/09.

[46] There are only five instances of the usage in *Principal Navigations*, once in the 1589 "To the Favourable Reader" (A4v) twice in the 1599 "Epistle Dedicatorie to Sir Robert Cecil" (A3v, A4v), and twice in an introduction on 1.53-54). Hakluyt doesn't use the expression when inserting material from other sources.

[47] Tom Reedy (personal communication) calculates that there are 43 total occurrences of such uses in *PP* (discounting the usage in Strachey); of these, 3 are in titles, 10 in marginal notes. Of the remaining 30, only 8 are clearly authorial (comparing PP with available original sources), and one is impossible to determine. Of the 22 clearly by Purchas, 9 do not refer to inserted material. Omitting Strachey, there are 11 examples of Purchas using the word as it is used in *TR*.

[48] Parks, George Bruner. *Richard Hakluyt and the English Voyages*. New York:, American Geographical Society, 10 (1928): 181-82.

[49] Parks, *English Voyagers*, 229. Notwithstanding such testimony, Vaughan confidently assures us that Hakluyt is not only responsible for the appended extract from *TD*, but also

"probably….for the one deletion in Strachey's text" (251) evident in the Purchas volume. For several reasons this is problematic. We are indebted to Tom Reedy for alerting us to C.R. Steele's analysis of the conveyance of material from Hakluyt to Purchas, published in *The Hakluyt Handbook* (D. B. Quinn, ed. Volume I. 1974): of 73 entries marked H by Purchas, 39, or 53 percent, were abbreviated by Purchas (83). An example is *A large relation of the Port Ricco Voiage; written, as is reported, by the learned man and reverend Divine Doctor Layfield,…Chaplaine and Attendant in that expedition*, which is marked only with an "H" in Purchas' table of contents, even though Purchas has clearly intervened with major deletions, and the title concludes with the phrase "very much abbreviated." The narrative itself begins on *PP* 4.1155, with a long introduction by Purchas that includes the following acknowledgment of the abridgement:

> [This] is a copious discourse, which we have somewhat abridged; both in the former part of the History, which you already have from Him which best knew it; and in the rest, in some superfluities or digressions (seeming such at least to me, who having so much work, make myself more to make my reader less) providing nevertheless that not a drop of necessary blood be lost… (*PP* 4.1154).

The statistics compiled by Steele reinforce the portrait of Hakluyt's conservatism as given by Parks; contrary to Vaughan's argument, Hakluyt rarely engaged in significant deletions. Finally, one might also wonder how Vaughan can be so confident that this is *the only* deletion to Strachey's text. To transform the only *acknowledged* deletion into *the only* deletion, ignoring the possibility that other deletions may have occurred without editorial notification, is to engage in an act of faith. Moreover, in the effort to establish this unlikely scenario, which is so thoroughly contradicted by such expert testimony as Steele and Parks, Vaughan introduces a number of straw man innuendos, attributing to us (overtly or by implication) positions that we never held. For example, "In 1625, there was no earthly reason to append anything to *TR* that was not already there, and certainly no purpose in changing the document's date" (256). Who said that Purchas changed the document's date? On the contrary, we stated that Purchas probably had no reason to know the manuscript's detailed history; our hypothesis was not that Purchas changed the date, but that in the absence of more specific information, Purchas (or, possibly, Hakluyt) did what any other early modern editor would have done: he appended, as the manuscript's date, a date internal to the document. This editorial date is no more than a long-after-the-fact approximation, inserted to support the chronological coherence of the larger narrative (*Purchas His Pilgrimes*) of which Strachey's document as published constitutes merely a chapter.

[50] Vaughan, "Evidence," 267. Vaughan asserts that that the language of the transitional passage "evokes recent events…rather than over a decade of hindsight" (251). We disagree. "I have here inserted" does sound like a recent action, but the remainder of the statement has no such air of immediacy and instead seems to recall events not only past but completed (see analysis infra., 52-57).

[51] Vaughan, "Evidence," 266. Far from "peremptorily rejecting" Wright's theory, we argued, in extenso and for several reasons, that the transitional passage was most likely by Strachey, but we did not rule out Purchas, saying only that examination of that scenario would lead to other problems for *TR*'s textual integrity that were themselves uncongenial to the "standard thesis" (Stritmatter and Kositsky, "Voyagers," 457-458).

[52] Vaughan, "Evidence," 251. Vaughan persists in dating the *TR* manuscript to 15 July 1610, even though we pointed out that it is an error to treat a date from within the narrative as the work's composition date. This habit of selecting "facts" which don't actually pass the elementary fact test is further evidenced when he labors to prove that Sylvester Jourdain must have borrowed from Strachey, and not the other way around. To prove that Jourdain's *Discovery* antedates *TR*, Vaughan repeats the slip on which Luce had based his case for Strachey's influence in 1902 by giving the date of Jourdain's dedication (13 October 1610) while ignoring the document's actual history. *The latest entry of Jourdain's own publication deals with the events of June 19*, when Sir George Somers began his return to Bermuda to re-supply Jamestown. Ironically, Vaughan does not seem to notice that by his own implicit argument — that a document can and in fact should be dated by its last internal date — then Jourdain *predates TR by almost a month*. Only by mixing chronological apples and oranges (not to mention ignoring contradictory evidence) can Vaughan perpetuate the misconstruction that the chronology favors his theory that Jourdain borrowed from Strachey. Comparing one internal date with another, chronology clearly favors Strachey as the borrower; if, on the other hand, we employ publication or registration dates, Jourdain's text (13 Oct. 1610) predates Strachey's (1625) by fifteen years.

[53] Vaughan wants to have it both ways; he wants to preserve the fiction that the date is really a *terminus ad quem* but also insists that Strachey anticipated rather than recorded an event which had not yet taken place – the departure of Kainta to England.

[54] Tom Reedy observes that there are several excerpts and letters in Purchas that appear to be added by the author, using the word "inserted," and that in other cases of such insertions the genesis is indeterminate. Authors inserting material themselves, according to Reedy, include Captain John Saris (1.4.337.3) George Sandys

(2.8.1287.56-57), Marc Lescarbot or his translator (4.8.1621.21), and Edward Monoxe (2.10.1797.44), who writes: "The certaintie of the Treatie I had no meanes to know, yet what I heard reported shall be here inserted."

[55] Vaughan, "Evidence," 254.

[56] Vaughan, "Evidence," 255.

[57] Vaughan, "Evidence," 245.

[58] Wright, *TR*, 95-97.

[59] Vaughan cites the introduction of *TD* to illustrate his point about "palliation," but as this passage is *not* excerpted in *TR*, and the actual excerpt from *TD* fails to provide the slightest assurance of palliative intent or function (except perhaps a rather bizarre and half-hearted attempt to deny the existence of famine in the Colony by retelling an account of a man who killed and cut up his wife and ate her, but did so even though there was plenty of available food), this argument seems at best dubious. If the purpose was to use *TD* to palliate, why weren't the "palliatives" applied?

[60] Vaughan, "Evidence," 256

[61] Vaughan, "Evidence," 255.

[62] As the *TD* excerpt summarizes the circumstances: "Cast up this reckoning together: want of government, store of idleness, their expectations frustrated by the Traitors, their market spoiled by the Mariners, our nets broken, the deer chased, our boats lost, our hogs killed, our trade with the Indians forbidden, some of our men fled, some murdered, and most by drinking the brackish water of James fort weakened, and endangered famine and sickness by all these means increased, here at home the monies came in so slowly, that the Lo. Laware could not be dispatched, till the Colony was worn and spent with difficulties: Above all, having neither Ruler, nor Preacher, they neither feared God nor man, which provoked the wrath of the Lord of Hosts, and pulled down his judgements upon them. *Discite Justitiam moniti*" (Wright 99-100).

[63] The *TD* writer is quick to state that there was food in the house, to make sure that readers understand the husband didn't eat his wife because the colonists were starving.

[64] Vaughan, "Evidence," 257.

[65] Vaughan, "Evidence," 255

[66] Vaughan "Evidence," 256.

[67] Wright, *TR*: "When all things were made ready, and commodiously fitted, the wind coming fair, we set sail and put off from the Barmudas, the tenth day of May, in the year 1610, and arrived at James towne in Virginia, the four and twentieth day of the same Month: where we found some threescore persons living. And being then some three weeks or thereabouts passed, and not hearing of any supply, it was thought fitting by a general consent to use the best means for the preservation of all those people

that were living, being all in number two hundred persons [including those arriving from Bermuda]. And so upon the eight of June 1610, we imbarked at James Towne, not having above fourteen days victual, and so were determined to direct our course for New-found-land, there to refresh us, and supply our selves with victual, to bring us home; but it pleased God to dispose otherwise of us, and to give us better means. For being all of us shipped in four pinnaces, and departed from the town, almost down half the River, we met my Lord de la Warre coming by with three ships, well furnished with victual, which revived all the company, and gave them great content" (114-115).

[68] Another paradox of Vaughan's argument results from his assurance that Virginia Company authorities frowned at Strachey's document because of its extravagantly rosy description of Bermuda; Jourdain's published "praise of Bermuda [in *Discovery*] was less fulsome than Strachey's...." (Vaughan, "Evidence," 256). But Vaughan does not mention that King James in 1612 extended a Somers Island patent to the Virginia Company; in 1615 these former Virginia Company shareholders were licensed to form their own separate Somers Island Company (Craven, Wesley Frank. 1997. *The Virginia Company of London, 1606-1624*. Jamestown 350th Anniversary Historical Booklet #5. Baltimore Md: Genealogical Pub. Co., 34). Thus, for some years after Gates' 1610 return to England, company insiders would have had little reason to deprecate a document that reported favorably on the potential for Bermuda settlement. The actual content of Jourdain's *Discovery* further undermines the claim that Strachey's overly optimistic account of Bermuda could have prevented its publication; Jourdain's treatment of the idylls of Bermuda, although not as developed as Strachey's, reads like a Jacobean version of a modern travel industry brochure:

For the Islands of the Barmudas, as every man knows that has heard or read of them, were never inhabited by any Christian or Heathen people, but ever esteemed, and reputed, a most prodigious and enchanted place....yet did we find there the air so temperate, and the Country so abundantly fruitful of all fit necessaries for the sustentation and preservation of mans life...out of the abundance thereof, provided some reasonable quantitie and proportion of provision, to carry us for Virginia, and to maintain our selves, and that company we found there, to the great relief of them, as it fell out in their so great extremities, and in respect of the shortness of time, until it pleased God, that by my Lord de la Wars coming thither, their store was better was better supplied. And greater; & better provision we might have made, if we had had better means for the storing and transportation thereof. Wherefore my opinion sincerely of this Island is, that whereas it has been, and is still accounted, the most dangerous,

> unfortunate, and most forlorn place of the world, it is in truth the richest, healthfullest, and pleasing land, (the quantity and bigness thereof considered) and merely natural, as ever man set foot upon. (Wright 109).
>
> Jourdain's narrative goes on to advertise the fecundity of the Bermuda landscape, where colonists may easily find rockfish, mullets, large birds and tortoises, and their eggs, mulberries, Palmetto tree berries, whales, "divers" fruits, hogs, hawks, tobacco, etc. Explicitly contradicting Vaughan's thesis that the Virginia Company wanted to avoid public praise of the islands (and that Jourdain's publication was authorized by them), he even remarks that "the particular profits and benefits whereof, shall be more especially inserted, and hereunto annexed, which every man to his own private knowledge, that was there, can avouch and justify for a truth" (Wright 109).

[69] Malone, *Incidents*, 22.

[70] Vaughan, "Evidence," 269.

[71] Unfortunately, Vaughan's survey of the critical literature substantiating the extent of Strachey's "borrowings" is thin and unrepresentative. See, for example, Culliford, S.G., *William Strachey, 1572-1621* (Charlottesville, VA, 1965): "The 6th chapter of Strachey's 2nd book [of *History of travail*], describing the voyage of captain Bartholomew Gosnold in 1602 is condensed directly from [John Brereton] and has no other source" (177); "The 2nd chapter describing the voyage of captains Amadis and Barlowe, is taken entirely from Hakluyt, rearranged and condensed....the whole chapter can be paralleled....from Hakluyt" (176); "A condensation of James Rosier['s] work occupies about half of Strachey's 7th chapter in book 2" (177); "Strachey borrowed about four fifths of Smith's [*Map*] and included every passage actually describing the people, the country, or its products" (178); "Smith's *Map of Virginia* provided the basis of the whole of Strachey's 1st book" (179). "[Strachey] reproduces [James Davies'] account almost in full, merely changing it from the 1st to the 3rd person" (182-183).

[72] Unfortunately, even these critics of Strachey's practices have routinely failed to give equal attention to TR, which has instead been largely exempted from scrutiny due to the pervasive influence of, and need to perpetuate, the "standard thesis."

[73] Vaughan, "Evidence," 269, fn. 62.

[74] Stritmatter and Kositsky, "Voyagers," 454-456. We cite Rev. B.F. Da Costa's study, "Norumbega and its English Explorers," (1884), in J. Winsor (ed.), *Narrative and Critical History of America*. Vol. 3. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., online at the Davistown Museum. According to Da Costa, the journal of Mr. James Davies, recounting a voyage to Kennebec in 1607, "was found to be the source whence Strachey drew his account of the [Virginia] colony, large portions of which he copied verbatim, giving no credit." Numerous similar quotations throughout the literature

of the voyagers, almost none acknowledged by Vaughan, corroborate the view that Strachey was among the least original of all the early modern ethno-historians.

[75] Major, R.H., ed. *The Historie of travaile into Virginia Britannia expressing the cosmographie and comodities of the country, together with the manners and customes of the people. By William Strachey.* London: Printed for the Hackluyt Society, 1849.

[76] Vaughan, "Evidence," 269.

[77] Vaughan, "Evidence," 268; emphasis added.

[78] Stritmatter and Kositsky, "Voyagers," 453-459.

[79] Vaughan, "Evidence," 268.

[80] As we noted (453), this cannot be his subsequent *H of T*, which does not mention Bermuda.

[81] *A True Declaration of the Estate of the Colonie in Virginia. Published by advise and direction of the Councell of Virginia*. London: William Barret, 1610. On-line edition accessed at Virtual Jamestown, http://etext.lib.virginia.edu/etcbin /jamestown, Accessed 2/28/09.

[82] They were so secret in fact, that for the most part we do not know who wrote them or what they wrote.

[83] We have interpreted "The Judicial Council of Virginia" to be de La Warre's newly constituted Council in Virginia, rather than the Company Council still in London, because only the members of the Council in Virginia would have the information necessary for fashioning TD.

[84] See Wright 85-86 for a complete list. Strachey, as secretary to the colony council, is on it, one of many.

[85] As the Colony's secretary and one of five signatories to this document, Strachey may well have been part author of this document, but it appears to be in the first person voice of De La Warre, and it narrates experiences such as De La Warre's voyage to Virginia, to which Strachey was not a witness.

[86] For example, this passage from Strachey describing events that took place months before his arrival in Jamestown: Even more curiously, both Strachey and the author of *TD* have interwoven the passage about Captain Francis West at the Falls, which seems likely to have originated with Percy, with descriptive materials from Richard Eden's 1555 *Decades of the Newe Worlde*. That the author of *TD* mentions in passing places referred to in Eden suggests that he was directly influenced by the earlier writer rather than by Strachey.

Eden 1555	*True Declaration* 1610	*True Reportory* 1625
For in many regions…they find wholesome and temperate air, in such places where as the earth bringeth forth fair springs of water, or where wholesome rivers run by banks of pure earth without mud: but most especially where they inhabit the sides of the hills and not the valleys. But that the habitation which is on the banks of the river of *Dariena* is situate in a deep valley and environed on every side with high hills…Their habitation therefore in *Dariena* is pernicious and unwholesome only of the particular nature of the place… The place is also contagious by the nature of the soil, by reason it is compassed about with muddy and stinking marshes. The infection whereof is not a little increased by the heat. The village itself is in a marsh, and in manner a standing puddle…furthermore, where to ever they dig the ground the depth of a handful and a half there springeth out unwholesome and corrupt water of the nature of the river…Now therefore they consult on moving their habitation….They had no respect to change the place although they were thus vexed by the contagion of the soil and heat of the sun, beside the corrupt water and infectious air by reason of venomous vapors…(121v-122) from the trees and herbs whereof, when the morning dews began to rise, there proceeded many sweet savours (29).	No man ought to judge of any country by the fens and marshes (such as is the place where Jamestown stands) except we will condemn all England for the wilds and hundreds of Kent and Essex. **In our particular, we have an infallible proof of the temper of the country, for of an hundred and odd which were seated at the Falls under the government of Captain Francis West, and of an hundred to the seaward on the south side of the river, (in the country of Nansemonds) under the charge of Captain John Martin, of all these two hundred there did not so much as one man miscarry. When in Jamestown at the same time and in the same months, one hundred sickened, and half the number died.** The like experiment was long since in the regiment of Sir Ralph Lane, where, in the space of one whole year, not two of one hundred perished. Add unto this the discourse of philosophie; when in that Country flesh will receive salt, and continue unputrified (which it will not in the *West Indies*) when the most delicate of all flowers, grow there as familiarly, as in the fields of *Portugal*, where the woods are replenished with more sweet barks, and odors, then they are in the pleasantest places of *Florida*. How is it possible that such a virgin and temperate air, should work such contrarie effects, but because our fort (that lyeth as a semi-island) is most part environed with an ebbing and flowing of salt water, the ooze of which sendeth forth an unwholesome & contagious vapour?	True it is, I may not excuse this our fort, or Jamestown, as yet seated in somewhat an unwholesome and sickly air, by reason it is in a marish ground, low, flat to the river, and hath no fresh-water springs serving the town but what we drew from a well six or seven fathom deep fed by the brackish river oozing into it; from whence I verily believe the chief causes have proceeded of many diseases and sicknesses which have happened to our people, who are indeed strangely afflicted with fluxes and agues, and every particular season (by the relation of the old inhabitants) hath his particular infirmity too: all which, if it had been our fortunes to have seated upon some hill, accommodated with fresh springs and clear air, as do the natives of the country, we might have, I believe, well escaped. **And some experience we have to persuade ourselves that it may be so, for of four hundred and odd men which were seated at the Falls the last year when the fleet came in with fresh and young able spirits under the government of Captain Francis West, and of one hundred to the seawards (on the south side of our river), in the country of the Nansemonds under the charge of Captain John Martin, there did not so much as one man miscarry, and but very few, or none, fall sick. Whereas at Jamestown, the same time and the same months, one hundred sickened, and half the number died.** Howbeit, as we condemn not Kent in England for a small town called Plumstead, continually assaulting the dwellers there (especially newcomers) with agues and fevers, no more let us lay scandal and imputation upon the country of Virginia because the little quarter wherein we are set down (unadvisedly so choosed) appears to be unwholesome and subject to many ill airs which accompany the like marish places. (Wright 82-83)

Table One: Comparison of Eden, *True Declaration*, and *True Reportory* demonstrating TR incorporated material from both Eden and TD.

87

Percy	*True Reportory*
While we remained at this Island *we saw a Whale chased by a Thresher and a Swordfish*: they fought for the space of two hours, we might see the *Thresher with his flayle lay on the monstrous blows* which was strange to behold: in the end these two fishes brought the Whale to her end.	I forbear to speak ***what a sort of whales we have*** seen hard aboard the shore, *followed sometime by the swordfish and the thresher*, the sport whereof was not unpleasant, the swordfish with his sharp and needle fin pricking him into the belly, when he would sink and fall into the sea; and when he startled upward from his wounds, *the thresher with his large fins (like flails) beating him* above water…(29)
There the Captain landed all his men being well fitted with Muskets and other convenient Arms, marched a mile into the Woods; being *commanded to stand upon their guard*, fearing the treachery of the Indians.	but good watch passed upon them, every man from thenceforth *commanded to wear his weapon*, without which before we freely walked from quarter to quarter and conversed among ourselves, and every man advised to *stand upon his guard*, his own life not being in safety whilst his next neighbor was not to be trusted. (47)

Table Two: ***True Reportory*** borrowings from Percy.

Percy= *Observations gathered out of a Discourse of the Plantation of the Southerne Colonie in Virginia by the English*, 1606. Written by that Honorable Gentleman, Master George Percy. Accessed online, http://jefferson.village.virginia.edu/vcdh/jamestown, February 23, 2009.

88 The Spanish ambassador to the Court (1610-1513), Alonso De Velasco, reported to Philip III, the King of Spain, that Newport had "secretly reported the misery suffered by those who remain there [Virginia] and said that if Lord de la Warca [Warre] who recently went there as Governor, had delayed three days longer, the island would have been abandoned by the 300 persons who had remained alive out of 700, who had been sent out. In order to encourage the merchants, at whose expense this expedition is undertaken, so that they may persevere in it, he has publicly given out great hopes, and thus they have formed several Companies by which men will be sent out in assistance, and they have determined, that at the end of January of the coming year, three ships shall sail, with men, women and ministers of their religion…

if Y. M. [Your Majesty] were pleased to command that a few ships should be sent to that part of the world, which would drive out the few people that have remained there, and are so threatened by the Indians that they dare not leave the fort they have erected…." From a translated copy of Velasco's letter to Philip III, September 1610. Brown, Alexander, *The Genesis of the United States. A narrative of the movement in England, 1605–1616, which resulted in the plantation of North America by Englishmen, disclosing the contest between England and Spain for the possession of the soil now occupied by the United States of America*. 2 vols. New York: Houghton Mifflin and Co., 1964 (reprint of 1890 Russell & Russell edition), I: 418–9.

[89] Vaughan, "Evidence," 267.

[90] That Strachey would do so, fusing parts of the De La Warre dispatch with his own words, is no surprise, even though Martin would have seen these words before. This appears to have been Strachey's *modus operandi*. He dedicated copies of *H of T*, for the most part a conflation of the published texts of others, to the Earl of Northumberland, who had "considerable interest in the voyages of colonization and exploration" (Culliford, *William Strachey*, 130-131) to Sir Allen Apsley, a nephew by marriage of Sir George Carew and member of the Council (Culliford, 131), and to Sir Francis Bacon, the Lord High Chancellor of England and member of the Virginia Company, who would have read most, if not all, of these texts in the original (See Culliford 165-184 for a comprehensive list of the sources Strachey used, very often verbatim, to write *H of T*).

[91] Strachey's habit of copying or collecting manuscripts and letters for future use is evident in the copious use he made of them for sources in composing his own work. He must have kept a copy of the B draft on which *TR* is based. He must have kept a copy (or notes) of the De La Warre dispatch to copy from for *TR* (or notes from which he drew both the segments in DLW and those in *TR*). Since *H of T* includes verbatim elements from Davies manuscript "Relation of a Voyage" (See Culliford, *William Strachey*, 182-183), he must also have kept a copy of it; likewise the Percy manuscript *Discourse of the Plantation* is used in both *TR* and *H of T* (Culliford 181-182). All of these items would likely have been gathered or copied while he was in Virginia. In fact, Strachey himself says in his dedication to the Earl of Northumberland that he keeps records, as he has made "the first Catograph or Draught, as [he has] had time to digest out of [his] journal or diary books" (*H of T*, ed Wright, 3, quoted in Culliford 130).

[92] Vaughan concludes a string of misrepresentations of our case for the *TR*'s dependence on the Martin letter by stating that it is "on such speculations that Stritmatter and Kositsky conclude that "at the very least, Martin's nescience disproves the frequent assertion that the Strachey letter circulated widely in the court or Company during the winter of 1610-11" (267). He reaches this conclusion partly by way of his own

scenario, attributed to us, that "the secretary of the Colony's report to the secretary of the Company was conveyed in a letter to an anonymous lady that dwells for three-quarters of its length on the Bermuda shipwreck and subsequent events about which Martin had not inquired" (267).

But it is Vaughan's assertion, not ours, that "the court in which the manuscript circulated was not that of James I but the council of the Virginia company of London" (261). How this proposition squares with the document's address to a "noble lady" whether real or imagined, Vaughan does not say. Vaughan seems to misunderstand our clearly articulated position – that *TR* is a palimpsest written over multiple other documents, including classical materials, earlier Iberian narratives, "storm set" descriptions, and significant parts of the De La Warre letter, the official dispatch to the company. But the simplest explanation of the known facts – including the existence of Hume's B manuscript (see our analysis infra, 37-42) – is that a copy of whatever went back to Martin, in response to his questions, has been inserted into what is now known as *TR*. There is no basis in our original article for the scenario that Vaughan attributes to us.

[93] Ivor Noël Hume, "William Strachey's Unrecorded First Draft of His Sea Venture Saga," *Avalon Chronicles*, VI (2001), 57-88. Hereafter, following the convention established by Hume, we refer to this transcript as "B."

[94] Hume, "First Draft," 57.

[95] Since that time the implications of this discovery for nearly a century of Strachey orthodoxy have been quietly ignored.

[96] Vaughan, "Evidence," 257.

[97] Vaughan, "Evidence," 257.

[98] Citing Hume (57-68) as his authority, Vaughan states that "internal evidence is overwhelming that the author in each case is Strachey" (258). The curious reader will be disappointed to learn that the implication that Hume presents "overwhelming… internal evidence" substantiating Strachey's authorship of both B and *TR* is erroneous. Indeed, Hume's eleven-page introduction to B *assumes* from start to finish that Strachey is the author of both texts and makes almost no effort to justify this assumption, instead merely asserting that "there is…ample evidence, both semantically and historically (sic), that Strachey wrote both accounts" (63). But the "evidence" to which both Hume and Vaughan unconsciously revert is the mere *assumption* that because *TR* is manifestly based on B, and because *TR* is attributed to Strachey, we are therefore obliged to conclude that Strachey is also the author of B. Consistent application of this reasoning would also oblige us to conclude that "there is ample evidence, both semantic and historical" that Strachey wrote Smith's *Map* and James Davies' "The Relation of a Voyage into New England," both of which

accounts Strachey reproduced verbatim, or nearly so, for pages and pages, in *H of T*. The discovery of the extent of Strachey's plagiaristic habits has been a historical process, suggesting that further revelations may not be improbable: Davies' account (Culliford, *William Strachey*, 182-83), like the B manuscript, lay undiscovered for many years.

On the other hand, both Hume and Vaughan, as they assume Strachey's authorship of both texts, fail to notice the one salient piece of internal evidence that does seem to link Strachey to both versions of the narrative, namely the author's reference to his experience in the Levant and Algeria. As it is known that Strachey had traveled to the Levant, this does constitute at least one solid piece of evidence supporting Strachey's authorship. It's possible, though, that many others on the *Sea Venture* had also visited the Levant and Algeria, and Newport had made the voyage through the Mediterranean at least once, in 1595, on the Golden Dragon. K.R. Andrews, "Christopher Newport of Limehouse, Mariner," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 11:1. (1954) 34. We therefore conclude that it is impossible at present to rule out the possibility that the real author of B might be someone other than Strachey.

Despite the assurances of Hume and Vaughan to the contrary, there is therefore a serious basis to the problem of whether the author of B is also the reviser of *TR*. Both point of view and style of the earlier document are markedly different from *TR*; whereas Strachey's style is ornate and tends towards much longer and more complex sentences, B is straightforward and workmanlike, even staccato in its prose rhythms. Strachey's linguistic quirks, such as his habit of repeating "True it is" (at least eight times in *TR*) are also absent from B. Intriguingly, Vaughan acknowledges that the document also displays a "marked tendency to show William Strachey in a less flattering light than in the published version" (257). This tendency includes a pronoun shift between B and *TR*, one that indicates a marked alteration of narrative perspective on certain critical events, shifting from third to first person (see tables).

B's Plain Style (Hume, op. cit.	*TR*'s Decorative Style (Wright, *TR*)
The culprit earnestly requested that he might be shot as he was a gentleman, which request being granted he was put to death at sun set. (16. 18-20)	He earnestly desired, being a gentleman, that he might be shot to death, and toward the evening he had his desire, the sun and his life setting together. (49)
This is a small fortification built by our people last year and called Fort Algernon by Captain Percy. On the same day of our arrival there was a dreadful storm of thunder lightning and rain. (19. 30-33)	Our men did the last year (as you have heard) raise a little fortification, which since hath been better perfected and is likely to prove a strong fort, and is now kept by Captain James Davies with forty men, and hath to name Algernon Fort, so called by Captain George Percy, whom we found at our arrival president of the colony and at this time likewise in the fort. When we got into the Point, which was the one-and-twentieth of May, being Monday about noon; where riding before an Indian town called Kecoughtan, a mighty storm of thunder, lightning and rain gave us a shrewd and fearful welcome. (62-63)

Table Three: Plain style of B contrasted to decorative style of *TR*.

B	*TR*
The wave struck him from his seat, and three other persons, the whole who were around him, down on their faces. (4.20-22)	It struck him from the place where he sat and groveled him and all us about him on our faces. (11)
The higher order of our company... repaired to the governor and besought him to pardon him the culprit, which after much entreaty he consented to. (14. 28-30)	The better sort of the Company...went unto our governor, whom they besought (as likewise did Captaine Newport and my selfe), and never left him until we had got his pardon. (45)

Table Four: B's point of view contrasted to *TR*'s point of view.

While it is certainly possible that such differences are the result of a single author revising and refashioning his own work in a more leisured context, possibly with a different audience in mind, it must be admitted that they also suggest a scenario in which the author and the reviser are not the same individual. If so, the document's history would be consistent with Strachey's demonstrated habits of appropriating and rewriting the narratives of other voyagers (see Da Costa, fn.74 above).

[99] The available evidence does not support Vaughan's assumption that the books in question would have been available in Jamestown. See William S. Powell, "Books in the Virginia Colony before 1624." *William and Mary Quarterly* 3:5 (1948), 177-84.

[100] Vaughan, "Evidence," 258.

[101] Vaughan, "Evidence," 273.

[102] Stritmatter and Kositsky, 452, fn 10. It does not seem likely that *TR* could be constructed in a month, as Vaughan suggests, especially as Strachey was the secretary and recorder of the Colony, and also would have had many duties in that capacity. Moreover, we argued that conditions in the Colony between the time of the Bermuda survivors' arrival in May and the sighting of De La Warre in early June were inimical to the completion of such a sophisticated literary document. After de La Warre's arrival conditions gradually improved.

[103] In addition, the fact that B does not include any elements from the De La Warre dispatch argues for it being a copy of the original Strachey communiqué to England. Why would Strachey duplicate verbatim large sections of an official dispatch going back on the same voyage in his unofficial "letter" to the lady, which Vaughan insists must have been seen and read by the Company?

[104] In fact, so much is missing in B that, although it is of the same approximate length as De La Warre's dispatch and Jourdain's *Discovery*, it would make a poor *Tempest* source indeed – on this point we agree with Vaughan (259) – since many of the so-called "parallels" are attenuated or altogether absent.

[105] Does the fact that B, unlike TR, has no identifiable addressee resolve the longstanding enigma about whether Strachey's text was written as an address to the Company or to a noble lady? It seems plausible that a copy of the B version, whether written for the Company or for a more private purpose in Virginia, was later amended in England, first by Strachey and then again by Purchas (and/or Hakluyt) to assume the form eventually published by Purchas in 1625.

[106] Strachey, William. *For The colony in Virginea Britannia. Lawes divine, morall and martiall, &c.* London: J. Stansby for Walter Burre, 1612. Accessed at *Virtual Jamestown*. Accessed at Virtual Jamestown,http://extext.lib.virginia.edu/etcbin/jamestown, 5.

[107] Vaughan opines that "the shorter letter....was intended....for a relative or a friend when Strachey's fate, and everyone else's on Bermuda, was still uncertain" (258). It appears that Vaughan may not have read the B text with any care, as he not only confuses the document's genre but gives a mistaken account of its contents. Not only is there

no evidence for its origin as a "letter" (as distinct from a report or diary entry), but it was not written "when Strachey's fate, and everyone else's in Bermuda, was still uncertain." In fact, B does make reference to events in Virginia after it was clear that the survival of marooned Bermuda sailors was assured; the author of the B manuscript was among those who traveled from Bermuda to Virginia to discover that "the Colony was in a distressed condition, the buildings going to waste, & the scarcity of provisions daily increasing…Indiscretion in the management, added to the conduct of the colonists, produced those evils to which may be added the jealousy of the natives & the unexpected failure that was expected to be easily obtained" (19-20; 84-85 Hume). In fact, the B manuscript, as Vaughan acknowledges a few lines later, continues its narrative up until at least the June 10 arrival of Lord de La Warre from England to the Virginia Colony. Vaughan's internally inconsistent scenario regularly fails to take notice of such moments of conspicuous contradiction.

[108] How conclusive are these considerations? In order to believe, as the "standard thesis" must, that Strachey is in *Lawes* referring to something other than an unpublished and uncompleted version of *TR*, one must accept one, or a combination, of the following corollaries:

1. *H of T* does not mention Bermuda, but it is the work to which Strachey alludes; or

2. *H of T* – unlike *TR* – is not the account of a "sufferer and eye witness," but a more formal "History," yet it is the work to which Strachey alludes; or

3. The manuscript to which Strachey alludes, both in its current and "perfected" forms is no longer extant; or

4. Strachey had already completed his "eyewitness" account of the Bermuda shipwreck and sent it to a Noble Lady on Gates 1610 voyage, but he was considering another work fitting the same description.

[109] Wright, 94.

[110] Vaughan, "Evidence," 263.

[111] Vaughan, "Evidence," 263, our emphasis.

[112] Raleigh, *Discovery Of Guiana*, Part III, 1595: "Those canoas that were taken were loaded with bread, and *were bound for* Margarita in the West Indies, which those Indians, called Arwacas, proposed to carry thither for exchange…." Hakluyt: It fell out that the Toby, which *was bound for* Constantinople, had made such good speed, and gotten such good weather, that she first of all the rest came back to the appointed place of Zante, and not forgetting the former conclusion, did there cast anchor, attending the arrival of the rest of the fleet (Voyagers' tales from the collections of Richard Hakluyt ([1900]). Accessed http://www.archive.org/details/voyagerstalesfro00hakiala, 2/38/09.

Even Shakespeare, in *Tempest*, uses the word in a way that evidently contradicts Vaughan's creative interpretation:

> And for the rest o' th' fleet
> (Which I dispers'd), they have all met again,
> And are upon the Mediterranean float
> *Bound sadly home* for Naples…
> (1.2.232-37)

[113] After selectively presenting 2a ("In the time directly following the present; immediately, forthwith"), and ignoring the contrary definitions that contradict his theory, Vaughan claims that "Strachey *clearly means that* the ships will sail 'forthwith'" (263 fn 48; our emphasis).

[114] The others are "1. a) At the present time or moment; b) in extended use; under the present circumstances; in view of what has happened…3. In the time directly preceding the present moment." *The Compact Edition of the Oxford English Dictionary: Complete Text Reproduced Micrographically*. Oxford: The University Press, 1971, 1951.

[115] Wright, *TR*, 94, our emphasis.

[116] As several examples from the *KJV* illustrate: John 5.37: And the Father himself, which *hath sent me*, hath borne witness of me; I Kings 1.44: And the king *hath sent with* him Zadok the priest, and Nathan the prophet; John 5.23: He that honoureth not the Son honoureth not the Father *which hath sent* him.

[117] Wright, *TR*, 89.

[118] Vaughan, "Evidence," 263.

[119] Travel times are given in the following two sources: *The Voyage of Captaine Samuell Argall, From Jamestown in Virginia to Seek the Isle of Bermuda…Begun the 19th of June 1610* reports that "Sir George Somers…set sail from Jamestown in Virginia the19th of June, 1610. The two and twentieth at noon we came to an anchor at Cape Henry [somewhat further than Point Comfort] to take more ballast" (PP, 4:1758). A comparable estimate is from *TR*: "When we got into [Point Comfort], which was the one-and-twentieth of May, being Monday about noon; where riding before an Indian town called Kecoughtan, a mighty storm of thunder, lightning and rain gave us a shrewd and fearful welcome. From hence in two days (only by the help of tides, no wind stirring), we plied it sadly up the river, and the three-and-twentieth of May we cast anchor before Jamestown" (Wright 63).

[120] Vaughan's scenario placing Strachey in Jamestown while Gates and De La Warre were downriver at Point Comfort on July 15 strains credibility. How, for example, could Strachey from Jamestown have known when the ships, which in Vaughan's scenario were waiting for ideal conditions, actually departed? Moreover, such empirical evidence as we have suggests that Strachey was with either Gates or De La Warre. In *TR*, Strachey places himself four miles from Algernon Fort, near to the mouth of the James River and Point Comfort (perhaps two days by boat from Jamestown) on July 9 (Wright 89). As the Colony's Secretary, moreover, he would undoubtedly have been with De La Warre at Point Comfort at the critical period of the sailing of the ships.

[121] Vaughan, "Evidence," 265.

[122] Vaughan, "Evidence," 266.

[123] Vaughan, "Evidence," 265; our emphasis.

[124] Vaughan, Alden. *Transatlantic Encounters American Indians in Britain, 1500-1776*. Cambridge: The University Press, 2006, 51.

[125] Vaughan, *Encounters*, 51.

[126] Major, R.H. *The Historie of Travaile into Virginia Britannia; Expressing the Cosmography and Commodities of the Countrey, Togither with the Manners and Customs of the People. Gathered and Observed as Well by those who went First Thither as Collected by William Strachey, Gent., The First Secretary of the Colony.* London: Printed for the Hakluyt Society, 1849.

[127] Vaughan, "Evidence," 266.

[128] Tyler, Lyon Gardiner. *The Cradle of the Republic: Jamestown and James River*, Volume 1,Willow Bend, Westminster, Maryland, 2001, 12. Originally published 1900.

[129] Boddie, John Bennett. *Seventeenth Century Isle of Wight County, Virginia: A History of the County of Isle of Wight, Virginia, During the Seventeenth Century, Including Abstracts of the County Records*, Volume 1, Heritage Books, Westminster, Maryland, 1980, 2-3. Reprint of 1935 original. Although we find the material concerning Sasenticum and Kainta (Kaintu) intriguing, we have not yet found a primary source to confirm Tyler and Boddie's statements. But neither have we found a primary source that justifies Vaughan's unqualified assertion that Tackonekintaco and Sasenticum were the same person.

[130] According to the *Isle of Wight Historical Review*'s entry on the Warraskoyak, Jamestown lay "twenty miles to the north-east" of the territory. http://web.ukonline.co.uk/lordcornell/iwhr/va/warra.htm.

[131] Wright, *TR*, 94.

[132] Vaughan, "Evidence," 263, 265.

[133] Vaughan, "Evidence," 269.

[134] In addition to De Zuniga and Smith, Francis Maguel, the Spanish envoy to Virginia, recorded the incident in a July 1610 to the Spanish Council of State:

> The Emperor [Powhatan] sent one of his sons to England, where they treated him well and returned him once more to his own country, from which the said Emperor and his people derived great contentment thro' the account which he gave of the kind reception and treatment he received in England.
>
> (Brown, op. cit., i:396)

[135] Smith, John. *The third Booke of the Proceedings and Accidents of The English Colony in Virginia, in The Complete Works of John Smith*, accessed at Virtual Jamestown,http://extext.lib.virginia.edu/etcbin/jamestown, 2/26/09.

[136] Major, *H of T*, 58.

[137] In his dedication of *H of T* to the Earl of Northumberland, Strachey actually states that he has borrowed material from Percy: "Your noble brother (from whose commentaries

and observations I must freely confess) I have collected these passages and knowledges) out of his his free and honourable love for me." *William Strachey, The Historie of Travell into Virginia Britania (1612)*, ed. Louis B. Wright and Virginia Freund. London: Hakluyt Society, 1953.4. So it is not implausible to suggest that Percy is the originator of Strachey's *H of T* anecdote about the Indian boy who escaped from the DeLaWarr.

[138] *A Trewe Relacyon of the Procedeinges and Ocurrentes of Momente wch have hapned in Virginia from the Tyme Sr Thomas GATES was shippwrackte uppon the BERMUDES ano 1609 untill my depture outt of the Country wch was in ano Dñi 1612*. Accessed at *Virtual Jamestown*, http://extext.lib.virginia.edu/etcbin/jamestown, 2/28/09.

[139] Schumann, Howard. "Concordia Proposes Shakespeare Authorship Studies Center," *Shakespeare Matters* 5:3 (2006), 1, 26-31.

[140] Stritmatter and Kositsky, *Voyagers*, 451, fn 8.

[141] To Vaughan, Hakluyt's 1600 publication of May's 1593 account of a shipwreck in Bermuda, caused by drunken sailors, is "irrelevant" to assessing the credibility of the standard thesis. Vaughan attributes to critics of this thesis the view that Hakluyt's account "preempted everything Shakespeare might have gleaned from Strachey's narrative" (260). We know of no such claim by anyone, but notwithstanding this potential objection, Vaughan proceeds: "That explanation overlooks England's long-standing awareness of Bermuda's reputation, to which May's brief account of shipwreck as a result of the crew's negligence – no storm, many drowned, no conspiracies among the survivors – bears no resemblance to the *Tempest*" (260: sic). Grammatical quibbles aside, Vaughan seems unaware that there are actually conspiracies in the May account, as well as a mutiny and a storm, although much before the wreck. Henry May, "A Briefe Note of a Voyage to the *East Indies* . . . ," in *Hakluyt, Principal Navigations*, 3.571–74.

Even more tellingly, the statement that allusion to May's possible influence on Shakespeare "overlooks England's longstanding awareness of Bermuda's reputation" attributes to us the weaknesses of his own position. Actually, it is Vaughan's own "standard thesis" that "overlooks England's long-standing awareness of Bermuda's reputation" as a fearful "isle of devils" by insisting that Shakespeare must have relied on Strachey or other accounts of the Gates shipwreck. This tendency to exclude from consideration earlier voyager accounts, including those that make reference to Bermuda, is clear in the scholarship. May's 1593 shipwreck narrative is merely one instance illustrating that, contrary to the widely and erroneously propagated (well into the 20th century) belief of Malone, namely that the Bermuda islands "were not generally known till Sir George Somers arrived there in 1609" (in Furness 74), Bermuda was a familiar locale in England long before the 1609 Gates' misadventure.

[142] Vaughan, "Evidence," 269.

[143] Stritmatter and Kositsky, "Voyagers," 454.

[144] Among other problems, Vaughan seems to have ignored the fact that our bibliography clearly shows that our text is the one edited by Major, to which Strachey made emendations in around 1617 to account for the death of Prince Henry.

[145] Culliford, *William Strachey*, 188 our emphasis.

[146] Vaughan, "Evidence," 256; our emphasis.

[147] Vaughan, "Evidence," 273; our emphasis.

[148] Vaughan, "Evidence," 254.

[149] Vaughan, "Evidence," 268; our emphasis. Variations on the phrase "almost certain(ly)" constitute one of Vaughan's favorite expressions, readily employed as a substitute for actual evidence, to bolster a critical point in a scenario that is wholly lacking in independent verification. This seems to serve the significant rhetorical purpose of anchoring the author's conclusions in a forceful attestation of belief designed to overcome any objection based on reasoning. Indeed, a reader soon learns that the "facts" which underwrite validity of Vaughan's narrative are typically either erroneous, incapable of demonstration, or without authority. According to Vaughan, "*TR* [in manuscript form] must have been widely read, often aloud" (271), and that "we can only surmise about the form in which Shakespeare encountered it" (271). But of course the statement that *TR* was widely circulated, let alone "often read aloud," or read at all, or even that it was completed in time to play its starring role in Vaughan's creative scenario, is no more than surmise, unsupported by a scintilla of reproducible evidence. Still less is there any real evidence that Shakespeare encountered it in any form.

The fact that no manuscript copy of *TR* survives in England does not inspire confidence in the theory for its widespread circulation outside of the immediate Strachey-Hakluyt circle. But there are other troubles with Vaughan's scenario as well. By Vaughan's own count (271), as many as eight versions of the Bermuda shipwreck eventually circulated in Jacobean England. With this context in mind, it is striking to note how little influence Strachey's own narrative seems to have exercised on derivative accounts, and how little it agrees in many essentials with other primary accounts of the Bermuda shipwreck. While Vaughan acknowledges that published works such as Jourdain's had manifest influence on such secondary accounts as Hughes 1615 *A Letter Sent into England*, none of the seven other accounts followed Strachey's idiosyncratic account of the storm, including his mention the seemingly highly "newsworthy" occurrence of St. Elmo's fire. Its influence on other works of the period is entirely hypothetical, and its influence specifically on The Tempest has been challenged far more widely and successfully than Vaughan admits.

[150] Vaughan, "Evidence," 272.

[151] Vaughan, "Evidence," 271.

[152] Hume, *First Draft*, 63, our emphasis. However, although Vaughan and Hume agree that Strachey's influence on Shakespeare may safely be regarded as beyond doubt, and

that both versions of the Strachey manuscript reached England by 1610, they disagree about which of these Shakespeare must have read. Indeed, Hume throws a monkey wrench into the traditional view of Shakespeare's dependence on the published version of *TR* by insisting that "there is equal likelihood" (61) that it was the B, rather than the Purchas text, that provided the bard with his inspiration. Vaughan disagrees, citing three reasons for adhering to the traditional view that *TR* must have been Shakespeare's source: 1) *TR*'s "brief reference to Dido"; 2) his "description of Governor Gates's gentle treatment of Indians in Virginia until he was 'startled' by the murder of a colonist" (259) — which Vaughan identifies "as a parallel, perhaps, to Prospero's handling of Caliban before he abused Miranda" (259); 3) the "close comparison of the *Tempest*'s storm with the two versions of Strachey's letter shows a higher frequency of" (259).

The disagreement illustrates the intrinsically subjective nature of the standards which have historically been employed for evaluating Tempest influence and have plagued the case for the influence of the Bermuda documents on Shakespeare since its earliest phases when Sylvester Jourdain and *TD* – not B or *TR* – was the supposed vector of influence. While we agree with Vaughan's negative verdict on the plausibility of B's influence, his arguments in favor of *TR* are unimpressive: the association between Aeneas and the New World was, of course, a commonplace (found, among other sources, in Eden); likewise, the conflicted relations between Native and Colonist are treated in numerous accounts from the period. And while it is true that the storm scene of *TR* is substantially enlarged over that found in B, we disagree that this account contains anything uniquely suggestive of the *Tempest* storm, many critical elements of which (including many of those identified by Kathman and others as necessarily due to Strachey's influence) are already seen in Shakespeare's wholly metaphorical storm in 3 *Henry VI* (5.4.1-60) and many other earlier sources, as we have shown in their online table (see appendix A).

[153] Cawley, R.R. "Shakespeare's Use of the Voyagers in *The Tempest*," *PMLA* XLI (1926), 688-726.

[154] Kathman, David. "Dating *The Tempest*." n.d. *The Shakespeare Authorship Page, http://shakespeareauthorship.com/tempest/html,* accessed May 24, 2005.

[155] While Vaughan accepts at face value the inflated conclusions of Luce, Cawley and Kathman, and "generally agrees" that the "verbal parallels between the Bermuda pamphlets and *Tempest*" are real and compelling evidence for intertextuality, he also places special emphasis on the claim that "the importance of….thematic parallels" and more generally even "the impact on English public opinion of the events of 1609-10," which he accuses us of "overlooking or outright denying" (271).

[156] Which Vaughan does not acknowledge.

[157] Kositsky, Lynne and Roger Stritmatter, "Dating *The Tempest*: A Note on the Undocumented Influence of Erasmus' "Naufragium" and Richard Eden's 1555 *Decades of the*

New World." First published 6/25/05. http://www.shakespearefellowship.org/virtualclassroom/Tempest Table.htm, accessed 2/7/09.

[158] Vaughan, "Evidence," 272.

[159] Vaughan, "Evidence," 272.

[160] Vaughan, "Evidence," 272.

[161] Cawley, "Voyagers" 695-96, fn 23. It is evident that Cawley has not closely compared Eden's text with Shakespeare's imaginative conception of the phenomenon, or he would have seen the evident connection between the two texts.

[162] Eden, Richard. *The Decades of the Newe Worlde or West India by Pietro Martire d' Anghiera* (f.p. 1555). Readex Microprint. 1966.

[163] For our more detailed analysis, see Stritmatter and Kositsky, "O Brave New World": *The Tempest* and Peter Martyr's *De Orbe Novo*," *Critical Survey* 21:2 (fall 2009), 7-42.

[164] Eden, 217V. Our emphasis.

[165] Thus Ariel, describing the storm's St. Elmo's Fire, exemplifies Pygafetta's account when he personifies himself as the phenomenon:

I flam'd amazement. Sometimes *I'ld* divide,
And burn in many places; on the topmast,
The yards and boresprit, would *I* flame distinctly
(1.1.196-200; emphasis added).

[166] Vaughan, "Evidence," 273.

[167] Vaughan, "Evidence," 273.

[168] A pinnace, which the *Sea Venture* had been towing before the storm, was also lost at sea or "taken at some time or other at some advantage by the savages and so cut off." (Wright, *TR*, 4, 62).

[169] Vaughan, "Evidence," 273.

[170] Stritmatter and Kositsky, "Brave New World."

[171] Marshall, Tristan. "*The Tempest* and the British Imperium in 1611," The Historical Journal, 41:2 (Jun. 1998), 375-400.383.

[172] Shakespeare might also have read about the internecine quarrels of the Sforza dynasty in Geoffrey Fenton's popular translation of Guiccardini's *Historia d' Italia* (1579, 1599, 1617). The topic became a popular subject in drama, with three plays based on Ludovico Sforza's life long before Massinger's 1623 *Duke of Millaine*.

[173] "Even if Caliban is a native of the island by birth, no true humans dwelled there – like Bermuda, it had abundant spirits – before Europeans arrive, piecemeal in the play but altogether in Strachey's narrative" (Vaughan, op. cit., 273).

[174] After more than two centuries of *Tempest* criticism emphasizing the play's new world associations, the critical pendulum has begun to swing in the opposite direction, with much recent scholarship instead emphasizing sources and symbolism that connect The Tempest more to the old world of Aeneas than to the new world of Christopher Columbus, suggesting that "the colonial reading of the play masks the Mediterranean

contexts which are much more obvious on the play's surface" (Lindley, David. *The Tempest. The New Cambridge Shakespeare*. Cambridge: At the University Press, 2002, 45) and that colonial criticism has "flatten[ed] the text into the mould of colonialist discourse and eliminat[ed] what is characteristically 'Shakespearean' in order to foreground what is 'colonialist'" (Skura, Meredith Anne, "Discourse and the Individual: The Case of Colonialism in The Tempest," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 40:1 (Spring 1989), 47). Other recent examples of the Mediterraneanist trend in Tempest scholarship include Wilson-Okamura, David Scott, "Virgilian Models of Colonization in *Shakespeare's Tempest*," *ELH 70 (2003), 709-737;* Wylie, John, "New and Old Worlds: *The Tempest* and early colonial discourse," Social & Cultural Geography, 1:1 (2000), 45-63, and especially Peter Hulme and William H. Sherman, Editors, *"The Tempest" and Its Travels*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 2000.

[175] Gayley, op. cit., 65. Cited approvingly by Vaughan, "Evidence," 272.

[176] Hamilton, Donna B. *Virgil and the Tempest: The Politics of Imitation.* Columbus, Ohio: Ohio State University Press: 1990.

[177] Hunter, *Disquisition*.

[178] Stritmatter, Roger and Lynne Kositsky. "Pale as Death: The Fictionalizing Influence of Erasmus's '*Naufragium'* On the Renaissance Travel Narrative," in *Essays in Honor of Isabel Holden* (Concordia University), fall 2008, 141-151.

[179] Vaughan, "Evidence," 272.

[180] Vaughan, "Evidence," 272.

First Person:
Dramatizing *Shake-speare's Treason*

Hank Whittemore

During the joint conference of the Shakespeare Oxford Society and the Shakespeare Fellowship at Ann Arbor, Michigan, in November 2006, I delivered a paper that included a recitation of lines from *Shake-Speare's Sonnets*, the string of 154 numbered poems or little songs printed originally in 1609. Ever since April 2005, when my self-published edition of the *Sonnets* entitled *The Monument* had first appeared, I had entertained a vague idea of creating a stage presentation based on the book; and on this occasion I recited a dozen sonnets from memory in order to test this notion.

In part I wanted to demonstrate a longstanding popular theory that the author (viewed by me and most attendees as Edward de Vere, 17th Earl of Oxford) had recorded a personal story by means of sonnets arranged in chronological order, particularly within the opening series 1-126. Using whatever skills I retained as a former professional actor, I presented a dozen selected sonnets in their numerical order and without comment, trusting that my own interpretation of their autobiographical and historical context would be conveyed.

To what degree the experiment was successful I cannot judge. Members with positive comments may already have been aware of my interpretation of those sonnets, making it therefore difficult to know how much of the story they understood based on my recitation alone. It came as a surprise when Ted Story, an Oxfordian with more than four decades of experience as an actor, director and producer in the New York professional theater, asked me whether I had ever thought about writing and performing a one-man show based on the dramatic narrative of the *Sonnets* as set forth in *The Monument*.

In fact I had entertained the notion, but without any clear vision of what such a show might be like. Would I wear a costume as the Earl of Oxford and address

the audience in character? Such was the hugely successful approach taken by Michael Dunn for *Sherlock Holmes and the Shakespeare Mystery*, a solo show in which, as the legendary detective, he guides his audience through a labyrinth of clues leading to the 17th Earl of Oxford as author of the Shakespeare works. The subject matter of any given show is unique, however, and my topic included the perception that Oxford used a special language in the *Sonnets* to record his reactions to circumstances and events within a radically new historical and biographical context. I told him I had no idea how to weave together such elements to create a show that might be both informative and entertaining, but Ted announced he would be happy to collaborate on a script and direct my performance of it.

"On the one hand," he said, "you believe you've discovered something new about the language and contents of the Shakespeare sonnets. That's your own story. On the other hand, you have Oxford's personal drama, as he tells it in the *Sonnets*, and the lines could become narration or dialogue. So there are two separate stories, one told directly by you and the other by Oxford in his private sonnets. The idea would be to incorporate both narratives into a single, unified script. That would be our challenge."

We discussed the motives for creating a show. My feeling was that it was time, after nearly twenty years as an active Oxfordian, for me to communicate with an audience beyond the memberships of our organizations. It was time to go back to my roots in the theater and find ways of using the stage to reach college students who know little or nothing about the "authorship question" in general or the Oxford theory in particular, as well as the general public. It was time to transform lectures into the stuff of theatrical experience, that is, to not only stir the minds of those in the audience but also touch their hearts.

Ted and I agreed that writing a show would require its own kind of exploration, that is, it would compel us to search for fundamental aspects of character and motive leading to the most basic necessity for the stage: the dynamics of dramatic conflict. I had already concluded that the Oxfordian movement had failed to gain general acceptance precisely because we had not supplied any agreed-upon convincing motive for the concealment of Edward de Vere's identity as Shakespeare. What forces would have been powerful enough to pull off the biggest literary hoax in history? What purpose must have been behind such a longstanding cover-up? What was the basic conflict and who was involved? Just as a jury needs to know the motive for a crime to convict someone of having committed it, I felt that the public needs to know why and how the authorship mystery came about in the first place. People need to understand the motives of those who were involved and how the real-life conflict was played out. In simple terms, what's the story?

Members of the Oxfordian movement have either lacked answers to these questions or have had opposing viewpoints that often develop into highly charged debates, seldom if ever being resolved. Why would Edward de Vere use a pen name? Why would he choose the Shakespeare pseudonym? Why would it be continued after his death? On these and other basic questions, Oxfordians have never arrived at anything resembling consensus; but the creators of a successful stage work must

dig for specific answers and, finally, come to an agreement about them. Even in the absence of any definitive evidence or proof, there must be a logical and plausible story to tell.

Ted and I agreed to work together to co-write a 90-minute one-man show that I would perform under his direction. We both live in New York and could meet at least once a week, either at his apartment in Manhattan or at my house in Nyack, and in between we would communicate by phone or email. Our goal was to translate the story of the *Sonnets* (as set forth in *The Monument*) into a viable dramatic presentation – and in that regard, we spent countless hours trying to find how to translate a 900-page work into an hour and a half of stage time. To put it mildly, we went down many trails in search of the best way to tell the tale the way we understood it; and in fact we tried several different avenues of approach without success.

A thorny problem was presented by my premise that the language of the *Sonnets* tells one story (fiction) on the surface while recording another (the all-important nonfiction chronicle) at the same time. It was Ted who came up with a crucial breakthrough on that front. "Last night I watched the movie *Venus* with Peter O'Toole on DVD," he said, referring to the 2006 film for which O'Toole had received his eighth Oscar nomination for Best Actor. "He recites Sonnet 18 – 'Shall I compare thee to a summer's day?' – and I have to tell you, it's a beautiful love poem."

"I agree," I said, "but in my view it's *also* a political poem, with Oxford comparing the young Earl of Southampton to a *king* – because, in Shakespeare, kings are *suns* that create *golden* times of *summer days*."

"You've argued that before," Ted said, "but the point to emphasize is that *no one has to give up* the beautiful love poem, because that's just *one half* of a double image. The *other half* is political. So we can have *both* sides and we can switch back and forth, whenever we want. The love poetry never goes away."

What Ted had done was to take an idea that I had expressed in *The Monument* and in conference papers, and to simplify it. Although I had been an actor and had written for the stage before, it was still difficult for me to let go of my detailed explanations, which would never hold the attention of an audience trying to enjoy a show. The material had to be translated and transformed.

In November 2007, after working regularly for a year, we were still writing and shaping our script while I was also memorizing parts of it and rehearsing under Ted's direction. The first performance was already set for in February 2008, and I could not imagine being ready.

The show we created was entitled *Shake-speare's Treason*. We had passed through many titles before getting to that one. Our first title had been *The True Story of King Henry IX, Last of the Tudors*, but that became the subtitle. To our surprise the script fell naturally into three parts of about thirty minutes each, to be separated only by brief pauses. I would introduce myself by name and continue throughout in this directly personal vein, while telling the story of the *Sonnets* and acting out the dialogue with vocal changes indicating different speakers. From beginning to end I would use titles on an easel-like flip chart or present them on a screen by a

PowerPoint program in my control. As the show proceeded, I would increasingly use lines of the *Sonnets* to complement the narrated action. Our goal was for members of the audience to come to realize, in a visceral way, that they were hearing the voice of the true, flesh-and-blood author, emerging from behind his mask of William Shakespeare.

The premise of the show is that Oxford created the sequence of *Shake-Speare's Sonnets* to record for posterity that (1) Henry Wriothesley, 3rd Earl of Southampton, was his son by Elizabeth I of England; (2) he saved the younger earl's life and gained his freedom by vowing they would never acknowledge their father-son relationship, with Southampton also vowing to give up any royal claim; and (3) he had adopted the "Shakespeare" pen name for political reasons, in support of his son, but after the failure of the Essex Rebellion, he was forced to agree to forever bury his identity as the great poet-dramatist, to whose name he had linked Southampton for all time.

We held a dress rehearsal that February on a Sunday afternoon at my house, with a dozen persons seated in the living room, including my family. I started off fairly well, and then about twenty minutes later there was a terrible noise outside, caused by an unusual form of windstorm that rattled the windows and shook the walls. I kept performing; and at some point, after the mysterious storm disappeared, I realized that my son Jake had gone somewhere with his mother, my wife; and finally I noticed that two members of the audience had fallen asleep on the couch. Among the others sat Ted, who was clearly upset by my performance while trying to seem calm. The first show was scheduled to take place at a friend's home in Nyack just three nights hence and, by all reckoning, it was going to be a disaster.

A few years earlier I had spoken about Edward de Vere to several Nyack residents at one of their homes. A member of the group, Peter Huber, had kept in touch; and on the night of February 12 he and his wife,Thelma, hosted the first performance of *Shake-speare's Treason* before an audience in their living room. There had been a blizzard that day and it was still snowing, but thirty-five adults arrived by seven-thirty and took their seats on chairs and couches. Back in the kitchen, I felt more than mildly nervous; never had I been on stage alone for ninety minutes, without any script or prompter, and my fear of forgetting everything seemed to build with every second. Having rehearsed many times with Ted, who had given me hundreds of notes, I knew it was possible to get through the show if only I didn't wind up fainting in the process.

Somehow it worked. I was out there looking at the different faces and could tell that my words were holding their attention. Behind those words were years of research and writing and discussion with Oxfordian colleagues; and I remembered that by contrast these folks knew virtually nothing about the authorship issue, much less about my radically new interpretation of the *Sonnets*. They had never heard anything remotely like what I was saying to them, but their attention was being held by the story itself; to put it simply, they just wanted to know what happened next.

As it became clear they were enjoying themselves, I grew increasingly relaxed until the show was suddenly over and they began to applaud. Most stayed for drinks and snacks, chatting about what they had just experienced and approaching me with

questions or feelings and ideas based on their own knowledge. The occasion had turned into a party bubbling with talk about history and literature and other subjects related to the Shakespeare authorship, as well as to the *Sonnets* and specific aspects of the show. A few persons expressed interest in attending the performance again, leading Peter and Thelma to begin planning for the next one.

Ted and I felt we had achieved one of our goals of communicating this complex subject matter to a general audience. We had grabbed attention not by delivering a lecture, but by presenting a more compelling story. In return we heard our own theme, about the value of knowing the truth, repeated over and over. Not once did anyone seriously challenge the contents of the show; rather, several asked how they might learn more. It occurred to me that we should have scripts for sale along with other printed materials such as lists of recommended reading. Some members of the audience might want to pursue the subject on their own and draw their own conclusions. It seemed our show had opened the door.

Less than a month later I flew west to perform *Shake-speare's Treason* at Flathead Valley Community College in Kalispell, Montana, at the invitation of Brian Bechtold, a fellow Oxfordian and instructor of English and Theatre Arts. After much persistence Brian had obtained a slot for *Treason* as part of the College's 2008 Honors Symposium on "Lessons Learned: The Role of Humanities in a Free Society."

On the FVCC campus I was introduced to a state-of-the-art theater with some 250 tiered seats ringing three-fourths of the floor-level performance space. I met with the theater staff for a technical rehearsal to adjust the lighting and link up the sound system with my cordless body microphone. Instantly I was among dedicated students eager to lend their expertise under the supervision of production manager Joe Legate, who had created a thoroughly professional atmosphere.

I arrived early that evening and waited backstage. Symposium coordinator Ivan Lorentzen began his introduction: "It is only the humanities that provide the uniquely human perspective that offers the insight and wisdom needed to make wise and responsible decisions about the future. The humanities assure the well-being of society by providing both historical perspective and mental agility required to navigate change. Opening our series tonight is an author and former professional actor from New York…"

Hearing my name followed by applause, I took a deep breath and finally walked out to begin the show. Brian had told me that nearly all the seats would be filled by students, professors and local citizens; and as my eyes adjusted to the darkness beyond the stage, I could see the place was crowded. Ted had guided me to speak directly to the audience members and to be certain I had their attention. "This is stuff that most of them have never heard before," he said. "The material is complicated, combining history and literature, so the most important job you have is to be clear. You want them to follow your words as you go. They can think for themselves and talk about it later."

I was relaxed, in control of my space, speaking about Shakespeare in ways which, in other circumstances, most likely would have provoked hostility and scorn; but this crowd had come to be entertained and just possibly to learn something; they

wanted to have their minds and emotions stimulated in the course of experiencing some kind of narrative or dramatic story. During those ninety minutes I kept checking their faces, speaking to them directly, looking for feedback. In places that were funny, I found myself laughing along with them; as the story heated up and grew more serious, I tried to make sure they were taking the journey with me.

After it was over and the applause died down, I returned to the dressing room. When I found my way back to the stage, at least a few dozen members of the audience were still there, waiting to express their enthusiasm and talk about the subject matter and ask questions. There was excitement in the air as many of the students spoke to me about the value of truth in history, in politics, in life itself – a theme which, they had just learned, was that of Edward de Vere's motto, *Nothing Truer Than Truth*.

Over the next few days, speaking with students in several classrooms, it was clear the show had sparked curiosity and eagerness to learn more. I realized that our "college premiere" in Kalispell and the interactions with students could serve as a prototype of what might be arranged at other campuses in the future. Later I received some letters from students such as Jillian K. Vashro, who wrote:

> I don't quite know how to articulate just how inspiring your presentation was. You altered my whole perception of Shakespeare … It's such a wonderful puzzle that challenges not only how we approach Shakespeare's work, but theatre and history in general. You reminded us just how important it is to consider the whole picture.
>
> I've always had a particular interest in context. I feel that I can't really know someone's work, no matter how universal it may be, until I know the environment it was created in. I was lucky to have several professors who encouraged their students to question and explore each subject, but there's still so much we take for granted and accept as fact. If such a universally accepted image as Shakespeare can still be shaken, who knows what else is out there begging for a second look?

Another letter came from David Crismore, who wrote:

> The story you told on stage that night at FVCC captivated me till the very end, at which I certainly remember standing up immediately to honor your remarkable performance … For many years I have come to hold importance in the truth of things. I strive to find what is true in this life, and what you have shared with me is no exception to my charge.

Brian Bechtold wrote to me as well:

> We Oxfordians often believe the best way to convince the public and academia that Edward deVere is the true author of the Shakespeare canon

> is through sound logic, clear reasoning and convincing evidence. That is, 'If they would just think about it, they would come to their senses.' We sometimes forget, however, that through times past, in all cultures, the *story* has been a powerful force in conveying emotions and ideas, a force capable of dislodging archaic ways of thinking and changing our world view.
> After watching and then reading Hank Whittemore's *Shakespeare's Treason* [a printed copy of the script] I believe his *story* does as much to advance the Oxfordian cause as any articulated argument. His story and delivery embraces the audience on a personal and emotional level first, just as stories did thousands of years ago, just as they did during Shakespeare's time. Once the audience is hooked viscerally, they will then begin to think about the logic and the evidence supporting our theory. Tell the story and they will listen.

About a month later, in April, we were back at the Hubers' house for another show in the living room; and among the thirty-eight members of the audience were three or four who had been at the previous performance.... among the crowd was William Neiderkorn of *The New York Times*, who, speaking only for himself, told me he'd found the show "delightful and thought-provoking." Later a few others told me they felt the authorship question and its history were vitally important; they wanted to absorb more information on this topic that was entirely new to them. Would they have signed up to attend a lecture on the Earl of Oxford as the true Shakespeare? Probably not, but a show was different; and at the reception, amid the animated conversations, other residents told me they would offer their homes as settings for more.

Later that August I traveled to Portland, Oregon's Gerding Theater. This performance was arranged for us by Professor Daniel Wright, director of the new Shakespeare Authorship Research Centre at nearby Concordia University, sponsor of the event. It was our world premiere in terms of presenting *Shake-speare's Treason* at a professional venue, in this case the home of Portland Center Stage, the well-known theater company. We used their small studio space, where I performed the show for about fifty persons, among them a number of friends and colleagues. There was no review in the local papers, since this was not the start of a run, but the response from this audience was positive and encouraging.

The next month in Nyack, local residents Sue Smith and Jen Hatch, having already attended one of the shows in the Hubers' living room, offered the use of their large Victorian home. On this night more than sixty folding chairs were filled by an assortment of invited guests, while I performed with my back to glass doors overlooking the Hudson River. It was a high-spirited, enthusiastic audience. This time, realizing that some spectators might want to have the show's information available to them later, we had printed and bound copies of the script for sale after the performance; and a few dozen copies were purchased.

In October we finally met with the New York theatrical world at Theatre Row Studios in Manhattan.

We billed the afternoon performance as a workshop presentation for producers and other theater professionals. Among the more than fifty individuals who attended were many whom Ted knew from his career as an actor, stage manager, producer and director. He wanted to find out the level of interest that might exist in supporting an off-Broadway production of *Shake-speare's Treason*.

In the audience was Mark Rylance, former artistic director of Shakespeare's Globe in London, who had just won the Tony Award in June as best actor for his performance in the Broadway revival of *Boeing-Boeing*, in which he was still performing. Mark is founder and chairman of the London-based Shakespearean Authorship Trust, dedicated to learning the truth behind the Bard's works; and during the previous summer his rollicking comedy *The BIG Secret Live - "I am Shakespeare" - Webcam Daytime Chat-room Show*, featuring interviews with several authorship candidates (Francis Bacon, Edward de Vere, Mary Sidney and Mr. Shakespeare himself), had enjoyed a successful tour throughout England. After the show and in later discussions, Mark offered many thoughtful comments and helpful suggestions regarding both script and production; also, as a serious student of the authorship question, he initiated a private dialogue related to biographical and historical issues, always raising new questions – the way the best actors continue to explore the lives and motives of the characters they play.

The dozen or so producers who attended our workshop version of the show were thrilled by the story. Virtually all of them suggested it could be translated into a major motion picture; and we soon began work on a screenplay.

The next leg of our journey, however, would take us to the Globe Theatre in London, England in November.

Ted and I had already accepted an invitation by the Shakespearean Authorship Trust to stage the show as part of the John Silberrad Memorial Lecture Programme held each November at the Globe in an indoor venue. The series was presented in collaboration with Brunel University in Uxbridge, on the outskirts of London, which had just established an MA program in Shakespeare Authorship Studies, the first of its kind. Attending the performance were members of the DeVere Society of England, dedicated to conducting and publishing research regarding the Oxford theory, and others who were equally well-informed on issues related to Shakespeare and the authorship.

"I'm a little worried," I told Ted. "After all, this is a different audience. Most of these folks have studied the issue and have already come to their own conclusions about the particulars."

Ted reminded me that we were here to present a theatrical experience and to offer another perspective that might inspire new angles of research. He was right, I thought, recalling that I myself had enjoyed Amy Freed's popular play *The Beard of Avon*, despite the fact that I viewed its farcical treatment of the Shakespeare story as dangerously misleading, in terms of its depiction of the historical individuals and their motives. However, having had productions across the country since its premiere in 2001 (at the South Coast Repertory in Costa Mesa, CA), including a New York run, I thought Ms. Freed's play had done far more than our Oxfordian groups

had done to call widespread attention to the authorship question.

Relax, I thought, the play's the thing….

Sure enough, the Globe performance went well and its reception was positive. There was no time for a question-answer session afterward, but many audience members remained for animated discussions around the room. Dr. William Leahy, head of the MA program at Brunel, remarked to me that this was the first time he had heard the suggestion of a complete story being told within the Shakespeare sonnets; and he expressed the possibility of *The Monument* becoming part of classroom studies at the university.

Dr. Leahy also mentioned that James Shapiro, author of *1599: A Year in the Life of William Shakespeare* (2005), based on the orthodox biographical view, had been in the audience. Before leaving, Shapiro had commented about having "enjoyed" the show, which he had attended as part of research for a book about the authorship debate – a work, he reportedly has vowed, that will settle things in favor of the Stratford William Shakspere once and for all. Later, I emailed Professor Shapiro and thanked him for attending; but before I could ask about his reaction to *Shake-speare's Teason*, he explained that he had a policy of avoiding discussion about the authorship debate while working on his book.

The next day Ted and I traveled up to Cambridge University, where Oxfordian scholar Dorna Bewley had made arrangements for us to perform two successive shows at the 96-seat Bateman Auditorium of Gonville and Caius College. Bewley had put up posters all over town, and because of her efforts, we had an audience mostly comprised of friends on the first night and, for the second performance, a larger crowd that included many university students who had heard about the show.

In the reception room afterward, I became engaged in lively discussions with about a dozen students, some with questions that appeared to have been prepared in advance, perhaps by their professors:

Why are there so many allusions in the plays related to Warwickshire? To achieve high drama, wasn't it necessary to depict royalty and/or nobility, even if the playwright happened to be a commoner? How can you say that the blank space between the lines on the title page of the Sonnets was unique, when some other such spaces on other cover pages were also left blank?

As we exchanged our opposite viewpoints, the atmosphere was mutually cordial and respectful. I felt that, given time and more performances at Cambridge, our show might enjoy a fairly long run and spark a genuine university dialogue on the Shakespeare authorship. Next to Gonville and Caius is St. John's College, where Edward de Vere had received a Master of Arts degree 444 years earlier in August 1564; and with Ms. Bewley's help, we were able to visit the St. John's library and to see the young Lord Bolbec's name on the registry. "Just imagine," Ted remarked, "if these Cambridge folks realized that another one of their illustrious sons was 'William Shakespeare' himself." While it will take time to discover the extent to which these plans can be realized, I am sure that none would have a chance of coming to fruition had we not returned to our theatrical roots and brought this subject matter to the stage.

Book Reviews

The Shakespeare Controversy
2nd Edition
By Warren Hope and Kim Holston
Jefferson: NC, McFarland, 2009
Reviewed by R. Thomas Hunter

I knew I liked this book from its first words. "For too long" Delia Bacon has been misunderstood and misrepresented as has her symbolic function for Shakespeare authorship studies: "an unworldly pursuit of truth that produces gifts for a world that is indifferent or hostile to them." Anyone who has labored in the vineyards of authorship study knows how well that statement expresses their experience.

The second accomplishment of authors Warren Hope and Kim Holston in the early pages of *The Shakespeare Controversy* is to help untangle the web of Ms. Bacon's seminal work, which first articulated the authorship issue and gave birth to subsequent generations of research, reading, and speculation, *The Philosophy of the Plays of Shakespeare Unfolded*.

Thus, from its very beginning, the authors of this recently revised history of the Shakespeare authorship controversy provide an engaging and a very necessary primer into the history of the controversy and its progression toward Edward De Vere, the 17th Earl of Oxford as the true author of Shakespeare's works. It is at the same time more complete, more reasonable, and more readable than anything Stratfordian Professor Samuel Shoenbaum, who tended toward hysteria whenever he addressed authorship literature, ever provided in his histories of Shakespearean biography. Indeed in their introduction, the authors remark on how histories of authorship produced by the traditional camp have all been afflicted with "a dreary sameness…[that] there is no Shakespeare authorship question, really, only a gabble of cranks who think there is. It is as if dwellers on the flat earth decided to write up the evolution of the notion that the world is round" (xi). I like the authors' confident

statement that this is "a view that will pass."

This second edition of *The Shakespeare Controversy* updates the history of the controversy from 1975 to 2009. Significant work has taken place during that time, such as Bronson Feldman's *Hamlet Himself*, 1977, which seems to be currently unavailable, Charlton Ogburn's *The Mysterious William Shakespeare*, 1984, revised in 1995, and Mark Anderson's *"Shakespeare" by Another Name*, 2005, and the work of researchers such as Peter Moore, Nina Green, Christopher Paul, Roger Stritmatter, Richard Whalen and Joseph Sobran.

The authors also rightfully include Gary Goldstein's *TheElizabethan Review*, published from 1993 to 1999, an important development as the first independent, peer-reviewed authorship journal open to all contributions about the authorship issue in general but leaning decidedly toward Oxford. Colleges and universities around the world became regular subscribers. The authors do not go into what happened to it and why, but its demise most certainly leaves a void.

They also update the Stratfordian side by paying too much attention to Irwin Matus and Alan Nelson, although detailed discussion of the latter is really necessary in order to give some idea of Nelson's monstrous hatchet job of scholarship prompted by his clearly hostile attitude toward Oxford, which compels him to misread and to misrepresent the evidence. Whereas Nelson's contribution to documentation of Oxford's life had been gratefully acknowledged previously by Oxfordians, Nelson's 2003 volume now calls into question the very accuracy of all of his work, as has been demonstrated in great detail by Nina Green and Robert Brazil, whose contributions to understanding Nelson the authors woefully omit.

Such is also the case with an ostensibly friendly writer such as Daphne Pearson, the accuracy of whose 2005 biography of Oxford, especially its financial detail, has been called into serious question by documented analysis from Nina Green and Christopher Paul. Since the book was based on Pearson's PhD dissertation on Oxford from 2000, the multiplier effect of misinformation appeared first in Nelson's book, which apparently relied on it since it so well fit his image of Oxford's profligacy. Oxfordians have shown that not only did Oxford not have as much money to lose as Nelson, Pearson and others have argued, but that much of it was spent by the Queen and her paramour Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester.

The authors cover important developments such as the 1991 *Atlantic Monthly* debate pitting Tom Bethell against Irwin Matus, the still memorable 1989 PBS Frontline special which brought the debate and the name of Oxford to the forefront of this popular television show, and the 1987 Moot Court verdict for Shakspere by Supreme Court Justices Brennan, Blackmun and Stevens. Sadly, the new edition of *The Shakespeare Controversy* was already at press by the time the *Wall Street Journal* in April of this year printed its front page special on Justice Stevens' more recent judgment for Oxford "beyond a reasonable doubt."

The update also gives important attention to Diana Price's agnostic *Shakespeare's Unorthodox Biography*, which the authors put in the tradition of George Greenwood. There is also homage paid to works proffering new candidates to consider, including Sir Henry Neville (Bill Rubenstein and Brenda James) and Mary

Sidney Herbert (Robin Williams).

Two final invaluable features: First, it is most helpful that the authors not only provide the quotes which we have relied on from such forerunners as Twain, Whitman, Freud, Chaplin and many, many others, but also exactly where to find them. Second, the well annotated 86 page bibliography provides a treasure trove of authorship sources with generous commentary that provides an endless stream of information and enjoyment. For one small example, the entry for Stanley Wells' "There's No Doubt It's Will" quotes Wells betraying his ignorance about the use of pen-names in Elizabethan times.

One of the few lapses of judgment in this book is the authors' decision to pit Mark Anderson's well-reasoned, detailed biography of Oxford against Bill Bryson's folksy, misinformed biography of the traditional Shakespeare in order to show the state of the debate. The words "the sublime and the ridiculous" come to mind. The risk is the overconfidence Oxfordians might feel in the comparison which in truth is apt in the sense that so often Oxfordians are left questioning the Stratfordian response with: "Is this all you have to offer?" The problem is that still, for the casual public who do not want anyone to take their Shakespeare from them, Bryson is enough.

The updated section of the revised *The Shakespeare Controversy* brings us full circle to the original work's treatment of Delia Bacon with the news of a new edition of her *Philosophy of Shakespeare's Plays Unfolded*, edited by Elliott Baker and retitled *Shakespeare's Philosophy Unfolded* to reflect the simpler, more coherent unfolding of her argument, whose original complexity and obfuscation forced even the most willing reader to put down the book before its mission was accomplished.

Even though Bacon's book is treated as an icon of authorship literature, it is important to understand that its point was more to explicate meaning of the plays than to identify their aristocratic author. It is enough for her to rail against "that booby" of Stratford as she did in front of Thomas Carlyle in person. "It was then that he began to shriek," she wrote. "You could have heard him a mile." [8] She was perhaps the first to insist on the difference between Shakspere, the booby, and Shakespeare, the author. Nevertheless, to Delia Bacon, the difference was important more for literary reasons than for biographical ones. She insisted that the full philosophy of Shakespeare's work would be missed if we thought of Shakspere as the author. Her erstwhile moral and financial supporter, Nathaniel Hawthorne, was more taken with her analysis of the philosophy of Shakespeare's plays than with the authorship premise which gave them substance.

What I have taken from Hope and Holston about Delia Bacon is that my experience with her dense, offputting, tangled prose wasn't just me. They insist that dogged determination in reading Delia Bacon will be worth it, that it is difficult but rewarding. I am still working on the rewarding part. "She must be read in her annoying, illuminating entirety," they write, although that was before Elliott Baker's edition.

Delia Bacon may not have begun the authorship debate, but it is clear that hers is the first systematic, detailed and developed inquiry into Shakespeare based

on the premises that Shakspere didn't write it and that consequently the works must be appreciated for possibilities much greater than his lowly genius could provide. Who Shakespeare was, biographically, becomes the province of the rest of Hope and Holston's book, which travels through the development of the arguments for Sir Francis Bacon, Marlowe, Rutland, Derby and others, although rather tangentially, before arriving at its pre-ordained destination, the 17th Earl of Oxford.

Proponents of these positions, such as Walt Whitman and Mark Twain, almost overshadow the subject matter itself, but it is fascinating to see how their opinions developed, such as the influence on Whitman of William Douglass O'Connor, who almost single-handedly picked up the torch of Delia Bacon from Hawthorne's faltering hands and handed it off to Whitman. Here are Whitman's fascinating thoughts about authorship. He noticed that the term "gentle" as often applied to Shakespeare may have signified "high-blood bearing." He looked for aristocratic attitude by the author and found it everywhere, characters and incidents which "read the aristocratic vanity of the young noblemen and gentlemen…the hero is always of high lineage" (27), leading finally to the famous "wolfish earls" quote in *November Boughs*, 1888.

Whitman never committed to Francis Bacon as did O'Connor. Neither did Mark Twain. But Twain produced the long essay *Is Shakespeare Dead?* in 1909, which must be read by any authorship student. There Twain rejects Shakspere from his personal experience of story telling on the riverboats, of being an author himself, and even more to the point, of being an author using a pen-name. He rejects Shakspere with all of the humor and passion of Mark Twain at his best. Twain may not employ scholarship, but his use of knowledge, experience and just plain common sense is unrivaled by any Stratfordian apologist I have ever read. He could not commit to Francis Bacon as the author, because it had not been proven. But he did contribute one of the most important keys to unlocking the authorship mystery: the author's experience. Even a genius cannot create personal experience out of nothing. Whitman identified Shakespeare's aristocratic attitude. Twain identified the aristocratic experience generating Shakespeare's plays and poems. Alas, the man from Stratford "hadn't any history to record." Twain's greater concern was human folly: "he felt humanity degraded itself, and caused itself severe problems, when it pretended to know what it merely believed." [38] Twain thought the old Shakespeare was good for another 300 years. It is now 100 years later, and the gulf between knowing and believing seems as wide as ever.

Hope and Holston follow the authorship path through Francis Bacon via Mrs. Henry Pott, one of the early practitioners of placing quotes from her candidate next to quotes from Shakespeare and "proving" identity through similarities which often aren't there. The method has been used for Oxford, too. In attempting to produce scientific support for their man, many Baconians turned to Ignatius Donnelly and supposed secret messages from the Bard to future generations via ciphers. The idea had some legitimacy since Elizabethan authors did communicate this way to protect themselves. The problem is that cipher methods ultimately seem arbitrary if not whimsical and formulas contorted in order to construct messages which often

appear themselves to be of dubious value. Suffice it to say that the authorship crowd ultimately had as little patience for ciphers as I do and generally moved on to the more scholarly pursuits of research and documentation.

What is interesting about Donnelly is how the method of his first chapter, "William Shakspere Did Not Write the Plays," is precursor to Looney's method, a point unfortunately left by Hope and Holston to the reader to make for himself: "comparing the characteristics of the author as they have been established by scholars and critics with what has been determined about the life of William Shakspere." Looney, of course makes the comparison with the life of Edward de Vere.

The authors do find importance in that first chapter of Donnelly's work in which he "tracks down a single quotation in order to establish the author's classical learning" which had been dismissed by traditional scholars as erroneous and demonstrates how the scholar's concept of the author can lead to wrong conclusions: "They feel free to leap to the conclusion that Shakespeare is in error, misunderstood something, or simply made things up because they do not expect him to know any better" (46). Donnelly thus effectively showed what is becoming a mainstay of the Oxfordian position, that traditional scholars attribute the unknown to genius, having no idea how great Shakespeare's genius really was.

Also he shows that statements in the First Folio, "primary documents that defenders of the legend invariably point to…are self-contradictory and fraudulent." (50) Unfortunately, Donnelly's manic focus on ciphers "set back for years to come the cause he sought to serve" in Hope and Holston's estimate. He also went on to claim for Bacon prodigious amounts of the literature of the time, including *Don Quixote*, another danger we have seen among some supporters of Oxford. However, "as a result of Donnelly's work, the faith in the Stratford legend was permanently shaken and a solution to the authorship question was closer than it had ever been before" (56).

The chief virtue of *The Shakespeare Controversy* is to recount the history of anti-Stratfordian, then Oxfordian, scholarship, especially in terms of its quality when compared to the Stratfordians. The authors portray the growing doubt about the incumbent Bard from John Aubrey to David Garrick, Washington Irving, and ultimately Henry James in his short story "The Birthplace." They portray the reasonable arguments of Sir George Greenwood in the mounting case against Shakspere and contrast it with the "darkening pall of professionalism" taking over early in the 20th century, which installed the voice of the authority of tradition and the establishment to take precedence over evidence accumulated by "amateur" challengers. Included is the work of Samuel Butler (early dating of the Sonnets) and Frank Harris (Shakespeare's aristocratic attitude), examples of groundbreaking work constricted by Stratfordian shackles. Charlie Chaplin was no professional scholar, but his experience taught him that "in the work of the greatest of geniuses humble beginnings will reveal themselves somewhere--but one cannot trace the slightest sign of them in Shakespeare" (82).

Hope and Holston may be forgiven for giving short shrift to the histories of the development of arguments for other candidates, including Marlowe, Rutland,

Derby,

John Florio, and Robert Burton. Indeed their ultimate purpose in bringing them up at all is that the plethora of candidates allowed the Strats to hoot and jeer in derision at half-baked ideas about Shakespeare's identity which at the very least lacked focus and coherence.

The appearance of J. Thomas Looney on the scene in 1920 could not have been better timed. Combing the works for characteristics of the author and then casting a net over the Elizabethan age for a candidate who fulfilled those characteristics brought a common sense method to the search, resulting for the first time in "a rational account of the origin and composition of Shakespeare's plays and poems" (105). In De Vere, Looney accomplished the "marriage of Shakespeare's life and verse" which Emerson despaired of ever achieving in 1850 (111) Looney's Shakespeare is "an originator, rather than an imitator," "a thinker of the first order" (111), in other words, that very author whom careful readers had suspected to reside in the literature all along despite the imaginings of traditional scholars and academics.

Looney was attacked for having a funny name and for being an amateur in the challenging business of Shakespeare scholarship. The subsequent story of the Shakespeare Fellowship, and researchers like B.R. Ward, H.H. Holland, B.M. Ward, Canon Gerald Rendall, and Charles Wisner Barrell is a story of amateurs and their larger humanistic purpose and concern for the truth against professionals like Samuel Schoenbaum and Frank W. Wadsworth, whose ethic saw Shakespeare in terms of self-interest and defending the establishment's version of the truth. The claim of "professionalism" being the refuge of Stratfordian scoundrels, the authors give case histories comparing the sound scholarship of the amateurs with the misinformation, misrepresentations and outright errors of the professionals.

In their original introduction, Hope and Holston claim this for their book:

> The result is a kind of inversion of the history of the subject as it has been written to date. People who have been denounced as lunatics are seen as truth-seekers. Great writers who have been said to have spoken ironically on this subject are taken at their word. Cranks become respected authorities and respected authorities become mere cranks. A whole host of people who have been torn from their contexts and misrepresented are put back where they belong and permitted to show at least a glimpse of their true colors. (xii)

I am pleased to report that this result, the story of the inversion of the established order in Shakespeare studies, is amply achieved by Hope and Holston, though we know there is some way to go for its final accomplishment. When you despair of that ever happening, and you will time and again, reach for this book. But then, if you haven't done so yet, you might do so now.

This book, even before being updated, was a valuable primer on how the Shakespeare authorship controversy has taken shape. The present update is a must read. A wise man has said that we need to know where we have been to know where

we are going. This book supplies a history filled with anecdotes and insights which in turn inspire a certain confidence about what has been experienced and accomplished by Oxfordians that is good for the soul. The recent news about Supreme Court Justices Stevens and Scalia in the *Wall St. Journal* of April 17, 2009 is enough to start thinking about a third edition. The authors and their publisher might consider that this very helpful resource should be updated more often than every 17 years.

In any event, the authors should be forgiven for their sense of frustration that the authorship controversy hasn't progressed farther than it has in that period of time. In the preface to the new edition, they write, "The controversy seems to be moving less to a clearcut resolution than to a general acceptance of the legitimacy of the scholarly pursuit of the question," and reference the successful Declaration of Reasonable Doubt. I beg to differ. First of all is the huge increase in circumstantial evidence brought to light over that period of time. Even more, given the size and the intransigence of the opposition, Oxfordians have made amazing strides in advancing their case, the recognition of the legitimacy of the issue chief among them. We have to believe that the headlines announcing Justice Stevens' and Scalia's decision favoring the Earl of Oxford are only symptomatic of the cracks developing in the Stratfordian position. Forgive me for believing that the third edition of this book will have much to report.

The Muse as Therapist: A New Poetic Paradigm for Psychotherapy
by Heward Wilkinson,
London: Karnac Books. xxxii+258 pages. £20.99.
Reviewed by Richard M. Waugaman, M.D.

Heward Wilkinson is a British psychotherapist who has written an intriguing book, subtitled "A New Poetic Paradigm for Psychotherapy." Why am I reviewing it for this journal? Because in his longest chapter, which Wilkinson calls "the passional centre of the book," he argues that Edward de Vere was the concealed author of the works of Shakespeare. He admits that de Vere's "powerful poetic ghost has... taken over the organizational energy of [this] book" (xvi). I will return to his chapter on de Vere shortly. First, I need to tell you more about the book, so you will understand why de Vere enjoys pride of place in it.

Wilkinson worries that the profession of psychotherapy suffers from excessive medicalization, as illustrated by the current infatuation with neuroscience on the part of many psychoanalysts. He therefore wants to demonstrate that the arts are equally fundamental to our understanding of the process of psychotherapy. I strongly agree with him on this score. He chooses poetry among the arts as "most accessible" to the argument he

wishes to make (2). He acknowledges the existence of the specialized field of "poetry therapy," which uses reading and writing poetry as a form of therapy. His focus is more theoretical, and is ambitious in its scope. He argues that all psychotherapy shares crucial features of poetry—they both deal with what is "pre-communicable"; they both exist within a "relational field"; and "both have a potentially infinite dimension of cross-referential meaning" (2-3). Further, "poetry is a form of psychotherapy" (xxxii). Marvin Bennett Krims has recently argued that reading Shakespeare, in particular, is therapeutic for him, and can be for others as well.[1]

Wilkinson makes the central point that poetry can be the most natural expression of intense emotions. He cites studies that show that "survivors of extreme experiences resort to poetry... when seeking to express themselves" (xxxi). Around the 4th century B.C.E., the Sanskrit epic *Ramayana* presented a myth about the birth of poetry. Allegedly, it arose spontaneously when Valkmiki (the author of the epic) was overcome with pity, and noticed that he began speaking in verse. He then observed, "the utterance that I produced in this access of *shoka*, grief, shall be called *shloka*, poetry" (47).[2] Similarly, commoners in Shakespeare's plays who normally speak in prose shift to verse when they are in the throes of love.[3] More recently, Howard Shevrin explained why he chose to write his novel about psychoanalysis in verse[4]—"How else but in verse to capture the pardox of these seeming antinomies, the simultaneous presence of the sound *with* its echo, the light *in* its shadow, the voice *of* the silence? Psychoanalytic discourse is to ordinary discourse as metaphor is to prosaic speech. It thickens ordinary meaning by its very form... Only verse can provide these resources" (xii).

Now for Wilkinson's Chapter Four, which is titled, "Reality, Existence, and the Shakespeare Authorship Question: *King Lear*, *Little Dorrit*, and the Man Who Was Shakespeare." It refers repeatedly to the theme of penitence (149-151). Wilkinson intriguingly speculates that one of de Vere's several motives for concealing his authorship may have been penitential. In his extensive discussion of *King Lear,*[5] he views Edgar as representing the author—"The abyss of Edgar's descent—symbolizes the depth of the author's self-imposed penitence—yet apotheosis of that penitence..." (151). De Vere in fact marked two of the seven "penitential" psalms in his Bible—Psalms 6 and 51. These two psalms are the sources of recently discovered, abundant allusions in the works of Shakespeare.[6]

As with any book, there are some weaknesses.[7] Wilkinson discusses philosophy a great deal, and Kant in particular. Sadly, Kant's legacy includes his horrendous writing style. It has led many serious thinkers to confuse obfuscation with profundity. Rather than burden us with the unusual request that we read his book twice (xvii), Wilkinson might have edited his prose more carefully. Literary studies suffer from related problems of opaque writing style, so it is unfair to make too much of this-- especially when we are indebted to Wilkinson for educating his readers about the exciting implications of realizing the works of Shakespeare were in fact written by Edward de Vere.

Endnotes

1 Marvin Bennett Krims, *The Mind According to Shakespeare: Psychoanalysis in the Bard's Writing*. Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 2006.

2 Vlamiki, *Ramayana, Book One*. Robert P. Goldman (translator). New York: New York University Press, 2005.

3 Gary Logan, personal communication, November 20, 2008.

[4] Howard Shevrin, *Dream Interpreters: A Psychoanalytic Novel in Verse*. Madison, CT: International Universities Press, 2003.

[5] His Oxfordian interpretation of the play echoes that of William Farina, but he does not cite his book, *De Vere as Shakespeare: An Oxfordian Reading of the Canon*, London: McFarland, 2006.

[6] For some examples, see R. M. Waugaman, "The Sternhold and Hopkins' Psalter is a Major Source for Shakespeare," *Notes & Queries* (in press).

[7] Another stylistic distraction is Wilkson's use of machine-gun bursts of exclamation points. In a single parenthetic remark, he uses three exclamation points.

Der Mann, der Shakespeare erfand (The Man who Invented Shakespeare)
By Kurt Kreiler
Frankfurt am Main and Leipzig: Insel Verlag, 2009
595 pages. 28 illustrations in color
Reviewed by Walter Klier

Walter Klier, author, journalist, and painter, lives in Innsbruck, Austria. In 1994 he published "Das Shakespeare-Komplott" (The Shakespeare Conspiracy), an essay on the authorship controversy which managed to rekindle the discussion on this topic in the German-speaking countries. It was re-published in 2004 as "Der Fall Shakespeare" (The Shakespeare Case). His latest published work is the novel "Leutnant Pepi zieht in den Krieg" (Lieutenant Pepi Goes to War, 2008).

For a long time the world has preferred to stare at the Stratford bust with wide-open eyes and create tales that afterwards are christened "biographies." In this mood Kurt Kreiler begins the foreword of his voluminous rendering of the Shakespeare Authorship Question.

The book contains 22 chapters followed by an epilogue containing a brief sketch of the history of the doubters and also the doubters-of-the-doubters, a new species that is coming more and more into vogue. Each chapter is preceded by a "scenic" prelude of 1-3 pages, in some cases a blend of source material and literary narration. These short scenes lend sound and color to the whole: they are printed in italics and thus segregated from the strictly documentary part.

This book has many merits; one is to present, for the first time in German, a host of archival documents, many of them unlikely ever to have been heard of or to have been seen by any German reader – a veritable *tour de force*. One has only to think of the often obscurely oblique language of the pamphlets exchanged in the Gabriel Harvey-Thomas Nashe quarrel, dealt with in chapters 18 and 19, and to which,

unfortunately, Oxfordians have so far given far too little consideration. Shakespeare evidently took part in this quarrel, as can be seen from the Armado-Moth sub-plot in *Love's Labour's Lost*. In chapter 18 the reader's attention is riveted on the curious, not to say weird, fact that the name "Shakespeare" is never mentioned in this essentially literary quarrel, but that it is the Earl of Oxford who occupies the center stage deserted by "the poet William Shakespeare." Other documents for the first time partly translated into German include, among others, anonymous poems that the author ascribes to Edward de Vere, sections of *Willobie His Avisa*, contemporary diplomatic correspondence and, not the least, Edward de Vere's letters.

Another subject that has been neglected for too long in Oxfordian research is represented here fairly thoroughly: Oxford's youthful poetry. Some Oxfordians might prefer not to look at it for fear it might "un-shakespearize" their favorite and so offer a broadside to the traditionalist camp. Not so Kurt Kreiler. Some years ago he translated the lyrics contained in *The Adventures of Master F. I.* (the prose was translated by Chris Hirte), the authorship of which he ascribes to Edward de Vere, and other poems in *A Hundreth Sundry Flowers*. Chapter 5 is specially devoted to the subject. Moreover, he has been ploughing through many archival manuscripts in London. Oxford's juvenilia, Kreiler argues, represent the path to Shakespeare and announce, nay, already show the sedulous stylist that was Shakespeare. Indeed, Kreiler thinks there is more Oxfordian material among the anonymous and wrongly ascribed poems from the Elizabethan period. Kreiler's argument is principally based on stylistical, structural and thematic correspondences, and relies to a negligible degree on single-word concordances. To my mind, some of de Vere's youthful poems come very close in theme and style to individual Shakespeare sonnets. In other cases, pieces of external evidence are added. The anthology *The Paradise of Dainty Devices* (1576) contains a number of poems signed E. O., but there are many more poems by Oxford hidden among the mass of amonymous writing of the time than Oxfordians hitherto have dreamt of. Take the song, "When griping griefs the heart would wound," which occurs in *Romeo and Juliet*, IV.v. The song was originally attributed to Richard Edwards, but only in the first edition of that anthology—in all nine subsequent editions it was anonymous. Yet in the Coningsby collection of poems within the Harleian MS. it is signed Ball. A number of other poems, known to be Oxford's, are also signed Ball, one of them, as professor Steven May found out, "My mind to me a kingdom is" (some single phrases of which occur in *3 Henry VI*, III.1). The question whether the pseudonym "Ball" was one chosen by Oxford himself or by the collector Coningby is, wisely, not speculated about.

Chapter 20 (entitled "His Bewitching Pen," after Thomas Edwards' poem on Adon) mainly deals with *Willobie His Avisa*. Kreiler holds that Oxford, though not the author, was involved in the publication of this work. It is perhaps no happenstance, he writes, that the initials H.W. for Henry Willobie are the same as for one of the fictitious editors of *A Hundreth Sundrie Flowers* and Willobie uses the same posie "Ever or Never" at the end, as George Gascoigne did in *A Hundreth Sundrie Flowers*. At any rate, there are some similarities in the ways *Flowers* and *Willobie* were published. The counsel given by the old player W.S. is similar in style and content to the poem,

"When as thine eye hath chose the dame," number 18 in *The Passionate Pilgrim* (anonymous in the Coningsby collection).

In Chapter 9 ("Historie of Error") the author vigorously refutes the idea that Oxford would have been a Crypto-Catholic and, as the historian John A. Bossy maintained in his essay, *English Catholics and the French Marriage*, proposed to King Henri III of France to equip five ships for the war against the Huguenots. In fact, the letter shows that these five ships were intended as support to the Huguenot Prince de Condé. In a letter from the French ambassador Mauvissière, Oxford is reported to have said that he desired to serve Henri III but that, if loyalty to his queen would compel him to fight against the French in case the Duke of Guise would send troops in support of Don John of Austria, he would not hesitate to do so. The author's thesis, several times stressed throughout the work, is that Oxford, though anything but a religious zealot, was unwaveringly loyal to Elizabeth's Protestant establishment.

The multitude of untranslated Italian sources that Shakespeare used throughout the canon is stressed ("Shakespeare – l'uomo universale"), quoting the now unjustly nearly forgotten Julius Leopold Klein,[1] (who was wont to mock the notion Shakespeare had no command of the Italian language), Ernesto Grillo and Mario Praz.

Chapter 17 ("The Youth and the Dark Lady") deals with the *Sonnets*. The Fair Youth is identified by Kreiler as the Earl of Southampton – in which many now agree. But who is the Dark Lady? Kreiler's opinion is that it is Elizabeth Trentham, the Earl of Oxford's second wife, mainly because of sonnets 41 ("Ay me, but yet thou mighst my seat forbear"), 152 ("In act thy bed-vow broke") and 134, a sonnet on which Helen Vendler remarks: "Shakespeare's language for human transactions here, as elsewhere in the *Sonnets*, is constantly using words like *statute* and *bond*, and *pay* as appropriate terms for a certain sort of human relation." But this is precisely the sort of relationship that emerges from legal documents and some of Oxford's letters after his marriage in 1591. The abundance of transactional terms is indeed striking. Others are: *mortgaged*, *forfeit*, *surety*, *usurer*. That Elizabeth Trentham, through her brother Francis, was perhaps more Oxford's "treasurer" than his "treasure" is, partly at least, borne out by the known facts. In short, Kreiler does not think the marriage was a happy one. He even goes as far as to suspect Henry de Vere might have been the child of Elizabeth Trentham and the Earl of Southampton.

An enormous amount of research has been invested in this fluent, well-written biography, offering a cornucopia of new facts and insights, and it would be a pity if it remained inaccessible to the English-speaking public.

Endnotes

[1] httpp://en.wikipedia.org/Julius_Leopold_Klein.