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Was Edward de Vere, 17th Earl of Oxford, the "E.K." of Spenser's *Shepherd's Calendar*? [Part 4 of 7]

E.K.'s relationship with Gabriel Harvey is a prominent feature of *The Shepherd's Calendar*. If Oxford was E.K., he, too, must have known Gabriel Harvey. It is thus necessary to examine in some detail the historical evidence of the relationship between the two men.

The Cambridge scholar, Gabriel Harvey (1550-1631) and Edward de Vere, 17th Earl of Oxford, were both born in Essex in 1550. Although their situations in life were otherwise vastly different, they had in common a fascination with books and learning, and a mutual friendship with Sir Thomas Smith (1513-1577).

Sir Thomas Smith and Gabriel Harvey's father, John, were neighbours in Saffron Walden:

The town centre is marked by a broad Common At the western side of the Common on what is known as 'Common Hill' stood the nearly adjacent mansions of Sir Thomas Smyth (later to become Principal Secretary to Queen Elizabeth) and of Mr John Harvey, father of Gabriel (Stern 3).

Besides being neighbours, the Harvey and Smith families were kin. The exact nature of the familial relationship has not been established; however, in *Four Letters*, published in 1592, Harvey states that he is a cousin of Sir Thomas Smith's illegitimate (and only) son. Gabriel Harvey and Master Thomas Smith were friends as youths, and there is a

record of their mutual reading of Harvey's copy of Livy shortly after Harvey's sixteenth birthday. Harvey was also a close friend of Sir Thomas Smith's favourite nephew, John Wood (Stern 14).

But Gabriel Harvey's friendship with the Smiths was not confined to the younger members of the family. A close friendship also existed between Harvey and Sir Thomas Smith himself. Since Sir Thomas was largely absent from England after 1571, Stern deduces that this relationship ripened during the years 1566-1571, when Smith was living in Essex:

Harvey would have had the opportunity to become intimate with Smyth between April 1566 and March 1571, when he was living almost continuously in Essex. Before and after this and during a very brief trip to France in 1567, Smyth was out of England on government service; but for most of the five years after Sir Philip Hoby succeeded him as ambassador, Smyth was living either at his country estate at Theydon Mount or at his town residence in the central square of Walden close to the Harveys' home (Stern 13).

Gabriel Harvey's father, John, was a stern and demanding parent, and it was perhaps because of a lack of sympathy between father and son that an almost paternal relationship developed during these years between Sir Thomas and his brilliant protégé:

By 1573, the elder statesman had certainly become "intellectual father" to the gifted young scholar. Harvey's letters to Sir Thomas refer to the advice he has given him, his guidance in studies, and to his orienting Harvey toward a life of service to the state. Harvey visited Smith at his country home at Theydon Mount, studied with him, sought his counsel, and corresponded regularly. In a 1573 letter Harvey writes of "the special friendship that I always hitherto since my first coming to Cambridge have found at your hands

as suerly I do, and must neds remember it often, having continually had so ful trial thereof". He refers to Smyth's having aided him in attaining his fellowship at Pembroke "not past thre yers ago", and he discusses whether or not he should take up the study of civil law: "I know wel both your wisdum to be sutch, that you can easly discern what is best for me, and I assure mi self your gud affection to be sutch, that you wil gladly counsel me for the best" (Stern 13, 26).

After Smith's death in August, 1577 following "a long and painful illness", Harvey was chief mourner at the funeral, as Thomas Nashe noted with satirical malice two decades later in *Have With You To Saf-fron Walden*:

Onely hee [Harvey] tells a foolish twittle twattle boasting tale (amidst his impudent brazen fac'd defamation of Doctor *Perne*,) of the Funerall of his kinsman, *Sir Thomas Smith*, (which word *kinsman* I wonderd he causd not to be set in great capitall letters,) and how in those Obsequies he was a chiefe Mourner (McKerrow v.3, 58; Stern 38).

As Nashe parenthetically remarks, the funeral was the occasion of an unpleasant incident between Harvey and Doctor Andrew Perne. To Doctor Perne's chagrin, Lady Smith bestowed on Harvey some "rare manuscript books" belonging to Sir Thomas. Perne desired these manuscripts for himself and, according to Harvey's account in *Pierces Supererogation*, expressed his annoyance by calling Harvey a "Foxe":

[Perne] once in a scoldes pollicie called me Foxe between jest, and earnest: (it was at the funerall of the honorable Sir Thomas Smith, where he preached, and where it pleased my Lady Smith, and the co-executours to bestow certaine rare manuscript bookes upon me, which he desired) (Stern 38).

Lady Smith's bestowal of her husband's rare manuscripts on Gabriel Harvey is proof of the regard in which Harvey was held by Sir Thomas Smith and his family. And Harvey's respect and affection for Sir Thomas are evidenced by the fact that he began, immediately after the funeral, to write the Latin elegies in memory of his former friend, counsellor, and benefactor which were published in January, 1578 as *Smithus: Vel Musarum Lachrymae* (Stern 39).

Given the extraordinarily close relationship between

Sir Thomas Smith and Gabriel Harvey, it is significant that it was none other than Sir Thomas Smith who served as the catalyst for a friendship between Harvey and Edward de Vere, 17th Earl of Oxford. Smith had been one of Oxford's childhood tutors, probably during the years 1556-1558 (Ward 10-11), and it was likely in deference to Sir Thomas that Oxford went out of his way to offer financial help to Harvey during the latter's undergraduate years at Cambridge. In *Four Letters*, Harvey specifically identifies his kinship with the Smith family as the motive for Oxford's generosity toward him:

[I]n the prime of his [Oxford's] gallantest youth, hee bestowed Angels upon mee in Christes Colledge in Cambridge, and otherwise voutsafed me many gracious favours at the affectionate commendation of my Cosen, M. Thomas Smith, the sonne of Sir Thomas (Stern 65-6).

The reference to Christ's College dates Oxford's benefactions to the years 1566-1570, when Harvey was an undergraduate and Oxford was 16-20 years old.

Harvey's Cambridge years provide evidence of yet another link between Oxford and Gabriel Harvey. Harvey's tutor at the university was William Lewin (d.1598), who had formerly served as tutor to Anne Cecil, the daughter of Lord Burghley, in whose London home Oxford lived as a ward of the Queen after the death of his father in 1562. Harvey's friendship with Lewin continued for many years (he dedicated *Ciceronianus* to him in 1577), and a friendship must also have developed between Lewin and Oxford, since the former tutor, now a student of the civil law, accompanied Oxford on the first stage of his continental tour in 1575. As a companion, Lewin was said to be "a Raphael . . . both discreet and of good years, and one that my Lord [Oxford] doth respect" (*DNB*, 1048-9; Ogburn 540; Stern 10-1). Thus, the few historical records which have survived from this period bear witness to a relationship between Oxford and Harvey during the latter's student years, based on mutual friendships with Sir Thomas Smith and William Lewin, and on Oxford's generosity toward Harvey.

The records for the next few years are a blank, so far as the relationship between Oxford and Harvey

is concerned. In July of 1578, however, the two men are momentarily highlighted against the colourful backdrop of Queen Elizabeth's summer progress. On July 26 and 27, the royal party was at the Howard estate of Audley End, three miles from Saffron Walden, where Cambridge dignitaries and scholars presented gifts and entertained Elizabeth and her courtiers with speeches and disputations. Harvey himself participated in a three-hour disputation, and offered "as a gift of his own four manuscripts of Latin verse written on large folio-sized sheets in his ornamental Italian hand". The four manuscripts were later printed, with additions, as *Gabrielis Harveii Gratulationum Valdinensium Libri Quatuor*, and presented by Harvey to the Queen on September 15, 1578 at Hadham Hall, the Hertfordshire estate of Harvey's friend, Arthur Capel (Stern 65). The printed volume was "comprised of four books of Latin verse: Book I addressed to Elizabeth, Book II to Leicester, Book III to Burghley, and Book IV to Oxford, Hatton, and Sidney" (Nichols 109-114, 222; Stern 39-41).

Harvey's Latin verses to Oxford in Book IV praise the Earl in extravagant, but curiously insulting, terms. Translated into English prose, they read, in part, as follows:

Gabriel Harvey's Apostrophe to the [Earl of Oxford].

This is my "Hail"; thus, thus it pleased me to say Welcome to you and the other nobles, though your splendid fame asks, great Earl, a more grandiloquent poet than I. Your virtue does not creep the earth, nor is it confined to a song; it wondrously penetrates the aetherial orbs! Up and away! with that mind and that fire, noble heart, you will surpass yourself, surpass others; your great glory will everywhere spread beyond the frozen ocean! England will discover in you its hereditary Achilles. Go, Mars will see you in safety and Hermes attend you; aegis-sounding Pallas will be by and will instruct your heart and spirit, while long since did Phoebus Apollo cultivate your mind with the arts. Your British numbers have been widely sung, while your Epistle testifies how much you excel in letters, being more courtly than Castiglione himself, more polished. I have seen your many Latin things, and more English are extant; of French and Italian muses, the manners of many peoples, their arts and laws you have drunk deeply. Not in vain was Sturmius himself known to you, nor so many Frenchmen and polished Italians, nor Germans. But, O celebrated one, put away your feeble pen, your bloodless books, your impractical writings! Now is need of swords! Steel

must be sharpened! Everywhere men talk of camps, everywhere of dire arms! You must even deal in missiles! Now war is everywhere, everywhere are the Furies, and everywhere reigns Enyo. Take no thought of Peace; all the equipage of Mars comes at your bidding. Suppose Hannibal to be standing at the British gates; suppose even now, now, Don John of Austria is about to come over, guarded by a huge phalanx! Fated events are not known to man, for the Thunderer's counsels are not plain; what if suddenly a powerful enemy should invade our borders? if the Turk should arm his immense cohorts against us? What if the terrible trumpet should now resound the "Tarantara"? You are being observed as to whether you would care to fight boldly. I feel it; our whole country believes it; your blood boils in your breast, virtue dwells in your brow, Mars keeps your mouth, Minerva is in your right hand, Bellona reigns in your body, and Martial ardor, your eyes flash, your glance shoots arrows: who wouldn't swear you Achilles reborn? Up, great Earl, you must feel that hope of courage. It befits a man to keep the horrid arms of Mars busy even in peace; " 'Tis wise to accustom oneself", and "Use is worth everything". You, O you can be most mighty! Though there be no war, still warlike praise is a thing of great nobility; the name of Leader suits the great. It is wise to watch for effects and to see what threatens beforehand, like the prince who in time of peace strolling the fields with his family: "Tell me (he said), if the enemy were to hold this hill or maybe that hump, which side would have the honor to win on its right? In what manner would you attack? With what strategies would you advance? Which is our safest position? Which is unsafe for them? If retreat's the thing, if delay, if force or impetuosity, whence would show our best escape or entry? Suppose these humps here or these streams were in the way; here hostile cities and troops of the enemy opposed you; many are the chances, the uncertain dangers of wars! Battles are doubtful; everything has to be anticipated in the mind first; neither our advantages nor disadvantages should seem to have been poorly explored. Tell me, what would you do? what occurs to you, my good Pyrrhus? That to you, veteran? You speak sagely, but the thing is difficult. But pluck up, Fortune favors the brave. The only fear is lest the enemy should judge by those documents of your leisure; we should do cunningly whatever we approach. May God favor so great daring, but let us imitate that god who looks in both directions".

These things and more this leader used to inculcate in his friends' minds with frequent discourses . . . O Earl, O Hero, more courageous than Pyrrhus himself, you too meditate such thoughts. Better things can befall and will befall you. The greatest pleasure in peace is to occupy your mind with camps, skirmishes, and warlike shields, to deal in destructive balls and dire missiles. And I warn you to be awake; you, with Mars and Mercury propitious, may combine the merits of the camp and city. There your great courage calls you, go, with lucky foot! Be indulgent, I pray: whoever asks to surpass what you now do, by inciting you to act foretells and approves them. It was that I might

not seem to have talked and said nothing, and that my "Hail" might be somewhat more congenial to you, that I chose material to suit such ardor as yours. Would that the land would salute you in the same tones: how, great-hearted Hero, you ought to save yourself for war and to return safe to mother Peace! That is the care of men in command; that agrees with Nobility. The stars hate the inactive; they station the brave on the throne of glory and crown them with honor. Proceed, proceed with sense alert, noble heart; Heaven itself will attend your ventures, and Aether will smile and applaud them; great Jupiter will give you all happiness! O, think before dismissing lightly such praise. And now once more, noble one, Farewell; none more loved, none dearer is present. Each and all say you joy. (Jameson 125-9; Ogburn 596-7).

Harvey's praise of Oxford is ambiguous and double-edged. He extols Oxford's scholarship and literary talents, but then, in an abrupt and insulting about-face, instructs Oxford to put away his "feeble pen", "bloodless books", and "impractical writings". Harvey counsels Oxford to pursue the arts of war in a time of peace, claiming that Oxford is being "observed", to see whether he "would care to fight boldly", as though there were some doubt about the matter. He recounts a tedious anecdote demonstrating how one should pursue the arts of war in peacetime in which a "prince" is made to say that "the only fear is lest the enemy should judge by those documents of your leisure", apparently another criticism of Oxford's "impractical writings". Harvey finishes by urging Oxford to "surpass what you now do", claiming that "the stars hate the inactive".

It seems likely that Harvey's Latin verses to Oxford reflect the animosity which existed at the time between the Leicester faction at court and that of the Earl of Sussex, to which Oxford belonged. In the summer of 1578, Gabriel Harvey was temporarily in the Earl of Leicester's service. Despite Oxford's earlier generosity towards him and their mutual friendships with Sir Thomas Smith and William Lewin, Harvey appears to have thrown in his lot with Leicester to the extent that he was willing to engage in ridicule of Oxford for Leicester's benefit.

The entertainment at Audley End, and the favour shown to him by the Earl of Leicester for a brief time thereafter, marked the high point of Gabriel Harvey's career. He seems to have served briefly as

Leicester's secretary, and was "bending every effort toward securing a niche for himself at Court" (Stern 46, 50, 68). However, after a brief trial, according to Nashe's admittedly biased account, Leicester told Harvey he was "fitter for the Universitie than for the Court":

He [i.e., Leicester] that most patronizd him, prying more searchingly into him, and finding that he was more meete to make sport with than anie way deeply to be employd, with faire words shooke him of, & told him he was fitter for the Universitie than for the Court or his turne, and so bad God prosper his studies, & sent for another Secretarie to Oxford (McKerrow v.3, 79; Stern 46).

Any further hope of preferment which Harvey might have entertained was dashed in the summer of 1580 with the publication of part of his correspondence with his friend Edmund Spenser in *Three Proper and Wittie Familiar Letters*. *Three Letters* was prefaced by an anonymous epistle dated June 19 (probably written by Harvey himself), and was entered in the Stationers' Register on June 30, 1580 (Grosart 33; Stern 54-5, 61; Ward 190). The volume included a letter from Harvey to Spenser dated "Nonos Calendas Maias", i.e., April 23, 1580 (Cheney 77 Grosart 99), which contained English hexameter verses entitled "Speculum Tuscanismi". Harvey himself characterized these verses as a "bolde Satyriall Libell", and said they had been "lately devised" at the instigation of a gentlemen in Hertfordshire, perhaps Harvey's friend, Arthur Capel) (Stern 40, 65, 251, 254):

But seeing I must needes bewray my store, and set open my shoppe wyndowes, nowe I pray thee, and coniure thee by all thy amorous Regardes, and exorcismes of Love, call a Parliament of thy Sensible, & Intelligible powers together, & tell me, in Tom Trothes earnest, what Il secondo, & famoso Poeta, Master Immerito, sayth to this bolde Satyriall Libell lately devised at the instaunce of a certayne worshipfull Hartefordshyre Gentleman, of myne olde acquayntaunce: in Gratiam quorundam Illustrium Angofrancitalorum, hic & ubique apud nos volitantium. Agedum vero, nosti homines, tanquam tuam ipsius cutem.

Speculum Tuscanismi.

Since Galateo came in, and Tuscanisme gan usurpe,
Vanitie above all: Villanie next her, Statelynes Empress.

No man, but Minion, Stowte, Lowte, Plaine, Swayne, quoth a Lord-
ing:

No wordes but valorous, no workes but woomanish onely.
For life Magnificoes, not a beck but glorious in shew,
In deede most frivolous, not a looke but Tuscanish alwayes.
His cringing side necke, Eyes glauncing, Fisnamie smirking,
With forefinger kisse, and brave embrace to the footewarde.
Largebelled Kodpeasd Dublet, unkodpeased halfe hose,
Strait to the dock, like a shirte, and close to the britch, like a diveling.
A little Apish Flatte, cowched fast to the pate, like an Oyster,
French Camarick Ruffes, deepe with a witnesse, starched to the pur-
pose.

Every one A per se A, his termes, and braveries in Print,
Delicate in speach, queynte in araye: conceited in all poyntes:
In Courtly guyles, a passing singular odde man,
For Gallantes a brave Myrroure, a Primerose of Honour,
A Diamond for nonce, a fellowe perelesse in England.
Not the like Discourser for Tongue, and head to be found out:
Not the like resolute Man, for great and serious affayres,
Not the like Lynx, to spie out secretes, and privities of States.
Eyed, like to Argus, Earde, like to Midas, Nosd, like to Naso,
Wingd, like to Mercury, fittst of a Thousand for to be employde,
This, nay more than this doth practise of Italy in one yeare.
None doe I name, but some doe I know, that a peece of a twelvemonth
Hath so perfitted outly, and inly, both body, both soule,
That none for sense, and senses, halfe matchable with them.
A Vulturs smelling, Apes tasting, sight of an Eagle,
A Spiders touching, Hartes hearing, might of a Lyon.
Compoundes of wisdome, witte, prowes, bountie, behaviour,
All gallant Vertues, all qualities of body and soule:
O thrice tenne hundreth thousand times blessed and happy,
Blessed and happy Travaile, travailer most blessed and happy.
Penatibus Hetruscis laribusque nostris Inquilinis.

Tell me in good sooth, doth it not too evidently appeare,
that this English Poet wanted but a good patterne be-
fore his eyes, as it might be some delicate, and choyce
elegant Poesie of good M. Sidneys, or M. Dyers (ouer
very Castor, & Pollux for such and many greater mat-
ters) when this trimme geere was in hatching (Grosart
83-6; Ogburn 630-1; Stern 64-5; Ward 189-90).

Harvey's reference to Sidney and Dyer hints dis-
creetly that they might be a receptive audience for
"Speculum Tuscanismi", and in the closing para-
graph of the letter, Harvey authorizes Spenser to
"communicate" his letter to them:

You knowe my ordinarie Postscripte: you may com-
municate as much, or as little, as you list, of these
Patcheries, and fragments, with the two Gentlemen
[i.e., Sidney and Dyer]: but there a straw, and you love
me: not with any else, friend or foe, one, or other:
unlesse haply you have a special desire to imparte some
parte hereof, to my good friend M. Daniel Rogers:
whose curtesies are also registred in my Marble booke.
You knowe my meaning (Grosart 107; Stern 59).

Unfortunately for Harvey (and, probably, for
Spenser), the publication of *Three Letters* caused a

furor, and the matter came before the Privy Coun-
cil, principally, it would seem, because of a remark
of Harvey's which was misinterpreted as an attack
on Sir James Croft, Controller of the Household.
Harvey himself admitted that "the sharpest part of
those unlucky Letters was over-read at the Council
Table" (Ogburn 631), and the anonymous author of
Pap With A Hatchet gleefully recalled in 1589 the
punishment for libel which might have befallen
Harvey:

And one will we conjure up, that writing a familiar
Epistle about the naturall causes of an Earthquake, fell
into the bowells of libelling, which made his eares
quake for feare of clipping (Bond 400; McKerrow, v.5,
74).

The whole matter came back to haunt Harvey a dec-
ade and a half later in the famous Harvey-Nashe
quarrel, and Nashe's ruthless exposition of the inci-
dent in *Have With You To Saffron Walden* clarifies
much that would otherwise be obscure about the
composition of "Speculum Tuscanismi". In the first
place, Nashe unambiguously imputes the composi-
tion of the poem to Harvey's ambition ("his
ambitious stratagem to aspire"), and his desire to
ingratiate himself with the Earl of Leicester ("that
Nobleman . . . for whome with his pen hee thus
bladed"):

I had forgot to observe unto you, out of his first foure
familiar Epistles, his ambitious stratagem to aspire,
that whereas two great Pieres beeing at jarre, and their
quarrell continued to bloudshed, he would needs,
uncald and when it lay not in his way, steppe in on the
one side, which indeede was the safer side (as the foole
is crafty enough to sleepe in a whole skin) and hewe
and slash with his Hexameters; but hewd and slasht
he had beene as small as chippings, if he had not playd
ducke Fryer and hid himselfe eight weeks in that
Nobleman's house for whome with his pen hee thus
bladed. Yet neverthelesse Syr James a Croft, the olde
Controwler, ferrited him out, and had him under hold
in the Fleete a great while, taking that to be aime &
leveld against him, because he cald him his olde
Controwler, which he had most venomously belched
against Doctor Perne. Upon his humble submission,
and ample exposition of the ambiguous Text, and that
his forementioned Mecenas mediation, matters were
dispenst with and quallified, & some light countenance,
like sunshine after a storme, it pleased him after this
to let fall uppon him, and so dispatcht him to spurre
Cut backe againe to Cambridge (McKerrow, v.3, 78).

Nashe's account makes it clear that the composition of "Speculum Tuscanismi" was part of a larger quarrel ("two great Pieres beeing at jarre"), in which Harvey stepped in, unasked, on the safer side ("uncald and when it lay not in his way, steppe in on the one side, which indeede was the safer side"). The quarrel to which Nashe alludes can be equated with the long-drawn-out conflict in 1579-80 over Queen Elizabeth's proposed marriage to Francois, Duke of Alencon. Leicester, along with the Earl of Pembroke, Sir Christopher Hatton and Sir Francis Walsingham, opposed the marriage, while Oxford sided with those who favoured it, among them his father-in-law, Lord Burghley, and the Earl of Sussex. In late August, 1579, animosity between the two sides flared up in the celebrated tennis court quarrel in which Oxford called Philip Sidney, Leicester's nephew and heir-apparent, a "puppy". Sidney fiercely resented the insult (Duncan-Jones 164). His friends -- Harvey among them -- doubtless did likewise, and it may have been partly to avenge this insult to the Leicester party that Harvey, in the early months of 1580, "bladed his pen" against Oxford (Stern 65).

In his exculpatory account in *Four Letters*, written many years after the event, Harvey ascribed the writing of "Speculum Tuscanismi" to a combination of youthful indiscretion and the urging of friends who did not scruple to use him for their own purposes. At the time, he says, he was "yong in yeares, fresh in courage, greene in experience, and as the manner is, somewhat overweening in conceit". He had been reading invectives and satires and had been exasperated by some "sharpe undeserved discourtesies" (Oxford's insult to Sidney is perhaps referred to in line 3 of "Speculum Tuscanismi"). Moreover,

some familiar friendes pricked me forward: and I neither fearing daunger, nor suspecting ill measure, (poore credulitie some beguiled) was not unwilling to content them, to delight a few other, and to avenge, or satisfie my selfe, after the manner of shrewes, that cannot otherwise ease their curst hearts, but by their owne tongues, & their neighbours cares (Stern 59).

Harvey says that he had not intended to publish the "infortunate Letters", which had fallen into the:

left handes of malicious enemies, or undiscreeet friends: who adventured to imprint in earnest, that was scribbled in jest, (for the moody fit was soone over) (Stern 59).

Nashe disputed Harvey's claim that the book was published without his knowledge, saying that it was none other than Harvey himself who had written the anonymous introductory epistle to *Three Letters* (McKerrow, v.1, 296-7).

Understandably, Harvey also stoutly denied the accusation that "Speculum Tuscanismi" was directed at Oxford:

[Lyly] would needs forsooth verve courtly perswade the Earle of Oxforde, that some thing in those Letters, and namely the Mirrour of Tuscanismo, was palpably intended against him: whose noble Lordship I protest, I never meante to dishonour with the least prejudicial word of my Tongue, or pen: but ever kept a mindefull reckoning of many bounden duties toward The-same: since in the prime of his gallantest youth, hee bestowed Angels upon mee in Christes Colledge in Cambridge, and otherwise voutsafed me many gracious favours at the affectioante commendation of my Cosen, M. Thomas Smith, the sonne of Sir Thomas, shortly after Colonel of the Ardes in Ireland. But the noble Earle, not disposed to trouble his Joviall mind with such Saturnine paltery, stil continued, like his magnificent selfe (McKerrow, v.5, 74; Stern 65-6)

However, Harvey's assertion that he "never meante to dishonour" the Earl of Oxford with the "least prejudicial word of his tongue or pen" must be viewed in conjunction with his own characterization of the verses as a "bolde Satyriall Libell". Some notes in Harvey's Letter-book also suggest very strongly that his intentions were "not altogether innocent":

On folios 51^v and 52^v of Sloane MS.93 there is the draft of a discourse entitled a 'dialogue in Cambridge between Master GH and his cumpanye at a midsummer Comencement, together with certayne delicate sonnets and epigrammes in English verse of his makinge'. One of the gentlemen in the company quotes the first twenty-three lines of the satirical poem which in 1580 was published as 'Speculum Tuscanismi'. The discourse continues: 'Nowe tell me . . . if this be not a noble verse and politique lesson . . . in effecte conteyning the argumente of his [Master GH's] curragious and warly[k]e apostrophe to my lorde of Oxenforde in his fourth booke of Gratulationum Valdinensium' (Stern 66).

Harvey's account in *Four Letters* conveys his regret at writing "Speculum Tuscanismi". However, his evidence does not point to an open breach between himself and Oxford in either 1578 or 1580. In the first place, Harvey states confidently that the Earl shrugged off the publication of the "Speculum Tuscanismi" verses in 1580 as beneath his notice ("the noble Earle, not disposed to trouble his Joviall mind with such Saturnine paltery, stil continued, like his magnificent selfe"). Secondly, Harvey recalls, for the benefit of his readers, Oxford's open-handed generosity towards him in his youth. Both these statements are incompatible with an open breach, and it must be assumed that Oxford pocketed up this second injury from Harvey in 1580 without comment, as he had done in 1578.

By June 1580, then, Harvey had publicly insulted Oxford on two separate occasions, although in veiled terms. However, on April 10, 1579, when E.K. signed and dated the dedicatory epistle to Harvey in *The Shepheardes Calender*, the second of these public insults, the "Speculum Tuscanismi" verses, was still more than a year in the future.

Whatever Oxford's private feelings about Harvey may have been, E.K.'s dedicatory epistle to Harvey of April 10, 1579 is notably warm and courteous, and generous in its praise of Harvey's abilities:

To the most excellent and learned both
Orator and Poete, Mayster Gabriell Harvey, his
Verie special and singular good frend E.K. commen-
deth the good lyking of this his labour,
and the patronage of the
new Poete (Oram 13).

The opening paragraph of the epistle is also remarkable for the informal manner in which E.K. draws Harvey, as it were, into a friendly discussion with the Reader:

Uncouthe unkiste, Sayde the olde famous Poete
Chaucer . . . Which proverbe, myne owne good friend
Ma. Harvey, as in that good old Poete it served well
Pandares purpose, for the bolstering of his baudy bro-
cage, so very well taketh place in this our new Poete,
who for that he is uncouthe (as said Chaucer) is unkist,
and unknown to most men, is regarded but of few
(Oram 13).

E.K. concludes the epistle by gracefully submitting his efforts to Harvey's judgment and soliciting his protection for the work of the "new Poete".

These my present paynes, if to any they be pleasurable or profitable, be you judge, mine own good Maister Harvey, to whom I have both in respect of your worthinesse generally, and otherwyse upon some particular and special considerations vowed this my labour, and the maydenhead of this our comen frends Poetrie, himselfe having already in the beginning dedicated it to the Noble and worthy Gentleman, the right worshipfull Ma. Phi. Sidney, a special favourer and maintainer of all kind of learning, Whose cause I pray you Sir, yf Envie shall stur up any wrongful accusation, defend with your mighty Rhetorick and other your rare gifts of learning, as you can, and shield with your good wil, as you ought, against the malice and outrage of so many enemies, as I know wilbe set on fire with the sparks of his kindled glory. And thus recommending the Author unto you, as unto his most special good frend, and my selfe unto you both, as one making singular account of two so very good and so choise frends, I bid you both most hartely farwel, and commit you and your most comendable studies to the tuicion of the greatest.

Your owne assuredly to be commaunded E.K. (Oram 20).

This closing salutation is followed by a lengthy postscript urging Harvey to publish his own unpublished manuscripts. It is here, perhaps, that Oxford's real opinion of Harvey's arrogance surfaces. The tone of this postscript is decidedly tongue-in-cheek:

Now I trust M. Harvey, that upon sight of your special frends and fellow Poets doings, or els for envie of so many unworthy Quidams, which catch at the garlond, which to you alone is dewe, you will be perswaded to pluck out of the hateful darknesse, those so many excellent English poemes of yours, which lye hid, and bring them forth to eternall light. Trust me you doe both them great wrong, in depriving them of the desired sonne, and also your selfe, in smothering your deserved prayses, and all men generally, in withholding from them so divine pleasures, which they might conceive of your gallant English verses, as they have already doen of your Latine Poemes, which in my opinion both for invention and Elocution are very delicate, and superexcellent. And thus againe, I take my leave of my good Mayster Harvey. from my lodging at London thys 10. of Aprill. 1579 (Oram 20-1).

E.K.'s introductory epistle to *The Shepheardes Calender* of April 10, 1579 thus suggests a relationship between E.K. and Gabriel Harvey which is not incompatible with what is known of the relation-

ship between Oxford and Harvey in 1579. Oxford had let the injury in Harvey's 1578 *Gratulationes Valdinenses* pass unremarked, and the publication of Harvey's satirical "Speculum Tuscanismi" verses was yet to come. In 1579, Oxford still maintained a relationship with Harvey which was cordial on the surface. And Oxford would have striven particularly hard to give this impression of cordiality between himself and Harvey if Oxford was E.K. It is clear from E.K.'s introductory essay that his whole purpose in assisting with the publication of the volume was to help launch Spenser as a new poet. Since Spenser was Harvey's friend, Oxford would have been careful to address Harvey in the epistle in terms of courtesy. However, in the postscript, he allowed his real feelings to surface briefly in an amused description of Harvey's "super-excellent" works which must be plucked out of the "hateful darkness".

In addition to his dedicatory epistle, E.K. also contributed extensive glosses to *The Shepheardes Calender*, and these glosses take the identification of Oxford as E.K. a step further by linking E.K. with people and events which had mutual significance for both Oxford and Harvey. In his gloss to the word "couthe" in the January eclogue, for example, E.K. mentions the very circumstance which gave rise to the friendship between Harvey and Oxford, namely Harvey's kinship with Oxford's old tutor, Sir Thomas Smith:

couthe) commeth of the verb Conne, that is, to know or to have skill. As well interpreteth the same the worthy Sir Tho. Smith in his booke of government: wherof I have a perfect copie in wryting, lent me by his kinseman, and my verye singular good freend, M. Gabriel Harvey: as also of some other his most grave and excellent wrytings (Oram 33).

This gloss makes it clear that Sir Thomas Smith was a focal point of E.K.'s relationship with Gabriel Harvey. Moreover, E.K. has read, not only Smith's manuscript treatise on government, but also "other his most grave and excellent wrytings", and his study of them has been so thorough as to enable him to recall Smith's usage of a particular word, "couthe". If E.K. was Oxford, his interest in Smith's published and unpublished works is readily accounted for by the fact that they came from the pen of his former

tutor.

Similarly, in a gloss to the September eclogue, E.K. mentions with approval Harvey's elegaic verses on Sir Thomas Smith, *Vel Musarum Lachrymae*.

Even more significantly, E.K. refers in this gloss to the 1578 entertainment at Audley End in which Harvey had played a prominent part. E.K.'s reference to the entertainment is noteworthy for its completeness: not only does he mention the dedication of *Gratulationes Valdinenses* to the Queen at Audley End, but also Harvey's subsequent presentation of a printed copy at "the worshipfull Maister Capells in Hertfordshire":

Colin cloute) Nowe I thinke no man doubteth but by Colin is ever meante the Authour selfe, whose especiall good freend Hobbinoll sayth he is, or more rightly Mayster Gabriel Harvey: of whose speciall commendation, aswell in Poetrie as Rhetorike and other choyce learning, we have lately had a sufficient tryall in diverse his workes, but specially in his Musarum Lachrymae, and his late Gratulationum Valdinensium which boke in the progresse at Audley in Essex, he dedicated in writing to her Majestie. afterward presenting the same in print unto her Highnesse at the worshipfull Maister Capells in Hertfordshire. Beside other his sundrye most rare and very notable writings, partly under unknown Tytles, and partly under counterfayt names, as his Tyrannomastix, his Ode Natalitia, his Rameidos, and especially that parte of Philomusus, his divine Anticosmopolita, and divers other of lyke importance (Oram 163-4).

E.K.'s mention of Harvey's presentation to Elizabeth of a printed copy of *Gratulationes Valdinenses* at Hadham Hall appears to be the sole historical reference to this event; Churchyard's account of the 1578 progress merely records the royal party's stop at "Mayster Kapel's, where was excellent good cheere and entertaynement" (Nichols 222; Stern 40). It seems likely that Harvey's presentation of his book to the Queen would have been remarked upon only by an eyewitness to his minor triumph -- in other words, someone within a small circle of courtiers, Cambridge officials, and personal friends of Gabriel Harvey. By his references to *Gratulationes Valdinenses*, E.K. includes himself in this limited group, suggesting once again the likelihood that he and Oxford were one and the same individual.

In summary, then, the nature of Oxford's relationship with Gabriel Harvey in April 1579 is consistent with the identification of Oxford as E.K. The relationship was undoubtedly severely strained a year later by the publication of *Three Letters*, but at the material time -- April 10, 1579 -- it was a relationship which, on the surface at least, was compatible with the attitude displayed by E.K. toward Spenser's friend Gabriel Harvey in *The Shepheardes Calender*.

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