

RESEARCH ARTICLE

Behind The Mask: An Analysis of the Dedication of Shakespeare's Sonnets and Its Implications for the Shakespeare Authorship Question

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Abstract—There is at present no consensus concerning the true authorship of the monumental literature that we ascribe to “Shakespeare.” Orthodox scholarship attributes this corpus to a man who was born and who died in Stratford-upon-Avon, who spelled his name William Shakspere (or variants thereof, almost all with a short “a”), who could not write his own name consistently, and who may have been illiterate—as were his parents and as were, essentially, his children. For these and other reasons, many alternative candidates have been proposed. At this date, the leading candidate is Edward de Vere, 17th Earl of Oxford. We approach the Authorship Issue from a scientific perspective. We frame the key question as that of *Secrecy* or *No Secrecy*. According to orthodox scholarship, the Authorship Issue does not involve considerations of secrecy. According to independent scholarship, considerations of secrecy are fundamental to the Authorship Issue. We follow the initiatives of John Rollett, Jonathan Bond, and David Roper, who all brought their considerable mathematical expertise to the challenge of identifying and deciphering cryptograms embodied in the Dedication of the Sonnets and in the Inscription on

the “Shakespeare” Monument. We show that the combined statistical significance of the cryptograms is overwhelming: The probability that the evidence contained in the cryptograms has occurred by chance rather than by intent is less than one part in one million-billion. Hence the messages must be accepted as the intentional creations of the authors—Oxford (not Thomas Thorpe, as usually assumed) for the Dedication, and Ben Jonson for the Inscription. The cryptograms confirm the orthodox suspicion that the intended recipient of the Sonnets was Henry Wriothesley, 3rd Earl of Southampton (so also confirming the orthodox belief that Southampton was the “Fair Youth” of the Sonnets). These discoveries resolve some of the well-known outstanding puzzles concerning the Authorship Issue such as the Author’s familiarity with Europe and its languages (especially Italy), his intricate knowledge of the lives of monarchs and nobility, his detailed and highly accurate knowledge of the law, etc. However, this change in perspective necessarily raises new questions that call for new research.

Keywords: Shakespeare authorship; cryptograms; Edward de Vere; 17th Earl of Oxford; Shakespeare Dedication; Shakespeare Monument; William Shakspere

1. INTRODUCTION

The plays, Sonnets, and other poems we attribute to William Shakespeare (or Shake-Speare) are widely and justifiably recognized as the greatest contribution to the literature of the English language.

This being the case, one would imagine that all scholars who have an interest in the work of Shakespeare would wish to know as much as possible about his identity: What was there about his parentage, schooling, and life experiences that can begin to explain his knowledge of the world—his highly detailed knowledge of France and Italy (including their languages), his knowledge of English history and court life (including court protocol and the pastimes of the nobility), his knowledge of botany, medicine, and many other fields (especially his highly detailed and accurate knowledge of the law), his knowledge of the classics (especially his familiarity with the works of Ovid), etc., etc.?

Scholars have no persuasive answers to any of these questions since the orthodox doctrine identifies Shakespeare the great author with a man who was baptized as, and typically used the name of, William

Shakespeare, born and raised in the small town of Stratford-upon-Avon in the West-Midlands county of Warwickshire. The usual suggestion of an answer is “He was a genius.” But the greatest genius can only process and build upon the information he (“or she” understood throughout as appropriate) has acquired and assimilated as part of his life experiences.

We have some understanding of the origin of this doctrine, but we have no understanding of its persistence, except to note that—as Shakespeare wrote—one can sometimes become “tongue-tied by authority.” If this is so, progress may require the efforts of one or more scholars who are not subject to “authority”—more specifically, scholars who are not members of the English-Literature Establishment—for instance, mathematicians or engineers.

How could mathematicians possibly contribute to the resolution of a question of literature? This is, admittedly, an unlikely event—unless the literary problem happens to involve cryptograms, in which case a mathematician has a big advantage over any non-mathematician. This claim is the subject of this article.

Even a non-mathematician can make important progress if he thinks along scientific lines. So it was with J. Thomas Looney (see Figure



Figure 1. Thomas J. Looney

1), who initiated the current insurrection against the orthodox doctrine in 1920 with the publication of *“Shakespeare” Identified in Edward de Vere, the Seventeenth Earl of Oxford* (Looney, 1920). Although not a scientist (he was a schoolteacher), Looney proceeded in a way that any scientist would recognize and appreciate: *He began by identifying and then reviewing the relevant facts.* This is the crucial distinction between the work to be described in this article and the work of Establishment scholars who instead try to

fit the facts to the received theory.

The current orthodox doctrine is based on the *assumption* or the *theory* that William Shakespeare, the great author, was William Shakespeare, an otherwise unremarkable—and possibly illiterate—person baptized on April 26, 1564, in Stratford-upon-Avon. Orthodox scholars then face the challenge of reconciling the few facts we have about

Shakspere with the extraordinary—and so far unequalled—literary output that we attribute to Shakespeare. Scholars have attempted to make this problem somewhat more tractable—or to appear somewhat more tractable—by replacing the actual name of *William Shakspere*, or variants thereof, with the name *William Shakespeare*, which Shakspere never used.

Looney's great contribution was to show that a careful analysis of the facts leads to the conclusion that "William Shakespeare" was not the name of a resident of Stratford-upon-Avon or of London, and was not the name of any known poet or playwright, but the *nom de plume* adopted by a nobleman, Edward de Vere, 17th Earl of Oxford.

The suspicion that "William Shakespeare" might be a *nom de plume* has a long history. Many names have been suggested for the identity of the great author. In the early 20th Century, a prime candidate for authorship was the erudite Sir Francis Bacon, the author of memorable but somewhat ponderous prose. (Think of "What is Truth?" asked *Jesting Pilate*, and would not stay for an answer . . .")

The case for Sir Francis Bacon was advocated in the early 19th Century by Delia Bacon, an American woman who, she pointed out, was unrelated to Sir Francis. In 1856, she published an article in *Putnam's Monthly* on "Shakespeare and His Plays: An Inquiry Concerning Them" (Bacon, 1856). She followed this up in 1857 with a 543-page volume entitled *The Philosophy of the Plays of Shakespeare Unfolded*. Elizabeth Wells Gallup, also an American woman, also spent years searching for cryptograms in the Shakespeare plays (Gallup, 1910). Delia Bacon and Elizabeth Wells Gallup both claimed to find evidence for Sir Francis secreted in some of the Shakespeare plays.

It appears that the Folger Shakespeare Library sought the opinion of two professional cryptographers, William F. and Elizebeth S. Friedman, who were world-renowned for their critical role in breaking Japanese codes in the tense years leading up to Pearl Harbor. The Friedmans carried out a highly detailed analysis of the Bacon-Gallup proposals for cryptographic content of the Shakespeare oeuvre, and concluded that they could find *no evidence of hidden messages such as had been proposed by Delia Bacon* (Friedman & Friedman, 1957). However, the Friedmans—presumably following the Folger initiative—restricted their attention to the type of cryptogram used

by Delia Bacon—the *biliteral cipher*. Had the Friedmans carried out a more general investigation, they might have discovered cryptograms of a type not envisaged by Delia Bacon. The Friedmans subsequently received an award from the Folger Library.

The next serious investigation of possible cryptograms in the works of Shakespeare was carried out not by an academic Shakespeare scholar, nor by a professional cryptographer, but by an electrical engineer. John M. Rollett discovered three cryptograms in the Dedication of Shakespeare's Sonnets. Rollett (who passed away in 2015) and his discoveries are the subjects of Sections 5 and 6.

It is relevant to note that Rollett, as an engineer responsible for advanced projects in the main telecommunications laboratory in Britain, had a more-than-adequate knowledge of the kind of mathematics necessary for determining the significance—or insignificance—of any patterns one might find secreted in apparently innocent text.

Later contributions by Jonathan Bond and David Roper will be discussed in the Sections 7, 8, 9, and 10. (Bond, Roper, and Sturrock were all trained as mathematicians. Bond and Roper are also Latin scholars.)

The independent scholar Diana Price has carried out research on the life of William Shakspeare (Price, 2012). As part of this research, Price has drawn up a chart that compares what is known of Shakspeare with what is known of 24 writers in England whose lives overlapped with the life of Shakspeare. It proves possible to analyze this chart mathematically in order to evaluate the probability that Shakspeare was a writer like the 24 comparison authors (Sturrock, 2008). This analysis is discussed briefly in Section 4.

The work of Bond, Looney, Price, Rollett, and Roper has been in the open literature for decades, yet it is still possible for a student to spend six to nine years at a major university in Britain or the United States, studying English literature and acquiring a BA, an MA, and a PhD along the way, and not even learn that there is a significant Shakespeare Authorship Question. (In some universities they might only learn that an American lady named Delia Bacon (1856) had the unsubstantiated idea that the works of Shakespeare were written by Sir Francis Bacon, and that she died in an asylum.)

Why do we care? Why *should* we care? Not everyone does care. I have heard a good friend remark *Why does it matter who wrote the plays? We have the text—knowing the name of the author is not going to change the text!*

To which we reply—*When we listen to Beethoven, we also think of Beethoven. When we read The Life of Samuel Johnson, we think of Samuel Johnson and James Boswell. When we look at a Picasso, we think of Picasso. Our perception of the music or text or painting is influenced by our knowledge of—and our feelings for—the composer or the writer or the artist. There is no real separation. What we hear or read or see informs our knowledge of—and our appreciation of—the man and his life and the event of this creation—and vice versa.*

Suppose that, in all the libraries and conservatories of the world, all references to *Ludwig Van Beethoven* were removed and replaced by the name *Josef Schmidt*, a man who could not even play the fiddle or whistle a tune. Would we not consider that not only a dereliction of scholarship but also a catastrophic injustice?

What would be the difference between erasing the identity of the great composer we know as *Beethoven*, and erasing the true identity of the great poet and playwright we know as *Shakespeare*?

Some scholars do care about the potential injustice—and dereliction of scholarship—of possibly attributing the poems and plays of Shakespeare to the wrong person. Regrettably, they tend not to be taken seriously.

Furthermore, there is often—perhaps typically—a subplot, or hidden agenda, to Shakespeare plays, as has been explained in some detail by Eva Lee Turner Clark (Clark, 1931).

The conventional attribution of the authorship to William Shakspere of Stratford-upon-Avon has become a doctrine that it is inexpedient and unwise to question. Resistance to the study of the Shakespeare Authorship Question seems to be more a political issue than a scholastic one.

We discuss some of the basic facts about Willliam Shakspere and Edward de Vere in Sections 2 and 3, respectively. More of their life events are noted in Table 1 which is located at the end of the article.

2. WILLIAM SHAKSPERE—THE ORTHODOX CANDIDATE

According to the orthodox “Stratfordian” doctrine, the great author whom we know as *Shakespeare* was born, lived much of his life, and died and was buried in the small town of Stratford-upon-Avon in the county of Warwickshire in the West of England.

What records do we have of such a man? None—but we do have a few records of someone with a similar, but not identical, name.

A man who went by the name of *William Shaksper* or variants thereof (all with a short “a” as in “cat”, not a long “a” as in “bake”) was born in Stratford-upon-Avon in 1564. His baptismal record, dated 26 April 1564, reads *Guilielmus filius Johannes Shakspere*. His burial record, dated 25 April 1616, reads *Will. Shaksper* gent.

On November 27, 1582, a certificate issued at the nearby city of Worcester provided for *William Shaxper* to marry *Anne Whateley* of Temple Grafton. Whether a man of that name actually married a lady of that name, we do not know, and is the subject of some intriguing speculation.

However, we do know that the very next day (November 28, 1582), a certificate was issued in Worcester that gave *William Shagspere* permission to marry *Anne Hathaway* of Shoterly, and that this marriage did take place, *Anne Hathaway* becoming *Anne Shaksper*. At the time of their marriage, William was eighteen years old and Anne was twenty-six. Their first child, *Susanna Shaksper*, was baptised on May 26, 1583, according to the Holy Trinity Church parish register. Their next children were twins, baptized as *Hamnet Shaksper* and *Judith Shaksper* on February 2, 1584 (named after neighbors, see Table 1).

Scholars have found a few legal records—related to non-payment of taxes, purchases of grain, suits to recover unpaid loans, etc.—all in the name *Shaksper* or a similar version with the short “a.” Shaksper was a successful businessman who acquired considerable property and was one of the wealthiest citizens of Stratford-upon-Avon when he died. The salient known facts about Shaksper’s life are listed, by date, in the Table 1 Timeline at the end of this article.

There are no legal records that tie *William Shaksper* to any literary or related activities, as we shall see in Section 4. There are in fact reasons to suspect that William Shaksper was illiterate—which was the norm

rather than the exception for low or middle-class citizens in England in the Sixteenth Century.

It is surely significant that the death of Shakspere was a non-event (no eulogy, no state funeral, no move to have him buried in Westminster Abbey). By comparison, the playwright Francis Beaumont (who died in 1616, the same year as Shakspere) was buried in Westminster Abbey.

The six signatures that scholars attribute to "Shakespeare" are shown in Figure 2. Signature 1, dated May 11, 1612, was on a deposition in what is known as the "Mountjoy case." Shakspere was called to

Signature on the Mountjoy Deposition, May 11, 1612

Signatures on the Blackfriars Documents, March 11, 1613

Signatures on the the Will, March 25, 1616

Figure 2. The six known signatures of William Shakspere of Stratford.

be a witness in a case concerning a dowry that was promised and (according to the petitioner) reneged on. (Shakspere was said to have been the broker of the marriage transaction, but he claimed to have no recollection of the agreement.) Signatures 2 and 3, dated March 11, 1613, appear on documents related to the purchase of the "Blackfriars Gatehouse." Signatures 4, 5, and 6 all appear on his will, which was

dated March 15, 1616, but which may have been in preparation for some months.

These six signatures hardly give the impression of someone who lived by the pen, creating poems and plays for a total of more than 880,000 words. Jane Cox, who was Custodian of the Wills at the Public Records Office in London, wrote:

It is obvious at a glance that these signatures, with the exception of the last two [the Blackriars signature, Nos. 2 and 3] are not the signatures of the same man. Almost every letter is formed in a different way in each. Literate men in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries developed personalized signatures much as people do today . . . (Michell, 1996, p. 100)

Anyone who has not been indoctrinated with the orthodox beliefs concerning Shakespeare may be rather puzzled by the fact that this man, who is credited with writing almost a million words, never developed a recognizable signature. Some independent scholars point out that, in the 16th and 17th centuries, it was normal practice for a law clerk to sign on behalf of a client who was illiterate. The client had merely to touch the signature and attest that that was indeed his name.

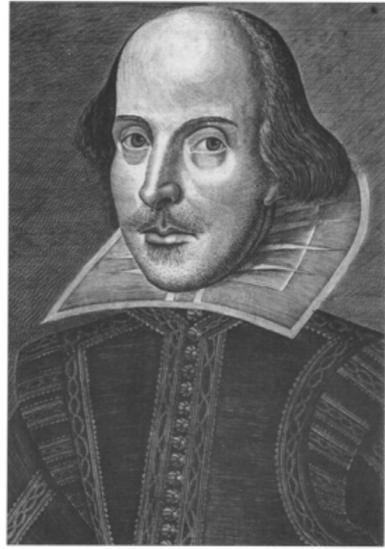
The proposed portraits of “Shakespeare” are a major puzzle. An early image of William Shakspere is based on a sketch of a monument to “Shakspeare,” erected in Holy Trinity Church at an unknown date. This sketch was made by the antiquarian Sir William Dugdale in July 1634. An engraving, based on Dugdale’s drawing, was prepared by Wenceslaus Hollar and included in Dugdale’s *Antiquities of Warwickshire* published in London in 1656.

The earliest purported image we have of the great author is that prepared by Martin Droeshout for inclusion in the publication, in 1623, of *Mr William Shakespeare’s Histories Comedies and Tragedies*, now referred to as the First Folio. This image, which is shown in Figure 3, obviously bears little or no relationship to the Dugdale portrait shown in Figure 4. There is no record of what model—if any—Droeshout used in preparing his engraving.

A number of scholars have listed a number of problems with the Droeshout portrait. See, for instance, David Roper (2008, p. 408

et seq.). For instance, the head of the figure is too large for the body. Another cause for concern is the *thick line that extends from beneath the chin, upwards to the lobe of the left ear, which looks suspiciously like the outline of a mask.*

The image of Shakespeare that one can see today (Chiljan, 2011) is shown in Figure 5. This image appears to be that of a well-fed and self-satisfied man whose hands rest on a cushion, the right hand holding a quill and the left hand resting on a small sheet of paper. This version of "Shakespeare" obviously bears little or no resemblance to either the portrait sketched by Sir William



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Figure 3. Martin Droeshout's portrait engraving of Shakespeare on the title page of the First Folio (1623).



Figure 4. Hollar's engraving of Sir William Dugdale's portrayal of the Shakespeare monument (July 1634).



Figure 5. Shakespeare monument as it appears today in The Holy Trinity Church, by Gerard Johnson (but see Bianchi, 2018).



Figure 6. The “John Sanders” portrait, ostensibly of William Shaksper (1603).

This portrait is currently owned by Lloyd Sullivan, who is believed to be a distant relative of John Sanders, who is believed to have been an early (perhaps the first) owner of the portrait, and who may have been the painter. The painting has been in the same family for 400 years. However, the clothing includes silver threads, which were worn only by noblemen at that time.

A rag-paper label, that was attached to the back of the portrait at an unknown date, carries text that is now illegible but was transcribed in 1909 as follows:

Shakespere
Born April 23–1564
Died April 23–1616
Aged 52
This likeness taken 1603
Age at that time 39 y^s.

The quoted date of birth is consistent with the recorded date of baptism (April 26, 1564), and the quoted date of death is consistent with the recorded date of burial (April 25, 1616). The portrait, painted in oil on an oak panel, has been subjected to many tests none of which—to date—invalidates the proposed credentials of the portrait.

Dugdale in 1634, or to the Droeshout portrait featured in the First Folio. Bianchi (2018) claims to find evidence that this bust was installed in Holy Trinity Church in 1746, in the course of repairs (replacing an older bust by Gerard Johnson), and that the new bust is actually that of Carlo Vizziani (died 1661), an Italian attorney who was Rector of La Sapienza, of the University of Rome.

Quite recently, what is now known as the “Sanders portrait,” shown in Figure 6 (Wikipedia, 2020; Nolen, 2010), has been proposed as a portrait of “William Shakespere.”

To sum up, there is no accepted portrait of William Shakspere, and the images we do have are grossly inconsistent. The Sanders portrait has the merit that it could be a real portrait of a real person that was prepared while the subject was alive in the 16th Century.

In scientific research, it is always good to have more than one hypothesis in mind. The legal system would not work very well if the judge were required to listen to the attorney for the prosecution, and to ignore the attorney for the defense. So if we are to consider—or reconsider—the case for William Shakspere as the great author, we should pay some attention to one or more alternative candidates. If all alternatives fare worse than Shakspere, then the case for the orthodox candidate will be strengthened. If, on the other hand, one of the alternatives is found to have a stronger case to present, that would be a good reason to reconsider one's support of William Shakspere. For this reason, we now turn our attention to the current leading alternative candidate for the title of Author. He is Edward de Vere, Seventeenth Earl of Oxford.

3. EDWARD DE VERE, 17TH EARL OF OXFORD, THE LEADING CHALLENGER

For at least three hundred years, various scholars have—for various reasons—sought an alternative identity for the great author we know as *Shakespeare*. This search obviously reflects a dissatisfaction with the orthodox candidate, William Shakspere. Some of the reasons for this dissatisfaction were evident in the preceding section. We shall find further reasons in subsequent sections. A few of the alternative candidates were listed in the **Introduction**, where we named Edward de Vere, 17th Earl of Oxford, as the current favorite.

Since de Vere was a nobleman, there is of course a great deal of information about him in the public record. Yet—oddly enough—there is also a good deal of information that is conspicuously missing. For instance, the circumstances of his death are uncertain. There was an uncanny silence about it. There was no grand funeral. There was no public mourning. No one wrote a eulogy concerning a premier nobleman (who may have been the most famous poet and playwright of the time—or perhaps of all time).

Edward de Vere was born on April 2, 1550, at the de Vere ancestral home, Hedingham Castle, in Essex. During his father's lifetime, Edward had the courtesy title (not an official title) of *Viscount Bolebec*. He began his remarkable education very early, first with tutors, then becoming a student at Queen's College, Cambridge, at the tender age of eight. The principal known facts about Oxford's life are listed in Table 1.

The 16th Earl died in 1562, whereupon de Vere became the 17th Earl, inheriting the earldom's estates and the title of Great Lord Chamberlain, becoming the premier earl in the country and the richest. Since Oxford was underage (12), he became a royal ward and was assigned to the care of Sir William Cecil (later Lord Burleigh) whose estate was on the Strand. It is significant that the Cecil home had one of the most extensive libraries in Europe.

Oxford had excellent tutors (Thomas Fowler, Lawrence Nowell, and Sir Thomas Smith), and would have had an association with the great scholar Arthur Golding (his uncle), who was in the employ of Burleigh. Golding is known as a translator of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* which had a great influence on young Oxford. (Some suspect that Oxford actually prepared the translation.) Oxford became fluent in Latin and French, and probably competent in one or two other European languages such as Spanish and Italian.

After a brief widowhood, de Vere's mother was remarried (to Sir Charles Tyrell), an event that has a strong echo in *Hamlet*, which some scholars suspect to be autobiographical.

At the age of fourteen, Oxford was registered as a student at St John's College, Cambridge. At the age of seventeen, Oxford was admitted to Gray's Inn for legal studies which, some scholars suspect, led to the extensive and remarkably accurate knowledge of the law in the works of Shakespeare. At about that time, Oxford by accident killed Thomas Brincknell, a servant in the home of William Cecil, while practicing fencing maneuvers with another employee, Edward Baynom. Brincknell was considered to have been drunk at the time, and the jury returned a verdict of *felo de se* (death by his own fault).

Oxford was a skilled dancer and very witty. Not everyone at court appreciated his wit, but he had overriding protection since he became a favorite of the Queen, who called him her "Turk."

Oxford was keen to engage in military service, which was the

normal ambition of a nobleman. The Queen routinely refused his petitions, but he did serve briefly under the Earl of Sussex in putting down the rebellion of the Northern English Catholic nobles, and was part of the fleet that sailed out to confront (and defeat) the Spanish Armada.

Oxford was highly athletic and distinguished himself in several tournaments, which further raised his status in the eyes of the Queen.

In 1571, Oxford married Anne Cecil, the fifteen-year-old daughter of William Cecil. To make this marriage possible, the Queen raised Cecil to the peerage with the title Lord Burleigh. Most marriages among the nobility were not love-matches, and this marriage proved to be rocky on the part of Oxford, although Anne was loyal and loving throughout.

In 1574, still anxious to distinguish himself with military service, Oxford went (without leave) to Flanders with the goal of taking part in the military campaign against Spain, but the Queen soon had him escorted back to England.

In 1575, the Queen finally gave Oxford leave to travel, which he did *con brio*. He traveled to Paris, where he was received with honor at court, then went on to Strasbourg, where he met the great scholar Sturmius. Then began his year-long travels in Italy, with which Oxford became enthralled. He set up home for some months in Venice, but also visited Florence, Genoa, Mantua, Milan, Padua, Siena, Verona, and possibly Messina and Palermo in Sicily. He adopted Italian manners and dress—so much so that on his return to England he was referred to as *the Italianate Englishman*.

The word *economy* never entered into Oxford's lexicon, and he instructed Burleigh to sell his estates whenever necessary to cover his expenses. So began his descent into penury.

While in Italy, his wife gave birth to a daughter, Elizabeth. However, Oxford learned of rumors that he was not the father of this child. Hot-headedly, he refused to meet with her or her relatives who were waiting to greet him on his return to England. Oxford distanced himself from Anne who continued to live with their daughter at the home of Burleigh (Anne's father).

In 1580 Oxford purchased a mansion known as *Fisher's Folly* in Bishopsgate, where he is reputed to have set up a "college" for aspiring poets and playwrights, including Thomas Churchyard, Thomas Lodge,

John Lyly, Anthony Mundy, Thomas Nashe, and Thomas Watson.

In 1581, Oxford confessed to the Queen his involvement with a Catholic party and was sent briefly to the Tower of London. He was later reconciled with his wife who subsequently bore him a son (born and died in 1583) and three daughters, one of whom died in infancy.

Not surprisingly, Oxford had a mistress (reputedly a dark-complexioned beauty) named Anne Vavasour. Anne had a miscarriage in 1580, and gave birth to a son on March 21, 1581. However, Anne was a lady-in-waiting to the Queen, who was not amused and sent Anne, Oxford, and their son, to the Tower. They were released on June 8.

Oxford remained out of favor with the Queen until June 1, 1583, when he was finally allowed to return to court. This would have been a period of disgrace, such as one may find as a feature of the Sonnets. Anne's uncle, Thomas Knivet, took umbrage at Oxford's dishonoring his family, and there began a feud between the two families, sometimes acted out in a manner reminiscent of the feud between the Montagues and the Capulets. In one of the encounters, Knivet succeeded in wounding Oxford (which may be related to references to the *lameness* of the author in the Sonnets).

Oxford's financial situation went from bad to worse. For instance, he had invested (and lost) £3,000 in Frobisher's third attempt to find a Northwest Passage. To everyone's surprise, the Queen (usually very tight-fisted) granted Oxford a lifetime annuity of £1,000, payable quarterly, with no accounting required. This atypical act of generosity remains unexplained.

Oxford's wife Anne died in 1588. With the Queen's blessing—and perhaps at her instigation—he married one of the Queen's maids of honor in 1591. Fortunately, Oxford's new wife, Elizabeth Trentham, was wealthy. She bore him a son and heir, Henry, in 1593. (Surprisingly, Oxford seemed to show little interest in his son.) Oxford's daughter Elizabeth married the sixth Earl of Derby in 1594. Oxford's daughter Susan married Philip Herbert, later 4th Earl of Pembroke and 1st Earl of Montgomery, one of the "incomparable pair" to whom the First Folio was later dedicated. Herbert and Montgomery were sons of Countess Mary Sidney Herbert, thought to be the most educated woman in England at the time, comparable to the Queen.

From 1591 on, apart from his participation in state trials, etc.,

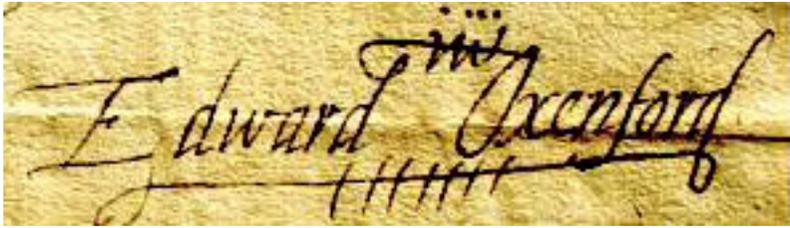


Figure 7. A typical signature of Lord Oxford.

little is known of Oxford's life except that he patronized literature and supported a company of actors. He was acclaimed by his contemporaries as the "best playwright" of the time but writing under an alias (Table 1).

In 1596, Oxford's wife purchased a house known as King's Place in Hackney, then a village near to the capital. It is believed that Oxford died at Hackney on June 24, 1604, and was buried at St. Augustine's Church. An entry in the church register has the annotation "plague." However, scholars find it curious that there was no memorial, and (as far as we can tell) Oxford left no will.

For comparison with the purported signatures of William Shakspeare shown in Figure 2, we show in Figure 7 a typical signature of Oxford. The symbol just above the gap between Edward and Oxenford is thought to indicate a coronet, indicative of his status as Earl. A sample of Oxford's penmanship is shown in Figure 8. This is a letter written (in French) when Oxford was in his teens.

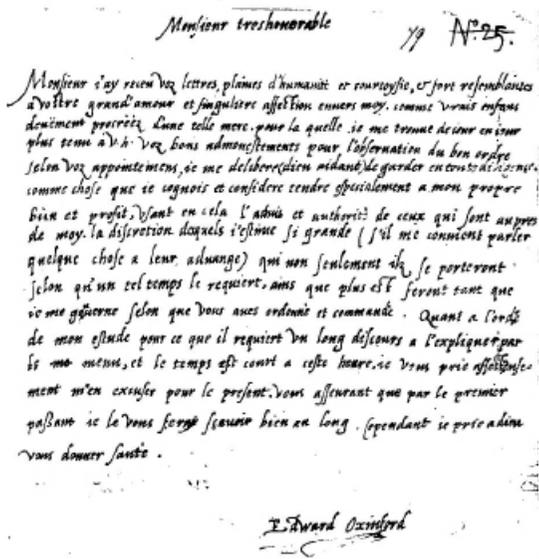


Figure 8. A sample of Lord Oxford's penmanship in a signed letter written in French when he was in his teens.



Figure 9. Edward de Vere, circa 1575. The Welbeck portrait, painted while Oxford was in Paris. National Portrait Gallery, London.



Figure 10. Portrait of Edward de Vere by Marcus Gheeraedts, known as the St. Albans portrait. Date unknown.

We show, in Figures 9 and 10, two portraits of Oxford that are believed to have been painted when he was twenty-five years old.

4. THE SHAKESPEARE AUTHORSHIP QUESTION FROM A SCIENTIFIC PERSPECTIVE

Our goal is to address the Shakespeare Authorship Question as if it were a problem of science rather than literature (Sturrock, 2013), and in that way specifically to understand the implications for the Authorship Question of discovering one or more cryptograms.

However, before discussing cryptograms, we should note that there are other significant forms of evidence. For example, we may consider the question of whether or not William Shakspere from Stratford-upon-Avon was a writer.

The independent scholar Diana Price (see Figure 11) has compiled evidence relevant to this question in the form of a *Chart of Literary Paper Trails* (Price, 2012). Price compares what is known



Figure 11. Diana Price

about William Shakspeare with what is known about twenty-four known writers who lived in England at the same time as Shakspeare. For each of these writers, and for Shakspeare, we may follow Price in considering whether or not there exists evidence in each of ten categories relevant to the literary profession (Sturrock, 2008). We find that there is evidence conforming to at least three categories for each comparison author, but none for Shakspeare. Our analysis of this evidence leads to the conclusion that there is only one chance in 100,000 that Shakspeare was a writer (obviously implying that the Great Author was someone other than Shakspeare).

In order to pursue the Authorship Question according to the guidelines of scientific inference, we adopt the terminology and methodology of an article entitled "Applied Scientific Inference" (Sturrock, 1994), which is based on Bayesian principles. We may start by identifying a set of hypotheses that is *complete* in the sense that one and only one of the hypotheses must be true. We may then update our assessments of those hypotheses in response to the available relevant information.

One possible set of hypotheses would be

- H1: *Shakespeare was Shakspeare*, and
 H2: *Shakespeare was not Shakspeare*,

where *Shakespeare* denotes the *Great Author*.

We would need to update our assessments of these hypotheses in response to the results of the cryptogram analyses that we shall carry out in later sections. This would require us to decide how likely we are to find a cryptogram on the basis of each of these hypotheses. In order to relate our analysis to cryptograms, it is more helpful to adopt the following hypotheses:

- H1: *The Authorship Issue involved secrecy*, and**
H2: *The Authorship Issue did not involve secrecy*.

To find a cryptogram would obviously support H1. The whole purpose of a cryptogram is to send a message secretly. If there is no secrecy, there is no point in creating a cryptogram.

However, *according to the orthodox Stratfordian theory*, there was nothing secret about the identity of the author. There was no Conspiracy of Silence to hide the identity of the Great Author. Hence finding a cryptogram would support hypothesis H₁. But since H₁ is incompatible with the orthodox Stratfordian theory, finding a cryptogram comprises evidence against the orthodox Stratfordian theory.

When we come to analyze cryptograms, we shall be able to calculate the probability that the relevant text occurred by chance. Disproving chance (or showing that chance was unlikely) leads to the probability that the text had been created intentionally, which would rule out the orthodox Stratfordian theory. Hence the probability that a cryptogram has not occurred by chance can be interpreted as the probability that secrecy was involved, which may in turn be interpreted as the probability that the Stratfordian theory is false. Hence if we choose to limit our choices to the two hypotheses

*Shakespeare was William Shakspere, and
Shakespeare was Edward de Vere,*

then finding a cryptogram will represent evidence in support of the Oxfordian hypothesis.

If we were considering a standard laboratory experiment, for which the possible outcomes are expected to be well-known and for which the relevant theory is well-established, we could set probabilities (known as the “prior probabilities”) on the possible results of the experiment before the experiment is undertaken. If the actual results are found to conform to the expectation, that would of course support the theory—otherwise not. However, the study of cryptograms is not the same as a standard laboratory experiment: *One does not know all the possible outcomes in advance.* This means that *one cannot treat the study of cryptograms in exactly the same way that one would treat the analysis of a laboratory experiment.*

In order to clarify the difference, it is helpful to revise our terminology. In the study of a laboratory experiment, one may expect to have enough information to assess the probability of finding each of the possible outcomes of the experiment. These are expressed as the *prior probabilities*. However, anyone looking for hidden messages

has at best only a vague idea of what he might find, and may therefore have only a vague interpretation of whatever text he might find more-or-less hidden in the material under investigation. One must expect that different analysts are likely to have different interpretations of whatever hidden messages they might find—or think they have found. To recognize this intrinsic—necessarily subjective—characteristic of cryptology, it seems helpful to introduce the term *degree of belief*, for which we use the notation *DOB* (Sturrock, 2013).

This concept (*degree of belief*) plays the same role in the analysis of cryptograms, etc., as the concept of probability does in the analysis of laboratory experiments. So we would start with a prior *degree of belief* that the Authorship Issue involved secrecy, and a prior *degree of belief* that it did not, etc. Then we need to adjust that *degree of belief* in response to whatever evidence we find concerning cryptograms, etc.

As we shall see, some of these *degrees of belief* can be very small. In the usual notation for a probability, one might be encountering and combining numbers like 0.001 and 5×10^{-6} . Besides being a little awkward to deal with, it is not too easy to “get a feel” for such numbers.

In an article on *Applied Scientific Inference* in this journal (Sturrock, 1994), we have adopted a suggestion of Edwin Jaynes (see Jaynes 2003), who pointed out that a concept that originated in electrical engineering can be very useful in the present context. We can measure a probability (or a *degree of belief*) in *decibels*, which has the abbreviation *db*. If we start by assigning a probability P to a proposition, this may be converted to an *Odds* by

$$\text{Odds} = \frac{P}{1 - P} \quad (1)$$

The analyst can then express his *degree of belief* in the proposition as follows:

$$\text{DOB} = 10 \times \log_{10}(\text{Odds}) \quad (2)$$

The following Table 2 gives a few examples of this conversion.

Since this notation may not appeal to every reader, we shall normally express a *degree of belief* both as a probability and as measured in *db*.

TABLE 2
Relating Probability, Odds, and Degree of Belief

Probability	Odds	Degree of Belief in <i>db</i>
0.001	0.001	-30
0.01	0.01	-20
0.1	0.11	-9.5
0.5	1	0
0.9	9	9.5
0.99	99	20
0.999	999	30

5. AN INTRODUCTION TO THE DEDICATION OF THE SONNETS AND ITS MESSAGES

Shake-Speare's Sonnettes was registered for publication by the Stationers' Company on May 20, 1609. The entry in the Stationers' Register reads

Entred for his copie under thandes of master
Wilson and master Lowndes Warden a Booke
called SHAKESPEARES sonnettes.

The publisher was Thomas Thorpe, and the book was to be sold by two booksellers: William Aspley at the sign of The Parrot in St Paul's churchyard, and William Wright at Christ's Church Gate near Newgate. As Jonathan Bond (2009) has commented: *Of the birth in print of what would come to be the most celebrated poems in the English language, not another word was said.* The SONNETS disappeared.

The title page is shown as Figure 12 and the Dedication as Figure 13. The space between parallel lines on the title page would normally have contained the name of the author. For *Shake-Speare's Sonnettes*, the location is blank.

The Dedication receives little attention from orthodox Shakespeare scholars, perhaps because a dedication would normally be composed

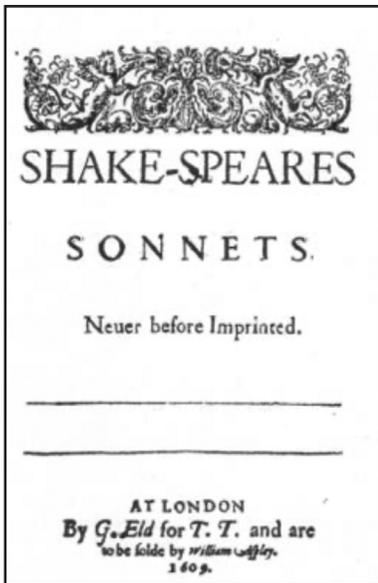


Figure 12. The title page of Shakespeare's Sonnets.

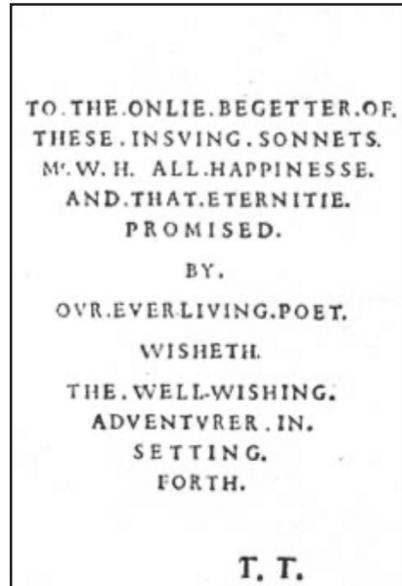


Figure 13. The Dedication in Shakespeare's Sonnets.

by the publisher. Most scholars infer from the initials "T.T.", in the bottom right corner, that the Dedication was composed by Thomas Thorpe. However, this dedication is unlike any other dedication of that era, and unlike any dedication composed by Thomas Thorpe, as we see from an example of a Thorpe dedication shown as Figure 14.

In a book of 490 pages entitled *Shakespeare's Sonnets*, editor Katherine Duncan-Jones (1997) reproduces the

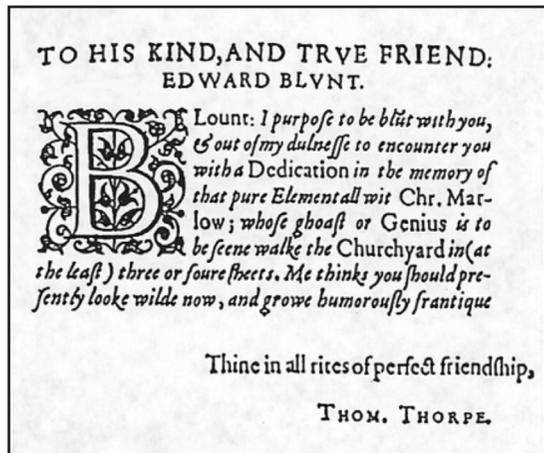


Figure 14. Thomas Thorpe's (typical) dedication of a book, to his colleague Thomas Blount.

Dedication, remarks that *the over-rhetorical wording is evidently Thorpe's*, and comments on what she assumed was Thorpe's description of himself as *THE WELL-WISHING ADVENTURER*.

In a book of 493 pages, also entitled *Shakespeare's Sonnets*, Stephen Booth (2000) refers to *Thorpe's dedication* (p. 547) but neither reproduces nor discusses it.

In a book of 671 pages entitled *The Art of Shakespeare's Sonnets*, Helen Vendler (1997) does not even mention the Dedication.

These orthodox scholars, who naturally believed the poems to be the work of William Shakspere, never suspected that the Dedication might contain one or more hidden messages.

What attention the Dedication has received from orthodox scholars has been speculation about the identity of "Mr. W.H." According to Stanley Wells (1970, p. 6), "*Mr W.H.*" *provides the biggest puzzle of all*. According to Samuel Schoenbaum (1970), *the identity of "Mr. W.H."* is *a riddle that to this day remains unsolved*.

The fact that the Dedication actually contains hidden messages was discovered not by a Shakespeare scholar but by a physicist and electrical engineer—John Rollett (see Figure 15).

John M. Rollett studied physics at Trinity College, Cambridge, and received a PhD degree from London University. He was for many years an engineer at the British Post Office Research Station at Dollis Hill in northwest London, and was author of about fifty articles and patents. Dollis Hill was the principal research station in Britain for telephones



Figure 15. John M. Rollett

and related technology. Rollett was closely involved in the major Post Office project at that time—the design and installation of a new transatlantic telephone cable. He was known to his colleagues as highly intelligent and highly inquisitive, and was known for his persistence in sticking with a difficult problem until it was solved. Rollett had wide interests, including Elgar's *Enigma Variations* on which he wrote a short book, and he would discuss these interests at length with his Dollis Hill colleagues.

As we shall see, Rollett was responsible

for a breakthrough in Shakespeare Authorship research, which contributed to the current pre-eminence of the candidacy of Edward de Vere, Earl of Oxford. However, ever an independent scholar, Rollett later advocated William Stanley, Earl of Derby, as the great writer we know as Shakespeare (Rollett, 2015).

There is no better introduction to the mystery of the *Dedication of the Shakespeare Sonnets* than the one written by Rollett himself (Rollett, 1999, 2004), which followed his seminal articles in 1997 (Rollett, 1997a,b).

There it is, so familiar, and so obscure: what an amazing production! There's nothing like it anywhere else in Elizabethan or Jacobean literature. What does it mean, for a start? What is it trying to tell us? The opening phrase is so well known, "To the onlie begetter," but how many people know that the spelling of "onlie" is very rare indeed? It could have been, in its tiny way, a clue to something quite unexpected until very recently. Surely there is rather more to the Dedication than first meets the eye.

It is interesting to see how Rollett was led to his discovery. In 1964, "the 400th anniversary of a certain gentleman from Stratford," more than 400 books dealing with Shakespeare were published. The Shakespeare scholar Leslie Hotson published a book entitled "Mr. W.H.," in which Hotson claimed to have determined the identity of "Mr. W.H." (Hotson, 1964). Rollett initially found the book "completely convincing." Hotson's proposal was that "W.H." referred to William Hatcliffe, who was admitted as a law pupil to Gray's Inn in 1586. The next year, Hatcliffe was elected Prince of Purpoole, "a kind of temporary Lord of Misrule or Lord of Liberty," to preside over the festivities of the Christmas Season. In that position, Hatcliffe would have been expected to act like a prince of royal blood. Had the festivities included an induction ceremony in which Hatcliffe was carried on a throne covered by a canopy, it might have explained the opening lines of Sonnet No. 125, "Were it ought to me I bore the canopy . . ." However, Rollett learned (and Hotson should have known) that no canopy was ever carried over a Prince of Purpoole.

Hotson declared that the Dedication was a cryptogram composed by Thorpe. His interpretation involved a complex procedure—He starts with "Mr. W.H." in line 3, moves down to pick up the H in the next line,

chooses HAT from this word, then drops down to line 7, and picks up EVER-LIV-ING. In this way, Hotson picked up “HATLIV”, *which seemed to be a reasonably good shot at “Hatcliffe.”* Rollett initially in 1964 accepted this argument, but by 1967 he decided that it was “utter nonsense.” For Rollett, *there were too many arbitrary steps in the proposed solution.*

Rollett remarked: *It [was] obvious that Hotson was very strongly biased towards the result he claimed to find.* He added, *It is not a good idea to have preconceptions in this kind of endeavor.*

However, the time that Rollett had spent in following Hotson’s trail led him to suspect that, although Hotson’s proposed cryptogram was nonsense, the Dedication seemed to be strange enough that it might be concealing some kind of message. Rollett noted that one of the oddest features of the Dedication is the full-stop after every word. It occurred to Rollett that this suggested that one should count words . . . for instance, every 3rd word, or every 5th word, etc. That idea led nowhere, so Rollett then tried alternating numbers—e.g., every 3rd word, then every 5th word, etc. That also led nowhere.

Rollett then focused on another peculiarity of the Dedication: The text is laid out in three inverted pyramids, of lengths 6 lines, 2 lines, and 4 lines. Perhaps the message (if there was one) could be found by taking the 6th word, then the 2nd word, then the 4th word, and repeating. This led Rollett to the sequence

THESE SONNETS ALL BY EVER

Actually, the complete cryptogram reads

THESE SONNETS ALL BY EVER THE **FORTH**

We examine this discovery in the next section and in Section 10.

6. “THESE SONNETS ALL BY EVER THE FORTH”

Rollett was intrigued with the discovery of

THESE SONNETS ALL BY EVER THE FORTH

in the Dedication. However, Rollett had never heard of an Elizabethan poet named *EVER*, leading him to dismiss the idea that the Dedication might contain a cryptogram.

Two or three years later, Rollett was in a library and on an impulse decided to look up the article on Shakespeare in the *Encyclopedia Britannica*. Towards the end of the article, he found a section headed "Questions of Authorship." He read the general arguments, including a paragraph on Francis Bacon, then came to the following two sentences:

A theory that the author of the plays was Edward de Vere, 17th earl of Oxford, receives some circumstantial support from the coincidence that Oxford's known poems apparently ceased just before Shakespeare's works began to appear. It is argued that Oxford assumed a pseudonym in order to protect his family from the social stigma then attached to the stage, and also because extravagance had brought him into disrepute at Court.

Rollett immediately recalled the word EVER, and realized that it could be read as E VER for *Edward Vere*.

However, this discovery also made no great impression on Rollett. He was still looking for the identity of "Mr. W.H.," and still did not doubt that the gentleman from Stratford-upon-Avon was the author of the Sonnets and everything else. It was, as he remarked (Rollett, 1999), *A strange coincidence, not to say a thought-provoking one, but I still remained very skeptical, and was sure that chance was the most likely explanation of this odd result.*

Rollett noted that there was a possible connection between de Vere and the Dedication in that the sequence 6 – 2 – 4 matches the number of letters in the name Edward de Vere. Nevertheless, Rollett was disappointed that this sentence still did not seem to make sense. He could find no way in which *de Vere* was the "fourth" in anything.

The true meaning of "the forth" or "the fourth" may never be known, but Jonathan Bond, whom we shall meet in the next section, has offered the following suggestion:

de Vere, on reaching his majority, was keen to undertake military service, but the Queen for some time refused that request. Had she given approval, Oxford's military service would most likely have been in the Netherlands, where the Protestant population was waging war against the occupying power, Spain. England was not officially involved in that struggle until Antwerp was captured by

Spanish forces in 1585. This led Elizabeth to sign the Treaty of Nonsuch, which brought England into the war against Spain in support of The Netherlands. De Vere was then allowed to engage in military service—but only briefly.

Bond has pointed out that the Dutch for “the fourth” is “de vierde,” which is phonetically close to “de Vere.” This suggestion is intriguing. There may be no persuasive interpretation of “The Fourth” that we can identify four centuries after the Dedication was composed. It is possible that “the fourth” was part of an in-joke between the author of the Dedication and the intended recipient. de Vere may have been the fourth “something” that had some special significance for de Vere and the dedicatee. There is some indication that de Vere was the fourth-ranking member of the Queen’s Privy Council, which may have given him some leverage in negotiations with the Queen and Robert Cecil.

We return to our discussion of the possible significance of “The Forth” in Section 10.

This discussion hinges on the question of whether or not the sentence THESE SONNETS ALL BY EVER THE FORTH was intentionally built into the Dedication, or appeared purely by chance. We can address this question by supposing that the author went through many versions, using the same words but in many different arrangements of those words. For instance, we can leave the words in their actual order, but change the rule for selecting words. Rather than select the 6th word, then the 8th word, then the 12th word, etc., we suppose that we can select any seven words. Then, keeping them in the order in which they actually occur, we can examine the sequence for a sensible message. None of them looks like a sensible message.

We have actually carried out one thousand simulations, and the four that seem nearest to a sensible message are the following:

OF THESE SONNETS W H HAPPINESSE PROMISED
 THE INSUING Mr EVER WELL WISHING ADVENTURER
 ONLIE W HAPPINESSE OUR POET WELL WISHING
 ONLIE W PROMISED THE ADVENTURER SETTING FORTH

We give a list of 50 such “sentences”, obtained by this random procedure, in Figure 16.

THE THESE INSUING H ETERNITIE BY POET
 THE HAPPINESSE THAT ETERNITIE BY POET WISHING
 ONLIE OF W HAPPINESSE AND THAT POET
 ONLIE H AND THAT OUR WISHING FORTH
 BEGETTER H HAPPINESSE BY EVER WISHETH THE
 OF INSUING SONNETS W AND WELL FORTH
 PROMISED BY OUR EVER POET WISHING FORTH
 THE THESE ALL THAT BY POET FORTH
 OF THESE ETERNITIE PROMISED EVER THE WELL
 ONLIE OF THAT ETERNITIE OUR EVER POET
 THE OF INSUING Mr H BY WISHETH
 Mr HAPPINESSE AND PROMISED POET WISHING SETTING
 ONLIE THESE HAPPINESSE LIVING ADVENTURER IN SETTING
 THE INSUING SONNETS H ETERNITIE EVER WISHETH
 BEGETTER OF ALL ETERNITIE BY EVER LIVING
 TO THESE THAT ETERNITIE LIVING THE ADVENTURER
 OF INSUING ETERNITIE WISHETH THE WISHING FORTH
 BEGETTER AND PROMISED LIVING WISHETH THE FORTH
 THE Mr W ETERNITIE THE WELL WISHING
 TO H ALL EVER WISHETH ADVENTURER FORTH
 TO OF Mr OUR THE WISHING FORTH
 SONNETS W ALL THAT EVER ADVENTURER IN
 ONLIE SONNETS AND THAT THE WELL WISHING
 INSUING HAPPINESSE ETERNITIE LIVING WISHETH THE WISHING
 INSUING Mr AND THAT WISHETH WISHING IN
 HAPPINESSE AND PROMISED BY WISHETH THE ADVENTURER
 THE H THAT ETERNITIE LIVING WELL SETTING
 W ALL PROMISED BY LIVING WISHETH IN
 TO ONLIE INSUING ETERNITIE WELL WISHING FORTH
 TO INSUING Mr ETERNITIE THE WELL IN
 OF Mr H POET THE IN SETTING
 TO INSUING Mr ALL ETERNITIE BY EVER
 THE THESE Mr HAPPINESSE THAT ETERNITIE WISHETH
 TO SONNETS ETERNITIE PROMISED OUR THE FORTH
 ONLIE BEGETTER THESE INSUING SONNETS ALL LIVING
 TO BEGETTER SONNETS Mr H LIVING FORTH
 TO ETERNITIE PROMISED OUR EVER POET ADVENTURER
 INSUING THAT ETERNITIE LIVING WELL WISHING SETTING
 TO ONLIE W ALL ETERNITIE OUR EVER
 TO THAT BY OUR THE WELL SETTING
 THE W AND ETERNITIE THE WISHING SETTING
 TO THE ONLIE PROMISED WISHING IN SETTING
 ONLIE BEGETTER SONNETS Mr ETERNITIE BY POET
 BEGETTER H THAT OUR POET WELL WISHING
 TO BEGETTER INSUING THAT ETERNITIE EVER FORTH
 ONLIE OF INSUING HAPPINESSE WISHING IN SETTING
 TO OF INSUING SONNETS HAPPINESSE WELL IN
 TO Mr OUR LIVING POET WISHING ADVENTURER
 TO THE BEGETTER THAT OUR WISHETH SETTING
 BEGETTER INSUING Mr HAPPINESSE POET SETTING FORTH

Figure 16. Fifty of the random sentence simulations of the message "THESE SONNETS ALL BY EVER THE FORTH."

However, none of these is both grammatical and meaningful. The implication of this experiment seems to be that there is less (probably very much less) than one chance in a thousand (DOB less than -3σ) that the sentence THESE SONNETS ALL BY EVER THE FORTH occurred in the Dedication by chance. It would appear that THESE SONNETS ALL BY EVER THE FORTH was built into the Dedication by intent, the author first deciding on this sentence as one he would like to include (and conceal), then building text around it.

Who was the author of the Dedication? Since the letters T.T. appear in the bottom-right-hand corner of the page, scholars instinctively assume that the author was the publisher Thomas Thorpe, and the Dedication is generally referred to as “Thorpe’s Dedication.” However, once we realize that the Dedication contains a secret message, we obviously need to reconsider that assumption. Why should the *publisher* want to inform us that *These sonnets [are] all by EVER the Fourth (or the Forth)?*

If the Dedication was not composed by Thomas Thorpe, then who did compose it? The obvious answer is *Ever*—Edward de Vere. Although it may be normal practice for a dedication to be composed by the publisher, there is nothing normal about this Dedication—as we shall see in subsequent sections.

7. FINDING “HENRY WRIOTHESLEY”

The objective of the innocent letter code, Rollett found, is

to distribute the words of the secret message systematically throughout the words of what seems a normal letter. . . . It was used . . . by prisoners of war in World War II, notably those in Colditz Castle sending information about the German war effort back to the UK.

There has to be a “key” to unlock the message, and various schemes have been devised. As an example, “Dear George” contains ten letters, and the key might be to select every tenth word. One way to read the hidden message would be to prepare a grid in which the first row comprises letters 1 to 10, the second row comprises letters 11

to 20, and so on. Then the hidden message would be found by reading the columns so formed. One (or more) of the columns would reveal the message. It might be necessary to read the column from top to bottom or vice versa.

This is an example of what is known as *Equidistant Letter Sequencing (ELS)* in which the text is rearranged into a rectangle or “grid”, and the hidden message is revealed by reading the contents of the columns.

This chain of thought led Rollett to count the number of letters in the Dedication. He found that the Dedication contains 144 letters. This caught his attention, since it is possible to arrange 144 letters in a number of rectangles: 8 × 18, 9 × 16, 12 × 12, etc.

As he writes (Rollett, 1999, p. 68),

The first thing I noticed was in the array with 15 letters in each row, HENRY! [see Figure 17]. It is evident that the letters of the name are all equally spaced – every 15th letter starting from the H spells out the name. This is sufficiently unusual to suggest that it might have been deliberately arranged by the cryptographer. But Henry who? . . . Perhaps his name was “Henry Oliver,” the surname being indicated by the letters OLV R which follow on down from HENRY, and I did look in various books to see if such a person flourished at the time, without success.

T	O	T	H	E	O	N	L	I	E	B	E	G	E	T
T	E	R	O	F	T	H	E	S	E	I	N	S	U	I
N	G	S	O	N	N	E	T	S	M	R	W	H	A	L
L	H	A	P	P	I	N	E	S	S	E	A	N	D	T
H	A	T	E	T	E	R	N	I	T	I	E	P	R	O
M	I	S	E	D	B	Y	O	U	R	E	V	E	R	L
I	V	I	N	G	P	O	E	T	W	I	S	H	W	T
H	T	H	E	W	E	L	L	W	I	S	H	I	N	G
A	D	V	E	N	T	V	R	E	R	I	N	S	E	T
T	I	N	G	F	O	R	T	H						

Figure 17. Choosing every 15th letter of the Dedication spells the word HENRY.

Rollett continued to examine the various grids and, as he wrote (Rollett, 1999, p. 69),

Eventually the penny dropped. In the array with 18 letters in each row, I had repeatedly overlooked something. There, split up into three bits, is the name WR-IOTH-ESLEY, spelt perfectly, just as it was always spelt officially [see Figure 18]. I first noticed the letters ESLEY in the middle column, and almost immediately the letters IOTH in the one next to it. At that moment I knew with absolute certainty that I would find the letters WR somewhere, and there they are, at the bottom of the second column. Moreover, this is a perfect rectangle, where the cryptographer would naturally try to hide the most important information, since perfect rectangles are where a cryptanalyst would look first of all for something hidden. And if “onlie” had been spelt with an e between the n and the l, as was usual, the number of letters would have been 145, with the wrong factors, so that particular e had to be omitted.

T	O	T	H	E	O	N	L	I	E	B	E	G	E	T	T	E	R
O	F	T	H	E	S	E	I	N	S	U	I	N	G	S	O	N	N
E	T	S	M	R	W	H	A	L	L	H	A	P	P	I	N	E	S
S	E	A	N	D	T	H	A	T	E	T	E	R	N	I	T	I	E
P	R	O	M	I	S	E	D	B	Y	O	U	R	E	V	E	R	L
I	V	I	N	G	P	O	E	T	W	I	S	H	E	T	H	T	H
E	W	E	L	L	W	I	S	H	I	N	G	A	D	V	E	N	T
U	R	E	R	I	N	S	E	T	T	I	N	G	F	O	R	T	H

Figure 18. 18 x 8 grid of the letters in the Dedication to the Sonnets shows the name WRIOTHESLEY in three pieces: WR in column 2, IOTH in column 11, and ESLEY in column 10.

Rollett went on to calculate the probability that the name HENRY had occurred by chance, and that the combination WR-IOTH-ESLEY had also occurred by chance. We carry out these calculations in Appendices A and B. Our methodology is a little different from the one adopted by Rollett, but we arrive at a similar result. The probability that the name HENRY might have occurred by chance in one of the rectangular arrays is found to be 0.002, and the probability that the name WRIOTHESLEY might have occurred by chance, broken up in either two or three pieces, in one of the rectangular arrays, is found to be $7 \cdot 10^{-6}$. Hence the probability that the name HENRY WRIOTHESLEY might turn up by chance is approximately 10^{-8} —one chance in 100 million (DOB = -80).

Why Henry Wriothesley? That is the family name of the only *real* person mentioned by name in all of Shakespeare's plays and poems. His two somewhat erotic poems, *Venus and Adonis*, and *Rape of Lucrece*, are both dedicated to the Third Earl of Southampton, whose family name was Henry Wriothesley. It is also significant that Wriothesley is widely believed to be the "Fair Youth" of the Sonnets. This discovery suggests that the enigmatic initials *WH* were originally *HW* for Henry Wriothesley. Whoever provided the Sonnets and Dedication to Thorpe may have considered it discrete to reverse the initials.

In pursuing our investigation of Shakespeare's Sonnets, we now meet another investigator—Jonathan Bond (Figure 19). There were two themes in Bond's life that gave him the skills and interests that led to his seminal contributions to Shakespearian cryptology—mathematics and the theater.

Bond was born (in 1966) and raised in the North East of England—the same part of the country that produced the Shakespearian and Oxfordian scholar John Thomas Looney and the creative, and controversial, scientist (and author *PS*'s one-time mentor) Fred Hoyle. In 1985, Bond became a student in the philosophy department of University College London, specializing in mathematical logic. Anyone who is willing to grapple with the intricacies of Godel's theorem on incompleteness and undecidability in mathematics has more than adequate intellectual fortitude for investigations in cryptology.



Figure 19. Jonathan Bond

Bond continued his mathematical studies at Cambridge University in 1991, where he also acquired an interest in acting, once playing the lead role in a Marlowe Society production of *Peer Gynt*. This experience sparked his decision to train as a professional actor at the Guildhall School of Music and Drama, which led to a twenty-year career in the theater. In 1997, Bond joined the Shakespeare Globe Theatre, where he played parts in a Beaumont and Fletcher play (*The Maid's Tragedy*) and (as Oliver) in *As You Like It*. This was the first of three seasons at the Globe, during which he appeared in *As You Like It*, *Midsummer*

Night's Dream, and *Timon of Athens*. He has also appeared in *Romeo and Juliet* and *Twelfth Night* on the British stage. During his two years at the Globe, Bond worked alongside Mark Rylance. It was Rylance's inquiring spirit and fascination with the Authorship Question that sparked Bond's interest in the issues surrounding the composition of the "Shakespeare" plays.

With his mathematical background, Bond was drawn to the investigation of the Dedication of the Sonnets. There had been a number of suggestions concerning the Dedication in the literature, but no one had considered these suggestions all together. Bond thought that would be a useful undertaking.

One of the first things that Bond noticed is that the phrase "our ever-living" is very close to an anagram of the de Vere family motto *vero nil verius* (nothing truer than truth). It becomes an exact anagram if one replaces the final letter "g" with an "s". As Bond point out in *The de Vere Code* (Bond, 2009, p. 57), the capital letters S and G are very similar when written in "secretary hand," which was a standard script used in the 16th Century.

It is often the case in creative activity that it helps to step back for a while. This is when new insights may bubble up from the unconscious. So it was with Bond when, reviewing the literature once more in 2008 and 2009, he uncovered new evidence of encryptions in the Dedication of the Sonnets, which he describes in *The de Vere Code* (2009): The 18 by 8 perfect rectangle grid has much more to reveal than Rollett had supposed.

What Bond noticed, as shown in Figure 20, is the sentence: TO ESPIE OFTW- IOTH-ESLEYWIT NEED NOT HERE TRIE, or, in modern English, *To see Wriothesley often in these sonnets is easy if you use your wits*. This nine-word sentence appears in a perfect rectangle, reads left to right, is grammatical—and grammatically complex—and is spelled correctly. The forms of "espie," "oft," and "trie" are the appropriate spellings for an early 17th-century text.

As Bond writes,

The ramifications of the full WRIOTHESLEY cipher are significant. The extent of the message takes it beyond conjecture into the realm of being . . . documentary proof that, unless the author of

T	O	T	H	E	O	N	L	I	E	B	E	G	E	T	T	E	R
O	F	T	H	E	S	E	I	N	S	U	I	N	G	S	O	N	N
E	T	S	M	R	W	H	A	L	L	H	A	P	P	I	N	E	S
S	E	A	N	D	T	H	A	T	E	T	E	R	N	I	T	I	E
P	R	O	M	I	S	E	D	B	Y	O	U	R	E	V	E	R	L
I	V	I	N	G	P	O	E	T	W	I	S	H	E	T	H	T	H
E	W	E	L	L	W	I	S	H	I	N	G	A	D	V	E	N	T
U	R	E	R	I	N	S	E	T	T	I	N	G	F	O	R	T	H

Figure 20. The 18 by 8 (perfect) grid reveals the complete sentence TO ESPIE OFT WR-IOTH-ESLEY WIT NEED NOT HERE TRIE.

the Dedication was lying, Wriothesley was the primary subject of the sonnets. This in itself is a remarkable discovery, as important to Stratfordians as to their opponents. . . . The WRIOTHESLEY cypher is so clearly not a coincidence as to be tantamount to proof that the author is encrypting messages in the Dedication. . . . The author . . . is playing a fantastically clever word game. And witty, too. . . . The encypherer loves word puzzles, and expects his reader to like them too. . . . If any doubts do remain as to his extraordinary skill in providing the recipient of the SONNETS with ever-more ingenious riddles to unravel, what follows puts the matter conclusively beyond doubt. Because, like any showman worth his salt, the author saved his best tricks for last.

8. “PRO PARE VOTIS EMERITER”

John Rollett had examined the 12 by 12 grid and concluded that there was no message hidden there. Jonathan Bond for some time accepted Rollett’s conclusion as a fact, but not without some hesitation.

The Dedication was rich in hidden messages, and the Author seemed to take great pleasure in giving the Recipient one treat after another. A recipient who suspects—or hopes—there is something hidden in a cryptogram from a friend or lover would be inclined first of all to examine the central grid. Rollett and Bond had, between them, discovered so much hidden in the Dedication, that it seemed to Bond very odd that there should be nothing hidden in the central grid.

Bond eventually decided to check it out. As Bond remarks,

I had taken Rollett's opinion at face value that there was nothing resembling a message in the most obvious perfect rectangle of all—the 12 by 12 square. I had always felt some unease about this. . . . Why did he leave this one out? The answer—dare I say “unsurprisingly”—was that he didn't. On closer inspection, the reason why the message had not immediately been apparent became clear. It is in Latin.

The 12 by 12 grid, shown in Figure 21, contains the phrase PRO PARE VOTIS EMERITER all conjoined with that pivotal word EVER. What does it mean? There is a lot of flexibility in interpreting these words. Bond gives these guidelines:

- PRO: Means *for* or *on behalf of* and their usual connotations in English.
- PARE: Relates to the verb “pareo” with its primary sense of “*to come forth, appear, be visible, show oneself, to be present.*” A second related form is “parens” meaning *parent*, or *procreator*. There is also a third form, used by Ovid [where] the word “pare” specifically means *companion, mate or consort*.
- VOTIS: Means *to vow, promise solemnly, engage religiously, pledge, devote, dedicate, or consecrate*.
- EMERITER: Relates to “emeritus” meaning *to obtain by service, gain, earn, merit, or deserve*.

T	O	T	H	E	O	N	L	I	E	B	E
G	E	T	T	E	R	O	F	T	H	E	S
E	I	N	S	V	I	N	G	S	O	N	N
E	T	S	M	R	W	H	A	L	L	H	A
P	P	I	N	E	S	S	E	A	N	D	T
H	A	T	E	T	E	R	N	I	T	I	E
P	R	O	M	I	S	E	D	B	Y	O	V
R	E	V	E	R	L	I	V	I	N	G	P
O	E	T	W	I	S	H	E	T	H	T	H
E	W	E	L	L	W	I	S	H	I	N	G
A	D	V	E	N	T	V	R	E	R	I	N
S	E	T	T	I	N	G	F	O	R	T	H

Figure 21. The Dedication set out as a 12 x 12 grid.

These rather flexible definitions lead to a variety of possible translations, such as the following:

*For my dear companion, vowing to be well-deserving, E. Ver.
As here revealed, praying to earn your friendship, E. Ver.
Devoutly promising to be a well-deserving father, E. Ver.*

Bond concludes that regardless of how the translation is specified, one conclusion seems unavoidable . . . de Vere is giving his personal signature to the Dedication. In other words, *he wrote the Dedication himself*.

This conclusion is of course consistent with the first message we found in the Dedication: *THESE SONNETS ALL BY EVER* (with its possible qualifier *THE FORTH*).

It is certainly surprising to find a Latin sentence embedded in the Dedication, but can we somehow estimate just how surprising? We address this question in Appendix C. Ignoring the meanings of the words, and ignoring the word *EMERITER* (which is broken into two parts), we find that the probability of finding by a chance a cluster of three Latin words of any meanings whatever, of lengths 3 letters, 4 letters, and 5 letters, comprising the letters we actually find in the Dedication, to be $4 \cdot 10^{-7}$ ($\text{DOB} = -64$).

If we allow for the possibility that the words might have been in a different order, this estimate would be increased by a factor of 20. If we were to consider that the cluster might have been located somewhere else in the grid, or in a different grid, the probability would again be increased. However, as Bond points out, the 12×12 grid is special, and the location of the cluster in that grid (on the left-hand edge and mid-height) also seems special, so it is not clear that one should consider arbitrary grid sizes and arbitrary possible locations in the grid. The tests that we carry out in Appendix C seem to confirm that this Latin sentence was intentionally built into the Dedication.

This of course leads to the question—who might have conceived of this sentence, in Latin, concealed as a cryptogram in the Dedication? Who had the motive, and who had the means? Thorpe may have had the means (knowledge of Latin), but did he have a motive? Did William Shakspeare of Stratford-upon-Avon have either the motive or the means? These are some of the new questions that are posed by these investigations.

9. THE SHAKESPEARE MONUMENT AND INSCRIPTION

Figure 5 shows a picture of the monument to Shakespeare as it appears today in the Holy Trinity Church at Stratford-upon-Avon. Below the effigy is an inscription on a black background, as shown in Figure 22.

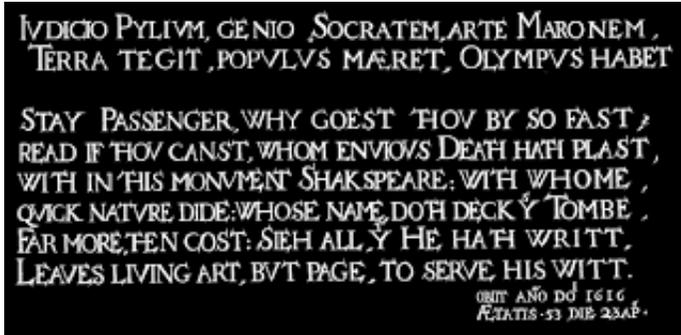


Figure 22. The inscription below the Shakespeare effigy monument in Holy Trinity Church (monument shown in Figure 5).

It reads

IVDICIO PYLIVM, GENIO SOCRATEM, ARTE MARIONEM,
TERRA TEGIT, POPVLVS MAERET, OLYMPUS HABET

STAY PASSENGER, WHY GOEST THOV BY SO FAST,
READ IF THOU CANST, WHOM ENVIOWS DEATH HATH PLAST,
WITH IN THIS MONVMENT SHAKSPEARE: WITH WHOME,
QVICK NATVRE DIDE. WHOSE NAME DOTH DECK THIS TOMBE.
FAR MORE, THEN COST: SIEH ALL THAT HE HATH WRITT,
LEAVES LIVING ART, BUT PAGE, TO SERVE HIS WITT.

OBIT ANO DO 1616
AETATIS 53 DIE 23 AP

The following discussion of the inscription is based on the analysis of David Roper (2008, 2010). Roper (see Figure 23), born in London in 1938, lived with his grandparents in Lambeth, in London, following the death of his parents during the Blitz. Roper studied mathematics, statistics, and philosophy at the newly created Open University. After studying education for his postgraduate qualifications at Kingston University, he joined the staff at Reigate Grammar School, and later was Head of the Mathematics Department at Northwood College.

Roper's doubts about the Shakespeare Authorship began very early when, at the age of ten, on seeing one of the "Shakspeare" signatures, he recognized its similarity to the attempts made by young children when first practicing their name in cursive (joined-up) handwriting.

In 1988, following the publication of Charlton Ogburn's book (1988), Roper saw a television program in which Ogburn drew attention to the puzzle of the Shakespeare monument in the Holy Trinity Church, which is the subject of this section.



Figure 23. David Roper

Roper's attention was drawn to the curious phrase *QUICK NATURE DIED*. His knowledge of Latin led him to read *quick nature* as *velocium rerum*. This led Roper to consider this word-combination after all syllables after the first syllable in each word has "died" (a procedure familiar in crossword puzzles today). This train of thought led to *VElocium RErum*, i.e. *VE RE*, which got his attention. An elaboration of this theme led him to consider the Latin sentence *summa de velocium rerum* which, after it has "died," leads to *SUM-ma DE VElocium RErum*. *Sum De Vere* is Latin for *I am de Vere*.

Roper communicated this discovery to Lord Vere, who had written the Foreword to Ogburn's book. Lord Vere, in his response, invited Roper to join the De Vere Society, where Roper met John Rollett. Roper and Rollett carried out a lively correspondence for many years.

In this section, we review Roper's analysis of the inscription on the Shakespeare monument. Roper noted a number of peculiarities in this inscription, which strengthened his suspicion that the inscription contains something in code. He noted, specifically, the following seven peculiarities (Roper, 2008, 2017):

WHOM In line 2 is spelled differently from WHOME in line 3.

THIS in line 3 is written in full, but in line 4 it is abbreviated to Ys.

THAT is abbreviated to Yt in line 5.

The words, SHAKSPEARE MONVMENT, have been inverted in line 3 to read, MONVMENT SHAKSPEARE.

The name SHAKESPEARE has been spelled SHAKSPEARE.

The German word SIEH has been used in line 5 instead of SEE.

As WRITT, the word WRIT appears with an additional 'T'.

So many peculiarities led Roper to strongly suspect that the text conceals an encrypted message. This suspicion was reinforced by the fact that, as pointed out by Ogburn (1988, p. 157),

The Stratford monument, though wordy, cites no biographical fact about the deceased whatever.

Roper found that there is indeed a hidden message in the inscription on the monument. As was the case for the cryptograms in the Dedication of the Sonnets, the message has been encrypted by the ELS (equidistant letter sequencing) procedure—not a simple procedure to use. As the distinguished cryptographer David Kahn points out, *The method's chief defect, of course, is that awkwardness of phrasing may betray the very secret that that phrasing should guard: the existence of a hidden message* (Kahn, 1996, p. 144). Words that conceal a hidden meaning need to be chosen to accommodate the encrypted phrase or sentence without attracting suspicion.

One procedure for finding a hidden message involves guessing a probable word or name, which is referred to by cryptographers as a “crib,” and examining its consequences. As explained in his books, Roper considered the possible names “Bacon” and “Marlowe,” but these proved not to be fruitful. He then considered the name “Edward De Vere,” which proved to be the key to cracking the code. It led to an ELS sequencing of 34, which leads (as shown in Figure 24), to the message SO TEST HIM, I VOW HE IS E DE VERE AS HE, SHAKSPEARE: ME I. B. The letters I B are the initials of Ben Jonson (in reverse order, and using the letter I in place of J, which was not used in the Latin alphabet). A cryptographer would find it significant that the decrypted sentence occurs in three clusters.

Bruce Spittle, a New-Zealander and another Shakespeare scholar, noted that the second row of the inscription is indented. That row has 34 cells, suggesting that the author of the inscription was offering that number as a helpful hint (a “crib”) to anyone searching the inscription for a possible hidden message.

Following Roper and Spittle, it seems reasonable to conclude that the message highlighted in Figure 24 was deliberately encoded in the 220 letters of the statement on the monument. If we paraphrase the message to clarify its significance, we might rewrite it as **I, Ben Jonson,**

S	T	A	Y	P	A	S	S	E	N	G	E	R	W	H	Y	G	O	E	S	T	T	H	O	V	B	Y	S	O	F	A	S	T	R
E	A	D	I	F	T	H	O	U	C	A	N	S	T	W	H	O	M	E	N	V	I	O	V	S	D	E	A	T	H	H	A	T	H
P	L	A	S	T	W	I	T	H	I	N	T	H	I	S	M	O	N	V	M	E	N	T	S	H	A	K	S	P	E	A	R	E	W
I	T	H	W	H	O	M	E	Q	V	I	C	K	N	A	T	V	R	E	D	I	D	E	W	H	O	S	E	N	A	M	E	D	O
T	H	D	E	C	K	Y	S	T	O	M	B	E	F	A	R	M	O	R	E	T	H	E	N	C	O	S	T	S	I	E	H	A	L
L	Y	T	H	E	H	A	T	H	W	R	I	T	T	L	E	A	V	E	S	L	I	V	I	N	G	A	R	T	B	V	T	P	A
G	E	T	O	S	E	R	V	E	H	I	S	W	I	T	T																		

Figure 24. This is the Cardano Grid constructed by ELS (equidistant letter sequencing) for a spacing of 34, from the inscription on the Shakespeare Monument, using the crib “Edward de Vere.”

vow that the works of Shakespeare were written by E de Vere.

The two lines of Latin look impressive to anyone who is not a Latin scholar. However, as Roper explains, they make little sense to anyone who is familiar with the language and with the personages referred to in the inscription.

We examine this cryptogram from a statistical viewpoint in Appendix D. That analysis leads to the conclusion that there is a probability of only 0.0002 (DOB = -37) of finding by chance a message containing the sequence EVERE in the inscription, when it is organized in a grid with a spacing of 34 cells.

10. DISCUSSION AND SUMMARY

We began by considering just two candidates for the role of the Great Author known as *Shakespeare*: the orthodox candidate, *William Shaksper*e of Stratford-upon-Avon, and the strongest alternative candidate, *Edward de Vere, 17th Earl of Oxford*. A consequence of restricting the options in this way is that evidence *for* one candidate is evidence *against* the other—and vice versa.

A few of the basic concerns are listed in Table 3, where we compare skills and knowledge that we might expect to have been in the possession of the Great Author with what we learn about the two principal contenders, Shaksper and Oxford. We see that Oxford fares well, but Shaksper fares poorly.

In Section 4, we summarized an analysis of Diana Price’s *Chart of Literary Paper Trails* (Price, 2012), which compares what we know of Shaksper related to the profession of writer with what is known of 24 known writers who lived in England at the same time as Shaksper. We

TABLE 3
**Properties Expected of the Author of the Works of Shakespeare,
 Compared with Known Properties of William Shakspere and the Earl of Oxford**

	Shakespeare	Shakspere	Oxford
Evidence of:			
Extensive education	Yes	No	Yes
Superior handwriting	Yes	No	Yes
Extensive legal knowledge	Yes	No	Yes
Books, possession of	Yes	No	Yes
Travel, experience of	Yes	No	Yes
Foreign languages, knowledge of	Yes	No	Yes
Familiarity with nobility	Yes	No	Yes

Yes = evidence present; No = no evidence.

found a significant mismatch that could have occurred by chance with an estimated probability of only 1 chance in 100,000 (DOB = -50).

In Sections 5 and 6, we turned to an investigation of the *Dedication of Shake-speare's Sonnets*, reviewing analyses previously carried out by John Rollett and Jonathan Bond. We found that the Dedication contains several hidden messages. The first, in **The Dedication of the Sonnets . . .**, was a simple, unequivocal statement: THESE SONNETS ALL BY EVER THE FORTH. This message was obtained by selecting the 6th word, then the 2nd word of the remainder, then the 4th work of the remainder, and so on. We noted that the sequence 6 – 2 – 4 matches the number of letters in the name Edward de Vere. This message must have been deliberately built into the Dedication. *EVER* may obviously be read as a short representation of *Edward de Vere (E VERE)*. According to Rush (2016), de Vere often used *EVER* as his “signature.”

However, the significance of *THE FORTH* remains obscure. Its interpretation as *THE FOURTH* remains unconvincing: It may have had special significance only for the intended recipient of the Sonnets and Dedication, most likely the *Fair Youth* (who is widely believed to have been Southampton). Hence the true significance of *THE FORTH* may become clear only when we have a complete understanding of the relationship between Oxford and Southampton.

One of the many theories concerning the Authorship Question is known as the *Prince Tudor theory* (See *Prince Tudor theory* in Wikipedia).

According to this theory, Oxford and the Queen were lovers. As a result of that liaison, the Queen had a child who was transferred to the home of the Second Earl of Southampton, replacing a child (of dubious parentage) born at about the same time to the wife of the Second Earl. This child was raised as the Third Earl of Southampton. Rush (2016) and Wittemore (2008, 2016) claim to find many hints supportive of this theory in the Sonnets.

If this theory were correct, and if the Great Author used cryptograms to reveal secrets (such as the Prince Tudor scenario) that the state (the Queen, Lord Burleigh, Robert Cecil, and their establishment) wished to suppress, he may have been tempted to incorporate that information in one of the cryptograms embodied in the Dedication.

If we examine the letters F, O, R, T, H in the hidden message THESE SONNETS ALL BY EVER THE FORTH, moving one letter by just two places yields THESE SONNETS ALL BY EVER THE FOTHR. Reading this out loud sounds very much like THESE SONNETS ALL BY EVER THE FATHER. If this is what was intended, it is not just an interesting play on words, of no great significance. It would instead be a statement of the highest significance: The author (Oxford) would be asserting that he was indeed the *father* of the presumed dedicatee, Henry Wriothesley, the Third Earl of Southampton. It would be an endorsement, from the Author himself, of the Prince Tudor theory.

Would it have been possible for the author to work into the text the actual word FATHER rather than the word FORTH? The answer is No—To have the actual word FATHER in the Dedication would have been a red flag alerting any perceptive and suspicious reader (such as Robert Cecil or a member of his staff) that the Dedication, when decoded, would reveal information that Cecil would make every effort to suppress.

From Section 7 on, we concentrated on a search for messages that had been encrypted by the ELS (Equidistant Letter Sequencing) procedure. The first discovery (by Rollett) was found in a grid with 15 letters in each row—the name HENRY. We estimated the probability that the name HENRY might have occurred by chance in one of a wide range of possible grids to be 0.002 (DOB = -27). This discovery led Rollett to carry out a close examination of a wide range of possible grids. In the grid with 8 letters in each row, Rollett found the letter-groups WR, IOTH, and ESLEY which, when combined, spell WRIOTHESLEY,

the surname of Henry Wriothesley, the Third Earl of Southampton. As we have noted earlier, Southampton is the only person whose name appears in any of the Shakespeare oeuvers (namely in the dedications of the long poems *Venus and Adonis* and *Rape of Lucrece*). He is recognized as the leading candidate for the identity of the *Fair Youth* of the Sonnets.

We estimated the probability of finding the name *WRIOTHESLEY*, broken up into either 2 or 3 parts, anywhere in a wide range of grids, to be $7 \cdot 10^{-6}$ (DOB = -52). Hence the probability that the full name *HENRY WRIOTHESLEY* might have appeared by chance, in a combination of 3 or 4 grids, is approximately 10^{-8} , i.e. one part in one hundred million (DOB = -80). Combining this estimate with the conservative estimate (in Section 8) of $7 \cdot 10^{-8}$ of the appearance of the (Latin) cluster *PRO PARE VOTIS EMERITER*, we arrive at an estimate of about 10^{-15} (DOB = -150) of finding in the Dedication the above two sequences. How can we visualize the significance of such a small number? We can follow the example of John Rollett (1997a,b).

Rollett estimated that one ton of sugar contains approximately one billion (10^9) grains. Hence the probability of finding the above two sequences by chance is approximately the same as extracting, by chance, a specific grain (say one that had been colored red) out of one million tons of sugar! It would take a cubic container with a side dimension of order 100 meters to hold one million tons of sugar.

The statistical evidence is overwhelming that the Dedication is intended to inform us that the great writer we know as Shakespeare was not William Shakspere of Stratford-upon-Avon, but Edward de Vere, Earl of Oxford. The Dedication is rather like a message inserted in a bottle thrown into the ocean 400 years ago, and retrieved only in the last century—not by accident but by the brilliance and perseverance of Rollett and Bond.

To the discoveries of Rollett and Bond, we must add the discovery of Roper (also a mathematician), which we discussed in Section 9. The strange inscription on the Shakespeare Monument itself contains a hidden message from the pen of Ben Jonson, confirming the true authorship of the works of “Shakespeare.” His composition does not have the impressive elegance that we found in the Dedication of the Sonnets. However, to be fair, Jonson may have had only a few days in which to compose his cryptogram, whereas de Vere may have spent months on his incredible composition.

As often happens in solving one problem, we now face many new ones, among them:

- Why and when did Oxford begin using the penname Shakespeare?
- Why and when did Oxford stop using the penname Shakespeare?
- Who decided that the identity of the Great Author should be fastened upon William Shakspere of Stratford-Upon-Avon?
- Was Shakspere paid to be a party to that deception?
- Was Ben Jonson a party to that deception?
- What was the relationship between Oxford, Southampton, and the Queen?
- Why did the normally tight-fisted Queen grant Oxford an annuity of £1,000 a year?
- Why did King James I continue the annuity to Oxford after the Queen's death?
- Who promoted and who financed the First Folio?
- What was Ben Jonson's role in the production of the First Folio?
- Why did the First Folio not include Shakespeare's poems?
- What were the goals of Essex and Southampton in their disastrous "rebellion"?
- Who would have become king, had they succeeded?
- Why was Southampton not executed, as was Essex?
- Why did James restore to Southampton all of his titles and possessions?

We have not *solved* the Authorship Question—we have simply reframed it.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A. Concerning the Name HENRY

We here assess the significance of finding the word HENRY.

TABLE A-1
Analyzing the Word HENRY

H	10	144	0.0694
E	23	143	0.1608
N	13	142	0.0915
R	9	141	0.0638
Y	1	140	0.0071

Column 1: Letter. Column 2: Number of such letters available.
Column 3: Number of letters left to choose from. Column 4:
Probability of finding that letter in that cell.

We begin by considering the letter H. We see from column 2 that there are 10 letter H's in the text. We see from column 3 that there are 144 cells in the array. Hence, as shown in Column 4, the probability of finding a letter H in a cell chosen at random is $10/144$, i.e. 0.0694.

When we come to letter E, we find that there are 23 letter E's in the remaining text, which is now reduced to 143 letters. Hence, as shown in Column 4, there is a probability of $23/143$, i.e. 0.1608 of finding an E in a cell chosen at random from the 143 available cells.

We proceed similarly for the letters N, R, and Y, using the remaining 3 rows of the table.

We can now calculate the probability of finding the letters H,E,N,R,Y in a set of 5 cells chosen at random by forming the product of these 5 probabilities, which is found to be 4.63×10^{-7} .

However, we now need to take account of all the ways that the author could have selected a sequence of 5 cells. There are 10 rows in that grid, so one can fit 5 letters as a sequence in a given column in 6 ways—starting with the top cell, the second cell, etc., down to the sixth cell. Hence the probability of finding HENRY in any given column of 10 cells is $6 \times 4.63 \times 10^{-7}$, which is 2.8×10^{-6} . But remember that we are willing to have this word read from top to bottom or from bottom to top, which increases the probability by a factor of 2, giving us a probability of 5.6×10^{-5} .

We next take account of the fact that the grid we are considering has 15 columns, so the probability of finding HENRY (either up or down) somewhere in that grid is $15 \times 5.6 \times 10^{-5}$, which is 8.4×10^{-5} .

This is the estimate for a single grid with 10 rows (the one that shows the name HENRY). However, we could fit the name HENRY into a grid with only 5 rows. If we look for grids with 5 rows or more and 5 columns or more, we find that there are 21 such grids.

Taking this factor into account, we find that the probability of finding the name HENRY by chance somewhere in one of the possible grids is $21 \times 8.4 \times 10^{-5}$, which is approximately 1.9×10^{-4} (DOB = -27).

Appendix B. Concerning the Name WRIOTHESLEY

We now assess the significance of finding the word WRIOTHESLEY.

TABLE B-1
Analyzing the Word WRIOTHESLEY

W	4	144	0.0278
R	9	143	0.0629
I	14	142	0.0986
O	8	141	0.0567
T	17	140	0.1214
H	10	139	0.0719
E	23	138	0.1667
S	10	137	0.0730
L	6	136	0.0441
E	22	135	0.1630
Y	1	134	0.0075

We first count the number of times each letter occurs in the text.
 Column 1: Letter. Column 2: Number of such letters available.
 Column 3: Number of letters left to choose from. Column 4:
 Probability of finding that letter in that cell.

The product of those probabilities is found to be 5.58×10^{-4} . This is the probability of finding the sequence WRIOTHESLEY in 11 cells by chance.

We next consider the possibility that the letters WRIOTHESLEY might have been organized in just two columns, with results shown in Table B-2. The columns contain the following: column 1: the number of letters in one column; column 2: the number of letters in the other column (these two numbers must sum to 11); column 3: the number of ways one can arrange the letters in column 1 in a column with just 8 cells (this is 9 minus the number); column 4: the number of ways one can arrange the letters in column 2 in a column with just 8 cells (this is 9 minus the number); column 5: the product of the numbers in columns 3 and 4.

TABLE B-2

3	8	6	1	6
4	7	5	2	10
5	6	4	3	12
6	5	3	4	12
7	4	2	5	10
8	3	1	6	6

The number of ways that one can arrange the 9 letters in 2 columns is the sum of the numbers in column 5. This is found to be 56. However, since one may need to read a sequence either from top to bottom or from bottom to top, we must multiply this number by 4, to obtain 224. There are $^{18}C_2$, i.e. 153, ways of selecting two columns out of 18. With this factor, we find that there are 34,272 ways of entering 11 letters in the grid, using only 2 columns of the grid.

We now repeat these calculations on the assumption that the letters are distributed in 3 columns. Now, restricting the options to 2 or more letters per column, the possible arrangements are found to be (Table B-3):

TABLE B-3

2	2	7
2	3	6
2	4	5
2	5	4
2	6	3
2	7	2
3	2	6
3	3	5
3	4	4
3	5	3
3	6	2
4	2	5
4	3	4
4	4	3
4	5	2
5	2	4
5	3	3
5	4	2
6	2	3
6	3	2
7	2	2

We now proceed as before, calculating the number of ways of entering 11 letters in 3 columns of 8 cells each as follows (Table B-4):

TABLE B-4

2	2	7	7	7	2	98
2	3	6	7	6	3	126
2	4	5	7	5	4	140
2	5	4	7	4	5	140
2	6	3	7	3	6	126
2	7	2	7	2	7	98
3	2	6	6	7	3	126
3	3	5	6	6	4	144
3	4	4	6	5	5	150
3	5	3	6	4	6	144
3	6	2	6	3	7	126
4	2	5	5	7	4	140
4	3	4	5	6	5	150
4	4	3	5	5	6	150
4	5	2	5	4	7	140
5	2	4	4	7	5	140
5	3	3	4	6	6	144
5	4	2	4	5	7	140
6	2	3	3	7	6	126
6	3	2	3	6	7	126
7	2	2	2	7	7	98

In Table B-4, columns 1 to 3 list the number of cells occupied by letters. Column 4 lists the number of ways of arranging the number of letters listed in column 1 in 8 lines, etc. Column 7 lists the products of the numbers in columns 4 to 6. The total number of ways of arranging 11 letters in 3 columns is the sum of the numbers listed in column 7, which is found to be 2,772.

Allowing for the up–down ambiguities (a factor of 8), this becomes 22,176. The number of ways of selecting 3 columns out of 18 is ${}^{18}C_3$, i.e. 816. With this factor, the number of options becomes 18,095,616. If we add the number for the two-column case, we get 18,129,888. Combining this with the basic factor of $5.58 \cdot 10^{-14}$, we estimate the probability of finding the name WRIOTHESLEY by chance in the 18 x 8 grid to be $1 \cdot 10^{-6}$.

However, there are six other “perfect grids” that have 6 or more columns and 6 or more lines: 24 x 6; 16 x 9; 12 x 12; 9 x 16; 8 x 18; and 6 x 24. Assuming that analyses of these grids give similar results, we estimate the probability of finding the name WRIOTHESLEY in one of the 7 grids to be $7 \cdot 10^{-6}$ (DOB = -52).

Appendix C. Concerning the Phrase “Pro Pare Votis Emeriter”

We here assess the significance of finding the phrase PRO PARE VOTIS EMERITER. Since the word EMERITER is broken up into three pieces, we shall ignore that word. Table C-1 shows the number of times each of these letters occurs in the text. The columns show: 1: Letter; 2: Number of times each letter occurs in the text.

TABLE C-1
Concerning the Phrase PRO PARE VOTIS EMERITER

A	5
E	23
I	14
M	2
O	8
P	4
R	9
S	10
T	17
V	6

We first consider the word PRO. The probability of finding the letters P, R, O by chance in a specified group of 3 cells is:

$$P(\text{PRO}) = (4/144) \times (9/143) \times (8/142) = 9.85 \times 10^{-5}$$

However, from examination of a Latin dictionary, I have estimated that there are 92 3-letter words in Latin, so I estimate that the probability of finding the word PRO or any other 3-letter word in the Dedication is

$$P(\text{word like PRO}) = 92 \times 9.85 \times 10^{-5} = 0.0091$$

We next consider the word PARE. Noting that we have already used the letters P,R,O, we find the probability of finding by chance the letters P,A,R,E in a specified group of 4 cells is:

$$P(\text{PARE}) = (3/141) \times (5/140) \times (7/139) \times (23/138) = 6.4 \times 10^{-6}$$

But we estimate that there are 410 4-letter words in Latin, from which we estimate that

$$P(\text{word like PARE}) = 2.6 \times 10^{-3}$$

We now consider the word VOTIS. Proceeding as before, we estimate

$$P(\text{VOTIS}) = (6/137) \times (7/136) \times (17/135) \times (14/134) \times (10/133) = 2.2 \times 10^{-6}$$

However, we estimate that there are 1,150 5-letter words in Latin, from which we estimate that

$$P(\text{word like VOTIS}) = 0.0026$$

Hence the probability of finding by chance, in specified locations, one word like PRO, one word like PARE, and one word like VOTIS is

$$P(\text{words like PRO PARE VOTIS}) = 6.2 \times 10^{-8}$$

We may now consider the possible locations of this group of 3 words. As we see from Figure 21, PRO, PARE, and VOTIS are found in the first three columns, so it is reasonable to leave them in those columns. The vertical spacing is so arranged that one can read the words PRO and EVER in rows 7 and 8, respectively. Hence it seems reasonable to leave the relative vertical locations unchanged.

With these stipulations, we find that there are 6 possible vertical locations that leave unchanged the relative locations of PRO, PARE, and VOTIS. Hence we finally arrive at our estimate of the probability that three words of the same lengths as PRO, PARE, and VOTIS could have appeared by chance in a group similar to the actual location is given by

$$P(\text{final}) = 6 \times 6.2 \times 10^{-8} = 4 \times 10^{-7} \text{ (DOB} = -64\text{)}$$

Taking account of the word EMERITER would reduce this probability.

Appendix D. Concerning the Inscription on the Monument

We can obtain a conservative estimate of the significance of the sentence

SO TEST HIM, I VOW HE IS E DE VERE AS HE, SHAKESPEARE: ME I.B.

by estimating the probability of finding the letter sequence EVERE in the inscription, given the letter count (shown in Table D-1).

TABLE D-1
Word Breakdown of the Inscription on the Monument

E	25
R	9
V	11
TOTAL	220

We first find the probability of finding the sequence EVERE in a sequence of five cells. The number of occurrences of E, R, and V and the total number of letters in the inscription are shown in Table D-1.

The probability of finding the first letter E in a given cell is $25/220$.

The probability of finding the letter V in a remaining cell is $11/219$.

The probability of finding the second letter E in a remaining cell is $24/218$.

The probability of finding the letter R in a remaining cell is $9/217$.

The probability of finding the third letter E in a remaining cell is $23/216$. Hence the probability of finding the sequence EVERE in a given sequence of 5 cells is 2.8×10^{-6} .

We see from Figure 24 that, when the text is arranged in a grid with 34 columns, there are 16 columns of length 7 and 18 of length 6.

A column of length 6 has 2 possible sequences of 5 cells.

A column of length 7 has 3 possible sequences of 5 cells.

Hence the number of possible sequences of 5 cells is $16 \times 3 + 18 \times 2$, i.e. 84. Hence the probability of finding the sequence EVERE in a grid of the shape shown in Figure 24, if the 220 letters are distributed at random in the 220 cells, is given by $84 \times 2.8 \times 10^{-6}$, i.e. approximately 2×10^{-4} (DOB = -36).

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TABLE 1
**Timeline: Chronology of Shakespeare's Works,
 the Life Events of Stratford and Oxford, and Court History**

Summary of events before the births of Stratford and Oxford:

- 1215 June 15: Edward deVere's 12th great grandfather, Robert deVere, the 3rd Earl of Oxford, was one of a group of barons who forced King John I to sign the Magna Carta (C328).
- 1256: Fuller's *Worthies* says Aubrey de Vere is the greatest scholar of the age.
- 1386: 9th Earl of Oxford was Duke of Ireland and a consort of King Richard II (A1).
- 1415: 11th Earl of Oxford was a commander in the Agincourt battle serving Henry V (A1).
- 1516 February: Henry VIII and first wife Catherine of Aragon, after 5 miscarriages and infant deaths, produce a daughter, Mary Tudor (S14).
- 1519 June: Henry VIII has a bastard son with Elizabeth Blount and names him Henry FitzRoy (S14).
- 1521 September: William Cecil (later Lord Burleigh) is born to an innkeeper (S21).
- 1525 June: Henry FitzRoy made Duke of Richmond and Knight of the Garter (S14).
- 1533 September: Wanting a legitimate son, Henry VIII makes England Protestant in order to divorce Catherine and marry Anne Boleyn, who bears the future Queen Elizabeth I (S14.)
- 1535: William Cecil enters Cambridge University, a hotbed of Protestant thinking (S21).
- 1536 May: Still with no son, Henry VIII executes Anne Boleyn and marries Jane Seymour (S14). July: Henry VIII's 2nd Act of Succession gives him the right to decide his successor and delegitimizes Mary and Elizabeth (S15). July: Henry FitzRoy dies (S15).
- 1537 October: Edward VI born to Henry VIII and Jane Seymour, and he is next in line for the throne (S15). Jane dies shortly after the birth (S15).
- 1540: Henry VIII marries Ann of Cleves and annuls it after 6 months (S15). Henry VIII marries Catherine Howard whom he beheads for being unfaithful (S15).
- 1541 January: William Cecil marries Mary Cheke, daughter of a Cambridge professor (S21) who later is tutor to King Edward VI (S23). Mary bears him a son Thomas in 1542 and then dies in 1543 (S21).
- 1543: Henry VIII marries Catherine Parr, who survives him (S15). July: Henry VIII's 3rd Act of Succession returns Mary and Elizabeth to the line of succession (they remain technically bastards) behind Edward (he is sickly) (S15).
- 1546: William Cecil marries Mildred Cooke whose father is a leading supporter of the Reformation (S21).
- 1547 January: Henry VIII dies and Edward VI becomes King at age 10 (S15).
- 1548: Edward VI becomes child king, and his uncle the Duke of Somerset becomes his Protector, and William Cecil becomes the Protector's Secretary (S21).

Reference Key: A = Anderson, 2005. Ch = Chiljan, 2011. C = Clark, 1931. L = Looney, 1920 [Kindle version]. N = Nelson, 2003. P = Pointon, 2011. Pr = Price, 2012. R = Roper, 2017. S = Story, 2016.

TABLE 1 (continued)

	SHAKESPEARE	STRATFORD	OXFORD	COURT
YEAR	Shakespeare's Work (play dates from <i>Court Revels</i> [C], Ch, et al.)	William Shakspere of Stratford-upon-Avon	Edward de Vere, 17th Earl of Oxford	Court Events and other Contemporary Events
1550			Born April 12 at Castle Hedingham (L) and named after Henry VIII's only son Edward VI, who sent a gilded chalice for the christening (A2). At this time, his father the 16th Earl of Oxford, owned 300 castles and mansions (A1).	Somerset overthrown by John Dudley, Earl of Warwick, and Cecil arranged for Somerset's execution (S23). Cecil became Secretary of State to Dudley (S21). Girolano Cardano proposed a cryptographic method (derived from Cabbalist coding practices) later called Cardano Grilles, used in European diplomacy for centuries (R8) and recently used to decipher crytograms in the First Folio Dedication and the Shakespeare Monument inscription.
1551		John Shagspere (William's father) at age 20 bought his early freedom from apprenticeship and set up shop as a glover (S84).		Cecil was knighted and given several estates (S21).
		John Shakspere fined for keeping midden in Henley St. (P269).		
1553			June: 16th Earl of Oxford (father) signed letters nominating Lady Jane Grey as successor. July: Oxford declared for Mary for Queen instead. Sept.: Joined Privy Council (N22).	Jan.: Death of King Edward VI at age 16, he nominated Lady Jane Grey as his successor and she ascended the throne for 9 days (S15). July: Mary I asserted her Tudor blood-right and became Queen (S22,S16), and Lady Grey was executed (S16). She married Philip II of Spain, made England Catholic again, reintroduced the Inquisition to England, and earned the name "Bloody Mary" (S16). William Cecil laid low during Mary's reign (S22).
1554-62			Under tutelage of Thomas Smith at Ankerwicke N25).	

TABLE 1 (continued)

	SHAKESPEARE	STRATFORD	OXFORD	COURT
1556		John Shakspere named as a glover (P269). John appointed as Taster of Bread and Ale (P269). John sued Henry Field for 4.5 tons barley (P269).	Future wife Anne Cecil born (L). Access to Elizabeth (soon to be queen).	Death of Queen Mary. Accession of Queen Elizabeth (L).
1557		John Shagspere married Mary Arden who has just inherited property (S84). He was given the title Official Ale Taster (S84).		
1558		John bought Henley St. property (P269). His wife Mary inherited her father's land at Wilmeccote (P269).	Performed at Court. Student at Queen's College Cambridge University, 1558-1559 (N23). Tutored by Thomas Fowle (who received 10 pounds per year), whose anti-Catholic activities were suppressed by royal authority (N25).	Nov.: Queen Mary died after a false pregnancy (S22,S16). Queen Elizabeth ascended the throne at age 25, the 16th Earl of Oxford officiated as Lord Great Chamberlain. Queen made England Protestant again (S16). She appointed William Cecil Principal Secretary to the Queen and a Privy Counselor (S22).
1559				Coronation of Queen Elizabeth. Jan.: House of Commons petitioned the Queen to marry and her answer was that it was between herself and God (S17). June: Rumors that the Queen was with child or already had children with Dudley (S17).
1560				Sept.: Dudley's wife died amid rumors he poisoned her to be free for the Queen (S517,S17).
1561		John Shagspere elected Chamberlain of the Borough of Stratford (S84,P269).	Queen Elizabeth visited Castle Hedingham (A12,N29,S18). Edward was 11 years old.	July: New rumors that the Queen looked like she came out of childbed, by the Duchess of Suffolk (S18). Aug.: Queen visits 16th the Earl of Oxford, the highest-ranking nobleman in England and her Lord Chamberlain who officiated at her coronation, for five days.

TABLE 1 (continued)

	SHAKESPEARE	STRATFORD	OXFORD	COURT
1562	<i>Romeo and Juliet</i> alluded to in 6 texts.		Contracted to marry into Hastings family (heirs to the throne) (A15). Aug.: Father died (N30). Edward escorted by 140 men on horseback to become a Royal Ward at William Cecil's house (N35,S18). Cecil's large library had texts in Latin, Greek, French, Italian, Spanish (S27, A21)). His wife Mildred Cooke was highly educated (S27). His Uncle Arthur Golding was his tutor (S27). He entered St. John's College, Cambridge University. His mother remarried. 32 of the 77 Earl's properties came under his control, on which he received 5% a year.	Cecil House, with a magnificent library and steps from the palace, was completed just in time for the beginning of Oxford's nine-year stay as ward of the Queen and Cecil (S22). Queen Elizabeth was deathly ill with smallpox (S18,A21). The Queen named Robert Dudley as potential lord protector of England, "Protector of the Realm," to everyone's shock (S18).
1563			Tutored by Anglo-Saxonist Laurence Nowell, who signed the Beowulf ms that was in Cecil House, the only known copy in the world (A23).	June: William Cecil's second son, Robert, was born, dropped on his head, and crippled. Nov.: In response to the Queen's smallpox scare, the House of Lords petitioned the Queen to marry and produce an heir, and she responded by discontinuing but not dissolving Parliament for 3 years, until she needed money (S18).
1564		Apr. 28: William was baptized at Holy Trinity Church (S84,P269). His father became an Alderman (S84).	Received a Bachelor's degree from Cambridge University.	Queen promoted Robert Dudley to Earl of Leicester.
1565	Shakespeare canon quoted from all 15 books of Golding's English translations of <i>Ovid's Metamorphosis</i> (A27), his most influential source after the Bible (A27).		His uncle and tutor Arthur Golding translated <i>Ovid's Metamorphosis</i> .	1565-1597 Golding's translation of <i>Ovid's Metamorphosis</i> was published in 7 editions.
1566			Received a Master's degree from Cambridge University at 16 yrs old (S25).	Marriage arrangement made for Anne Cecil (12 yrs old) and Philip Sidney (15 yrs old) (L).
1567			Admitted to Gray's Inn for legal studies (S25) with Philip Sidney (M33).	Lord Darnley, husband of Mary Queen of Scots, was murdered.

TABLE 1 (continued)

	SHAKESPEARE	STRATFORD	OXFORD	COURT
1567	The first story in Paynton's <i>Palace of Pleasure</i> was an early version of <i>Timon Athens</i> (C41).		Injures servant Thomas Brincknell with a rapier during fencing practice, who dies later that day (N47).	Queen Mary abdicates in husband's murder scandal, son James becomes King of Scotland.
1568		John made Stratford Bailiff (P269).	Mother dies (L).	Former Queen Mary flees to England. Mary imprisoned by Elizabeth.
1569		John applies for a coat of arms to make himself a gentleman, claiming his grandfather was a hero in the War of Roses and was granted land by Henry VII in 1485, but the Herald's Office turns him down (S84). John sues a debtor who has purchased wool (P269).	Seeks military service and is refused by Queen (L,N54). His earliest surviving letter is from this year (N62). 74 letters and notes survive in Oxford's handwriting, more than 50,000 words, with much creative use of spelling (N63).	June: 2nd Earl of Southampton entertains the Queen at his Titchfield castle (S38). Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland lead Northern rebellion against Elizabethan state. The French Ambassador reports back to Paris that English nobles are convinced that the Queen will never marry and that William Cecil is seeking "other means" to solve the succession crisis (S25).
1570		John becomes Mayor of Stratford (S85). Prosecuted for usury and fined 40s (P269)—illegal dealing in wool and usury—charging 20-25% interest, anything over 10% is illegal (S85).	Writes short poems about first-person nobleman-courtier horseman, a witty and persuasive speaker (Ch76), educated in law and rhetoric that later poems are based on: Shakespeare's <i>A Lover's Complaint</i> and Robert Chester's <i>Love's Martyr: Or Rosalin's Complaint</i> . Recovers from an illness at an inn in Windsor. Joins Earl of Sussex in military to suppress rebellion of Northern Earls in English border counties and southern Scotland. Purchases the following books: A Geneva Bible (now in the Folger Library), a Chaucer, Plutarch's works in French and others in French, two books in Italian, folio copies of Cicero and Plato (N53).	June: 2nd Earl of Southampton detained by Sheriff of London for Catholic sympathies and activities (S38) and in July sent to William More's home in Losley in his custody until he conforms by joining in family prayers (S38). Dec.: 2nd Earl of Southampton submits and is released (S38). Pope Pius V declares Elizabeth's reign illegitimate, calls for English Catholics to assassinate her (S19) and excommunicates her (S19), and releases English Catholics from their obligation to obey her (S19). July: William Cecil memo refutes charges that Oxford received money from his estates while he was in Italy over a 6-month period, (but there is no other evidence Oxford was in Italy before 1575).

TABLE 1 (continued)

SHAKESPEARE	STRATFORD	OXFORD	COURT
1571	John made Deputy Bailiff (P269).	Apr.: Turns 21, leaves wardship with Cecil, and joins Parliament (L), becomes candidate for Knight of the Garter, highest order in England, receives 10 first-place votes (S26) but the Queen quashes it (S30). First cousin Duke of Norfolk imprisoned. July: becomes engaged to 15-yr-old Anne Cecil, his former guardian Lord Burleigh's daughter. Dec.: Marries Anne Cecil (S26), and makes over Castle Hedingham and other properties to Lord Burleigh (which happened with other wards of Burleigh's) (L), a similar situation to Bertram in <i>All's Well That Ends Well</i> - marrying someone who grew up in the same household but who is socially inferior (L). Queen attends the marriage (L). May: Oxford distinguishes himself in jousting winning over Howard the tiltyard for the Queen (L,S26,A46), receives a book with diamonds from the Queen (C22,S26). His 3 best friends are a cousin Thomas Howard, the most learned nobleman of his time, Charles Arundel, and Robert Southwell (all 10 yrs older) (N59). Listed as a Friend in a Catholic memo (Ridolfi Plot). (N68).	Feb.: William Cecil elevated to Baron (Lord) Burleigh and Chancellor of Cambridge University (L), and marriage contract cancelled for Anne Cecil and Philip Sidney (L). Feb.: Cecil, Lord Burleigh, made Knight of the Garter and Lord Treasurer and is now the most powerful man in England (S26). Duke of Norfolk (cousin Thomas Howard) imprisoned for attempting to marry Mary former Queen of Scots and depose Elizabeth. Apr.: New law prohibits discussion of candidates for succession except those who were "natural issue of Her Majesty's body" (Ch285), previously the wording was "legal issue", leaving open the possibility of a bastard successor (S26). July: Cecil has engagement party for his daughter Anne and Oxford (S22). Oct.: 2nd Earl of Southampton arrested again, for the Ridolfi plot to assassinate Elizabeth (A49), and put in the Tower of London with no visitors allowed (S38). Walsingham was English ambassador to Paris (N69).
1572	John goes to London on Stratford business (P269). John charged with illegal wood dealing at Westminster (P269).	<i>O Compass</i> , his first known poem. Publishes Latin preface to Latin edition of Castiglione's <i>Courtier</i> .	Feb.: Southampton still in Tower, no charges (S39). Duke of Norfolk executed for treason. 10,000 French Protestant Huguenots massacred in August continuing into the fall.

TABLE 1 (continued)

	SHAKESPEARE	STRATFORD	OXFORD	COURT
1573		<p>Warrant issued for John for 30 pound debt in which he is named as a whitener of skins (P269).</p>	<p>Rumored to be Queen Elizabeth's lover. Jan.: Queen and Oxford visit Matthew Parker, the Archbishop of Canterbury, her mother's former advisor (S33). First printed poem <i>From the Earl of Oxenforde to the Reader</i> in a letter to Thomas Bedingfield, who has written a Preface to the Earl in his book <i>Cardanus Comforte</i> (a translation of a Cardano essay) (N77). DeVere's men assault father-in-law's servants on road to Rochester ["Oxford's Men" go on wild escapades similar to "Prince Hal" and on an identical road]. Asks for naval deployment and refused. Lives in "The Savoy", a literary centre in London near Burleigh's house (L) - Gabriel Harvey and John Lyly also lived at the Savoy. Oxford noted as in arrears for 2 rooms at the Savoy (L). Oxford's poems <i>The Hundredth Sundrie Flowres</i> and <i>Revenge of Wron</i> with phrases that show up in <i>Richard III</i> (C264). Uncle Golding enrolled in the Inner Temple London. Lord Hatton, a favorite of the Queen, writes to her that Oxford is a "boar" (the boar is on Oxford's coat of arms).</p>	<p>Jan.: Pool wrote "The Queen wooed the Earl of Oxford but he would not fall in" (S26). 2nd Earl of Southampton's wife pregnant (S39). Queen visited her mother's advisor, the Archbishop of Canterbury with Oxford (S33). Walsingham became Principal Secretary and spymaster to the Queen. Feb.: 2nd Earl's wife wrote to Queen asking for conjugal visits, the Queen said no (S39). 2nd Earl wrote to Privy Council asking for conjugal visits, the Privy Council said no (S39). May: 2nd Earl released and he and his wife placed at his father-in-law's estate under supervision of William More (S39). Gilbert Talbot reported to his father that Oxford is the favorite of the Queen and that Lord Burleigh "winketh at all these love matters and will not meddle in any way" (S27,A67). Mary, Queen of Scots, sent a letter to Elizabeth: "Even the Count of Oxford dared not cohabit with his wife for fear of losing the favor which he hoped to receive by becoming your lover" (S27). July: The Queen visited the Archbishop of Canterbury for the second time (S33). Sept.: Queen spent her 40th birthday with the Archbishop, then dropped from view for 6 months (S33). Oct.: the 2nd Earl writes to More that his wife has given birth unexpectedly to a boy and apologizes for not informing him in time for More's wife to be present as promised (S39). Oct.: Henry Wriothesley born, Earl of Southampton.</p>

TABLE 1 (continued)

	SHAKESPEARE	STRATFORD	OXFORD	COURT
1574	<p><i>Famous Victories of Henry the Fifth</i> written (C8) and included the character Prince Hal which historian Captain Bernard Ward believes was Oxford writing himself into the play (C8) and which includes an event on May 20th (King Henry had no May 20th in his reign) that actually occurred in England when Oxford's men attacked Burleigh's messengers on the road (C8) on May 20. This play also has the real-life 11th Earl of Oxford being the hero who organized the palisade of stakes that won the war (C15) even though the hero's name is not recorded elsewhere (although that 13th Earl of Oxford was an adviser to King Henry). This play was an early version of <i>1 Henry IV</i> and <i>2 Henry IV</i> and <i>Henry V</i> (C13).</p>		<p>June: Asks Burleigh for entry into military service and denied, but he goes to Flanders anyway to fight Spain (L), just as Bertram does in <i>All's Well That Ends Well</i>, then the Queen has Burleigh bring him back (L). Mar.: Queen visits Archbishop Parker again with Oxford (S33). July: Oxford and the Queen fight publicly (S33). He goes to the Continent. July: friend Thomas Bedinfield brings him back (S34). Aug.: Walsingham's diary reports that Oxford is back in the Queen's favor. Sept.: Anne Cecil de Vere, 18 years old, writes to the Lord Chamberlain and asks for an extra room for her husband in Hampton Court "...is the willinger I hope my Lord my husband will be to come thither..." (S34). Oct.: Anne and Oxford spend a month at Hampton Court, seat of government (S34) and Burleigh's diary records that they have an "extra room".</p>	<p>April/May: Queen in seclusion for 9 mos and "melancholic about weighty matters" (S33). Sonnet 33 could be about the baby being taken away by the "region cloud", Regina Elizabeth (S34). July: 2nd Earl of Southampton placed on the commission of the Peace for Hampshire, made Commissioner for the transport of grain, a Commissioner of musters, and a Commissioner to suppress piracy (S39). July: the Queen fights publicly with Oxford; he goes to the Continent without permission, an act of treason (S33). Oxford brought back by friend Bedinfeld and rejoins the Queen on the "summer progress" in Bath (S34). Reunion shown in Sonnet 154? (S36).</p>
1575	<p>Performances of <i>All's Well That Ends Well</i> and <i>Love's Labour Lost</i> at Court (C162).</p>	<p>John buys 2 houses, one next door to his house on Henley St. (P269).</p>	<p>15-month continental tour (S34), with the Queen's permission. Declared that if his wife was pregnant it was not by him (S34). Feb.: Wife Anne felt the quickening. Mar.: Attended coronation of French King Henri III at Rheims and Commedia d'elle Arte entertainments (A76). Mar.: Acknowledged paternity. Apr.: Met John Sturmius in Strasbourg—a polymath, university rector, intellectual leader of Protestantism (N125). Visited Milan, Siena, Venice, Padua, Sicily, Palermo (N131). Lost his first income property. July: Daughter Elizabeth born (S34). Sept.: Oxford heard of the birth while in Italy (S34). Welbeck Abbey (C29) and St. Albans (N124) portraits painted.</p>	<p>Mar.: Queen finds out that Anne Cecil de Vere is pregnant and appears pleased (S34). May: Archbishop Parker dies (S34).</p>

TABLE 1 (continued)

	SHAKESPEARE	STRATFORD	OXFORD	COURT
1576-79	11 plays performed in early versions by Lord Chamberlain's Men at Richmond Court (C21,22).		In the company of Bohemian literary men and play actors (L). Publishes early lyrics (L). Letter to Bedinfeld about rivalry with Philip Sidney (L). While selling off properties to pay debts he asked friends for help but was denied as in <i>Timon of Athens</i> (C26-40). 1576-1578: Oxford poem about the loss of his good name is similar in content to Shakespeare Sonnets #71, 72, 81, 112, 121 (L). This topic did not appear in other Elizabethan writings.	
1576	<i>Wrights History</i> says Lord Essex identified Oxford as Bertram in <i>All's Well That Ends Well</i> (L). Jan.: <i>The History of Error (A Comedy of Errors)</i> (C19). Feb.: <i>The Historie of the Solitarie Knight (Timon of Athens)</i> (C19); <i>The Historie of Titus and Gisippus</i> [mistranscribed] (<i>Titus Andronicus</i>) which includes the Nov. 4 "Spanish Fury" massacre in Antwerp and other Catholic conspiracy events (C43-52) and the character Lucius could be Oxford as he says he is reading Ovid's <i>Metamorphosis</i> given to him by his mother (Oxford's maternal uncle Golding was the translator) (C53).	John applies for a coat of arms (P269) and stops attending Council meetings (P269).	His poem <i>O Compass</i> was reprinted. His letters written from Paris contained particulars suggestive of <i>Othello</i> (L). Estranged from wife (L). Apr.: while in Paris hears of wife's rumored infidelity from Henry Howard (similar to Iago) believes it, goes back to England, separates from wife for 5 years (S34,S37). Apr.: taken by pirates, stripped naked, robbed as in <i>Hamlet</i> (S37) and similar to <i>The Tempest</i> , but recognized by a Scottish sailor and not killed (N137). Oxford demanded restitution from the Prince of Orange. Apr.: Queen sent escorts to Dover to welcome Oxford and took his Italian garments. He wore Italian clothes even though he was ridiculed at court. <i>Stowe's Annales</i> in 1615 reported that Oxford had a new stylishness of dress after his return from Italy (N229). Apr.: Lived on Broad St near Theatre Inns and near The Theatre (S47). Wrote a letter to Burleigh that he wanted nothing to do with his wife and had the Queen bar her from Court when he was there (S47). June: Publishes <i>The Paradise of Dainty Devices</i> (8 poems) (L,N157,S47,A31), which was a best-seller for decades (A121).	2nd Earl of Southampton's home taken over by Thomas Dymock at the same time that Henry Wriothesley, future 3rd Earl of Southampton (called Southampton throughout this Timeline) enters the household after being wet-nursed (S40).

TABLE 1 (continued)

	SHAKESPEARE	STRATFORD	OXFORD	COURT
1577	<p>Jan.: The masque <i>A History of Error</i> (early version of <i>A Comedy of Errors</i>) performed at court for the Queen by St. Paul's Boys (S47). Feb.: <i>The History of Titus and Gisippus</i> (early version of <i>Titus Andronicus</i>) performed at Whitehall by St. Paul's Boys and <i>The Historie of the Solitarie Knight</i> (early version of <i>Timon of Athens</i>) is performed at Whitehall Palace by St. Paul's Boys (S48). Holinshed publishes <i>Chronicles</i> on which many Shakespeare history plays are based (S48). Dec: <i>Pericles, Prince of Tyre</i> performed and contains many facts of Oxford's life such as his sea voyage and shipwreck (C60-62), his daughter being born while he was away on the Continent, and his estrangement from his wife thereafter (C58) and the play ends with the reunion on <i>Pericles</i> and wife and him seeing his 2-year-old fairy daughter (C74).</p>		<p>Jan.: The masque <i>A History of Error</i> (early version of <i>A Comedy of Errors</i>) performed at court for the Queen by St. Paul's Boys, probably written by de Vere, making self-deprecating jokes about his jealous rage. Oxford leases Hayridge in Devon to Robert Seas for 2,000! years. Dec.: Duchess of Suffolk writes to Burleigh that she hears Oxford is buying a house in Watling St. London and will not continue as a Courtier (S48). Dec.: Oxford's half-sister marries Peregrine Bertie whom the Queen sends as ambassador to Denmark 6 years later, and the things he observes show up in <i>Hamlet</i> (S48).</p>	<p>First public space for theatre opens north of London, called The Theatre.</p>

TABLE 1 (continued)

	SHAKESPEARE	STRATFORD	OXFORD	COURT
1578	<p>Jan.: <i>The Rape of the Second Helen</i> (early version of <i>All's Well That Ends Well</i>) performed at Court. <i>A Morrall of the Marryage of Munde and Measure (The Taming of the Shrew)</i> (C94) took place in Italy where Oxford had been recently traveling (C95), and <i>A Double Maske-A Maske of Amasones and an Other Maske of Knightes (Love's Labour's Lost)</i> was performed.</p> <p>Mar.: <i>The History of Murderous Mychaell</i> (early version of <i>Arden of Feversham</i> with Oxford acting in the play (C116) and with some unique Shakespearan terms such as "jets" (a way of walking) which also appeared in 3 other Shakespeare plays but nowhere else (C121). <i>Arden of Feversham</i> and <i>The Famous Victories</i> both included references to a theft on May 20 on Gad's Hill, the real-life place where Oxford's men attacked messengers of the Court (C17) on a May 20th. Dec.: <i>An History of the Cruelties of a Stepmother</i> (early version of <i>Cymbeline</i>) where the character Posthumous was the real-life Oxford and the subject was the marriage negotiations of Queen Elizabeth and duc D'Alencon (C162) was performed at Richmond Court by The Lord Chamberlains Men (S49). Alluded to in literature: <i>Taming of the Shrew</i>, <i>Measure for Measure</i>. Latter about the revival of blue laws of which de Vere was one of the first victims (C24).</p>	<p>John mortgaged his wife's house at Wilmeccote to relative Edmund Lambert (P269). John was excused the poor tax (P269). John sold part of his property (P269). John was sued for 30 pounds and noted as a whitener of skins (P269). No evidence that his son William ever went to school.</p>	<p>Jan.: Letter to Burghleigh complained about Burleigh's advice not to sell lands, and said he must do so since the Queen would not give him a military commission nor any other (paid) position in government (C478). This letter included some of the same words from <i>Hamlet</i> about promises and waiting "while the grass grows," and "starve while the grass dost grow" and "I eat the air; promise-crammed, you cannot feed capons so" and "Sir, I lack advancement" (C478). Sept.: Frobisher's third voyage to find gold in the New World returned with worthless ore, and investor Oxford lost his investment of 3,000 pounds (C191,S48). He accused Michael Lok (Shylock?) of swindling him (N187), and the Court agreed and sent Lock to Fleet Prison (S49). [Antonio took out a 3,000 ducat bond in <i>The Merchant of Venice</i>.] Oxford came into control of another 22 properties from his inheritance. Lyly started working as his Secretary, and both of them lived at the Savoy (L,N183).</p>	<p>The idea of the Virgin Queen was first mentioned in an entertainment by Thomas Churchyard. May: duc D'Alencon wrote to Queen Elizabeth of his affection for her (C163).</p>

TABLE 1 (continued)

	SHAKESPEARE	STRATFORD	OXFORD	COURT
1578-79	[The History of] <i>The Rape of the Second Helen</i> (early version of <i>All's Well That Ends Well</i> and of <i>Love's Labor's Won</i>) performed at court (C102,S49) with <i>Love's Labour's Won</i> (first performed as a <i>A Double Masque</i>) for the envoy of the duc d'Alencon (C168).		Oxford was a founding member and patron of Euphuist school of poets.	Jan.: The Queen wrote to duc D'Alencon about his possible visit and entertained his marriage proposal (C162) for several years. The question of the Queen's marriage was addressed in 12 of Shakespeare's plays (C433).
1579	Feb.: <i>The History of Serpedon</i> [mistranscribed for <i>Cleopatra</i>] (<i>Antony and Cleopatra</i>) (C202), and <i>The History of Portio and Demorantes</i> (early version of <i>The Merchant of Venice</i>) (C191) was shown at Whitehall on Candlemas Day night by the Lord Chamberlain's Men (C191,S49). Mar.: <i>The History of Murderous Michael</i> by Oxford (early version of <i>Arden of Feversham</i> and early version of <i>2 Henry VI</i>) performed at Court by The Chamberlain's Men (S49). Stephen Gossen wrote in "School of Abuse" that he saw <i>The Jew</i> (another early version of <i>Merchant of Venice</i>) in July and <i>Ptolome</i> (early version of <i>Antony & Cleopatra</i>) performed at the Bull Theatre (C191, S49). Dec.: <i>A History of the Duke of Millayn and the Marques of Mantua</i> (early version of <i>The Two Gentlemen of Verona</i>) performed at Court by Chamberlain's Men (C162,S50) on the topic of marriage negotiations between Queen Elizabeth and duc d'Alencon. <i>The Merchant of Venice</i> was described in literature.	John was in financial difficulty and mortgaged his wife's estate Asbies and took in a paying tenant (S85). He also mortgaged other properties (P269).	Quarreled with Philip Sidney at a royal tennis court. <i>The History of Murderous Michael</i> by Oxford (early version of <i>Arden of Fenisham</i> which in turn was early version of the second <i>Henry VI</i>) performed at Court by Chamberlain's Men. Oxford continued to wear Italian clothes and was ridiculed at Court. Made a request to reclaim the Stewardship of Waltham, an ancestral right from Thomas Clere in the 13th century. This request, among many others for positions in government, was one he continued until he was successful in 1603 (N425).	Feb.: duc D'Alencon's envoy arrived in London (c169). Mar.: Spanish Ambassador Mendoza received by the Queen (C169). Aug.: French Duke arrived in England and pressed his case for marriage to the Queen (C169). Spenser published <i>Shepherd's Caj</i> containing reference to Oxford and Sidney as "Willie and Perigot" (L), which was connected to mentions of Willie in his earlier poems (L). 7 plays performed at Court that were written by anonymous aristocrats.

TABLE 1 (continued)

	SHAKESPEARE	STRATFORD	OXFORD	COURT
1580	<p>Feb.: <i>Antony and Cleopatra</i> performed at Court (C213). Plays alluded to in literature: <i>Taming of the Shrew</i>, <i>Timon of Athens</i>, <i>Anthony & Cleopatra</i>, <i>King John</i>, <i>Twelfth Night</i>, <i>Much Ado About Nothing</i>, <i>2 King Henry IV</i>. Anthony Munday, playwright and theatre manager, said he was the servant of the Earl of Oxford (L), hinted not all his (Munday) plays were written by himself alone (L), and that they contained passages that "might have rested in the mind of Shakespeare" (L). Dec.: <i>3 Henry VI</i> performed at Court, with Oxford's ancestor the 13th Earl of Oxford appearing as a character supporting King Henry, which was true in history (C234). <i>Coriolanus</i> was written about Sir Walter Raleigh who was knighted that year for his ship travels and bringing riches to the Queen (C286). Dean Church is his <i>Life of Spenser</i> said 1580-1590 was the period of flourishing for Shakespeare, but Shakspeare of Stratford was too young to be this person at 16 years old (L). 1580-1592 Lyly produced plays containing dialogue and experiments later appearing in and foreshadowing "Shakespeare" plays (L).</p>	<p>John fined 40 pounds for missing a court date, and fined 20 pounds as a pledge for his conduct (P269). John sought "sureties of peace" against his creditors for fear of death (P269).</p>	<p>Jan.: Purchased Fisher's Folly mansion for aspiring poets and playwrights, a kind of writing academy and workshop (S50). Over the fireplace, he placed the coat of arms of Southampton (S50). Had a love affair with court lady Anne Vavasour. "Oxford's Boys" players toured the provinces (L) and included in their repertoire Oxford's plays and plays written in part by Oxford (L). Lyly managed the tours 1580-1584. 1580-1585 he sold off many properties to pay for the literary academy (S50). The heads of Cambridge University wrote to Burleigh objecting to Oxford's servants "showing their cunning" in certain plays they performed before the Queen (L). Oxford turned in Catholic traitors and comrades Howard, Arundell, and Southwell who then spread malicious libels about him (C233). Organized Oxford's Men players out of the Earl of Warwick's Men (N239) and they went on the road to Norwich, Coventry, Bristol, and Poole (S50). Converted space in Blackfriars Convent into a public theatre featuring choirboy players (S50). 1580-1590: Oxford's Bohemian Period (L). Connected to theatrical manager Anthony Munday, according to England's <i>Helicon</i> in 1600, and to the <i>Shepherd's Joy</i> poems by Munday (although quality was too high for Munday) (L). Oxford's work represented the new realism in English poetry while Sidney represented the earlier more affected and formal style, according to Dean Church's <i>Life of Spenser</i> from 1879 (L).</p>	<p>Jan. 2nd Earl of Southampton banished his wife from his household (S40) to another house he owned, and she wrote to her father that she was ill-treated and that Thomas Dymock was running the household (S40). Apr.: the French Ambassador addressed Queen Elizabeth with a message from Catherine de Medici which proposed a joint effort to prevent Philip of Spain from dominating Portugal (C214). Sept.: Ambassador Mendoza of Spain reported that the Duke of Guise recognized James VI as King of Scotland and that relations were strong between France and Scotland (C214). Arrival of covert Catholic missionaries in England. April: Earthquake in London and throughout England, a rare occurrence (C215). Sept.: Sir Francis Drake's <i>Pelican</i> returned to England after 3 years, full of riches (C215). In the Fall, the duc d'Alencon accepted the sovereignty of Flanders (C214). The first edition of Montaigne's <i>Essays</i> published (C397).</p>

TABLE 1 (continued)

	SHAKESPEARE	STRATFORD	OXFORD	COURT
1581	<p>Apr.: First performance of <i>A Midsummer Night's Dream</i> at Court entertained the French Ambassador (C435). Sept.: <i>Romeo and Juliet</i> composed and referred to an earthquake "11 years earlier" in Verona, which did happen, with more than 2,000 aftershocks for more than 3 months (S60). <i>Richard III</i> was written, with 26 references to The Tower-while Oxford was in the Tower (C257). <i>As You Like It</i> was written, about the duc D'Alencon's courtship of the Queen (C346).</p>	<p>William prosecuted by Sir Thomas Lucy (who had a theatre troupe) for poaching on his game preserves (c432).</p>	<p>Wrote his <i>Book of Prophecies</i> (N219). July: Charles Arundel while under house arrest talked about Oxford's book of pictures prophesizing the date of the Queen's death and a "crowned son of the Queen as her successor, Lord Harry" (Henry Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton?). Dec./Jan.: Confessed his Catholic party activities to the Queen in front of the French, turned in 3 friends as traitors, and was sent to the Tower briefly (N249,S50). 12 days later he gave the Queen an elaborate gift (N261,S51). Jan. or Apr.: Won a jousting contest (S51). Mar./Apr.: Queen throws him and his lover Vavasour in the Tower (C288) for 2.5 months after the birth of their illegitimate son (S51,S60). Vavasour had at least one other lover and public sympathy was with Oxford (C289). Many duels were fought over her by Oxford and others (some of which were political) (C302). Then she married someone else at Court (C312). June: Oxford released from The Tower, under house arrest for the rest of the year (S60), exiled from Court for 2 years. Vavasour's uncle kills one of Oxford's men in a street brawl, as Tybalt kills Mercutio in <i>Romeo and Juliet</i>. July: Wrote to Lord Burleigh thanking him for interceding with the Queen to effect his release from the Tower (C267). Earl of Oxford's Men played Coventry every year from 1581 to 1585, while other companies played there less often; one of the other companies was that of Sir Thomas Lucy, the lord who sued William Shakspeare of Stratford for poaching (C432).</p>	<p>Jan: 2nd Earl of Southampton (2nd Earl) imprisoned again due to new anti-Catholic laws (S40). Apr.: French ambassadors arrived in London to negotiate a marriage with the Queen and Hercule Francis duc d'Alencon, youngest son of French King Henry II (S56). Execution of Catholic missionary Campion. June: 2nd Earl released from prison and at 35 yrs old wrote out his will with Thomas Dymock as executor (S40) and beneficiary (S44), with total control over the child (S44). Aug.: 2nd Earl was arrested again after being accused by Dymock of having been in contact with Campion (S40). Sept.: 2nd Earl released and returned to Titchfield (S40). Oct.: 2nd Earl dies at age 35 under care of Dymock. His will disowned his daughter if she lived with her mother (S40) and left a bequest for education to age 21 for "William, my beggars boye" (S46). 20 years later, Dymock was still living on a Southampton estate (S44). Nov.: Queen Elizabeth said she would marry the French duc d'Alencon (C346) and called him her "little Moor" (C388). Nov.: The Earl's wife said she had not seen her little son in almost 2 years (S40). Dec.: Henry Wriothesley, 3rd Earl of Southampton, entered the Cecil household as the 8th and last Queen's ward (S40,S62) at age 7, where 16-yr-old Earl of Essex also was a ward. Robert Cecil was 18 years old (S56).</p>

TABLE 1 (continued)

	SHAKESPEARE	STRATFORD	OXFORD	COURT
1582	Jan.: <i>A History of Caesar</i> performed at Court (C392). Some of the sonnets written 1582-1589. <i>Richard II</i> written (C329). Feb.: <i>Ariodante and Geneuora</i> (early version of <i>Much Ado About Nothing</i>) performed before the Queen (C388) and alludes to a previous relationship between Benedick and Beatrice before the play opens (C391).	Aug.: William conceived daughter Susanna with Anne Hathaway in Stratford (P270). Nov.: Marriage license issued for William Shaxpere and Anne Whateley of Temple Grafton (S85,P270). Then the next day a bond was issued to ensure propriety of marriage of William Shagspere and Anne Hathaway of Shottery (P270). They lived on Henley St. with John (S88). John was a witness in a Chancery suit about his inlaw Ardens' estates (P270).	Dueled with Vavasour's uncle Thomas Knyvet and both were injured, with Oxford getting the worst of it and becoming lame for the rest of his life (S60) and sparking family warfare. One of Oxford's servants is killed (A178,N284). Thomas Watson dedicates to Oxford a book of his 100 sonnets, for which Oxford wrote an introduction to each sonnet commenting on the references used--this could be the only known work of literary criticism by the writer Shakespeare (A182).	duc d'Alencon marriage proposal collapsed: Elizabeth became celebrated as the Virgin Queen. Mar.: Duke of Orange wounded by a Spanish assassin (C399) (alluded to in <i>Julius Caesar</i>). Second edition of Montaigne's <i>Essays</i> published (C399).
1583	<i>1 Henry IV</i> written (C490). <i>Hamlet, Prince of Denmark</i> written, an early version of <i>Hamlet</i> (C456) including the Ridolfi Plot of 1569 against the Queen (Norway stands in for Scotland) and references to the plague of 1582 and the comet of 1582 (C463). <i>Othello, The Moor of Venice</i> written, with allusions to the Queen's betrothal to the duc D'Alencon (ruler of The Netherlands) (C388). Feb.: <i>A History of Ariodante and Guinevere</i> (early version of <i>Much Ado about Nothing</i>) played at Court by Mr. Macalster's Children since Oxford was still banished (his players could not perform) (S61). <i>Cymbeline</i> alluded to in literature.	May: Daughter Susanna Shakspere baptized, mother was Anne Hathaway (S85). May: John's tenant took him to court to get out of their lease and the tenant won (S85). His children remained illiterate their whole lives (Prxiii,244). His daughters could not sign their names at their marriages (R674). William was known for numerical literacy only.	Leased Blackfriars theatre in London and transferred it to his Secretary John Lyly (S68). Buried a legitimate infant son. Pardoned by the Queen and readmitted to court (S67). Traveled to Oxford University with the Court. Fought with his wife's uncle and was wounded. Reconciled with wife Anne Cecil and visits Cecil house where Southampton was being tutored. Formed the largest children's playacting company, Oxford's Boys, by joining the Children of the Chapel and the Children of St. Paul's (S67). Oxford's brother-in-law sent to Denmark on a diplomatic mission for 5 months to give King Frederick II the Order of the Garter (Denmark had started taxing British ships going through Danish waters to Russia) (C457). He met with Danish officials named Rosenkrantz and Guldenstern (A191). Some people, places, and events from that residency showed up in <i>Hamlet</i> the following year.	Mother of duc d'Alencon urged her son to come home before he became the "laughingstock of the world" (C400). Jan.: Lord Burleigh reported that Oxford is financially ruined and in adversity and has only 4 servants left (S61). Spymaster and Puritan Walsingham created the Queen's Men from the 12 best actors to spread Protestantism and to heal radical splits within it (S67).

TABLE 1 (continued)

	SHAKESPEARE	STRATFORD	OXFORD	COURT
1583-85			Oxford was essentially Minister of Culture and Propaganda. Oxford Company visited Stratford.	For two seasons, all Court performances are by Oxford's Boys (C629) or Queen's Men (C629,S68), and no other companies are allowed to perform at Court (S68).
1584	<p>Jan.: <i>Felix and Philomena</i> produced (C456), with many allusions to <i>Hamlet</i> (C456). <i>The Merry Wives of Windsor</i> written (C511) with Falstaff based on real-life Captain Dawtrey (C511) who put down Desmond Rebellion.</p> <p>Mar.: <i>Sappho and Phao</i> by Lyly (same subject as <i>Twelfth Night</i>) with Puck-like character given at Court by Oxford's Boys (S68). Dec.: Queen's Men preview <i>A Pastoral of Phyllida & Coren</i> (early version of <i>A Midsummer's Night Dream</i>) for the Queen (S68,C435). Musk rose mentioned only in this play. Dec.: <i>The History of Agamemnon & Ulisses</i> (early version of <i>Troilus and Cressida</i>) by John Lyly performed by Oxford's Boys (C449,S69). <i>Comedy of Errors</i> and <i>Felix and Philomena</i> (early version of <i>Two Gentlemen of Verona</i>) previewed by Queen's Men for the Queen (C435). <i>Hamlet</i> first produced (C660) and includes "I am that I am" speech in Sonnet 121, also in a letter from Oxford to Burleigh accusing him of spying on his household (C484-486). <i>The Tempest</i> first performed (C424), including text from Montaigne's <i>Essays</i> (C423). <i>Julius Caesar</i> performed before <i>The Tempest</i>, including lines later used in <i>The Tempest</i> (C417,423).</p>	<p>April: twins Hamnet and Judith were conceived (P270). Late 1584, Stratford left for London at the same time Oxford's Boys were playing in Stratford-upon-Avon (L4992,4995,8035)</p>	<p>Daughter Bridget born. DeVere's troupe performed <i>The History of Agamemnon & Ulysses</i> at Court, probably by deVere (L). Argued for a commandership in the Lowlands war and is sent there briefly, but then is recalled by the Queen, and Leicester and Sidney are sent to command instead (A205,206) (replayed in <i>Othello</i> and in <i>Hamlet</i>). Comes into control of his final inheritance of all Earl of Oxford properties. Acquires sublease to Blackfriars Theatre (R21). 1584-1587: Oxford's Boys established in London and they performed plays written by Oxford (L). Oxford working in his studio at Fisher's Folly (S68). Attended four-day event at Oxford University where Girodano Bruno spoke about the heretical theory of Copernicus that the earth orbited the sun, that the universe was infinite, and therefore there could be no heaven or hell. Bruno's celestial tenets show up in <i>Hamlet</i> (A195). Also present was Polish Prince Laski. A one-time only play was performed, <i>Dido</i>, and some lines from it show up later in <i>Hamlet</i> such as "How often does the sad shade of my father . . ." and others (A195). The Queen assigned Oxford to a Parliament Committee that considered petitions for exploration of the New World (A199). He invests in the exploration of a northwest passage through Canada but loses money (N189).</p>	<p>Assassination of Dutch Protestant leader William of Orange. Oct.: Burleigh and Privy Council create "Bond of Association" to guarantee loyalty by swearing everyone to an oath of loyalty to avenge any threat to the Queen (S68). Robert Cecil at 21 years old travels to France with a list of precepts from his father Lord Burleigh, like Polonius gives to Laertes in <i>Hamlet</i> (S62). Robert Cecil sits Parliament for Westminster (S63). Queen named the new colony "Virginia" after herself, the "Virgin Queen" (A200). Walter Raleigh intercedes with the Queen and with letters to Burleigh to keep Oxford in good favor (N290-291)</p>

TABLE 1 (continued)

	SHAKESPEARE	STRATFORD	OXFORD	COURT
1585	Lyly's play <i>Endymion</i> contains some almost identical lyrics to <i>Merry Wives of Windsor</i> published in 1632 (L). Jan.: Queen's Men preview <i>Felix and Philomena</i> (early version of <i>Two Gentlemen of Verona</i>) for the Queen (S69).	Feb. William's twins are baptized as Shaksper (S85,P270) and named Hamnet and Judith after their Sadler neighbors.	Given a military commission and sent to the Lowlands (Netherlands) in charge of 4,000 men (N296). Recalled from Lowlands by Queen after 4 months, or he quit (N299). 1580-1585 sold 32 of 56 properties to pay for his troupe of actors and writers (C473). June: Wrote to Burleigh about the long-requested and long-awaited funds for putting on the [political] plays in support of the Queen (C475).	Earl of Leicester (Dudley) becomes the new favorite of the Queen. Oct.: Southampton enters St. John's College at age 11.5 years for 4 years (S56,62). Essex at age 20 is released early from his wardship with help from his stepfather the Earl of Leicester and enters Parliament (S62).
1586	<i>The Phoenix and the Turtle</i> written. <i>The Winter's Tale</i> written, including real events of Walter Raleigh's life during 1582-1586 (C541) such as his settlement of the Virginia colony and its rescue by Drake (C525). <i>Arden of Feversham</i> performed between 1586 and 1592 (C120). Performances at Court of <i>The Famous Victories of Henry V</i> , early version of <i>Henry IV</i> and <i>Henry V</i> , and <i>The Troublesome Reign of King John</i> , early version of <i>King John</i> (S71).	John removed from the Stratford Board of Alderman (S85) for 10 years of non-attendance (P270). John issued with order for debt but has no goods to distraint (P270).	Sits on jury trial of Mary Queen of Scots (L). June: Burleigh wrote to Walsingham asking him to speak to the Queen about Oxford's finances--his daughter (Oxford's wife) being more worried than Oxford himself. June: Queen Elizabeth signs Privy Seal Warrant Dorman, for de Vere to receive 1,000 pounds a year for life (it ran 18 years until de Vere died) retroactive to March (N301), taken from Walsingham's spy budget (S69). This annuity continued even after the Queen's death (no one else received such a grant).	Queen Mary arrested for Babbington plot to assassinate Elizabeth (L). Queen Mary sentenced to death for treason (L). Diplomatic relations cut off with Spain, paralleled with patriotic fervor in <i>Henry V</i> (C24). Philip Sidney dies (L). Robert Cecil sits Parliament for Westminster (S63).
1587	<i>Two Gentlemen of Verona</i> written (L). Shakespeare known to be in London. <i>1 Henry VI</i> written updating the old Henry VI story with parallels to Mary Queen of Scots [Joan of Arc] and written, along with <i>2 Henry IV</i> (about recent campaign in the Low Countries and the Babington Plot) (C525). <i>Henry V</i> (includes the Babington Plot) by the "University Wits" a group of writers and actors directed by Lord Oxford (C587). Plays alluded to in literature: <i>1 Henry VI</i> , <i>Richard III</i> , <i>Julius Caesar</i> , <i>Merry Wives of Windsor</i> .	Father John imprisoned and William takes care of his mother (R16). Legal action with siblings against mother's estate. The only known letter written to Shaksper was in this year, asking for a loan of 30 pounds, which went unanswered (L) or perhaps was never sent.	Oxford's Players (aka Oxford's Men), one of the 4 leading theatre companies in London, is active for the next 15 years (N391), but we lose sight of Oxford's dramatic (writing) activity (L). Jan.: Walsingham's spy reported that Oxford's company was one that put up playbills in the city every day of the week (C629). Daughter Susan born.	Queen makes Earl of Essex Master of the Horse and her new favorite, as Leicester is ailing (63). Queen Mary executed (L). Philip Sidney dies. Sidney funeral cost his father-in-law Walsingham about \$100,000 in today's money. Sidney was anti-papal so perhaps they were trying to make him a Protestant martyr (L).

TABLE 1 (continued)

	SHAKESPEARE	STRATFORD	OXFORD	COURT
1588	<p><i>Love's Labour Lost</i> written. Plays alluded to in contemporary literature: <i>Troilus and Cressida</i>, <i>Richard II</i>, <i>Richard III</i>, <i>King Lear</i>, <i>King John</i> twice, <i>Hamlet</i>, <i>Romeo and Juliet</i>, <i>The Merchant of Venice</i>, <i>Titus Andronicus</i>. <i>Hamlet</i> written 1588-1589.</p>	<p>John and Mary (William's parents) began an unsuccessful suit against John Lambert for return of Mary's property; William was added as a plaintiff (P270).</p>	<p>Participates in early intercept force against Spanish Armada (L,N313). June: wife Anne dies at age 31 (L) in Greenwich Palace and buried in Westminster Abbey (S63), and is a rumored suicide just like <i>Hamlet</i> is at sea when Ophelia dies (L,S63). Oxford and the Queen do not attend her funeral (S63). Oxford retires into private life (L) and sells Fisher's Folly.</p>	<p>Anne Cecil de Vere dies at 31, rumored a suicide. Mar.: Leicester in poor health was put in charge of land army in preparation for Spanish invasion (S63). Apr.: Essex made Knight of the Garter (S63). Spanish Armada launched from Lisbon for England. Oct.: English naval forces defeated the Spanish Armada (S63), Oxford was crippled in his ship (S63). War dragged on through 1603 (S63). Puritan, anti-Anglican pamphlets circulated (A240). Earl of Leicester ("Robin") died and the Queen was devastated as he was with her since childhood (S63). Mar.: Southampton admitted to Gray's Inn for law studies (S56). Duke of Guise assassinated by French King Henry III, paralleled in <i>Macbeth</i> (C24).</p>
1589	<p>Some Shakespeare works dated to be before 1589 by Hotson and by Brown in 1949 and by Alexander in 1950. Stratford too young at 13 to be Shakespeare (L). Thomas Nashe mentions <i>Hamlet</i> play. <i>The Taming of the Shrew</i> written. Plays alluded to in literature: <i>Hamlet</i>, <i>The Merchant of Venice</i>, <i>Romeo and Juliet</i>, <i>Othello</i>, 2 <i>Henry VI</i>, 3 <i>Henry VI</i>, <i>Troilus and Cressida</i>, <i>Julius Caesar</i>, 1 <i>Henry I</i>, <i>Merry Wives of Windsor</i>. Spenser writes of Willie "from whose pen large streams of honey and sweet nectar flow" and harks back to his 1579 poem about Willie (L). Stratford would have been too young--Oxford was 29 in 1579.</p>		<p><i>Arte of English Poesie</i> listed de Vere as a court author whose works would be widely lauded if his "doings could be found out and made public with the rest". Writer Puttenham classed Oxford with Richard Edwards as "deserving highest praise for comedies and interludes" (L).</p>	<p>Murder of French King Henri III. Henri of Navarre became King Henri IV. Apr.: Essex went with Sir Francis Drake raiding the coasts of Spain and Portugal behind the Queen's back (S63-64). June: Southampton received Master's degree at Cambridge University (S56). July: Essex made overtures to James of Scotland as a natural successor to the Queen (S64). James VI of Scotland married Anne of Denmark ensuring he would remain a Protestant, after which Queen Elizabeth named him as her future successor (C600). Robert Cecil sat Parliament for Hertfordshire (S63).</p>

TABLE 1 (continued)

	SHAKESPEARE	STRATFORD	OXFORD	COURT
1590	1590-1600 English literature changed dramatically because of Shakespeare's plays and the use of the Italian sonnet form. 1 <i>Henry VI</i> and 2 <i>Henry VI</i> written. Supposed date of the first Sonnets (L), other authors said 1582-1589. <i>King John</i> written before 1590-1591. Plays alluded to in literature: <i>Hamlet</i> , <i>Titus Andronicus</i> . 1590-1592 usual date for <i>The Two Gentlemen of Verona</i> writing, but Oxford returned from Europe in 1576 (L) and Anthony Munday had a play <i>The Two Italian Gentlemen</i> in 1580 (L). "With Time's injured hand crush'd and overworn" was addressed to Southampton in Sonnet 63 (Oxford was 40 and Stratford 26) (Pr274,L).	Stratford town was in serious financial distress and the bailiff and burgesses of Stratford petitioned Lord Burleigh for relief (S86). John's only asset was his house on Henley St (S86). Beginning of William Shakspeare's theatre career as an actor (L).	Spenser wrote <i>Teares of the Muses</i> with probable reference to Oxford as "Willie" "sitting in an idle cell" (L) and "our pleasant Willie who is dead of late" (L) referring to the lack of court performances after Oxford had put on so many in the 1570s and 1580s. His group of writers were now scattering because of his lack of financial resources. Oxford wrote 17 poems to Southampton for his 17th birthday, encouraging him to have a son (S74). Proposed marriage of Oxford's daughter Elizabeth (Cecil's granddaughter) to Southampton promoted by Lord Burleigh (Cecil) and deVere (L). Burleigh told Southampton he was a prince (son of the Queen?). This wedding promotion went on for 3 years.	Robert Cecil became Secretary of State. Principal Secretary Francis Walsingham died. His granddaughter wrote a poem with a hidden acrostic in his memory (R630). Nov.: Elizabeth's Ascension Day (S90) celebrated the "Virgin Queen" idea introduced by poet Churchyard in 1578, deifying the Queen as Gloriana (S90). Oct.: On Southampton's 17th birthday, Burleigh gave him a year to make up his mind about marrying his granddaughter, Oxford's daughter (S74). Spenser published <i>Faerie Queen</i> with dedications including one to Oxford, and then received a poem from "Ignoto" about giving praise where it is due, with a hidden cipher of E Vere (R667).
1591	Aug.: <i>Love's Labours Lost</i> performed by Oxford's Boys at Southampton's estate (S74). A <i>Comedy of Errors</i> contains the line "I buy a thousand a year! I buy a rope" (referring to the 1,000 pound annuity to Oxford from the Queen?). 3 <i>Henry VI</i> , <i>Richard III</i> written. Plays alluded to in literature: <i>Titus Andronicus</i> , <i>King John</i> , <i>Timon of Athens</i> . <i>The Troublesome Raigne of King John</i> by Gerard Peele or Christopher Marlowe published and performed (C315), and used by Shakespeare as a basis for <i>Life and Death of King John</i> (C315).		Made over Castle Hedingham in trust to his 3 daughters. Married wealthy lady-in-waiting Elizabeth Trentham, his second wife (L). By this time had lost or sold all 77 properties he inherited (he had been the richest Earl in England).	Robert Cecil won a seat on the Privy Council (where Oxford had the #4 seat) (S64). Aug.: Queen spent 5 days at Southampton's estate, and <i>Love's Labour Lost</i> was performed for the first time, at a small park on Southampton's estate (S74).
1592-1601	Oxford's earlier plays start appearing as attributed to William Shakespeare and Lyly's plays cease (L).	1592-1596 William in London (L) and appears as an actor on one playbill (L). He moved several times to avoid the tax collector.	Retirement from public life. The "Great Blank" in Oxford's record. Oxford's earlier plays start appearing attributed to Shakespeare (L).	

TABLE 1 (continued)

	SHAKESPEARE	STRATFORD	OXFORD	COURT
1592	<p>First theatrical allusion to Shakespeare (L): <i>Groatsworth of Wit</i> by Robert Green warns 3 playwrights (Marlowe, Nashe, Peele) of an actor called Shake-Scene. <i>Two Gentlemen of Verona</i> written (L). First date for <i>Love's Labour Lost</i> (L). <i>Arden of Feversham</i> first printed (C121). Plays alluded to in literature: <i>Hamlet, Titus Andronicus, King John, Romeo and Juliet, Love's Labour Lost, 1 Henry IV, 2 Henry IV, Twelfth Night, As You Like It, Much Ado About Nothing</i>. Mere's account of Elizabethan poetry lists authors and titles of plays, but no titles are given for Oxford (L).</p>	<p>Mar.: John recorded as absent from Church (P270). John fined for not attending church (S86). Aug.: John hired to appraise his dead friend Henry Field's belongings, Henry's son was Richard Field the London printer (S86,P270). Sept.: John recorded again for absence from church but not fined (P270).</p>	<p>Going by the name "Will Monox" Oxford joined Robert Greene and satirist Thomas Nashe on Greene's fateful and fatal day of drinking and overindulgence (R671). Mere's account of Elizabethan poetry listed authors and titles of plays, including for William Shakespeare but no titles were given for Edward de Vere (L). Oxford's plays started appearing as attributed to William Shakespeare (L) and Lyly's plays also ceased to appear.</p>	<p>Playwright Robert Greene died of overindulgence. Posthumous pamphlet by Greene had lambasted actor Will Shakespeare as a great literary pretender. Historian Meres' account of Elizabethan poetry in this year listed authors and titles of plays including William Shakespeare but suddenly for Oxford no titles are named (L) although he is named as a prominent playwright (L); both Lyly and Munday had work attributed to them which was not theirs (L).</p>
1593	<p>Apr.: First use of the name "William Shakespeare," on the published poem <i>Venus and Adonis</i>, which was based on <i>Ovid's Metamorphoses Book 10</i>, which he called "the first heir of my invention" (L), but which through language analysis could not be by a Warwickshire man (R632). The poem was stamped by the Archbishop of Canterbury (S79) and printed by Richard Field (S79). The poems were dedicated to the Earl of Southampton (L,S79). July: <i>Venus and Adonis</i> reprinted after first edition of 1,250 sells out-at this time only 50,000 of 200,000 Londoners were literate (S80). <i>King Lear</i> and <i>Twelfth Night</i> written. Plays alluded to: <i>Hamlet, Julius Caesar, The Tempest, Romeo and Juliet, Love's Labour Lost, The Winter's Tale, A Midsummer Night's Dream</i>.</p>		<p>Son Henry born (L). Before his son and heir was born, Oxford had been pushing for Southampton to marry (which is the subject of Sonnets #1-17 dedicated to Southampton, and the subject of the letters from Oxford to Southampton), which he dropped when Southampton finally refused to marry Oxford's daughter and paid a large fine to Lord Burleigh (the grandfather of Oxford's daughter). Sonnet said: "When 40 winters shall besiege thy brow . . .", when Oxford was 43 and Stratford was 29. Nashe's pamphlet <i>Strange News</i> dedicated to deVere as "Gentle Mr. William" and used a Cardana Grille to encrypt the name de Vere (R672) and a message "Lo, so test E Ver" (R672).</p>	<p>Essex won a seat on the Privy Council (S64).</p>

TABLE 1 (continued)

	SHAKESPEARE	STRATFORD	OXFORD	COURT
1594	<i>Taming of the Shrew</i> first performed (A130). Dedication of <i>Rape of Lucrece</i> poem to Southampton (L,S90) and printed by Richard Field (L,S90) and published by John Harrison (S90) and could be seen as an attack on the Cecils. Plays alluded: <i>Hamlet</i> , <i>1 Henry IV</i> , <i>2 Henry IV</i> (early version of), <i>The Winter's Tale</i> .	Shakespeare biographer Halliwell-Phillipps in the 1800s checked in 70 towns and cities in England for evidence of Shakespeare to no avail (L). Sept.: Stratford town was devastated by fire and most of Henley St. destroyed (S86). Shaksper played the role of Ghost in <i>Hamlet</i> (A276).	Pamphlet <i>Willobie His Avis</i> published with <i>Avisa</i> representing wife Elizabeth (suggesting scandalous affair between her and Southampton--H.W.--with deVere--as W.S.--satirically portrayed as egging on Southampton).	Sonnet 94 last line also appeared in <i>Edward III</i> before 1594. Nov.: Southampton paid Lord Burleigh (Cecil) 5,000 pounds (currently about \$1.7 million) as a penalty for not marrying his granddaughter (S90, A279). Southampton's widowed mother married into Cecil clan (Thomas Heneage).
1595	Jan.: 3rd edition of <i>Venus and Adonis</i> published (S90). <i>Richard II</i> performed by Chamberlain's Men, and included the handing of the throne to Bolingbroke [an Oxford title] (S91). Mar.: First historical mention of Shakespeare in connection with theatre: with Kempe and Burbage mentioned as payees of recently formed Chamberlain's Men for performances at court the previous Dec. (S96). Literary mentions of <i>The True Tragedy of Richard, Duke of York</i> , <i>Death of King Henry VI</i> (early version of <i>3 Henry VI</i>).	Mar.: William received payment along with Richard Burbage and William Kempe) for a play for the Queen at Greenwich Christmas 1594 (Pr31,P270). Sept.: Stratford town again devastated by fire and that time the Henley St. house was completely destroyed (S86) and John seems to have lost everything (S86). Dec.: Stratford town again petitions the Crown for relief, as one-third of the population were paupers, there was a soaring death rate, and vagrants were denied entry to the town (S86).	Daughter Elizabeth married the 6th Earl of Derby William Stanley (N349) and <i>A Midsummer Night's Dream</i> in celebration of the marriage was presented at Court to the Queen again (also earlier in 1581 and 1584) (C435). Thomas Edwardes' <i>Narcissus</i> alludes to de Vere as Shakespeare (A181).	Southampton (21 yrs old) became a favorite of the Queen (S91).
1596	Thomas Lodge referenced the <i>Hamlet</i> play as being 4 hours long. <i>The Tempest</i> written. Plays alluded to in literature: <i>Hamlet</i> , <i>Macbeth</i> , <i>Othello</i> . <i>Romeo and Juliet</i> first published anonymously (C314) and never had the name Shakespeare on it until the 1623 First Folio (C314), and the play has many phrases similar to Oxford's poems (C311-314).	Aug.: Son Hamnet buried as Shaksper (P270). Recorded as living in Bishopgate London (P270). Pursued for 5 shillings London taxes. Reapplied as Shagspere with his father for coat of arms, which had been rejected 28 years before (S96,P270)--the fee was 30 pounds--\$7,705 today (S96). Coat of arms granted but later questioned. 3 plaintiffs applied for protection from him (Pr36). Pursued for 5 s London taxes (P270). Nov.: Legal writ in Southwark to keep peace with 3 others (P270).	Wife purchased King's Place in Hackney. de Vere, son, and wife moved in.	Earl of Essex led a successful raid of a Spanish outpost at the Azores. July: Robert Cecil was made principal secretary to Queen Elizabeth (S96) and Secretary of State (S64) and he also ran the Secret Service. Earl of Essex led failed raid of Spanish fleet at Cadiz. Oct.: Francis Bacon warned Essex that Robert Cecil is plotting his downfall (S96).

TABLE 1 (continued)

	SHAKESPEARE	STRATFORD	OXFORD	COURT
1597	Jan.: <i>Richard II</i> first published (S96) anonymously. Plays alluded to in literature: <i>Hamlet</i> , <i>King Lear</i> . Booksellers were anxious to secure copyright of plays (L).	May: Purchased New Place, Stratford, for 60 pounds, second largest house in Stratford (L,P270). Nov: Reported in London for default of 5 s taxes (P270). Bequeathed his sword to friend John Combe's nephew. John restarted the case over lost Wilmeccote lands (P270).		July: <i>Isle of Dogs</i> by Ben Jonson and Nashe performed at the Swan Theater, and then suppressed (allusion to an island in the Thames where the Privy Council met) (S97); 3 players were arrested: Spenser, Shaw, Jonson (S97) and Cecil closed all theatres in London (S97). Ben Jonson went to prison for killing Gabriel Spenser (S97); escaped execution claiming "benefit of clergy" by proving he could read Latin (S97); converted to Catholicism, convicted, branded on his thumb, and released.
1597-1604	Great period of Shakespearean publication (L).		1592-1601: Oxford's retreat from public life, his "Great Blank". Poems and plays attributed to him stopped after 1593 (N385).	
1598	The name Shakespeare first printed on plays (L,Pr144) that were previously published anonymously (A259). 17 plays written so far. Ben Jonson dated <i>Titus Andronicus</i> this year. Sept.: Historian Francis Meres in <i>Palladis Tamia</i> said Shakespeare was the author of 12 plays previously published with no author name (S98). Oct.: <i>Richard II</i> and <i>Richard III</i> republished with Shakespeare as the author (S98). Joseph Hall in <i>Biting Satires</i> said the author of the poems was "Labeo" and John Marston wrote the same in <i>Pygmalion's Image</i> . Labeo in Roman times was the fake name of a writer to hide the true author's aristocratic pedigree. The Archbishop of Canterbury recalled both books and had the Marston book burned.	Reported living in St. Saviour's Parish London. Legal citation as a tax defaulter (L). Jan.: Richard Quiney asked William about investing in Stratford land. Feb.: Recorded owning corn and malt at time of shortage (S97). Lived at New Place Stratford (S97). Received 10 d for load of stone at Stratford. Received 20 d for wine to host visiting preacher. Oct.: Recorded as defaulter on London taxes in Billingsgate. Oct.: R. Quiney letter (not sent) to Stratford asking him for 30 pound loan, the only known letter addressed to Stratford (L). Nov.: A. Sturley wrote to R. Quiney urging pursuit of a loan from Stratford. Noted as hoarding 80 bushels of malt at a lean time. Recorded in a subsidy account for grain (all entries from P270,271).	Feb.: Oxford presented to French King by Robert Cecil on official visit to French Court. Sept.: Francis Meres (whose brother-in-law was a tutor of Southampton) named Oxford #1 of 17 comedy playwrights in <i>Palladis Tamia (Wit's Treasury)</i> , a catalog of contemporary writing and art and says "The best for comedy among us be Edward Earl of Oxford" (C638), and Shakespeare also was mentioned in this <i>Who's Who</i> volume and compared with Ovid (S100). Oxford's son-in-law the Earl of Derby reported to be writing comedies.	Aug.: Death of William Cecil, Lord Burleigh at 77 years old (N371,S98); his son Robert took over as advisor to the Queen (S98). Historian Ward commented that Burleigh had "a career as a Minister to the Crown which has never been equalled in English history. . . Lord Burleigh's unflinching kindness to Oxford. . . Lord Oxford was hopeless as a family man. . . The ruling passion of his life was poetry, literature, and the drama" (C665). Robert Cecil officially presented Southampton to the French King in France (S98). Nov: Southampton imprisoned on his return to England after marrying illegally (A310).

TABLE 1 (continued)

	SHAKESPEARE	STRATFORD	OXFORD	COURT
1599	<p>Apr.: <i>Henry V</i> performed at Curtain Theatre--temporary venue while Globe was being built with wood from the torn-down (Pr98) "The Theatre" (S97), with Oxford's added speech about Essex. <i>Othello</i> alluded to in literature. May: The Globe Theatre was completed (S98) and owned 1/10 each by Wm. Shakespeare, Augustine Phillips, Heminges, Page, Kempe, and 50% by the Burbage Brothers. Some sources added in Nicholas Brend as a Globe owner. Sonnets 138 & 144 published in <i>Passionate Pilgrim</i>, which said the author's best days were past (Oxford was 49; Stratford 34). Author dwelled on his aging in Sonnets 62 and 63, impending death in sonnets 66, 71-74, 81. Complaints of lameness in Sonnets 37, 66, 89. Sept.: First performance of <i>Julius Caesar</i> at The Globe (S104). <i>Twelfth Night</i> appeared in a songbook. Sonnet 63: "when my glass shows me myself indeed,/ Beated and chopp'd with tann'd antiquity" (Pr274) (Oxford was 49, Stratford 34).</p>	<p>Recorded as owing taxes in Billingsgate (P271). Feb.: Willelmum Shakespeare with others became a shareholder in The Globe (P271). Refused right to join his arms with the Park Hall Arden arms (P271). Recorded as owing taxes in St. Helen's Parish, London (P271). Recorded as owing taxes in Clink in Southwark (P271). Recorded hoarding corn and malt at a lean time (P271).</p>	<p>Oxford's son-in-law Earl of Derby (Darby) reported to be writing comedies professionally (N393). Apr.: Oxford wrote a speech praising Essex which was inserted into <i>Henry V</i> currently being performed at the Curtain Theatre (S98).</p>	<p>May: Earl of Essex sent to Ireland to defeat Tyrone and failed (S104). Essex brought Southampton as the Master of the Horse to Ireland against the Queen's wishes (S104). Essex had attempted a truce with Tyrone of Ireland (not agreed to by the Queen) and for which he was arrested when he returned to England. Jan.: Ben Jonson's <i>Every Man Out of His Humor</i> contained the character Sogilardo who was ridiculed for getting a coat of arms of a boar without its head [The Oxford crest is a boar] (S102-103). Aug.: Fears of Spanish invasion, chains drawn across London streets, Queen dangerously ill (S104). Sept.: First performance of <i>Julius Caesar</i> at The Globe (about conspiracy and civil war). A Jesuit spy reported that the Earl of Derby was busy writing comedies. Nov.: Privy Council proclaimed official denunciation of Essex (S104). Dec.: Essex took ill and the Queen sent 6 of her physicians (S105)</p>
1600	<p><i>Macbeth</i> alluded to in literature. John Davies of Hereford in epigram called William Shakespeare "our English Terence": Terence was a Roman slave used to cover the identity of aristocratic writers such as Scipio and Laelius. He also said Shakespeare did not get proper honor. 6 plays by Shakespeare were published (L).</p>	<p>Recorded as hoarding corn and malt at a lean time. Willelmus Shackspere sued John Clayton in Queen's Bench for 1592 loan of 7 pounds (P271). Oct 6: tax arrears of 1 mark in London (P271).</p>	<p>Seeks Governorship of Isle of Jersey again (N394), to no avail.</p>	<p>Aug.: Essex set free but never again allowed in Court (S105) and under house arrest at home with Robert Berkeley. His family not allowed to live with him (S105). Dec.: Essex and Southampton sent secret letter to James about Cecil (S105). Essex stripped of offices and placed under house arrest.</p>

TABLE 1 (continued)

	SHAKESPEARE	STRATFORD	OXFORD	COURT
1601	<p>Feb.: Special performance of <i>Richard II</i> at the Globe Theatre paid for by 3 Essex supporters (S105), performed by the Chamberlain's Men with an added scene showing the passing of the crown to Bolingbroke--which had previously happened off-stage--Lord Bolingbroke was one of Oxford's titles (S106-107). Plays alluded to in literature: <i>Pericles</i>, <i>Othello</i>, <i>The Tempest</i>. <i>Troilus and Cressida</i> performed. <i>Twelfth Night</i> performed in Middle Temple of the Inns of Court. Aug.: <i>As You Like It</i> added entered into the Stationer's Register (C365). "Our fellow William Shakespeare" lampooned in a Cambridge University play.</p>	<p>2 legal documents named Richard Burbadge and William Shakspeare gent as occupying the Globe. Mar.: Thomas Wittington's will bequeathed to the poor the 40 shillings he was owed by Stratford's wife (P271). Renewed his father's application for a coat of arms (P271), and received the coat of arms from William Camden (author of <i>Britannica</i> and <i>Remains of a Greater Work Concerning Britain</i>, which works did not mention him). Sept.: Father died as Shakspeare with no coat of arms (P271), in his monument (as a former Chief Bailiff he was eligible for the monument) his effigy was holding a woosack, and this monument would later be re-used for his son William.</p>	<p>Oxford emerged from "retirement" to take part in the trials of Essex and Southampton (L). Wrote to Cecil of his poor health and the weakness of his lame hand making it hard to write, although his handwriting appeared to be clear and confident in the letter (N401). Wrote to Cecil seeking support in his bid for the Presidency of Wales (N396).</p>	<p>Feb.: Essex and Southampton rebelled against Elizabeth (and Cecil) and lost (L,C669,S105). Feb.: Jury headed by Oxford condemned Essex and Southampton for treason (S109), and Essex was beheaded on Feb. 25 (S109). Mar. 19: Southampton's life was spared (S110) with no recorded explanation (S109), but he remained in the Tower (S109). Shakespeare Sonnets written to Southampton while he was in prison (S110).</p>
1602	<p>Date assigned to <i>Hamlet</i> (L). <i>Merry Wives of Windsor</i> printed. Pirated edition of <i>Merry Wives of Windsor</i> published (L). <i>All's Well That Ends Well</i> performed.</p>	<p>Complaints made against the Herald (William Camden) for misapproving 23 coats of arms, including the one for John Shags-pere of Stratford. Purchased 107 acres and bought a cottage. Manningham records joke about William and Burbage as actors (P271). Named a "player" in draft coat of arms (P271). May: Bought land in Stratford for 320 pounds, with brother Gilbert standing in at contract signing (P271). Legal proceedings over New Place in Stratford deeds (P271). Thomas and Lettice Greene took an apartment in New Place (P271). Sept.: Bought cottage and land in Stratford for 80 pounds (P271).</p>	<p>His moribund troupe of actors merged with the Earl of Worcester's Men who were listed as performing at Boar's Head Tavern (L). Oxford's servants also played at the Boar's Head Tavern.</p>	<p>Southampton was still in the Tower of London prison (L). There is a blank in the accounts of the "Treasurer of the Chamber" (L) for the Tower.</p>

TABLE 1 (continued)

	SHAKESPEARE	STRATFORD	OXFORD	COURT
1603	<p><i>Hamlet</i> unauthentically published (L). <i>Hamlet</i> printed. John Sanders portrait of Shakespeare was painted (looks nothing like the Stratford busts and drawings). Last of the Shakespeare Sonnets were written (L). Isle of Wight referenced in Sonnet 106 (L). <i>King Lear</i> alluded to in the contemporary literature. <i>Henry VIII</i> written in an un-Shakespearean style, 13 years after <i>King Lear</i> (C623).</p>	<p>Listed in papers creating the King's Men troupe of actors. Employed as a marriage broker. Named by James I as Groom of the Chamber (P271). Mar.: Named as a member of the newly formed "King's Men" (P271).</p>	<p>King James renewed the 1,000 pound annuity for Oxford.</p>	<p>Southampton arranged a performance of <i>Love's Labour Lost</i> for the Queen (L). Mar.: Death of Queen Elizabeth (L,S112). There was no tribute from Shakespeare or Oxford. Oxford wrote a private condolence letter to Burleigh. The Accession of King James VI of Scotland. Coronation of King James VI, where Oxford performed a ceremonial role (L). Apr.: James's first act as King was to liberate Southampton from the Tower (L,S112,A346). King James gave him an official pardon in May, and wrote in a letter that "the Queen was moved to exempt [him] from the stroke of justice". Apr.: The Queen's funeral was given and the Tudor reign ended (S112). Southampton applied for the Knight of the Garter but instead was made a Captain of the Isle of Wight (S112). July: Southampton was made a Knight of the Garter (S112). July: Southampton was made an Earl again and his properties were restored (S112). Cecil received a pension from the Spanish government sometime during James' reign. Ben Jonson started writing masques for King James's court.</p>

TABLE 1 (continued)

	SHAKESPEARE	STRATFORD	OXFORD	COURT
1604	<p><i>Measure for Measure</i> was first performed (L). The long, official version of <i>Hamlet</i> was published officially and believed to be Oxford's autobiography (S113). 1604 date was assigned to <i>Othello</i> (L). Last of authentic Shakespeare works to be published for 18 years (L). Southampton connection to Shakespeare ceased (L). Nov. thru Feb.: 8 Shakespeare plays performed at Court (C658).</p>	<p>Mentioned as one of the King's Men actors. Sold malt in March-June. Loaned 2 shillings to Phillip Rogers. Retired to Stratford. Rented lodgings from the Mountjoys in Cripplegate. Was issued his "red cloth" for a royal procession of James I into London (P271). Sold malt to Phillip Rogers. He sued to recover the loan from Rogers plus damages 1 pound 15 s (Pr18). A neighborhood survey recorded his growing real estate empire. He took legal action (L) to force payment for malt he had been supplying. Lodged with the Mountjoys in Silver Street London and negotiated a marriage settlement for their daughter (P271). Oct.: Leased a cottage at Rowington London for 2 s 6 d per week (P271). July: Sued Mr. Rogers of Stratford for debt of 35 s for 20 bushels of malt.</p>	<p>June: Edward de Vere died at King's Place (L) of plague. No memorial, no will. His widow took out no Letters of Administration (N194,431), perhaps because there were no assets and only debts. All 77 properties he had inherited were gone (N191). His son Henry became the 18th Earl of Oxford.</p>	<p>King James procession through London, where Southampton was prominently displayed with his mother (S113). June: After Oxford's death, Southampton was arrested and thrown into the Tower and his papers were searched (S113).</p>
1605	<p>William Camden's book about English history, culture, and language, <i>Remains of a Greater Work Concerning Britain</i>, in the chapter "Poems" listed 11 modern English poets "whom succeeding ages may justly admire", including Shakespeare.</p>	<p>July: Invested 440 pounds in interest-bearing tithes in corn, hay, wool, and grain tithes in Stratford (P271,S118), that entitled him to burial in the church chancel. The actor Augustine Phillipps bequeathed him a 30 shilling gold coin (P271), the same amount went to Condell, and larger amounts to Heminges and Burbage (P271).</p>	<p>Daughter Susan married the Earl of Montgomery Philip Herbert (N429) and performed in Jonson's <i>Masque of Blackness</i> at Court (S117). Later the First Folio was dedicated to Herbert and Montgomery.</p>	<p>Gunpowder Plot to overthrow King James and replace him with his daughter Elizabeth who was 9 yrs old, was foiled by Cecil and Jonson.</p>
1605-08	<p>Suspension of Shakespearean publications (L).</p>			
1606	<p><i>The Two Noble Kinsman</i> alluded to in the contemporary literature.</p>	<p>Jan. 21: Shown owing Mr. Hubaud of Stratford 20 pounds (P271).</p>		

TABLE 1 (continued)

	SHAKESPEARE	STRATFORD	OXFORD	COURT
1607	William Camden's <i>Britannica</i> in Latin described English counties and towns and their notable inhabitants, with no mention that Stratford was Shakespeare's hometown (Ch129), but he did mention that Philip Sidney had a home there. In Camden's diary, he did not note Stratford's death, although he did note Richard Burbages's and poet-playwright Samuel Daniel's deaths.	June: daughter Susanna married Puritan Dr. Jon Hall as Shaxspere (P272), and her father gave her a dowry of land. From 1607 on Dr. Hall made personal notes in his treatment records: He described Michael Drayton as "an excellent poet" and said Thomas Holyoak compiled a Latin-English dictionary, and that local schoolmaster John Deep was remarkably pious and learned (Pr236)--nothing about Stratford (Ch131).	Natural son Henry de Vere was knighted (or 1610).	Southampton led a parliamentary group to defeat the King's plans for union with Scotland (S118).
1608	Quarto edition of <i>King Lear</i> . First time Shakespeare's name appeared on a title page.	Jan.: The Greene's son was baptized and named after him (P272). Aug.: Took a 21-year lease on Blackfriars Theatre (P272), with the Burbage brothers, Heminges, Condell, and Coates. Sued Mr. Addenbrooke of Stratford for 6-pound debt (P272). July: Brother Richard fined 1 s 0d by Ecclesiastical Court (P272). Sept.: Stood Godfather to William Walker of Stratford.		Robert Cecil became Lord Treasurer for England (S118).
1608-09	Slight revival of inauthentically published works: <i>King Lear</i> , <i>Pericles</i> , <i>Troilus and Cressida</i> , <i>Sonnets</i> (L).			
1609	Sonnets published for the first time in numbered order (S118). Sonnets Dedication says "... eternity promised by our ever-living poet...", "ever-living" means dead -- Oxford is dead, Stratford is alive.	Pursued Addenbrooke's surety, Mr. Horneby, for 6 pounds (P272). Apr.: Made payment to poor relief in Southwark (P272). Thomas Greene lived in Stratford's house for a few months and mentioned his cousin Shakespeare in his diary but not in the context of literature or theatre (Ch130). Greene was a published poet and contributed a "Shakespearean sonnet" to Michael Drayton's <i>The Barons' Wars</i> (1603).	Widow was given permission to sell King's Place, Hackney.	

TABLE 1 (continued)

	SHAKESPEARE	STRATFORD	OXFORD	COURT
1610		Legal proceedings confirming ownership of New Place (P272). Completed purchase of 20 acres in Stratford started in 1602 (P272). Legal proceedings over his tithes holdings (P272).		Ben Jonson stopped faking his Catholicism and became a Protestant again (S118).
1611	Nov.: <i>The Winter's Night's Tale</i> first produced at Court according to the <i>Court Revels</i> (C541). John Davies' pamphlet described Shakespeare as our English Terence (Axxx). Terence was an actor who served as a front man for a hidden aristocratic playwright in Roman times.	Contributed to cost of Stratford Parliamentary Bill (P272). Leased Stratford barn to Robert Johnson for 22 pounds (P272). Issued bill over Combe family default on rent (P272). Interest from his local tithes income was 60 pounds (\$36,000 today) (P272). May: Greene left New Place.		
1612	First production of <i>Macbeth</i> at the Globe (A400). Inauthentic publication of 3 plays and the Sonnets. Michael Drayton wrote a book including histories of English counties--Drayton was a patient of Dr. Joseph Hall (Stratford's son-in-law)--but did not mention Shakespeare as a Warwickshire man, only as a "good comedian" (Ch130). Henry Peacham's emblem book <i>Minerva Britanna</i> implied a hidden writer for Shakespeare.	May: Witness in Belott-Mountjoy case (P272), name on testimony was Willm Shapk (P272). Completely retired from London to Stratford (L). Feb.: Brother Gilbert buried as Shaksper (P272).	Second wife died (L).	Robert Cecil died (S118). Henry Stuart, Prince of Wales, died (S118), leaving the unpopular Prince Charles in line for the throne.
1613	June: Globe Theatre burned down during the first performance of <i>Henry VIII</i> (A401). All the play manuscripts therein were destroyed (C676).	Jan.: John Combe of Stratford left him 5 pounds. Feb.: Brother Richard buried. Mar.: Bought Blackfriars Gatehouse for 140 pounds as William Shakspar (P272). Mar.: Took 60-pound mortgage on Blackfriars Gatehouse as Wm Shaksper (P272). Received 44 s (as did Burbage) for impresa for 6th Earl of Rutland. June: Globe burned down. Oct.: Took a share of the lease on the Globe's new site (P272).		

TABLE 1 (continued)

	SHAKESPEARE	STRATFORD	OXFORD	COURT
1614		Apr.: Mae payment to poor relief in Southwark. Thomas Greene lived in Stratford's house for a few months and named his children after Stratford and his wife. He mentioned his cousin Shakespeare in a letter. Sept.: Noted as owning 127 acres of land in Stratford (P272). Oct.: Given surety against losing tithes income over enclosure (P272). Nov.: In London with son-in-law John Hall to meet Stratford Town Clerk Thomas Greene over enclosures (P272).		Ben Jonson wrote the masque <i>The Golden Age Restored</i> (Elizabeth's Age) (S118).
1615	Susan de Vere Herbert's brother-in-law the Earl of Pembroke won appointment as Lord Chamberlain to King James, securing control of the future of the Shakespeare plays. <i>Stow's Annales</i> said Shakespeare wrote before Marlowe--Marlowe and Stratford were born in 1564, Oxford in 1550.	Apr.: Launched proceedings to obtain deeds to Blackfriars Gatehouse (P273). May: Prematurely mentioned as being dead in the legal case <i>Ostler v Heminges</i> (his daughter sued Heminges for taking her husband's share in the Globe Theatre) (P273). Named in legal documents about land enclosures (P273).	Susan de Vere Herbert's brother-in-law the Earl of Pembroke won appointment as Lord Chamberlain to King James, securing control of the future of the Shakespeare plays (to be shared between the 2 earls and perhaps Susan).	Ben Jonson's complete works published (S118). Susan de Vere Herbert's brother-in-law the Earl of Pembroke won appointment as Lord Chamberlain to King James, securing control of the future of the Shakespeare plays (to be shared between the 2 earls and perhaps Susan).
1616				Jonson received a pension of 66 pounds a year and became the first Poet Laureate.
1618		Epitaph book by Richard Brathwait noted John Combe's monument at Trinity Church but not Shakespeare's or Stratford's.		
1619	Publisher William Jaggard published 10 Shakespeare reprints, 2 of which were falsely attributed, dedicated the book to Oxford's daughter Susan DeVere Herbert and her husband, and requested access from them to unprinted Shakespeare texts.		William Jaggard published 10 Shakespeare reprints, 2 of which were falsely attributed. He dedicated the book to Susan DeVere Herbert, and requested access to unprinted Shakespeare texts: the "fairest fruitages" and "bestow [them] how and when you list".	King James granted Southampton 1,200 pounds a year in lieu of land (S119).

TABLE 1 (continued)

	SHAKESPEARE	STRATFORD	OXFORD	COURT
1621				King James pursued marriage alliance with Spain for his son Prince Charles. Anti-Spanish Marriage crusaders Earl of Southampton and Oxford's son Henry were arrested and Henry was thrown in jail (S119).
1622	Separate publication of <i>Othello</i> (L). First new work since 1609. Peacham (Frankfurt Book Fair 1622) wrote that Oxford was at the top of the list of Elizabethan poets--Shakespeare not mentioned--repeated in 1624 and 1634 editions.	Father's grave was dug up and moved.	His son, the 18th Earl of Oxford, went to the Tower with threats of his execution.	18th Earl of Oxford went back into the Tower with threats of his execution.
1623	First Folio, <i>William Shakespeare's Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies</i> , published with 36 plays (18 previously unpublished) (L,P7,P176) and dedicated to the Earls of Montgomery and Pembroke.	Monument was erected separately from gravestone in Trinity Church saying "look there at the gravestone, which is all he hath writ".	Son was released from the Tower.	Spanish marriage plans collapsed. 18th Earl of Oxford was released from the Tower, and a Florentine courtly correspondent noted about it: "All's well that ends well".
1624	<i>All's Well That Ends Well</i> reappeared after 20 years. <i>Love's Labours Won</i> renamed (L).		Son Henry died during a battle in the Low countries. The new Earl was his second cousin. Oxford's direct male line died out.	Death of Earl of Southampton (L).
1630	First time Stratford was connected to Shakespeare: In <i>Banquet of Jests</i> , Stratford-upon-Avon was said to be "a town most remarkable for the birth of Wm. Shakespeare" (Ch195).			
1632	Second Folio published (L). 21 of 30 Lyly plays also were published and contained more "excellent language" than previous versions of his plays (L).			
1634	Print debut of <i>Two Noble Kinsman</i> (some earlier allusions to this play).	Dugdale visited Avon and created an effigy for Shakespeare with a long drooping mustache and full beard (Ch183) and holding a woosack.		

TABLE 1 (continued)

	SHAKESPEARE	STRATFORD	OXFORD	COURT
1640	John Benson's <i>Poems by Wil. Shakes-Speare</i> criticized the First Folio's preface and Droeshout's engraving of Shakespeare (Ch195). It added a nobleman's cape to the Shakespeare portrait engraving (R654) and a letter "To the Reader" with de Vere's name encrypted (R655). The poems and sonnets were not published again for 70 yrs.			
1649		Dr. James Cooke visited Stratford's daughter Susanna Hall about Dr. John Hall's papers and bought 2 medical casebooks handwritten in Latin. No mention of any papers of her father's (Ch131). Bust was re-beautified, said the 1907 <i>Encyclopedia Britannica</i> .		
1664	Plays added to the publication of the Third Folio: <i>Pericles, The London Prodigal, The History of Thomas, Lord Cromwell, The Tragedy of Locrine, Sir John Oldcastle, The Puritan Widow, A Yorkshire Tragedy</i> . <i>Pericles</i> not apochryphall (Ch68).			
1721		Effigy in Trinity Church changed to goatee and upturned mustache.		
1732			Francis Peck wrote that he planned to print a 1580 comedy by de Vere and said it was an early draft of <i>Twelfth Night</i> (A154).	
1748		Repairs made to effigy.		