
A NOTE ON THE NAMES

Most of the Elizabethan characters had titles, and many of their titles changed during their lifetimes as their fortunes rose and fell. Edward de Vere, for instance, was successively Viscount Bulbeck and the Earl of Oxford; William Cecil was first knighted, then, after 1571, became Baron Burghley; and Robert Cecil became successively Viscount Cranbourne and the Earl of Salisbury. Conversely, titles could be taken away; the Duke of Norfolk was beheaded (officially, at least) as plain Thomas Howard, and Arundel became Philip Howard (and, more recently, St. Philip Howard).

This is the sort of thing that drives readers mad, especially Americans. And it can be misleading; for the purpose of this book it was important to know who married whom and who was whose sister, daughter, and son, the sort of information that family names provide.

So, with two exceptions, I've referred to everyone by their family names, even after they have been dignified with titles. The two exceptions are Edward de Vere and Henry Wriothesley, who are so well known as "Oxford" and "Southampton" that I've usually called them that.

Elsewhere I have included a genealogical table for the principal Elizabethans.

Ogburn= Ogburn, Charlton. *The Mysterious William Shakespeare: The Myth and the Reality*. 2nd ed. McLean VA: EPM Publications, 1992.

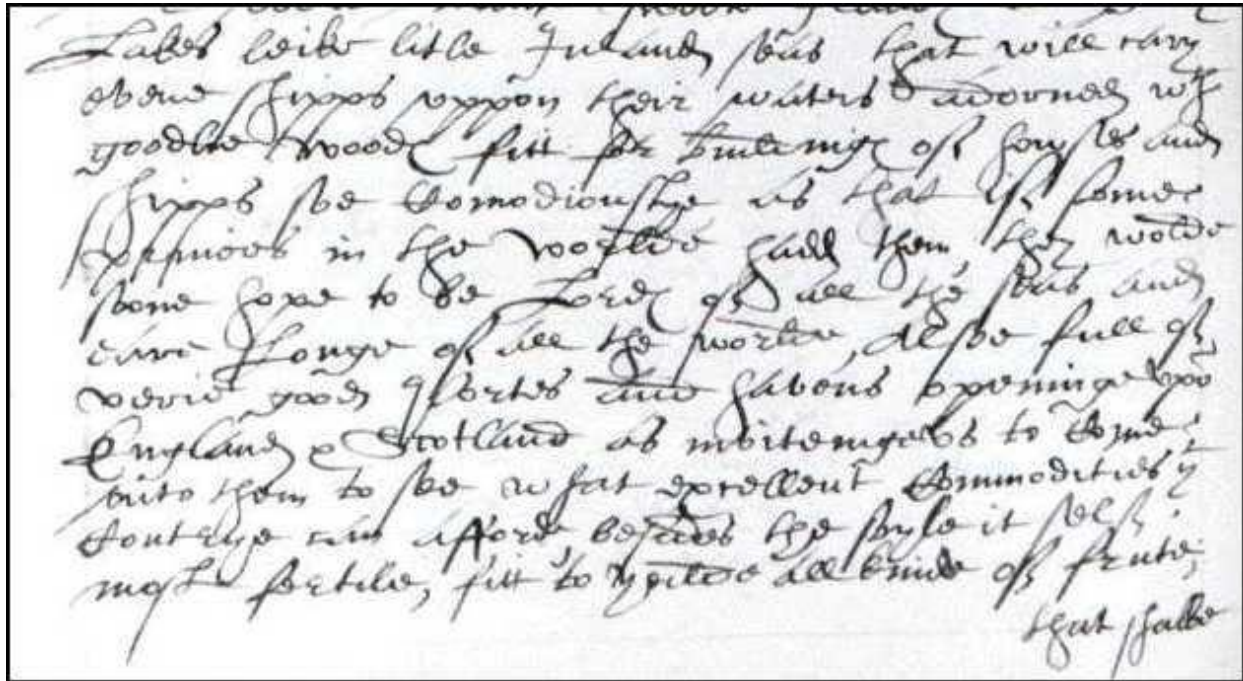
Read= Read, Conyers, *Lord Burghley and Queen Elizabeth*. London: Jonathan Cape, 1960.

FOOTNOTES

Lightning bug and lightning: "The difference between the almost right word & the right word is really a large matter--it's the difference between the lightning bug and the lightning." Mark Twain, letter to George Bainton, 10/15/1888.
<http://www.twainquotes.com/Lightning.html>

Identification of forgeries: see Kenneth W. Rendell, *Forging History* (1994), *passim*. The standard reference is Wilson K. Harrison, *Suspect Documents: Their Scientific Investigation* (1958), but Rendell contains more modern information about forging techniques. Also Evan Holzwasser, personal communications.

English secretary hand: Here is an example:



I tried transcribing some of *Sir Thomas More* but instantly came a cropper on the line

awfen fonlib by parmimeW lifr...

I swear that's what it said, but the line as transcribed by a real person is "when soules by priuate life are sanctified".

There's a good tutorial on secretary hand (and others) at <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/palaeography/default.htm>

Young Man Shakespeare: Fictional, with a touch of Marchette Chute's *Shakespeare of London*.

In Search of Shakespeare: Park Honan's excellent recent *Shakespeare: A Life* stood in for this biography. (The Goscimers are fictional, of course, and bear no relation to Park Honan.)

A man named Foster found a Shakespeare poem: Foster's discussion of this poem, in *Author Unknown: On the Trail of Anonymity*, helped shape my ideas about what a person might feel who discovers an unknown "Shakespeare" work. Don Foster, *Author Unknown: On the Trail of Anonymity*. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 2000, pp. 19-53.

Foster now believes the "Funeral Elegy" to be by John Ford; see Abrams, Rick, and Don Foster, "Abrams and Foster on 'A Funeral Elegy'" (posted 6/13/2002). *SHAKSPER: The Global Electronic Shakespeare Conference*. <http://www.shaksper.net/archives/2002/1484.html>

Sobran argued that this poem could not be about William Peter and could be by Oxford; see Sobran, *Alias Shakespeares*, pp. 287-292.

The elegy should now be available with the [Complete works of Shakespeare](#) at MIT.

Shakespeare a servant with the Hoghton family in Lancashire: E.A.J. Honigmann, *Shakespeare: The Lost Years*. Totowa NJ: Barnes & Noble Books, 1985.

A couple in the Public Records Office: The Wallaces discovered the documents in the Belott-Mountjoy suit in 1909; see the account, most recently, in Honan, pp. 325-329; see also C.W. Wallace, "New Shakespeare Discoveries," *Harper's Monthly Magazine* 120 (1910), 489-510. Prof. J. Isaacs says that they went through about 3 million documents to find it! *MWS*, p. 24.

License my roving hands, and let them go: John Donne, "Elegy XIX: On His Mistress Going to Bed."

Shakespeare in Italy:

"Italy suited Shakespeare's experiments...this was the cultural land of his schooldays. The beauty and elegance he associates with Italy have a curious effect upon him, freeing his pen from normal inhibitions... He set most of his early comedies and six of his tragedies in Italy or ancient Rome--and no other country gave him freer leave to test unbalanced extremes in his dramaturgy...while opposing [the stage's] norms, boundaries, stereotypes, and predictability..." Honan, p. 208, one of many commentators who speak of the influence of Italy on Shakespeare. Chambers and others suggest that Shakespeare must have been in Italy; Ogburn summarizes the evidence for it, *MWS*, pp. 302-308, but argues convincingly that Chambers' date of 1592-94 is too late for Shakespeare to have been in Italy. (Chambers must argue that Shakespeare is publishing *Venus and Adonis* and *The Rape of Lucrece* while he's in Italy. In 1592-95, he is also working on plays--Chambers assigns him *The Comedy of Errors*, *The Taming of the Shrew*, *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, *Romeo and Juliet*, *Titus*

Andronicus, and *Love's Labour's Lost*. And he is probably working on the bulk of the *Sonnets*. It's not impossible, but it's not likely.)

Since brass, nor stone, nor earth, nor boundless sea: Sonnet 65.

He liked dogs and I like dogs: Thanks to Alex Irvine.

Great Mary, a novel, by Rose L'Heureux: Fictional.

An Account of the Treasonable Behavior of the late Q. MARY of Scotland, including True Proofs of the Plot against the Life of ENGLAND'S True Queen, ELIZABETH; The Tryall and Martyrdom of our most holy and Catholick Queen Mary, Queen of Scotland and Rightfull Queen of England: Simplified versions of titles of contemporary pamphlets.

A steel pen nib, invented two hundred years after Marlowe died: Rendell, *ibid*.

"Coffee," says Joe, "decaf, hazelnut, or breakfast blend": Joe's holding out on her; they have better coffee upstairs.

You're totally wrong that everyone has always said Shakespeare is Shakespeare:

To Posy's list of respectable agnostics may be added, among others, Bismarck, Disraeli, Palmerston, Charlie Chaplin, John Buchan, Leslie Howard, Clifton Fadiman, J.G. Whittier, Daphne du Maurier, Vladimir Nabokov (possibly), Orson Welles, and more recently the historian David McCullough and the actors Sir John Gielgud, Sir Derek Jacobi, Mark Rylance, and Michael York. See *MWS*, pp. 151-52; Sobran, p. 5; ["The Shakespeare Sceptics' Hall of Fame"](#).

Schoenbaum, Matus, Gary Taylor: These respectable academics make good points—much of the research on alternate Shakespearean candidates has been conducted by amateurs, some of whose ideas are very odd indeed. However, it's as wise to check their sources as it is the Oxfordians'. Irvin Matus, for instance, bases much of his argument on the dating of the Shakespeare plays on *Henry VIII* (almost certainly a "new" play in 1613 only because Fletcher had rewritten it) and *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, which the original editors of the First Folio did not consider Shakespeare's.

And there are aspects of the Stratfordians' attitude to the Oxfordians that one can only deplore:

In certain recurring features of anti-Stratfordian behavior we may discern a pattern of psychopathology. The heretic's revulsion against the provincial and lowly; his exaltation of his hero (and, through identification, himself) by furnishing him with an aristocratic,

even royal, pedigree; his paranoid structures of thought, embracing the classic paraphernalia of persecution...all these manifestations of the uneasy psyche suggest that the movement calls not so much for the expertise of the literary historian as for the insight of the psychiatrist. Dr. Freud beckons us. (Samuel Schoenbaum, quoted Sobran, p. 13)

The Oxfordians would point out, deliciously, that Freud was an Oxfordian.

Richard Field: See Dave Kathman's article, "Shakespeare and Richard Field," at <http://ShakespeareAuthorship.com>, and see below.

Shakespeare and the law: Shakespeare uses over six hundred legal terms, and Sobran makes the point that Oxford's tin mining letters show his familiarity with legal terms, Sobran, p. 276; see also Clarkson, Warren, Phillips, and Greenwood, as well as Ogburn, pp. 296-298.

Arthur Golding's translation and in Latin. Music and dancing. Madness and medicine. This is why the anti-Stratfordians think he didn't do it: The locus classicus here is Looney. To Posy's list should be added that Looney chose Oxford because he favored the ABABCC rhyme scheme, as did Shakespeare in *Venus and Adonis* and *The Rape of Lucrece*. This scheme is more common than Looney thought it was, but we will see another example of it later.

Shakespeare of Stratford was a wool-dealer and lent money for interest. Shakespeare of the plays doesn't care about money. "Who steals my purse steals trash."

Shakespeare even knew some Spanish: See Hotson, *First Night*, pp. 113-117.

Shakespeare used, what, nearly two hundred sources? How many books did Richard Field print a year?: Kathman makes a persuasive case for Field's having access to some of Shakespeare's significant sources; Kathman, "Shakespeare and Richard Field." But Enid Jolly makes a similar case for Shakespearean sources in Burghley's library: Jolly, "Shakespeare and Burghley's Library." For those who wish to explore the Vautrollier/Field connection in more detail, I've included [here](#) a list of the books in the British Library known to have been printed by either the Vautrolliers or Field.

Field's personal situation makes the connection with Shakespeare slightly more tenuous. On February 2, 1587, at the age of 25, he finished his apprenticeship and was made free of the Stationers' Company. For the previous year, he had been working under George Bishop; before that, he had apprenticed under Thomas Vautrollier.

In July 1587, Thomas Vautrollier died. Jacqueline Vautrollier, Thomas Vautrollier's widow, managed the printing business until February 1588, when she married Richard

Field and Field took it over. (Kathman, *ibid.*) Thus Field, still only 26, was busy establishing himself in the late 1580s, and he might have had little time to arrange for Shakespeare to read books.

On the other hand, Oxford's relatives and acquaintances had libraries. Emerson cites large libraries including Lumley's (1000 printed books, 150 MS, 1579), John Dee's, and Cecil's (which she gives as about 1000 books). The library of Sir Thomas Knyvet, Anne Vavasour's kinsman but Oxford's enemy, included 4000 books in five languages by 1618. Emerson, *Everyday Life*, p. 57. Lumley was Oxford's kinsman and was sufficiently close to him that Oxford asked Cecil to do a favor for Lumley; Oxford to Cecil, June 20 (?), 1583, *Letters*, ed. Chiljan, p. 34. Oxford himself had a considerable library, and his son-in-law the Earl of Derby was bookish, though I have not seen any statistics about his library.

Compare Jeanne Jones's descriptions of libraries in Stratford in *Family Life in Shakespeare's England*; by far the largest documented library in Stratford contained 186 books.

The library at Hoghton Tower was apparently far better than Posy gives it credit for. "During [1580-81, at Hoghton] Edmund Campion was writing his 'Ten Reasons' to reject the tenets of the new Anglican Church, and his interest in Hoghton was its fine library of philosophical, theological and historical books." (Jay Iliff, "Shakespeare's secret life," *Sunday Express Magazine*, August 20, 2000, p. 20, summarizing remarks by Richard Wilson, Professor of Renaissance Studies at Lancaster University.)

Alan Nelson says that Edward Alleyn is known to have had only forty-one books at his death; Nelson, <http://socrates.berkeley.edu/~ahnelson/witness.html>

Shakespeare did not mention books in his will, and no books owned by him are known to survive.

Sobran, pp. 156-157, gives a handy list of Shakespeare's major sources; see also Bullough and Baker.

Hawking: See Ogburn, pp. 266-269.

William Shakespeare's father left a Catholic confession of faith: Honan, pp. 38-39.

Even Elizabeth's accession is staged like a play: David Starkey traces this anecdote only as far back as Sir Robert Naunton's *Fragmenta Regalia* and provides a more convincing alternative; Starkey, *Elizabeth*, pp. 239 ff. Starkey makes the point that Elizabeth was a master of stagecraft and that her entrance into London was a new

form of pageant, p. 270. *Elizabeth* was published a year after Posy and Joe have their conversation, so neither of them can cite it, but I can.

Spying: Posy is calling on Charles Nicholl's *The Reckoning* and Alan Haynes' *The English Secret Service*.

Thanks to the Diesel Café, Davis Sq., Somerville

The English Romaine Life: Munday, Anthony. *The English Romaine Life....Written by A.M. sometime the Popes Scholler in the Seminaries among them.* Honos alit Artes. London: John Charleworth for Nicholas Ling, 1582. P. 17 particularly notes Catholic priests in Warwickshire.

When [Munday] was twenty, early twenties: He was born in either 1553 or 1560, with the preference going to the earlier date.

Evidence of the Sonnets that Shakespeare is working for Cecil and is therefore a spy: This is original to Posy (as far as I know). There is little doubt, though, that Shakespeare was influenced by Marlowe; Honan speaks eloquently about Marlowe's influence, *Shakespeare*, pp. 123-126; and we know from Nicholl and elsewhere Marlowe's connections with the Elizabethan espionage network.

Background of Southampton and the Sonnets: Of the many treatments of this interesting narrative, one of the best-grounded is Patrick M. Murphy, "Wriothesley's Resistance: Wardship Practices and Ovidian Narratives in Shakespeare's *Venus and Adonis*," in Philip C. Kolin, ed., *Venus and Adonis: Critical Essays*. New York: Garland, 1997, pp. 323-340. The story in brief: Fatherless nobles like Southampton were put under Elizabeth's personal "protection," and she auctioned them off in pieces through the Court of Wards. Some "guardian" might buy the right to manage the noble's estates (for his own benefit, not the young noble's); someone else might get the prize of the poor child's education, for which he could charge the estate. William Cecil, Master of the Court of Wards, apparently had reserved to himself the ultimate plum, the right to name who Southampton would marry.

However, Nina Green notes that Southampton's wardship was originally sold to Lord Howard of Effingham, and that there is no extant evidence that Cecil had the marriage rights--though it seems likely.

See http://drk.sd23.bc.ca/DeVere/phaeton/Oxmyths_other_individuals.pdf, p. 3.

From fairest creatures we desire increase: Sonnet 1.

Cecil just tells Southampton to marry the girl: See Murphy, *ibid*.

Like Nicholl thinks Robert Cecil had Marlowe killed: To some degree, for simplicity, I am making the Cecils responsible for the espionage network in general.

O, how I faint when I of you do write: Sonnet 80.

Was it the proud full sail of his great verse: Sonnet 86.

Almost the only modern English poet he quotes: "Dead shepherd, now I find thy saw of might:" "Who ever lov'd that lov'd not at first sight?" *As You Like It*, Act III, scene 5, quoting Marlowe's *Hero and Leander*. Shakespeare also quotes Thomas Watson (whom Nicholl identifies as also being involved in espionage); see Nicholl, p. 187-190.

Was it his spirit, by spirits taught to write: Sonnet 86.

Shakespeare met Marlowe when they were both working for the Cecils: Original to Posy.

That time of year thou mayst in me behold: Sonnet 73.

When forty winters shall besiege thy brow: Sonnet 2.

OXFORD, EDWARD DE VERE, 17TH EARL OF: Quoted from www.britannica.com, the Encyclopedia Britannica Online.

A good-sized site proving the Oxfordians wrong:
<http://ShakespeareAuthorship.com>, edited and largely written by Dave Kathman.

Is there an Oxfordian site:

De Vere Society of Great Britain, <http://www.devere.org.uk/>
Shakespeare Oxford Society, <http://www.shakespeare-oxford.com/>
Shakespeare Fellowship, <http://www.shakespearefellowship.org>.
[Nina Green's Oxford Authorship Site](#)

A picture of Edward de Vere... He had one eyebrow raised, la-di-dah; one side of his mouth was half-smiling, a little angrily. He was the Earl of Oxford and you weren't: This is the portrait Oxford sent from Italy to his wife in around 1575. One wonders what exactly he was thinking.

There are at least two identified portraits, one at approximately 25, one at about 40. See Ogburn, *MWS*, pp. 471, 600. The Ashbourne portrait at the Folger has recently been identified with a portrait of Oxford.

Nicky helped broker the sale of the Leonardo notebook to Bill Gates: No, he didn't.

Maunde Thompson and J. Dover Wilson: See W.W. Greg, ed. *Shakespeare's Hand in the Play of Sir Thomas More*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967. First published 1923.

He said he would have such a name, and live retired: Fictional.

Mary Cat brought me a map: Combination of the 1550s fragmentary copperplate map of London now in the Museum of London and in the Dessau Art Gallery, with Braun & Hogenburg's 1572 map of London and Westminster, and William Smith's 1588 map. In other words, this map has everything I want it to have.

Seventeen per cent of London houses still didn't have indoor plumbing: Ca. 1978, I remember reading a report to this effect in the *Times*. Could I quote you chapter and verse by now? Not a chance. At the time I was staying with someone who had a huge house in the country and no indoor plumbing in London, so it struck me with a peculiar poignancy.

If the fair youth wasn't Southampton, Goscimer thought he was William Herbert, the Earl of Pembroke: Honan, p. 181.

SORTED FOR THE WEEKEND? and the other advertisements quoted here came from ads on the London Tube, March 2000. I didn't take my melatonin either and don't remember where most of them came from.

January, Mary's Giant Schnauzer: In-jokes. (January is Ana Cox's husband's band; she was my British publicist for *The Knowledge of Water* and Xeroxed me vital pages of *The Paine of Pleasure*. Thank you again, Ana! Mary's Giant Schnauzer is Max, ninety lovable doggy pounds of him. That's my wonderful sister-in-law Mary Jane behind him.)



Oxfordians argue there are more Oxfordian than Stratfordian in-jokes in Shakespeare's plays; but that may be because the Oxfordians try harder to find them.

Chris Quentin. Masterly with Distinction. Striking Also: March 2000 ad for Asahi Beer.

We waited all night in the cold....We were groundlings: An in-joke for my friends in London, 1968-69. Hi, gang.

Ted Gould's apartment: Thanks to David and Diana, whose apartment this really is (but theirs is *much* more tasteful).

Big velvety-looking engraving: The famous mezzotint of Garrick as Hamlet; Joe's knowledge doesn't extend this far.

A gigantic Ferris wheel: Much more pleasant than described. It opened in February 2000. There's a picture of it in my photo album.

Earth has not anything to show more fair: Wordsworth, "Composed Upon Westminster Bridge, September 3, 1802."

He was not of an age, but for all time: Jonson on Shakespeare, prefatory matter to the First Folio.

Chemistry, philology, biography: See Rendell and Foster. *Do* I mean sodium hypochlorite? The article from which I got this said "hypochloride," which doesn't exist elsewhere.

Don Foster's Shaxicon database: Much has been written about Foster's SHAXICON database, both pro and con, and his methods of forensic literary detection. The database remains unpublished; recently Steve Roth has reverse-engineered a publicly available version, SHAXICAN, which is available at <http://www.totus.org/SHAXICAN/roth/shaxiconmeetsshaxican.htm>

The Mysterious William Shakespeare, by Charlton Ogburn: By 2000 this book had been somewhat superseded by Joseph Sobran's *Alias Shakespeare*; now the standard biography is Mark Anderson's *Shakespeare by Another Name*. Another, very old but useful source, is B.M. Ward's biography of the Earl of Oxford, which reprints many of the primary-source references to him.

Fulke Greville's father was honorary recorder of Stratford when Shakespeare was a boy: Honan, p. 175.

Tober used to collect them: The Frank W. Tober collection of forgeries is now at the University of Delaware and is described on their Web site. The Tober collection is not the Kellogg Collection; Frank W. Tober deliberately collected fakes.

Between ten and twenty million: Evan Holzwasser's very rough estimate; who can tell?

Who chooseth me must give and hazard all he has: The inscription on the lead casket (the right one) in *The Merchant of Venice*.

In Elizabethan times the rich folk ate beef, mutton, fish...: Thanks to Laurence Senelick.

Brittle beauty, that nature made so frail: Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, "Brittle Beauty"

But in the middle of the lawn, in a pool of astonishingly green grass, stands one huge surviving tree: And isn't it beautiful.



Shakespeare wrote that the Wars of the Roses started in the Temple Gardens: *Henry VI*, part 1, Act II, sc. 4.

In every breath you take is an atom of oxygen once breathed by Julius Caesar: A classic case of a large number, applied to a small number, producing a result that looks more significant than it is.

Here's where Richard Field's shop was: Near Blackfriars.

Some of the publishers sold from taverns: Maybe they did, maybe they didn't, but I couldn't resist the picture.

Bright's *Treatise of Melancholy*, Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and *Fasti*, North's *Plutarch's Lives*, Sir John Harington's *English Orlando Furioso*: See Geoffrey Bullough, *Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare*, and Arthur Baker, *A Shakespeare Commentary*. Sobran, pp. 156-157, gives a handy list of Shakespeare's major sources. There is little quarrel between Stratfordians and Oxfordians on this score, except with regard to the Strachey Bermudas letter.

Location of Oxford's family house: Oxford Court is off Cannon St. just opposite the Cannon St. Station.

J. Thomas Looney: Pronounced Loney. The anti-Stratfordians tend to attract amusing surnames; one of the most notorious Baconians was George Batty. If your copy of *Chasing Shakespeares* says that Looney published in 1928, you have an advance reader's copy.

Ogburn on Oxford's early life: Ogburn, p. 431 ff. In a manuscript study of Sir Thomas Smith, now being prepared for publication, Stephanie Hopkins Hughes argues that Edward de Vere spent much of his early life, not with his father, but with Smith, an Elizabethan polymath and political figure, at that time Provost of Eton. Joe wouldn't have seen this.

Wild pigs go two, three hundred pounds, and their tusks are knives: Matthew Renner, personal communication (which included giving me a boar's lower jaw, with razor-sharp boar's tusks as long as your finger. Wow). You would indeed have to be crazy to try killing one with a rapier, a thin, flexible sword that tends to snap even when made of modern steel, and would have been even more brittle in Elizabethan times. John de Vere's encounter with the boar is described by Gervase Markham; quoted in Ogburn, p. 430.

If hunting boars in Texas is your idea of fun, get in touch with Matt Renner at boarsoftexas@yahoo.com or visit www.BoarsOfTexas.com.

Two of Edward de Vere's aunts married poets: Ogburn, pp. 415-416.

Frances de Vere married Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey. Surrey first wrote sonnets in English; he was also the first English writer of blank verse. Surrey's sons were Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, and Lord Henry Howard, both of whom we'll see later. Thomas Howard's son was Philip Howard, the Earl of Arundel, canonized in 1970 as St. Philip Howard; we'll see him too.

Anne de Vere married Edmund, baron Sheffield, whose poetry has been lost.

Edward de Vere had literary connections through Cecil as well. Mildred Cooke, who married William Cecil, was one of four notoriously literary sisters. The others married Henry Killigrew, Sir Thomas Hoby, and Nicholas Bacon--the father of Francis Bacon, who thus became Oxford's cousin-in-law. The poet George Gascoigne was also a relative through the Cookes.

See the genealogical chart and cast of characters on this site.

John de Vere kept a company of actors: Ogburn, p. 400; Sobran, p. 110. So, intermittently, throughout his life, did Oxford.

Lawrence Stone: *The Crisis of the Aristocracy, 1558-1641*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1965.

Ogburn tells a story about the Veres and King Henry VII: Ogburn, pp. 428-429.

Arthur Golding, Oxford's tutor while he was translating the *Metamorphoses*.

Arthur Golding, Oxford's *uncle*: Ogburn, p. 433. Ogburn thinks Oxford had a hand in the *Metamorphoses*, pp. 443-447. Golding tutored Oxford in both law and literature. He said of Oxford in 1564, dedicating to him *Th'Abridgment of the histories of Trogus Pompeius*: "It is not unknown to others, and I have had experience thereof myself, how earnest a desire your honour hath naturally grafted in you to read, peruse, and communicate with others as well the histories of ancient times, and things done long ago, as also the present estate of things in our days, and that not without a certain poignancy of wit and ripeness of understanding." Quoted Ogburn, p. 443.

Oxford's education under Cecil: Ogburn, pp. 432 ff. Cecil's plan for his studies, p. 440. See Conyers Read, p. 125-126. This education is sometimes cited as a typical Renaissance education, which, of course, it is not.

épée: He probably means rapier.

An actor's education: See M.C. Bradbrook, *The Rise of the Common Player*.

Stratford had a local troupe of amateur actors: Possibly; see Honan, p. 35.

August 1561, Queen Elizabeth visits Castle Hedingham: Ogburn, pp. 407, 409-410.

Tyrrell, the name of a murderer: Sir James Tyrrel, the murderer of the little princes in the Tower in *Richard III*.

A murderer and a villain! A slave that is not twentieth part the tithe/Of your precedent lord...: *Hamlet*, Act III, sc. 3.

Oxford's arrival in London: Ogburn, p. 437. "On the 3rd day of September came riding out of Essex from the funeral of the Earl of Oxford his father [actually three days after it], the young Earl of Oxford, with seven score horse all in black, through London and Chepe and Ludgate, and so to Temple Bar...between 5 and 6 of the afternoon." Ogburn thinks the horses are horses, but they are more likely to be horsemen. Providing 140 matched black horses would have been a little extreme even for Oxford.

More than half the size of King Henry's private guard, and larger than Elizabeth's escort when she entered London before her coronation: King Henry's private guard was about 250; Elizabeth entered London with approximately 100 men.

Framed in the front of forlorn hope, past all recovery: First published in *The Paradise of Dainty Devices*, ed. Richard Edwards, 1576, where it is attributed to "E.O." Chiljan, p. 162.

Tomorrow and tomorrow and tomorrow...: *Macbeth*, Act V, sc. 5.

Comes to London around 1587: In September 1587 Shakespeare was in Stratford, Price, *Shakespeare: The Unorthodox Biography*, p. 15; but he may have been in London previously. Some commentators have argued that, since his last children were born in February 1585, Shakespeare could have left Stratford as early as May 1584.

In 1598 Francis Meres gives a list of a dozen Shakespeare plays, and missed a couple more; by 1598 Shakespeare had probably written about sixteen plays: Ogburn, p. 745. One of the plays Meres gives is *Love's Labour's Won*, not heard of before or since. The plays Meres lists are not necessarily the final versions we have, of course.

Ogburn has a fancy-footwork explanation; all the plays have to be written much earlier: Ogburn, pp. 382-390. Considerable Oxfordian and Stratfordian effort has gone and is going into dating the plays. On the Oxfordian side, texts often cited include Eva Turner Clark's *Hidden Allusions in Shakespeare's Plays: A Study of the Early Court Revels and Personalities of the Times*, 3rd revised edition by Ruth Loyd Miller, 1974; but this work is being supplanted by the De Vere Society dating project and others. Clark far overargues her points but includes interesting indications of early composition of some plays. See my short notes on dating Shakespeare's plays.

The Cecil monument: Described in Ogburn, p. 703. Thanks to Mr. Bernard Barrell for sharing his expertise on Cecil's funerary monuments.

Lady Bridget married a nobody: Bridget de Vere married Francis Norrrys, baron Rycote; Ogburn, p. 743.

Lady Elizabeth de Vere...is 14 years old: Ogburn's translation; Ogburn, p. 703.

Cecil set spies on his children and the wards: Ogburn, p. 405.

Don Cannon's a bookseller: He is, but everything else in this description, and everything this character does, is fictional. Thanks, Don, for supporting Bouchercon.

Conyers Read is completely inadequate: Conyers Read, *Mr. Secretary Cecil and Queen Elizabeth*. The Bedford Historical Series XVII. London: Jonathan Cape, 1962. First published 1955. Conyers Read, *Lord Burghley and Queen Elizabeth*. London:

Jonathan Cape, 1960. Conyers Read is not friendly toward Oxford; "this is the letter of a cad if ever there was one," he writes in *Burghley*, p. 135.

Cecil and the ghost: Henry Peacham, *The Compleat Gentleman* (ed. 1634), p. 45, quoted in Conyers Read, *Mr. Secretary Cecil and Queen Elizabeth*, p. 30-31. I slightly simplified this anecdote so that it could be echoed in Joe and Posy's visit to the Hatfield library. Cecil had actually lost books, money, and his bedding (it was apparently the first time he had gambled), and vowed revenge. At night he made a hole in the wall

...near his playfellows beds-head and in a fearful voice spake thus,...'O mortal man, repent! repent of thy horrible time consumed in play, cozenage & such lewdness as thou hast committed or else thou art damned, and can not be saved!'...Most penitent and heavy, the next day, in presence of the youths [the gambler] told, with trembling, what a fearful voice spake to him at midnight... And, calling for Mr. Cecil, asked him forgiveness on his knees, & restored all his money, bedding & books. So two gamesters were both reclaimed with this merry device & never played more. Many other, the like merry jests, I have heard him tell...

Read characterizes this as "clever, if somewhat unscrupulous."

Peacham, the source of this anecdote, apparently knew the family well, and in that light it is interesting that *The Compleat Gentleman* is an Oxfordian *locus classicus*. In a list of authors that were eminent in Elizabeth's day, Peacham includes Oxford but not Shakespeare; Oxfordians argue that this is because Peacham had inside information that the two were one man. Peter Dickson, an Oxfordian, notes that Peacham's book went through four editions (in 1622, 1627, 1634, and 1661) without the "error" being corrected. See Oldenburg, summarizing Dickson's research, and Peacham, *Compleat Gentleman* (1622), pp. 95-96.

Fish on Wednesdays: Cecil was responsible for the notorious and unpopular bill establishing a second "fish day" on Wednesdays to encourage the English fishing industry. Conyers Read, *Mr. Secretary Cecil and Queen Elizabeth*, pp. 271-274; Ogburn, *MWS*, p. 369.

She let him visit when she was in bed. When she created him Earl of Leicester she tickled him on the neck: Weir, *Elizabeth*, p. 150.

Amy Dudley: I am indebted to Weir's version, *Elizabeth*, pp. 92-112. Weir is more even-handed than my hunters after conspiracy, but concludes that Cecil had "a compelling motive for doing away with Amy, and was the person who profited by her death." Weir, p. 109.

"So wretched a conspiracy to prosper": Alvaro de Quadra to the Duchess of Parma (King Philip's sister), Sept. 11, 1560, quoted Weir, *Elizabeth*, p. 97. Compare Conyers Read, *Mr. Secretary Cecil*, pp. 199-203.

Read thinks that Cecil was sending a message to Elizabeth: Read, *ibid.*, p. 200.

She never gets the man she wants: Weir expresses some reservations that Elizabeth in fact wanted to marry Dudley--which would, in any case, have been politically unsettling even if Dudley's wife had died blamelessly.

When he was seventeen, he killed a man: Ogburn, p. 454-455; Read, p. 126.

Why came you between us? I was hurt under your arm: *Romeo and Juliet*, Act III, sc. 1.

Shakespeare jokes about *se offendendo* in *Hamlet*: *Hamlet*, Act V, sc. 1.

Fishmonger: "Fishmonger" has often been glossed in its slang meaning of "brothel-keeper." This meaning would be consistent with Oxford's feelings toward the father of his supposedly unfaithful wife, if Oxford were the author and especially if Cecil himself arranged for his daughter to become pregnant by another man. But, as I mentioned above, it might equally refer to the Cecil's Fast bill.

Like the evidence Katherine Darnell is going to show Joe, this evidence allows one to infer a relatively early date for *Hamlet*; the Cecil's Fast bill was passed in the Parliament of 1563.

Oxfordians would be quick to point out that in 1563 Oxford was a ward in Cecil's household and would have been familiar with the bill.

Polonius's advice to his son is taken from a letter of Cecil to Robert Cecil:

"Certain Precepts to his Son," written about 1584 and not published until 1616 (Sobran, p. 103). Chambers notes some resemblance to Polonius's speech, most closely in the advice on lending and borrowing. "Certain Precepts" can be viewed at <http://www.princehamlet.com/burghley.html> .

He was in his first military campaign at nineteen: Under Thomas Radcliffe, Earl of Sussex. Thomas Radcliffe was Southampton's uncle. See Ogburn, pp. 466, 469. Read is less sure about Oxford's military experience: Read, p. 127.

Elizabeth called him 'my Turk': Ogburn, p. 502. Cf. OED, "Turk," definition 4: "Applied to any one having qualities attributed to the Turks; a cruel, rigorous, or

tyrannical man; any one behaving as a barbarian or savage; one who treats his wife hardly; a bad-tempered or unmanageable man... 1579 Lyly, *Euphues*: "Was never...any Turke so vyle and brutishe."

Cecil says in a letter that it was Oxford's idea, which clearly isn't true...Cecil actually had Elizabeth come to his house one day to give the bride away, and Oxford didn't show: Ogburn, p. 491. Of course, if the Queen came to the house and expected you to be there, you should be there.

Sir Cloudesley Shovell: An eighteenth-century admiral with a delightful name.

According to a rumor at the time and a Privy Council minute three years later, Oxford bought a ship and offered a captain two thousand pounds to take Norfolk to Spain: Ogburn, p. 493; Read, pp. 128-129, who gives a verdict of "not proven."

A ward can't marry the daughter of a commoner: A guardian cannot force a ward of higher rank to marry a person of lower rank. The legal term is disparagement. In *All's Well That Ends Well*, Bertram complains that his marriage to Helena disparages his rank, and the King says he will therefore ennoble Helena. There are very few cases of disparagement, says Patrick Murphy, but Oxford's marriage to Cecil's daughter is one of them; Cecil was ennobled in order to prevent a charge of disparagement. Patrick M. Murphy, "Wriothesley's Resistance," p. 325.

The peers condemned Norfolk: Read, pp. 46-48. But apparently Oxford was not one of the peers who tried him.

Norfolk was the only duke in England then, and there were no marquesses, so the earl with the oldest title was the highest-ranking nobleman in England: Oxfordians make much of this, which may or may not be significant. By itself his title gave Oxford no political power.

St. Edward's Chapel: I am very grateful to Mr. Bernard Barrell for a private tour of the Confessor's Shrine.

Strong doesn't understand: Roy Strong, *The Cult of Elizabeth*.

The court wasn't that large: There were 26 peers. All earls were (and are) addressed by the Queen as "cousin", but in Elizabeth's time this was literally the case; eight of her earls were her first cousins.

Cecil has control of Oxford's money, because the story is Oxford's a spendthrift: Even his supporters have not been impressed with Oxford's financial sense. The tin

mining letters show it in some detail; he was quite an optimist. But Elizabethan courtiers were expected to be spendthrift.

In May 1573, "by the highway from Gravesend to Rochester," Oxford and three men stage a mock-robbery: Ogburn, pp. 528-529. *Henry IV* part 1, Act II, sc. 2.

And Shakespeare says the robbery takes place in May in the fourteenth year of Henry IV's reign. Henry IV died before May of his fourteenth regnal year, but Elizabeth didn't and May of her fourteenth regnal year was May 1573: The date is given, not in *Henry IV* part 1, but in *The Famous Victories of Henry Fift*, which is not necessarily Shakespeare's.

Without permission, Oxford leaves England and goes to Brussels: Read, pp. 130-132; Ogburn, pp. 531-533.

But within two weeks he lets himself be hauled back: By Thomas Bedingfield, later the translator of *Cardanus Comfort*.

Thereby to take an occasion to return I am off from that opinion: Oxford to William Cecil, March 17, 1575; Chiljan, p. 17.

Advanced Renaissance Culture: Among the people Oxford is known to have visited is Johannes Sturm, a major European educational theorist; see Ogburn, pp. 542-543.

Nothing is better than God, and peanut butter is better than nothing, but peanut butter's not better than God: Thanks, Delia.

Upon a raw and gusty day, The troubled Tiber chafing with her shores: *Julius Caesar*, Act I, sc. 2.

Oxford hears about the birth only in late September: The mail between England and Italy was not remarkably fast, but, if Cecil wrote to his son-in-law when the child was born on July 2, his letter seems to have taken longer than usual to reach Italy. The whole story of who did what when in the case of Elizabeth de Vere's paternity is rich with opportunities for insinuation and counteraccusation. Ogburn suggests a plot involving Lord Henry Howard and/or Rowland Yorke, Oxford's receiver, to blacken Oxford's reputation, and marshals evidence that Elizabeth de Vere may have been born later than the last date at which Oxford thought she could have been his. Both Ogburn and Read write extensively on this; Ogburn, Chapter 28, pp. 555-580; Read, pp. 133-138. See also Patrick Murphy, "Wriothesley's Resistance," p. 336.

Attacked by pirates in the English Channel: Ogburn, p. 556; Read, p. 133.

Who's sick of his son-in-law?: Original to Posy, as far as I know, but the Henry Howard-Rowland Yorke combination has been suggested to be a source for Iago.

Bachelor rooms: At Charing Cross; Chiljan, p. 26, Ogburn, p. 561. He had previously lived at the Savoy, haunt of writers, with Anne; the Savoy is an easy walk from Charing Cross.

The Blue Boar Society: The actual British Oxfordian society is the De Vere Society of Great Britain, a respectable group. This is a fictional society, so I could make them act silly. There has been at least one actual Blue Boar Society, in Boston in 1998-99; this one is not that one.

According to her, he wrote Gascoigne's *An Hundred Sundrie Flowers of English Poesy...the Ur-Hamlet. The Famous Victories of Henry the Fifth.... The Earl of Southampton is the love child of Elizabeth and Oxford:* Aunt Betty Lou bears on her rounded and no doubt osteoporotic shoulders the weight of many Oxfordian theories and is therefore, of course, entirely fictional. But see, for instance, Ogburn, pp. 514-519.

Henry de Vere, Earl of Bulbeck: Fictional. Charles de Vere, Earl of Burford (who now writes as Charles Beauclerk), is co-chair of the De Vere Society of Great Britain, but this is not the man.

Mr. William Boyle is the well-known editor of the *Shakespeare Oxford Newsletter*: I thank him for allowing me to use him here. He is delivering a paper written by his brother, Charles Boyle, "Elizabeth's Glass," published in the *Shakespeare Oxford Newsletter*, vol. 36, no. 4, Winter 2001. William Boyle is now the co-founder of the newly re-founded Shakespeare Fellowship, an organization for interested agnostics, where he co-edits their newsletter, *Shakespeare Matters*.

"A roaring homo..." Viewers of the *Frontline* program, "The Shakespeare Mystery," will recognize this phrase from Al Austin's notorious interview with the Shakespeare scholar A.L. Rowse. In a panel discussion about this program, Austin described colorful bits of this interview that didn't reach the public:

'What is this nonsense about the homo Oxford?' [Rowse said]...And then he began to recite, at the top of his voice, all the passages in Shakespeare about the male appendage...and every time he got to the [word], he reached out and grabbed for Rosen [a member of the *Frontline* crew] in the specified place...I have been a reporter for over forty years and have reported from wars and the inside of prisons and mental institutions, and I have never seen the likes of A.L. Rowse.

Anne Vavasour was not the Dark Lady: Anne Vavasour, Emilia Bassano, Elizabeth Trentham, and even Anne Cecil (died 1588!) have all been proposed as candidates. I'm so not going there.

Letters and Poems of Edward, Earl of Oxford: The name and the contents are those of Katherine Chiljan's edition, *Letters and Poems of Edward, Earl of Oxford*. N.p.: n.p., 1998; but I have not met Ms. Chiljan and she should in no sense be connected with Katherine Darnell.

Again I know and well perceive how this escheat of Danvers: Oxford to Robert Cecil, January 1602, Cecil papers 181.99, quoted in Chiljan, p. 74.

One doesn't find many play manuscripts: See William B. Long, "Precious Few: English Manuscript Playbooks," in Kastan, David Scott. *A Companion to Shakespeare*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1999.

We hear of a play, *The History of Error*, performed at Court, the first of a number of plays that have titles similar to Shakespearean plays. For example, February 1580, *The History of Portia and Demorantes*: See Peter Cunningham, ed. *Extracts from the Accounts of the Revels at Court, in the Reigns of Queen Elizabeth and King James I...* London: for the Shakespeare Society, 1842. Among those floated as possible early Shakespeare plays are *The Historie of Error*, p. 102; *A Historie of Ferrar*, p. 177; *A Morall of the Marriage of Mind and Measure*, p. 125 (see Ogburn, p. 594); *The Historie of the Rape of the Second Helen*, p. 125; *The Historie of the Duke of Millayn and the Marquis of Mantua*, p. 154; *The Historie of Portia and Demorantes*, p. 155; *The Historie of Agamemnon and Ulysses*, p. 188--this last presented by Oxford's Boys in 1584. See also Ogburn, pp. 660-661.

Oxford was patron to two companies of players: One a men's company, one a company of boys. Prof. Alan Nelson of Berkeley has been engaged in gathering the records of Oxford's companies; see <http://socrates.berkeley.edu/~ahnelson/oxmen.html> .

Terrible money troubles, selling estates all the time: Ogburn's timeline gives a fairly accurate idea of the progress of Oxford's money troubles. Ogburn, pp. 770-786.

Monarcho retired around 1575 and was dead by 1580 when Thomas Churchyard wrote an epitaph for him: Southworth, pp. 111-113. Southworth says that Monarcho is the only fool referred to specifically in Shakespeare; however, there may be a reference to John Pace, the "bitter fool," in Lear's "sweet and bitter fool." Nashe, writing in 1592, says that Pace was jester to the Duke of Norfolk; Southworth, p. 110. For more on Thomas Churchyard, see Mark K. Anderson and Roger Stritmatter, "The

Potent Testimony of Gabriel Harvey..." *Shakespeare Matters*, Winter 2002, pp. 26-29.

The star in *Hamlet*: Donald W. Olson, Marilyn S. Olson, and Russell L. Doescher. "The Stars of Hamlet." *Sky & Telescope*, November 1998, pp. 68-73.

The 'star that's westward from the pole': *Hamlet*, Act I, sc. 1.

'To the Elizabethan observer', she reads: quoting Olson, Olson & Doescher, p. 70.

His use of *retrograde*: Shakespeare is the first to use this astronomical term in a metaphorical sense. OED, under *retrograde*.

The traditional dating of *Hamlet*: Between 1599-1601.

Holinshed or Camden or in Digges' book: Thomas Digges, *Alae seu scalae mathematicae*, 1573.

1572 Oxford was twenty-two and studying astronomy: With John Dee.

Cecil consulted Thomas Digges about what the star might mean: Olson, Olson & Doescher, p. 70.

Field makes a nice profit: Speculation.

Southampton was no literary man: He was, of course, a patron; for example, Thomas Nashe dedicated *The Unfortunate Traveller: or, the Life of Jack Wilton* (1594) to him.

Thirty-three books were dedicated to him. John Lyly, Anthony Munday, Angel Day--and of course Oxford writes dedications himself, as well as paying for publications: For details of the books dedicated to Oxford and his support of literary men, see Ogburn and Sobran.

For in your lifetime I shall erect you such a monument that...you shall see how noble a shadow of your virtuous life shall hereafter remain when you are dead and gone....: The epistle is reprinted in Chiljan, pp. 155-157 and in Sobran, with comments, pp. 279-286; see also Ogburn's comments, Ogburn, pp. 527-528. Both Sobran and Ogburn note similarities of style and tone with Shakespeare and cite the use of rare and odd words common to both.

You shall not be/The grave of your deserving: *Coriolanus*, Act I, sc. 9.

William Blake's manuscripts: Si non è vero, è ben trovato. What seems to be the real story is marvelous enough: at the age of eighteen, Dante Gabriel Rossetti had the chance to buy one of Blake's notebooks. The price was ten shillings, which he borrowed from his brother. He kept the notebook all his life and eventually published it. I wanted him to have bought a trunk, which mirrors the entirely speculative box we'll see later at King's Place, so I kept the story in its fictional form.

Holinshed gives a different date for the first sighting in England: Olson, Olson & Doescher, p. 70.

A copy of *Sir Thomas More* from the Internet: They're using the edition from the online Encyclopedia of the Self, re-edited from the Harleian MS 7368; commentary by Mark Zimmerman. The W.W. Greg edition is also online at <http://etext.lib.virginia.edu/>, but the Greg edition is far too scholarly to spring on readers.

Szilard and Einstein's letter to Franklin Roosevelt: At the Ritblat Gallery it is attributed to Einstein alone; Alex Irvine tells me Szilard is the principal author. Not the only typo in the gallery; on one of the labels in the Shakespeare case, when I was there, the date of the First Folio was given as 1616.

***Sir Thomas More* is beat to shreds:** You can indeed examine it at the Ritblat Gallery in the British Library; it has also been reproduced in facsimile (not very well).

Munday probably wrote *More* before 1590: Munday produced a fair copy of *More* at the same time as his fair copy of *John a Kent and John a Cumber*. (They are in the same handwriting and bound in matching pieces of the same MS page.) *John x2* has a date on the manuscript. For many years this date was supposed to be 1596, but recent examination has redated it to 1590. The Ill May Day addition was supposed to date to 1592-93, referring to the riots against foreigners in that year; but since riots against foreigners were fairly frequent occurrences, this date isn't solid.

For to the king God hath his office lent: *STM*, Act II, sc. 4.

Not all the water in the rough rude sea/Can wash the balm off from an anointed king: *Richard II*, Act III, sc. 2.

A soothing businesslike screen: <http://blpc.bl.uk/>

The facsimile edition of *Sir Thomas More. Shakespeare and Sir Thomas More* . . .: See the bibliography.

To save my life, it is a good adventure: *STM*, Act I, sc. 2.

'Tis strange that from his princely clemency: *STM*, Act I, sc. 2.

Force now must make our peace, or else we fall: *STM*, Act II, sc. 1.

Now I can perceive it was not fit: *STM*, Act III, sc. 1.

Here I begin this cup of death to thee: *STM*, Act III, sc. 1.

We owe God a death: *Henry IV* part II, Act III, sc. 2.

In hope his highness' clemency and mercy: *STM*, Act III, sc. 1.

...France now hath her full strength: *STM*, Act IV, sc. 1.

Great men are still musicians, else the world lies: *STM*, Act IV, sc. 5.

Ogburn thinks it's all Oxford's: Ogburn, pp. 676-677. Ogburn cites a statistical study by George Merriam comparing More to John a Kent and John a Cumber and to several of Shakespeare's plays. On the basis of statistical similarities, Merriam assigns all of More to Shakespeare. I haven't seen the study. Merriam did not consider joint authorship.

When twice two hours the daughters of the night: Anthony Munday, John a Kent and John a Cumber, Act I, sc. 1, p. 13.

Can you, my Lord, and you, and you, and you: Anthony Munday, *John a Kent and John a Cumber*, Act I, sc. 1, p. 7.

That Munday was the author of part of what he was transcribing: S.A. Tannenbaum, *The Booke of Sir Thomas Moore': A Bibliotic Study [sic]*. New York: The Tenney Press, 1927, p. 24.

One steel man: The material about jousting and armor comes from David Lyons of the Autumn Tree Armored Combat Company and from the bonus material on the DVD of *A Knight's Tale*. Cool jousting, dudes. It was Rufus Sewell who nearly roasted in the black armor.

The only surviving example of an Elizabethan tourney lance: Not fictional at all; go see this wonderful survival. The estimate of the length is me heel-and-toeing it; more reliable sources give lengths of between 14-16 feet.



I get a chance before the tournament to stand up and tell the audience why I'm there: See Alan Young, *Tudor and Jacobean Tournaments*. For Oxford and tournaments, see Ogburn, pp. 549-551, 680-681.

"Ow much does it cost to be a knight?": A suit of armor could cost as much as a thousand pounds. "Mr. Shakespeare" (probably John Shakespeare rather than William; see Price, p. 22) was paid 44s. for writing an impresa, a short poem to be displayed on a shield, for the Earl of Rutland. Richard Burbage, who was an artist as well as an actor, was paid to paint the shield, suggesting further connections between the Tudor tournament scene and the theatres.

Arundel: This is the signature of St. Philip Howard, once Earl of Arundel, whom we'll meet later.

Bacon was also supposed to be Shakespeare. The Earl of Derby. Queen Elizabeth, when the Virgin Queen wasn't busy having children: See John Michell, *Who Was Shakespeare?*, and the partisan but thorough overview in Ogburn, pp. 125-150.

Flowers in the Storm: Thanks to Kelly Link for introducing me to this book.

When Munday comes back to England, Oxford hires him as one of his secretaries: He apparently served as Oxford's secretary from approximately 1580-1584.

Oxford has two companies of players: It is unclear whether Munday, Lyly, or both were in charge of running these companies.

Munday apprenticed to a printer, but only lasted a year: William Hall, Munday's cousin, took over his apprenticeship with John Alde. William Hall is an unfortunately common name, and I have been unable to find out whether this could be the same William Hall who worked occasionally with Thomas Thorpe, the pirate printer of the *Sonnets*.

He's been hanging around with Lord Henry Howard, the younger brother of the Duke of Norfolk, and with Henry Howard's associates Charles Arundel and Francis Southwell. These are bad guys: For Howard's and Arundel's characters see Ogburn, p. 563.

Charles Arundel was on his way to being an open traitor in the pay of Philip of Spain: Nicholl identifies Charles Arundel as the author of the scurrilous *Leicester's Commonwealth*.

In 1580, the first of a wave of Jesuits are coming from Rome to England in disguise. Some of them are organizing a Catholic rebellion and planning the Queen's assassination: Edmund Campion was a great and holy man, but other Jesuits, such as Robert Persons, were virtual terrorists. Munday made no distinction; he testified against some of Campion's associates and wrote against Campion. See Munday, *Discovery of Edmund Campion* and *A brief and true Report*.

Item, to be demanded of Charles Arundel and Henry Howard: Public Records Office State Papers 12/151, ff. 96, reprinted in Chiljan, pp. 28-29.

Item to Charles Arundel: *Ibid.*, p. 28.

In 1580 Edmund Campion had come to England in disguise and was staying with a Lancashire family, the Hoghtons: Edmund Campion stayed at Hoghton in the winter and spring of 1580-81. "Hoghton" is pronounced Horton.

Munday, the Catholics, and Oxford: Munday kept on working against the Catholics, something that's given him a bad reputation ever since. Beginning in 1581, Munday testified against them and started writing anti-Catholic tracts including *The English Romaine Life*. Munday now has a reputation as a witchhunter--he later also worked against the Martin Marprelate writers, according to Nicholl--but the whole situation was very complicated, and Munday's preference for moderation was not uncommon.

The Earl of Arundel: Philip Howard was important to Oxford not only because he was Henry Howard's nephew, but because he was Norfolk's son and Oxford's cousin. The same pressures that had led Cecil to try Norfolk for treason in 1572 now were forcing Oxford to fight Norfolk's son.

Philip Howard is now St. Philip Howard. Edmund Campion would reconcile him to the Church later in 1581; he would be imprisoned in the Tower, die there after ten years, and be canonized as one of the English martyrs. *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, "St. Philip Howard."

Eva Turner Clark suggests that Henry Howard and Charles Arundel made Philip Howard the fall guy in their plots in the early 1580s, and connects him with Bolingbroke in *Richard II*, Clark, p. 495; but this is probably overreading. The "treason" of Norfolk's son seems simply to have been Catholicism.

Knight of the Tree of the Sun: Alan Young, *Tudor and Jacobean Tournaments*, pp. 148-149.

Knyvet's men and Oxford's men started a gang war on the streets of London; men were killed on both sides. In some biographers' opinions, this quarrel was the real-life source of the feud in *Romeo and Juliet*. Ogburn, pp. 610-613.

Cecil writes that the Oxfords have only three servants: One was a tumbler; a fourth, Elizabeth de Vere's, was with her at Cecil's. Ogburn, pp. 655-666.

"My Lord of Oxford is neither heard nor hath presence either to complain or defend himself": William Cecil to Sir Christopher Hatton, March 12, 1583, quoted in Ogburn, pp. 610-613.

Fisher's Folly: "There is [in the high street from Bishopsgate and Hound's Ditch] a...large and beautiful house with gardens of pleasure..." Stow ed. 1598, quoted in Ogburn, p. 671- 672. Ogburn thinks that Oxford bought Fisher's Folly around 1584, but after *Chasing Shakespeares* was in production, Stephanie Hopkins Hughes pointed out that Alan Nelson cites a letter from Lord Henry Howard, in February 1580, mentioning Oxford had bought it and was making alterations. Oh, well, they wouldn't have found the Nelson citation anyway, and the story as Joe tells it is nice and clear.

I am that I am: "I pray, my Lord, leave that course, for I mean not to be your ward nor your child. I serve Her Majesty, and I am that I am, and by alliance near to your Lordship, but free..." *Letters and Poems of Edward, Earl of Oxford*, ed. Chiljan, p. 35; letter from EdV to Burghley, October 30, 1584.

The same people who are associated with Oxford notice Shakespeare early, or Shakespeare notices them: To them should be added Christopher Marlowe, who was living in Shoreditch in 1589. See Honan, p. 123, who speaks eloquently of Marlowe's influence on Shakespeare.

Angel Day: *The English Secretorie [sic], wherein is contained, A Perfect Method for the inditing of all manner of Epistles...* London: Robert Waldegrave, for Richard Jones, at the Rose and Crown near Holburn bridge, 1586.

My liege, and madam, to expostulate: *Hamlet*, Act II, sc. 2.

The great division of the two noble houses of Lancaster and Yorke: Anthony Munday. *A Watch-Woord to England*, London: Printed for Thomas Hackett, 1584, page 40 verso.

A square prosaic gray building with scaffolding over it: The building is real; the scaffolding is fictional, in honor of the millennium. The bank officers are also fictional.

Shakespeare would have seen the gates of Bedlam Hospital but wouldn't have been able to get in by himself: At this period in Bedlam's history, entrance was apparently reserved to nobles.

Mary Cat's Elizabethan map shows the Theatre: but its progenitors don't.

A painted star of rats with their tails tied together: I read the description of a rat king in Terry Pratchett's *Maurice and his Amazing Educated Rodents* and had to have one too.

Old vaudeville house: A prize to the first person to find this again.

Greene or Chettle, whoever wrote Greene's Groatsworth: Warren B. Austin's 1969 analysis of Chettle's and Greene's works found convincing stylistic evidence that Chettle was the author. See Price, p. 29.

I wondered if this book--if, maybe, this copy of this book--had been in the library at Fisher's Folly: It came to the British Library from the library of the antiquarian Anthony à Wood.

Thomas Churchyard actually used to be Oxford's servant: and was a spy for him or Cecil in 1567; Ogburn, p. 474. Late in Churchyard's life, Oxford briefly agreed to pay for Churchyard's lodgings (but then could not afford to do it, a painful episode).

The Paine of Pleasure: See my edition of this poem, reproduced [here](#) in a printable version. (Also available in HTML [here](#).)

Good L--d what fancies fall in sleep, what wonders men shall see: First lines of "The Author's Dream," ascribed to and probably by Munday.

When I sometime begin to weigh in minde/The wretched state of miserable man: First lines of "The Paine of Pleasure," ascribed to Anthony Munday, possibly by Munday and/or Edward de Vere.

A horse that snuffs, and snorts, and stands upon no ground: "PofP," under "Horses, Hawks, and Dogs, the Fifth Pleasure." The typo suggests that the book may have been set from a manuscript in secretary hand; "stamps upon the" and "stands upon no" look quite similar in secretary hand.

See then by love, what cost, what care, what woe: "PofP," under "Love, the Fourth Pleasure."

For beauty first breeds liking in the mind: "PofP," under "Beauty, the First Pleasure."

As long as a play: 1200 lines.

By larges and longs, by breves and semibreves:

Minims, crotchets, quavers, sharps, flats to feign:

Ut, re, mi, fa, sol, la and back again:

"PofP," under "Music, the Sixth Pleasure." Good line. "Feign" means to sing or hum softly or with proper care for the accidentals, one of the numerous technical terms used in the poem (see below).

Technical terms in "PofP": See the *Oxford English Dictionary* under *byas*, *crank*, *shotterel*, *dregge*, *snite* and *snipe*--the author of "The Paine of Pleasure" perceives a difference between these last two; the *OED* and the Elizabethan dictionary makers Thomas Thomas [1587] and Cotgrave [1611] don't know it.

What sport it is to see an arrow fly: "PofP," under "Shooting, the Thirteenth Pleasure."

Arithmetic doth number worldly toys : "PofP," under "Divinity, the Twenty-Three [sic] Pleasure."

Lie here, lie there, strike out your blow at length: "PofP," under "Fencing, the Eleventh Pleasure."

ESTC says that Paine was published in 1583 by Henry Bynneman: ESTC S126004. This is the only copy of *Paine* appearing in the older printed version of the *ESTC*, which Joe must have used. Surprising, as he usually uses the more modern online version; but, like me, he might have been overwhelmed by the BL at the time.

They'd print a book or even a partial book: correcting typos as they went along and creating all sorts of interesting bibliographical issues, but that's another story.

Type wear and wear in printers' ornaments: This was sometimes complicated by printers lending type.

Italian and French printers never used black-letter forms: Seldom? Never say never.

A rare typeface: Oh, how wrong Joe is. It was used by the printer Henrie Car from at least 1568, and by other printers including Richard Jones, John Charlewood, and Richard Field. Thanks to Jeff Lee for helping me to trace its ancestry. But look what nice things Joe's wild-goose chase does for the pacing of this scene.

You can get your own copy of this typeface [here](#), in Jeff Lee's electronic version.

Timeline of Shakespeare's life: See the almost comprehensive comparative timelines in Ogburn, pp. 770-786.

Munday's anti-Catholic works: See the bibliography.

There are 147 major research libraries in the world: Many more catalogs are now available online. LibDex (www.libdex.com) lists 17,500 online catalogs.

The online catalog of the Library of Congress doesn't list *The Paine of Pleasure*. Neither do Harvard, Yale, Columbia, Princeton, the New York Public Library, the Folger Library, or the Bibliothèque nationale: No, they don't, but, silly man, he missed COPAC (<http://www.copac.ac.uk/copac/>), which lists a microfilmed edition by the "Shakespeare Institute," held in the Birmingham (UK) Library. Okay, it's a story and sometimes you cheat.

The second *Paine of Pleasure* is black. It's a photo-reproduction from a book at Cambridge University: Pepysian Library, no. 1434.

In this map the Rose is mistitled the Star. The New Globe (i.e. the one built in the 1990s) is approximately on the site of the old Bear Garden in the map above.



Below is a very false-color lightened-up picture of the interior of the Rose, and the official photograph of the excavations from the Rose site. You can't get into the Rose now the way Joe and Posy did—a good thing, I suppose, but it was wonderful to be there.



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reproduced courtesy of the Rose Trust



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The Globe can't be excavated fully: The larger part of the Globe is located under a listed building (i.e., a historically important building) dating from the early 19th century. The building is now luxury condos, and the owners can indeed look at the memorial to the Globe out their kitchen windows.

The First Night of Twelfth Night, guest list: Hotson, *First Night*, p. 181-182. A Queen's summons was not to be ignored; see Hotson, p. 183. According to Hotson, Shakespeare wrote and produced the whole play in two weeks. Yow. Of course, this may not be the finished *Twelfth Night* we have.

Posy's car: It's a Morgan Plus 8. Thanks to Simon Master, Chairman of Arrow Books, Random House UK, for picking it out, and to The GoMoG Morgan Sports Car Owners Group Plus 8 Page, <http://www.gomog.com/plus8.html>, for providing pictures of it.

The Bell Inn, Castle Hedingham: Knight Boyer and I didn't visit Castle Hedingham for the food at the Bell Inn, so it was a marvelous surprise. Just wonderful, unpretentiously inventive and beautifully done, among the best inn food in England. The logger's mark on the beam is fictional as far as I know. There are similar mason's marks in the interior masonry of Castle Hedingham, which Joe could have talked

about instead. But I wanted them to have this conversation before they'd seen Hedingham--after all, this is a novel...

Cecil and his party did stay at the Bell in 1592, according to the sign by the bar.

Castle Hedingham is described by Ogburn, pp. 410-415, in a ripe example of Oxfordian sentimentality.

Light thickens, and the crow/Makes wing to the rooky wood: *Macbeth*, Act III, sc. 2. Here are the crows at Hedingham.



Oxford and Anthony Munday wrote *Sir Thomas More* while Oxford was in the Tower: Oxford's imprisonment is unlikely to have precluded visitors, servants, or literary pursuits. Mary Stuart had a retinue of servants all through her imprisonment. Sir Walter Raleigh wrote his *History of the World* while a prisoner in the Tower, and kept a library of 600 books there. (For those interested in the history of Elizabethan libraries, this was a major library and formed the bulk of the estate Raleigh left.)

There is another small detail in *STM* that argues for a relatively early date. In Act IV, sc. 1, one of the players in the play-within-a-play tells More "We would desire your honor but to stay a little; one of my fellows is but run to Oagles [sic] for a long beard for young Wit..." John Ogle, the wigmaker, figures for the last time in the *Revels* accounts in 1584-5 (p. 193; see also pp. 73, 130). However, the *Revels* accounts are not complete.

'Tis not the thing, but the delight therein: "PofP," under "Tennis, the Twelfth Pleasure."

My soul doth tell my body that he may/Triumph in love: Sonnet 151.

Will Shakespeare, possible slang meanings of the name: See Partridge, *Shakespeare's Bawdy*, under "lance," "pike," "shake," "sword," "weapon," and "will"; cf. Partridge, *A Dictionary of Slang and Unconventional English*, and Richter, *A Dictionary of Sexual Slang*, under "shake." The general tenor of shaking one's spear is "perform coitus," "masturbate," or possibly "urinate." Shakespeare never uses the word *spear* in a sexual context (no wonder) but uses *lance*, *pike*, *sword* and *weapon*.

Death of Anne Cecil: She died at her father's house. She had recently had a child and lost another, and may have been at the Cecils' house simply to be nursed. "It was not unusual in those days for the wives of courtiers to remain in the country while their husbands served at court; it was possible for wives to reside at court, but the cost was enormous and the Queen discouraged the practice." Weir, *Elizabeth*, p. 94. Anti-Oxfordians have made much of the fact that Oxford did not attend his wife's funeral, but this also seems to have been fairly standard practice even among households less wracked by interesting times than the Oxfords'; women commonly attended the funerals of women and men of men.

Oxford was briefly a part of the fighting during the Armada summer: Possibly, though Nelson thinks not.

Cecil strip-mines Oxford's assets...says that Oxford never paid the Cecils to marry Anne: Like so much about the Cecil-Oxford relationship, what happened depends on whose opinion you believe. Cecil accused Oxford of pulling down buildings at Castle Hedingham to decrease its value; Oxford accused Cecil of farming him.

Cecil takes Vere House in Oxford Court away from him, and in December 1591 Cecil grabs Castle Hedingham too: A bit too hard on Cecil. See Ogburn, pp. 721-722.

Oxford ends up living in the suburbs in a house Elizabeth Trentham bought: Field's idea that Queen Elizabeth gave the Oxfords King's Place as a wedding gift seems to be incorrect, according to Martin Taylor and Ogburn. Ogburn believes that the widowed Lady Vaux sold them King's Place, pp. 742-743.

Even as the sun with purple-coloured face: *Venus and Adonis*, first lines.

There's a great bit about a horse: Somebody's going to say that all these horse bits are Ovidian, so I'll say it first. But "PofP" as a whole is anti-Ovidian.

John Clapham says something similar in his Narcissus, but Clapham's patron is Cecil, not Southampton: See Sobran, p. 135; Martindale and Burrow, "Clapham's Narcissus: A Pre-Text for Shakespeare's Venus and Adonis? (text, translation and commentary)" *English Literary Renaissance* 22 (1992), pp. 147-175.

"Is thine own heart to thine own face affected?": *Venus and Adonis*.

Upon the earth's increase why shouldst thou feed: *Venus and Adonis*. Cf., for example, Sonnet 1, "Pity the world, or else this glutton be,/To eat the world's due..."

Shakespeare says the Fair Youth slept with the Dark Lady in Shakespeare's own house: A possible reading of Sonnet 41. "Ay me, but yet thou mightst my seat forbear,/And chide thy beauty, and thy straying youth,/Who lead thee in their riot even there/Where thou art forced to break a twofold truth..."

Devouring Time blunt thou the lion's paws: Sonnet 19.

Some English dirt road: Joe is no doubt thinking of Vermont.

The Oxfords buy King's Place in Hackney, a house in what is then the countryside, with about two hundred acres of grounds: A picture of it as it was in the eighteenth century is in Ogburn, p. 743, and extensive information about the house is available at the Hackney Archives.

In 1595 his daughter Elizabeth marries William Stanley, the Earl of Derby: The chronology is interesting. Father Francis Garnet writes on November 19, 1594, that "the young Earl of Southampton refusing the Lady Vere payeth 5000l. of present payment" to Cecil. In January 1595, very soon thereafter, Elizabeth de Vere marries William Stanley. Murphy, "Wriothesley's Resistance," p. 327.

"Comedies for the common players." None of these comedies--like none of Oxford's--has survived, at least not under Stanley's name. Those anti-Stratfordians who believe that Shakespeare's works were created by a collaboration--as, in small part at least, they certainly were--consider Stanley a prime contender for the post, and some writers think he is actually Shakespeare.

***MND* a marriage-play for the wedding of Elizabeth de Vere and William Stanley:** A possibility suggested by both Stratfordians and Oxfordians. Mark K. Anderson notes ways in which this can deepen one's understanding of *MND*; "Beauty and the Paradigm," originally published in the Fall 1997/Winter 1998 issue of *The Shakespeare Oxford Newsletter*, available at <http://www.everreader.com/beauty.htm>.

GREAT BARGAIN LITERATURE, Harleys in Stratford, "This 16th Century building houses 3 floors of Traditional Gifts, Classic English Characters and Collectors Items": Transcribed. It's too easy to make fun of Stratford.



Roast mouse and 19th-century medical instruments: Material from the Hall House.

Shakespeare-Man-of-the-Millennium mug: Here it is, with Clare Francis's sly illustration.



We know what we are, but we know not what we may be: Ophelia, running mad in *Hamlet*, Act IV, sc. 5.

From the beginning of September 1999 work starts on an exciting new project to re-display Shakespeare's Birthplace: Transcribed from a notice at the Shakespeare Birthplace, March 2000.

What Shakespeare did in Stratford: He lent money at interest and hoarded grain during a famine. Lending money at interest was a contested issue in Elizabethan England. Traditional Church teaching was against it. Cecil encouraged it, within reason. A number of Stratfordians lent money at interest; Shakespeare of Stratford is not atypical. Shakespeare the playwright, though, seems to have had at best mixed feelings about it.

The hoarding grain bit was definitely *infra dig*.

Nobody got rich off plays, or even from acting: See William Ingram, "The Economics of Playing," and Scott McMillin, "Professional Playwrighting," in Kastan, David Scott. *A Companion to Shakespeare*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1999; Price, p. 103; Chambers, Facts, 2:249.

This woman named Diana Price thinks he bought and sold costumes: A simplification of Price's very interesting conjectures, pp. 95 ff.

Edward Alleyn had a cape worth twenty pounds: Henslowe's Diary records the payment for it.

The hands are different in style and color from the face. They were restored in the eighteenth century; Joe wonders how much restored: Matus says they were only re-colored. Kathman says that, in any case, the monument should be taken as that of a writer, since it very much resembles the monument of John Stow. This last point I simply do not agree with; here are a picture of the copy of the bust in the Shakespeare Birthplace Museum and two pictures of the John Stow monument.



John Stow is more clearly a writer (and a bibliophile). His tomb is decorated with books to the left and right of his head and in the bas relief. He is seated at a desk, writing in another book or reading one, moving his finger along the line..

Shakespeare is writing on a cushion--not an easy thing to do with a quill pen. Dugdale's early engraving does not include the paper on the cushion, and gives the cushion knotted corners like a wool-sack. (Reproduced in Ogburn, pp. 211, 214.) Bad engravings of this period are very, very far from reliable; but it would be interesting to compare whether other engravings in the same publications are as grossly unreliable as those of the Shakespeare monument. One could, for instance, look at other surviving monuments versus the Dugdale sketches of them.

Both men hold quill pens, but these are sentimental additions dating from the 18th or early 19th century. The Shakespeare monument is no more like John Stow's than it is like many other monuments of the period.



Whether Southampton stayed here, whether he stayed at any of Oxford's houses, that's something else we can check up: I leave this to the intelligence of the reader. (Translation: This is really hard to find.)

And their son Charles: True, and I have seen it.

The old man at the gate: There is a gatekeeper, but this old man is fictional.

The whole thing is a conspiracy...Jonson knew: A favored idea among the Oxfordians. Peter Dickson connects the swan with the Pembroke badge and posits that the plays were completed at Wilton (which is on the Avon): Oldenburg, "Shakespeare in Trouble." Nina Green suggests Jonson wrote the inscription on the monument; Ogburn, p. 239.

Every year on April 23 there's a procession to the church: See the [Holy Trinity Church Shakespeare page](#) for pictures of this annual event as well as for pictures of Shakespeare's grave and his epitaph.



Richard Hill's epitaph: The English gives, more or less, the sense of the Latin. Richard Hill apparently was a magistrate, like John Shakespeare, as well as a woollen draper. I copied this epitaph off the wall of Holy Trinity Church.

It's all about the myth: To quote Josephine Tey in *The Daughter of Time*:
 "It's an odd thing but when you tell someone the true facts of a mythical tale they are indignant not with the teller but with you. They don't want to have their ideas upset. It rouses some vague uneasiness in them, I think, and they resent it. So they reject it and refuse to think about it. If they were merely indifferent, it would be natural and understandable. But it is much stronger than that, much more positive. They are annoyed. Very odd, isn't it?"

Sein oder nicht sein, das ist die Frage: "To be or not to be..." in German.

Filming in Holy Trinity Church: Thanks to Catherine Penn, Bursar of Holy Trinity Church, for providing information on how one actually films at Holy Trinity. She was even organized enough to tell me that the church was free for filming on the date in 2000 I used. Her husband, Nigel Penn, the Verger, does indeed love his job (as, clearly, does she!), and she asked me to write him in as a surprise for him. Here you

are, Mr. Penn, with thanks to you and your wife for the kindness and grace with which you and the rest of the Holy Trinity priesthood and lay staff accept the constant horde of worshippers at St. William's shrine, as well as those yapping at his heels.

The lights turn the March dusk into a summer afternoon: Thanks to Justus Perry and the folks at BF/VF for sharing filmmaking tricks with me.

Durrant's Hotel: *The* literary hotel in London, according to Andy McKillop, who publishes my other historical novels in England. Thank you, Andy.

Shakespeare's nostrils have a sucked-in look, as if the bust was modeled from a death mask: I float this for what it's worth; it has always looked a bit death-mask-y to me, but apparently to no one else.

It might be possible to redate the plays. That would be years of work: Christopher Dams and the De Vere Society are among those who are trying to do an Oxfordian redating. See Price, Chapter 16, "A Chronological Disorder"; Eva Turner Clark, *Hidden Allusions in Shakespeare's Plays* (though this contains much dubious material, it uncovers some gems of possible topical allusions). See also the material here on [dating the plays](#) .

All's Well That Ends Well full of topical allusions to 1578: See Clark, *Hidden Allusions*, pp. 110-120.

The 1605 double eclipse in Lear: Cordelia Sherman mentions the eclipses of 1605, 1601, and 1588 in her preface to *King Lear*.

The 1609 Strachey Bermudas letter is the only possible source of *The Tempest*: Oxford's ship, the Edward Bonaventure, was wrecked near Bermuda in 1594; see Ogburn, p. 741. See also Gwendolyn Bowen's article on the dating of *The Tempest*,

Hatfield House: Far more lovely than my prejudiced protagonists see it. See also Robert Cecil's tomb in Hatfield church.

Robert Cecil built this magnificence: Robert Cecil got Hatfield in trade for Theobalds, where the first interview between him and James actually took place. For the sake of drama and simplicity, I've blurred that fact.

Hatfield is built partially on the site of the old Hatfield Palace, where Elizabeth was imprisoned in the last part of Mary's reign, and some of the architectural details of the old palace were incorporated into the present Hatfield. The Hatfield knot garden is a 20th-century creation.

"All the fabric of my reign, little by little, is beginning to fail": Elizabeth to Francis I of France, February 1603, quoted in Weir, *Elizabeth I*, p. 480.

Robert Cecil's relationship to James: Weir, *ibid.*, pp. 469 ff.

Elizabeth dying: Weir, *ibid.*, p. 482.

One of Cecil's men: Sir Robert Carey, the fictional hero of a lovely series of mysteries by P.F. Chisholm (Patricia Finney), who very kindly enlightened me about bonaventures.

The enameled betrothal ring: Various an enameled ring or a sapphire ring, which had belonged to Elizabeth's older sister, Mary Tudor. I've followed Weir.

Mary Queen of Scots, on the end wall, is only a woman in mourning black: This is apparently the last portrait of her, painted a few days before she was beheaded. A rather loaded presence: Robert Cecil brought her son to the throne of England; William Cecil was the moving force behind her death.

Somewhere on these shelves, probably, is every book William Cecil ever owned: Robin Harcourt-Williams, the archivist of Hatfield, was not available for questions, so this is speculation. The 1680 inventory of the library lists many of Shakespeare's sources; see Jolly, "Shakespeare and Burghley's Library."

Most of Oxford's surviving letters are here: See Chiljan and Alan Nelson's collection of Oxford's letters on his Web site.

Numerous Oxfordians mention the Cecils' sinister habit of burning letters as part of a Great Plot; e.g. Ogburn, p. 649. The Cecils have been important for four hundred years; if they hadn't burned whatever they considered unimportant, the Hatfield archives would cover a large part of Hertfordshire; but the surviving letters to and from Oxford are clearly only the high points-- almost inevitably, the partisan high points--of a much larger correspondence. The tin mining letters, for example, show how much Oxford could write in a very short time.

Elizabeth's funeral was the last Monday of April: What Robert Cecil said to James in the knot garden is sheer speculation on my part, of course, but the writ creating the Lord Chamberlain's Men the King's Men is dated May 19, 1603, and was issued by Robert Cecil, Honan, p. 298. Ogburn dates the beginning of the coverup to Francis Meres' list of Shakespeare's plays in 1598, pp. 745-746; but Meres was apparently nothing more than a retailer of gossip, though an assiduous one.

Queen Elizabeth had given Oxford a pension of a thousand pounds a year, supposedly because he was ruined: This is the reason James gave later, when asked for a pension for another noble; Ogburn, p. 766. James may not have known the actual reason, and the reason he gives is most probably the one given him by Robert Cecil. Oxfordians see this pension as full of import--and indeed it was a very large pension, uncharacteristically large for Elizabeth. It may have been a form of grant to the Cecils, who would otherwise have had to support Oxford and his children.

Goscimer never knew why; we had to call it unexpected: Honan, p. 298.

Blow, winds, and crack your cheeks! rage! blow!: *King Lear*, Act III, sc. 2.

Shakespeare apparently retires from acting by the summer of 1604: Ogburn, p. 734. Apparently this is also noted by Sir Henry Irving and John Payne Collier.

You can't prove a single source for a Shakespeare play dates from later than 1604: See Sobran's listing of Shakespeare's sources.

Robert, 1st Earl of Salisbury, K.G., and his wife and his children, and their children, and their children, down to right now, twelve generations on: See Lord David Cecil, *Hatfield House*, p. 6.

Durrant's has Internet access: Probably not in 2000. But I *needed* it (whine).

Yet doe I not forbid to clime at all: "PofP," under "Climbing, The Tenth Pleasure." Quoted from LION.

For I would have it used for exercise: "PofP," under "Tennis, The Twelfth Pleasure."

If you had looked on LION at first, you would have seen when The Paine of Pleasure was written. Published 1580: See "The Paine of Pleasure" in LION, which gives the year but not the date.

How weary, flat, stale, and unprofitable: *Hamlet*, Act I, sc. 2.

Venus Big Foot Dry Cleaners: It's real. What a beautiful name! Who could resist?

Oxford died just over a year after King James's family took over the actors: The cause has sometimes been given as plague, but, as Dr. Paul Altrocchi has recently discovered, there is no basis for that theory. Dr. Altrocchi speculates that he died from a coronary infarction.

No longer mourn for me when I am dead: Sonnet 71.

Now I want/Spirits to enforce, art to enchant: Epilogue to *The Tempest*.

Parting is such sweet sorrow/That I could say 'good night' till it be morrow: *Romeo and Juliet*, and a March 2000 ad for British Telecom.

King's Place, history of: Mr. Martin Taylor, Hackney Archives Department, writes:

"The Hunsdon estate stands on the site of Brooke House, a Tudor courtyard house which stood, with later additions, until it was bombed during the war and demolished soon afterwards. It seems to have been originally built by William Worsley (1435?-1499) Dean of St Paul's, which he sold to Sir Reginald Bray, from whom it passed to the Southwell family. By 1532 it was in the hands of Anne Boleyn's beau, Henry Percy 6th Earl of Northumberland, and in 1535 it passed to the King. The Crown sold it in 1547, and it passed into the hands of the Carew family, who leased it to Mary Queen of Scots' mother-in-law the Countess of Lennox (c1571-78). In 1578 Richard Carew sold the house (known as King's Place after its brief period as a royal residence) to Henry Carey, 1st Lord Hunsdon. He sold it in 1583, having built the long gallery..."

[Ogburn, p. 385n., speculates that it was then held by Lord Vaux, whose widow apparently lived at King's Place for some time with the Oxfords. Thomas Lord Vaux's poetry appeared in *The Paradise of Dainty Devices* in 1576, the only other identified noble poet in that collection apart from Oxford; this would probably have been Lady Vaux's father-in-law.]

"In 1597 the purchaser sold it to Elizabeth Trentham de Vere, Countess of Oxford. The Earl and Countess lived there until the Earl died in 1604. His widow sold it in 1609 for £4,980, with 200 acres of land. The new purchaser was the poet Fulke Greville, created Baron Brooke in 1621, and the title gave its name to the house, and later on to Brooke Road. The Grevilles owned the Brooke House estate until 1820, but the family ceased to live there after 1677, and the house was let. From 1758/9 it was the most prestigious of Hackney's several private lunatic asylums. From 1774 it was run by the Munro family, who purchased the freehold from the Grevilles in 1820. It continued to be a mental hospital until October 1940 when it was bombed, and the patients were evacuated. In 1944 the house and grounds were bought by the London County Council, and the oldest house in Hackney was demolished to build a school.

"The above information is taken from the *Survey of London*, volume XXVIII, "Brooke House a monograph", 1960."

See also Ronald A. Rebholz, *The Life of Fulke Greville, First Lord Brooke*, p. 189, citing Warwick MSS unnumbered, bundle 520 (Negotiations for Hackney in 1609).

Brooke Housing Estate: Fulke House is Building No. 4.

Young beautiful Southampton died: The younger Henry Wriothesley died in the Low Countries. While on the voyage bringing his son's body back to England, Southampton died of a fever. Both father and son were embalmed in honey. About the turn of the last century, their coffins were being moved, and one of the coffins broke open and oozed a black liquid. A workman touched his fingers to it, brought his fingers to his mouth, and tasted sweetness... I don't know if the story is nauseating or haunting.

The library doors are just being locked: I don't know where the Hackney Archive is physically located; I consulted Martin Taylor by email. But was Joe going to wait for his email at a moment like this? No. I wanted him running.

John Clapham's *Narcissus*: See Sobran, p. 135; Martindale and Burrow, "Clapham's *Narcissus*: A Pre-Text for Shakespeare's *Venus and Adonis*? (text, translation and commentary)" *English Literary Renaissance* 22 (1992), pp. 147-175.

1608-9: Fulke Greville was in disgrace....: Rebholz, pp. 204-215. Fulke Greville, of course, had had a long-standing and deep relationship with the Sidney family ever since he had been at school with Sir Philip Sidney.

Philip Herbert-Susan de Vere marriage, and the spate of Shakespearean plays: *Revels*, pp. 203-205. The plays were *The Merchant of Venice* (three times), *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, *Measure for Measure*, *The Comedy of Errors*, *Loves Labor's Lost*, and *Henry V*. In comparison, in 1612 only two Shakespeare plays were performed; *Revels*, p. 210.

Susan de Vere as an actor: Ogburn, p. 740, reproduces a drawing of her as Thomyris in *The Masque of Queens*. She is also known to have played in at least *The Masque of Beauty* and *The Masque of Blackness*.

Alan Nelson notes a curious reference to her, which he interprets as referring to Oxford's "public reputation as a deadbeat dad" :

... in 1605, after Oxford's death in 1604, she married Philip Herbert earl of Montgomery, in consequence of which she became the subject of a poem by Nathaniel Baxter. The following poem which alludes to Susan's want of an adequate dowry was recorded by John Manningham of the Middle Temple during the year 1602-3, when she was about 15 and Oxford was still alive:

LA[DY] SUSAN VERE

Nothing's your lott, that's more then can be told
For nothing is more precious then gold

(From *The Diary of John Manningham of the Middle Temple 1602-1603*, ed. Robert Parker Sorlien (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1976), p. 182, quoted in Nelson, "Oxford the Deadbeat Dad," <http://socrates.berkeley.edu/~ahnelson/oxdad.html>)

Possibly; but one cannot become the subject of a poem in 1602-3 "in consequence of" a marriage in 1605. I wonder if Nelson is missing a literary reference?

Lear	Strive to be interest; what can you say to draw A third more opulent than your sisters? Speak.
Cordelia	Nothing, my lord.
Lear	Nothing?
Cordelia	Nothing.
Lear	Nothing will come of nothing. Speak again. (<i>King Lear</i> , Act I, sc 1)

Susan de Vere knew Jaggard; he dedicated a book to her: Roger A. Stritmatter, "Bestow how, and when you list...': Susan Vere, William Jaggard, and the 1623 Shakespeare Folio." *Shakespeare Oxford Newsletter*, fall 1998; reprinted in <http://www.everreader.com/1619dedi.htm>

The book was the second edition of *Archaeo-Ploutos*, ascribed to John Bodenham; a copy of this edition is now at the Countway Library of Medicine at Harvard.

Roger Stritmatter now thinks the dedication may have been written by the translator rather than Jaggard, but since the dedication is different for the first edition, neither of us is quite sure.

Everyone knew Astrophil and Stella was about Mary Herbert's brother and Penelope Rich: By the Victorian period, most commentators either did not know this or chose not to say so; the Victorians considered *Astrophil and Stella* an allegorical work of pure imagination, rather as some commentators now consider the Sonnets.

Family Life in Shakespeare's England: Jeanne Jones, *Family Life in Shakespeare's England: Stratford-upon-Avon 1570-1630*. Stroud and Dover NH: Alan Sutton Publishing for The Shakespeare Birthplace Trust, 1996. Jones studies the wills probated in Stratford during Shakespeare's lifetime. Her book never questions that Shakespeare is William Shakespeare of Stratford, but it makes startlingly clear that William Shakespeare was very unlike his fellow-townsmen.

Stratford's financial situation in 1590: Jones, *Family Life in Shakespeare's England*, p. 21, states that 700 of 2100 inhabitants were out of work. Stratford sent a delegation to William Cecil, reporting that "The said Towne is now fallen much into decay for want of such trade as heretofore they have had...", *ibid*.

We counterfeited once, for your disport: Rudyard Kipling's lovely epitaph for the soldier actors in World War I, in Holy Trinity Church.

What's happened to Fulke Greville's papers, are they still at Warwick Castle? Are the Herbert family papers still at Wilton House? Where are the Earl of Derby's papers?: Many of them have fallen victim to fire or time. But the curious might want to have a look at Day's *The English Secretorie*. This book might well be expected to contain some of Oxford's letters, since Day was Oxford's secretary while he was writing it; and in fact some of the letters in *The English Secretorie* are quite startlingly good. "To decipher you as a friend I can not. To make you the choice occasion of my evil I may not. To leave you as a stranger I care not. And to give you over with silence I must not."