

AXIOPHILUS

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AXIOPHILUS

AXIOPHILUS
OR
OXFORD *alias* SHAKESPEARE

BY
EVA TURNER CLARK



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1926

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PREFACE

IT has seemed to me worth while to offer to students of "Shakespeare" the translation of the pseudonym of one of Gabriel Harvey's favorite poets and I have therefore had printed these few pages, with the hope that they will be accepted as adding a bit of confirmatory evidence to Mr. Looney's theory that the writer of the poems and plays of "Shakespeare" was Edward de Vere, seventeenth Earl of Oxford. In extending my essay somewhat past the translation of that pseudonym, I have quoted freely from those authors who have written on Oxford and on Harvey and have attempted in the text to give full credit to them. When I have quoted something that has recently been given to the world, it has been in order to show some different connection than the one in which that statement has been already used.

The form in which my contribution appears leaves something to be desired. Part I was written two months before Part II and at a time when I did not have access to an extensive reference library; when I did have access to such a library and was able to secure the information that has been incorporated in Part II, it seemed to me something of a mistake to alter the

earlier statement; I have therefore allowed it to stand and have simply used the information later secured as an amplification of Part I.

It is to be hoped that some impartial investigator will do for the Earl of Oxford what Mrs. Stopes has done for the third Earl of Southampton and write a detailed account of his life, without the unfavorable bias given to it by some of the early historians due to his unhappy relations with his father-in-law, Lord Burleigh. It will probably be found that Lord Burleigh, quite as much as his talented son-in-law, was the cause of those unhappy relations. The family archives of some of the descendants of his three daughters should yield valuable secrets. Have they been searched for this purpose? Possibly the archives of the descendants of Sir Horatio Vere, Lord Vere of Tilbury, would yield secrets. Was it not this last, the first cousin of the Earl of Oxford, to whom *Hamlet*, at his death, appealed?

"Horatio, I am dead;
Thou livest; report me and my cause aright
To the unsatisfied."

"O good Horatio, what a wounded name,
Things standing thus unknown, shall live behind me!
If thou didst ever hold me in thy heart,

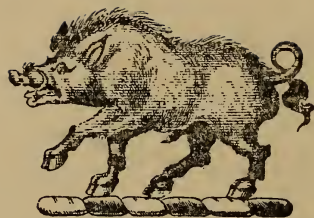
Absent thee from felicity awhile,
And in this harsh world draw thy breath in pain,
To tell my story."

One friend tells me that history is made up of myths and that they should be allowed to stand without questioning but to me that only is history which is as nearly truth as information based on accurate and painstaking investigation can make it. Fortunately, there are many who think as I do and among them there will be one who will eventually gather the facts for a more complete history of the life of the Earl of Oxford than has yet been written and then we shall have, I believe, an understanding of a far more interesting "Shakespeare" than the personality that has seemed so mysterious these three hundred years.

EVA TURNER CLARK.

470 PARK AVENUE,
NEW YORK, N. Y.
November 7th, 1926.

AXIOPHILUS



VERE CREST

AXIOPHILUS

I

ALTHOUGH it is not customary to begin an essay with a letter written by some one else, the one that is here presented, received by me a few months ago, is more than ordinarily interesting and is so completely responsible for the pages that follow that the use of it in this fashion seems justifiable:

15 LABURNUM GARDENS, LOW FELL,
GATESHEAD-ON-TYNE, ENGL,
26-6-26.

MY DEAR MRS. CLARK,

It was very good of you to write to me, as you did last December, re. my work *Shakespeare Identified*, and it has been a matter of keen regret that, owing to circumstances which, for quite a considerable time, have seriously curtailed all my literary work and correspondence, I have been unable to attempt replying before now.

In asking you to excuse what must have seemed like discourteous silence, let me assure you that in again trying to take up the threads of my old work I have made it one

of my first duties to write thanking you most cordially for the kind and encouraging terms in which you speak of my efforts. It has been in such letters that I have found the chief reward for my work and the promise of an ultimate acceptance of the "Shakespeare" authorship I have had the honour of proclaiming.

One of the happiest auguries has been the enthusiasm with which every here and there the Earl of Oxford's authorship of the "Shakespeare" work has been acclaimed, and the eagerness with which "converts" have set about spreading the truth. After all there are few joys in life like that of laying hold of some new and important truth, and carrying it to others in the full and assured faith that such truth is destined to prevail. It is in the conscious and successful propagation of constructive ideas that man attains the highest sense of self-realization, and if our "Shakespeare" beliefs do not, of themselves, belong to the highest domains of thought, they, at any rate, deal with a literature which does; and, in my own opinion, by giving us the personality which informs and vitalises that literature, contribute the largest factor towards its right interpretation.

As to the development since the publication of "Sh. Id^d" you would no doubt find the following works useful:

1. *The Poems of Edward de Vere* (Introduction by myself).
2. *The Mystery of Mr. W. H.* (by Colonel B. R. Ward, C. M. G.).
3. *Shakespeare through Oxford Glasses* (by Capt. H. H. Holland, R.N.) all published by Cecil Palmer.

One of the most interesting of the new arguments concerns the play: *The Merry Wives of Windsor*. This was

set forth in an article which I contributed to the first number of Chapman & Hall's Art & Literary magazine: *The Golden Hind*. Unfortunately the art section of the magazine turned out to be such as I did not approve of, and so I have been prevented from broadcasting the article. I shall, however, probably by the same post as this letter, send you my own copy of the article and shall be much obliged if you will return it to me when you have finished with it.

I should like you to show it specially to your antiquarian friend who first called your attention to my work. You are, of course, at liberty to show it to any one else who, you think, might be interested in it.

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,

J. T. LOONEY.

Mr. Looney's *Shakespeare Identified* was published in 1920 and it was three or four years later before it reached my attention. I became so fascinated by his theory, his argument seemed so logical and the innumerable "coincidences" so remarkable, that I read the book over several times at intervals of weeks and months, getting added thrills each time I read it rather than finding a cooling of my enthusiasm as I had suspected might prove to be the case. In the meantime, I read the sonnets and the plays of Shakespeare, some of them several times; also, I read the lives of Queen

Elizabeth and some of the remarkable men of her day who were contemporaries of Edward de Vere, seventeenth Earl of Oxford. This Earl of Oxford was the man who, according to the theory of Mr. Looney, was equipped by birth, education, travel, family relationships, experiences at court, literary ability and interest in theatrical matters, to have penned the great plays of Shakespeare. After nearly two years of interest in the matter, I felt that I must know if Mr. Looney was still pursuing his research, if he had published any new books or articles in further confirmation of his theory, or if he had discovered data that had escaped him earlier which had exploded his theory entirely; and so I wrote to him with the result that you have seen at the beginning of this essay. Mr. Looney's letter is so interesting and so clear that it is unnecessary to comment upon it. Needless to say, I sent at once to London for the books mentioned in it and started off on another course of reading.

In the midst of my renewed enthusiasm, while visiting at a friend's house, I picked up in an idle moment the tenth volume of *Great Events by Famous Historians* (published by the National Alumni Association), as covering that period of history in which I was so much interested. In it I found "The Culmination of Dra-

matic Literature in Hamlet," a study of Shakespeare's play of *Hamlet*, by James O. Halliwell-Phillipps, the distinguished Shakespearean scholar; the article was the result of an editing of scattered manuscript notes found at his death but which he himself never saw published. The whole article was highly entertaining but towards the end a point caught my attention which struck me as remarkable and which, as I proceeded to analyze it, aroused in me the belief that to me had fallen the privilege of contributing to Mr. Looney's theory a strong piece of confirmatory evidence.

In order to bring out the point clearly, I shall quote a page or two of the Halliwell-Phillipps' article. He says that "there was once in existence a copy of Speght's edition of Chaucer, 1598, with manuscript notes by Gabriel Harvey, one of those notes being in the following terms: 'The younger sort take much delight in Shakespeare's *Venus and Adonis*, but his *Lucrece* and his tragedy of *Hamlet, Prince of Denmark*, have it in them to please the wiser sort.' This note was first printed in 1766 by Steevens, who gives the year 1598 as the date of its insertion in the volume, but, observed Dr. Ingleby, 'we are unable to verify Steevens' note or collate his copy, for the book,

which contained Harvey's note, passed into the collection of Bishop Percy, and his library was burned in the fire at Northumberland House.' Under these circumstances one can only add the opinions of those who have had the opportunity of inspecting the volume. Firstly, from the letter of Percy to Malone, 1803: 'In the passage which extols Shakespeare's tragedy, Spenser is quoted by name among our flourishing metricians. Now this edition of Chaucer was published in 1598, and Spenser's death is ascertained to have been in January, 1598-1599, so that these passages were all written in 1598, and prove that *Hamlet* was written before that year, as you have fixed it.' Secondly, from a letter from Malone to Percy, written also in 1803, in which he gives reasons for controverting this opinion: 'When I was in Dublin, I remember that you thought that, though Harvey had written 1598 in his book, it did not follow from thence that his remarks were then written; whilst, on the other hand, I contended that, from the mention of Spenser, they would seem to have been written in that year; so that, like the two Reynolds, we have changed sides and each converted the other; for I have now no doubt that these observations were written in a subsequent year. The words that deceive are our *now flourishing*

metricians, by which Harvey does not mean *now living*, but now admired or now in vogue; and what proves this is that in his catalogue he mixes the living and the dead, for Thomas Watson was dead before 1593. With respect to Axiophilus,¹ I think you will agree with me hereafter that not Spenser, but another person, was meant. Having more than once named Spenser, there could surely be no occasion to use any mysterious appellation with respect to that poet. My theory is that Harvey bought the book in 1598 on its publication, and then sat down to read it, and that his observations were afterwards inserted at various times. That passage, which is at the very end, and subjoined to Lydgate's catalogue, one may reasonably suppose was not written till after he had perused the whole volume.'"

It was the "mysterious appellation," AXIOPHILUS, which did not mean Spenser, but another person, that caught my attention; it struck me that perhaps this was an anagram, the "crossword puzzle" of Shakespeare's day. Having had the Earl of Oxford so much

¹ The Halliwell-Phillipps article divides this term, thus—Axio Philus, but Professor Moore Smith who has so recently inspected the volume of Chaucer in which Harvey wrote, gives it in his *Marginalia* as one word and I have adopted that form as being undoubtedly the one used by Harvey.

in mind these many months, the letters O and X at once caught my eye but the remaining letters were not so obvious. Believing that Oxford was the writer of the plays of Shakespeare, I looked for the latter name and immediately I found the first syllable in the form S-H-A-X, the substitution of the letter X for the sound *ks* being a perfectly legitimate liberty to take with an anagram, in fact, the name was formerly often spelled this way.

As AXIOPHILUS thus promised to be a double anagram, it seemed desirable to consult the authorities as to the meaning of the word "anagram" and learn what liberties, if any, could be taken in the making of them. *The Encyclopædia Britannica* defines it as "an amusement of great antiquity" and says that it is "the result of transposing the letters of a word or words in such a manner as to produce other words that possess meaning." *The New International Encyclopædia* says that "anagrams, in the days of their popularity, were much employed, both for complimentary and satirical purposes; and a little straining was often employed in the omission, addition, or alteration of letters, although, of course, the merit of an anagram¹ depends much upon its accuracy."

¹ Joshua Sylvester, in dedicating the 1611 edition of his translation of Du Bartas' *Creation* to King James, anagrammed the King's name,

With the knowledge that "a little straining was often employed in the omission, addition, or alteration of letters," in the making of anagrams, I felt that I could proceed in the analysis of the "mysterious appellation." After taking either O-X or S-H-A-X out of AXIOPHILUS, I found that the remaining letters suggested not English, but Latin; remembering that Gabriel Harvey was the famous pedant of Shakespeare's day, it seemed likely that if he had stooped to such a frivolous pastime as making anagrams, he would have made them in Latin or Greek. Although I was hopeful, the actual result filled me with astonishment.

In order to have no doubt regarding this remarkable double anagram, I shall attempt to show in detail how this translation was made, a thing much more easily done with pencil and paper from step to step than on the printed page. First, let us look at the

James Stuart, as A just Master. A few pages after the dedication is printed a number of complimentary verses received by Sylvester upon the publication of his first edition (1598); one of them is addressed to him in the following fashion: *Joshua Sylvester—An Anagram—Vere Os Salustii.* The first is an example of an anagram where all the letters are used; the second where "a little straining" is employed. The *h* is omitted; *j* becomes *i* and in order to have the second *i* the name Sylvester is spelled with an *i* instead of a *y*, as Sylvester spelled it. In the second example, the first word, *Vere*, suggests that it may have been written by Edward de Vere, Earl of Oxford.

term set down twice, one below the other with those letters cancelled that are so obvious:

1. ~~A~~~~X~~~~I~~~~Ø~~PHILUS = OX.....
2. ~~A~~~~X~~~~I~~~~O~~~~P~~~~H~~~~I~~~~L~~~~U~~~~S~~ = SHAX

In both cases the words taken out are the simplest of old English words but it is plain to be seen that the other halves of the names I am desirous of finding, the simple old English words "ford" and "spear" are not to be made out of the remaining letters, and so I turn to the Latin dictionaries. "Ford," meaning "way" in English, is "via" in Latin; looking back at the uncanceled letters of the first case, we find that this will leave too many letters unused without even attempting to see if the letters can be cancelled. Upon noting this when I first worked the anagrams out, I turned impatiently to the second case and learned that the Latin term for "spear" is "pilum." This was more helpful and I hastily wrote down AXIOPHILUS again with the already cancelled letters and began cancelling P-I-L-U-M, with the following result:

2. ~~A~~~~X~~~~I~~~~O~~~~P~~~~H~~~~I~~~~L~~~~U~~~~S~~ = SHAX-PILU(M)

With the addition of the letter M and the omission of the letters I and O, I had an anagram as per-

fect as most of those made in the days of their popularity.

But this was only half and that the easier; I returned to my first attempt to make OXFORD out of the "mysterious appellation" and in a flash I saw what made my former difficulty; there was besides the name an important word! Again I wrote down AXIOPHILUS with the O-X cancelled and proceeded to cancel further:

I. ~~AXIOPHILUS~~ = OX...ALIUS

This gave me ALIUS, the Latin form of our legal term, "alias," meaning "otherwise," or "otherwise called," and convinced me that I had been right in my surmise. I was jubilant but I still had to account for FORD. The uncanceled letters remaining were P-H-I and again I called to mind that "a little straining was often employed in the omission, addition, or alteration of letters"; in studying other anagrams, I found that the letters *f* and *v* seemed to be used interchangeably and so I tried V in place of PH (the *f* sound); this gave me V-I and by using A a second time, I had the perfectly good Latin word V-I-A, meaning "way," or FORD. The double anagram was demonstrated. Let us look at the result:

OX-VIA ALIUS SHAX-PILUM

and then, let us translate:

OXFORD ALIAS SHAKESPEARE

and now, let us look at that "mysterious appellation," the Greek expression itself:

AXIOPHILUS

which the lexicons tell us means "lover of worth, or rank, or truth"; as our English word, "axiom," is taken from the same root and means "a self-evident truth," I take it that Gabriel Harvey intended to call Oxford a

LOVER OF TRUTH

partly because he was indeed a "lover of truth" and partly because his family motto was "Vero nihil verius"—"Nothing truer than truth."

I submit that when Gabriel Harvey, pedantic scholar, intimate friend of Edmund Spenser, and contemporary of Oxford and "Shakespeare," named one of the great poets of his day AXIOPHILUS he did it with full

knowledge of the mystery surrounding the authorship of the Shakespearean plays and packed that knowledge all into the one short Greek expression. Such things do not happen by accident.

Mr. Looney has pointed out that after a year's stay in Italy at the age of twenty-five (1575), the Earl of Oxford returned home to England only to be lampooned by Gabriel Harvey as an "Italionated Englishman," who also ridiculed him as "a passing singular odd man," and it is believed that "Shakespeare" retaliated by presenting Harvey in the character of Holofernes, a living specimen of the scholarly pedant, in *Love's Labour's Lost*. Mr. Looney has identified Oxford as the "Willie" of Spenser's *Shepherd's Calendar*, published in 1579, thought by Halliwell-Phillipps to refer to Richard Tarlton, the famous comedian of the time; but Tarlton was dead when Spenser in 1590 published his *Tears of the Muses*, in which he refers again to "Willy" as

. . . that same gentle Spirit, from whose pen
Large streams of honnie and sweete nectar flowe,
Scorning the boldness of such base-borne men,
Which dare their follies forth so rashlie throwe,
Doth rather choose to sit in idle Cell,
Than so himselfe to mockerie to sell.

The following extract from Puttenham's *Arte of Poesie* (1589), taken from Mr. Looney's edition of the *Poems of Edward de Vere*, throws light upon the conditions of literature at the time and adds testimony to the greatness of Oxford: "In these days poets as well as poesie are become subjects to scorn and derision. Whoso is studious in the art, and shows himself excellent in it, they call him phantastical and light-headed. Now of such among the Nobility or Gentry as be very well seen in the making of poesie, it is come to pass that they are loath to be known of their skill. So, many that have written commendably have suppressed it, or suffered it to be published without their names. And in her Majesty's time that now is are sprung up another crew of courtly makers (of poetry), Noblemen and Gentlemen, who have written excellently well, as it would appear if their doings could be found out and made public with the rest, of which number is first that noble gentleman Edward Earle of Oxforde."

It has been demonstrated by Mr. Looney that a number of poems which appeared in *England's Helicon* (published in 1604 and again in 1614), over the signature "Ignoto," were in reality by Edward de Vere, Earl of Oxford. He has, however, apparently failed to note the following verses over the same signature

which are included among a number of poems addressed to Spenser upon the publication in 1590 of his *Faerie Queene*, and which appear in modern editions of his works: (NOTE MY ITALICS).

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 judgment to be naught,
 Or els doth shew a mind with *envy* fraught.

To labour to commend a peece of worke,
 Which no man goes about to discommend,
 Would raise a jealous doubt, that there did lurke
 Some secret doubt whereto the prayse did tend;
 For when men know the goodness of the wyne,
 'Tis needless for the hoast to have a signe.

Thus then, to shew my judgment to be such
 As can discerne of colours blacke and white,
 As alls to free my mind from *envies* tuch,
 That never gives to any man his right,
 I here pronounce this workmanship is such
 As that no pen can set it forth too much.

And thus I hang a garland at the dore;
 Not for to shew the goodness of the ware;
 But such hath beene the custome heretofore,
 And customes very hardly broken are;
 And when your tast shall tell you this is trew,
 Then looke you give your hoast his utmost dew.

Spenser acknowledged the various poems he received in compliment to the *Faerie Queene* by inditing verses to the authors of them; none is addressed to "Ignoto" but one is addressed "To the Right Honourable the Earl of Oxenforde, Lord high Chamberlayne of England, &c." which is obviously a reply to the "Ignoto" poem; it follows: (NOTE MY ITALICS).

Receive, most Noble Lord, in gentle gree,
 The unripe fruit of an unready wit;
 Which by thy countenance doth crave to bee
 Defended from foule *Envies* poisonous bit. .
 Which so to doe may thee right well befit,
 Sith th' antique glory of thine auncestry
 Under a shady vele is therein writ.
 And eke thine owne long living memory,
 Succeeding them in true nobility:
 And also for the love which thou doest beare
 To th' Heliconian ymps, and they to thee;
 They unto thee, and thou to them, most deare:
 Deare as thou art unto thy selfe, so love
 That loves and honours thee, as doth behove.

Colonel B. R. Ward, who is an active member of the new Shakespeare society called "The Shakespeare Fellowship" and whose book, *The Mystery of "Mr. W. H."* describes some very interesting research work done at Hackney where Oxford died, has pointed out the foregoing verses but without directly comparing

them, as seems to me important to do. He has, besides, made an important contribution to the subject by pointing out a passage in George Chapman's most popular play, *The Revenge of Bussy d'Ambois* (1613), from which I shall take the liberty of quoting those few lines that are most pertinent in the belief that they exactly describe the one man of his time who could have been the writer of the plays of "Shakespeare":

I over-tooke, coming from Italie,
 In Germanie, a great and famous Earle
 Of England; the most goodly fashion'd man
 I ever saw: from head to foot in forme
 Rare, and most absolute; hee had a face
 Like one of the most ancient honour'd Romanes,
 From whence his noblest Familie was deriv'd;
 He was beside of spirit passing great,
 Valiant, and learn'd, and liberall as the Sunne,
 Spoke and writ sweetly, or of learned subjects,
 Or of the discipline of publike weales;
 And 'twas the Earle of Oxford. . . .



BOLEBEC CREST

Edward de Vere, seventeenth Earl of Oxford, was also Baron Bolebec. Some students believe that he adopted the pseudonym of "Shakespeare" because of the suggestion in the above crest, combining it with "Willie" of Spenser's *Shepherd's Calendar* and *Tears of the Muses*, before he ever heard of the youth of Stratford.

II

THE foregoing pages were written in California in early September of 1926 and it was only after my return to New York in October that I had the opportunity, at the New York Public Library, of reading some of the rare books that have a bearing on my subject. One, which is perhaps not so rare since it was published as recently as 1913, has furnished some particularly interesting information. That book is *Gabriel Harvey's Marginalia*, collected and edited by G. C. Moore Smith, Professor of English Language and Literature in the University of Sheffield, England, of which a limited edition of 780 copies was printed by the Shakespeare Head Press, Stratford-upon-Avon. Professor Moore Smith has made an important contribution to our knowledge of the literary world of Queen Elizabeth's day in collecting the extraordinary annotations with which Gabriel Harvey margined the pages of the numerous classical authors that made up the most of his library, and I am under a deep debt of

gratitude for the opportunity he has given me to learn more about the mysterious poet, Axiophilus, for among the annotations are several which amplify considerably the statement in Part I of this essay.

Before quoting the notes I have made on this subject, there are several things it will be interesting to mention first. Professor Moore Smith quotes Joseph Cradock in his *Literary and Miscellaneous Memoirs* (1828) regarding the fire at Northumberland House which has been supposed to have destroyed the famous copy of Chaucer that once belonged to Gabriel Harvey: "It has been asserted that Dr. Percy sustained great losses at the fire at Northumberland House; but I was present when his apartments were in flames and can now explicitly declare that all his books and papers were safely removed." Professor Moore Smith first learned about 1910 that the book was still in existence through Mrs. Stopes, the indefatigable Shakespearean scholar, and later received further information of its existence from Sir Ernest Clarke. Through the latter he received from Miss Meade, a great-granddaughter of Bishop Percy and the owner (in 1913) of the book, an invitation to inspect the precious volume, and finally was granted permission to publish the marginal notes and photographic facsimiles.

He found that "Harvey's notes, made generally in Latin, next often in English, sometimes in Italian, and here and there in French and Spanish, testify to his wide reading in the classics, in English, French, and Italian literature, in works of rhetoric, geography, history, law, politics, and in the mathematical and experimental sciences. . . . Often he bursts out into enthusiasm over his favorite authors." Harvey was a student of astronomy and was an even greater student of that pseudo-science, astrology, a knowledge of this last-named study being necessary to understand some of the passages in his writings, as is true of many of the early writers. He was an admirer of the French poet, Du Bartas (1544-1590), whose sacred epic *La Creation*, also called *The Weeks*, was widely read passing through thirty editions in six years, and of which, in 1598, a most interesting translation into English was made by the English poet, Joshua Sylvester, known among his friends as "Philomusus." Some of this poetry is couched in astrological terms and this will explain the strange language, to present day ears, of the first notes I shall quote from the *Marginalia*:

(p. 161). "It is not sufficient for poets to be superficial humanists; but they must be exquisite artists, and curious universal schollers.

"M. Digges hath the whole Aquarius of Palengenus bie hert: and takes much delight to reapeate it often.

"M. Spenser conceives the like pleasure in the fourth day of the first Weeke of Bartas. Which he esteemes as the proper profession of Urania.

"Axiophilus makes the like account of the Columnes, and the Colonies of Bartas. Which he commonly addes to the Spheare of Buchanan. Divine, and heroicall works: and excellent Cantiques for a mathematicall wit.

"Excellent Doctor Gesner made as singular account of the most learned Zodiacus of Palengenus Stellatus, as owre worthie Mr. Thomas Digges. Who esteemes him above all moderne poets, for a pregnant introduction into Astronomie, and both philosophies. With a fine touch of the philosopher's stone itself, the quintessence of nature, and art sublime."

At the end of the Life of Chaucer (*Marginalia*, p. 226), Harvey writes, "Amongst the sonnes of the English Muses: Gower, Lidgate, Heywood, Phaer, and a fewe other of famous memorie, ar meethinkes good in manie kindes: but aboue all other, Chawcer is mie conceit, is excellent in euerie veine & humour: and none so like him for gallant varietie, both in matter, & forme, as Sir Philip Sidney: if all the exercises which

he compiled after Astrophil, & Stella, were consorted in one volume. Works in mie phansie, worthie to be intituled, the flowers of humanitie. Axiophilus in one of his Inglish discourses."

At the end of the poems (*Marginalia*, p. 231), Harvey writes further in the same vein, "Not manie Chawcers, or Lidgates, Gowers, or Occleues, Surries, or Heywoods, in those days: and how few Aschams, or Phaers, Sidneys, or Spensers, Warners, or Daniels, Silvesters or Chapmans, in this pregnant age. But when shall we tast the preserved dainties of Sir Edward Dier, Sir Walter Raleigh, M. secretarie Cecill, the new patron of Chawcer; the Earle of Essex, the King of Scotland, the soueraine of the divine art; or a few such other refined wittes and surprising spirits? No marvell, though Axiophilus be so slow in publishing his exercises, that is so hasty in dispatching them: being one, that vigorously censures himself; unparially examines other; and deemes nothing honourable, or commendable in a poet, that is not divine, or illuminate; singular, or rare; excellent, or sum way notable. I doubt not, but it is the case of manie other, that have drunk the pure water of the virgin fountain."

Still in the same vein and after commenting on verses by Sir Edward Dyer and Sir Walter Raleigh, Harvey

says, "Excellent matter of emulation for Spencer, Constable, France, Watson, Daniel, Warner, Chapman, Silvester, Shakespeare, and the rest of owr flourishing metricians. I looke for much, as well in verse, as in prose, from mie two Oxford friends, Doctor Gager, and M. Hackluit: both rarely furnished for the purpose: and I have a phansie to Owens new epigrams, as pithie as elegante, as pleasant as sharp, and sumtime as weightie as breife: & amongst so manie gentle, noble, & royall spirits meethinkes I see sum heroical thing in the clowdes: mie soueraine hope. Axiophilus shall forgett himself, or will remember to leave sum memorials behind him: and to make an use of so manie rhapsodies, cantos, hymnes, odes, epigrams, sonets, and discourses as idle howers, or at flowing fitts he hath compiled. God knows what is good for the world, and fitting for this age. Finis."

In both the last paragraphs, Axiophilus is named among the nobles who have been writing poetry but have published little or nothing. One feels compelled to compare Harvey's statements about him with those of Puttenham and Chapman in preceding pages about Oxford; the admiration is extravagant in all and, in the light of present knowledge, obviously all of the statements refer to the same person.

In 1913, when the *Marginalia* was published and seven years before Mr. Looney laid before the world of Shakespearean students his identification of the Earl of Oxford as the writer of the plays of Shakespeare, Professor Moore Smith recorded his opinion, and that of two or three other interested scholars, as to the identification of Axiophilus, in the following note (*Marginalia*, p. 306): "I am inclined to think that here and elsewhere 'Axiophilus' stands for Harvey himself. Cf. what he says of his unpublished writings in 1598 and what was said of them by 'E. K.' in the postscript to his letter to Harvey prefixed to the *Shepherd's Calendar*, 1579, and in his note on the September Eclogue, 'Colin Cloute.' Bishop Percy considered Axiophilus to be Spenser. Mr. A. H. Bullen has suggested Sir Edward Dyer or the Earl of Derby. In support of his suggestion, Mr. Bullen refers to Sidney's '*Pastorall*' in Davison's *Poetical Rhapsody* (1602): 'Made by Sir Philip Sidney upon his meeting with his two worthy Friends and fellow-Poets, Sir Edward Dyer and Maister Fulke Greuill.' This might have led Harvey to call Dyer 'Axiophilus.' I see no reason, however, why Harvey (who has mentioned Dyer by name just above) should find it necessary to give him a coined name here: and I think it very characteristic

of Harvey to speak of himself in this mysterious manner. As to Ferdinando, Earl of Derby, the fact that he had died in 1594 seems to me to make him impossible. It is gratifying to me to hear that Mr. G. F. Barwick, of the British Museum, who has been acquainted with these notes for years, after prolonged study has also come to the conclusion that by 'Axiophilus' Harvey means himself."

My earlier pages make comment on this note superfluous. However, there is one point that has not been touched upon in them and that is the reference to the Earl of Derby. While it is true that Ferdinando, fifth Earl of Derby, was one of the brilliant poets of his day, he was succeeded at his death in 1594 by his younger brother, William Stanley, as sixth Earl of Derby, a man of perhaps even greater literary attainments, who married in that same year "at the Court at Greenwich, which marriage feast was there most royally kept" (Mrs. Stopes), Elizabeth Vere, eldest daughter of the Earl of Oxford and his first wife, Anne Cecil, daughter of Lord Burleigh. It was perhaps to the sixth Earl of Derby that Mr. Bullen referred, since Professor Abel Lefranc has shown in his work, *Sous le Masque de William Shakespeare, William Stanley 6^{me} Comte de Derby*, that Derby was concerned in the

composition of *Love's Labour's Lost*, and that his authorship of *The Tempest* is in a high degree probable (Ward). The inference is that since Derby was himself of a literary turn of mind he was deeply interested to see that the writings of his wife's father were published and, as a much younger man, acted as his amanuensis, as his literary secretary, and was active in the actual publication of them. This inference has so much to commend it that one is obliged to speculate on the likelihood of his having been as well the literary executor of Lord Oxford, whose will has not yet been found, and to further speculate upon the possibility of old plays and poems being found in the archives of some of his descendants, of whom, I believe, the most distinguished is today the present Duke of Atholl.

Since Part II of this essay is intended merely as an amplification of Part I, I cannot take up extraneous things that, however interesting in connection with the general subject, have nothing to do with the relations between Harvey and the Earl of Oxford. Among the points that must be mentioned is the quarrel between Harvey and Nashe, as will be seen. Professor Moore Smith says (*Marginalia*, p. 58), "The quarrel took its origin in 1589 when Lyly, in his anti-Martinist tract, *Pap with a Hatchet*, referred contemptuously to

Harvey's letters to Spenser of 1580 and to the offense therein given to Lord Oxford, which Lyly himself had apparently fomented." Mr. Looney, in his *Shakespeare Identified* (pp. 265-284), gives an interesting account of the relations that existed between the Earl of Oxford and Lyly and in the course of it quotes Mr. W. Creizenach, in *English Drama in the Age of Elizabeth*, speaking of Lyly and his struggles against poverty, as follows: "He found more effective patronage at the hands of the Earl of Oxford, who himself practiced the dramatic art. By him Lyly was entrusted with the management of the troupe known as the 'Oxford Boys,' which was under his protection. It is probable that the players who had named their company after this nobleman acted the plays written by their patron." He quotes again, "Side by side with the poets who earned their living by composing dramas we may observe a few members of the higher aristocracy engaged in the task of writing plays for the popular stage, just as they tried their hands at other forms of poetry for the pure love of writing. But the number of these high-born authors is very small and their appearance is evanescent. Edward Earl of Oxford, known chiefly as a lyric poet, is mentioned in Puttenham's 'Arte of English Poesie' as having earned,

along with Edwards the choirmaster, the highest commendation for comedy and interlude. Meres also praises him as being one of the best poets for comedy."

Lyly was "private secretary to the literary Earl of Oxford," and in 1580 dedicated his work, *Euphues and his England*, to his "very good lord and master, Edward de Vere Earl of Oxenforde" (Looney), and apparently continued under his patronage until about 1592. What more natural than that he should fly to the defense of that master if he felt he was being libelled? With the diatribes that were exchanged between Harvey and Nashe, whether or not they grew originally out of Harvey's supposed slighting remarks about the Earl of Oxford, we have little to do as the bitterness grew with what it fed upon until the original matter was lost sight of. There was a lively correspondence kept up for many years between Harvey and the poet, Spenser, and in 1580 Harvey is said to have included with one of his letters a poem (see *The Works of Gabriel Harvey*, edited by A. B. Grosart) which, when it became public in 1589, was generally thought to be a lampoon on the Earl of Oxford; in it appears that line, "a passing singular odd man," which is quoted in Part I of this booklet. On just this point there is a statement by Gab-

riel Harvey in his Third Letter (Grosart, I, 183) in which he denies that Oxford was the man referred to in the poem. His statement is worth reading, albeit more knowledge of the quarrel is necessary to completely understand it: "London, 8 & 9 September 1592. . . . As for my old Controwler, Doctor Perne (for he indeed was the man, that otherwhiles flattered me exceedingly, otherwhiles ouerthwarted me crossly, alwaies plaied fast, & loose with me), he was old enough to aunsweare for himselfe, and should not bee defended by him. Onely / he wished me to proceede louingly with the University, however I dealt with that Doctor. And that was all the Fleeting,¹ that euer I felt; sauing that an other company of good fellows (whereof he was none of the meanest that bravely threatned to coniure-vpp one, which should massacre Martin's wit, or should bee lambacked himself with ten yeares prouision) would needs forsooth verye courtly (covertly?) perswade the Earle of Oxforde that something in those Letters, and namely, the Mirrour of Tuscanismo, was palpably intended against him: whose noble Lordeship I protest I neuer meante to dishonour with

¹ Serving a term in the old Fleet Prison in London, a prison no longer in existence. As used in the text, fleeting is probably a synonym for punishment.

the least preiudicial word of my Tongue, or pen: but euer kept a mindeful reckoning of many bounden duties toward The-same: since in the prime of his gallantest youth, hee bestowed Angels¹ upon mee in Christes Colledge in Cambridge, and otherwise voutsafed me many gracious favours at the affectionate commendation of my cosen, M. Thomas Smith, the son of Sir Thomas, shortly after Colonel of the Ardes in Ireland. But the noble Earle, not disposed to trouble his Iouiall² (jovial) mind with such Saturnine² paltery still continued, like his magnificent selfe: and that Fleeting also proved, like the other, a silly bullbeare, a sorry puffle of winde, a thing of nothing."

It is clear from this letter, written in 1592, that Harvey was then on good terms with the Earl of Oxford, whatever had happened in the few preceding years. Although Harvey was an egotist, he was an admirer of other men's minds as well as his own. This is apparent in his copious marginal notes and in his

¹ An angel was an ancient gold coin of England, bearing the figure of the archangel Michael. It varied from 6s. 8d. to 10s.

² Persons born under particular planets were believed to be endowed with temperamental characteristics corresponding to the nature of the planet. From this belief the epithets *mercurial*, *jovial*, *saturnine* have passed into common speech. (International Encyclopædia: Astrology.) It would be interesting to know if Harvey was speaking astrologically in this instance.

letters to his friends, and it seems probable that from 1592 on he became better and better acquainted with the greatness of Oxford's mind as exemplified in his numerous writings, not published mostly, but passed around from hand to hand among his friends as was the custom of the times. Oxford is undoubtedly one of those to whom he refers later in his Third Letter, quoted above, when he testifies some six years before his copy of Chaucer was printed: "I cordially recommend to the deere Louers of the Muses: and namely, to the professed Sonnes of the-same; Edmond Spencer, Richard Stanihurst, Abraham France, Thomas Watson, Samuell Daniell, Thomas Nash, & the rest, whome I affectionately thancke for their studious endeuers, commendably employed in enriching, & polishing their native tongue, neuer so furnished, or embellished, as of late. For I dare not name the Honorabler Sonnes and Nobler Daughters of the sweetest, & divinest Muses, that euer sang in English, or other language: and their owne most delectable, and delicious Exercises (the fine handy-worke of excellent Nature, and excellenter Arte combined) speake incomparably more, than I am briefly to insinuate."

In conclusion, to those who doubt the theory of

authorship of the plays and poems of "Shakespeare," as set forth by Mr. Looney, let me ask if they have actually read his book. Are they quite familiar with the actual historical facts which comprise our knowledge of the life of William Shakespeare of Stratford? No one denies that man's existence nor that he was an actor connected with the Globe and other theatres of London and yet the most searching inquiries have failed to clear away a certain veil of mystery which surrounded his life. He probably came into contact with the Earl of Oxford through Richard Field of Stratford, who "was apprenticed to a printer in London in 1579, took up his freehold in 1587, and soon afterwards commenced business on his own account, an elegant copy of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, 1589, being amongst the numerous works that issued from his press" (Halliwell-Phillipps). The popular translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* of that time and for a good many years before was by Arthur Golding, an uncle of the Earl of Oxford, and was made by him at the same time that he was acting as tutor for the Earl, the latter probably assisting in the work of translation as a student of Latin. Oxford, then, in 1589 would have been the one person sufficiently interested in having a new edition printed who was able to pay

for an "elegant copy." In 1593, Richard Field printed the first edition of "Shakespeare's" *Venus and Adonis*, and a year later his *Lucrece*. It was undoubtedly between 1589 and 1593 that William Shakespeare of Stratford came under the patronage of the Earl of Oxford, and from that time until the Earl's death in 1604 he made use of the Stratford man as a sort of mask for the issuance of his plays and poems. This will explain the tradition related by Rowe in the following terms except that the patron mentioned should read Oxford instead of Southampton, unless indeed the latter acted as an agent for the former: "There is one instance so singular in the magnificence of this patron (Southampton) of Shakespeare, that if I had not been assured that the story was handed down by Sir William D'Avenant, who was probably very well acquainted with his affairs, I should not have ventured to have inserted, that my lord Southampton at one time gave him a thousand pounds,¹ to enable him to go through with a purchase which he heard he had a mind to; a bounty very great and very rare at any time" Commenting on this statement, Halliwell-Phillipps says, "If the anecdote is based on truth,

¹ A thousand pounds then would be the equivalent of fifty thousand dollars now, since a pound was worth ten times what it is now.

the gift was made on the occasion of the purchase of New Place in 1597; and it is probable that it was larger than the sum required for that object, although the amount named by Rowe must be an exaggeration. *Unless the general truth of the story be accepted, it is difficult to believe that Shakespeare could have obtained, so early in his career, the ample means he certainly possessed in that and the following year.*" (My italics.) Mrs. Stopes, in *The Third Earl of Southampton* (p. 86), shows that Southampton, for a person in his station, was at this time suffering from poverty so that he could not have been the patron mentioned in the anecdote. If the name of Oxford be substituted for that of Southampton, the statement is clear and reasonable. There are innumerable other incidents in connection with this whole mysterious problem that can be explained under the new theory of authorship if students are open-minded and willing to search a little further than the orthodox presentment given in the average encyclopædia.

It is impossible for me, within the limits of a short essay, to go further afield but I must leave with you as a final thought that there is "nothing truer than truth"—Oxford's family motto, that Gabriel Harvey knew the truth when he named the Earl of Oxford

AXIOPHILUS—the Greek term meaning “lover of truth,” and that he included in the term two anagrams which, when translated and combined, read:

OXFORD ALIAS SHAKESPEARE.



*Truth is Truth
To the end of reckoning.*

MEASURE FOR MEASURE, v, 1.

*He was a scholar, and a ripe and good one;
Exceeding wise, fair-spoken, and persuading;
Lofty and sour to them that loved him not,
But to those men that sought him sweet as summer.*

KING HENRY VIII, iv, 2.



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