

Billy Budd and *The Monument*

by C. V. Berney

Billy Budd, Foretopman, is Herman Melville's last literary work. He was working on it almost to the day of his death, 27 September 1891. His wife put the manuscript into a tin breadbox, where it remained for over thirty years. Eventually the manuscript was passed on to a scholar by Melville's granddaughter, and *Billy Budd* was included in a uniform edition of Melville's works in 1924.¹ It has since come to be regarded as a classic—a poignant and layered parable of the human condition.

Billy Budd. The story concerns a sailor of radiant beauty (he is frequently referred to as “the Handsome Sailor”). The time is 1797, and England is at war with Napoleonic France. The British navy must be manned, and Billy is impressed—forcibly transferred from a merchant ship to a man-o'-war, the *Indomitable*. There he incurs the enmity of Claggart, the Master-at-Arms, whose responsibility it is to detect and suppress any mutinous inclinations among the seamen. Claggart sets Billy up by having one of his subordinates propose a *sub-rosa* meeting to Billy. The young sailor indignantly refuses to participate, but does not report the incident to the authorities. This sin of omission allows Claggart (reporting to the captain of the ship) to represent Billy as the leader of a mutinous plot. The captain, stunned by an accusation so at odds with what he has seen of Billy's behavior, calls for an immediate face-to-face confrontation. Billy has one flaw: when under stress, he has difficulty speaking. When Claggart repeats the accusation to Billy's face, he struggles to respond, then reflexively strikes Claggart, who is killed by the blow. The captain, agonizingly aware of Billy's essential innocence, is nevertheless forced to order Billy's immediate trial and execution.

The Monument is Hank Whittemore's groundbreaking analysis of Shakespeare's Sonnets.² Whittemore sees the Sonnets as divided into three groups. Sonnets 1-26 are addressed to the “Fair Youth,” with the first seventeen urging him to marry and get an heir. In common with most scholars, Whittemore identifies the “Fair Youth” as Henry Wriothesley, the 3rd Earl of Southampton. Whittemore takes the further step of postulating that Southampton is the natural son of Edward de Vere, 17th Earl of Oxford,

by Queen Elizabeth. As the son of the queen, Southampton is the natural heir to the throne. The last group (Sonnets 127-154) is mostly addressed to the Dark Lady, the queen who defaulted on promises made to Oxford, the author of the Sonnets. The central group of 100 sonnets constitutes a set of chronologically arranged messages to Southampton during the time he was imprisoned and under sentence of death for his participation in the Essex Rebellion, which took place 8 February 1601.

Lytton Strachey has written a convincing account of the Essex rebellion.³ He tells it as a power struggle between handsome, dashing Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex, and the queen's chief advisor Robert Cecil, son of the late Lord Burghley. A leader must be chosen to command English forces putting down the rebellion in Ireland. Wise heads discourage Essex from volunteering for the post, pointing out how difficult it is for foreign troops to suppress insurgents in their native land, but Cecil manipulates council discussions in such a way that Essex finally blurts out that he is the right man for the job. He goes to Ireland at the head of 17,500 troops, naming his best friend, the Earl of Southampton, as his Captain of Horse. The campaign in Ireland is a disaster, and Essex, fearing that Cecil is turning the queen against him, rushes back to England to give the queen an explanation of his military difficulties and assure her of his love. He is accompanied by Southampton and a group of loyal soldiers. The queen is displeased by his precipitate return, in defiance of her express command. Tensions grow between them, until finally a note from Cecil requiring Essex's presence at a council meeting leads Essex to believe he will be arrested. He takes to the streets with a band of his followers (including Southampton), intending to take control of the Court and remove Cecil from access to the queen. The uprising is ill-planned, and soon defeated. Essex and four of his followers are tried and executed. Strangely, the sentence of his chief follower, Southampton, is commuted to life imprisonment. No official explanation for this commutation has ever been given.

The story of *Billy Budd* runs strongly parallel to that of the Essex Rebellion. In both cases a handsome protagonist, more or less naïve, is manipulated by a wily plotter into a position which leads him to an emotional act of violence, a deed for which the power structure decrees that he must be executed. The question we will now consider is this: was Herman Melville aware of this parallelism, was it something that he consciously used in constructing his last literary work, or is it simply a coincidence? If Melville was consciously using material from the

Elizabethan period, we would expect to find indications of it in the details of the work. Let us look more closely at some of the characters in *Billy Budd*.

The Captain of the *Indomitable*. In a stunning display of candor, Melville gave his captain the name ‘Edward Vere,’ the name of the author of the Sonnets, the Shakespeare plays, and (some believe) the biological father of Southampton. It’s as if C. S. Lewis gave his self-sacrificing lion in the *Narnia* series the name ‘Jesus Christ.’ It’s as if you came across a ‘Where’s Waldo’ drawing where Waldo is standing on a pedestal in the foreground holding a banner saying ‘Here I Am!’ (In Melville’s defense, the name ‘Edward de Vere’ was not as well known in 1891 as it is today.)

But perhaps we’re being too hasty, jumping to a conclusion. Perhaps Melville simply chose the name at random. What are the characteristics of the captain?

In the navy he was popularly known by the appellation “Starry Vere.” [659]⁴

For many of us, the term “starry” recalls the mullet on the shield in the Vere family crest (Fig. 1). This seems to support our original hypothesis, that Melville was deliberately referring to Edward de Vere.

“But wait,” cries the orthodox scholar, “Melville tells us where he got the name. It’s from the poem ‘Appleton House,’ written around 1652 by Andrew Marvell. It even provides the appellation ‘starry’!”

This ‘tis to have been from the first
In a domestic heaven nursed,
Under the discipline severe
Of FAIRFAX and the starry VERE⁵

The phrase “discipline severe” in the quoted portion of the poem leads one to assume that it deals with naval exploits. It is actually a panegyric to the beauties of the woods surrounding the Yorkshire country home of Thomas Fairfax (1612-1671), and to the charms of his daughter Mary, who Marvell tutored.⁶ The *Dictionary of National Biography* gives Fairfax a fairly detailed treatment, including his matriculation at St. John’s College, Cambridge, and his service in the Low Countries under Edward de Vere’s cousin, Sir Horace Vere.⁷ He got along so well with Sir Horace that he married his daughter Anne (she is the “Vere” mentioned in the poem).

Melville gives his captain's full name as "Edward Fairfax Vere." The *DNB* lists an 'Edward Fairfax' (d. 1635) as a translator and poet whose works were especially valued by James I and Charles I.⁸ There is some mystery about his origins: his name is missing from some genealogies. In one he is listed as a son of Sir Thomas Fairfax (1560-1640, grandfather to the Thomas Fairfax mentioned above) with a dotted line connecting him to a brother, Sir Charles. One historian describes him as a natural son of Sir Thomas.

Aside from family connections, the name 'Fairfax' itself can be construed as significant. In Elizabethan times, 'Vere' was pronounced to rhyme with 'Fair'. Some Oxfordians assert that de Vere used 'fair' as a code word for 'Vere.' 'Fax' can be viewed as a Latin noun. The dictionary⁹ gives three definitions: (1) a torch (2) a firebrand, instigator (3) light, flame, shooting star. I leave it to the reader to decide whether any of these terms can be applied to Edward de Vere.

Melville says explicitly that his Vere is "allied to the higher nobility" [657], and gives his philosophy in some detail [660-1]:

He had a marked leaning toward everything intellectual. He loved books, never going to sea without a newly replenished library, compact but of the best. . . . His settled convictions were as a dyke against those invading waters of novel opinion, social, political, and otherwise, which carried away as in a torrent no few minds in those days . . . While other members of that aristocracy to which by birth he belonged were incensed at the innovators mainly because their theories were inimical to the privileged classes, Captain Vere disinterestedly opposed them because they seemed to him not alone incapable of embodiment in lasting institutions, but at war with the peace of the world and the true welfare of mankind.

One need only read Ulysses' *degree* speech in *Troilus and Cressida* (scene 1.3) or Menenius' *tale of the belly* in *Coriolanus* (1.1) to see how closely the above convictions agree with those held by the author of the Shakespeare canon.¹⁰ Toward the end of the novel Melville recounts Captain Vere's death in a battle with the French, and makes this final observation [736]:

The spirit that spite its philosophic austerity may yet have indulged in the most secret of all passions, ambition, never attained to the fullness of fame.

This was certainly true of Edward de Vere at the time Melville was writing. Perhaps the situation is changing.

Shakespearean Allusions. For the alert reader, *Billy Budd* is filled with names and phrases reminiscent of Shakespearean or Elizabethan characters, inserted almost subliminally. This starts early in the story: the lieutenant who abducts Billy from his merchant ship [640] is named Ratcliffe, reminding us of Thomas Ratcliffe, 3rd Earl of Sussex, under whom de Vere served in putting down the Northern Rebellion of 1569-70. Sussex, a father figure to de Vere, died in 1583, probably poisoned by his political enemy, the Earl of Leicester. Ogburn has suggested he was the model for the murdered king in *Hamlet*.¹¹ Another reminder of the murdered king: “[Claggart’s unobserved] glance would follow the young sea-Hyperion [Billy] with a settled . . . expression” [688]. Hamlet twice refers to his father as the sun god Hyperion: first in a soliloquy (1.2) and then in his confrontation with Gertrude (3.4). Admiral Nelson is mentioned several times and is usually referred to as “Sir Horatio,” again reminding us of *Hamlet*. A sailor who befriends Billy is described as “an old Dansker, long anglicized in the service . . .” What is Hamlet if not an anglicized Dane? In fact, the term could be applied to the entire Vere family: Ogburn says “the de Veres must in origin have been Vikings—Danes to the Anglo-Saxon English . . .”¹² The old Dansker is described as “an *Agamemnon* man” [668], reminding us of the Greek general in *Troilus and Cressida*. Elsewhere we are told “Sir Horatio, being with the fleet off the Spanish coast, was directed by the Admiral in command to shift his pennant from the *Captain* to the *Theseus* . . .” [657]. The world of *Billy Budd* is one in which half the warships are named after characters in Shakespeare! And it goes on. Another passage [670] refers to a conversation between the Dansker and Billy: “. . . the old sea-Chiron, thinking that perhaps for the nonce he had sufficiently instructed his Achilles . . .” The overt reference is to Chiron, the wise centaur of Greek legend, but Chiron is also one of Tamora’s mischievous sons in *Titus Andronicus*. And of course Achilles is another character in *Troilus and Cressida*. At one point we are told “. . . something exceptional in the moral quality of Captain Vere made him . . . a veritable touch-stone . . .” [698]; with this statement we have not only a reference to the ‘allowed fool’ in *As You Like It*, but one which links the Oxford figure in that play directly with Captain Vere (with a ‘veritable’ thrown in for free). On three separate occasions, Melville refers to Billy’s ‘welkin eye’ (i.e. one that is sky-blue) [640, 670, 678]. The phrase is from *The Winter’s Tale* (1.2.136). The jealous king Leontes applies it to his young son, who subsequently dies from grief at the supposed death of his mother. A poignant moment in *Billy Budd* involves Captain Vere’s reaction when he discovers that Billy’s blow has killed Claggart [702].

Slowly he uncovered his face; and the effect was as if the moon emerging from the eclipse should reappear with quite another aspect than that which had gone into hiding.

The reader familiar with the Sonnets will immediately think of Sonnet 107, which alludes to the death of Elizabeth:

The mortal moon hath her eclipse endured . . .

Billy Budd as Henry Wriothesley. The quote from *Billy Budd* given immediately above [702] continues directly as follows:

The **father** in him, manifested toward Billy thus far in the scene, was replaced by the military disciplinarian. (emphasis added)

Melville mentions Captain Vere's fatherly relationship to Billy on two other occasions. Just after Claggart has accused Billy to his face, Captain Vere perceives his difficulty in speaking and says "There is no hurry, my boy. Take your time, take your time." [701]. The author describes these words as "fatherly in tone." Later, Melville says of the captain "He was old enough to have been Billy's father." [720]. Lewis Carroll enunciated the rule "What I tell you three times is true."¹³ Melville has told us three times that Captain Vere represents Billy's father.

When we turn to *The Monument*, we find that Billy's name is as explicit as Captain Vere's. Whittemore's study of the Sonnets has led him to propose that because of their political implications they are written in a special language involving coded references to the protagonists in the drama of Southampton's arrest, imprisonment, death sentence, and finally, commutation of that sentence. Whittemore asserts that in this context, the word 'bud' always refers to Southampton as "the budding flower of the Tudor Rose Dynasty" {61}.² Below we give examples of the use of 'bud' in the Sonnets (the number of the sonnet is followed by the page {in curly brackets} on which Whittemore discusses the symbolism).

Within thine own bud buriest thy content S. 1 {61}

Rough winds do shake the darling buds of May S. 18 {134}

And loathsome canker lives in sweetest bud S. 35 {246}

When summer's breath their masked buds discloses S. 54 {336}

And buds of marjoram had stol'n thy hair S. 99 {533}

If Whittemore's view of the Sonnets is correct, the name 'Budd' points to Southampton as unambiguously as the name 'Vere' points to Oxford.

It could be argued that Whittemore's association of the word 'bud' with Southampton, though consistent and tightly argued, is mere speculation. However, there is a contemporary source that makes that association directly and unambiguously. Some time after 1590, Thomas Nashe dedicated a work¹⁴ to Southampton and addressed him in the following words:

Pardon, sweete flower of matchless Poetrie
And fairest bud that red rose ever bore . . .

Some Oxfordians believe that 'Thomas Nashe' was one of Oxford's pen names.

Early in the novel, as Lieutenant Ratcliffe is impressing Billy, he converses amicably with Captain Graveling,¹⁵ commander of the merchant ship on which Billy has been serving. Graveling, reluctant to lose Billy, laments "Lieutenant, you are going to take my best man from me, the jewel of 'em" [642]. On first reading this, I thought that 'jewel' was a strange term for a mariner to use describing one of his crew. However, *The Monument* explains that 'jewel' has a special significance. In Sonnet 27, the first commemorating Southampton's imprisonment, he is described as "a jewel (hung in ghastly night)" {208}. Whittemore's commentary mentions a similar use of 'jewel' in Sonnet 96. He also quotes two examples from the plays in which 'jewel' is equated with 'son': "As for my sons, say I account of them as jewels" (*Titus Andronicus*, 3.1); "Had our prince, Jewel of children, seen this hour (*The Winter's Tale*, 5.1). A related word is 'ornament,' also used to refer directly to Southampton (Sonnets 1, 21 {60,162}). Throughout the novel, Billy is referred to as "the Handsome Sailor," the nautical equivalent of "the Fair Youth."

After Claggart's death, Captain Vere convened a drumhead court, over which he presided until the verdict was reached. After the verdict, the captain had a private conversation with Billy in which he told him of the sentence. Melville notes ". . . the condemned one suffered less than he who mainly had effected the condemnation . . ." [720]. As the ranking peer in England, Edward de Vere participated in (perhaps presided over) the

Chamber proceedings that resulted in a death sentence for Southampton {202-268}. Sonnets 40-44 express Oxford's anguish at seeing his son tried and convicted {277-300}.

Billy Budd as the Works of 'Shakespeare.' The identification of Billy Budd as Henry Wriothesley, as discussed above, cannot be the whole story, since Billy was executed and Wriothesley was not. Why was he not? In Whittemore's interpretation, de Vere struck a bargain with Robert Cecil whereby Wriothesley's life would be spared if he relinquished all claim to the throne. This condition required that literary traces of his royal parentage be obscured, leading to the further requirement that de Vere's name be permanently disassociated from his works. This sundering of the works from their author, their father, is the metaphoric execution that takes place on the deck of the *Indomitable*, and is the reason that Vere/de Vere "never attained to the fullness of fame" [736]. There are hints of Billy's status as a creation early in the story. As Billy is being mustered into the service, an officer asks him his place of birth [648].

"Don't you know where you were born?—who was your father?"

"God knows, Sir."

Yes, Billy was a foundling, a presumable bye-blow, and, evidently, no ignoble one. Noble descent was as evident in him as in a blood horse.

The Old Dansker calls him "Baby Budd," the name by which he is eventually known throughout the ship, and one that suggests something that has been created [669]. At the moment of execution, Billy cries out "God bless Captain Vere!" a cry that is echoed by the assembled crew [729]. Oxford has been blessed by his literary works—they are the reason hundreds (or thousands) of people are interested in him today, and this interest from a knowledgeable public echoes the response of the crew.

We have discussed the significance of Billy's last name. His first name is a nickname for 'William.' A possible reason for the choice of this name in connection with the works of 'Shakespeare' is left as an exercise for the reader.

The Old Dansker. This character is Billy's confidant, the one he turns to when puzzled by events aboard the ship. Melville writes that his relationship to Billy is "patriarchal," as indeed the nickname ('Baby Budd') he bestows on the Handsome Sailor would imply. I suggest that the Dansker

is a second father figure, bearing that relationship to Billy in his persona representing the Shakespeare canon. The Dansker is known to the crew as “Board-her-in-the-smoke,” due to a scar and blue-peppered complexion from wounds he received in a sea-battle [668]. I lay awake several nights trying to puzzle out the meaning of “Board-her-in-the-smoke” in a Shakespearean context. It finally occurred to me that a ‘board’ is a pasteboard rectangle used for the cover of a book. As a verb in this context, ‘board’ means “to bind (a book) in boards,”¹⁶ thus (by extension) ‘to publish.’ ‘Smoke’ can be read as ‘that which obscures or deceives,’ as in the phrase ‘smoke and mirrors.’ Thus the Dansker’s nickname is equivalent to ‘publish deceptively,’ which is a thumbnail description of what happened with the First Folio (with its allusions to ‘Stratford’ and ‘Swan of Avon’), and strengthens the hypothesized connection between Billy and the Shakespeare canon.

Billy Budd as Essex. While I believe that the strongest associations are with Southampton and the Works, there are three circumstances that point directly to Essex, and I would be remiss if I did not mention them. (1) During the trial, Essex maintained that his reasons for the uprising were patriotic, to prevent England being sold to Spain, and that he had heard the queen’s secretary, Robert Cecil, state that the Spanish Infanta’s claim to the succession was as good as anybody’s. Cecil had been hiding behind the arras (like father, like son), and he suddenly revealed himself, making an impassioned speech to the assembly in which he roundly condemned Essex. This face-to-face confrontation parallels that between Claggart and Billy in the novel. (2) Historically, Essex is executed. Billy Budd is executed, Southampton is not. (3) The moment before the axe fell, Essex “asked God to bestow His blessing upon Elizabeth . . . “ {295}, thus prefiguring Billy’s “God bless Captain Vere!”

Claggart as Robert Cecil. It is clear that functionally Claggart represents Robert Cecil, the wily plotter who set up Essex and Southampton and then brought the full force of the law down on them. To what extent has Melville alluded to Cecil’s personal characteristics? He introduces Claggart as follows [662]:

Claggart was a man of about five-and-thirty, somewhat spare and tall, yet of no ill figure on the whole. His hand was too small and shapely to have been accustomed to hard toil. . . . His brow was of the sort phrenologically associated with more than average intellect; silken jet curls

partly clustering over it, making a foil to the pallor below, a pallor tinged with a faint shade of amber . . . This complexion, singularly contrasting with the red or deeply bronzed visages of the sailors, and in part the result of his official seclusion from the sunlight, though it was not exactly displeasing, nevertheless seemed to hint of something defective or abnormal in the constitution and blood.

Cecil's most prominent physical characteristic was his humpback. Melville has chosen not to refer to it ("no ill figure"), perhaps reluctant to make his villain too operatic. However he hints obliquely to "something defective or abnormal . . ." Ogburn, on observing a portrait of Robert Cecil at Hatfield House, noted its pallor.¹⁷ Cecil was born on 1 June 1563, and thus was 37 at the time of the Essex Rebellion, close enough to "about five-and-thirty." Discussing Claggart's career, Melville continues [666]:

The superior capacity he immediately evinced, his constitutional sobriety, ingratiating deference to his superiors, together with **a peculiar ferreting genius** manifested on a singular occasion, all this capped by a certain austere patriotism, abruptly advanced him to the position of master-at-arms. (emphasis added)

This sounds like Cecil to me. It apparently would to Lytton Strachey as well, since he wrote of "the gentle genius of Cecil." A bit earlier, Strachey wrote of Raleigh (with reference to Cecil) "How little he understood that perverse, that labyrinthine character!"¹⁸ Melville uses the word "labyrinth" to describe the mind of someone he is comparing to Claggart [673]. The Old Dansker, using his customary nickname for Claggart, says to Billy "Ay, Baby lad, a sweet voice has *Jemmy Legs*" [670]. A biographer of the Cecil family says of Robert Cecil that he was "noted for a sort of grave, gentle sweetness." He goes on to say "His complex nature, glinting forth through his mask of apparent gentleness, baffled people and made them feel uneasy; all the more because events showed it to be combined with such a formidable capacity quietly to eliminate his opponents"¹⁹ In his biography of Oxford, Mark Anderson, referring to the period around 1593, writes

Robert Cecil had begun to augment his father's extensive espionage networks with his own cabal of agents and assassins.²⁰

Melville comments on the consequences of Claggart's position as master-at-arms [666]:

His place put various converging wires of underground influence under the Chief's control, capable when astutely worked through his understrappers of operating to the mysterious discomfort, if nothing worse, of any of the sea-commonality.

Melville emphasizes Claggart's unpopularity with the crew by pretending to minimize it [665].

But the less credence was to be given the gun-deck talk touching Claggart, seeing that no man holding his office in a man-of-war can ever hope to be popular with the crew. Besides, in derogatory comments upon anyone against whom they have a grudge, or for any reason or no reason mislike, sailors are much like landsmen; they are apt to exaggerate or romance it.

Cecil was markedly unpopular. Ogburn says that "execrations of Robert Cecil, who was blamed for [Essex's] fall, were scrawled on walls, even those of Whitehall."²¹ Anderson discusses Cecil's unpopularity in Shakespearean terms.

In 1597, the play *Richard III* had first appeared in print. The analogy between Shakespeare's humpbacked usurper and the power-hungry Robert Cecil was hardly obscure and not hard to apprehend. Common libelers, for instance, were fond of comparisons between Cecil and Richard III. ("Richard [III] or Robin [Cecil], which was worse?/ A crook't back great in state is England's curse . . .")²⁰

And finally, we have another nickname puzzle. Claggart's first name is John [662], but the Old Dansker consistently refers to him as "Jemmy Legs" [670-1]; 'Jemmy' is a nickname for 'James,' not for 'John.'²² Our identification of Claggart with Robert Cecil provides a clue. Cecil almost single-handedly engineered the deal that transported James VI from Scotland to the British throne; in that sense he was the 'legs' of James I.

Our old friend, the orthodox scholar, objects to the above analysis. "Nonsense!" he snorts, "That is the most pestiferous pile of speculative garbage I have ever read. The author can't make up his mind whether Edward de Vere is the Captain or the Old Dansker. He can't make up his mind whether Billy Budd represents Southampton, Essex, or an inanimate pile of books." Exactly. Melville is not in the business of simply retelling a historical tale with the names changed. What he has done (I believe) is he

has taken a number of threads from a historical occurrence and woven them into his own story of moral ambiguity and the human condition.

In the physical sciences, a theory is esteemed to the extent that its reach exceeds its grasp—that is, to the extent that it sheds light on phenomena other than those it was intended to explain. The prime example is the quantum theory, which was devised by Max Planck around 1900 to account for the distribution of wavelengths in light emitted by a perfect absorber (a ‘black body’). In 1905 Einstein used the theory to explain aspects of the photoelectric effect. Then Niels Bohr adapted it to explain the structure of the hydrogen atom. Eventually it was developed to the extent that it explained all of microscopic electrodynamics, and potentially all of chemistry. The theory that Hank Whittemore propounds in *The Monument* was crafted to explain Shakespeare’s Sonnets. I believe it illuminates at least one level of Herman Melville’s *Billy Budd* as well.

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END NOTES

- 1 .Andrew Delbanco, *Melville* (Knopf, 2005), p. 290. Chapter 12 (288-322) has a valuable treatment of *Billy Budd*.
2. Hank Whittemore, *The Monument* (Meadow Geese Press, Marshfield Hills, Massachusetts, 2005). Numbers in curly brackets {xy} refer to pages in this book.
3. Lytton Strachey, *Elizabeth and Essex* (Harcourt Brace, New York, 1928) 189-275.
4. Page numbers [in square brackets] refer to *Billy Budd* in *The Portable Melville*, ed. Jan Leyda (Viking, 1952), 637-739.
5. *Poetical Works of Andrew Marvell*, ed. J. R. Lowell (Little, Brown; Boston, x 1857), 7-33.
6. *Encyclopedia Britannica* 7, 895.
7. *Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 1917) VI, 1005-13.
8. *DNB* VI, 995-6.

9. *Cassell's Latin Dictionary* (Macmillan, 1968)
10. See also Charlton Ogburn, *The Mysterious William Shakespeare* (EPM Publications, 1984) 241, 249-50.
11. Ogburn, 666-7, 696-7.
12. Ogburn, 417.
13. Lewis Carroll, *The Hunting of the Snark* (Kaufmann, 1981) 21.
14. Thomas Nashe, *Choice of Valentines* (quoted in "A Royal Shame" by Paul Altrocchi, *Shakespeare Matters* 4.4, Summer 2005, pp. 1,12-17).
15. Captain Graveling's name may be the first hint in the novel that there is an Elizabethan subtext: the decisive battle in the defeat of the Spanish Armada is the *Battle of Gravelines*, 8 August 1588. Gravelines is a French coastal village near Calais. See David Howarth, *The Voyage of the Armada* (Viking, 1981) 175-92.
16. *Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd Edition (Clarendon, 1989) II, 339.
17. Ogburn, 199.
18. Strachey, 241,226.
19. David Cecil, *The Cecils of Hatfield House* (Houghton Mifflin, 1973) 91, 118. The author is a direct descendant of Robert Cecil.
20. Mark Anderson, *Shakespeare by Another Name* (Penguin, 2005) 273, 305.
21. Ogburn, 753-4.
22. The *OED* (VII, 212) defines *Jemmy* as "A pet-form and familiar equivalent of the name JAMES ."