EVER TRVELY A MVSICIAN

Connections between Edward de Vere and the development of English madrigals

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Honors Thesis

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PASS WITH DISTINCTION

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As thesis advisor for Christopher Wang.

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Précis

In the past few years, there has been a groundbreaking discovery alleging that the man who wrote the works and published under the name of William Shakespeare had influenced the development of the English madrigals toward the end of the 16\textsuperscript{th} century. This man's name was Edward de Vere (1550-1604), the seventeenth Earl of Oxford, and he is the leading challenger to the traditional identification of Will Shakspere of Stratford as the author of the works published under the name of Shakespeare.

This research investigates and compiles the connections that link Oxford and the development of English madrigals as an attempt to answer this question: are the alleged connections significant enough to conclude that Oxford was essential to the development of the English madrigals? If Oxford, a man who preferred to remain in the background and claimed no credits, is clearly shown to have influenced the birth of English madrigals, then the history of both Shakespeare and English music will likely be revised considerably.

Since this subject between Shakespeare and music is essentially unexplored, the approach of the research requires a broader understanding through readings of 1) the Shakespeare authorship issue, 2) Oxford's life and credentials, 3) English madrigal history, and 4) prior research/investigations. It must be noted that the primary assumption of this thesis is that Oxford was Shakespeare. In short, this assumption is formed because Oxford's credentials as the author of Shakespeare plays are more logical than the traditional biography of Shakespeare. While acquiring the knowledge base, necessary connections, findings, and oddities are documented and discussed. The compilation of these connections is analyzed as a whole in the end.

The connections definitely exist. Oxford was an enthusiast of Italy and music. He was likely to have imported Italian music into England and subsequently contributed to at least two influential Italian madrigal anthologies in England because connections between Oxford and
those two anthologies are found. Oxford also had likely connections with Thomas Weelkes (1575-1623), one of the greatest English madrigal composers. Moreover, the connections seem to fit into his biographical timeline according to the important events quite well.

The connections are not beyond reasonable doubt and this thesis is inconclusive. More investigation is needed into this field – an area of study essentially in its infancy stage.
Preface – A Heart to Another

In my music curriculum, researching about composers and poets is a regular activity. As I accumulated experience in researching biographies, I have noticed that I could almost always find connections from their lives to the art which they created. Art imitates life, and that is what artists do – they expose their souls to create remarkable works. Even as a student of music, I cannot recall how many times I have performed in character by drawing personal experiences and emotions. That’s precisely what we do to make art.

During my teen years, I wrote a novel in Mandarin. The novel was essentially an allegory of pieces of my life. I included speeches from people I knew in the novel. I sometimes named my characters from English translations. The pronunciation of my sophisticated-looking penname sounded literally like “hungry stomach.” I rarely wrote in random – my words had their origins and purposes. Art imitates life; my work is an imitation of my life.

Walking into that Shakespeare class in the summer of 2004, I had the same philosophy: I wanted to know about the author -- for without knowing the author, I cannot fully understand the works. And being a high school theater veteran, I knew Shakespeare’s biography. I was convinced that the class would not make a difference, and Shakespeare and his plays would forever remain inhuman and sterile.

Then, unexpectedly, I was exposed to Edward de Vere, the 17th Earl of Oxford. The technical pieces of evidence that prove him as Shakespeare did not interest me. What interested me was that some of the man’s biographical events were written in those plays. There is evidence of obvious name punning and wordplay in those works. Art imitates life; his plays are imitations of his life. At that moment, “Shakespeare” became human. I do not dare compare myself to Oxford, but the similarities between my art and his art connected us timelessly.

On the other hand, in my accounting curriculum, being skeptical about anything is a regular
activity. I do not believe anything simply because I was “told” so. As a result, I decided to look deeper myself regarding the alleged connections between Edward de Vere and English music. This thesis documents exactly that – this is my journey on an unconventional road trip.

I feel compelled to explain the title “EVER TRVELY A MVSICIAN,” which has several layers of meanings, to the uninformed readers. Capitalized “U” was printed in publications as “V” in the Tudor era. The word “ever” was one of Oxford’s ways of punning his name “E. Ver” (as in Edward Vere) or as an anagram of his name “Vere.” The word “TRVELY” (truly) is printed on one of the dedication pages that I have for the research with that exact spelling. The Vere family crest has these Latin words, “VERO NIHLI VERIUS,” which means “truly nothing truer” (Baron 40). So I am using the words “ever” and “truly” as puns for Oxford’s name in my title. Depending on which word you see as the name “Vere,” the title either states “Vere: truly a musician” or “Ever Vere a musician” with a question mark.

Therefore, this title “EVER TRVELY A MVSICIAN” identifies the basic features of this thesis:

• When (the time period) – late 16th-century England.
• Who (the person) – Edward de Vere.
• What (the subject) – Music.
• Why (the purpose) – A deeper understanding within the context and information.
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Introduction

Toward the end of the 16th century, Italian madrigals became exceedingly popular in England and subsequently led to the development of English madrigals. However, the development of English madrigals was paired with much mystery. Edmund Fellowes, one of the most authoritative figure in the subject of madrigals, once stated:

"Nothing is more astonishing in the whole history of music than the story of the English school of madrigal composers. The long delay of its appearance, lagging behind the Italian school by no less than half a century: the suddenness of its development: the extent of the output: the variety and the originality as well as the fine quality of the work: the brevity of its endurance, and the completeness with which it finally collapsed: all these features combine to distinguish the madrigal school as the strangest phenomenon in the history of English music." (qtd. in Kerman 255)

This "phenomenon" is quite mysterious; however, the mystery does not stop there.

In 1588, Nicholas Yonge (d. 1619) published *Musica Transalpina (MY)*, the very first anthology of its kind -- Italian madrigals translated into English. This significant milestone essentially marks the birth of English madrigals and the "phenomenon" in the English secular music scene. However, in his dedication page, Yonge states that he was not the person who translated the Italian madrigals.

"For whose cause chiefly I endeavoured to get in my hands all such English Songs as were praise worthie, and amongst others, [one] had the hap to find in the hands of some of my good friend, certain Italian Madrigals translated most of them five years ago by a Gentleman for his private delight."

After four centuries, scholars still do not know about the identity of this "Gentleman" whose contribution has been immensely important to English music history.
The mystery of this “phenomenon” appears not only in musical literature but also in a biography of one English madrigal composer: Thomas Weelkes (c.1575–1623). Nine years after the publication of MT, Thomas Weelkes, a freshman to the English music scene, published his first set of madrigals titled Madrigals to 3, 4, 5, & 6 voyces (1597). In this first set, almost all of the madrigals are “mature work of the highest class” (Fellowes 192). The following year, he published a brand new Ballets and Madrigal to five voices (1598); then he published Madrigals of 5 and 6. voyces (1600). These four years are marked as “the richest period in the history of the English School” (Fellowes 191).

Weelkes was a brilliant young talent whose musical career was extremely promising (Brown 45). But for some unknown reason, Weelkes’ creativity in composing English madrigals simply, and abruptly, stopped. The only other set that Weelkes published was Ayeres or Phaststicke Spirites for three voices (1608), but the abandonment of the contrapuntal texture in this volume made these madrigals mediocre in comparison to the previous published madrigals (Brown 119). This means that although Weelkes lived for another twenty-three years after the 1600 set of madrigals, he never published another new set of madrigals. Weelkes’ sudden bloom and decay is a mystery matched by the history of English madrigals.

The first in-depth attempt to explain this “phenomenon” of English music history occurred only recently by Eric Altschuler and William Jansen. In their article “Gentleman at Large,” they examined Musica Transalpina and, another important anthology of the same genre, Italian Madrigals Englished (IME) (1590), published by Thomas Watson (c.1557-92), as an attempt to track down a likely identification of Yonge’s gentleman. They have also examined some of Weelkes’ madrigal texts in their article “Man of Letters.” They have implied that, in both cases, Edward de Vere (1550-1604), the seventeenth Earl of Oxford, is a likely candidate for Yonge’s gentleman as well as the text author of some of Weelkes’ madrigal texts. Altschuler and Jansen’s
research has been, however, inconclusive.

It is extremely important to note that Altschuler and Jansen are both Oxfordians—supporters of the Oxfordian theory that Edward de Vere, the seventeenth Earl of Oxford, is the author of Shakespeare plays. This important yet controversial assumption will also be present in this research and will be further explained and discussed later in the main body of this thesis.

Why is this assumption in the context of the discipline so significant? If connections between English madrigals and Oxford, who habitually remained in the background, were solidly found, then the histories of both English literature and music would need a considerable amount of revision -- because Oxford would be the man who not only influenced English music "phenomenally" at the end of the 16th century but might also be rightfully credited as the man who wrote the work published under the name Shakespeare. In other words, "Shakespeare" almost single handedly put England on the map culturally in the renaissance.

The primary goal of this research is to further investigate and compile the possible connections and oddities between the English madrigal mysteries and Oxford as an attempt to answer this question: are the alleged connections significant enough to link Oxford to the development of English madrigals? This research will focus on three areas, divided into three different modules in the main body: 1) Oxford's credentials, 2) the Italian madrigal anthologies, and 3) the oddities of Weelkes' madrigals.
Research Approach

This particular type of study between the fields of Shakespeare authorship and musicology is relatively new and has not been researched extensively. Furthermore, these two fields rarely even interacted with each other despite the magnitude in each field. In order to bridge them together, acquiring a broad perspective and understanding about Shakespeare authorship, English madrigalism, and biographies of important figures in both fields is essential for this research.

Authorship Literature

The Shakespeare authorship issue, a debate that has lasted eight-five years in the case of the Oxfordian theory alone, is too vast to be completely included in this research. Therefore, only the most relevant information from the authorship issue is closely examined. The information includes the origin of the authorship issue, the biographical studies of Oxford during the relevant years, Oxford's credentials as a musician and an Italianate Englishman, Oxford's usage of wordplay, and the reason for hiding his name.

As mentioned before, the most important yet controversial assumption as part of the framework of this research is that Oxford is Shakespeare, one reason being that Oxfordian theory is significantly convincing and logical. This will be a point further discussed with Oxford's biography including Oxford's "almost [certain]" habit of hiding his name which is a characteristic that fits the profile of Yonge's unknown "Gentleman" (Ward 327). Furthermore, certain connections will be connected partially through the works (i.e. plays and sonnets) that are traditionally credited to William Shakespeare.

Music Literature

Some primary sources, in the form of facsimiles or reproductions, are used for this research. Although primary sources are important for a research of this nature, it is not feasible to examine all necessary primary sources. As a result, the most direct and authoritative secondary sources
will be used in accord with the relevance of information. For example, Weelkes is closely examined in this research, and aspects of his life from his primary biographer, David Brown, will be considered significantly. In this specific biography, for example, Brown also discusses the primary documents he used to arrive at his assumptions and conclusion when constructing Weelkes' biography. These primary documents mentioned will serve as fundamental historical materials.

Depending on the scope of relevant information, some understanding of the material will come strictly from secondary sources. However, the most authoritative sources will be prioritized as the most credible. For example, the general understanding of the English madrigal history for this research is through Edmund Fellowes' comments on the subject.

Readings also include Altschuler and Jansen's groundbreaking research. Their examination of Weelkes, for example, is mostly text-based. In this research, an attempt to analyze Weelkes' music is necessary to see if the results are consistent with Altschuler and Jansen's assessments.

Method of Analysis

Due to the nature of research, most of the analysis will be qualitative. Through the readings, individual connections or pieces of evidence will be traced. Whether significant or not, they will be discussed at the end of each section. Then a compilation of the connections will be formed as a collective analysis in order to see the big picture.

Some quantitative or mathematical analysis maybe applied to some other data, such as word count. This type of analysis, although significant, will be scarce.
Research Discussion

I. Why Edward de Vere?

"Shall I set down the rest of the Conjectures which constitute the giant Biography of William Shakespeare? It would strain the Unabridged diction to hold them. He is a Brontosaur: nine bones and six hundred barrel of plaster of paris."

Samuel Clemens (Mark Twain, 1835-1910) (qtd. in "Hall of Fame")

The Shakespeare Authorship Issue

When William Shakespeare became an "immortal" icon in literature, many started to doubt his authorship of the plays (Ogburn 1). Here are a few of the reasons. There is no evidence that he had any education. No one in his family was literate except maybe one of his daughters, who, like her father, at least knew how to sign her name. Judging from his own signatures, the six surviving only on legal documents, his handwriting was terrible. In his will, he detailed everything he owned from "houses, lands, sword... all the way down to his 'second-best bed'" – and no mention of any books, plays, poems, or even manuscripts (Michell 40-41).

This does not seem to be the man who wrote the works published under the name "Shakespeare" and introduced three thousand new words to the English language (Ogburn 3). And this does not seem to be a man, judging from his plays, who knew everything: law, aristocracy, sports, falconry, philosophy, classics, languages, music, art, math, astronomy and astrology, medicine, mythology, military life, and the list goes on (Michell 18).

Then comes the First Folio in 1623. Next to the lifeless portrait of Shakespeare there lies Ben Johnson's dedicative poem that reads, "...Reader, looke /Not on his Picture, but his Booke" ("Opening" 90). Moreover, before the publication of the First Folio, none of his fellow Stratford townsman ever spoke of him, let alone attributing to him any "special distinction" prior to 1623 (Ogburn 2).
The above information is just a tip of the iceberg regarding the suspicion raised about the Shakespearean authorship since the mid-18th century (Ogburn 1). Charles Dickens and Mark Twain were among those who had the same suspicion ("Hall of Fame"). Since then, many candidates have been suggested as the author of Shakespeare, and they include Francis Bacon, Christopher Marlowe, and a few other Earls and English poets (Michell 113, 190, 227). But it was not until 1920 that the leading challenger was introduced in Thomas Looney's book "Shakespeare" Identified.

Looney used a technique developed by detectives: he profiled several features about the author of Shakespeare based on the plays and poem (Michell 164-5). The list of features includes:

- A matured man of recognized genius.
- Apparently eccentric and mysterious.
- Of intense sensibility — a man apart.
- Unconventional.
- Not adequately appreciated.
- Of pronounced and known literary tastes.
- An enthusiast in the world of drama.
- A lyric poet of recognized talent.
- Of superior education — classical — the habitual associate of educated people.
- A man with feudal connections.
- A member of the higher aristocracy.
- Connected with Lancastrian supporters.
- An enthusiast for Italy.
- A follower of sport (including falconry).
- A lover of music.
- Loose and improvident in money matters.
- Doubtful and somewhat conflicting in his attitude to woman.
- Of probable Catholic leanings, but touched with skepticism. (Looney 92, 103)

Then Looney examined poets in sixteenth-century England who wrote in a similar Shakespearean stanza (Michell 165). Finally, he came across a poem by Edward de Vere
(1550-1604), which used a stanzaic form identical to Shakespeare’s *Venus and Andonis*. After reading de Vere’s biography in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, Looney found a match with the profile that he constructed – the seventeenth Earl of Oxford.

“...that actor from Stratford was the author of the works that have been ascribed to him. Since reading *Shakespeare Identified* by J. Thomas Looney, I am almost convinced that the assumed name conceals the personality of Edward de Vere, Earl of Oxford... That man of Stratford seems to have nothing at all to justify his claim, whereas Oxford has almost everything.”

Sigmund Freud (1856-1939) (qtd. in “Hall of Fame”)

The most confirming evidence that Oxford wrote “Shakespeare” is the autobiographical information within the plays. Here are three examples:

- In *The Merchant of Venice*, Antonio entered a bond in three thousand ducats with Shylock, with was secured by the famous “a pound of flesh” (Whalen 106). Oxford had pledged a bond in the same amount in pounds as a trade investment and his investment was “swindled” by a London merchant by the name of Michael Lok, who was later imprisoned. The prefix “shy” also means disreputable or shady.

- Oxford once had an affair with Anne Vavasour and had an illegitimate son. Thomas Knyvet, Vavasour’s cousin, and his men had a clash with Oxford’s men and fought on the street. Both Knyvet and Oxford were wounded. This mimics the conflict between the Montagues and the Capulets in *Romeo and Juliet*.

- The most autobiographical play is *Hamlet*, the prince who writes a play within the play (Whalen 107-111). The connections shown below are only a few selections from *Hamlet*. The relationship between Hamlet, Ophelia and Polonius mimics that of Oxford, Anne Cecil (daughter of Burghley), and the manipulative Lord Burghley. Hamlet’s last words are said to
his trusted friend Horatio, and Horatio (or Horace) Vere was one of Oxford’s favorite cousins.

Hamlet says, “O God, Horatio, what a wounded name,/ Things standing thus unknown, shall
live behind me,/ If thou didst ever hold me in thy heart, / absent thee from felicity a while,/ And in this harsh world draw thy breath in pain/ To tell my story” (V.ii.344-349).

Unless the Stratfordian Shakespeare knew Oxford well, he could not possibly be the author of these substantial autobiographical scenes. Like Orson Welles said, “I think Oxford wrote Shakespeare. If you don’t agree, there are some awfully funny coincidences to explain away…” (qtd. in “Hall of Fame”). Oxfordian theory is logical and based on much evidence; it will be considered as the primary assumption for this research.

“The Oxfordians have presented a very strong – almost fully convincing – case for their point of view. The debate continues and it is well that it does. We need this enlightenment in this otherwise somewhat dismal days. If I had to rule on the evidence presented, it would be for the Oxfordians.”

Supreme Court Justice Harry A. Blackmun (qtd. in “Hall of Fame”)

An “Italianate Englishman”

One of the many observations that Oxfordians have drawn out of Shakespeare plays is that the author playwright is undoubtedly an enthusiast of Italy. The most celebrated plays such as The Merchant of Venice, Romeo and Juliet, The Taming of the Shrew, indeed all the comedies, are set in Italy. The vivid descriptions of the culture, customs, and places such as Mantua, Padua, Verona, Milan, and Venice, contained in the Shakespeare plays even make some Stratfordians to believe that Shakespeare must have traveled to Italy (e.g., Grillo 133). However, there is no evidence that the Stratfordian’s Shakspere ever left England.

Oxford, on the other hand, was a documented lover of Italy. He traveled to the Continent and certainly visited Italy during 1575 and 1576 (Whalen 74). Oxford later built a house in Venice where he returned to sometimes and he was later known as the most “Italianate
Englishman of his generation" ("Beginner"). Italian imports such as "embroidered gloves, sweet bags, perfumed leather jerkins, and costly washes, were all said to have been introduced into England by the Earl of Oxford, returning home from his travels" (Einstein 79).

Being an Italianate Englishman was not easy in the Tudor era. Because of Italy's Catholicism and its seductive and at times violent culture, an Italianate Englishman was called "the devil incarnate" (Gutierrez, "King"). Even Oxford was once attacked for being an enthusiastic Italianate Englishman through a poem by Gabriel Harvey called Speculum Tuscanismi (Lamb, "Quarrel").

Although music was not specifically recorded among the imports that Oxford brought into England, were Italian scores possibly among Oxford's foreign collections?

Oxford's Credentials as a Musician

Sir Sidney Lee, a Stratfordian (who opposes theories such as Oxfordianism), writes in the biography of Oxford in the Dictionary of National Biography, Oxford, despite his violent and perverse temper, his eccentric taste in dress, and his reckless water of substance, evinced a genuine taste in music and wrote verses of much lyric beauty.... (qtd. in Michell 166)

What Sir Sidney Lee is referring to are Oxford's poems, ones directly credited to him. Some of those poems are collected in The Paradise of Dainty Devices (1576-1606).

The Paradise of Dainty Devices is a collection of "songs and sonnets" compiled by Richard Edwards before his death in 1566 and later published by Henry Disle (Rollins xiii). According to the original dedication page, these lyric poems are "made to be set to any song" (4). From the first publication in 1576 to the last in 1606, The Paradise of Dainty Devices "had reached at least a tenth edition" (xiii). It was popularly used as a source book for lyrics for at least thirty years.

In the collection, at least eight poems from the first edition are attributable to E.O., or
Edward Oxford (May, *Elizabeth 53*). Two out of the eight lyrics, if not all, are clearly meant to be sung. It is worth noting that these poems of Oxford were composed before the age of twenty-six. If Richard Edwards actually collected Oxford’s poems before Edwards’ death in 1566, then that would push Oxford’s start of outstanding literary creativity at least a decade prior, when he was sixteen.

In 1591, John Farmer (c.1570-1601) dedicated to Oxford his *Divers and Sundry Ways of Two Parts in One* and stated:

I was rather emboldened for your Lordship’s great affection to this noble science hoping for the one you might pardon the other, and desirous to make known your inclination this way. (qtd. in Miller 491)

Then Farmer dedicated his *The First Set of English Madrigals* to Oxford in 1599. Farmer says, ...for without flatterie be it spoken, those that know your Lordship know that, that using this science as a recreation, your Lordship have overgone most of them that make it a profession. (qtd. in Miller 491-2)

In other words, Oxford was a better musician than most professional musicians of the time. According to Fellowes, an elaborate dedication to an influential patron was a typical practice during the Tudor era (Fellowes 80). However, Fellowes has examined this particular dedication and even he agrees that this was a true “praise... bestowed upon a man [Oxford] who was really skilled in many of the arts and was a poet of no mean order” (82).

From writing lyrics to being praised as a great musician, Oxford was at least active in the music circle from 1576 to 1599. From Farmer’s dedication page, there is the hint that Oxford might have composed music for his own private use. But there are no documents or manuscripts that directly credit him for composing music with his name on them.
“The Stigma of Print” – What’s in a name?

Within the Oxfordian theory or even the Shakespeare authorship issue in general, there exist a number of theories to explain why a poet like Oxford would intentionally hide his name or publish his works under a pseudonym. One of the most concrete theories, though not without controversy, is known as the “stigma of print.”

In essence, the “stigma of print” theorizes that there was a social code honored by Tudor aristocrat poets and writers that they would not publish their own creative works under their own name (May, “Tudor”). These creative works existed in manuscripts and were circulated only privately among friends. If an aristocrat publishes his works with his own name, there is a “showing-off” or “pride” element attached to it, thus “it would be degrading for [the] gentleman.” It also looks embarrassing that a gentleman would sell his creative work for money. This theory also explains why there was sometimes a considerable amount of lag-time between an aristocrat’s death and any publication, usually managed by a friend.

The most convincing and important support for the stigma of print comes from George Puttenham’s *The Arte of English Poesie* (1589), which documented the following:

> So as I know very many notable Gentlemen in the Court that haue written commendable, and suppressed it agayne, or else suffred it to be publisht without their owne names to it: as if it were a discredit for a Gentleman, to seeme learned, and to shew himselfe amorous of any good Art. (16)

He later added:

> And in her Maiesties time that now is are sprong vp an other crew of Courtly makers Noble men and Gentlemen of her Maiesties owne servantes, who haue written excellently well as it would appeare if their doings could be found out and made publicke with the rest, of which number is first that noble Gentleman Edward Earle of
According to this significant documented testimony, not only did the "stigma of print" exist, Oxford is also mentioned by name to have been rendered anonymous by such "stigma." Besides Oxford, other Tudor aristocrats such as Sir Philip Sidney, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Edward Dyer, and Sir Fulke Greville, who all have earned reputation as writers, also never published their own works; their published works reached print through someone else's hands and mostly in anthologies (Price). In addition, the original edition of *The Arte of English Poesie* had an anonymous author (Price and Neufer).

None of these aristocrats were composers, and the stigma of print seemed to apply only to verses or poems (May, "Tudor"). Did the stigma of print apply to in music publishing too? Two examples demonstrate the same "stigma" in music. First example is found in the dedication page of Yonge's *Musica Transalpina*. After mentioning an unnamed "Gentleman," Yonge further says that he had begged for the "Gentleman's consent" for the translated pieces because these pieces were

...an idle man's exercise, of an idle subject, written only for private recreation, would blush to be seene otherwise than by twilight....

It seems that Yonge's "Gentleman" was quite modest and obeying the "stigma" code.

Here is another example. In 1599, Thomas Morley (1557-1602) published *The First Booke of Consort Lessons*. The cover reads,

Newly set forth at the coast & charge of a Gentle-man, for his private pleasure, and for divers others his frendes which delight in Musicke. (Morley)

From the surface, it appears that Morley was not the "Gentle-man" who collected the music. But, in the 1611 (second) edition of the same anthology, published by William Barley who printed the 1599 (first) edition, the cover reads,
Collected by Thomas Morley, Gentleman, and now newly corrected and enlarged.

(Morley)

So Morley was taken to be the “Gentleman” who collected these pieces of music after all.

Could this be an example of the “stigma of print”? Assuming Morley was indeed the original collector, being the publisher himself, it would be “degrading” as an aristocrat to give himself the credit as the “Gentle-man” who collected the music. When the second edition was published, Morley had been dead for nine years. Since Barley was the printer for the first edition, he probably knew the collector’s identity, which was apparently Morley. Conveniently, through Barley’s hands, Morley ultimately claims the credit he deserves.

The frequency of occurrence of such “stigma of notes” is not thoroughly investigated. However, through the Yonge and Morley examples, the “stigma of notes” is shown to exist during the Tudor era.

From *The Paradise of Dainty Devices* that contains Oxford’s early lyric poems to Farmer’s dedication pages that praises Oxford of being a great musician, it is reasonable to assume that Oxford was likely active in the music scene from 1576 to 1599. Being a musician himself, it is extremely plausible to speculate that Oxford, an Italianate Englishman, possessed some Italian music, possibly madrigals, from his travel or later imports. However, there is no direct record that relates Oxford to music during these years. Given that the “stigma of print” exists during Elizabeth’s reign, could Oxford, a lover of Italy and music, possibly contribute anything to English popular music?
II. The Italian Madrigal Anthologies

In their articles “Gentleman at Large” and the subsequent “Was Thomas Watson Shakespeare’s Precursor?” Altschuler and Jansen conducted a thorough analysis of Yonge’s *Musica Transalpina* (1588, 1597) and Watson’s *Italian Madrigals Translated* (1590). As mentioned in the introduction, in these articles they only imply that Oxford is related to these two anthologies— they never actually mention Oxford’s name. It was probably part of their effort to censor their research content in order to achieve publication since Oxfordian theory is typically frowned upon in the mainstream academic publishing world. Altschuler and Jansen have been more open and forthright in another article and private communications with me.

*Musica Transalpina*

In the introduction, the issue of Yonge’s anonymous “Gentleman” was mentioned. The idea of a “stigma of print” suggests that Morley could be this “Gentleman.” However, in order to become a gentleman, one must either inherit or be granted a coat of arms (“Gentleman”). Morley did not achieve his gentleman status until 1592 when he was sworn into the Chapel Royal (Brett). Therefore, Morley was not Yonge’s “Gentleman,” though Morley published two important Italian madrigal anthologies in 1597 and 1598. So who else can be this gentleman?

Altschuler and Jansen present a speculation by profiling this “Gentleman.” In the dedication page, Yonge includes four lines of Latin, supplied by the “Gentleman”:

Seras tutor ibis ad lucernas,

Haec hora est tua, dum furit Lyaeus,

Dum regnat rosa, dum madent capilli,

Tum te vel rigidi legant Catones. (qtd. in “Gentleman” 21)

Altschuler and Jansen have discovered that, with the exception of three words (dum, tum, and te), these are the exact lines “addressed to Cornelius Priscus,” written by “Martial about Pliny the
Younger.” Altschuler and Jansen suspect that these lines are a pun on Yonge, and the original translation is, in plain language, “the best time to read this letter/madrigal book is late at night, with libations on board. Then, even stoic Cato would enjoy it.”

From this Latin word play, Altschuler and Jansen profiled Yonge’s “Gentleman” as someone who was at least living in 1588 and “interested in music and Classic... a poet with good command of Italian, French and Latin,” and he “prefers to remain in the background” (“Gentleman” 22). Even though this profile fits Oxford well, this single pieces of evidence is not significant enough to conclude so.

Thomas Watson, the supposed translator of *Italian Madrigals Englished* (1590), has been proposed as a likely candidate as Yonge’s “Gentleman” (Altschuler and Jansen, “Gentleman” 21-22). Judging from the quality of the translations between the two anthologies, Watson could not be the translator of *MT*. The reason is mainly because the translations in *MT* are direct translations of the original texts, whereas the translations of *IME* are less direct translations but rather new texts in English to accommodate the music. But, there are more mysterious twists regarding Watson.

**Italian Madrigals Englished**

*Italian Madrigals Englished* is the second significant landmark in the English madrigal history brought forth by Watson. However, “neither [Watson] nor any of his colleagues is known to have any relations with the actual madrigal composers” (Kerman 11). The only composer who seemed to have any connection with Watson was William Byrd (c. 1540-1623), who supposedly composed one Italian styled madrigal, “This sweet and merry month of May,” in *IME* upon Watson’s request. However, although Byrd was prolific and prominent in the English school of music, “he was the one who most stubbornly resisted madrigalism” (Kerman 11). Furthermore, this madrigal of Byrd’s has a connection with a Shakespeare play.
In *The Merchant of Venice*, Lorenzo has a significant discussion about music. When the musicians come into the scene, Lorenzo says,

> Come, ho! And greet Diana with a hymn... (V.i.66)

In “This sweet and merry month of May” is a line that reads,

> ...and greet Elyza with a Ryme.

The rhyme of the lines is the same, and both “Diana” and “Elyza” were used to refer to Queen Elizabeth. These lines can be easily explained away as coincidence between Watson’s lyrics and the play, but there are other connections between Watson and Oxford.

Biographically, there is very little doubt that Watson knew Oxford. Watson spent part of his youth at and matriculated from Oxford in 1580 (Chatterley 27-28). Also, his *Hecatompathia: or Passionate Century of Love*, Watson’s monumental collection of 18-line sonnets, published in 1582, was dedicated to Oxford (30).

In their article, “Was Thomas Watson Shakespeare’s Precursor,” Altschuler and Jansen examine whether the name “Watson” could be Oxford’s pseudonym before he used “Shake-speare.” They present even more connections between Watson and Oxford. The most compelling connection is the immense similarity between a poem by Oxford in manuscript and a poem supposedly by “T.W.” in the manuscript *Tears of Fancie, or Love Disdained*:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Oxford’s Version</th>
<th>Watson’s Version</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Who taught the first to sighe alas my harte? Love</td>
<td>Who taught thee first to sigh, alas sweet heart? love</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Who taught thy tongue the woeful words of palynte? Love</td>
<td>Who taught they tongue to marshall words of plaint? love</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Who yfled your eyes with tears of bitter smarte? Love</td>
<td>Who fill’d thine eyes with tears of bitter smart? love</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Who gave thee greefe and made thy ioyes to faynte?</td>
<td>Who gave thee grief and made thy joys so faint? Love</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Who fyrste did paynetye with coulors pale thy face?</td>
<td>Who first did paint with colors pale they fac? Love</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Who fyrste did breake thy sleepes of quiet rest?</td>
<td>Who first did break thy sleepes of quiet rest? Love</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Above the rest in courte who gave the grace?</td>
<td>Who forc’d thee unto wanton love give place? Love</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Who made the stryve in honour to be beste?</td>
<td>Who thrall’d thy thoughts in fancy so distress’d? love</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In constante thoute to byde so firm and sure,
To scorn the world regarding buy thye freendes?
With patient mind each passion to endure?
In one desire to settle to the ende.
Love then thy choice wherein such choice thou binde
As nought but deathe maye ever change thy minde.

Who made thee bide both constant firm and sure? Love
Who made thy mind with patience pains endure?
Who made thee settle steadfast to the end? Love
Then love thy choice, though love be never gained,
Still live in love, despair not though distained.

These two poems are so similar that one of the following implications might be true: 1) one of them plagiarized the other, 2) they worked together, or 3) the poems came from the same poet. The true story is unknown, but this sonnet by Oxford (published under the name Shake-speare) might give a hint:

Sonnet 76
Why is my verse so barren of new pride,
So far from variation or quick change?
Why with the time do I not glance aside
To new-found methods and to compounds strange?
Why write I still all one, ever the same,
And keep invention in a noted weed,
That every word doth almost tell my name,
Showing their birth and where they did proceed?
O, know, sweet love, I always write of you,
And you and love are still my argument;
So all my best is dressing old words new,
Spending again what is already spent:
For as the sun is daily new and old,
So is my love still telling what is told.

This sonnet has been argued by Oxfordians as a wordplay sonnet by Oxford to hint at his name since four of the five letters of the word “every” can spell out “Vere,” thus “almost tell [Oxford’s] name.” In addition, symmetrically above and below the (underlined) “name” line, the first letters spell Watson’s name if “and” is taken as a substitution of “N.” If this sonnet was a work of wordplay, this is wordplay at its best.
Whether Oxford published his works under Watson’s name is unknown because there is no concrete evidence that explicitly proves so. But the connections between Oxford and Watson are absolutely undoubted and we must consider the possibility that *Italian Madrigals English*, though published by Watson, could be related to Oxford, an Italianate English man who was also a musician.

**Mantua, Gonzaga, and Marenzio**

In the five Italian madrigal anthologies published in England from 1588 to 1598, madrigals by Luca Marenzio (1553-1599) are the most prominent (Appendix A, Table A.1). This is certainly the case in *IME*, where twenty-three out of twenty-eight translated madrigals are all Marenzio’s compositions. It is also very interesting that the probable sources of the Marenzio madrigals in both *MT* and *IME* are dated from 1580 to 1586 from their original publications (Kerman 53-55, 59).

A few observations about the source dates of the Marenzio madrigals in *MT* and *IME*: 1) these are Marenzio’s early works; 2) many of these madrigals’ source date are 1586, which make these madrigals the newest in the anthologies; 3) these madrigals, significant in number, arrived in English quickly and were almost immediately translated in a short period of time. Judging from these observations, the collector(s) and/or translator(s) of these madrigals appear to be extremely interested in Marenzio, though at the early stage of his fame. Could this possibly be the doing of Oxford, the musical “Italianate Englishman”?

Oxford had traveled to the Continent in 1575 and 1576 for sixteen months, during which he visited “France, Germany, and especially Italy” (Delahoyde, “Doing”). According to surviving letters of Oxford’s correspondence with England, Oxford was in Padua in April and again in November of 1575. Mantua was merely a day’s journey from Padua.

There is a high possibility that Oxford, being so close to Mantua, visited Mantua because
"[no] courtier of the court of Elizabeth I, traveling in Italy, would have failed to visit the tomb of Baldassare Castiglione, author of *The Courtier,*” which was in Mantua (Miller, qtd. in Clark 239). What’s worth noting is that the vivid depiction of the Trojan War in *The Rape of Lucrece* seems to be describing the wall painting in a room in the Duke of Gonzaga’s mansion, where Oxford might have stayed (Delahoyde, Lecture). What does this have to do with Marenzio?

Although Marenzio left very few records about his early life, Steve Ledbetter, Marenzio’s primary biographer, believes that Marenzio might have been a choirboy studying music in Mantua from 1569 until 1574 (Ledbetter 317). 1574 is speculated as the latest year that Marenzio stayed in Mantua because Marenzio, as a young pupil, was studying under Giovanni Contino, employed by the Gonzagas, who died that year. After 1574, we don’t know anything about Marenzio until he shows up in the records again around 1577. However, just because Contino died in 1574 does not mean Marenzio must have left Mantua immediately. Being such a talented composer with great output later on in his life who served in the Council of Trent, Marenzio might have possibly stayed in Mantua for a little while after 1574 as a substitute for Contino.

If Marenzio substituted as the composer-in-residence for a short while until 1575 or later, then Oxford would have met Marenzio during his stay in Mantua in the same year. This likely acquaintance could have been so pleasant that it motivated Oxford to import Marenzio’s music as soon as Marenzio’s first full volume was published in 1580 (Ledbetter 315). Subsequently, it might also explain why a certain “Gentleman” would translate and publish these madrigals in such a short period of time.

The connections between these anthologies and Oxford have been found in numerous ways. From *MT,* there is the evidence of “stigma of print” about an unknown “gentleman” whose profile is highly consistent with Oxford’s. *IMI:* followed *MT* almost immediately, and there is no
evidence that Watson knew actually madrigal composers. But Watson certainly knew Oxford, and their literary connections in poetry and wordplay are undeniable. The likely Mantuan connection between Oxford and Marenzio might explain why Marenzio’s madrigals were the most popular in the English anthologies. These connections do not conclude that Oxford was the definite contributor of the anthologies. But judging from these connections, Oxford was very likely the “gentleman” behind these anthologies.

Whether the next three anthologies of Italian madrigals published during 1597-8 have any detailed connections with Oxford is an issue beyond the scope of this investigation. There is no such research into the late three anthologies; however, their publication years will be briefly discussed later in the summary with the chronology timetable.
III. Thomas Weelkes

Weelkes [...] can do so many things, and do them all well. He is almost as man-sided as Shakespeare. He is the real musical embodiment of the English character in his fantastic unexpectedness.

Gustav Holst (1874-1943) (qtd. in Altschuler and Jansen, “Men”).

Initial Suspicions

The “phenomenon” of the English madrigal is closely associated with those four years when Weelkes published his madrigals from 1597 to 1600. Those madrigals are, from the start, “mature work of the highest class” (Fellowes 192). Then, Weelkes’ amazing madrigal creativity seems to stop after 1600. Although he did publish another set of airs in 1608, those airs were mostly mediocre works and showed a change in style (Brown 119). The styles and quality of Weelkes full anthems also vary so much that even David Brown posts a question about the authorship of these works (141).

Some parallels between Weelkes and Stratford’s Shakspeare – the supposed front-man for Oxford’s literary publications -- arise. Their first published works were immediately the “highest class” within their fields (Fellowes 192 and Twain). Shakspeare was known as a litigious grain-merchant, and Weelkes was a known alcoholic (Brown 205 and Twain, qtd. in Michell 41). The only poem with any connection to Shakspeare – the warning on his monument -- is no match of that great Shakespeare (Twain, qtd in Michell 42); Weelkes’ works are varied in quality (141). Both had “shotgun” weddings. Not much is known about Shakspeare; Weelkes has even fewer surviving signatures: just three. Both of their creative outputs seem to stop sometime soon after 1600 – and not because they were dead.

Altschuler and Jansen have done a research on Weelkes’ text author. After a close examination of Weelkes’ madrigals, they have found some interesting connections between Weelkes and Shakspeare (“Men”):
• Weelkes’ madrigal, “Thule, the period of cosmography/The Andalusian merchant,” has a line that mimics an exchange from *The Taming of the Shrew*:

> Whose heart with fear doth freeze, with love doth fry. ("Thule")

> Graybeard, thy love doth freeze. /But thine doth fry. (*Shrew*, II.i.335-6)

• In the madrigal “A country pair,” published in the 1597 set of madrigals, the phrase “kiss me Kate” repeats several times, again quoting *The Taming of the Shrew*.

• Shakespeare is known to have introduced about three thousand new words to the English language (Ogburn 3). The first usages of the words “Andalusian” and “Trinacrian” in the above Weelkes madrigal, published in 1600, are incorrectly recorded in the *Oxford English Dictionary* at later dates (Altschuler and Jansen, “Men”). This means that Weelkes’ text author was the first to use these words, a feature of Shakespeare.

• In the same 1597 set, there are three madrigals using almost the exact text of poem #17 of *The Passionate Pilgrim*, a collection of poems credited to Shakespeare, published in 1599. What is even more remarkable about Weelkes’ 1597 lyrics is that it seems to be an improvement of the *Passionate* poem, even though it precedes the first edition of *Passionate* by two years (Appendix D).

Besides the Shakespeare connections that Altschuler and Jansen discovered, they also add that there are a number of madrigal texts from the 1597 used by Weelkes that are translations of some texts from Salamone Rossi’s (ca.1570 – ca.1630) canzonets. Judging from the texts, Weelkes’ text author must knew Greek and the Classics (“Men”).

In the dedication page of the 1600 set, Weelkes says that his “consience is untoucht with any other arts” (qtd. in Altschuler and Jansen, “Men”). Weelkes seems to imply that he wrote the texts himself. But, according to his biographer David Brown, Weelkes was only about twenty-two years old when the 1597 set of madrigals was published, and nothing is known about
him before that date (Brown 18). Weelkes would not have received his Bachelor of Music from Oxford University until 1602. If Weelkes had a poet to supply him with texts and translations, where did Weelkes, at such "unripe" age, find such a good poet who had so many similarities with the author of Shakespeare? The answer is unknown. But if this poet was indeed Oxford himself, then Weelkes will be the first known composer to have ever worked with Oxford.

Dedication Pages

One of the arguments used by Oxfordians to support Oxford as Shakespeare is the collection of examples of "wordplay" in Shakespearean literature that reveal Oxford's name, Edward de Vere. In the discussion about Watson, Sonnet 76 was used as an example to demonstrate Oxford's wordplay. There are several more types of wordplay found in the works. Consider a portion of the "Echo Verses" poem, one directly credited to Oxford:

Oh heavens! Who was the first that bred in me this fever? Vere
Who was the first that gave the wound whose fear I wear for ever? Vere.
What tyrant, Cupid, to my harm usurps thy golden quiver? Vere.
What sight first caught this heart and can from bondage it deliver? Vere. ("Poems").

The ending word of each line is a derivative of Oxford's last name, Vere, and "Vere" is answered back in return. From this poem, we know that Oxford had a habit of playing with his name in his own works.

The play *The Winter's Tale* has nothing to do with winter. All the scenes in the play are set in spring, which makes the play title problematic. However, when the title is translated into French, it becomes "conte d'hiver," which sounds like "Count de Vere" (Delahoyde, "Lecture: Shakespeare"). There are no counts in England but equally ranking earls, so "Count de Vere" is really "Earl de Vere."

The word "ever" as "E. Ver." (as in Edward Vere) is often used by Oxford. This exchange
comes from *Hamlet*, the most autobiographical play by Oxford:

*Horatio.* The same, my lord, and your poor servant ever.

*Hamlet.* Sir, my good friend – I’ll change that name with you. (I.ii.162-164)

Although loosely striking a pose of humility, *Hamlet* does not refer to a rank, a title, or to anything else but specifically a “name”: not the position “servant” but the name perhaps “ever” (E. Ver).

While researching Weelkes, one also encounters some possible “wordplay.” The 1600 set of madrigals were published separately, and each publication had a dedication page. The early set’s dedication page reads:

```
TO THE TRVELY NOBLE
VERTVOVS AND HONORABLE, MY VERY
Good Lord, Henry Lord Winsor, Baron
of Bradenham
(Weelkes, Madrigals of 5)
```

One observes that the top two lines appear in a much bigger font than the bottom lines, where the patron’s name is given. On dedication pages, it’s a norm that the font diminishes in size from top to bottom. It is also a norm is that the patron’s name is either on the top or in the middle – not on the bottom. This dedication page is odd because the patron’s name is completely overpowered by the word “TRVELY” (truly) and the two occurrences of “Ver” (vertuous and very).

On the Vere family crest lies these Latin words “VERO.NIHIL. VERJUS,” which pun on the family name “Vere.” These words are also translated as “truly nothing truer” or “nothing truer than truth” (Barron 40). Since the word “TRVELY” dominantly appears and the letter “V” appeared five times, this dedication page seems suspicious. Then, in the dedication of the second 1600 set of madrigals, the bottom reads:
Wherin, my hereafter times shall ever bind me to acknowledge it in all due & reverent thankfulness, & in my best wits, deserve it as I may. Ever resting, as best shall become mee. (Weelkes, Madrigals of 6)

Whether the words such as "reverent," "deserve," or "ever" are intentional punning words, the last phrase is still very odd. What does "Ever resting, as best shall become mee" mean? Typically, Tudor dedication pages are more "flattery" (Fellowes 80). But the tone of this phrase is so peculiar and declarative that makes this not typical. Could it possibly mean "E. Ver is resting and I am claiming his works as the best composer" or "I will be credited as the best while doing nothing"?

The cover of Weelkes' 1608 set of airs is strange as well. The cover reads:

Made and newly published by THOMAS WEELKES, Gentleman of his Majesties Chappell, Batchelor of Musicke and Organest of the Cathedral Church of Chichester.

(Fellowes, "1608")

This cover is strange on two counts. First, "[Weelkes'] name is never mentioned in the records of the Chapel itself" (Brown 33). Therefore this cover is not entirely honest. Second, even if Weelkes was indeed a gentleman, he certainly was the least modest gentleman to practice the "stigma of print" -- he not only called himself a gentleman, he publicized his music degree, which was not seen even on Morley's publication covers.

These oddities of Weelkes' publications are mere observations and are too puzzling. They do not serve as concrete evidence regarding connections with Oxford. Is there a way to objectively determine the significance of some of the oddities?

Word Count

Weelkes' madrigal, "Take here my heart," seems suspicious. Not only is the word "ever" repeated, but the first syllable is prolonged, so it looks like "e—ver." The word within the
context of the parent text does not show any sign of wordplay. But the prolongation of the word “ever” seems like a type of wordplay with the addition of music. So, could this be Oxford’s doing?

In order to prove this speculation, a method is applied. With a “word count” from a sample of madrigals of Morley, Weelkes, and Wilbye (Appendix B), focused on derivatives of “Vere” such as ever, never, ere, and winter (hiver, or E. Ver), the result is surprising:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Total Occurrence</th>
<th>Total Measures</th>
<th>Ratio</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Morley</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4035</td>
<td>0.00123916</td>
<td>4.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weelkes</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>3658</td>
<td>0.01667578</td>
<td>64.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wilbye</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>3114</td>
<td>0.00802826</td>
<td>30.9%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Not only was Weelkes’ usage of the “words” much higher than that of the other two composers, his vocabulary was broader and “ever” is the most frequently used word.

From the observations made about some of Weelkes’ madrigal texts, there is a high possibility that Weelkes’ text author is somehow related to Oxford. Even though many aspects of Weelkes’ madrigal publications show signs of oddities and connections, the question of whether Oxford composed music and published under Weelkes’ name is still unanswered. But the similarities between the texts are simply astounding.
Summary - The Big Picture with the Annuity

Up to this point, what do we know about Oxford and the English madrigals? Oxford was a music lover and an enthusiast of Italy. He had introduced into England several Italian imports and music could be possibly one of them. He was documented as one of the best courtier poets who practiced the “stigma of print.” He was praised as a musician who possibly composed, too. From Altschuler and Jansen’s research we know Oxford’s profile was consistent with the unknown “gentleman” who translated *Musica Transalpina*. Oxford definitely had a connection with Watson, who never worked with any true madrigal composers that we know of and yet published an important English madrigal landmark, *Italian Madrigals Englished*. Then comes Weelkes, whose madrigal texts had undeniable connection with the works of “Shake-speare.”

These connections, when discussed individually, do not constitute overly significant revelations. They need to be put in a different perspective in order to be better appreciated. There are two important events from Oxford’s biography that are intentionally delayed and put forth here in order to make a better understanding of the collective analysis with a biographical perspective.

First, in 1586, Queen Elizabeth granted Oxford an unusual annuity of £1,000, which equals about several hundred thousand dollars today (Delahoyde, “Shake-speare”). This annuity would continue under the reign of King James. There were no explanations given regarding this annuity, and Oxford would start his retirement three years later in 1589 (Ward 299). Second, it was during this retirement period that William Stanley, the sixth Earl of Derby, married Oxford’s daughter in 1595 (318). Since then, Oxford and Derby were documented to have spent much leisure time together (321). It was during the period that each man was individually noted as a playwright or a musician.

The annuity is important in relation to the timeline analysis because the annuity is consistent
with the dates of both the “Shake-speare” works and the madrigal publications (Appendix C). Before the start of Oxford’s annuity in 1586, there were no published Shakespeare plays and no published Italian madrigals. Almost immediately after the start of Oxford’s annuity, two events happened: the contribution of the anonymous “gentleman,” *Musica Transalpina*, was published in 1588 and the first dated “Shake-speare” play, *Henyi VI*, in 1589. It was that same year that Oxford was mentioned by name in *The Arte of English Poesie*, practicing the so-called “stigma of print.” Then in the next two years, *Italian Madrigals Englished*, published by Watson, who evidently had significant connections with Oxford, was printed, and followed by John Farmer’s first dedication to Oxford about his musicianship.

Then, during the collaboration years with Derby after 1595, a creative outburst seemed to occur, including play publications. Interestingly, Derby has been documented to have met with Oxford in 1595, 1596, and twice in 1599 (Ward 327). These dates almost line up perfectly with Weelkes’ madrigal publication dates of 1597, 1598, and 1600. Although out of the scope of the investigation, it’s worth noting that the late three Italian madrigal anthologies were published during this period.

All of the sudden, the end of the Tudor era also ended all this creativity. The Queen died in 1603, and Oxford died in 1604. No more Italian madrigal anthologies were published. English madrigal publications abruptly slowed down -- so were with the plays. This was precisely the end of what Fellowes called “the strangest phenomenon” in the entire history of music.
Conclusion

It’s time to answer this question: are the alleged connections significant enough to link Oxford to the development of English madrigals? My conscience tells me that, at this moment in time, these connections are not significant enough to go beyond reasonable doubt to link Oxford to the development of English madrigals. However, was Oxford involved in the English music scene in any kind of capacity? That answer is with little doubt highly likely, considering how coincidental some of these connections are. The coincidental nature of the connections raises inherent suspicions that are difficult to ignore. Let me revise Orson Welles’ quote and say, “I think Oxford had something to do with the development of English madrigals. If you don’t agree, there are some awfully funny coincidences to explain away.”

The authorship issue has been debated for centuries now. If I were to offer an analogy to the debate, it would be this: it is an equation with too many unknown and uninvestigated variables. We simply do not have enough known variables to fully solve the equation. More information is needed. This is a list of future investigations related to this thesis that must not be overlooked:

- The translations of the late three anthologies *Musica Transalpina II* (1597, published by Yonge), *Selected Canzonets* (1597, published by Morley), and *Selected Madrigals* (1598, published by Morley).
- A more complete comparison of the “word count” of Weelkes’ madrigal texts with other contemporaries’ works is possible to do to avoid sample errors.
- Weelkes’ music must be studied further. If the hypothesis that Oxford composed Weelkes’ madrigals is true, then Oxford very likely encrypted his name “Vere” somewhere in the music. Such encryption could be achieved through solfege syllables, pitch letters, assignment of letters to notes, and coded duration of certain notes to represent letters.
- The end of Tudor era was also the end the creative outburst. Whether there were other
societal factors influencing such creative outburst must be investigated.

Let me leave end with this thought. Morley's *First Booke of Consort Lessons* was used as an example in this study to demonstrate the existence of the "stigma of print" in music during the Tudor era. Coincidentally, there are two tunes in that very book related to the subject of this thesis. One of them is "O Mistress Mine," a song that shows up in the Shakespeare play *Twelfth Night*; the other is titled "My Lord of Oxenford's Maske." A maske (masque) is a type of dance, and this maske has an anonymous composer.

Is "Maske" yet another pun?
## Appendix A: Mathematical Presentation of the Anthologies

(Kerman, 53-55, 59, 62-63, 65, 68-69)

MT = *Musica Transalpina*

IME = *Italian Madrigals Englished*

SC = *Selected Canzonets*

SM = *Selected Madrigals*

### Table A.1 – By Composer

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Composer</th>
<th>MT (1588)</th>
<th>IME (1590)</th>
<th>MT (1597)</th>
<th>SC (1597)</th>
<th>SM (1598)</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bertani</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Byrd</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**Additions after 1597**
(from SC)

| Aneiro | 6 | 6 |
| Bassano | 3 | 3 |
| Morley | 2 | 2 |
| Viadana | 1 | 1 |

**Additions after 1598**

| Belli | 1 | 1 |
| Giovannelli | 4 | 4 |
| Mosto | 1 | 1 |
| Orologio | 1 | 1 |
| Philips | 2 | 2 |
| Sabino | 1 | 1 |

**Total Songs**

<p>| 57 | 28 | 24 | 20 | 24 | 153 |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>MT (1588)</th>
<th>IME (1590)</th>
<th>MT (1597)</th>
<th>SC (1597)</th>
<th>SM (1598)</th>
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<td>1</td>
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<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>1593</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
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<td>Total</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>153</td>
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Appendix B: E. Ver Word Count

Sample - All the songs in *The Oxford Book of English Madrigals* by Morley, Weelkes, and Wilbye

Method – Count all words that are either “ever” or its close anagrammatical derivatives such as “never, ere, and weary.”

- Occurrence = the number of times a word is sung including all voices and repeats.
- Measures = total measure in a song, including repeats
- Total Measures = voice parts x measures
- The ratio = total occurrence / total measures

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>B.1 - Morley</th>
<th>Occurrence</th>
<th>Parts</th>
<th>Measures</th>
<th>Total Measures</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>April is in my mistress' face</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fyer, fyer!</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>178</td>
<td>890</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hard by a crystal fountain</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>768</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I love, alas, I love thee</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>285</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leave, alas, this tormenting</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>440</td>
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<tr>
<td>My bonny lass she smileth</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>280</td>
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<tr>
<td>Now is the month of maying</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>510</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sing we and chant it</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Though Philomela lost her love</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>234</td>
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<tr>
<td>Whither away so fast?</td>
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<td>82</td>
<td>246</td>
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<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>5</strong></td>
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<td><strong>4035</strong></td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>B.2 - Weelkes</th>
<th>Occurrence</th>
<th>Parts</th>
<th>Measures</th>
<th>Total Measures</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>As Vesta Was</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>696</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Come, sirrah Jack, ho!</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hark, all ye lovely saints</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>350</td>
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<tr>
<td>O care, thou wilt despatch me</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>275</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hence, care, thou art too cruel</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>290</td>
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<tr>
<td>Since Robin hood</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>192</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sing we at pleasure</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>535</td>
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<tr>
<td>Strike it up, tabor</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thule, the period of cosmography</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>462</td>
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</table>
The Andalusian merchant & 0 & 6 & 68 & 408 \\
Thus sings my dearest jewel & 0 & 3 & 60 & 180 \\
\hline
Total & 61 & & & 3658 \\

**B.3 - Wilbye**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occurrence</th>
<th>Parts</th>
<th>Measures</th>
<th>Total Measures</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adieu, sweet Amaryllis</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Draw on, sweet night</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flora gave me fairest flowers</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lady, when I behold</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O what shall I do?</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweet honey-sucking bees</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yet, sweet, take heed</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weep, weep, mine eyes</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
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**B.4 - Frequency of Word Occurrence**

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<th>Word</th>
<th>Morley</th>
<th>Weelkes</th>
<th>Wilbye</th>
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<td>very</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>never</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fiery</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ere</td>
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<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ever</td>
<td>24</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>weary</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>winter</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>25</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**B.5 - The Occurrence-Measure Ratio**

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<th>Ratio</th>
<th>%</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>Morley</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4035</td>
<td>0.00123916</td>
<td>4.8%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Weelkes</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>3658</td>
<td>0.01667578</td>
<td>64.3%</td>
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<td>Wilbye</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>3114</td>
<td>0.00802826</td>
<td>30.9%</td>
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## Appendix C: Comparative Biographical Chronology Table

This table is created to serve as the “big picture” regarding relevant events happened during the years discussed in the paper. This table is not intended to include every details such as play publications.

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Oxford</th>
<th>Weelkes</th>
<th>Other</th>
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<td>1550</td>
<td>- Born in Essex</td>
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<tr>
<td>1551</td>
<td></td>
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<td>1552</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1553</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>1554</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1555</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1556</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>- Accession of Queen Elizabeth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1557</td>
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<td>1558</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1559</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1560</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1561</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 1562 | - Father dies  
      - Becomes the 17th Earl of Oxford  
      - In the care of William Cecil, tutored by Arthur Golding, translator of Ovid |         |       |
<p>| 1564 | - B.A., Cambridge University | - Will Shaksper is born |       |
| 1565 |         |         |       |
| 1566 | - M.A., Oxford University | - Collector of <em>Paradise</em>, Richard Edwards, dies |       |
| 1567 | - Studies law at Gray’s Inn |         |       |
| 1568 | - Mother dies |         |       |
| 1569 | - Dedication from a poet about learning |         |       |
| 1570 | - Accompanies Sussex in a Scottish campaign |         |       |
| 1571 | - Marries Anne Cecil | - W. Cecil becomes Lord Burghley |       |
| 1572 | - Attempts to rescue Norfolk for Catholic conspiracy; Norfolk is executed |         |       |
| 1573 | - To the Continent w/o permission |         |       |
| 1574 | - First Notice of Derby’s men |         |       |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
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</thead>
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<tr>
<td>1575</td>
<td>January: to the Continent again; France, Germany, Italy for 16 months</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Birth year (circa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Mantua connection?</td>
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<tr>
<td>1576</td>
<td>April: Back to England</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Birth of first daughter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1577</td>
<td>- Tennis-court quarrel with Sidney</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1578</td>
<td>- Denounces Catholic friends to the Queen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- The &quot;friends&quot; retaliated, reputation damaged</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1579</td>
<td>- Affair with Vavasour; illegitimate son</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Sent to the Tower by Elizabeth for a while</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Fight w/ Knyvet, both wounded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1580</td>
<td>- Out of favor with the Queen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1581</td>
<td>- Sold resident house Wivenhoe in Essex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Lives in London(?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1582</td>
<td>- Annuity of £1,000 starts: no explanations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1583</td>
<td>- Thomas Kyd: under Oxford's employ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1584</td>
<td>- Anne Cecil dies</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Sea-flight in Spanish Armada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Bears the canopy over the Queen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1585</td>
<td>- From this point on: retirement and privacy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1586</td>
<td>- Thomas Churchyard in Oxford's employ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1587</td>
<td>- Married again, to Elizabeth Trentham; start of complete retirement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Asks to for a lump sum of £5,000 instead of the £1,000 annuity; not granted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1588</td>
<td>- Asks for import monopoly on oils, wools, and fruits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1589</td>
<td>- Son Henry, born, in Stoke Newington</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1590</td>
<td>- Italian Madrigals Englished</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1591</td>
<td>- Dedication from Farmer about music</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1592</td>
<td>- Venus and Adonis published</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1593</td>
<td>- The Rape of Lucrece and Titus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Andronicus published</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1595 - Marriage: Elizabeth Vere and William Stanley (Derby)

1596 - Stayed with Derby at Cannon Row
- Lady Oxford bought "King’s Place" in Hackney

1597 - Madrigals to 3, 4, 5, & 6 voyces

1598 - Ballets and Madrigals to five voices

1599 - Lady Oxford reports being entertained by the Derbys at Thistleworth in January; Derby accompanies Lady Oxford back to King’s Place
- Derbys stayed at King’s Place again in November
- Bridget Vere marries Francis Norris
- another reference of "office" from Bertie

1600 - Bego R. Cecil for Governorship of the Isle of Jersey, not granted
- Madrigals of 5. and 6. voyces
- states as an organist a Winchester College

1601 - Repeats the request but for the Presidency of Wales
- "As Vesta Was Descending" in The Triumphs of Oriana
- The Queen grants lands from Danvers to Oxford; never received.

1602 - Follow-up on the lands; still not received
- B.M., Oxford University
- Oxford and Worcester: company merger; one of the three licensed theatre companies in London

1603 - Married to Elizabeth Sandham
- Son Thomas, born

1604 - Oxford dies; no will

- Midsummer Night’s Dream reportedly being performed at an aristocratic wedding (only two weddings that year)
- Paradise (6 + 7)
- Robert Cecil becomes Principle Secretary

- Vacancy of music printing monopoly
- Musica Transalpina (2)
- Morley: Selected Canzonets
- Richard II published

- Burghley dies
- Publication: Shakespeare’s first quartos (Love Labor’s Lost, Henry VI)
- Morley: Selected Madrigals
- Dedication from Farmer, again, about music
- Morley: The First Booke of Consort Lessons (1), including “My Lord of Oxfords Maske”
- Romeo and Juliet published
- The Globe Theater opens
- Paradise (8)
- Midsummer + Merchant + Much Ado + 3 more plays published
- Morley: The Triumphs of Oriana
- Essex uprising

1605
1606 - Daughter Alice, born - Paradise (9)
1607
1608 - Ayeres or Phaustsicke Spirities for three voices - Publication of three unauthentic plays
- States himself as a gentleman
1609 - Pericles published
1610
1611 - Morley: The First Booke of Consort Lessons (2)
1612 - Lady Oxford dies
1613 - Documented drunkeness
1614 - The only two sacred pieces published
during his lifetime in The Tears or
lamentation of a sorrowful soul
1616 - Shaksper dies
1617
1618
1619
1620
1621
1622
1623 - Weelkes dies; leave a will - Shakespeare's First Folio
1624 - Francis Pilkington: mentions of
Derby's composition
Appendix D – *The Passionate Pilgrim* Text

The difference in the texts are in bold below.

**Madrigals to 3. 4. 5. and 6. Voices (1597)**

II, III, and IV

My flocks feed not, my ewes breed not,
My rams speed not, all is amiss;
Love is dying, faith’s defying,
Heart’s denying, causer of this.
All our merry jigs are quite forgot,
All my lady’s love is lost, God wot;
Where our faith was firmly fixed in love,
There annoy is placed without remove.
One seely cross wrought all my loss;
O frowning Fortune, cursed fickle dame!
For now I see inconstancy
More in women than in many men to be.

In black mourn I, all fear scorn I,
Love hath forlorn me, living in thrall.
Heart is bleeding, all help needing,
O cruel speeding, fraught with gall.
My shepherd’s pipe will sound no deal;
My wether’s bell rings doleful knell;
My curtal dog that wont to have played,
Plays not at all, but seems afraid;
My sighs so deep procures to weep,
With howling wise, to see my doleful plight.
How sighs resound through harkless ground,
Like a thousand vanquished men in bloody fight!

**The Passionate Pilgrim (1599)**

17

My flocks feed not, my ewes breed not,
My rams speed not, all is amiss;
Love is dying, faith’s defying,
Heart’s denying, causer of this.
All my merry jigs are quite forgot,
All my lady’s love is lost, God wot;
Where her faith was firmly fixed in love,
There a nay is placed without remove.
One silly cross wrought all my loss;
O frowning Fortune, cursed fickle dame!
For now I see inconstancy
More in women than in men remain.

In black mourn I, all fears scorn I,
Love hath forlorn me, living in thrall.
Heart is bleeding, all help needing,
O cruel speeding, fraughted with gall.
My shepherd’s pipe can sound no deal;
My wether’s bell rings doleful knell;
My curtal dog that wont to have played,
Plays not at all, but seems afraid;
My sighs so deep procures to weep,
In howling wise, to see my doleful plight.
How sighs resound through heartless ground,
Like a thousand vanquished men in bloody fight!
Clear wells spring not, sweet birds sing not,
**Loud bells ring not Cheerfully.**
Herds stand weeping, flocks all sleeping,
Nymphs back peeping fearfully.
All our pleasure known to us poor swains,
All our merry meetings on the plains,
All our evening sport from us is fled,
All our love are lost, for Love is dead.
Farewell, sweet lass, thy like ne'er was
For a sweet content, the cause of all my woe:
Poor Corydon must live alone;
Other help for him I know there's none.

(Fellowes, "1608")

Clear wells spring not, sweet birds sing not,
**Green plants bring not forth their dye,**
Herds stand weeping, flocks all sleeping,
Nymphs back peeping fearfully.
All our pleasure known to us poor swains,
All our merry meetings on the plains,
All our evening sport from us is fled,
All our love is lost, for Love is dead.
Farewell, sweet lass, thy like ne'er was
For a sweet content, the cause of all my moan:
Poor Corydon must live alone;
Other help for him I see that there is none.

(Passionate)
Works Cited


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<http://www.elizabethanauthors.com/oxfordpoems.htm>


What are "neutral" expectations?

What is counter-evidence?