

JOHN PAYNE COLLIER  
AND  
THE SHAKESPEARE SOCIETY

by  
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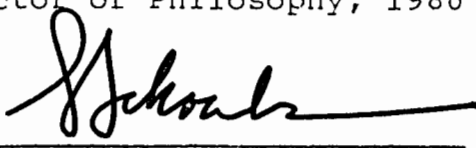
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## ABSTRACT

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During the early years of the nineteenth century, the heightened interest in manuscripts and early printed editions precipitated the growth of publishing and printing societies which subsequently flourished throughout the 1800's. The object of these societies was generally to preserve through reproduction--and distribution to a select few--rare literary documents. One of the first societies to limit its scholarly scope to William Shakespeare and his contemporaries, but to open its resources to a far-flung literary community, was the Shakespeare Society founded in 1840 through the efforts of several eminent Victorian editors, most prominently John Payne Collier.

Throughout its eleven years of active existence (1841-52), the Society produced forty-eight full-length scholarly studies and four volumes of Papers including the first accurate biography of Inigo Jones, the first printed edition of Sir Thomas More (three pages of which

are thought by many to be in the hand of Shakespeare), the first publications of the full cycle of the Coventry mystery plays and the Chester Whitsun cycle, and the reprints of several Shakespearean source plays including Timon. Moreover, the Society represents a dramatic advance in conscientious investigative scholarship over the limited and exclusive social book clubs of the early part of the century and, for this reason alone, deserves attention and recognition.

The aim of this study is to explore the origin of the Shakespeare Society and to document its contributions to the continuum of Shakespearean and Elizabethan scholarship. The first chapter charts the cultural currents from which the Society originated. The focus here is primarily on the unrestrained bibliomania of the period and on the steadily increasing desire of the English middle class to read, see, and understand the work of their national poet. Chapter two serves a dual purpose. It recalls previous Shakespeare associations in order to illustrate the advances in structure and scholarly objective demonstrated by the Shakespeare Society of 1840, and it examines the financial troubles which plagued the Society throughout its existence and contributed to its demise.

Subsequent chapters recall and assess in the light of modern scholarship the individual dramatic and non-dramatic achievements of the Society. They examine

the Society's attempts to apply historical methods to the study of Shakespeare's non-dramatic literary milieu, and they record the disheartening evidence of systematic and premeditated fraud perpetrated by John Payne Collier on the scholarly community--often through the pages of the Society's publications. Chapters five and six highlight the Society's editorial achievements in dramatic literature: its ground-breaking editions of early English drama, its critical attention to the plays of Shakespeare's contemporaries, and its painstaking researches into the life and work of Shakespeare himself.

Chapter seven reviews the four-volume sequence of The Shakespeare Society's Papers, which fostered cooperative literary scholarship through short contributions from amateur as well as professional scholars. The final segment represents an attempt to characterize, through the use of manuscript as well as published sources, the gentlemen of the Society's Councils.

This study concludes on a bitter-sweet note since the questions of authenticity directed to the scholarship of John Payne Collier not only damaged his reputation, but also cast suspicion on all of his scholarly activities. On the other hand, Collier's industry in forming and maintaining the Shakespeare Society is unquestionably laudable. Through his efforts, the Society gathered

together the most knowledgeable men of the period  
in the first cooperative attempt to encourage the systematic  
dissemination and exchange of literary information and to  
apply methods of historical research to Elizabethan  
literary scholarship.

## PREFACE

Two years ago, at the suggestion of Professor Samuel Schoenbaum, I undertook a study of the first Shakespeare Society, founded in London in 1840 by a group of such eminent Victorian scholars as Charles Knight, James Orchard Halliwell-Phillipps, and, most notably, John Payne Collier, the forger whose career bridged the nineteenth century. As I progressed in my research, I found that the history and the contributions of the Society had indeed received little recognition: to my knowledge, no full-length study exists. Yet, in its eleven years of active existence (1841-52), the Society published forty-eight full-length scholarly studies and four volumes of Papers, including the first accurate biography of Inigo Jones, the first printed edition of Sir Thomas More (three pages of which are thought by many to be in the hand of Shakespeare), the first publications of the full cycle of the Coventry mystery plays and the Chester Whitsun cycle, and the reprints of several Shakespearean source plays, including Timon. Moreover, I found that the Society represented a dramatic advance in conscientious investigative scholarship over the limited and exclusive social book clubs of the early part of the century.

The aim of this work, then, is to explore the



origin, examine the operations, and document the contributions of the Shakespeare Society to the continuum of Shakespearean, Elizabethan, and Jacobean scholarship. The first chapter charts the cultural currents from which the Society originated. The focus here is primarily on the unrestrained bibliomania of the period and on the steadily increasing desire of the English middle class to read, see, and understand the work of their national poet. Chapter two serves a dual purpose. It recalls previous Shakespeare associations in order to illustrate the advances in structure and scholarly objective demonstrated by the Shakespeare Society of 1840, and it examines the financial troubles which plagued the Society throughout its existence and contributed to its demise.

Subsequent chapters recall and assess in the light of modern scholarship the individual dramatic and non-dramatic achievements of the Society. They examine the Society's attempts to apply historical methods to the study of Shakespeare's non-dramatic literary milieu, and they record the disheartening evidence of systematic and premeditated fraud perpetrated by John Payne Collier on the scholarly community--often through the pages of the Society's publications. Chapters five and six highlight the Society's editorial achievements in

dramatic literature: its ground-breaking editions of early English drama, its critical attention to the plays of Shakespeare's contemporaries, and its painstaking researches into the life and work of Shakespeare himself.

Chapter seven reviews the four-volume sequence of The Shakespeare Society's Papers, which fostered cooperative literary scholarship through short contributions from amateur as well as professional scholars. The final segment represents an attempt to characterize, through the use of manuscript as well as published sources, the gentlemen of the Society's Councils.

In the pages that follow, an effort has also been made to distinguish between the varied aims and qualities of the publications, to suggest reservations in the light of modern scholarly revelations, and to apprise the reader of modern editions or reprints when such citations serve to illustrate a continued or renewed interest in works rescued from obscurity, preserved, and edited by members of the Shakespeare Society.

This dissertation is dedicated to my husband, Ira, who provided comfort when I was despondent and stability when the world closed in.

It is dedicated to our teenagers, Ruth and Eliot, who combed the catalogs and climbed the stacks of numerous libraries in search of seldom-used volumes.

It is dedicated to my mother and step-father, who said they did not mind--though they did--my inattentiveness during the final months of this project.

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One of the most rewarding aspects of my labors on this dissertation has been the generous aid that it received from collectors and scholars who put their materials and their knowledge at the service of this project.

Early in my study Professors Richard D. Altick of Ohio State University and Arthur Sherbo of Michigan State University offered valuable suggestions on methodology. Professor Richard J. Schrader of Boston College called to my attention an extremely useful manuscript letter which he found during his researches in the William Axley Thompson Memorial Library of the Ohio State University. From Professor Louis Marder of the University of Illinois, I received not only reference suggestions, but also photocopies of material from his Collier library. Dr. Arthur Freeman of London furnished me with unpublished letters and notices from his private Collier collection.

A special vote of thanks is due to Professors William Peterson and Sherod M. Cooper of the University of Maryland, who took time from their own busy schedules to read each chapter of this dissertation as it rolled from my typewriter.

I owe an additional debt to Dr. Sylvia England of Orpington, Kent, who satisfied with devotion and diligence my trans-Atlantic requests for copies of materials housed in the British Library.

Not to be forgotten are the staffs of numerous libraries who responded quickly and positively to oral and written appeals for specific information. Only a few may be cited here: Megan Millard of the National Library of Scotland; Virginia J. Renner of the Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery; Elizabeth G. Riely of the Yale University Library; and Laetitia Yeandle of the Folger Shakespeare Library.

Elizabeth Beigel took on the burden of typing the final manuscript and endured a series of revisions with patience and good humor.

The deepest debt of gratitude is reserved to the last. This is the gratitude I owe to my Director, Professor Samuel Schoenbaum. Every aspect of this dissertation has profited from his wide learning and his prodigious memory for historical and literary details. Every page has benefited from his careful criticism of style and structure. What must not go unnoticed

is Professor Schoenbaum's distinctively human touch. Throughout the course of this study, he questioned tactfully, criticized compassionately, and motivated energetically. The faults in this dissertation are my own and in no way reflect upon Professor Schoenbaum's care and consideration.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1:	Cultural Currents	1-40
CHAPTER 2:	Shakespeare Associations: Early Steps Toward Structure and Purpose	41-74
CHAPTER 3:	Recreating a Literary Milieu--The Shakespeare Society's Non-dramatic Productions	75-109
CHAPTER 4:	John Payne Collier--The Seeds of Scandal	110-49
CHAPTER 5:	Attention to Non- Shakespearean drama	150-82
CHAPTER 6:	Shakespeare and the Society	183-206
CHAPTER 7:	<u>The Shakespeare Society's Papers</u>	207-37
CHAPTER 8:	Collier's Club--The Officers and Councillors of the Shakespeare Society	238-79
APPENDICES:		
A.	Booksales: 17th Through the First Half of the 19th Centuries	280-83
B.	Nineteenth Century Book Publishing Clubs, 1812-46	284-86
C.	Account Chart: The Shakespeare Society, 1841-51	287-88
D.	Works Issued by The Shakespeare Society	289-93
E.	The Shakespeare Society Councillors: A History of Membership	294-99

## NOTES

Chapter 1:	300-05
Chapter 2:	306-10
Chapter 3:	311-15
Chapter 4:	316-23
Chapter 5:	324-28
Chapter 6:	329-32
Chapter 7:	333-38
Chapter 8:	339-44

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

Works Cited	345-62
Contemporary Reviews of Shakespeare Society Publications	362-64
Contributions to <u>The</u> <u>Shakespeare Society's Papers</u>	364-71



## CHAPTER 1: Cultural Currents

"It is remarkable," pronounced the Prospectus, "that all that has hitherto been done for the illustration of Shakespeare has been accomplished by individuals, and that no Literary Association has yet been formed for the purpose of collecting materials, or of circulating information by which he may be thoroughly understood and fully appreciated."<sup>1</sup> The Director of the Society, John Payne Collier, pressed this singularity at the conclusion of his first Council report on 26 April 1842, at which time he recalled to the attention of his subscribers that theirs was "the only [society] for the purpose of illustrating the character and works of our great National Poet."<sup>2</sup>

Collier might have gone further. The Shakespeare Society was, in fact, the first literary society to devote itself exclusively to the study and elucidation of the works of a single author. This phenomenon is still with us, and even before the close of the century, the Society had served as a model for the formation of several such associations--the Bronte Society, the Carlyle Society, the Chaucer Society, the Ruskin Society as well as several Shelley, Browning, and Burns Societies--which not only increased popular appreciation of and interest in particular authors, but also stimulated

small bodies of original workers to produce historical, bibliographical, and biographical materials that might not be (or might not have been) completed without the incentive fueled by association colleagues.

By the date of the first Shakespeare Society Council report in 1842, the Society had already issued seven volumes (more than thirteen hundred octavo pages), had delivered seven and had approved eighteen other books for press. In the years that followed, the Society published forty-eight volumes and four Papers of commentaries, each too short for separate publication but too worthy for dismissal. Thomas Wright, a well-known antiquary and an officer in several book societies, edited two volumes of the chief Miracle Cycle, the Chester Whitsun Plays; the Reverend Alexander Dyce edited the playhouse manuscript of Sir Thomas More, which is thought to include three pages in Shakespeare's hand; and Barron Field, a lawyer and writer of wide interests, issued several of Thomas Heywood's plays. Collier himself devoted his energies primarily to the documents at Dulwich College: The Memoirs of Alleyn, The Alleyn Papers, and The Diary and Account Book of Philip Henslowe.

Although Collier perverted his talent for literary scholarship and his immense literary learning through a succession of forgeries, the Shakespeare Society, under

his direction, provided important new information about Shakespeare and the nature of Shakespearean drama, furnishing examples of contemporary dramatists and illuminating sources from which Shakespeare had derived some of his dramatic plots.

Unlike its predecessors, the Shakespeare Society never deviated from its announced purpose. Works were never printed at the direction of the contributing subscriber, nor was the Society obliged because of individual financial or literary contributions to swerve from its projected course. An elected council sat in approval of all suggestions according to criteria of literary merit and consistency with the goals of the Society.<sup>3</sup> Such undistracted attention to the limited objectives of the Society enticed more ambitious students of literature than had older book clubs. More important, however, this concept of cooperative scholarship in the study of a major literary figure replaced the rivalry of hostile individuality that existed previously: it created a public interest in the products of literary research, and it gave direction and fostered accuracy in collective scholarly pursuits for the first time in history.

The parentage of the Shakespeare Society is not to be found in the Society's brother book clubs of the early

decades of the century, but in the meeting of cultural currents unique to this period. Indeed, the Shakespeare Society is the natural offspring of the unrestrained bibliomania of the wealthy, titled aristocracy and the modest but steadily increasing desire of the middle class shopkeepers and professionals to read, see, and understand the original works of their national poet.

Bibliomania was not a cross-class phenomenon. Though cheap reprints of English masterpieces could be had for 3s.6d. and 5s., low prices in printed material were often accompanied by shoddiness, irresponsible editorial practices, and incomplete production.<sup>4</sup> For the most part, sales of current authors as well as those of the old masters were limited to the upper and middle classes--merchants and bankers, large employers of labor, and prominent professional men. The purchase, for example, of The Life of Richard Coeur de Lion by G.P.R. James in two volumes at twenty-eight shillings<sup>5</sup> would have meant the sacrifice of a week's salary for an average Londoner.<sup>6</sup> And even when some of the popular writers of the day--Dickens, Thackeray, and Trollope, for instance--issued their books in monthly parts at a shilling each, one installment represented the cost of five days' food supply for a London laborer.

On the other hand, while the economic reality during

the period was such that much of the population was inadequately fed--intellectually as well as physically--those at the top of the social, educational, and financial pyramid ate extremely well. The self-appointed bibliomaniacal spokesman of the period, Thomas Frognall Dibdin (1776-1847), caught the taste of the time with his 1809 publication, The Bibliomania; or Book-Madness, in which he described the history, symptoms, and cure of "this fatal disease."<sup>7</sup> According to Dibdin, bibliomania was (understandably) restricted to people in the higher classes of society, and it manifested itself in an obsession for large paper copies, uncut copies, illustrated copies--a violent symptom, according to the author--unique copies (or books unusual in size, beauty, or condition), copies printed upon vellum, first editions, true editions (or copies struck off with deviations from the usually received ones, such as mis-numbered pages), and--during the early periods, particularly--books printed in black letter.<sup>8</sup>

Early collectors, however, were consumed by a restless passion for the physical possession of the books rather than by love for their contents. Thus, first editions of all authors--even those of minor significance and little talent--and first issues of the most inexperienced and clumsy printers (no doubt, Dibdin's "true editions") seldom sold for less than fifty to two hundred pounds.<sup>9</sup>

Writing in 1809, Dibdin suggested that the severity of the disease--by which he meant the intemperance demonstrated by those whose financial resources exceeded their literary ones--might be mitigated to some extent by the employment of competent librarians or well-informed bibliographers who would "direct the channels of literature to flow in their proper courses."<sup>10</sup> To elaborate upon this point, Dibdin borrowed from Bibliotheca Hulsiana the description of a competent bibliographer. Translated from Dibdin's Latin footnote:

'Let there be in him a broad knowledge of materials and books so that at least he chooses and seeks out more: a true and careful search amongst foreign nations so that he might send for them; Extreme patience to wait for books rarely offered for sale; an always present and available fund, lest whenever they become available, the opportunity to buy be lost; finally a judicious disdain for gold and silver, so that he voluntarily does without the moneys which need to be spent for building and adding to the collection. If ever an educated man reaches such degree of good fortune that he accumulates such a treasure, let him not greedily enjoy it all by himself, but freely grant its use to learned men who have devoted their labors to the public benefit.'

Dibdin himself was employed from about 1805 as both librarian and bibliographical advisor to George John, second Earl Spencer (1758-1834), one of the greatest book collectors not only in English history but in the world. Like Messrs. George and William Nicol, who bought for George III and the famous third Duke of Roxburghe (1740-1804), Dibdin assisted his

patron in building a handsome and extensive library primarily through selections made from the printed catalogs of book sales which increased dramatically in both number and popularity throughout the century.

The recorded history of book sales in England testifies to the intensity of bibliomania in this period, and--perhaps more important--binds itself inextricably to the biographies of England's most notable bibliophiles and most enthusiastic patrons of the literary book publishing societies. Sons, grandsons, and nephews of William, second Duke of Devonshire (1672-1729), John, first Duke of Roxburghe (1670-1741), Charles, third Earl of Sunderland (1674-1722), Robert Harley (1661-1724), and his son Edward (1689-1741) not only increased the size and value of their families' libraries, but sat on the councils of all of the next century's literary associations. Moreover, these men were the first in history to expend large sums of money at book auctions.

The earliest recorded library auction in England and the one that served as the model--though it was conservative by contrast--for all of the later ones was that of "The Reverent and Learned Divine, Dr. Lazarus Seaman" on 31 October 1679.<sup>11</sup> It was preceded by a catalog dignified with Latin title and prefaced with a note to the effect that:

It hath not been usual here in England to make Sales of Books by way of Auction, or who will

give most for them: But it having been practiced in other Countreys to the Advantage both of Buyers and Sellers; It was therefore conceived (for the Encouragement of Learning) to publish the Sale of these Books this manner of way.

Thereafter, the auction rooms of booksellers and the private libraries of gentlemen became the meeting place and battlefield of the well-known and well-financed bibliomaniacs as well as the prologue and epilogue of the great library collections of nineteenth century England.

Sales proliferated at a startling rate after the Reverend Seaman's. The seventeenth century closed with 302 sales or an average of thirteen sales for each of the twenty-three remaining years. The eighteenth century book buyers attended over one thousand sales or one sale approximately every five weeks. But in the nineteenth century, the number of sales soared to 5,939 or more than one each week, and unheard of opportunities were afforded to the bibliophiles to disperse, and to profit from the dispersal, of libraries amassed in the sales of the previous centuries (Appendix A).

At one of these sales, the Roxburghe Sale of 1812, a new era in British book selling and collecting began. As numerous contemporary accounts reveal,<sup>12</sup> eager bibliophiles and bold spectators crowded the thirty-five-by-twenty-foot Roxburghe dining room situated just below the library in which-- along with a room adjoining--the Duke confined all of his activities until his death in 1804. The human scene at that



sale was inconsistent with the tranquility of the setting:

Short men were smothered; and nothing but the standing upon a contiguous bench saved the writer of the 'Bibliographical Decameron' from suffocation. Even the worthy Mr. Harris of the Royal Institution, who measures some five feet 10 or 11 inches, was compelled to have recourse to the same expedient; and in so doing, gallantly rescued (at the peril of a compound fracture in the right arm) my excellent friend Mr. James Heywood Markland from an almost overwhelming pressure.<sup>13</sup>

The sale consumed forty-two days, was conducted under the hammer of a Mr. Robert H. Evans, whose experience as a book auctioneer commenced with this sale, brought in, for the first time in history, a four-figure fee for a single printed book--the Valdefar Boccaccio of 1471--and resulted in the formation of the parent book club of all book publishing organizations. The total expenditure at the sale amounted to £23,341, a large portion of which was contributed by Lord Spencer (Dibdin's patron), the Marquess of Blandford (the purchaser of the Boccaccio), and William Cavendish, sixth Duke of Devonshire (1790-1858). The Duke of Devonshire had succeeded to the dukedom just one year before, and, with his extensive purchases at the Roxburghe sale, started his book collecting. Some twenty years later, it was Devonshire who enlisted John Payne Collier to act (as Dibdin had for Lord Spencer) as keeper of his extensive dramatic library and literary advisor

for his important purchases.

For the purposes of this study, however, the most important result of the Roxburghe sale was the formation of the oldest existing society of bibliophiles in Great Britain, and, according to the Club's historian, "the parent of those publishing societies which have done so much in this country for history, letters, antiquity and other branches of literature and art."<sup>14</sup>

On the evening before the scheduled sale of the 1471 Boccaccio, the Reverend Dibdin suggested to his host, Baron Bolland, and other book-loving guests that the bidders for the Boccaccio dine together the following evening to commemorate the sale of that volume. St. Alban's tavern was chosen as the site of the dinner at which eighteen bibliophiles who attended the auction assembled on 17 June 1812. According to Bigham, the stated object of the meeting "was not so much for the convivial, as for belles lettres or bibliomaniacal purposes." The fact is, however, that although the Roxburghers were responsible for some two hundred publications, including The Transcript of the Registers of the Worshipful Company of Stationers, 1640-1708, the early years of the Club took as much interest in its gastronomical as in its literary labors. Joseph Haslewood, one of the Roxburghians, in a volume entitled The Roxburghe Revels or An Account of the Annual Display, Culinary and

Festivous, Interspersed Incidentally with Matters of Moment or Merriment, noted that at the first dinner, chaired by Earl Spencer (the unsuccessful bidder for the Boccaccio and the permanent president of the organization until his death in 1834), twenty-one members "met joyfully, dined comfortably, challenged eagerly, tippled prettily, divided regretfully and paid the bill most cheerfully"--a bill amounting to an impressive £55 13s.<sup>15</sup> The accounts of the several dinners, according to John Hill Burton, writing in 1862, "read like photographs of a mind wandering in the mazes of an indigestion-begotten nightmare."<sup>16</sup> In no published account is any mention made of literary conversation.

At this first gathering, it was determined that six additional members including the Duke of Devonshire and the Marquess of Blandford should be added to the Club, bringing the total to thirty-one. It was not until the next meeting that the membership resolved to reprint "some scarce piece of ancient lore to be given to the members" and that "each member, in turn according to the order of his name in the alphabet, . . . furnish the Society with a reprint of some rare old tract or composition,--chiefly of poetry." The first book presented was Surrey's Certaine Bokes of Vergiles Aenaeis, Turned into English Meter, a reprint of the edition of 1557--a book which, according to Dibdin, had "almost the scarcity of a manuscript."<sup>17</sup>

Thirty-five copies were distributed at the 1814 meeting by William Bolland. In the Preface, the names of the members were alphabetically printed, and that of the individual to whom the copy belonged was printed in red ink. This practice was maintained throughout the Club's existence.

Gifts to the Club were numerous in the first few years so that thirty-six volumes were printed in the first decade. By way of comparison, the Shakespeare Society would print forty-eight in its eleven years of activity. Most of the Roxburghe publications were of limited literary value, but a few commanded great interest: the first printing of Le Morte Arthur--The Adventures of Sir Launcelot du Lake as well as a volume containing two pieces, The New Notborune Mayd and The Boke of Mayd Emlyn, both reprinted from J. Skot's undated (1525) edition and thought now to be the only copy in existence. The volume is currently housed in the Huntington Library.

These first publications were limited to distribution among the members, a practice which, according to the contemporary press, resulted in such exclusiveness and elitism that "no child can be said to be proportionless whose father is a Roxburghian, as one of these gems will doubtless prove an ample provision!"<sup>18</sup> The elitist formation of the Club brought pro-

longed outpourings from the press which declared that the Roxburghians "selfishly cut off the spring which should feed it; and, instead of promoting the interests of Literature, they materially injure them."<sup>19</sup> A more supportive, but definitely minority view, was printed the following month in the same journal protesting that the Club had preserved valuable literature from destruction and encouraged the formation of libraries among all classes of Society."<sup>20</sup>

In succeeding years the Club relaxed its printing and membership rules: the number of Roxburghians expanded but never exceeded forty members, and the number of copies of any work printed was limited to one hundred with each member receiving two. The remaining ones might be purchased at prices set by a printing committee.

The fact is, however, that while the Roxburghe Club retained its exclusiveness, its publications were selected not because of their intrinsic literary qualities, but because they fulfilled the explicitly stated obligations of the members to bear the financial burden of presenting a volume to the membership. By 1826, the officials were forced to acknowledge that the original plan of the Club was not working: members had become remiss in assuming the financial responsibilities of printing and presentation.

To remedy the situation, the Club resolved at the anniversary dinner, "that manuscripts of general interest should be printed at the expense of the Club itself, a committee of six being appointed to consider ways and means."<sup>21</sup> This resolution spoke to the future of book publishing societies later in the century.

The following year, in May of 1827, as a result of the Club's decision, Sir Frederic Madden (then, Mr. Madden), Conservator of the Manuscripts at the British Museum, edited, for a fee of one hundred pounds, a long-lost manuscript of the poem, Havelok the Dane, which he had unearthed in the Bodleian. For the first time, a scholar who was not a member of the Club was consulted for preparation of a publication. This departure from tradition was frowned upon by Dibdin, but the success of the Madden edition was so great that in future years other scholars like Sir Henry Ellis, John Payne Collier, Thomas Wright, and Aldis Wright were enlisted to oversee publications for the Roxburghe.

Bibliomania not only aroused interest in book collecting, but fathered some twenty-two printing societies in the next thirty-four years (Appendix B). Assessing the accumulation of capital in the first half of the nineteenth century and the consequent formation of all manner of clubs and societies, Fraser's Magazine pointed

out that though only one learned society existed in Britain in the seventeenth century and four in the eighteenth, the first half of the nineteenth witnessed the birth of no fewer than four times that number. "It is not merely the possession of surplus funds by the educated classes, but probably also a growing taste for scientific and literary pursuits, which prompt men to associate in this manner."<sup>22</sup>

The first society to follow the Roxburghe lead was the Bannatyne Club founded by Sir Walter Scott, David Laing (an original member of the future Shakespeare Society), Robert Pitcairn, Archibald Constable, and Thomas Thomson. Accepting election to the Roxburghe Club in 1823 to fill the seat vacated by the death of Sir Mark Sykes, Sir Walter Scott mentioned the proposed formation of the Bannatyne Club to Thomas Dibdin, who recalled with delight in Literary Reminiscences the origin of "this most respectable Graft":

This Fraternity is at present in high repute. All classes of society are incorporated as members; and each member pays a contribution of five guineas per annum. High and gallant names glitter in their muster-roll; and he who would enter the lists with a view of being a candidate, ought to look well to his Glass--especially if he be a Sexagenarian--lest increasing inroads upon the surface of the cuticle warn him that, at the probable period of his election, he may be  
' . . . sans teeth, sans eyes, sans taste, sans everything. ' " 23

Sir Walter Scott, however, was anxious to indicate his disapproval of the Roxburghe's exclusivity: "I am in great hopes that the Bannatyne Club, by the assistance of [Thomas] Thomson's wisdom, industry, and accuracy, will be something far superior to the Dilettanti model on which it started."<sup>24</sup> Several years later, in 1831, he enlarged upon the striking differences between the purposes of the parent Roxburghe Club and his own Bannatyne. Because Scott's concept represents an important departure from the prototype and a gesture toward a growing democratic feeling in literary circles, it is reprinted here at length:

The plan of the Roxburghe Club . . . is restricted to the printing of single tracts, each executed at the expense of an individual member. It follows, as almost a necessary consequence, that no volume of considerable size has emanated from the Roxburghe Club; and its range has been thus far limited in point even of utility. The Bannatyne, we understand, holding the same system as the Roxburghe with respect to the ordinary species of club reprints, levies moreover a fund among its members of about £500 a-year, expressly to be applied for the editing and printing of works of acknowledged importance, and like to be attended with expense beyond the reasonable bounds of an individual gentleman's contribution. In this way either a member of the club, or a competent person under its patronage, superintends a particular volume or set of volumes.

Upon these occasions, a very moderate number of copies are thrown off for general sale; and those belonging to the club are only distinguished from other by being



printed on the paper, and ornamented with the decorations, peculiar to the society. In this way, several curious and eminently valuable works have recently been given to the public, for the first time, or at least, with a degree of accuracy and authenticity which they had never before attained. . . . It must be seen that in thus stretching their hand toward the assistance of the general public, the members of the Bannatyne Club, in some degree, waive their own claims of individual distinction, and lessen the value of their private collections; but in so doing they serve the cause of historical life rather more essentially, and to those who might upbraid them with their departure from the principles of monopoly otherwise so dear to book-collectors, we doubt not the thanes would reply, 'We were Scotsmen before we were bibliomaniacs.'<sup>25</sup>

With the exception of one or two unfavorable comments from the New Scots Magazine, the Scottish press responded enthusiastically to the Club's intention to democratize: to defray the financial burden of printing through a mutual fund contributed by the membership, to have someone qualified see the editions through the press, and to offer in moderate numbers, the results of their labors for general sale. The press was also generally pleased to note--less than six months after the founding of the Club--that "though Edinburgh has long held an undisputed place among nations, as the Athens of the North, it was not till lately, that, for pure love of lore, a society of gentlemen congregated themselves, as it were into an Acropolis, round which to rally the scattered literary vestiges and fragments of olden times. . . ." <sup>26</sup>

In spite of the Club's gestures toward popular acceptance, the public showed less enthusiasm than the press for an organization dedicated to Scottish antiquity. The lack of public support did not, however, discourage the formation of other Scottish clubs following the aims and example set by the Bannatyne Club to print works illustrative of the antiquities, history, and literature of Scotland. The Maitland Club, founded in 1828 in Glasgow, shared its membership and many of its publishing efforts with the older Bannatyne, and the Abbotsford Club, founded in 1834, shared with the Bannatyne and the Maitland the same nationalistic pursuits though its ostensive object was more closely connected with the publications of Sir Walter Scott.

The organization and operation of these book clubs, in spite of some minor differences, followed closely on the Roxburghe model in that their animating spirit was social, their publications rather elaborately set out, their books published not only through the general fund but through the private obligations of the members, and their membership rosters and published issues, though greater in number than the Roxburghe's, limited: the Bannatyne and Maitland to one hundred; the Abbotsford to one hundred fifty.

In the thirties and forties, however, the objections

to bibliographical exclusiveness first voiced in reaction to the establishment of the Roxburghe Club, became even more vocal. In The Athenaeum of 1 August 1840, "Our Weekly Gossip" columnist expressed discreet but firm disapproval of the establishment of yet another limited publishing society:

We have this week received the prospectus of another Publishing Society, about to be established in Dublin, for the purpose of collecting and printing rare works or documents, illustrative of the History and Antiquities of Ireland. There ought to be no reasonable doubt of the success of such a project, which has, indeed, already received the sanction and support of many distinguished persons. Yet there are some of the regulations of which we cannot approve. For example, the number of Members is to be limited to three hundred; and it is further declared, that books published by the Society shall not be sold to the public. Now, we can understand that a restriction as to the sale might be judicious, as tempting many persons to come in at once and subscribe, and thus help forward the project; but why limit the numbers, and require each new subscriber to pay Four Pounds as an entrance fee?<sup>27</sup>

What followed numerous such protests against the exclusiveness of the early clubs was the development of text editing and publishing societies which, unlike their brother book clubs, had no social aspect to them. Their annual meetings of subscribers were much like today's stockholders' meetings--purely fiscal in nature--and no Transactions or Minutes were kept to record literary discussions, revelations, or discoveries. It was not

said of these text societies, as it was of the book clubs, that "a very large allowance of sack [was ingested] to the proportion of literary food" or that the clubs had spent "a full thousand pounds in guzzling before [they produced] a single valuable volume."<sup>28</sup>

The text societies which claimed kinship with the Shakespeare Society were more popularly and culturally utilitarian than the book clubs. Their organization depended upon attracting sufficient numbers of subscribers to reduce the expense of publication and make possible the dispersal of literary materials to an increasingly interested public. The opening paragraphs of a review of George Darley's two-volume Works of Beaumont and Fletcher appearing in The Athenaeum included the comment:

Reprints are the fashion of the day;-- the trade has opened a new vein of profit, for cheapness has produced a new class of purchasers. Mr. Moxon, Mr. Smith, the Messrs. Chambers, and others, trusting to a large sale at a small price rather than a small sale at a large one, are republishing our best authors at the lowest remunerating rate; and many an old quarto, which was heretofore sold for twenty or five-and-twenty shillings, has sunk to a sober shilling duodecimo, and a whole series of books may be had for the former price of one.<sup>29</sup>

The keynote was self-improvement for the prospering upper middle classes, and the text societies which in some measure provided cultural food for this phenomenon, succeeded in attracting large numbers of supporting subscribers.

The first of this new breed was the Camden Society, founded in 1838 on the example of the earlier Surtees Society. The latter society had been formed in 1834 to honor the memory of the antiquary Robert Surtees of Mainsforth and was dedicated to the publication of "inedited Manuscripts illustrative of the intellectual, the moral, the religious, and the social condition of those parts of England and Scotland included on the East between the Humber and the Firth of Forth, and on the West between the Mersey and the Clyde, a region which constituted the Ancient Kingdom of Northumberland."<sup>30</sup> The Camden Society, however, did not restrict its interests (and thus its membership) to locality or subject. Its Prospectus announced that the intent of the Society was to "perpetuate and render accessible, whatever is valuable, but at present little known, amongst the materials for the Civil, Ecclesiastical, or Literary History of the United Kingdom."<sup>31</sup> The plan was avidly promoted by men of great literary influence including Thomas Amyot, a founder and life member of the Camden, the Percy, and the Shakespeare Societies, the Reverend Philip Bliss, and C. Purton Cooper. Five hundred copies of the first volume, The Restoration of King Edward II, A.D. 1471, edited by John Bruce (also a member of the Shakespeare Society), were so quickly taken that a

second impression was made that same year. Thereafter, all printing in that first year was to be done in sets of one thousand copies.

There were those, however, who disapproved of the new unrestricted trends. In a letter dated 10 August 1839, the precocious nineteen year-old James Orchard Halliwell courteously but firmly protested to Lord Francis Egerton, President of the Camden Society that the collection of Anecdotes and Traditions by William J. Thoms, secretary of the organization and later (3 November 1849) originator and editor of Notes and Queries, was inconsistent with the Camden Society's purported emphasis on early works. Mr. Halliwell complained that the greater portion of Mr. Thoms's collection belonged to the latter half of the seventeenth century, that documents such as this one should not be among the Society's publications, that "we ought not to print any work that would cover its expenses in the common way of publication," and that to make the Camden Society strictly popular would only result in "an accession of number to pay the expenses of an expected series of half-Pickwickian pseudo-antiquarian publications, and a consequent increase in the impression of all, thereby rendering those that are really valuable works liable to the effects of the fluctuations of a low book-market." 32

The Society continued on its original track in spite of Halliwell's suggestions and, in fact, enlisted two hundred additional names by the end of 1839. His voice did not go unheard, however, and several members began to see the merit of specialized studies. Two years after the founding of the Camden Society, Thomas Amyot, along with John Payne Collier, the Society's treasurer, Halliwell, Thomas Wright, and other interested colleagues formed the Shakespeare Society and the Percy Society, the latter being dedicated to the illumination and restricted study of obscure specimens of ballad poetry.

The formation of these new specialized associations and the advent of the Master of the Rolls series--by which calendars of State Papers and editions of early chronicles were published--gradually drew attention, interest, and membership from the Camden. Less than a decade after its founding, the Society's printings diminished to six hundred--half of its 1839 number--and its sphere of activity became limited to documents, letters, diaries, poems and other works not contemplated by the Master of the Rolls. Even with its forced limitation, however, the Camden Society continued to contribute valuable material to literary and historical scholarship, publishing in its first modern editions, The Ancren Riwe, a semi-Saxon treatise on the Rules and Duties of

Monastic Life (Volume LVII), Bishop Bale's Kynge Johan (Volume II), and the Peterborough Chronicle (Chronicon Petroburgenre, from 1122 to 1294).<sup>33</sup>

From 1838 to 1872, the Camden Society published 105 volumes, and in a second series lasting until 1898, sixty-two more volumes were added. In 1897, however, the Camden was officially absorbed by the Royal Historical Society, and the publications from that date were continued as the Camden Series of the Royal Historical Society.

During the thirteen years of the Percy Society's existence, which almost exactly coincided with that of the Shakespeare Society, ninety-four thin, unbound volumes were published, the most prolific contributors being Halliwell with twenty-two, Thomas Wright with fourteen, and John Payne Collier with ten. The practice of issuing one publication each month put such a drain on the finances of the association that after five years, the Council of the Percy Society decided to reduce the publication schedule to bi-monthly issues.<sup>34</sup>

Though the Percy Society produced more quantity than quality,<sup>35</sup> it did succeed in rescuing from oblivion numerous ballads, chapbooks, and fragments of literature, and it did make attempts at more substantive publication. Peter Cunningham was enlisted by the Percy Society to prepare for the press the poems of William Browne, author of Britannia's



Pastorals, and Thomas Wright planned to edit a more correct text of the works of Chaucer than had appeared to that time. Though Peter Cunningham's intended work did not materialize, Thomas Wright produced his edition of the Canterbury Tales in three volumes: LXVII, LXXII, XCI.

In a final report by the treasurer to the subscribers of the Percy Society (26 February 1852), T. Crofton Croker reiterated the words of one subscriber who had written to him on 23 October 1851:

I think it is often well for such Societies to have a limit to their existence. They generally begin by publishing valuable works which are much wanted, but after some time go on publishing simply because they are in existence; then subscribers become tired of paying, and reading.<sup>36</sup>

The Shakespeare Society, however, neither outlived its usefulness nor exhausted its potential. Nor was it the offspring only of bibliomania and book clubs. The distaff side of the Shakespeare Society's family tree was firmly rooted in the pervading influence of Shakespeare in every tendril of nineteenth century culture.

With the democratization of education in the early decades of the century, a low-keyed but serious interest in a more

accurate knowledge and rendering of Shakespeare gradually appeared. Exhibits, lectures, Shakespearean celebrations and pageants attracted a cross-section of Londoners, while the intellectual proclivity toward first editions and other valuable Shakespeareana spurred on scholars and literary men to detailed scholarly criticism based on new discoveries in the poet's life. Their mutual appreciation and enthusiasm resulted naturally in the formation of associations for the promotion of everything Shakespearean.

London exhibitions, which had been initiated with the popular appearance in 1732 of Hogarth's six famous engravings of The Harlot's Progress, became in the early part of the nineteenth century a major means of promoting the public sale of engravings and pictures, many of them reproductions of things Shakespearean. Besides the Shakespeare Gallery in Pall Mall and Boydell's Gallery in Cheapside, there were several dealers' collections, the chief of which was the European Museum in St. James Square where for the admission fee of one shilling any Londoner could expose himself to affordable art on sale.

The most ambitious and famous gallery to exhibit and promote the sale of such engravings during the period was Boydell's Shakespeare Gallery, conceived as part of "perhaps the most grandiose and complicated [plan] ever devised by an English publisher."<sup>37</sup> The plan originated at a dinner given in honor of John Boydell's sixty-seventh year by his nephew and

business partner, Josiah Boydell. Before the gentlemen in attendance--Benjamin West (1738-1820), the American painter, famous for his large pictures of historical subjects; George Romney, an historical painter and portraitist famous for his "Lady Hamilton as Cassandra" and as the subject of Tennyson's "Romney's Remorse"; Paul Sandby (1725-1809), the English landscape painter and founder of the English school of watercolor painting; and George Nichol, the King's printer--Boydell confided his idea to remove what he saw as a stigma thrown on England by foreign nations concerning the country's dearth of talent for historical painting.

A week later Boydell published his multifaceted plan to commission two series of Shakespearean oil paintings, one large and one small, from all the principal artists of the day; to build a gallery for their permanent exhibition; to publish without the text an Imperial Folio collection of engravings after the larger paintings; and to publish a full edition of Shakespeare's dramatic works illustrated with engravings from the small pictures. Before the Shakespeare edition was complete, Boydell had spent £100,000, forty engravers had reproduced one hundred seventy paintings by forty-four artists, and the Shakespeare Gallery had been built and opened in Pall Mall.

From its opening day in June, 1789, the gallery became the headquarters of London literary and artistic life. But the European war, which cut off all the overseas markets for prints, and the economic shufflings which are concomitant with war, as well as the predictable and inevitable satisfaction of public appetite for one single spectacle, reduced Boydell in 1804 to near bankruptcy. On his deathbed, George III, his long-time friend and patron, exerted his influence on Parliament to empower Boydell's firm to issue 22,000 three-guinea tickets for a lottery. When all the legalities were completed, the firm netted £66,000 for property which was assessed at one-sixth that value, and the company continued until Josiah Boydell's death in 1817. The resuscitation was only temporarily successful, however, and Boydell's ended in bankruptcy in 1826. It had, nonetheless, immense popularity during the earliest years of the century and must be credited with popularizing Shakespeare in art and making native talent respected at home and abroad.

Besides visiting the pictorial exhibits in the first half of the century, Londoners who frequented the growing number of circulating libraries, who read Shakespeare, and who wanted to know more about him paid a two- or three-guinea course fee and attended public lectures. Samuel Taylor Coleridge (1772-1834) in 1811 and again in

1818 lectured on Shakespeare's diction, imagery, and dramatic construction. Charles Cowden Clarke (1787-1877), schoolmaster and English Shakespearean scholar, began his remarkably widespread lectures in 1834 at the Mechanics' Institute of Royston, one of the hundreds of adult educational enterprises which sprang up in the provinces and which provided assembly halls where local citizens could drink in the instruction supplied by small numbers of traveling speakers. Thousands crowded lecture halls in London and its outskirts when Clarke spoke on Chaucer and Moliere, on English poets from Charles II to Queen Anne, and, of course, on Shakespeare. He ended his lecturing career in 1856 as he had begun, in a Mechanic's Institute Lecture Hall. Fourteen of his lectures on Shakespeare's minor characters appeared in print in 1863, expanded and revised, as Shakespeare-- Characters, Chiefly Those Subordinate.

In addition to the scholars, authors, and schoolmasters who traveled the lecture circuits, actors and actresses, popular in their day for performances of Shakespeare, also shared their talents in one-person readings throughout England. Charlotte Cushman, Fanny Kemble, and Ellen Terry popularized Shakespeare and enhanced their own reputations in this manner.

At the same time that Shakespeare was being engraved, painted, lectured upon, and performed, Shakespearean devotees banded together to commemorate, as David Garrick had done in

1769, the birthday of their national poet.<sup>38</sup> There had been no Jubilees for more than half a century in spite of the fact that Garrick had not only succeeded in arousing great public interest in Shakespeare and his birthplace, but had significantly elevated Shakespeare to the eminence of "our Immortal Bard."<sup>39</sup> Garrick himself refused, after his experience in 1769, ever to return to Stratford, for though his festival had been a qualified success, for him, "it had seemed a nightmare and he wanted nothing more to do with it."<sup>40</sup> When the Stratford Corporation approached him to restage his Jubilee, he offered not himself but his advice that future commemorations should follow the pattern and plan he had initiated. They should, by all means, plan balls, bonfires, drums, choruses, mirth and good fellowship. And, remembering the disastrously wet autumn weekend when a torrential downpour washed Stratford streets with grey muddy water and sent soggy programs, tickets, and souvenirs floating through town as would-be revelers camped in hot, cramped, and musty quarters, he suggested to the Corporation that they should not let it be said "for your honour and, I hope for your interest, that the town which gave birth to the first genius since the creation is the most dirty, unseemly, ill-paved wretched-looking place in all Britain."<sup>41</sup> Discouraged perhaps by Garrick's lack of support in 1771,

the Stratford Corporation launched no large-scale celebration, but it did continue to petition Garrick by yearly letters for the rest of his life. It was not until 1827 that a second commemorative festival was staged. Through the efforts of the 150-member Shakespearean Club established three years before for the express purpose of celebrating the poet's birthday, a series of activities was planned to begin on 23 April 1827 with a grand procession of Shakespeare's principal tragic, historical, and comic characters. Led by the Mayor and St. George, on horseback, the parade did homage at the Birthplace before proceeding in the view of crowds of "thirty to forty thousand"<sup>42</sup> to New Place for the laying of a cornerstone for a proposed new theater.

The Festival was successful enough to encourage the members of the sponsoring Shakespearean Club to plan for similar festivals every third year, and, in 1830, with four hundred names swelling their roster, the Club staged a four-day parade of characters (led by Charles Kean as St. George), dinners, breakfasts, dancing, and performances. Though King George IV had consented to make an appearance-- April 23rd being not only the traditional Festival of St. George but also the adopted birthday of the King--he was sadly indisposed and could not attend. In spite of the apparent success of the venture, the Shakespearean Club

discontinued its triennial festivals after 1830.

Even without the attraction of festivals, however, individuals poured into Shakespeare's birthplace as pilgrims to a shrine. By 1827, the date of the second celebration, "such [was] the idolatry manifested for the chamber wherein Shakespeare first inhaled the breath of life, that its walls are literally covered throughout with the names of visitors, traced in pencil by their own hands."<sup>43</sup> In the summer of 1844, the Reverend William Harness (1790-1869), a respected Shakespearean biographer and editor, and life-long member of the Shakespeare Society, recorded in his diary that he "saw the house Shakespeare was born in" and that the woman named Court who then owned the house told him of an American who "got her to lay down a mattress on the floor that he might sleep in the room!!" She also showed Mr. Harness the names of Charles Dickens, the King of Saxony, and others in the album that she kept--"the page with Dickens's name [being] almost worn out with handling. . . ." <sup>44</sup>

Exhibitions, lectures, pilgrimages, and celebrations augmented the escalation in the prices of all kinds of Shakespeareana. When Thomas Dibdin in 1809 recorded the story of the Duke of Roxburghe's purchase at auction in 1790 of one copy of the First Folio of Shakespeare, his emphasis was not only on the Duke's exemplification of a



bibliomaniac--that is, one who was very "keen upon the scent and wretched when off it"--but also on the increasing value of the volume itself.<sup>45</sup> The appreciating value of the First Folio, particularly since the nineteenth century, testifies to the extraordinary desirability of all things Shakespearean. The Duke's copy, or one like it, sold in 1623 for one pound sterling. By the middle of the eighteenth century, that same folio demanded three guineas. When the Duke purchased it in the last decade of the century, he paid £35.14 (almost twice the per annum income of a London working man). As part of the famous Roxburghe sale in 1812, that same volume had tripled in value, going for approximately £100.

Louis Marder recounts the histories of several other copies of the First Folio, one which cost William Pickering £20 in 1840 cost George Daniel £100 later that same year, and the Baroness Burdett-Coutts £716.2 just twenty-four years later (1864). By the turn of the century, J.P. Morgan paid £1000, and in 1922 when the Burdett-Coutts copy came to America, it brought \$43,000. In 1925, A.S.W. Rosenbach of Philadelphia, who three years before had purchased the Burdett-Coutts copy, bought an 1840 £250 Folio for \$75,000--an increase in eighty-five years of close to \$74,000.<sup>46</sup>

Concurrent with this desire for good early editions

of Shakespeare's works, and in recognition of the poor, surreptitious, and unauthorized editions of texts printed during Shakespeare's lifetime and after, a demand developed for good, contemporary editions. The largest edition ever published was Boydell's Shakespeare. According to a note in William Jaggard's Shakespeare Bibliography, Boydell's Shakespeare contained his series of one hundred large copper plates from paintings by leading English artists--his note included Reynolds, Smirke, Northcote, Porter, Westall, and others--and a reiteration of the 1786 prospectus for the edition announcing that a type foundry, an ink factory, and a printing house (The Shakespeare Press) were all specially erected for the production.<sup>47</sup> Eventually, however, the sets became quite rare because print dealers found that they could enlarge their profit margin by cutting up the lavishly illustrated volumes, framing the pictures, and selling them to eager customers.

In 1807, the Bowdler Family Shakespeare became the first in a line of editions which cut what was deemed manifestly improper: Thomas Caldecott expurgated Shakespeare in 1821; J.R. Pitman in 1822 (The School Shakespeare); Thomas Shorter in 1865; and Henry Cundell in 1876 (The Boudoir Shakespeare).

Editions varied in size and shape as well as content. They were issued with and without illustrations, in one volume and multiple-volume sets, for the family, for the student, and for the amateur actor, in expensive formats and in shilling editions.

In spite of the obvious demand for nonscholarly editions, however, Shakespearean annotators and editors kept up their own remarkable pace in the nineteenth century. Jaggard lists George Steevens's revised edition in two volumes in 1803 and--since this was an expansive age luxuriating in voluminousness for its own sake--a corrected copy (issued posthumously) with glossarial notes in ten volumes. Other multiple-volume editions were compiled by William Harness, Charles Knight, Samuel Weller Singer, Alexander Dyce, and John Payne Collier. What was called The Third Variorum, begun by Edmond Malone, was completed after his death by James Boswell, son of Dr. Johnson's biographer, and published in twenty-one volumes in 1821. It contained nineteen hundred pages of prefatory essays and encompassed a century's scholarship.

Since it would be less than adequate scholarship for any Shakespearean to begin his work without first surveying the ground covered by his predecessors, scores of writers listed, cataloged, and "bibliographed" Shakespeareana in

an effort to shape the chaos into a manageable tool for scholarship. The Shakespeare Bibliography (1911) compiled by William Jaggard, a descendant of Shakespeare's printer (to whom the work is dedicated), listed over thirty-six thousand distinct references in its 712 pages. To encourage the appreciation of his readers, Jaggard included mention in his Preface not only that the task at hand took him over twenty-two exhausting and self-sacrificing years, but that it superseded the attempts of all of his predecessors including John Britton's 1818 bibliography of detached essays and dissertations on Shakespeare; Robert Watt's 1824 Bibliotheca Brittanica; John Wilson's 1827 Catalogue of all books, pamphlets, etc relative to Shakespeare; Thomas Jolley's 1834 List of Shakespeareana; Thomas William Lowndes's 1834 Bibliographer's Manual (enlarged in 1857 by Henry George Bohn); John Payne Collier's On the Earliest Quarto Editions; and Halliwell's Shakespeareana: A Catalogue of The Early Editions of Shakespeare's plays and of the Commentaries and Other Publications Illustrative of his Works (1841); and two dozen more compilations before the end of the century.<sup>48</sup>

An average Londoner had little chance to escape the influence of Shakespeare. If he chose not to part with his few shillings for an exhibition or a lecture series, if he did not

know how to read or was disinclined to do so, if he did not spend his evenings by the fireside being read to from one of the numerous Family Shakespeare's, he would nevertheless join his neighbors as they crowded theaters to applaud the theatrical pageantry that pervaded Shakespeare on the stage. Moreover, since Shakespeare was particularly adaptable to the "spectacular" tendencies of the age, theaters often played Shakespeare against Shakespeare or presented the same plays with different casts or changes in star performers, with the result that audiences had limited opportunities to miss seeing the works of Shakespeare on the stage.<sup>49</sup>

The spectacular was accompanied by a movement toward historically "accurate" settings and costuming which actually began as early as Garrick, who, late in his career, had attempted to introduce appropriate period and place in costume. John Philip Kemble (1757-1823) followed Garrick's lead not only in attempting authentic costuming but also in his efforts to return in some measure to the "original" Shakespeare. Kemble studied the textual authorities of the day--Steevens, Malone, and Reed--learned all he could of the history and culture of England and other nations, and assembled scenic artists to carry out his wishes. Kemble was also the first actor-manager to publish systematically and sell his

acting versions of Shakespeare's plays (1789-1815).

If one may point to one place in dramatic history when the authentic movement in staging got under way, it was with J.R. Planché's designs for Charles Kemble's production of King John at Covent Garden on 19 January 1824. Recalling a conversation with Charles Kemble in 1823, Planché remarked in his Reminiscences:

Mr. Kemble admitted the fact, and perceived the pecuniary advantage that might result from the experiment. It was decided that I should make the necessary researches, design the dresses, and superintend the production of 'King John', gratuitously, I beg leave to say. . . That I was the original cause of this movement [toward authenticity] is certain.<sup>50</sup>

Mr. Kemble's business sense was accurate, for the production grossed from four hundred to six hundred pounds nightly, a tremendous box office response for those days.<sup>51</sup>

While there was no immediate or complete revolution in staging as a result of the Kemble-Planché King John-- "Lear, Othello and Antony continued to appear before conventional baroque pillars and arches, and the same palaces and prisons were painted on canvas"--the trend after the early years of the nineteenth century toward realism as well as elaborateness was steady.<sup>52</sup>

As the nineteenth century progressed, Shakespeare production responded on all fronts to the rising spirit of realism, to the pursuit of truth conceived as fact. . . Responding to the advances of Shakespeare scholarship, actor-managers bowed down to the fact of 'the

book' and with rising fervor proclaimed their allegiance to the 'true text.' New developments in historical and archaeological research, and, of course, the popularity of historical fiction promoted a theatrical response to the facts of history--a striving after 'historical accuracy' in mise-en-scene.<sup>53</sup>

Shakespeare, as a dramatist, did not enter the schools and the universities, however. At Cambridge, Shakespeare was present only as translation exercises for students of Greek and as models of oratory. And though by mid-century, editions issued from the press intended for young persons (e.g., Lamb's Tales from Shakespeare--1808--and Caroline Maxwell's The Juvenile Edition of Shakespeare; Adapted to the Capacities of Youth--1828), Shakespeare was not a subject of instruction in the grammar schools until after 1858 when Oxford and Cambridge instituted their lower examinations. And even after that date, the teaching of Shakespeare in the grammar and public schools meant attention to "the source [of a Shakespeare plot], its relationship to the play, the methods of dating the play, and questions about adherence to the unities, duration of the plot, characterization, prosody, etc."<sup>54</sup> There might have been dramatic recitation from memory in the lower grades, but the idea of Shakespeare in performance did not penetrate the walls of the Academy until Oxford students performed The Merchant of Venice in December, 1883.<sup>55</sup>

Nonetheless, Shakespeare built his reputation as a working dramatist, and it was by way of recognizing and sharing an appreciation for the excellence of Shakespeare on the stage that the first Shakespeare associations were formed.



## CHAPTER 2: Shakespeare Associations: Early Steps Toward Structure and Purpose

A long line of Shakespeare associations preceded the Shakespeare Society of 1840. In Edinburgh, in Glasgow, in London and in hundreds of small villages throughout Scotland and England, the Shakespeare clubs that were formed distinguished themselves less by cultural thirst than by physical appetite, less by literary discernment than by undirected enthusiasm, and less by a desire to spread enlightenment outside the confines of their associations than by a desire for individual self-improvement and self-projection. That is, most were clearly inner-directed.

The Shakespeare Ladies Club, however, was an exception. Stimulated by appeals in essays and periodicals, in dramatic prologues and epilogues urging "Men of Quality, Taste, and Fortune" to form "An Association for the Support of the Stage,"<sup>1</sup> a group of women banded together in 1736 to form the first society on record to devote itself to spreading the "Shakespearean gospel."<sup>2</sup> Its specific intention was to counteract the contemporary taste for pantomime, spectacle, and imported opera and to restore Shakespeare's neglected plays to the English stage. As a result of the determination and persis-

tence of this formidable and militant organization (whose membership cannot be traced), the percentage of Shakespearean plays performed in Covent Garden and Drury Lane during the three consecutive seasons after the formation of the Club (1736-1738) increased steadily from 14% (91 Shakespearean performances out of 650) to 22% (68 out of 306). The Club, unfortunately, remained active for only two seasons, but its practical devotion to the cause made Shakespearean theater fashionable and effected the re-introduction in subsequent seasons of such neglected plays as Twelfth Night, The Merchant of Venice, The Winter's Tale, As You Like It, and All's Well That Ends Well.

In 1857, a correspondent in Notes and Queries brought to the attention of his readers that an eighteenth century pamphlet published by "the facetious Rev. William Thom, A.M., minister of Govan, near Glasgow" included information about a society called "The Knights of the Cape," which was formed in Edinburgh for the purpose of encouraging a taste for Shakespeare. Thom mentioned in that pamphlet that it was his opinion that the final "e" in "Cape" had been added by mistake and that the true designation was "Knights of the Cap"--cap being a wooden mug used by the country people for drinking ale.<sup>3</sup> It was the business of many of the members of this 1770

Edinburgh Shakespeare Society to write odes to and about Shakespeare and to set them to music for the amusement of themselves and their neighbors. But the distinguishing mark of this group, according to Thom, was that:

'when they meet in a social capacity, they place themselves in the figure of a circle. For this there may be two good reasons assigned: The first is, the universal law of gravitation; by which each of the members is attracted with equal force towards the common center--which is a cold mutton pye--and so they fall naturally into that round situation . . . .<sup>4</sup>

In 1820, certain Edinburgh Shakespeareans again formed themselves into an Edinburgh Shakespear Club but distinguished themselves from their predecessor not only by their spelling, but also by an earnest desire to "preserve a strict regularity and decorum at all Meetings of the Club."<sup>5</sup> Thirty members met every second Monday throughout the year after paying an admission fee of two shillings sixpence and after agreeing to pay one penny weekly as well as any punitive fines levied against them for breaches of decorum. The moneys collected as entries, forfeits, weekly contributions, and fines supported the purchases of "necessary and useful" articles for the benefit of the members as well as a library of "useful books." It was clearly the intent of this club to maintain, if not impose, an attitude of seriousness and self-improvement. To that end, questions proposed at

one meeting were discussed at subsequent meetings--a fine being levied against the member who proposed a question but did not attend its discussion. Alterations were made to the original "Articles and Regulations of the Club" in 1826, but no further mention is made in print of this association or the Transactions of its meetings, and no enduring publications were intended or undertaken.

At approximately the same date as the formation of the Edinburgh Shakespear Club, a group of citizens in the south of Yorkshire established the Sheffield Shakespeare Club and in 1829 published an account of their nine years of existence. The Club was formed in the autumn of 1819 in reaction to bitter denunciations against the theater delivered by a Minister of the Established Church who insisted that those who frequent theatrical performances could not possibly be Christians and that none but Christians could be admitted to everlasting blessedness. According to the Club's records, "a few individuals, not altogether satisfied with the way in which they had been disposed of, and who ...thought themselves somewhat harshly and uncharitably condemned, felt themselves called upon, either to abandon the Theatre altogether or to avow and defend their reasons for a different line of conduct." <sup>6</sup>

It would not be inaccurate to say that this common feeling of unjust condemnation unified the members and supported the existence of the Club as strongly as any desire to share an appreciation for the works of William Shakespeare. A meeting seldom passed without mention of Shakespeare's merit as a poet, as a judge of human nature, or as an unexcelled portrayer of femininity. But more time was taken by the membership "to mark their disapprobation of the condemnations fulminated against them from the pulpit."<sup>7</sup> They regularly reiterated that they (the members) would not allow any man to "tell us that because we go to the theater we cannot discharge our duty to God or our neighbor,"<sup>8</sup> that their annual assembly is devoted to defending the genius of Shakespeare from "the narrow-minded, illiberal, and bigoted attacks which yet continue to be made upon them--attacks which ought not to be made at any time nor from any place, but least of all from that place where Christian Charity ought more powerfully to have prevailed."<sup>9</sup> At its concluding meeting, on the ninth anniversary of the Club, 5 December 1827, ninety members dined, toasted each other--the only recorded activity of the Club--and ceased to exist.

When the Sheffield Club was in its sixth year of toasting Shakespeare and denouncing unjust condemnations from the pulpit, a Stratford club was formed to give

support to any example of literature or art having to do with Shakespeare and to promote Shakespeare's popularity through commemorative festivals. Though the Club's first attempt to organize a jubilee in 1826 failed, the second attempt the following year was successful enough to spawn yet another Shakespeare club in Stratford--the Shakespearean True Blue Club--which, in direct competition with the original group, advertised its own festival, staged its own performances, composed its own odes, and reveled at its own dinners. The confusion and the competition bred by the two clubs prompted the original to denounce any connection with its imitator and to seek and receive the patronage of George IV. The original club thereupon assumed the title of the Royal Shakespearean Club.

The True Blues disbanded after the 1830 triennial commemoration, which apparently exhausted the members' competitive vigor. The original club, however, continued to meet and to organize festivities for several years until a quarrel with the landlord of the Falcon Inn dampened their enthusiasm.<sup>10</sup> The Club was revived, however, in the 1870's as the Shakespeare Club--having dropped the "Royal" designation--and to this day has a hand in the birthday luncheon organized annually by the borough of Stratford.

So strong was the bond of Shakespearean appreciation in Great Britain that one year after the dissolution of the Edinburgh Shakespear Club, the Shakespeare Club of Scotland was instituted. In spite of its original intent to limit itself to Shakespearean activities, the published purpose of the Club was diverted to the general object of promoting all types of dramatic and musical art. It attracted 183 regular and fifty honorary members, selected for the most part from among dramatic and other literary authors, and elected an awkwardly top-heavy official contingent of four presidents, three vice-presidents, a treasurer, a secretary and twenty councillors. It had annual general meetings for elections on the last Tuesday of each October, but reserved the last Friday of every month for the obviously more important social gatherings.

According to Article VI of the Club's laws, the Council was empowered "to patronize theatrical or Musical Entertainments, Musical Societies or Associations, and individual Dramatists, Musical Composers, Theatrical Performers, or Musicians, in such ways as they may consider calculated to promote the objects of the Club; and to make all necessary arrangements for that purpose."<sup>11</sup> No record is available to amplify that provision, however, and no trace remains of the products, if any, of

the Club. In the general picture of Shakespeare associations, the importance of the Shakespeare Club of Scotland lies in its attempt to enlist the support of men of means and literary ambition in an organized effort to encourage the appreciation of theatrical arts by the public.

The first third of the century was an unusually active time for Shakespeare's public in the United Kingdom. The popular interest in Shakespeare, fueled by the widely traveling lecturers and actresses, inspired the formation of all manner of small-town clubs. Though they seldom produced anything of literary or scholarly merit, they lived in the memories of their members, some of whom recorded their experiences. Such was the case with the Shakespeare Club of Alloa, a hamlet situated at the head of the Firth of Forth, a seaport, a commercial center, and a railway terminal of approximately 5500 inhabitants.<sup>12</sup> The Alloa club was established just at the turn of the nineteenth century, endured (according to its 1817 recorder) at least to that date, and was dedicated to sponsoring a yearly festival to honor Shakespeare with an assortment of songs, recitations, literary toasts, and eulogies. Whatever their number, the membership enjoyed the facilities of a hall, a library, and a store of wines and spirits to which everyone had a key and the liberty to treat his friends without check or control.<sup>13</sup>



Another Scottish group, the Oldminster Shakespeare Club, was formed around 1830 (The exact date of origin cannot be located). It lasted only three years, but it is remembered because of an article published three decades later in Chambers's Journal. The nine citizens who founded the Association gathered weekly during the winter months and biweekly in the summer to read and discuss one Shakespeare play at each session.

There was plenty of scope in the great dramas for discussing rules of action, principles of government, and the like. On these we declaimed and generalized to our hearts' content. I am not going to say that we made any new discoveries in these matters, but I am convinced that our discussions were not devoid of benefit to ourselves. Admitted that we aimed rather high, that our more immediate duties were not served in what took place, that vanity and love of talk were conspicuous therein, there was still a smack of conflict and real intellectual effort about the affair, which were good preparations for the serious business of life.<sup>14</sup> (Emphasis added.)

At the end of three years, when the members determined that they had accomplished their goal--to go through the famous dramas "faithfully and lovingly, with an enthusiasm that seldom flagged, acquiring in the process thorough familiarity with the richest of the production of genius"<sup>15</sup>--the group disbanded by mutual consent.

The association closest in time and constituency to the Shakespeare Society of 1840 was formed in 1838 "to

combine intellectual with social enjoyment" primarily through "regular readings, essays and criticisms on Shakespeare, or any subject connected with literature, the Drama or the Arts--to be followed by familiar discussion."<sup>16</sup> Included among the seventy members were Charles Dickens, John Forster, Charles Knight, William Macready, and Sergeant Talfourd--all future members of the Shakespeare Society. Based on the Minutes kept by his father, Frank Stone (the group's honorary secretary), Marcus Stone submitted a short article to The Dickensian in which he recorded some of the subjects which the Club considered. Included were such topics as: the advantages of social discussion, the means of promoting the success and influence of the Drama, the present system of periodical publication, and the influence of the utilitarian progress of the present age on literature and the fine arts.

Writing in 1873, Charles Knight recalled in his memoirs, however, that the Shakespeare Club had too many members for the productive discussion which was originally intended and that there was little chance to promote the friendly conviviality of men of congenial tastes.<sup>17</sup> Knight's comments are consistent with Macready's record of the Club's final dinner meeting. According to Macready, to whom Forster had given an account, some indecorous proceeding on the part of three or four persons during

the speech of one of the members prompted Forster--who was rising to present a lecture of his own--to make a "slashing" attack on these persons. Several members then questioned Forster's right to rebuke them when the chairman--Charles Dickens on this night--had said nothing. Forster, according to Macready, disclaimed any personal malice, but he left the room. Dickens--for no explained reason--requested those who sympathized with Forster to leave the room as well. When twenty or thirty followed Forster, the Club came to an end--not even two years after its inception.<sup>18</sup>

This brief look at the English proclivity toward the formation of clubs confirms the view amusingly expressed by Ivor Brown and George Fearon, who observed that "the English have a great passion for doing things privately. . . .The institution of the club enables you to keep the other fellow out. That is a practice which the British most heartily enjoy. To combine the popping of corks with the throwing of black-balls, what bliss!"<sup>19</sup>

In a more serious vein, the Shakespeare clubs, even with their social emphasis, encouraged members to share their enjoyment of Shakespeare and to discuss actively and regularly the numerous problems which arise in the study of Shakespeare and his contemporaries.

Another significant trait to mark in this chronicle of Shakespearean associations is the apparent and recurrent need that many of them evinced to defend Shakespeare against his detractors. The defensive stance is not peculiar to Shakespeare associations, however; it was a natural part of the battle between advocates and forces of popular drama, which began in earnest with the publication in 1577 of John Northbrooke's A Treatise Wherein Dicing, Dancing, Vain Plays or Interludes with Other Idle Pastimes . . . Are Reproved (reprinted by the Shakespeare Society in 1843). Northbrooke's Treatise followed by fifteen years the publication in London of "The Laws of Geneva," which explicitly forbade the performance of plays. The Treatise was followed in 1579 by Stephen Gosson's School of Abuse and thereafter, for the next twenty years, by pamphlets and position papers stating the case both for and against the Puritan strictures on such allegedly counter-productive and non-instructive pastimes. The major publications in this controversy were reprinted by the Shakespeare Society (Appendix C).

Though concerns for the morality of the citizenry might have been the primary factors in the battle against the stage and against Shakespeare and his fellow playwrights of a more liberal age, there were other anxieties expressed by the opposition. There were those people, for example,

who justifiably feared that the gathering of large groups of persons at theatrical performances would engender fresh outbreaks of disease, a not uncommon occurrence in those times. There were those, too, who feared that a general confluence of the unmannered and unschooled population courted destruction and violence.

Fortunately, in the nineteenth century, the Puritan opposition to the stage no longer threatened the active and productive appreciation of Shakespeare as in the preceding two centuries. The time was ripe for serious and organized study of the national poet.

## ii

Although earlier clubs, like the Oldminster Shakespeare Club, the Edinburgh Shakespear Club, and the Shakespeare Club of Scotland, attempted to give structure and direction to their organizations, it was not until the formation of the Shakespeare Society of 1840 that any association looked on collective Shakespearean study as a "serious busines of life" and effectively organized to foster and disseminate valuable Shakespearean scholarship.

The Shakespeare Society was established on a plan similar to that adopted by the Camden Society. Each of the members, 716 by 1842, was required to pay £1 on or before the first of January. For this subscription fee, the member

would receive a single copy of every work printed during the calendar year. A member who edited a work was entitled to twenty copies of the publication which he saw through the press.

The Council met biweekly, but the general membership met only once a year on or around the 26th of April, at which time those in good standing (i.e., paid-up members) elected the Auditors and a Council of twenty-one who, in fact, managed the day-to-day operation of the Society. The six Vice-Presidents (dropping to five in 1849 after the death of the Earl of Powis), the President, and the Director were elected by the Council members, and it was the unwritten prerogative of the Council to suggest and propose among themselves prospective Council members and to support them for election at the appropriate time. A letter from the Director of the Society, John Payne Collier, to Swynfen Jervis, dated 31 January 1849 survives:<sup>20</sup>

My dear Sir,

. . . . .  
I write, next, to ask whether you will consent to fill one of the vacancies on the Council of the Shakespeare Society at the end of April? Six members then retire and six new ones are chosen.<sup>21</sup>

If you will allow me I will propose you with great pleasure, as you have more than once lent us your aid as an Auditor.

In spite of its enthusiastic reception by the literary

circle of the time and its rising reputation, the Society suffered from problems not inconsistent with any organization of its type. Even today, book editing and publishing enterprises owe their existence to efficient and inexpensive geographical distribution of their volumes and to the prompt payment of fees by their members. The Shakespeare Society was no exception. In a manuscript letter to an unnamed member of the Camden Society, dated 23 May 1846, Collier, who served as Secretary for the Camden concurrent with his tenure as Director of the Shakespeare Society, noted that "the most defective part of our system relates to the delivery of books."<sup>22</sup>

Because of its subscribing members overseas in Paris, Germany, and Dublin, in distant overland centers like Edinburgh (377 miles from London) and Glasgow (396 miles from London), and in smaller--particularly commercial--centers throughout the Island, the costs which the Shakespeare Society had to bear and the logistics of distribution which Thomas Rodd, the Society's agent, had to wrestle with were complicated by changing, expensive, and non-uniform postal services.

From 1784 to approximately mid-century, letters, parcels, and books when not delivered in person were conveyed over large distances by mail coach, a service which reached its zenith around 1836. Beginning in the

1840's, however, more and more mail coach lines--especially on the important commercial routes--were being replaced by railways. According to The Penny Magazine, 26 December 1840:

The number of miles of railway which have been opened in 1840, has far exceeded in extent the openings of any previous years, being at least 500 miles. Since the opening of the Liverpool and Manchester Railroad, in September 1830, upwards of 1100 miles of railroad, for the transport of passengers and merchandise by means of steam-power, have been constructed, and are now in actual use; and the lines now in progress are of about the same length.<sup>23</sup>

For purposes of comparison, it might be useful to know that a Committee of the House of Lords estimated in 1840 the length of turnpike roads in England and Wales at 22,000 miles and the length of parish roads at approximately 104,770 miles--a system of road communication developed over centuries.<sup>24</sup>

As early as 1838, William Chaplin, London's most prominent coach proprietor, who at the height of his business owned nearly seventy coaches and over 1800 horses and shipped half the total mails out of London, declared that the railways "had put an end to all traveling upon the road by which coaches went formerly."<sup>25</sup>

But the coaches did continue to carry mail for some time in spite of the railway threat, particularly in remote regions like the west of England, Scotland and Ireland, all of which had members in the Society.



Edinburgh received coach delivery of the Society's books as late as 1847, and it was not until 1858 that the last coach ran out of Manchester--another distribution point for the Shakespeare Society. The extended life and usage of the mail coaches probably resulted from the dedicated efforts of the operators to maintain tight schedules and remarkable velocities over frequently poor roads:

The Flying Cumbrian, which took the Glasgow mails, was at Grantham for breakfast, at Wetherby for dinner where there was a stop from 4:36 to 5:11, and reached Carlisle, the border town 300 miles from London, before five of the second morning. There was a half-hour for breakfast at Carlisle before the Glasgow coach started over the Scottish part of the journey. . . . The mails [reached Glasgow] at 2:00 P.M. of the second day--396 miles in 42 hours! <sup>26</sup>

The pace averaged nine to twelve miles per hour.

Efficiency, large accommodations, and speed were on the side of the railways, however. Trains provided separate carriages where mail could be sorted during the journey, thus speeding up the movement of mail and reducing the burdens on the local postmasters and the already overtaxed facilities of the London Post Office. Moreover, a device was put into use as early as 1838 which permitted the mail to be put off and received while the trains were in motion.<sup>27</sup> And finally, the trains could travel speeds upwards of 20 miles per

hour--double the mail coach limit--reaching Liverpool twenty-three hours after departing from London.<sup>28</sup> The costs, however, were exorbitant, and the Shakespeare Society, functioning as it did through the transition period in postal history, had to deal with all the problems of varying modes of delivery and sliding fee schedules.

Delivery by mail coach, in spite of its relative economy in contrast with railway delivery, offered countless other problems for the agents of literary clubs. Mail to Dublin, for example, was complicated by the fact that the Irish Post Office had complete--and inefficient--control over all the mail deliveries in Ireland. Moreover, the roads were in poor condition, there was little competition for the mail coach contractors (as there existed in England and Scotland), frequent and excessive tolls were charged to the coach companies, franking privileges were openly abused, and dishonesty pervaded the whole Irish postal bureaucracy. All of these problems were passed on to the consumer--as in today's economy--in the form of mail charges. If someone in western Ireland, for example, wrote to London, the cost of the single letter--Irish postage, packet charges (seaboard), and English inland postage--amounted to two shillings, or about one-fifth of that Irishman's

weekly wage.<sup>29</sup>

The situation was not much better on the Continent. With distribution points and Secretaries in France and Germany, the Shakespeare Society was faced with the problem of getting its volumes safely and economically to countries in which postage rates, often inconsistent and subject to frequent change, included the cost of overland delivery from London to the port city, the fee for packet or sea conveyance, and the continental overland charge for delivery to the local Secretary. Even in 1849, nine years after the institution of the uniform penny post, overseas mail was an expensive and confusing matter. "It seems absurd," wrote the columnist in The Athenaeum (10 March 1849), "that when a letter can be conveyed from London to Dover--a distance of 70 miles--for 1d., and from Calais to Paris--a distance of 100 miles--for 2d., the cost for 20 miles across the Channel should be more than twice as much as these two charges put together."<sup>30</sup>

Two years later, nothing had been done to alleviate the problem, and criticism of the overseas postal service intensified:

No two capitals in the civilized world are trying to get into such close fellowship as London and Paris. Still, there is no correspondence in the civilized world so exorbitantly and disproportionately taxed as that between

these two great countries separated by a narrower strait than divides any other two distinct nations on the globe. Let any one stand on the Castle Cliff of Dover, and he may get a vivid impression of this anomalous postal restriction. On a clear day he will be able to see the French Coast with the naked eye, and almost the town of Calais itself. Now then, let him post a letter in Dover to a person in Calais,--and the charge on it will be 10d. if it weighs a quarter of an ounce, and 1s.3d. if it weighs half an ounce! Is there any postage in the world to compare with this charge for exorbitancy? One Shilling and Threepence on a letter weighing half an ounce, between two ports within sight of each other! Contrast this charge with one in another direction. A person may post a letter of the same weight, in Dover, to a correspondent in San Francisco, in California, for 1s.2d.,--one penny less than the postage across the Strait to Calais! And contrast the services performed on the two letters. The one for California is first conveyed across the kingdom to Liverpool, incurring several services on its way; thence it is transported to New York, a distance of 3,000 miles, where two or three more services, connected with receiving and dispatching letters, are performed upon it. Thence it is conveyed to Chagres, another long ocean voyage. From Chagres it crosses the Isthmus to Panama, on the Pacific side; thence by steamer to San Francisco, where the last services are performed upon it; and all this for a penny less than would have been charged upon it if posted in Dover to Calais, a distance overcome by steam in less than an hour and a half!<sup>31</sup>

But the consumer might also pay dearly in risk as well as fees when he used the General Postal Service, as distinct from the mail coaches. In one instance, before the initiation of the uniform penny post, the publishers of a lost manuscript wrote to the Post Office:

Dear Sirs,

The temporary loss of Mr. Cooper's MS., to which you allude in your letter of the 1st instant, was occasioned by the reprehensible carelessness of those to whose custody it was entrusted.

By some blundering person the parcel, which should have been forwarded, as similar ones always are by mail or other coach, was actually put into the Post-Office, and a charge incurred of £10 within a fraction.

The Post-Office is no more the proper channel through which a packet of this kind should be sent than it should be for the carriage of a bale of cotton.<sup>32</sup>

Even as late as 1859, the risk of sending book parcels through the general post was considerable, as Collier explains to Mr. Octave Delapierre:

Having stupidly forgotten your private address, I sent the "Hamlet" 1604 (fac-simile) [a gift from the Duke of Devonshire] to the Belgian Ministry Portland Place. I made up the parcel and directed it with my own hand, so that there could be no mistake so far. My boy conveyed it to the Post; and that, I am sorry to say, is all I know about it. So I told you, I think, another copy, sent to W. Wright at 15 Sydney Street Brompton, did not arrive.<sup>33</sup>

Two years after Collier was writing to his fellow Camden Society member apologizing for the "defective" method of book distribution, Rowland Hill, soon-to-be Secretary of the Post-Office and an indefatigable advocate of postal reform, saw his recommendation of an official Book Post put into effect. The reform was instituted primarily because the government recognized the moral

and political importance of such an action in light of the rise in literacy and the increased number of lending libraries.

As set up in 1848, the cost was 6d. for a pound weight, but in the beginning the one pound package could contain only one book and no writing within the wrapper. A book, therefore, which showed any indication of ownership was forbidden.<sup>34</sup> These restrictions were relaxed in time, however, and by 1855--one year after Rowland Hill became Secretary, but, unfortunately, after the Shakespeare Society had been disbanded--the Book Post was made even more useful through a rate decrease to a penny for four ounces of weight.

iii

A second problem plaguing the Shakespeare Society was the pledged but unfulfilled subscriptions. A study of the Auditors' Reports to the membership of the Shakespeare Society from 1842 (the first meeting) through 1851 reveals an almost consistent decline in the Society's "balance on hand" and--aside from a few explainable exceptions--a corresponding rise in the number of subscriptions in arrears. In the first report, the Society's membership totaled 716, and the Report showed a prosperous bank balance of £560 after expenses incurred by reason of seven published and distributed volumes. The Club's

account never again reached this point (Appendix C).

Seven years, thirty-seven volumes, and £4000 after its founding, the accounts of the Club showed a balance of £77.18.9., a substantial drop from the preceding year's £252.15.2. The depressed financial condition of the Society at this point resulted not so much from increased expenses--agent's fees, printing, postage and paper costs remaining remarkably consistent--but from an unrecorded drop in active membership ascertainable through a glance at the reduced number of paid-up arrear accounts (Appendix C: Account Chart, column 3). The Council members, obviously dismayed at the dim prospects augured by the Auditors' Reports, determined to remain silent on the specific amount of arrearage, preferring instead to note that "the arrears for the last year [1846] especially are heavier than usual" and that "on the subject of subscriptions for the current year, we refrain from offering any observation."<sup>35</sup>

The dwindling funds notwithstanding, the Society did not lack bravado. In 1847, the same year that the Auditors reported a markedly unsound financial state, the Society not only contributed £25 toward the purchase of Shakespeare's House at Stratford-upon-Avon, but also authorized the reproduction for Society members of the Chandos Portrait, recently purchased by their President,

Lord Ellesmere, through the efforts of Collier. Collier had negotiated the purchase of the Chandos using as agent Horace Rodd, the second son of Thomas Rodd, the elder, and brother to the highly respected Shakespeare Society agent, Thomas Rodd, Jr. The Society also announced the formation of a supplemental fund to which interested members would contribute 10s. above their £1 annual fee to finance the publication of the annotated reprints of the plays and poems of Thomas Heywood and Thomas Dekker. The latter project was an unwise attempt to raise extra moneys, particularly since six of the projected twelve works had already been included in the Society's ordinary annual subscription. It was inevitable that the members would take exception to the plan, and they did. The project ultimately had to be absorbed by the Society into its regular publication schedule as originally intended. The Heywood canon was completed with the publication in 1851 of The Golden Age and The Silver Age: Two Plays by Thomas Heywood, edited by Collier.

On the other hand, supporting the purchase of Shakespeare's Birthplace served the Society well. According to Collier, who reported to the Society at its eighth meeting (26 April 1849), "The Council feel gratified in stating that the Members of the Society have considerably increased, and in repeating that a renewed and lively



interest has been imparted to its proceedings by the activity shown in the purchase of the house at Stratford-upon-Avon, but more immediately and particularly by the arrangement made with respect to the Chandos Portrait." 36

The Auditor's Report, indeed, supported Collier's conclusion. The receipts included a £168 increase in paid-up accounts --69% over the previous year. Unfortunately the Report also showed an expenditure of £242 for the Chandos reproduction, which, Collier admitted, "in some degree crippled the funds of the Society. . . ." 37

Having learned through their experience with the Heywood-Dekker fund that they could not expect the general membership to contribute beyond their annual fee, the Society's Councillors "determined on taking a novel step, and to publish the plays they have printed by Thomas Heywood, as the first volume of Heywood's Works." 38 The volume was to be sold for 20s.

The plan was partially successful, for the last Report of the Auditors on 26 April 1851 did indeed indicate a modest upward movement in the balance, owing to the public sale of fifteen copies of Heywood's Works (Volume I) and various proofs of the Chandos Portrait.

Throughout its financial struggle, however, the Society was greatly in debt to the printer, Frederick Shoberl, Jr., and to a lesser degree to the paper supplier,

Mr. Bonsor. Perhaps the long-standing friendship of Collier with Frederick Shoberl, the elder, obligated the son to continue working for the Society in spite of his personal losses--which were recorded by the Auditors in the briefest possible manner. It was the usual practice of the Auditors to report at the end of their statement of accounts that "part of Mr. Shoberl's bill for printing in the past year is still unpaid."

In spite of Shoberl's fatally unwise generosity, Collier used the printer's business reverses and premature death (22 March 1852, at age 48) as a ready and personally acceptable excuse for the Society's demise. In a manuscript letter dated 18 March 1859 to W. Whitelaw Reid, the American journalist and diplomat with whom he maintained a long correspondence, Collier wrote:

The Shakespeare Society broke up mainly because the Printer died in debt, and his Executors required immediate payment of what the members owed. We therefore sold our stock, paid them, and there was an end of the affair.<sup>39</sup>

iv

Its abrupt dissolution notwithstanding, the Shakespeare Society satisfied a genuine literary and scholarly need at the time of its formation. For the would-be and the practicing scholar, for the leisured bibliophile and the Shakespearean novice, the Society opened the lines of

communication, providing a receptacle and a source for a special diet of cultural nourishment.

The public was not slow to appreciate the significance of the Association. The Athenaeum's announcement of the Society's projected formation in 1840 gave rise to such a deluge of inquiries that the journal was compelled to print the Prospectus for the information of its readers.<sup>40</sup> But the response to the group was not limited to its members. In the four volumes of Papers published by the Shakespeare Society, more than a dozen contributors were not formally affiliated. Moreover, as the Marquess of Conyngham reported to the annual meeting in 1846: "One of the most satisfactory circumstances, in connexion with the results of the five years' labours of the Society, is the increased and increasing zeal displayed by investigators and collectors of all matter relating to our early drama and stage."<sup>41</sup>

The Society had indeed awakened a spirit of inquiry and largesse. New sources of valuable literary information were being tapped for the first time. As The Athenaeum pointed out in 1845 in a review of the first two volumes of The Shakespeare Society's Papers, free distribution of scholarly material and questions might "be the means of saving many curious old papers from the flames, and of dragging other of equal or greater value from the

recesses of an attic, or the mouldering chests of a family muniment room."<sup>42</sup>

One such manuscript was the ancient interlude, The Marriage of Wit and Wisdom, found, like the manuscript of Shakespeare's Henry the Fourth, among the family records of Sir Edward Dering of Surrenden, Kent. Both volumes were published by the Society: the former in 1846, and the latter, the preceding year.

Another manuscript, the Hall Casebook, reported lost by the Reverend Mr. Joseph Hunter in New Illustrations of the Life, Studies, and Writings of Shakespeare (1845) was recovered in the library of an Edinburgh physician and exhibited in 1849 before the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland by William B.D.D. Turnbull, a local Secretary for the Shakespeare Society.<sup>43</sup> The Athenaeum, which reported the find, added to its article the comment that, "It is much to be desired, as these cases throw considerable light on the contemporary history of Shakespeare, and are besides really important in the view of medical science, that the original MS or the translations by Cooke should be printed with suitable annotations for the use of the members of the Shakespeare Society."<sup>44</sup>

The Society serviced the public not only as an appreciative recipient but also as a disseminating vehicle for unexpected facts and speculations. In citing

examples of some of these unanticipated discoveries, Conyngham extracted some items which would, three months later, appear in print in Collier's Memoirs of the Principal Actors in the Plays of Shakespeare. Collier printed, in that volume, facts gleaned from the parish records, which show the register of John Fletcher's burial (p.xii); the second marriage of Ben Jonson (p.xxiv), a fact "not even speculated by his biographers";<sup>45</sup> and the existence of an Edward and a Thomas Shakespeare. Because of the absence to that time of any published account of an Edward or a Thomas Shakespeare, who would be contemporaries of William Shakespeare, Collier's entry is reprinted in its entirety:

With regard to Edmund Shakespeare, the entry of his burial, we observed on examination, had not been accurately and fully given, even from the ordinary register, for it has been omitted to be stated that, like Fletcher and Massinger, he was interred 'in the Church:' it stands exactly in this form:--

1607.Dec. 31. Edmond Shakespeare, a player:  
in the church  
 In the monthly accounts still farther particulars are supplied, for we there read--  
 1607.Dec. 31. Edmund Shakespeare, a player,  
buried in the church, with a forenoone knell  
of the great bell.....20s.

The tollings of the great bell were usually, as in the case of Lawrence Fletcher, 'afternoon knells;' and why it was 'a forenoon knell' for Edmund Shakespeare we know not, unless it were that his funeral took place in the morning, and that of Lawrence Fletcher in the afternoon. These points, to be sure, are trifles, but they are trifles that nobody noticed before.

But, if we were disappointed by the scantiness of information in a place where we might reasonably have hoped to find more, we were surprised to meet with tidings of a Shakespeare (unmentioned in the history of our stage, but indisputably connected with it) where we never expected to discover them. Searching the registers of St. Giles without Cripplegate, in which parish the Fortune was situated, for actors who had been engaged at, and who lived near that theatre, we were astonished to meet with the following entry among the burials:--

Edward, sonne of Edward Shackspeere,  
Player: base borne. 12 August 1607.

This was opening quite new ground: no Edward Shakespeare, after whom the base-born child was christened, has ever been heard of, yet it is distinctly stated that he was a 'player;' and we might suppose, from the parish in which the burial of the infant was recorded, that the father was engaged at the Fortune, and was performing there in 1607, under Henslowe and Alleyn. The name of Edward is written twice over, most distinctly in the entry, so that there can be no confusion between Edward and Edmund Shakespeare; and the latter lived in Southwark, and was buried there rather more than five months after the burial of Edward Shakespeare's base-born son is registered. We looked over the book very carefully, but could find no other entry regarding Edward Shakespeare. . . .<sup>46</sup>

The newly revealed information, particularly the full account of the burial which Collier discovered in the monthly account, excited much interest and response from the community of Shakespearean devotees. (See pp. 129-30).

The Athenaeum was not only reputed for providing accurate information and impartial literary criticism,<sup>47</sup> but it was also quick to recognize the importance of the Society. In its review of Barron Field's edition of Heywood's

The Fair Maid of the Exchange and Fortune by Land and Sea, the columnist noted that though no new information had been obtained about William Rowley, Heywood's associate in the latter play, "the course pursued by the Shakespeare Society, by encouraging research, will doubtless throw considerable light on many obscure points."<sup>48</sup>

The concept of a Shakespearean editing and publishing association and the worthy reputation of the Shakespeare Society spread quickly and widely. Charles Macready, on his 1844 trip to America, wrote to Collier of a Canadian Shakespeare club:

There is a club at Montreal, the officials of which are ambitious of placing it under the shadow of the original parent-club, as a sort of off-shoot or tendril of it. I told the gentleman interested in it that their application should be made direct to you.<sup>49</sup>

The Montrealers took Macready's advice and applied to Collier. Approximately five years later, Joseph S. Lee, Secretary to the Montreal group, wrote to the Earl of Ellesmere:

My Lord,

I trust to your well-known good nature when I request that you will do the Shakespeare Club so great a favor, as to cause it to be conveyed to . . . Payne Collier, that at the Fifth Anniversary Meeting (held last Evening), he was unanimously elected an Honorary Member of the Society.<sup>50</sup>

Not only the presence but the products of the

Society generated valuable discussion. After the 1846 publication of his Memoirs of the Principal Actors in Shakespeare's Plays, Collier felt called upon to correct publicly a misstatement brought to his attention by "a very accurate and intelligent correspondent; who induced me to make further inquiries, which ended in the detection of the error into which I had been accidentally led by the carelessness of a copyist." Once again, Collier shifted an unpleasant responsibility from his own shoulders to those of another less prominent--and in this case, anonymous--figure who could not or need not answer to any charges.

The inaccuracy was concerned with the family of Joshua Sylvester, the poet who, with Michael Drayton, was one of the pensioners of Prince Henry, eldest son of James I. That error, Collier recognized, put the reliability of the entire piece into question and opened doors for the discovery of other minor "variations." But it also allowed Collier the pleasure of correcting the correspondent who anonymously wrote to him to complain of his use of a particular term. Collier concluded his article in The Athenaeum with a customary twist of affected humility:

How and why they adopted "expended," in -stead of extened, or xtened,--which my correspondent suggests is the proper mode,-- I do not pretend to explain.--I only speak of the fact.<sup>51</sup>



Several years later, through the vehicle of the newly launched Notes and Queries, Collier vouchsafed the advantages of literary communication and exchange made possible through society publications as well as through literary journals:

I am about to supply a deficiency in my last volume of 'Extracts from the Registers of the Stationers' Company' printed for the Shakespeare Society, 1840, and thereby set an example that I hope will be followed, in order that various works, regarding which I could give no, or only incomplete information, may be duly illustrated. It is impossible to expect that any one individual could thoroughly accomplish such an undertaking; and, by means of your excellent periodical, it will be easy for literary men, who possess scarce, or unique books, mentioned in the Registers and in my quotations from them, to furnish such brief descriptions as will be highly curious and very useful.<sup>52</sup>

Even when the Society's finances were most strained, its value was not diminished. Charles Knight, the editor of a number of nineteenth-century editions of Shakespeare as well as the publisher of The Penny Magazine of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, was quoted as saying that his recently published (1849) "Studies of Shakespeare" (Part I of a projected series of volumes to be entitled The National Library of Selected Literature) was "especially desirable because of the additions since made to our dramatic knowledge by the new matter contained in the works published by 'The Shakespeare Society'--and which will of course be here incorporated."<sup>53</sup>

Knight was quite right. The literati were loath to ignore either the products or the methods of the Shakespeare Society. The scholarly efforts of the Society's members were prodigious. Collier edited over a dozen books and an equal number of articles. Peter Cunningham wrote two books and eleven articles. The persevering Barron Field labored over the transcription of the Latin manuscript of Richardus Tertius<sup>54</sup> and edited several of Heywood's plays. And James Orchard Halliwell, who, next to Collier, was the most prolific member, contributed eight volumes and an equal number of articles--many of them significant even today. There was good reason for the Shakespeare Society's prominent members to absorb the scrutinizing attention of the nineteenth-century literary community.

CHAPTER 3: Recreating a Literary Milieu--The Shakespeare Society's Non-dramatic Productions

What distinguishes the work of the Shakespeare Society in general and Collier's work in particular is the consistent effort to discover a coherence within Shakespeare's literary and social milieu in order to understand more fully Shakespeare in his particularity. The Society was both historic and evolutionary in its methods, attempting in every publication to establish an historical perspective from which to create a clearer view of the Shakespeare canon. Sir Edmund Chambers in The Elizabethan Stage saw the methods and goals of the Shakespeare Society as a model or archetype for the work of later and more famous literary organizations. "The work of gathering together miscellaneous documents and studies," wrote Chambers, "passed from the Shakespeare Society Papers (1844-1849) to the Transactions of the New Shakspeare Society (1874-1892), and is now carried on by the Collections (1907-1913) of the Malone Society." <sup>1</sup>

Contemporary public response to the Shakespeare Society's methods was not undivided, however. There were those who saw little value in digging through musty records and unearthing old documents. There were those who, following the school of Samuel Taylor Coleridge,

looked upon Shakespeare as immortal, timeless, and above historic and mortal connections. In a review of Collier's Memoirs of the Principal Actors in the Plays of Shakespeare (1846), a writer for The Literary Gazette digressed from his review to express the opinion that

in the immortal character of [Shakespeare's] poetry, we lose all care for the small accident which may have attended the temporary cottage of clay which once inclosed the spirit that produced it; and we feel a sort of humiliation of the intelligence when we see our shelves filled with a row of reprints of some of the meanest literature of his age, with volumes of extracts relating to the fathers, and mothers, and grandmothers, and children, of obscure individuals who happened to be actors in his time, bearing the name of Shakespeare on their backs, or on their titles.<sup>2</sup>

The reviewer did, however, concede just a few paragraphs later, when speaking of the works of the Shakespeare Society, that:

the collections of early mysteries and interludes are to a certain degree valuable as documents of the history of the stage, at a time when we have little else, and are worthy of being printed; and they are also important literary monuments.

The total number of Society publications, including its collection of early mysteries and interludes, was impressive. In its eleven years of active existence (1841-52), the Shakespeare Society issued to its members forty-eight volumes and one costly print of the Chandos portrait of Shakespeare which was advertised as "ready

for delivery to [paid-up] subscribers" in the 3 November 1849 issue of Notes and Queries.<sup>3</sup> A final volume, a reprint of Thomas Lodge's A Defense of Poetry, Music and Stage Plays (which included reprints of An Alarum Against Usurers and The Delectable History of Forbonius and Prisceria) was issued in the last six months of 1853, when the Society was all but defunct. Two volumes, which the Society had listed in its printed frontispiece as "Works in Preparation," were never seen through the press: Peter Cunningham's A Selection from Oldys's MS Notes to Langbaine's Dramatic Poets and Collier's third volume of Extracts from the Registers of the Stationers' Company, 1587-1607.

From 1841 to 1844, the Society issued a very liberal six or seven volumes each year, but in the following two years, 1845 and 1846, when, ironically, the financially belabored organization was enjoying a relatively healthy bank balance, the number of issues dropped to four; and in the succeeding years, 1847-1848, only three volumes were published. In 1849, along with the Chandos print and the fourth volume of the Shakespeare Society's Papers, only the second volume of Collier's Extracts was seen through the presses. In 1850, Collier and James Orchard Halliwell produced between them the three volumes issued by the Society, and in 1851 and 1852, only

Collier edited texts for the Society--two play reimpressions in 1851 and one in 1852. The final volume, Nash's Defence, was edited by David Laing in 1853 (Appendix D).

The decreasing number of publications issued by the Shakespeare Society aroused so much concern that the Council was prompted on 1 May 1852 to publish its candid reply to requests for an explanation:

It was a matter of regret to the Council that during the past year the funds of the Society were not sufficient to justify the delivery of more than two books. In former years the Council had been too liberal--relying too confidently, it now appears, on the steady support of the members of the Society and the increasing interest expressed in the objects of our Association. The Society is now in the eleventh year of its existence, and in ten years has delivered to its members forty-five volumes and one print--or, on the average, more than four volumes a year, with a print--and a fine one--in. This average issue, when it is compared with the issues of other and wealthier Societies, will, the Council feel assured, be received by the members of the Shakespeare Society as an ample compensation for the short-comings of the year just concluded.<sup>4</sup>

Consistent with The Athenaeum's long-standing support of the Shakespeare Society, the columnist followed the Council's statement with a note voicing his belief that the allusion to "older and wealthier" societies was intended for the Camden and was "not altogether undeserved."

There were, of course, the financial concerns expressed by hundreds of faithful subscribers to the Society who were anxious that they be adequately served by their annual payment

of fees. But there was also reason to believe that scholars on both sides of the Atlantic derived benefit from the investigative methods and cooperative effort fostered by the Society and would deplore the cessation of the Society's publications. A letter written by Charles Dickens to Cornelius Conway Felton, Professor of Greek at Harvard and one of Dickens's closest American friends, makes reference as early as 1843 to a number of volumes which Dickens had sent in answer to a request made by another highly regarded American acquaintance, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow. In a note appended to the correspondence, the editors of Dickens's Letters mention that Dickens's journals also record his sending nine volumes to Ralph Waldo Emerson in December, 1845.<sup>5</sup>

Peter Cunningham's work is an excellent starting point for a survey and discussion of the works, methods, and responses to the publications of the Shakespeare Society, for Cunningham (1816-1869) was one of the most respected as well as one of the most productive scholars of the Society. The son of Allan Cunningham, a well-known writer of songs and popular poetry, Peter Cunningham was nominated by Robert Peel to a clerkship in the government Audit Office in 1834 when he was only eighteen years of age (probably as a favor to Allan Cunningham, a long-time

Peel friend). During his thirty-year tenure with the government, Cunningham used a good deal of the time and the resources of his office to unearth and publish for the Shakespeare Society, of which he was an original member, some important documents including Extracts from the Accounts of the Revels at Court in the Reigns of Queen Elizabeth and King James I (1842). Among the materials which he discovered were new facts on Inigo Jones. In 1848, under the auspices of the Shakespeare Society, Cunningham printed The Life of Inigo Jones, the best and most complete biography of the architect to that time.

In the valuable Introduction to the volume of Extracts Cunningham explained that he had come to find the records "on a search for old papers, rummaging in dry repositories, damp cellars, and still damper vaults, for books of account, for warrants, and for receipts."<sup>6</sup> Among the Books of Enrolment, the Declared Accounts, and the Privy Purse Expenditures which Cunningham found unread and uncataloged were memoranda, one of which showed that in 1569 Edmund Spenser was officially employed by Sir Henry Norris, the English Ambassador to France, to convey the sum of £6.13.4.:

Payde upon a bill signed by Mr Secretarye  
dated at Wyndsor xviiij Octobris 1569 To  
Edmonde Spenser\* that broughte lres to the  
Quenes Ma<sup>tie</sup> from Sir Henrye Norryys knighte her



Ma<sup>te</sup> Embasador in Fraunce beinge then at  
 Towards in the sayde Realme, for his charges  
 the same of vj<sup>li</sup>.xiiij<sup>s</sup> iiiij<sup>d</sup>. over and besydes  
 the ix<sup>li</sup> prested to hym by Sir Henrye Norrys.  
 vj<sup>li</sup>.xiiij<sup>s</sup>.iiiiij<sup>d</sup>.

In a note appended to this entry, Cunningham explained that the reference, "the only mention I have found of an Edmund Spencer in the different books of account that I have gone through of the reign of Elizabeth," has substantial biographical significance. "I confess an inclination to believe," wrote Cunningham, "that I have here discovered a notice of our great poet, who is, after Shakespeare, the most interesting name in the Elizabethan series, and of whom we know even less than we do of Shakespeare (Accounts, p.xxx).

Other discoveries by Cunningham in these old papers testified to the liberal patronage of poets and literary men by King James, who, according to Cunningham, saw "five times as many plays in a year as Queen Elizabeth was accustomed to see" (Accounts, p. xxxiv). From the records of the Treasurer of the Chamber, Cunningham listed the King's allowances to John Heminage, Richard Burbage, Edward Alleyn, and to Nathan Field. A payment to Cyrill Turner of ten pounds (Accounts, p. xlii) "for his chardges and paines in carrying l'res for his Mats service to Brussells" indicated, perhaps for the first

time, that it was not unusual to employ literary men of the day as couriers for the Court.

Cunningham also reprinted a memorandum recording the payment of £37 to Inigo Jones, then the Surveyor to the King, for making "two several models the one for the Star Chamber, the other for the Banqueting House" (Accounts, p.xlv). The Banqueting House at Whitehall was the Court playhouse in which the masques of Jonson and the plays of Shakespeare, Fletcher, Massinger, and Shirley were performed.

Perhaps the most important revelations were those which related to Shakespeare and which were previously unknown. Cunningham briefly mentioned the new facts in the Introduction to his volume, but as incentive to the reader, Cunningham left further exposition for later in the text of his volume (Accounts, p. xlvii):

My last discovery was my most interesting, and alighting as I now did upon two official books of the Revels--one of Tylney's and one of Buc's--which had escaped both Musgrave and Malone, I at last found something about Shakespeare, something that was new, and something that was definitive.

What Cunningham referred to so enigmatically were entries recording the performances of Shakespeare's plays at Whitehall. According to Cunningham's transcription, Shakespeare's Othello, Measure for Measure, The Merry Wives of Windsor, and The Comedy of Errors were performed

at Whitehall during 1605 (Accounts, pp. 203-04):

1605

The Plaiers.	Hallamas Day being the first of Nouembar	
By the kings Matis plaiers.	A play in the Banketinge house att Whithall called The Moor of Venis.	
By his Matis plaiers	The Sunday ffollowinge A Play of the Merry Wives of Winsor.	
By his Matis plaiers	On St. Stiuens Night in the Hall A Play Called Mesur for Mesur	Shaxberd
By his Matis Plaiers.	On Inosents Night The Plaie of Errors.	Shaxberd

The second book mentioned by Cunningham included records for Whitehall performances in 1612, among which were noted The Tempest and The Winter's Tale (Accounts, p. 210).

By the Kings Players:	Hallomas nyght was presented att Whithall before y Kinge Ma <sup>tie</sup> a play called the Tempest
--------------------------	--

The Kings players:	The 5 <sup>th</sup> of Nouember; a play called y <sup>e</sup> winters nighte Tayle.
-----------------------	--

In three of the plays recorded (Measure for Measure, The Comedy of Errors, and The Merchant of Venice--presented in 1605), the name Shaxberd was noted in the right margin and the players in the left margin (The title of "The King's" or "His Majesty's" players was given to the Lord Chamberlain's company on 19 May 1603, ten days after James I arrived in London).<sup>7</sup> In a note to the entry for "The Plaie of Errors" (Accounts, p. 204), Cunningham wrote that "this notice of its performance at court

is of no further use than to confute Malone's assertion that this comedy was not revived after the accession of the Scottish monarch." In more than one instance, Cunningham, like Collier, cast aspersions on the work of Malone.<sup>8</sup>

For nearly twenty-six years from its publication in 1842, Cunningham's Accounts was the unquestioned authority concerning matters of composition and production of Measure for Measure, Othello, The Winter's Tale, and The Tempest. On 29 April 1868, however, a letter written by Peter Cunningham was sent to Sir Frederic Madden, Keeper of the Manuscripts in the British Museum, offering for sale to the Trustees two account books, those "most interesting" discoveries noted by Cunningham in 1842.

A manuscript document titled "Revels Accounts"<sup>9</sup> recounted the story of the Cunningham letter with, "on 28 April 1867, Peter Cunningham wrote to Sir Frederick Madden . . . ." The 1867 date was taken from Cunningham's letter which was misdated. According to Ernest Law, writing in 1911,<sup>10</sup> Cunningham by this date was suffering from a decay of his mental powers caused by his intemperate drinking habits. Law also attributed to this same cause, Cunningham's claim to legal ownership of the documents:

The most charitable supposition that can be framed in favour of Cunningham is to assume that when he was transcribing the Books

of the Revels for printing, he was allowed by his chief to take them home for that purpose, and that he kept them there, after his volume of 'Extracts' was published, forgotten by himself as well as everybody else, until he came across them again after his retirement, and that he then half thought he was entitled to keep them, as the original finder. Another supposition, is that when he was arranging the records of his department for transfer from Somerset House to the new Public Record Office in Chancery Lane, he carried off these books as a sort of 'perquisite'--'souvenir' 'the wise it call' now-a-days--on quitting his old office, his drink-poisoned brain being unable to appreciate either the legal offence, the moral obliquity, or the personal dishonour of so doing.<sup>11</sup>

An accurate account of the offer was transmitted in a letter from E. A. Bond, Assistant Keeper of Manuscripts, to the Trustees. Bond's letter was accurately dated one week after the receipt of Cunningham's letter (8 May 1868).<sup>12</sup> According to Bond:

These Accounts, with a collection [sic] of other similar documents, were edited by Mr. Cunningham for the Shakspear Society in the year 1842. In his Preface to that publication he announced that he had found them when searching, by permission of Mr. Larpent, Chairman of the Audit Office, in the vaults & cellars of Somerset House for early books of Accounts, warrants, receipts; and he adds, in his letter proposing the purchase that he discovered them 'under the vaults of Somerset House--far under the Quadrangle in a dry & lofty cellar known by the name of the Charcoal Repository.' He states also in his letter that he had the permission of the Keeper of the Records (in Somerset House) 'to search throughout for old papers.'

It appears therefore that Mr. Cunningham, when a clerk in the Audit Office, and searching for old Papers by permission of the Chairman of the Office and the Keeper of the Records, . . . brought to light documents which he now proposes to sell to the Trustees.

It was Bond who first cast doubt on the genuineness of the books. Writing in the third person, Bond correctly pointed out the absurdity of the situation:

Mr. Bond thinks it unnecessary to discuss the propriety of purchasing documents of a public character admitted to have been taken from the Building where they ought to have been preserved, though they may have strayed from their proper place of deposit there. All he would wish to add is that, apart from the question of propriety in purchasing under such circumstances, he sees reason for doubting the genuineness of one at least of the papers offered, from the peculiar character of the writing and spelling.

The two Accounts are offered for--60 guineas.

Edw. C. Bond

Shortly after the two books were offered to the British Museum, Cunningham sold a third to a Mr. Waller, a bookseller in Fleet Street, but the latter, on learning of official claims to the documents, restored the book to the Record Office.

According to Sir Edmund Chambers, "It is probably that Bond had in mind, wholly or mainly, the play-list of the 1604-5 book, which does use some spellings, such as 'Shaxberd' and 'aleven' which are unusual although by no

means unparalleled and is, moreover, in a style of handwriting sufficiently different from the rest of the document to have at first sight a suspicious air."<sup>13</sup> Subsequently, it was the suspicion of forgery in the 1604-5 playlist that raised questions about the 1611-12 document.

The battle over the authenticity of The Accounts, particularly the 1604-5 and 1611-12 playlists (Books xii and xiii), has been long and heated and has not entirely ceased to this day. In 1911, however, after a thorough investigation by Law, who enlisted the aid of the well-known paleographers, Sir George Warner and Sir Henry Maxwell-Lyte, as well as Professor Dobbie, the chief government analyst who made technical and scientific examinations of the writings, the disputed documents were judged absolutely genuine and Peter Cunningham was exonerated from a suspicion of forgery--at least for a time.

On the publication of Some Supposed Forgeries and its subsequent review in The Athenaeum (3 June 1911, pp. 638-639), a number of columns was devoted to a dispute which ensued between Law and a correspondent to the journal who preferred to remain known as Audi Alteram Partem.<sup>14</sup> Finally, in 1913, Law compiled the original five articles and replies into a thin volume, the second half answering all of the points raised in later journal

articles.<sup>15</sup> A dozen years after this first dispute, however, the controversy was revived by Charlotte Carmichael Stopes and Sir E. M. Thompson. Through the efforts of Law and, subsequently, D.T.B. Wood, Cunningham's work was again vindicated (See below, pp. 105-06).

In 1928, a new attack was made by S.A. Tannenbaum in Shakespeare Forgeries in the Revels Accounts. Tannenbaum claimed that the playlists were the forgeries of John Payne Collier. His reasons were successfully disputed, however. Cunningham's documents were confirmed as absolutely genuine, and Collier and Cunningham were relieved of the burden of guilt.

The Life of Inigo Jones, Cunningham's second major volume for the Shakespeare Society, stimulated the interest of the literary community but excited no controversy. It is still considered to be a most careful account of the life of Inigo Jones.<sup>16</sup> In fact, the biography which Cunningham wrote was the first accurate and documented life of this famous architect (1573-1652), who introduced into England the Renaissance style in architecture based on Roman antiquities, and who, for Court masques by Jonson, Heywood, and Davenant, designed settings and introduced proscenium arches and movable scenery. As Royal Surveyor, he designed the Queen's House at Greenwich and the Banqueting House at Whitehall, both of



which are still in existence. Previous to Cunningham's biography, John Webb, Jones's heir and executor, composed a rhapsodic and inaccurate biography studded with misrepresentations, which were, unfortunately, repeated in accounts of Jones's life which followed.<sup>17</sup>

The Cunningham volume consists of three parts, the first being Inigo Jones: A Life of the Architect; the second consisting of J.R. Planché's Remarks on Some of his Sketches for Masques and Dramas; and the third, contributed by Collier, was devoted to "faithful printed copies of original manuscripts."<sup>18</sup>

Cunningham's interest in Inigo Jones undoubtedly originated during his work on the Extracts from the Accounts of the Revels at Court, for in 1844, two years after the publication of The Accounts, an article by Cunningham appeared in The Shakespeare Society's Papers relating information which he had gleaned from the records of the Audit Office. The article was written to correct misinformation contained in marginal annotations found in a Harleian Collection copy of Inigo Jones's book, Stonehenge Restored. Jones's book was dedicated to Philip Herbert, Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, and it was the Earl's copy with its "few strange notices of the great architect--wild and erratic, like the ravings of his death-bed. . . " <sup>19</sup> which found its way to the Harleian

Collection. Cunningham not only corrected the misinformation concerning dates and fees paid to Jones, but also included reprints of the original documents. This article represented Cunningham's first published biographical interest in Jones, and though Cunningham mentioned at the close of his article that he intended to continue his communications to the Society's Papers on this subject, he preferred instead to publish a full study four years later.

Planché's commentary on the Jones sketches which constituted the second portion of the book was almost as well received as Cunningham's biography, primarily because it corrected some of the contemporary adaptations of costumes used in Shakespearean productions. On the first plate, for example, Jones had drawn a Palmer or Pilgrim to which he affixed, according to Planché (Jones, p.56), a subscript identifying the figure as representative of "Romeo." The modern costuming for Romeo, wrote the author, has incorrectly given him a cross even though the rest of Shakespeare's play attests to the fact that Romeo insists on carrying a torch:

'Give me a torch: I am not for this ambling; Being but heavy, I will bear the light.' (I,iv, 11-12)

Since the only indication of Romeo's being in Pilgrim's garb

had, until this time, been derived from Juliet's addressing him as "Good pilgrim" (I,v, 97), the drawing, according to Planché, "is therefore more interesting authority for the actor; and it is probable that Mercutio, Benvolio, and the 'five or six maskers' were also attired in similar dresses" (Jones, p.56).

The sketches of the persons and costumes of the characters, as well as many more examples of the scenery designs--which were not reproduced in this volume--were made available to Planché by the Duke of Devonshire, who was the last in a line of owners. Cunningham had noted that John Webb, Jones's heir, had succeeded to the Jones collection, and he, in turn, had bequeathed it to his son, William, "with the strict injunctions that they should be kept together" (Jones, pp. 38-39). William paid no heed to his father's request, and passed part, if not most, of the collection to a Mr. Oliver, the City Surveyor. From Oliver, the sketches were transmitted to Dr. Clarke and to the Earl of Burlington. Clarke's Collection now rests in Worcester College, Oxford; the Earl's portion descended to the Duke of Devonshire. A recent reprint of the Jones collection in the possession of His Grace the Duke of Devonshire was published by Percy Simpson and C.F. Bell in 1966,<sup>20</sup> but in over one hundred years, no catalog or commentary had been made to

supersede Planché's work for the Shakespeare Society.

The third portion of the publication belonged to Collier, who also wrote the Preface, in which he claimed that "as far as typography would enable us to accomplish it, [these reproductions of original masques] are, in five different instances, exact imitations of the manner in which the authors of Masques put their minds upon paper" (Jones, p.xv). The five masques include first Ben Jonson's Masque of Queens, performed on 2 February 1609, containing, like Macbeth's performance before it, a goodly portion of witchcraft and incantations. The second masque, which was performed at Whitehall on twelfth night, 1605, was the first recorded employment of Inigo Jones and was called by Jonson, Masque of Blackness, because Her Majesty wished to have all the masquers "blackmoors" (Jones, p.4). Jonson's description of Inigo Jones's part in the work contains "the earliest notice we possess," according to Collier, "of the use of scenery in stage-entertainments."

This last point is addressed in a Gentleman's Magazine review in which the writer recalled for Collier's readers that a year before, in Daniel's Vision of the Twelve Goddesses, a masque presented a Hampton Court, a temple was erected at the upper end of the hall, "and there Somnus was disclosed sleeping

in a cave."<sup>21</sup> The columnist also noted that "the fact seems to be that pageants consisted of painted scenery, from very early times, and they had either no living performers, or only children; plays were acted without scenery; but masques, which were an intermediate dramatic performance, were the first to combine acting with scenery."

The last three masques reprinted by Collier include one which Collier claimed as a new discovery. He attributed it to John Marston (1575-1634) not only because Marston's name appears on the cover of the manuscript, but also because the manuscript is corrected in a hand identical to other extant samples of the playwright's handwriting. Unfortunately, more recent scholarship has disputed the attribution. Addressing the issue in The Works of John Marston, A.H. Bullen writes, "I strongly doubt whether The Mountebank's Masque, performed at Court in February 1616-17 (when Marston was attending to his clerical duties in Hampshire), has been correctly assigned to Marston."<sup>22</sup>

The fourth work, The Masque of the Twelve Months, was printed from an anonymous manuscript owned by Collier, who introduced the masque by saying that he believed, without evidence, that there was a court performance on of this masque before James I at Whitehall. He gave no

more information and no doubt included the unsupported speculation to enhance the value of the original in his possession. Though no information has come to light disputing Collier's speculation concerning The Masque of the Twelve Months, the final manuscript which Collier reprinted in the Jones volume, and which he also suspected was presented at Court--doubtless for the same reason--commands some new attention.

The final masque, Collier rightly suggested, would more properly be termed "a show," and was probably written to introduce and terminate a supper. Though it lacked a title page, he called it The Masque of the Four Seasons. He justified its inclusion in the volume on Inigo Jones by claiming that Jones had made some rough sketches for the Court production. The sketches were preserved, wrote Collier, in the Duke of Devonshire's collection.

The facts surrounding the entertainment would have surprised and delighted Collier in spite of the fact that he would not have been able to include the piece in his Inigo Jones volume. The short piece was produced, not at Court but in Wales, not before royalty, but before the new President of Wales, Sir John Egerton, and not as frivolous entertainment, but as a tribute to the new honors bestowed upon Sir John (See details below, pp. 241-2 ).

## ii

James Orchard Halliwell's contributions to the Shakespeare Society publications were both numerous and varied. Five of his works, by far the most important of his efforts for the Society, were in the area of dramatic literature--most often related to the Shakespeare canon. The three non-dramatic contributions were of considerably less importance. The first, issued in 1844, was a reprint of Tarlton's Jests and Tarlton's News Out, two rare tracts<sup>23</sup> which were not written by Tarlton; which, in fact, appeared posthumously; but which were probably associated with him in the title to enhance the value of the publication at the time of printing. Like Armin's Nest of Ninnies, Tarlton's News illustrates the manners of the day, particularly at the Court of Queen Elizabeth where Tarlton was one of the most famous jesters to the Queen and a Groom of the Chamber until his death in 1588 (Tarlton, p. xi).

As Halliwell noted, "The modern reader will be rather at a loss to discover the merit of many of Tarlton's 'Jests;' but he must recollect that none of the recorded witticisms of his times are very brilliant" (Tarlton, p.xxvi). There are adjunct considerations, however. As Geoffrey Bullough records,<sup>24</sup> Shakespeare certainly knew Tarltons Newes out of Purgatorie and in its references to

Robin Goodfellow, the merry pranks of goblins and sprites, and to the doctrine of Purgatory, it has links with Hamlet and A Midsummer Night's Dream as well as with The Merry Wives. Secondly, and consistent with the stated aims of the Society, this publication reprints tracts which existed only in one or two copies, "in repositories widely distant from each other" (Tarlton p. xlvii). Despite Halliwell's antiquarian interest in preserving rare documents, he did not hesitate to eliminate two articles, which were present in the original edition. Judging them too gross for the sensitivities of his readers, Halliwell rejected them, "purifying our own pages at the expense of destroying the purity of the ancient text" (Tarlton, p. xlvi). His concern for the moral well-being of the reading public may have been unnecessary, however, for the volume was completely ignored by the literary community.

The second of Halliwell's volumes issued by the Society was devoted to Illustrations of the Fairy Mythology of a Midsummer Night's Dream (1848) and was intended to "place before the reader at one view the principal early documents concerning the fairy mythology of England as far as they can be considered in any way illustrative of Shakespeare. . . ." <sup>25</sup> This work, too, was virtually



ignored by the contemporary journals. The Athenaeum (26 July 1845, p. 739) opened its brief commentary on the book with:

Any work really illustrative of Shakespeare would be welcomed by the public; but we are at a loss to conceive how this object is promoted by the volume before us. None of the pieces have more than a distant, some a very dubious affinity, with the immortal drama of 'A Midsummer Night's Dream.'

A later commentary in The Edinburgh Review for April, 1848 (pp.418-429), while purporting in its heading to be an article devoted to (1) An Introduction to Shakespeare's Midsummer Night's Dream (1841) and (2) Illustrations of the Fairy Mythology of a Midsummer Night's Dream (1845) by the same author, never mentioned Halliwell or the volumes directly. Instead, it devoted twelve of the journal's pages to a review of criticism on the play itself, and, more liberally, to the columnist's own analysis of the play's structure. The "review," three years after the appearance of the Shakespeare Society publication and seven years after Halliwell's first edition of the Introduction, may have been prompted by an exposition at Westminster Hall that same year in which a picture by Sir Joseph Noel Paton (1821-1901), entitled "Oberon and Titania," won a prize in the competitions.

Two of the thirty-nine tales which Halliwell included in the volume justify comment at this point because of

modern interest expressed in these tales because of their associations, like the Tarleton volumes, with the Shakespeare canon. Numbers six and seven, those concerned with Robin Goodfellow, were claimed by Collier and Halliwell to be the model for Puck in Shakespeare's Midsummer Night's Dream. In his Introduction to the tract in this volume, Halliwell paid deference to Collier's earlier republication of the tale for the Percy Society in 1841. In that reprinting of "Robin Goodfellow, his mad Prankes and merry Jestes," Collier concluded from weak evidence that, in spite of the absence of a date on the tract, it was first printed before 1588. Furthermore, though the manuscript in Collier's possession from the library of Lord Francis Egerton is dated 1628 and was the earliest known edition, and though, as Collier pointed out, Shakespeare's play was "first printed in 1600, and probably. . . was not acted much before that year . . . it is evident that Shakespeare was acquainted with the tract. . ." <sup>26</sup> Collier was as determined to fill in the gaps in Shakespeare's literary setting as he was to paint the whole picture of Shakespeare's life in the London scene.

Collier also mentioned in his Percy Society publication that "there are two entries in Henslowe's diary, not noticed by Malone, which are curious in relation to this

subject." They establish, wrote Collier, that Henry Chettle was writing and perhaps completed a play upon the story of Robin Goodfellow in September, 1602.<sup>27</sup> In his reprint, Halliwell repeated Collier's accusation that "the commentators on Shakespeare were unacquainted with the Chettle entry," (Illustrations, p.120), but the fact is, as later noted by Greg in the first part of his edition of Henslowe's Diary, that the insertions concerning Chettle's play of Robin Goodfellow, which Collier insisted were not noticed by Malone, are the work of a forger.<sup>28</sup> It is a revealing insight into Collier's premeditated malice that though his edition of the Henslowe diary was not issued until 1845, Collier mentioned the forged Chettle entry as early as 1841.

The published efforts of the Society were by no means consistently praiseworthy, and though the Victorian literati thrived on details which illuminated their national and literary heritage, they--more often than modern scholars--paid scant attention to works which only tangentially elucidated the life and work of their national poet. One edition, however, which was--and continues to be--unnoticed by Shakespearean devotees of both the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries is the last volume of non-dramatic

literature edited for the Shakespeare Society by Halliwell, The Remarks of M. Karl Simrock on the Plots of Shakespeare's Plays (1850). Simrock (1802-1876) was a contemporary German writer and language scholar, eighteen years Halliwell's senior, who was more famous for his studies of old German legends and literature than he was for his Shakespearean commentaries. In 1831, however, he published, with collaborators, a translation of Shakespeare's poems and dramas, Quellen Des Shakespeare. Halliwell purported his translation of Simrock's comments to be a supplement to Collier's two-volume Shakespeare's Library: A Collection of the Ancient Romances, Novels, Legends, Poems and Histories used by Shakespeare as the Foundation of his Dramas. Collier had published the volume in 1842 as a "sourcebook" of tales thought to have been used by Shakespeare. Halliwell, himself, did not translate the German, but employed a translator using funds from the Shakespeare Society's coffers. The expense was justified on the basis that:

the Germans have access to a great variety of works connected with the history of fiction, that are little known in this country, or procured with great difficulty; and M. Simrock has made very good use of them .<sup>29</sup>

Simrock's Remarks, like Tarlton's Jests, aroused no response from the reading community that this writer can locate.

iii

David Laing (1793-1878) was not so editorially prolific as Halliwell, but his two full-length productions for the Shakespeare Society were substantial. His Notes on Ben Jonson's Conversations with William Drummond of Hawthornden was the first edition published in England and the only edition to follow the original publication in 1711. Though it contains incidental mistakes (e.g., the reference to Edward Heywood as John Heywood<sup>30</sup>) and though it is of limited value today because of the discovery of new Jonsonian, it is still considered a sound piece of work.<sup>31</sup>

The original record in Drummond's own hand either no longer exists or, more optimistically, has not yet been located. Sixty-two years after William Drummond's death in 1649, the papers preserved by the poet's son and namesake, Sir William Drummond, were published in Edinburgh as The Works of William Drummond of Hawthornden (1711). This folio edition was compiled by Thomas Ruddiman, a grammarian and included a "Life of William Drummond" by John Sale. Unfortunately, Ruddiman merely abstracted the papers instead of copying them in their entirety. He entitled the material, "Heads of a Conversation betwixt

the famous Poet Ben Johnson [sic], and William Drummond of Hawthornden, January 1619" (Notes, p. xv-xvi).

In 1713, two years after the appearance of the folio extracts, Sir William died, and the papers were not discovered for another sixty-nine years. In November, 1782, the Reverend Dr. Abernethy Drummond, who had married the Heiress of Hawthornden, the poet's great grand-daughter, and had assumed the family name of Drummond, donated a large collection of manuscripts to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. The first volume of the Minutes of the Society recorded the receipt of thirteen volumes along with assorted unbound and unarranged papers.<sup>32</sup>

Another forty years passed before David Laing, in 1827, examined them and found that the original "Heads of a Conversation" and the autographs of the various original letters addressed to Drummond that were published as part of the 1711 folio edition formed no part of the manuscripts donated by Reverend Abernethy Drummond. Laing did find, however, a stray leaf in Volume IX of the Hawthornden manuscripts which was thought to be an envelope of the original and which was endorsed in the handwriting of Drummond's son:

Informations & Manners of Ben Jonson to  
W.D., 1619

Informations be Ben Jonston to W.D., when  
he cam to Scotland upon foot, 1619.

Not long after this find, on an unrelated search through some manuscripts of Sir Robert Sibbald of Kipps (1641-1722), Laing found a collection of Adversaria, among which was an exact and literal transcript of Drummond's original notes. Laing recorded the discovery in his Preface (Notes, p. xxii):

The volume has no date, but was probably anterior to 1710, when Sibbald was in his seventieth year. It is transcribed with Sibbald's own hand; and the volume containing it was purchased after his death, with the rest of his MSS., for the Faculty of Advocates, in 1723.

Respecting the work of Sir Robert Sibbald, whom he described as an industrious antiquary with considerable learning and unwearied assiduity, Laing communicated his find to a meeting of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland and printed a full account in the Archaeologia Scotia.<sup>33</sup>

The volume of Sibbald's Adversaria discovered by Laing has sixty-five leaves with the transcript of the Conversations occupying leaf 25 verso to leaf 31 recto. The rest of the material concerns old notes and assorted personal correspondence belonging to Drummond. Attesting to the accuracy and authenticity of the Sibbald transcription is the title which he placed at the head of his transcript which exactly corresponds with the titles Laing found on the stray leaf of Volume IX of the

Reverend Abernethy Drummond's donated papers.

The conversations themselves took place in December, 1618, or January, 1619, but the exact date of the visit cannot be determined from primary evidence. Letters do exist, however, between Drummond and Jonson that place the meeting in the winter of 1618, after which Jonson returned to London on foot, probably arriving in April, 1619. One of these letters, dated 10 May 1619 and written by Jonson, informed Drummond that he had arrived in London and was given a warm greeting by King James.

In 1925, just after the publication of two volumes of the eleven-volume Oxford edition of Ben Jonson by C.H. Herford and Percy Simpson, which quotes liberally from the Conversations as printed by both Laing and R.F. Patterson in his 1923 volume, C.L. Stainer published a lengthy and provocative book in which he contended that the conversations never, in fact, occurred. Based on many years of reading Ben Jonson, Stainer arrived at the conclusion that:

The Conversations are of no literary interest whatever. The only fact of importance about them is that they are forged. The method is not unusual. Mr. D.T.B. Wood has lately shewn us how a scrap of paper has been placed in Malone's MS. in the Bodleian in order to confirm the forged Accounts of the Master of the Revels. We too have a scrap of paper, the hand-writing being that of Sir William Drummond, Sibbald's friend and contemporary.<sup>34</sup>



Stainer's reference to the Malone Scrap was unfortunate for his credibility and points up the essential weaknesses in his methods and data. In this case, as in other instances relating to the Drummond material, Stainer had misread his sources. The scrap to which Stainer referred figured in the authenticating of Peter Cunningham's Extracts from the Revels Accounts (1842). It consisted of a memorandum found in 1879 by Halliwell-Phillipps among Malone's papers in the Bodleian Library duplicating, for the most part, the disputed playlist of 1604-05. The questions surrounding the scrap of paper focused on the handwriting (which was not Malone's) and the reasons that Malone made no mention of the material contained in it.

Writing in The Review of English Studies in the article to which Stainer alludes, D.T.B. Wood admitted that he initiated his investigation into the Revels Accounts with a bias toward forgery and toward the criminal's being John Payne Collier.<sup>35</sup> At the conclusion of his first investigation, however, Wood made an about-face. His findings showed that Malone had not written but had received the scrap while he was engaged in his research, and that it was sent to Malone by Sir William Musgrave, Commissioner for Auditing Public Accounts, sometime around 1791 when Malone was inspecting the records of the

Master of the Revels. In his second article, published three months after the first, Wood added:

I must own that, without the Malone Scrap and identification of its writer (as Sir William Musgrave), I should have been tempted to investigate these documents with a bias for forgery; but with it, it is difficult to construct any reasonable theory by which it would have been possible.

Wood was thorough in his methods, investigating watermarks, handwriting samples, and printed records. At the end, he concluded that "the clinching point is that no forgery of this kind in the last years of the eighteenth century can now be considered possible without Musgrave's collusion." The forger, continued Wood, would have had to find the necessary blank sheets in the documents himself, before Musgrave had noted them, to have written his lists, to have brought them to Musgrave's notice, and (if that was part of the plot) to have ensured their being sent to Malone. "We may say, therefore, that any forgery involves Musgrave as a collaborator."<sup>36</sup> The analogy, which Stainer had obviously hoped would support his suspicions concerning the Conversations, then, must be discounted.

In a similar instance of misapplying information, Stainer suggested that the letter from Ben Jonson dated 10 May 1619, which notified Drummond of his arrival in London, is a fabrication and that "the forgers make Jonson

come down to Scotland in 1619. . . before the poet had arrived in Scotland." <sup>37</sup> Unfortunately, for Stainer's argument, John Taylor, "the Water-Poet" who about the same time undertook what he termed his "Pennylesse Pilgrimage" to Scotland, confirmed the fact that Jonson was in Leith before the end of September:

Now the day before I came from Edenborough  
[on his return to England] I went to Leeth,  
where I found my long approued and assured  
good friend Master Benjamin Iohnson, at  
one Master Iohn Stuarts house. . . .<sup>38</sup>

Since Stainer's questions related directly to the original documents and only indirectly to Laing's edition of the Sibbald transcripts, it is outside the purview of this study to discuss the validity of all of his arguments. Suffice it to say that Stainer does cast some doubt on the authenticity of the Conversations for several apparently valid reasons: first, that the original manuscript in Drummond's autograph has never been located; second, that there is no reliable evidence to show that Jonson ever knew Drummond (aside from the letters which may have been fabricated); third, that the folio edition of 1711 differs substantively from the Sibbald transcript--both of which were supposedly composed from the same source; fourth, that the folio biography of Drummond stated that the Scotsman was in Europe from about 1615 to 1623, during the time that Jonson and he were supposed to be

conversing; and, finally, that one of the letters written by Jonson on his return to London which noted that "I arrived safely, with a most Catholick Welcome, and . . . "He [James I] professed (I thank God) some Joy to see me" (Notes, p. 13) could not, according to Stainer, be a truthful account. "In March, 1619," wrote Stainer:

King James was very seriously ill at Newmarket and, in fact, it was hardly thought that he would recover. By the middle of April it was found possible to move him to Theobalds in Hertfordshire. King James made his first appearance in London, after this illness on June 1st! Yet the letter is dated the 10th of May.<sup>39</sup>

Stainer also presented a curious, but highly speculative case for his observation that the Conversations contain no information that could not be gleaned from Jonson's own works or from those of his contemporaries and that no personal or otherwise unknown material had been revealed.

While many of Stainer's points are as tenuous as the points against which he argued, he did raise some questions that bear looking into--particularly the question of Drummond's whereabouts during the time of Jonson's visit to Scotland.<sup>40</sup> Unfortunately, modern scholarship has virtually ignored Stainer's arguments, but the questions of authenticity, in this case, do not belittle Laing's achievement. To him, and to the Shakespeare Society, we

owe, in Patterson's words, "a deep debt for his recovery of the Conversations."<sup>41</sup>

The contributions of John Payne Collier, on the other hand, were not so blameless.

## CHAPTER 4: John Payne Collier--The Seeds of Scandal

John Payne Collier edited or composed more than half of the twenty-one non-dramatic volumes published by the Shakespeare Society. His was a prodigious achievement. On examination, however, these volumes reveal a disheartening record of systematic and premeditated fraud.

The first volume issued by the Society and the first of a series of publications originating from the same source of information discovered by Collier a decade earlier was The Memoirs of Edward Alleyn. The book was purported to contain a large number of valuable facts in the study of Alleyn as well as his equally famous contemporaries, and the imminent publication of The Memoirs was publicized privately in correspondence as well as publicly for the purpose of exciting the interest of the literary community in the new association. In a letter written by Collier to an unnamed recipient, Collier extended an invitation to join the Shakespeare Society and to act as its local Stratford Secretary. He unabashedly used the forthcoming publication of The Memoirs of Edward Alleyn to entice the prospective member:

I have 'The Life of Edward Alleyn' very nearly ready. It will form a volume of about 200 pages, with much that is new about Shakespeare and nearly all new about Alleyn.<sup>1</sup>

The paragraph is inserted, quite matter-of-factly, between paragraphs concerning business matters: Collier's authorization by the Council to write to him, the duties of a Secretary, and the dues of the association.

Publicly, Collier's volume did indeed excite the interest of the literary community. In an article in The Gentleman's Magazine, July, 1841, the reviewer acknowledged an auspicious start for the Society and proceeded to give a lengthy (fourteen-page), curiosity-provoking, and entirely favorable critique of the book.<sup>2</sup>

The Memoirs was followed in two years by The Alleyn Papers, from the same source, and two years after that by the first completed edition of the theatrical material in the Philip Henslow diary--the last and most important publication Collier was to prepare from the documents in Alleyn collection.

According to Collier's Introduction to The Memoirs, he had found the materials for the first volume while he was collecting data for his History of English Dramatic Poetry (1831),<sup>3</sup> the work which brought to Collier well-deserved public recognition. During his research, he had taken the opportunity to inspect the Henslowe papers along with other original, unbound fragments preserved in much disarray at the Alleyn-founded College of God's Gift at Dulwich. He found in them "important

and interesting particulars respecting Shakespeare, Ben Jonson, Massinger, Marston, Dekker, and other Dramatists of the reigns of Elizabeth and James I." <sup>4</sup> According to Collier, the documents had been examined and partially transcribed by Edmond Malone a half-century before, but as Collier had it, Malone's scholarly methods left much to be desired:

Nearly all of our materials are derived from Alleyn's family papers preserved in Dulwich College, often mentioned, but never hitherto thoroughly examined. Malone had many of them in his possession for some years; but it is impossible to suppose that he saw them all, or he could not have passed them over so carelessly as not to observe how much they contain that is interesting and curious in relation, not only to the history of the stage, but to the biography of many of the great poets and actors of the time. If Malone had the whole collection in his custody, the result shews that he made comparatively little use of the documents. . . . (Memoirs, p. 2)

In a note appended to this passage, Collier suggested that, since the former heads of Dulwich College allowed the papers to leave their hands, they must have been completely unaware of their value. Unfortunately, what Collier wrote may have been true. The authorities at Dulwich either had little idea of the historic importance of the Alleyn papers or had forgotten their existence. Malone did, in fact, keep many of the manuscripts in his possession until his death in 1812. Only then, through the offices of James Boswell, the son of Samuel



Johnson's biographer, was a large part--but not all--of the collection returned to the College. Some of the papers which Malone published were never found, even after a patient search by Boswell, Malone's literary executor. Moreover, after Malone's death, among his papers were found manuscripts of documents whose originals have not yet been located.

To the discredit of Collier, after his own use of the papers, no fewer than twenty-two forgeries were detected in the collection. Writing in 1881, George F. Warner, then Keeper of the Manuscripts in the British Museum, confirmed sixteen forgeries to add to an original list of six, discovered and revealed some twenty years earlier.<sup>5</sup> Among the original six was a letter from John Marston printed in The Memoirs (p. 154). According to N.E.S.A. Hamilton, "the whole of the letter had been first traced out in pencil after the same fashion as the pencilling in the annotated folio of Shakespere's Plays, 1632."<sup>6</sup> A second forgery, the original of which Collier claimed in The Memoirs that Malone reserved for publication in his projected Life of Shakespeare, is a copy of a letter from the Privy Council, consisting of Lords Nottingham, Suffolk, Shrewsbury, Worcester, and others, to the Lord Mayor of London appended to which is a list of players including the name of Shakespeare. The

letter is genuine, but the appended list is a fabrication. A similar modus operandi was used in a letter from Mrs. Joan Alleyn, step-daughter of Philip Henslowe, to her husband, Edward. The letter, also genuine, was damaged, torn and badly deteriorated when Collier found it. He left the letter untouched but printed a version of it in The Memoirs (p. 63) that included a passage referring to Shakespeare which had not been written by Mrs. Alleyn:

About a weeke a goe there came a youthe who said he was Mr Frauncis Chaloner who would have borrowed xli to have bought things for \* \* \* and said he was known unto you, and Mr Shakespeare of the globe, who came \* \* \* said he knewe hym not, onely he herde of hym that he was a roge \* \* \* so he was glade we did not lend him the money \* \* \*

After examining the original letter, Hamilton concluded that "there is not the smallest trace of authority for any allusion to Shakespere, or to any of the words concerning him found there by Mr. Collier, and printed by him as forming part of the original document."<sup>7</sup> Hamilton also pointed out that the portions of three damaged lines which were still legible were incompatible with the paragraph which Collier printed as genuine.<sup>8</sup>

Later discoveries by Warner in 1881 revealed the interpolation of single, and therefore less detectable, words like "Leir," "Romeos," and "Pericles" in an inventory listing of costumes (Memoirs, pp. 19-21). First appearing in The Memoirs, These interpolations not only attracted

the interest of Shakespearean devotees to the publications of the Shakespeare Society, but also enhanced the reputation of Collier himself.

A singularly important addition by Collier concerns a memorandum in Alleyn's handwriting recording moneys paid by Alleyn in April, 1612 for the "Blackfryers." Collier accurately noted that the theater itself was not named in the memorandum, but that it would be a clear and accurate deduction from the evidence that the record alluded to the playhouse. The memorandum was reprinted in The Memoirs (p.105):

April 1612

Money paid by me E.A. for the	
Blackfryers. . . . .	.160 li
More for the Blackfryers. . . . .	.126 li
More againe for the Lease. . . . .	.310 li 6s.8d.
The writing for the same and other. .	3 li
small charges	

Collier also mentioned that it was nowhere stated to whom the considerable amount of money was paid, "but, for aught we know, it was to Shakespeare himself, and just anterior to his departure from London" (Memoirs, p. 105).

According to Warner, the "rough Memorandum" is now lost and though one cannot assume that it never existed, it is highly improbable that "the date was as Mr. Collier has given it."<sup>9</sup> Moreover, Warner continued, "the most that the paper can be taken to prove is that Alleyn held

property of some kind in the Blackfriars, and of this there was never any doubt." To complicate the issue and, obviously, to obscure his forged tracks, Collier supported his conjecture by fabricating interpolations in other papers: Alleyn's letter to Dr. Donne (the father of his second wife), and two additions to the Alleyn diary. After the discovery of new evidence, Warner proved that the property did not come into Alleyn's hands until 26 March 1617, when Shakespeare had been dead for nearly a year.

To his credit, however, Collier did discover and publish new information in the Alleyn volumes. One small discovery alluded to Alleyn's ability as a tragedian. Malone, in his edition of The Plays and Poems of William Shakespeare published posthumously in 1821, revealed the fact that Thomas Nash in his Pierce Penniless, His Supplication to the Devil (1592) had praised Alleyn for his ability as a tragic actor by comparing him with Roscius and Aesope.<sup>10</sup> Collier noted the fact that Jonson, in 1616, used the same comparison and, furthermore, had written it "no doubt, fifteen or twenty years earlier" (Memoirs, p. 6). The implication is that Alleyn's merits as a tragedian were common knowledge in the last decade of the century.

More substantially, it was Collier who, also for the first time, fully disclosed and discussed Alleyn's financial dealings, justifying the detailed presentation by concluding that "if Alleyn could attain to such wealth, being merely an actor, it renders it more likely that Shakespeare, when he retired to Stratford-upon-Avon, had realized at least a comfortable and easy independence."<sup>11</sup> Equally important, the documents recorded Alleyn's increasingly pecuniary interest in theatrical affairs and the mounting responsibilities imposed by his founding of a college at Dulwich.

Between the publication in 1841 of The Memoirs and the writing of The Alleyn Papers, Collier learned that Alleyn was, indeed, as he had conjectured in The Memoirs (p. 172), married to Constance Donne, the daughter of the Dean of Saint Paul's, John Donne. The point was confirmed by a columnist in The Gentleman's Magazine who recalled for the edification of his readers that a correspondent to the journal had pointed out at least seven years earlier that the Parish Register of Camberwell recorded that on 3 December 1623 Edward Alleyn was married to "Mrs. Constance Donn" and that she was the eldest daughter of the Dean of St. Paul's and that after Alleyn's death, she became the wife of Samuel Harvey of Abury Hatch, Essex, in whose house Dr. Donne was seized with

his last fatal illness.<sup>12</sup> This public confirmation of Collier's conjecture added interest to the letter from Alleyn to his father-in-law, Dr. Donne, which Collier printed (Memoirs, pp. 173-176). It graphically illustrated, for the first time, the financial tensions that existed between Alleyn and Donne--much to the discredit of the latter. R.C. Bald, in John Donne: A Life, recounts this aspect of Donne's life which is, using Bald's description, "far less devout and distinctly unclerical" contrasted with other episodes in John Donne's career.<sup>13</sup> Bald confirms Collier's conclusions relating to the tension that existed between Donne and his son-in-law and the quarrel that exploded as a result of Donne's refusal to lend Alleyn the sum of £500, which Alleyn had been led to believe would be at his disposal if he needed it. Alleyn confronted Donne personally and subsequently vented his rage in the letter which Collier reprinted and which reviewed (from Alleyn's point of view only) all of his dealings with his father-in-law since the marriage with Constance had been proposed.

To Donne's credit, according to Bald, Alleyn minimized the extent of the monetary assistance he was requesting; £500 was not a "comon curtesie afforded to a frend." Moreover, it is easier to excuse Donne's behavior in light of his early struggles with poverty.<sup>14</sup> Donne may

also have been reluctant to lend money to Alleyn because, according to Bald, Alleyn had not yet made his promised settlements on Constance.<sup>15</sup> Alleyn, however, was as good as his word concerning Constance. He managed to more-than-meet his obligations to his wife. The complete will of Alleyn is reprinted for the first time by Collier in The Alleyn Papers.

The last of Collier's Dulwich publications was The Diary of Philip Henslowe from 1591 to 1609,<sup>16</sup> originally a folio of 242 leaves on which were written assorted accounts and memoranda which, more than any other group of documents, illustrate the history and condition of the English stage and drama during the period in which Shakespeare was most active. The book was first used by John Henslowe as a receptacle for accounts concerning his timber interests during the years 1576 to 1581. After a period of non-use, Philip Henslowe found and utilized the volume to record private and business transactions from 1592 to 1609. It is likely that the records passed, on Henslowe's death in 1616, to his son-in-law, Edward Alleyn and from him to the library of the College of God's Gift at Dulwich. For over 150 years, the documents lay undisturbed. When Malone learned of the existence of certain papers, he requested permission in 1790 to remove and examine them in his own chambers. In the

years that followed, and, at his death in 1812, the originals that could be found were returned to the College. The transcripts, however, were not released until 1825 when they appeared in one of the great library sales of Richard Heber. At that time, they were purchased by Sir Thomas Phillipps, the future father-in-law of James Orchard Halliwell and an ardent bibliophile. Between Phillipps's death in February of 1872 and the year 1895 when the transcripts were recovered, no definite information is available concerning their location. The most likely explanation is that they were among the vast collection of notes, manuscripts, and pictures housed at Thirlestane House, Cheltenham, which Phillipps had left to his youngest daughter, Katherine Fenwick. In 1895 a portion of these manuscripts were dispersed by auction at Sotheby's and were purchased by the Governors of Dulwich College.

According to Sir Walter Greg,<sup>17</sup> "We now know from the Private-Sittings Books that the MS. was lent in 1819 to the then Archbishop of Canterbury, Charles Manners-Sutton. . .," but for all intents and purposes, the only scholar to use the papers after Malone was John Payne Collier, who reprinted part of them in his History of Dramatic Poetry (1831) and all of the theatrical material



in 1845 for the Shakespeare Society publication. After Collier, the papers passed to Greg, who applied to the College to have the manuscripts temporarily deposited at the British Museum so that he might review them. Greg's monumental edition appeared in 1904, followed in 1908 by a second volume. Thereafter, in 1927, T.W. Baldwin used the diary material in his book, The Organization and Personnel of the Shakespearean Company. Finally, in 1961, a more modern transcript of the material was completed by R.A. Foakes and R.T. Rickert for Cambridge University Press.

In its traditionally favorable review of a Collier publication, The Athenaeum reiterated Collier's version of Malone's negligence and abuse of the documents and asserted that, "It was reserved for Mr. Collier--a name as intimately connected with the history of our stage as his namesake in King William III's reign was with the moral reformation of it, to give us the account-book as it is--not, we are sorry to say, as it was. . . ." <sup>18</sup>

The reviewer did add at least one deserved stricture, however, in noting that Mr. Collier might have overestimated the damage actually done to the manuscripts when in the hands of Malone. Collier, in his Introduction to the Diary, suggested that Malone had cut, torn out, or mutilated leaves from the parchment-covered volume

(Diary, p. xiii). The Athenaeum set the record straight, stating that the portion printed and described by Collier was never a part of the volume but was discovered, as Malone had told his readers (Shakespeare by Boswell, III, 296), "in a bundle of loose papers." The reviewer also very gently chided Mr. Collier for his erroneous assumption that "the Upper Pike Garden" mentioned in The Alleyn Papers was near the "Upper grown" mentioned by Henslowe, when in fact, Upper Ground Street is near the Surrey end of Blackfriar's bridge.<sup>19</sup> Aside from these small reproaches, the reviewer was unreserved in his praise of the work and of Collier, "whose intimacy with our stage history is only to be surpassed by one who had lived in Henslowe's own time, associated with poets and players and with old Philip Henslowe himself."

Sir Walter Greg, in his edition of Henslowe's Diary, was neither so kind nor so uncritical: "There is scarcely an entry probably which will be found to agree exactly in Collier's edition and in mine."<sup>20</sup> Greg condemns as spurious numerous entries in Collier's theatrical reprint, eight of which were originally pointed out by Mr. Warner of the British Museum, one noted by C.M. Ingleby, and one added by Greg himself. The first fabricated entry cited by Greg from Warner is particularly interesting because it shows the complex manipulations and planning incumbent

upon one who would engage in the forging of historic documents.

Collier noted in his Diary (p. 52) an entry "omitted to be noticed by Malone":

ye 18 of maye 1595--Rd at galfrid & Bernard . . .xxj<sup>s</sup>

According to Collier, the entry relates to a play founded upon the recently discovered poem translated by John Drout and titled, "The Pityfull Histories of two loving Italians, Gaulfrido and Bernard le Vayne." Collier concluded his note claiming that by the authority of the Stationers' Registers, "which was all that was known of it," the poem supposedly relates to the incidents of Romeo and Juliet, but that "such is not the fact." He adds that "an impression, limited to twenty-five copies, has been recently made from the original." The impression to which Collier referred was his own 1844 quarto edition of twenty-eight leaves. One copy retained by the British Library contains the dedication: "Mr. Rodd, from the often and much obliged Editor."

Collier did not, in fact, accept responsibility for the impression until 1848 when he included the fact in his Extracts from the Registers of the Stationers' Company.<sup>21</sup> Greg contends that the entry in Collier's edition of the Diary was forged to support the genuineness of the poem which Collier claimed as authentic in 1844.

In other entries, attempts were made, as in the case of the Drout poem above, to link one work with another for the purpose of increasing the value of a work produced or a work forthcoming from Collier's pen. Such was the case cited by Greg which appeared in folio 95, line 6, of the original papers:

Lent at the apoyntment of the company  
 & my sonne unto hary chettell in earneste  
 of a play<sup>e</sup> }  
 or northern Man } vs  
 called to good to bve trewe the some of  
 the 14 of novmb 1601 . . . . .

The interlined words, "or northern Man," are in different ink and hand from the rest of the entry and do not appear in Malone's transcript.<sup>22</sup> According to Collier's note (Diary p. 204), this entry refers to:

a comedy upon the story of 'the King and the poor Northern Man, or too good to be True.' In other entries the play is called only 'Too good to be True.' An old poem on this subject was reprinted in 1841 by the Percy Society.

Collier had himself edited the poem, by M[artin] P[arker] for the Percy Society and probably knew then that Parker's earliest work dates from about 1628. But Collier was most certainly aware, according to Greg, that the edition of 1640 from which he reprinted the work for the Percy Society was entitled, "The King and a Poore Northerne Man"--without any mention of the subtitle "Too Good to Be True." When Collier printed

the poem, he did include the subtitle, "Too Good to Be True" on the title page, but noted in the Preface to the edition that "the second title is omitted in Henslowe's latest entry," but that "this play [written in 1601 by Henry Chettle, Richard Hathewaye and Wentworth Smith] was, no doubt, founded upon the popularity of the subsequent story. . . ." <sup>23</sup> The connection was again made, apparently, to enhance the value of Collier's Percy Society edition.

Along similar lines, one entry in the original Henslowe papers suffered erasures which would indicate that a play, A Knacke to Knowe a Knave (1592), was noted by Henslowe to be enjoying an original production. The entry in Collier's edition of The Diary reads:

This is a remarkable entry, as Henslowe states that it was the first performance of the celebrated play, which was printed in 1594, and which the Shakespeare Society proposes to reprint. '1 day' is interlined, perhaps, in order to give the information of its original production, but it escaped Malone's notice: ne is also in the margin, but Malone did not ascertain the meaning of that note. (Diary, p.28)

According to Greg, Malone's transcription reads not "1 day," but "10 day," the zero having been erased in the original. Collier availed himself of the opportunity offered by Henslowe's accidental omission of the month, June, to "fabricate corroborative evidence as to the

meaning of ne, which Collier interpreted to indicate 'original performance.'" Though the Shakespeare Society did not produce the play, Collier, not to lose this opportunity to reprint a play listed by Henslowe, edited A Knacke to Knowe a Knave for the Roxburghe Club in 1851.

Interestingly, another explanation for the meaning of Henslowe's ne may have superseded Greg's and Collier's. Collier, of course, wished to prove that Henslowe placed ne next to original productions. Greg believed that Henslowe used the word to designate a play new to the repertory or one that had undergone substantial revision before revival. R.A. Foakes and R.T. Rickert, in their re-examination of Henslowe's Diary suggest that "one possibility which covers all occurrences of 'ne' is that this refers to the licensing of a playbook for performance by the Master of the Revels."<sup>24</sup>

Collier was indefatigable in his efforts to support his conjectures. In another attempt to prove his interpretation of Henslowe's ne, Collier deleted the ne before the title, "Joronymo," so that he might record it as "Probably a revival of the popular play called the Spanish Tragedy" (Diary, p.84, n.2).

If something can be said on Collier's behalf concerning the forgeries in Henslowe's papers, it is that none of them was directly concerned with Shakespeare.<sup>25</sup> While the

interpolations and interlineations were more ingenuous than those in the Alleyn Memoirs or Papers, Collier did limit his handiwork to Nash, Marlowe, Dekker, Webster, and playwrights other than Shakespeare.

Before Collier's last major non-dramatic editions for the Shakespeare Society--The Extracts of the Registers of the Stationer's Company, volume I and II, 1848 and 1849--he edited The Memoirs of the Principal Actors in the Plays of Shakespeare (1846). Aside from two entries which might not be genuine, but which cannot be determined one way or the other because of the absence of the originals,<sup>26</sup> the volume did accomplish its goal by bringing to light new information on the twenty-six principal actors included by Heminge and Condell in the list of actors in the 1623 Folio.

With the publication of this volume, however, the historical methodology practiced by the Shakespeare Society was again questioned. Morgan Rattler of Frazer's Magazine, while commending Collier for his industry in bringing to light this "repertory of facts and dates" which might be generally useful in enlarging our knowledge of Shakespeare, also expressed the opinion that:

Of course, nobody cares one ghost of a farthing rushlight about these people, their parentage, birth, marriages, offspring, course of life, or death, as

accurately or conjecturally put forth, except so far as the dates and facts respecting them so laboriously collected may be useful hereafter in verifying observations, while laying out on a new survey a map of Shakspeare's life.<sup>27</sup>

In spite of Rattler's lack of enthusiasm for the publication, Collier did reveal and publicize many new and little-known facts. Among them was the entry in the parish register and fee book of St. Saviour's Cathedral, Southwark recording the death of William Shakespeare's brother, Edmund, on 31 December 1607. Collier did not claim to be the first to discover this entry, but he did uncover and identify an additional entry which followed upon the original notice of death but which was entered in the monthly accounts entered by the Sexton at St. Saviour's:

1607. Dec. 31. Edmund Shakespeare,  
a player, buried in the church, with a  
forenoone knell of the great bell. . . .<sup>28</sup>

Collier questioned but did not speculate upon why the "forenoone knell" was rung when afternoon knells were traditional. The Athenaeum reviewer remarked that an "obvious" explanation for the forenoon bell was that since Edmund Shakespeare was buried on New Year's eve, always a time of festivity, the bell was rung in the forenoon so that his interment might not conflict with the celebrations for the new year.<sup>29</sup> Another explanation offered by Samuel



Schoenbaum, in a recent conjecture upon the subject, suggests that since St. Saviour's stood near London Bridge and the Globe Theater, William Shakespeare, Edmund's more affluent brother, had a morning rather than an afternoon service scheduled so that Edmund's fellow actors could attend.<sup>30</sup>

While researching in the registers of St. Giles without Cripplegate, Collier uncovered another entry which was concerned with Shakespeare's family (Principal Actors, p.xv):

Edward, sonne of Edward Shackspeere,  
player: base borne. 12 August 1607.

According to Collier, "This was opening quite new ground; no Edward Shakespeare, after whom the base-born child was christened, has ever been heard of, yet it is distinctly stated that he was a 'player'; and we might suppose, from the parish in which the burial of the infant was recorded, that the father was engaged at the Fortune, and was performing there in 1607 under Henslowe and Alleyn." Collier discounted the possibility of uncertainty between the names Edward and Edmund, saying that "the name Edward was written twice over, most distinctly in the entry, so that there can be no confusion between Edward and Edmund Shakespeare" (Principal Actors, p.xv).

Future scholarship, however, indicates that Collier's conclusions may have been too hasty. First, it is quite

possible that though Edmund may have resided in St. Saviour's, the mother of the child could have lived in St. Giles's and could have arranged burial in the parish in which the infant had lived. Secondly, it was not unusual for parish clerks to misrecord similar sounding names, like Jone and Joanna, Eleanor and Helen, Shanbrooke and Shambrooke.<sup>31</sup> Though his conclusions may have been ill-considered, Collier's diligent research and scholarship for this volume provided unmistakably new pieces for the mosaic of William Shakespeare's life.

Collier's revelations were not limited to Shakespeare, however. Through his investigations in the parish registers of St. Giles's Cripplegate, Collier learned that Ben Jonson was married a second time, at the age of forty-nine years, to Hester Hopkins on 27 July 1623 (Principal Actors, p.xxiv); and in the records of St. Anne's, Blackfriars, Collier uncovered an entry recording the baptism of "Benjamin Johnson, sonne to Benjamin," on 20 February 1607 (1608, new style). The same records also show the death and burial of the boy, Benjamin Johnson, just three years later, on 18 November 1611 (Principal Actors, p.xxiii).

There is an interesting point to note here. Collier's finding that the baptismal record for Benjamin Johnson on 20 February 1607 properly belongs to the son of Ben

Jonson contradicts--and corrects--the entry noted in The Shakespeare Society's Papers by Peter Cunningham:<sup>32</sup>

In the parish registers of St. Martin's in the Fields I discovered the baptism of Benjamin Jonson, the son of Ben, and what I believe to be the burial of the poet's daughter Mary. That the poet had a son named Benjamin was the belief of [Peter] Whalley. I transcribe the entries as I found them:

1610. Aprilis 6.  
Bapt fuit Beniamin  
Johnson fil Ben:

Surprisingly, Collier did not recall or mention Cunningham's finding, which appeared in another Society publication just two years before Collier published The Prinicipal Actors though it is quite likely that Collier not only read Cunningham's article, but edited the volume of Papers in which it appeared. No identifying initials appeared at the end of the Preface, however.

In spite of the isolated questions posed by commentators in publications such as Frazer's Magazine and Literary Gazette, addressing the value of such a "repertory of facts," the scholarly community feasted on such Shakespearean and Elizabethan tidbits, and Collier's first-time publication of unknown or little-known details excited considerable interest. In one instance, Collier cited an error made by William Gifford, which concerned the often-quoted entry of the burial of "Philip Massinger,

A STRANGER" in the churchyard of St. Saviour's. Collier wrote that Gifford was incorrect in his dating and misleading in his conclusions. Collier transcribed the entry in question not as Gifford had done it:

March 20, 1639-40, buried  
Philip Massinger, A STRANGER,

but as,

1638. March 18. Philip Masenger,  
strang , in the Church . . 2 .  
(Principal Actors, p. xiii)

Collier remarked not only on the fact that Massinger was buried "in the church"--the word "stranger" designating that he did not belong to the parish--but that the cost of the grave, knell, and other burial incidentals ran to two pounds. Collier correctly pointed out that the last rites of John Fletcher cost twenty-two shillings. Moreover, readers may recall that Edmund Shakespeare's funeral cost twenty shillings. Records of the time indicate that burial expenses for a member of the parish, including the tolling of a lesser bell, could be had for as little as two shillings. To Collier, the two-pound cost clearly indicated that "Massinger was interred with peculiar cost and ceremony" (Principal Actors, p.xiii). Biographical details, such as these, would later fill the columns of Notes and Queries.

A "Miscellanea" insert in The Athenaeum of 22 March 1846 quickly and pointedly confirmed Collier's surmise

1846 quickly and pointedly confirmed Collier's surmise relating to the word "stranger" and added that even in contemporary times, it was customary to add the word, "stranger" or "foreigner" to the entries of persons not residing in the parish. The correspondent suggested also that it was not only the usual practice to charge non-parishioners more for their final attentions, but that the £2 fee for Massinger's burial may have represented the usual, not special, cost for non-parishioners who wished to be interred within the churchyard.

The "Miscellanea" notice was merely one of nine published items on Collier's volume. There was one advance notice in The Athenaeum of 14 February 1846<sup>33</sup> and two reviews in the same journal on 22 April 1846 and 15 August 1846.<sup>34</sup> Frazer's Magazine reviewed the book in its February issue, 1847,<sup>35</sup> and Collier himself corrected a printing error through The Athenaeum in October of 1846.<sup>36</sup> Three correspondents wrote to The Athenaeum to discuss the use of the word, "expended," in the baptismal record of Inigo Jones: one noted the origin of the word;<sup>37</sup> one discussed the corruption of the Greek letters;<sup>38</sup> and one brought to the readers' attention "an amusing example of conjectural criticism concerning the word 'expended'."<sup>39</sup>

The responses to The Memoirs of the Principal Actors

were not limited to the journals. Collier's letter to The Athenaeum correcting the misprinted entry was made in reply to a personal letter to him from a Shakespeare Society member. In fact, after each new publication, Collier received a number of letters requesting additional information on new material as well as questioning facts or findings. One letter, preserved in the British Library, was sent to Collier by the Reverend Philip Bliss (1787-1857), the local Oxford Secretary of the Shakespeare Society since 1840 and Keeper of the Archives at the Bodleian from 1826 until his death. Bliss, probably in his capacity as Keeper of the Archives as well as long-time friend, asked Collier why he had not included in his second volume of Extracts of the Stationers' Registers, the Dialogues of St. John Fisher (1459-1535) or Angel Day's Daphnis and Cloe. In his response to Dr. Bliss, Collier apologized for not printing the whole of the Registers, "but it would have been a work of long time and much expense."<sup>40</sup> Collier recalled for Bliss that the entries he had included related only to light literature. He had omitted all early dissertations upon medical and other sciences, old divinity, and other works well known in various extant editions. Included were works of popular poetry and prose, plays, tracts, travels, voyages, and light literature.<sup>41</sup>

Justifying his exclusion of Day's work dated 1587, Collier explained that possibly Daphnis and Cloe was entered after 1587 or possibly not entered at all. "Such was the case," wrote Collier, "with many books, especially with such as were of questionable character." In fact, Collier's entries cease after 3 July 1587 and suffer a lapse from July, 1571 to July, 1576, which Collier speculated may have been caused by the loss of records in the great fire of 1666 (Extracts, I, vi).

Because of the questions of authenticity that have been directed to Collier's scholarship, certain items in The Extracts have come under close scrutiny. Of particular interest are several ballads which he reprinted in his volumes and which he claimed existed only in transcripts, most of them derived from his own sources. He made special mention of a volume belonging to him "in a handwriting of the time of James I" (Extracts, I, vii). In the second volume of The Extracts, Collier recalled his mention of that old volume, but amended his description of the manuscript to say that not one hand, but two or three hands, completed the writing--"the earliest beginning before the year 1600 and the latest continuing until after the Restoration."<sup>42</sup>

The volume arouses curiosity because Collier described

the work as containing entire poems by Shakespeare with extracts from the works of Shakespeare's contemporaries-- in some instances with their names or initials appended. Twenty ballads were reprinted in Extracts I and an equal number in Extracts II, but Collier listed the titles of no fewer than eighty-three in his Preface to the second volume. Two of the ballads which have special interest were reprinted in their entirety (Extracts, II, 189-91; 200-05) because they made reference to Timon of Athens (p.191) and to the feud of the Montacutes and Capulets, predating Shakespeare's play by approximately a decade. Though the original or the transcript has not been located, one cannot conclude positively that the ballads are fabrications, primarily because the manuscript which Collier mentioned in his Preface may be the same one which he cited in An Old Man's Diary (1871). The entry is dated 7 March 1832:

I have just bought a manuscript of the time of Elizabeth and James I., containing a great many valuable and curious poems, some known and many unknown, some with the names of the authors appended, and some without: a few not quotable, and others supply important deficiencies in productions hitherto supposed to be complete.<sup>43</sup>

In 1873 Collier again referred to his early collections, among which might have been the volume of ballads:



Having an unseen and imperative want of £500, I let F.O[uvry] . . . have a large number of Tracts and Books most of them published in the reigns of Elizabeth and James I. . . . My \* \* \* Ballad and Broad-sides were also included.<sup>44</sup>

Writing in 1875, Edward Arber, editor of A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London (1554-1640), in his Introductory overview of the history of the Registers, singled out Collier for particular praise:

It would seem that it was Thomas Warton, B.D., the Poet Laureate, that first extensively quoted the Registers in his History of English Poetry, 1778. Steevens, Malone, Douce, Chalmers, Ritson made use of them for special purposes: but it was the most excellent endeavour of Mr. John Payne Collier to cull such Book Entries as related to the Drama and Popular Literature &c. &c. down to 1586 in his Extracts &c. published by the Shakespeare Society in 1848-1849.<sup>45</sup>

In spite of Arber's public praise--especially significant since it followed his fall from favor with his former literary and scholarly circle of friends--Collier himself thought little of the work he had done for the societies. Writing in 1880, Collier looked back over his literary life and concluded:

Such as I edited for the Societies, I care least about--not one rush: some of them I have not on my own shelves. Perhaps, only probably,

my 'Life of Edw. Alleyn' was the most to be liked and next to that, one or two that I prepared for the Percy Society full 40 years ago.<sup>46</sup>

## ii

Twelve of the twenty-one non-dramatic productions of the Society were reproductions or reprints which always included limited notes and short introductions of rare or little-known works. Though, as Collier noted in his Autobiography, many of them might not pay the expense of publication, they were "well worth preservation for the light they throw on our early Drama & its history."<sup>47</sup>

The reprints served another purpose as well. In the words of a writer for The British Quarterly Review:

The more we become acquainted with the general literature of any period--even its lightest--the better able shall we be to read its history, and to profit by its lessons.<sup>48</sup>

Ten of the twelve reprints were superintended through the presses by Collier. The first, Stephen Gosson's The School of Abuse Containing A Pleasant Invective Against Poets, Pipers, Players, Jesters, &c. (1841) was the second in a series of literary attacks on the stage which began with John Northbrooke, whose Treatise Wherein Dicing, Dancing, Vain Plays or Interludes &c. are Reproved

was licensed for the press in 1577 and reprinted by the Shakespeare Society in 1843. Collier explained in his Introduction to The School of Abuse that Gosson's tract was selected to follow the Society's first publication, The Memoirs of Edward Alleyn, because of Gosson's connection with Alleyn when Gosson was vicar of the parish, St. Botolph, Bishopsgate, in which Alleyn lived and conducted his charitable activities.

The School of Abuse was dedicated, without permission, to Sir Philip Sidney, and according to The Athenaeum review of the reprint, Edmund Spenser, in his letters to Gabriel Harvey, mentioned that Sidney scorned Gosson and his tract and looked on Gosson as a "wrong-headed enthusiast."<sup>49</sup> To answer Gosson, Thomas Lodge, in 1580, published his Defence of Poetry, Music, and Stage-Plays. It has survived without title page or date and was reprinted by the Shakespeare Society as its last publication in 1853.

Though stage performances had been vilified by individuals in the past, the 1577 Northbrooke Treatise initiated the earliest systematic attack on the stage. It is of importance also because it highlights the ambivalence demonstrated by the public toward the theater which, though not new to Elizabeth's time, persisted to some degree throughout the nineteenth century (and so was especially appropriate for re-issue by the Shakespeare

Society).

In the early nineteenth century, addressing the equivocality demonstrated during the reign of Elizabeth, Edmond Malone wrote that:

As soon as the acting of plays became a profession, jealousy of abuse made it an object of regulation. Accordingly, in 1574, puritanick zeal, or the prudential caution of the Lord Mayor, Hawes, procured various bye-laws of the common council, to regulate the representation of plays within the city of London.<sup>50</sup>

Malone appended a note which attributed the Puritanical opposition to plays and players in London to the publication in London of "The Laws of Geneva" (1562), which explicitly stated that "Plays and games are forbidden."<sup>51</sup>

This zeal, however, was not wholly approved by Whitehall. Not only do records exist which recall the Court's patronage of theatrical activities--which the Society published in Peter Cunningham's Extracts from the Accounts of the Revels--but the Privy Council wrote to the Lord Mayor of London to ask why he and his fellows had reason to restrain the plays or the players.<sup>52</sup> Moreover, in spite of the Lord Mayor's objections, the year 1574 saw the first establishment of a regular company of players, and the years 1576 and 1577 witnessed the construction of three theaters--the Blackfriars, the Curtain, and the Theatre. Continued objection by

the London aldermen did have some effect, though, for all three theaters were constructed on the outskirts of the city.

Northbrooke's Treatise, since it was entered at Stationers' Hall in 1577, was probably written almost immediately after the theaters were opened.

Malone conjectured that one of the reasons for the objections by the London aldermen was the fear of "frequent pestilence which was supposed to be widely propagated by the numerous concourse of people, at the theatrical representations."<sup>53</sup> Another suggestion, offered by a writer to The British Quarterly Review, focused on "the danger which the young, particularly [the] apprentices, incurred from the profligate company which frequented the theatres round London."<sup>54</sup>

In the first decades of the nineteenth century, for the same reasons expressed by the writer in The British Quarterly Review in 1847, Thomas Best (1787-1865), the newly installed curate of St. James in Sheffield, conceived it his responsibility to warn his congregation against the dangers of excessive worldliness, by which he meant "the degrading tendencies of theatrical amusements."<sup>55</sup> Best was not alone in his views when he proclaimed loudly and vehemently that "men should be more mindful of the after-life than of their immediate preoccupation," and that Drama placed too great an emphasis on temporal

gratification, diverting men's minds from the great duty of preparing themselves for eternity. "Dramatists," he believed, "mock the name and nature of God and thus promote a disposition to frivolous irresponsibility concerning the crowning need for salvation." <sup>56</sup> Best's constant fulminations from the pulpit caused a rift in the learned population of Sheffield between those who agreed with Reverend Best and those who defended the theater and Shakespeare against Best's accusations. The result, described above (pp. 44-5) was the formation of the Sheffield Shakespeare Club.

Particularly in large metropolitan centers like London, there was a general fear expressed among the upper classes of "the numerous concourse of people." <sup>57</sup> The attitude was frequently noted, and disparaged, in contemporary journals. The Athenaeum of 24 October 1840 directed some critical comments to the author of Shoberl's Guide to Greenwich, which was the subject of the review:

This book contains a description of the localities of Greenwich, with some notices of their history. We regret to find the author perpetrating the vulgar calumny, that 'there is an inherent propensity among the lower orders of the English to destroy objects of art,' etc. Whenever the old exclusive spirit has been relaxed, experience has shown the direct contrary of this to be true. <sup>58</sup>

In the issue of 7 January 1843, the same journal featured a notice which broadcast a clear message in spite of its brevity:

On Monday last, no less than 30,000 persons visited the National Establishment [the British Museum]! The conduct of all was orderly, and there was not a single instance of drunkenness or indecorum.<sup>59</sup>

Collier's Introduction to the Northbrooke reprint pointed out an amusing irony, which pertains to this discussion:

[Northbrooke's] arguments against 'vain plays and interludes,' by which, of course, he means dramatic representation such as they then existed, occupy much of his treatise; and it is singular that, while condemning every thing like plays, he conveys his arguments in a dramatic form--a dialogue between Youth and Age . . . . . Stephen Gosson was guilty of a somewhat similar inconsistency, in his 'Plays confuted in Five Actions,' meaning five acts, like those of a play; and Prynne, following in the same track about fifty years afterwards, not only divides his 'Histriomastix' into acts, but subdivides it into scenes.<sup>60</sup>

The third publication of the Society and the second reprint was Thomas Heywood's An Apology for Actors, which was originally published in 1612 but which was probably written around 1607 or 1608.<sup>61</sup> Because Heywood was both a playwright and an actor, he based his defense of the theater upon a defense of actors, but his arguments

also stressed the morally instructional aspect of drama and the fact that the ancient Greeks and Romans favored the theater.

Though Collier justified the reprinting of the volume on the grounds that Heywood's was the last regular defense of the profession prior to the closing of the theaters during the Civil War, he might have also mentioned the fact that it contained some points important to Renaissance literary history. For example, the Notes to The Apology pointed out (p.45), that only because of Heywood's mention in the text of "M. Kid, in his Spanish Tragedy," has the play been attributed to Thomas Kyd. Moreover, it was in this work that Heywood stated for the first time that he "must necessarily insert a manifest injury done to me." Heywood was referring to the Epistles from Paris to Helen and Helen to Paris, printed by Jaggard as Shakespeare's in "The Passionate Pilgrim," but which were previously composed and published by Heywood himself.<sup>62</sup>

In the third of his reprints for the Shakespeare Society, Collier explained his reasons for reissuing The Debate Between Pride and Lowliness (1841):

The most remarkable circumstances about the ensuing poem is, that Robert Greene, the celebrated dramatist, poet, and pamphleteer, one of the predecessors of Shakespeare, stole the whole substance of it, and putting it into



prose, published it in 1592, in his own name, and as his own work, under the title of 'A Quip for an Upstart Courtier, or a quaint Dispute between Velvet-breeches and Cloth-breeches.'

. . . . .  
A more wholesale or barefaced piece of plagiarism is not, perhaps, to be pointed out in our literature.<sup>63</sup>

In light of the later revelations concerning his own literary practices, Collier's comments might certainly be considered audacious. Writing for the Early English Text Society, which he founded, F.J. Furnivall later noted that Collier had wrongly attributed The Debate to Francis Thynne:

Seeing that Mr. Collier had made a good deal of the signature 'Fr. Th.' on the title-page of Lord Ellesmere's copy of The Debate (Introduction, p. viii) I wrote at once to Dr Kingsley for an appointment to examine the signature: one knows only too well what such things are likely to be. Next day I came on the following note on The Debate, in Mr Hazlitt's Hand-book:--

'Attributed to Thynne by Mr Collier on the strength of initials F.T. in print on the title, and F.Th. in MS. there. But the latter appears to be in a modern hand, attempting an imitation of old writing.'

Of course.

I have since looked at this 'F.Th.' and compared it with Francis Thynne's other signatures at Bridgewater House and in the British Museum, and I do not doubt that it is a modern forgery. . . .

The imitator was no doubt the forger of the other notorious Bridgewater-Library documents. In no instance that I have seen, has Francis Thynne signed 'F.Th.' only.<sup>64</sup>

The author of The Debate was not identified by Furnivall.

The 1842 reprint of Fools and Jesters; with a Reprint of Robert Armin's Nest of Ninnies was justified not only on the grounds of preservation--a single copy in the possession of the Bodleian Library was the only one known--but also that it is a curious picture of the manners at the end of Elizabeth's reign<sup>65</sup> and the only tract in our language to treat distinctly the subject and the persons employed as the domestic fools and jesters (Fools and Jesters, p.vi).

In his Introduction, Collier related the origin of these domestic fools to the Vice in the old Moralities and made much of their frequent use in the plays of Shakespeare and his contemporaries. There is, of course, the added interest that Robert Armin was one of the original performers in Shakespeare's plays, his name being among those listed by Heminge and Condell in the 1623 folio. Moreover, since it is considered one of the three major jestbooks surviving from the seventeenth century, it has recently (1980) been reissued by P.M. Zall for the University of Nebraska Press.

Another amusing picture of the time, which historically

fixed Shakespeare in his social milieu, was provided by Collier's 1842 reprint of Pierce Penniless's Supplication to the Devil by Thomas Nash. "Some of the descriptions of persons and habits of different grades of society have remarkable force, and obvious fidelity, and carry with them the conviction, that little is to be allowed even for the exaggeration of a poet."<sup>66</sup> Moreover, as the editor pointed out, the tract contains the earliest defense of theaters and theatrical performances and actors (with the exception of Lodge's tract in answer to Gosson's School of Abuse.)

In 1843 Collier edited two non-dramatic tracts by Shakespeare's contemporary, John Ford: Honour Triumphant and A Line of Life. Honour Triumphant, in this edition, was being published for the first time, and A Line of Life, mentioned in The Stationers' Register under the date of 10 October 1620 was presumed by Gifford in his edition of Ford's works to be a lost play rather than a non-dramatic tract. The value of the publication, as stated in the Introduction, is that it "importantly illustrates the life and character of its author, independently of any literary claims. . . ." <sup>67</sup> Collier's disclaimer of literary merit in these tracts was well-founded. But they do, indeed, illuminate the life and character of John Ford, while at the same time demonstrating Ford's

dramatic development. The tracts contain themes, for example, which he later employed and expanded upon in his plays.

Honour Triumphant, printed in 1606, was Ford's earliest prose work. It was composed for the visit of the King of Denmark to England in the summer of that year. A Line of Life, printed as a prose pamphlet in 1620, has significance because it demonstrates a developing refinement in style. In fact, in the representation of Ford's progressive stylistic improvement rests the importance of these tracts to modern students of Ford's works.

The final non-dramatic reprint by Collier appeared in 1846: Eight Novels Employed by English Dramatic Poets of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth Originally Published by Barnaby Riche in the year 1581. In his Address to the Readers, Riche wrote that of the eight "histories," five had been "but forged only for delight," and three were Italian in origin.<sup>68</sup> The second tale in Riche's Farewell to Militarie Profession is "Apolonius and Silla," which had been, on several previous occasions, reprinted separately before Collier's reprint because of its distinction as the principal source of Twelfth Night. Collier, however, was the first to publish an edition of all of the stories along with Riche's engaging prefatory and concluding

sections. Furthermore, Collier's remained the sole completed edition for over one hundred years, until Thomas Mabry Cranfill, in 1959, edited a modern edition for the University of Texas Press.

Undoubtedly, the questions of authenticity that were directed to the scholarship of John Payne Collier after 1852 dealt the death blow to the financially ailing Shakespeare Society. The Director's scholarly misconduct, however, cannot in the long run diminish the value of a considerable number of the Society's publications, which contained and disseminated material then generally unknown, but which has since been absorbed into the continuum of Shakespearean learning. Though books like Halliwell's Fairy Mythology or Simrock's Remarks may not have merited the expense of survival, other volumes like Laing's Notes on Ben Jonson's Conversations and Cunningham's Extracts from the Accounts of the Office of the Revels opened the doors for future Shakespearean study.

Moreover, the editorial achievements of the Society were not limited to non-dramatic editions. Over one-half of its publications examined, edited, and interpreted the drama of Shakespeare and his contemporaries, and though they excited little controversy, they justifiably inflamed the imagination and earned the respect of the Victorian literary community. They merit close scrutiny.

## CHAPTER 5: Attention to Non-Shakespearean Drama

Of the forty-eight volumes issued by the Shakespeare Society, twenty-three were dramatic editions and four, The Shakespeare Society's Papers, were devoted almost exclusively to dramatic commentary. Not surprisingly, given the Society's stated purpose, its dramatic editions were intended primarily to elucidate Shakespeare's literary environment and, secondarily, to rescue from neglect, oblivion, and loss the works of an earlier age. These objects were not unique. Indeed, Thomas Warton, Charles Lamb, and William Hazlitt had voiced similar designs years earlier.<sup>1</sup> The Society's accomplishment, however, surpassed its intention.

Through its editorial achievements in early English drama, the Society spearheaded the nineteenth century's drive toward expanded knowledge of English dramatic history. And through its concentration on the plays of Shakespeare's contemporaries, the Society won the attention awakened in the early part of the century by Lamb, Hazlitt, and Collier to the works of Elizabethan writers little known, desultorily studied, and undeservedly condemned to obscurity.

i

Only by degrees were the early plays disinterred. In

the middle of the nineteenth century, early English drama would become the subject of concerted research into origins and development, but before that could happen, it would be the scholars of the Shakespeare Society--particularly James Orchard Halliwell, Thomas Wright, and William Durrant Cooper--who would rescue, edit, publish, and make generally available to the student of early drama good editions of plays extant only in manuscript or in rare printed editions reposing in private or widely scattered repositories throughout the country.

Halliwell, an avid antiquary before becoming a devoted Shakespearean, edited the first of three early English dramatic texts for the Society.<sup>2</sup> Unlike the other extant mystery cycles, the Ludus Coventriae is not connected with the trade guilds of a town, and the nature and purpose of the collection has to this day been recognized as a source of special interest. The value of the cycle, perceived by Halliwell and confirmed by later commentaries, lies in the fact that the plays in this cycle illustrate advances in dramatic representation taking place in the fifteenth century and suggest in some instances the presence of particularly effective acting.<sup>3</sup>

Halliwell's volume is unique for two reasons: primarily that his is the first edition to encompass the entire forty-two play cycle; and second, because it

contains a facsimile of a manuscript page which clearly shows the date 1468 written by an early hand. The year 1468 does not date the entire cycle, however, for as Halliwell pointed out in his Introduction, there is scattered evidence of earlier composition.

Undaunted by the problems which exist even today in tracing early dramatic literature Halliwell, with an antiquary's zeal, attempted the improbable--to prove with a reasonable degree of accuracy the circumstances surrounding the origin of the Coventry plays. Speaking first of the British Museum quarto edition from which he worked, Halliwell correctly dismissed some of the conclusions formulated by the antiquary, Sir William Dugdale, the earliest authority on the dating of Coventry plays. Through his own researches, Halliwell learned, and later scholarship has shown him correct, that Dugdale had slavishly followed the notes made by Richard James, first librarian to Sir Robert Bruce Cotton, describing the contents and attributing the place of origin to the cycle. The inaccuracy of James's description, and Dugdale's rehearsal of those same errors, was first noted publicly by Halliwell in this edition.

The connection of the collection with Coventry, which is based solely on James's Latin insert on the fly-leaf of the manuscript but not supported by any other



valid evidence, did appeal to Halliwell, however. Consequently, he attempted in his Introduction to forge the missing links with Coventry as the place of origin. Using both external and internal evidence, Halliwell worked from the highly speculative premise that James had access to information supplied by the last leaf or perhaps the last few leaves of the volume which were subsequently lost, but which "may not have been lost when James wrote his description." Moreover, the now-lost leaves may have had a colophon to supply James with his information (Coventry, p. viii).

Halliwell also accepted Dugdale's statement, repeated by Thomas Sharpe in his Dissertation on the Coventry Mysteries (1825) that the plays were originally acted by the Grey Friars as well as at Coventry. Halliwell based these conclusions principally on the dialect found in the manuscript: "viz., x for sh in such words as xal, xulde, &c., belong to that part of the country in which Coventry is situated" (Coventry, p. viii). Later scholarship has revealed, however, that the Coventry plays were performed not by the Grey Friars but at the Grey Friar's Church and that the Coventry cycle was written not in the Midland dialect of Warwickshire but in the North-Eastern dialect, probably of Lincolnshire.<sup>4</sup>

The Halliwell volume is one of the lengthiest

produced by the Society. Over four hundred pages encompassed not only the entire forty-two play cycle, but also an explanatory prologue and a sixteen-page glossary which frequently erred on the side of the obvious (e.g., "ah!, an interjection"; "besy, busy"; cheke, check"; "fro, from").

Other weaknesses in Halliwell's volume may likewise be attributed to his methods rather than his assumptions. In the transcription of the manuscript in the British Museum, Halliwell silently adjusted the grouping of plays twenty-nine through thirty-five. While not affecting the original order, Halliwell's renumbering to correct scribal omissions and errors would be frowned upon by modern bibliographers, who do not tolerate editorial intervention in a purportedly faithful reprinting of an original manuscript.

Furthermore, Halliwell's eleven pages of supplementary notes rely heavily on Collier's History of Dramatic Poetry and at times introduce information not necessary to the understanding of the plays. In one example of such a tangential addition, Halliwell inserted some facts on William Kemp, the clown in the Lord Chamberlain's company a century after the Coventry plays were originally performed. Halliwell justified the relevance of this apparently anachronistic insertion on the grounds that

Kemp had spoken a passage in a 1607 play, The Travels of the Three English Brothers, which alluded to the fact that Adam and Eve were represented in the nude upon the stage in these early presentations. Halliwell went to unnecessary lengths to prove that "this is an absurd misrepresentation and has been founded on erroneous interpretation of a passage in the play above-mentioned, which is spoken by Kemp, the actor in a conversation with Sir Anthony Sherley" (Coventry, p. 409).

The Introduction, on the other hand, is neither as thorough nor as informative as it might have been, considering the importance of this volume--the first edition of the entire Coventry cycle to that date. Excusing the fact that he had not included more of the dramatic and textual history as well as information on the significance of the plays, Halliwell remarked:

Mr. Collier, in the second volume of his excellent History of English Dramatic Poetry, has carefully analyzed the Coventry Mysteries, with occasional notices of resemblances or dissimilarities in the method in which the same subjects are treated in other collections. It will, therefore, be unnecessary for me in this place to enter on the general question of the chain in the evidence of dramatic history which these mysteries afford. (Coventry, p. vi)

Though Collier did indeed devote over one hundred pages in his History of Dramatic Poetry to an analysis and comparison of the Wakefield, Chester, and Coventry

plays, a more detailed discussion of the Cottonian manuscript in particular and the Cycle in general was called for, especially at this watershed period in literary studies when such information was barely known and not widely disseminated.

The reviews of Halliwell's Ludus Coventry edition were more summary than evaluation, but the reception was obviously favorable. The reporter for The Athenaeum perceptively recognized the importance of Halliwell's volume and in an effort to spread this new information beyond the Society's readership, reprinted large portions of the edition and discussed in detail the history connected with these early dramatic productions. He paused long enough in his *précis*, however, to offer the judgment that "in tracing the progress of our stage, from its earliest dawn to its utmost perfection in the hands of Shakespeare, this is a necessary and valuable production." <sup>5</sup>

In his enthusiasm for the Halliwell edition, The Athenaeum reviewer also mentioned that the editing and reprinting of early English drama should not cease with the Ludus Coventriae. He respectfully but pointedly suggested that the Shakespeare Society follow the Coventry volume with a printing of the Chester Cycle, preferably from the Duke of Devonshire's ancient manuscript, the

oldest known copy in existence.

Less than two years later, Thomas Wright, Halliwell's friend and fellow antiquary, did indeed produce for the Shakespeare Society the first of two volumes of the complete Chester Cycle, again the first compilation of the entire series ever published.<sup>6</sup> Wright did not, however, benefit from the use of the Devonshire manuscript. This circumstance has yet to be explained.

At the time of Wright's two-volume edition, five transcripts of the Chester plays made in the closing years of the sixteenth century and in the beginning of the seventeenth were preserved. The first, according to Wright, was composed in 1591 by "Edward Gregorie, a scholar of Bunbury," and was the Devonshire copy to which The Athenaeum reviewer alluded. The next two in date, known to Wright, were at that time among the holdings of the British Museum (MS. Add. 10,305 and MS. Harl. 2013), both written by George Bellin, the first in 1592 and the second in 1600. A fourth, written by William Bedford in 1604, was housed in the Bodleian (MS. Bodley, 175), and the latest in date was written in 1607 by James Miller and designated MS. Harl. 2124.

Wright, unexplainably, used the manuscript of 1592 rather than the Devonshire copy of 1591. He also supplied a few corrections to his text from that of 1600, including

the Banns and Proclamations. In the Notes, Wright used readings from the British Museum's 1592 copy (Add. MS. 10,305) and the 1600 transcript (Harl. 2013) with an occasional notation from the 1507 Harleian transcript 2124. The copy text consisted of 168 folio leaves, of which the last two were wanting, so that the final Miracle was incomplete. George Bellin, the single transcriber of the volume, signed his name at the end of every page except the last incomplete one.

In addition to its being the first edition of the full cycle, and in spite of its not being based on the oldest extant copy, Wright's text has been judged by later scholars as a very fair representation of the manuscript.<sup>7</sup> It was more than an accurate copy, however. The new information and professional insight that Wright provided in his edition made a significant contribution to early dramatic scholarship.

The second of his two volumes, which appeared in 1847, four years after the first, included not only extensive notes for plays XIV through XXV, but also a complete reprinting of two examples of verses on "A Lamentacion of the Virgin" which had not previously been printed. The first volume, in addition to extensive notes, contained a valuable historical Introduction. It cited, for instance, the initial examples of these early

dramatic pieces; it included Wright's knowledge of the Church's eventual disapproval of the Cycle's performances; it discussed the original object of the plays; and, perhaps most important, the Introduction included an exposition on the close association between these dramas and the early religious drama of France. In his discussion of French influence, Wright suggested that "The analogy of other classes of literature leaves little doubt in my own mind that in the thirteenth century the Mysteries performed in England were composed in French or Anglo-Norman" (Chester, p.xii-xiv). Wright supported his claim by showing in the Notes to both volumes several examples of similarity between the Chester plays and some of the printed French mysteries of the early half of the sixteenth century. The most notable example of such a similarity in the French and English dramatic literature occurs in Number VIII of the Chester Cycle, "The Three Kings," which Wright reprinted as "The Legend of the Three Kings of Cologne."<sup>8</sup> The legend appeared in a French collection of Mysteries edited by Achille Jubinal in 1837.<sup>9</sup> Close reading convinced Wright that there were some clear points of comparison between two Chester plays, Numbers VIII and IX, particularly in the exalted language of King Herod. More recent scholarship has confirmed the parallels first suggested by Wright in this volume, particularly

the correspondence between the Chester plays and the French "Mystière du Viel Testament," and the presence in the English plays of scraps and fragments of French speech.

Though his antiquary's skills were well utilized in these volumes, Wright's edition, in the light of modern scholarly methods, suffers from his not using the oldest copy text available and from his incomplete collation of all available editions. The latter deficiency was supplied by the 1892-1916 edition by Hermann Deimling and G.W. Matthews for the Early English Text Society. In an attempt to form a critical edition, these scholars had used, as Wright had not, all five manuscripts. Unhappily, the Deimling-Matthews edition used the late 1607 Harleian manuscript (2124) as the copy text with the result that R.M. Lumiansky and David Mills, in composing their 1974 edition, dismissed the Deimling-Matthews volumes as summarily as they had Wright's.<sup>11</sup> The new edition uses the early Devonshire manuscript as copy text (just as the 1841 Athenaeum reporter had suggested) and collates all available manuscript material as well. It is still not clear, however, why Wright did not use the earliest manuscript, considering his knowledge of the precedence in dating, the superior condition of the Devonshire manuscript compared to the one he used, and,



finally, the Duke's continuous generosity to editors of Shakespeare Society publications.

Though Halliwell's scholarly activities by 1846 were increasingly directed toward the study of Shakespeare, he did not lose his editorial interest in early English dramatic literature. In that year, Halliwell edited for the Shakespeare Society, The Marriage of Wit and Wisdom: An Ancient Interlude. The manuscript of the play was supplied to Halliwell by Reverend L.B. Larking, who had uncovered the small quarto volume among the library collection of Sir Edward Dering. Just one year earlier, Sir Edward's library had provided Halliwell with a unique manuscript--an abridged acting version--of 1 & 2 Henry IV, which Halliwell also edited for the Society (See pp. 203-05).

In spite of his antiquarian skills, however, he expended little effort on examining or describing the physical characteristics of the manuscripts and early printed works that he edited for the Society. Of the Wisdom manuscript, Halliwell wrote merely that it contained thirty-two leaves and measured seven and seven-eighths by six inches and that it survives in such very bad condition as to render a satisfactory reading next to impossible without the assistance of another copy.<sup>12</sup> Unfortunately, Halliwell neglected to detail the

damage which the manuscript had suffered or to note the easily discernible fact, later described in the Malone Society reprint of the play, that the differing quality of paper suggested that the volume was originally composed of assorted sheets put together to make the booklet. Nor did Halliwell discuss the handwriting in the manuscript, other than to say that "the original transcriber was evidently a person of no education and has blundered most egregiously" (Wisdom, p.x). Later scholarship has shown more than one hand in the manuscript.<sup>13</sup>

Halliwell, in keeping with his antiquarian bent, did perceptively suggest, however, that this scribal transcript may have been made from a printed version which had not been previously noted by literary historians. Since Halliwell made this conjecture, two other explanations for the source of the transcript have been proposed: one, that it was an author's copy prepared for a printer-- a suggestion made by J.S. Farmer in Five Anonymous Plays (1908)--and the other, that it was a transcription of the author's manuscript intended as a prompt-copy for a theatrical company--a suggestion offered by S.A. Tannenbaum in a Philological Quarterly article in October, 1930.<sup>14</sup> Both suppositions have been discounted in favor of Halliwell's conjecture, made a century before, that an unknown printed version existed from which the copy was made.<sup>15</sup>

In his short Introduction to the edition, Halliwell also ventured to argue a point made by a colleague in a volume published by the Society two years before. In his edition of Sir Thomas More, Dyce had asserted in a note appended to an explicit allusion in the More play to a dramatic production, The Marriage of Wit and Wisdom, that "no such drama ever existed."<sup>16</sup> Halliwell, on the other hand, believed that two individual manuscripts did indeed exist, but his claim was shaken somewhat by an anonymous contributor to The Shakespeare Society's Papers the year after Dyce's edition appeared. According to the unidentified author, the known play, The Marriage of Wit and Science, and the allusion in More to The Marriage of Wit and Wisdom referred to one and the same play, that two plays do not exist:

Mr. Dyce correctly states that no such piece as 'the marriage of Wit and Wisdom' is extant; but it does not appear to have occurred to him that it was only a misnomer for 'The marriage of Wit and Science,' which was printed not very long after Queen Elizabeth came to the throne.<sup>17</sup>

Halliwell believed the contrary to be true. There were grounds, he suggested for presuming the existence of an independent play under the title of The Marriage of Wit and Wisdom written before the year 1590 (Wisdom, p.x). Halliwell further suggested that Larking's discovery proved that two plays must have existed and that

no connection exists between Wit and Wisdom and Wit and Science. Trevor Lennam, editing The Marriage between Wit and Wisdom for the Malone Society in 1971, supported Halliwell's claim that the allusion in Dyce's edition of Sir Thomas More was not an error and that the two plays were distinctly different pieces.<sup>18</sup>

In just two years, Halliwell conclusively vindicated his supposition by producing an edition of The Moral Play of Wit and Science including, besides Redford's play, a collection of songs from the manuscript composed by Redford, John Heywood, and others. The date of composition of Wit and Science has been assigned to the years between 1541 and 1547. The play is brief, a mere 1059 lines, and ends with the identifying colophon, "Thus endyth the play of Wyt and Science, made by Master Jhon Redford."<sup>19</sup> Commenting on the word, "Master" in the colophon, Sir Edmund Chambers offered the suggestion that the title may be more than complimentary, that it may, indeed, refer to the fact that Redford was the Master of the St. Paul's song-school.<sup>20</sup>

Consistent with his natural inclination to collect and print scraps and remnants of assorted literary information, Halliwell fleshed out his one hundred forty-seven page volume of The Marriage of Wit and Wisdom with seventy-one pages of assorted collectanea including

an account of his purchase of a chapbook containing a prose story founded on Shakespeare's Tempest; a description of a manuscript incorporating plays by Beaumont and Fletcher that Halliwell had occasion to examine; some supposed poems by Shakespeare; and a lengthy, twenty-one page reprint of "a most curious and interesting tract, which is so excessively rare that Sir Egerton Brydges supposes only one copy to be in existence" (Wisdom, p. 120). The tract to which Halliwell referred was Francis Lenton's The Young Gallants Whirligigg.<sup>21</sup> Aside from their being additional demonstrations of Halliwell's personal passion for collecting unrelated snippets of information, these diverse bits of scholarship nurtured the public's growing appetite for more Elizabethan literary fare.

In recent years, since Halliwell's editions of early English drama, there has been a resurgence of interest, particularly in The Marriage of Wit and Wisdom. J.S. Farmer in 1908 re-edited the play and the following year issued an enlarged collotype facsimile of it entitled A Contract of Marriage Between Wit and Wisdom. Various aspects of the play have also come under recent scrutiny. The play's dating has been discussed by Sir Walter Greg and Samuel A. Tannenbaum; its proverbial material has

been examined by Morris P. Tilley for The Shakespeare Association Bulletin,<sup>22</sup> and aspects of performance and staging figure in David Bevington's From 'Mankind' to Marlowe.<sup>23</sup>

After Halliwell's and Wright's editions of the early plays, the interest of the Shakespeare Society in early literature did not end, but the later editions did not attain the same significance as the earlier ones had. In 1847, William Durrant Cooper completed the first accurate edition of the earliest comedy, Ralph Roister Doister, by Nicholas Udall, and the earliest tragedy, Gorboduc, by Thomas Norton and Thomas Sackville. In reciting the history of extant editions of Udall's play, Cooper mentioned the 1818 reprint completed by James Compton for the Reverend Mr. Briggs and presented to Eton College where Udall was employed as master. In Cooper's judgment, the Compton-Briggs edition contained several errors.<sup>24</sup> Another inaccurate edition followed in 1821 by F. Marshall, and another in 1830 by Thomas White, in the first volume of Old English Drama.

In spite of his criticism of previous volumes, Cooper added little that was new to his own edition, depending heavily on Marshall's notes as well as those of his predecessors. Actually, Cooper's notes to both Ralph Roister Doister and Gorboduc were unusually sparse for

for a Shakespeare Society publication, since the general practice was to engage in detailed, explanatory discussions in endnotes. Because of Cooper's undistinguished edition of Ralph Roister Doister, only twenty years passed before Edward Arber re-edited the work in English Reprints (1867).

Cooper's edition of Gorboduc, which appeared in the same volume, merits considerably more interest than the first play. Cooper had used as copy text for Gorboduc an edition first produced in 1565 by William Griffith. Griffith had used for his edition a manuscript unknown to Cooper, but later retrieved and designated by modern scholars as Quarto 1. A 1590 reprint, which purported to be a reproduction of the Griffith 1565 edition, was, Cooper claimed, unreliable. Cooper fortified his assertion and enhanced the value of his edition by printing the variations in the two texts within his own volume. Consequently, Cooper's edition for the Shakespeare Society supplied the only reprint to that date of the original Griffith edition.

An interesting aside to this review of the Cooper edition reveals not only one of Collier's character quirks, but also demonstrates some remnants of the professional in-fighting which characterized the preceding centuries and which the Shakespeare Society publicly

discouraged. Somewhat more than a year after the Cooper volume was published, Collier submitted an article to The Shakespeare Society's Papers pointing out "new" facts connected with the life of Thomas Norton, whose Memoirs preceded the text of Cooper's edition. Although the practice of adding unknown information to material published in recent full-length studies was quite common, not only in The Papers, but later in abbreviated form in Notes and Queries, it must be considered highly unusual for a colleague, who very likely saw the Cooper volume before its printing, to question so soon after publication some significant points discussed in the Memoir.

In one case, for example, Collier wrote that he "cannot help suspecting" that the dates Cooper included in the Norton biography were incorrect and that "the Thomas Norton, who in 1565 entered himself in Pembroke Hall, Oxford, may have been a different man" from the playwright.<sup>25</sup> The dating in this case is obviously a crucial factor in the proper identification of the author of Gorboduc and is one which might easily have been drawn to Cooper's attention before the volume went to press.

There had been similar incidents cited in correspondence with literary men, which suggested that as generous as Collier was with his materials, he also enjoyed withholding at least one important ingredient which would



make the recipe faultless. John Velz, in a review of the Folger Library's recently acquired collection of the letters of Joseph Crosby (a knowledgeable American Shakespearean and a frequent correspondent of Collier) located many references to Collier. Though Crosby greatly admired Collier, he did not hesitate to write in one of his letters that it was his opinion that Collier loved to hold something back when dealing with colleagues and then spring it unexpectedly on the admiring beholder. Crosby noted this quirk so often that he considered it a "deep-rooted facet of Collier's character."<sup>26</sup>

## ii

Writing in 1820 of such Elizabethan and Jacobean greats as Webster, Dekker, Marlowe, and Heywood, William Hazlitt charged himself with the mission "to rescue some of the [Elizabethan] writers from hopeless obscurity, and to do them right, without prejudice to well-deserved reputation."<sup>27</sup> Hazlitt's sentiments were seconded by the scholars of the Shakespeare Society whose editions in the field of Elizabethan and Jacobean dramatic literature represented first attempts at collectively and purposely rescuing from neglect the works of that "constellation of bright luminaries"<sup>28</sup> which surrounded Shakespeare and moved in his orbit.

The first editorial effort in Elizabethan drama was completed by Collier, who edited during the Society's first year, Patient Grissil: A Comedy by Thomas Dekker, Henry Chettle, and William Haughton. Collier's base text was the black letter edition of 1603, and following his usual practice, Collier included a full historical Introduction and a complete set of endnotes, which, at the time, communicated new information. The text, which Collier used, had, on his authority, almost the rarity of a manuscript since there were no copies either at the British Museum or at Cambridge. The only copy to exist in a complete state was, in fact, that volume belonging to the Duke of Devonshire.

In a general review of the plays edited to that date by the Shakespeare Society, The Gentleman's Magazine said little that was not laudatory of Collier's faithful reproduction of the Dekker-Chettle-Haughton composition in particular and the works of the Society in general:

No doubt that in many of these early plays there is much that will hardly pay the trouble of perusal if read only on their own account . . .but still they must be valued as parts, however small, of the entire subject; as small and distant luminaries twinkling amid the splendour of the larger bodies.<sup>29</sup>

The reviewer observed, in a less metaphoric passage, that the advantage of the Shakespeare Society is that it increases "the power of acquiring information" otherwise

inaccessible to a great number of people, particularly in this "most interesting and important branch of the whole [of the Society's editorial efforts]--the old plays."

An identical view was expressed in a personal letter to Collier from John Besly following the 1841 publication of Patient Grissil. In his very cordial letter, Besly recalled for Collier that they had met when Collier was engaged in research at the Bodleian where Besly, at that time, served as sublibrarian. Though the specific purpose of Besly's writing was to suggest some minor emendations to Collier's edition of Patient Grissil, Besly also used the opportunity to thank Collier "for your zeal in the support as in the foundation of the Shakespeare Society, for your able & successful labours in giving us at last a correct text. . . and for unwearied industry in bringing to light many a rare form of \* \* \* mourned over as lost." The value of such researches, continued Besly, was felt "by none so fully as those like myself whose remote residence cuts them off from access to the great repositories of the original editions."<sup>30</sup>

Collier was quick to respond. Just three days later, he wrote a lengthy letter to Besly thanking him for his suggestions, appraising their validity, and mentioning that if he were to print the play again, "I should adopt your first emendation [Collier interlineated

at this point, "with due acknowledgement"], but that is not likely." <sup>31</sup>

In fact, Collier never did re-edit the dramatic Grissil, but he followed his 1841 Shakespeare Society edition the following year with a Percy Society publication, which reprinted two early non-dramatic tracts on The History of Patient Grisel containing "The Ancient, True and Admirable History of Patient Grisel, a Poore Man's Daughter in France" (1619), and "the Pleasant and Sweet History of Patient Grissell," translated from an undated Italian work.

Collier moved on to other tasks, but the zeal of the Society to edit and reprint dramatic literature, particularly the plays of Shakespeare's contemporaries, continued. Early in the history of the Society, the Council charged themselves with the task of editing the complete dramatic canon of Thomas Heywood. Responsibility for the project was assumed by Barron Field, who approached the scheme with great excitement. Through his efforts, The First and Second Parts of King Edward IV. appeared in print in 1842.

Field's edition was made from a unique copy--generally the case with Shakespeare Society reprints--of the earliest edition then known, a black letter volume dated 1600. Field

mentioned in his Introduction that there were two other black letter editions lacking dates but attributable, through internal evidence, to a later time. John Payne Collier, whose influence was felt in every Shakespeare Society project, not only assigned 1605 and 1613 to the two undated copies, but collated for the Field edition the 1619, 1626, and one undated text.

Field's edition of Edward IV has not fared well in the light of modern examination. First, there is the matter of his not using the most ancient edition as his copy text. Field had, in fact, used the second edition, then in the possession of the Earl of Ellesmere. In fairness to Field, however, it must be stated that he used the earliest edition known and available to him. Unhappily for the later evaluation of Field's edition, Edward Arber in 1876 published A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London, 1554-1640, in which he included the following entry for 28 August 1599:

John Oxonbridge, John Busbie (John Busbie has assigned his interest herein to Humfrey Lownes, 23 februarii 1599 [i.e.1600].-- Entered for their copyes under the handes of the Wardens: two playes beinge the ffirst and second parte of Edward the IIIIth and the Tanner of Tamworth, with the history of the life and deathe of Master Shore and Jane Shore his wyfe, as yt was lately acted by the Right Honorable the E[ar]le of Derbye his servantes. 32

The reference was clearly to a 1599 edition of Thomas Heywood's Edward IV. It was on the basis of that original entry, as well as a note in Biographia Dramatica, that the suspicion persisted that the 1600 Bridgewater edition used by Field was not the first.

In 1921, however, quite alarmingly for bibliophiles, a copy of the missing 1599 edition was offered for sale at Sotheby's auction rooms. The copy had originally comprised part of a bound volume of tracts which was subsequently broken by a previous owner, and the Heywood First and Second Parts of King Edward the Fourth, published in London by J.W. for J. Oxenbridge, 1599, numbered twelve in that collection.<sup>33</sup>

Moreover, Field's enthusiasm for his editing project exceeded his abilities. According to twentieth-century standards, Field's scholarship was not reliable:

Not only has he modernized the spelling, occasionally in a somewhat unfortunate manner, but also rewritten without necessity many of the stage directions, and, while stating he reprints verbatim the 1600 volume, inserted by mistake several variants of the subsequent quartos.<sup>34</sup>

The contemporary public's reception to Barron Field's edition was likewise tepid at best. The reviewer of Edward IV devoted a single line to his unenthusiastic evaluation: "Heywood's 'Edward the Fourth' has some

interest, but the reader must find it for himself. . . ." 35

Field's second effort, the Heywood comedy, The Fair Maid of the Exchange, and the tragi-comedy, Fortune by Land and Sea (the latter written by Heywood and William Rowley), also earned little praiseworthy acknowledgment from the contemporary press. A reviewer for The Athenaeum, a journal which searched for the positive aspects of every Shakespeare Society publication, astutely recognized that there were curious points involved in the text of The Fair Maid which were indeed attractive. As examples, he cited the interesting record of city life and the Royal Exchange which it presented.<sup>36</sup> These sentiments presaged the interests of twentieth-century critics who are now finding the bourgeois elements in the dramas of Thomas Heywood worthy of study.<sup>37</sup>

In reference to the second play in the Field volume, the same Athenaeum reviewer merely summarized the plot and concluded with a statement of mild regret that "of William Rowley, Heywood's associate in this piece, no new information has been obtained."<sup>38</sup> Commendatory words in the review were reserved for the work of the Society itself, particularly in its editorial efforts among Shakespeare's contemporaries:

The course pursued by the Shakespeare Society, by encouraging research, will doubtless throw considerable light on many obscure points. In proportion as Shakespeare is understood, the minor writers of his age, who are akin to him in however remote a degree, will rise in critical estimation.<sup>39</sup>

The lukewarm reception to the dramas of Thomas Heywood was not entirely unexpected by Field. In the final paragraph of the last edition he would complete for the Society, Field reiterated the sentiments expressed earlier by Lamb and Hazlitt that:

no apology is necessary for printing this piece. Almost all Heywood's dramas deserve to be reprinted. They have not only great merit in themselves, but they are full of illustrations of our Poet.<sup>40</sup>

It is unlikely, however, that Field anticipated the criticism leveled at his editorial abilities. It is more likely that he was aware that interest in Shakespeare's contemporaries was not yet well developed and might not elicit enthusiastic response from the literary journals or the community that they served.

When in 1850 Collier assumed the task left unfinished because of the death of Barron Field, he did not approach this new enterprise with his usual zeal and thoroughness. In fact, in the letter to Dyce just one month after Field's death in April, 1846--the same letter in which Collier had requested the eleventh volume of Dyce's



Beaumont and Fletcher--it is clear that Collier had already approached Dyce to complete the Heywood volumes for the Society. In that letter to Collier, Dyce made a point of reminding Collier that:

When I consented to edit the remaining plays of Heywood, I of course took it for granted that the Sh. Soc. was to be at the expence of furnishing me with transcripts, which must be made by Osborne (or whomever they may choose) from the Museum copies.<sup>41</sup>

Was it the Society's reluctance (during its relatively prosperous years of 1846 and 1847) to undertake the expense of a copyist that shifted the burden of the Heywood editions to Collier?

The Introduction to the 1850 volume, the first edited by Collier, was unusually sparse, uninformative, and uninspired, particularly in light of Collier's very early interest in Shakespeare's contemporaries. Missing from the introductory pages is the sense of exacting care and research, the love for historical and bibliographical detail that traditionally characterized Collier's efforts:

With the precise origin of the plot of 'The Fair Maid of the West' we are not acquainted; but we have little doubt, from the usual habit of dramatists of Heywood's time, that both plays were founded upon

some popular narrative or tradition, now lost, containing the romantic incidents represented in action and dialogue. They were printed together, in the usual quarto form, in 1631 . . . . . There is no doubt that they long continued in popular performances; and we may imagine that a printed edition of them was called for, because their reputation had led to their recent performance before the King and Queen.<sup>42</sup>

In a complete departure from his usual editorial practices, Collier did not mention the date of the play's registry (16 June 1631) or that the quarto which appeared after the entry in the Register of the Stationers' Company was printed anonymously.<sup>43</sup> Remaining unusually silent on the origin of his copy text, Collier also neglected to mention that the 1631 edition he used belonged to the British Museum. He faithfully reprinted, however, the second title and separate title page for the second part, which the British Museum 1631 edition contained.<sup>44</sup>

That same year, 1850, Collier edited The Royal King, and Loyal Subject (a play which had not been reprinted since its original edition in 1637) and A Woman Killed with Kindness, Heywood's most popular play and the one which, in modern circles, has excited more attention and more praise than any of his other plays.<sup>45</sup> At the time of printing of A Woman Killed with Kindness, only the third edition, dated 1617, was available to Collier. Nonetheless, Collier recalled for his readers that

many years ago, he had seen a copy of the play, dated 1607, upon the shelves of an eminent (unnamed) auctioneer. It had disappeared before the sale, however, and had not been heard of since.

In a rare bit of honest luck, as Collier was preparing to edit the fifth volume of Heywood's works for the Society, he discovered upon the shelves of the British Museum the 1607 edition of A Woman Killed with Kindness, which he had seen briefly but lost at the B.H. Bright library sale. Unhappily, Collier had already published his edition of A Woman Killed with Kindness, but he could not leave unnoticed the first edition of the play "of which we had been in search for twenty years."<sup>46</sup> Since several substantive errors had crept into the 1617 edition which Collier had used, he included in his next edition of Heywood's works, Two Historical Plays on the Life and Reign of Queen Elizabeth, cancels of the pages correcting the errors found in the 1617 edition of A Woman Killed with Kindness.

Perhaps this discovery rekindled Collier's former interest in Heywood, but, whatever the cause, by 1851, Collier had warmed to his editing task. The Introduction to Heywood's Two Historical Plays was considerably more detailed, more illustrative of Collier's ready and broad knowledge of the period, and more scholarly

than the previous volume.<sup>47</sup> The plays were collectively entitled, "If You Know Not Me, You Know Nobody," and the first part included the subtitle, "The Troubles of Queen Elizabeth." The second was subtitled, "With the Building of the Royal Exchange, and the Famous Victory of Queen Elizabeth in the year 1588." Both the first and the second plays were printed by Nathaniel Butter, the first dated 1605 and the second, 1606. In his customary descriptive survey of editions, Collier listed, in addition to the original publication of 1606, reprints dated 1609, 1623, and 1633. The first part, devoted to "The Troubles of Queen Elizabeth," should, according to Collier, be considered a fragment of a play that found its way to the press through the offices of a shorthand scribe in the theater while the drama was being presented (Historical Plays, p.vi).

Collier also did not believe that in the second play, Heywood took the trouble to make any substantive refinements since the editions of 1606, 1609, and 1623 stayed in virtually the same form and probably the way it came from Heywood's pen (Historical Plays, p.viii). Collier pointed out, however, that in the 1633 edition, the second play was "most materially altered subsequent to the 'Chorus'; and the 'Chorus' itself is there new, having been designed to prepare the spectators for the

great event about to succeed in the presentation, viz., the defeat of the Spanish Armada" (Historical Plays, p.viii). This incident had been slighted and badly treated in previous editions, according to Collier. To supply the deficiency, he included the part following the Chorus in his reprint. It seemed likely to Collier that Heywood himself had introduced changes, on revival, (Collier was probably referring in this instance to a new theatrical production) "for the sake of giving the drama increased effect and greater novelty" (Historical Plays, p. viii). Thus, Collier's edition included, in the text proper, that portion of the play that was not present in editions previous to 1633. But, for reasons of "greater completeness" and "to afford ready means of comparison," Collier subjoined to his Introduction the concluding scenes of the drama as they appeared in earlier editions.

In the last volume of Heywood's canon edited for the Shakespeare Society, Collier imparted little knowledge and less effort in his Introduction. The prefatory matter to The Golden Age and The Silver Age was a meager page and a half, and the supplementary notes filled fewer than three pages. Moreover, Collier inaccurately credited Heywood with only four dramas founded upon mythological or classical subjects when, in actuality,

seven of Heywood's twenty-four extant works deal with classical themes. Most of Heywood's canon focus on the dramatization of domestic issues.

Almost in contradiction to his haste--or because of his belief that further trouble was not necessary in this volume--Collier appended an unusual notice in the penultimate paragraph of his Introduction (preceding the customary notice of indebtedness to the Duke of Devonshire for the use of his library) announcing the future publication by the Shakespeare Society of Heywood's The Brazen Age and The Iron Age. The impression Collier communicated to the subscribers was that the Society fully intended to honor its promise to edit and distribute the whole of the known Heywood canon.

Collier's stoicism in the light of the badly declining funds of the Society (the Treasury contained at the printing of this volume fewer than thirty pounds and was sorely in debt), is inspiring, if foolhardy. Perhaps, though, such an attitude supports the theory held by this writer that despite its financial troubles, the Shakespeare Society might have struggled through to better times had it not been for Collier's own misdeeds. There was much left to be done.

## CHAPTER 6: Shakespeare and the Society

If it is true that a study of Shakespearean criticism produced by an age illuminates all of that generation's response to literature, it is evident that the scholars of this period sought in their literary studies a sense of progressive order. In hundreds of multi-volume editions, in thousands of hours spent pouring over musty and neglected government documents, in their eager quest for new stores of historic information, the Shakespearean scholars of the first half of the nineteenth century--many of them Councillors of the Shakespeare Society--attempted to trace the sources of Shakespeare's creative power, to understand the manifestation of his genius, and to locate him within his social, cultural, and literary spheres. Indeed, of the nine full-length Shakespeare Society studies closely related to the Shakespearean canon, more than half were source studies. At least one was published for the light it would throw on his drama, and one was designed to forge links between Shakespeare's work and his life.

The most significant publication of the Society, if one judges a work's importance by its ability to engender fresh interest over time, is the Reverend Alexander Dyce's edition of Sir Thomas More.<sup>1</sup> From

his unimpressive, two-paragraph Preface, however, it is clear that Dyce's primary purpose at the time of his editing was to preserve a rare and badly mutilated manuscript (Harleian 7368) surviving from Shakespeare's time. From his footnotes, it is equally apparent that Dyce used the discernible text to elucidate controversial passages in Shakespeare's canon and to compare his findings with those in the Shakespeare editions of his Society colleagues, John Payne Collier and Charles Knight (More, pp. 25,43).

The connection of Sir Thomas More with Shakespeare was strong even in Dyce's day. Not only was the dating of the play contemporary with Shakespeare's London period, but in one instance, in the text itself, the name of T. Goodal links the play with Lord Strange's men, Shakespeare's company.<sup>2</sup> The Goodal (or Goodale), who took the part of a Councillor in a piece acted by Strange's Players, is the same Goodale whose name appears in More as the Messenger (More, p.53). In the note appended to the passage containing Goodal's name (which he prints as Goedal), Dyce pointedly and accurately refuted Collier's claim that T. Goodal was the same person as the Baptiste Goodale included on a list of "her Majesty's poore Players" cited by Collier in the latter's edition of Shakespeare. Collier's list has since been proven to



be a modern fabrication.<sup>3</sup>

In more recent times, the Dyce edition has attracted attention on considerably more substantive grounds. Since Sir Walter Greg's painstaking examination of the manuscript, a number of scholars have come to believe that at least three pages were composed by Shakespeare. The possibility acquires even greater importance because the passage is autograph and may be an early and lengthy example of Shakespeare's hand.

In an example of perceptive critical reading, a reviewer of Dyce's edition of More in The Gentleman's Magazine of 1845 distinguished certain Shakespearean characteristics in the fragment of one scene, which he reprinted in the article. It was his opinion that one particular fragment of a scene reminded him of "the richer touches of Shakspeare on like occasions [riot and mob scenes]; and in the few words that Surrey speaks, the character of the poet and noble is preserved."<sup>4</sup> A quarter century later, Richard Simpson revived the conjectures, first publicly uttered by The Gentleman's Magazine reviewer, and in 1911 Sir Walter Greg and others gave them scholarly credence.<sup>5</sup>

Dyce himself ventured no comment on the authorship of the work and, in fact, took little notice of the handwritings: "The only extant MS. of the following play,--

Harleian 7368,--is written in several hands. . . " (More, Preface). In lieu of scholarly speculations and lengthy introductions, Dyce contented himself with printing "Illustrations of the Earlier Scenes of the Play" from Hall's Chronicle (1548) and "The Story of Ill May-Day." His notes, however, indicate a desire to inform his readers: he described word and stage-direction omissions; included the substance and location of notations by Tylney, Master of the Revels; illustrated some of "a hundred passages in old plays, which shew how improperly the two latest editors of Shakespeare [Collier and Knight] have followed the folios in printing" (More, p.24, n.3); and made frequent references to other plays, antiquarian source material, and More's biographies.

Since he first edited the play for the Society, however, Dyce has not enjoyed unreserved praise. Critics have censured him for representing neither the original nor the revised text, but a confused compromise between the two.<sup>6</sup> Criticism has also been directed to his silent or arbitrary omissions and his intervention in the text through expanded contractions and insertion of capital letters, italics, and some punctuation.<sup>7</sup>

The manuscript itself has suffered badly since Dyce first used it, however, and by necessity, Dyce's edition has become the sole authority for many of its readings. More

than that, though, Dyce's "fundamental work of transcription was for the most part executed with exemplary care, in spite of what, even in a less ruinous state of the original, must still have seen very considerable difficulties."<sup>8</sup>

Just as Dyce did not presume to associate Sir Thomas More directly with Shakespeare, he also preferred to remain out of the controversy which came to focus on Shakespeare's indebtedness to the old play of Timon, first printed by the Shakespeare Society under his editorship in 1842:

I leave to others a minute discussion of the question whether or not Shakespeare was indebted to the present piece. I shall merely observe, that I entertain considerable doubts of having been acquainted with the drama, which was certainly never performed in the metropolis, and which was likely to have been read only by a few of the author's particular friends to whom transcripts of it had been presented.<sup>9</sup>

Unlike Dyce, Collier thrived on the critical conjecture and the spirited discussion that Dyce preferred to leave to others. In a joint review of Dyce's Timon, Collier's Shakespeare, and Knight's Shakspeare, Collier was quoted as saying:

'Although it will not bear a moment's comparison with Shakspeare's 'Timon of Athens,' similar incidents are contained in both. It is just possible that our great dramatist, at some susequent date, altered his original draught, and by oversight left in the rhyming couplet [from the old

Timon] with which the third act concludes.<sup>10</sup>

The controversy continues to this day. Dyce's doubts have, for example, been reiterated by Geoffrey Bullough in his Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare. Bullough declares, like Dyce over a century before, that since the old Timon was probably written for school or college performance: "It is unlikely that Shakespeare could ever have known the academic Timon, since there is no evidence that it was played publicly or at the Inns of Court."<sup>11</sup>

Collier's affirmative opinion, on the other hand, has been supported by Frank Kermode in his introduction to Timon of Athens included in The Riverside Shakespeare. Kermode holds the opinion that Shakespeare did seem to have known an English academic play called Timon, which was not published until 1842. The similarities, continues Kermode, which include a fake banquet and a faithful steward, make it somewhat apparent either that Shakespeare had seen it or that both plays had a common source, now lost.<sup>12</sup>

In the same year that Dyce edited Timon, 1842, Halliwell completed the first of his three Shakespeare-associated plays for the Society, two of which were source studies like Timon. He introduced The First

Sketch of the Merry Wives of Windsor with a detailed discussion of the crucial question of dating. Was The Sketch produced before or after all or any of the historical plays in which Falstaff appears? Halliwell recalled the generally accepted story that Queen Elizabeth had asked Shakespeare to compose a play featuring Falstaff (by whom she was apparently very amused in the first and second parts of Henry the Fourth), to present him in love, and to do all of this in a two-week period. Halliwell attributed the origin of part of the story to John Dennis, who in 1702 wrote in his Preface to the "improved" version of The Merry Wives, called The Comical Gallant, that The Merry Wives was written by command of the Queen and that it was to be completed in fourteen days. It was Rowe, writing in 1709, who added the part that Elizabeth wanted to see Falstaff in love.

Halliwell believed, and so stated in his Introduction, that Rowe had amplified, out of his own imagination, the statement made by Dennis, but that the hurried and primitive nature of the composition of the present Sketch could be accounted for by the royal command that it be produced in such short order.<sup>13</sup>

If Halliwell's readers accepted Rowe's account--that it was to be written to show Falstaff in love--they would have had to presume that Elizabeth was familiar with the

character of Falstaff from the other plays and that, consequently, The Merry Wives of Windsor was written later than the two parts of Henry the Fourth and possibly even later than Henry the Fifth. Halliwell was not satisfied with this dating, however.

Following Knight, to whom he referred in his Introduction, Halliwell suggested that the topical allusion in The Sketch to the appearance at Court of a German duke dated the play around 1592, the year in which a German nobleman did visit Elizabeth at Windsor. Moreover, Halliwell believed that the close of the year 1592, when Shakespeare was in his twenty-ninth year, could not be considered too early a date for the composition of "so meagre a sketch as that printed in the following pages, which contains nothing that may not with real reason be ascribed to a young author," or be composed by Shakespeare in fourteen days, "if that part of the tradition be correct" (Sketch, p.xv). Halliwell was himself twenty-two years old at the writing of the Introduction.

Unlike the reluctance of the cautious scholar, Alexander Dyce, to presume authorship in an unsigned play, Halliwell marshaled to his theory, not only the external evidence mentioned earlier, but internal evidence as well, so that he might emphatically express at the conclusion of his Introduction:

the two parts of Henry IV., like the Merry Wives, originally existed in an unfinished state, and that, when the First Sketch of the Merry Wives was written, those plays had NOT been altered and amended in the form in which they have come down to us. (Sketch, pp. xxvii-xxix)

Modern scholarship has virtually ignored Halliwell's theory. Sir Edmund Chambers, who has frequently mentioned the publications of the Shakespeare Society in his own works, never mentions Halliwell's Sketch or his conjectures<sup>14</sup> and dates The Merry Wives at 1600-1601. Similarly, Fredson Bowers, in his Introduction to the play for the Pelican Edition of the works of Shakespeare slights Halliwell's edition and theory and agrees in essence with Chambers that "the earliest probable date for the composition of the play is the closing months of 1599 (and 1600-1601 is rather better), whereas Henry V., the last of the relevant histories, was written and staged before September, 1599."<sup>15</sup> In a final, but silent, dismissal of Halliwell's conjecture about the original dating, Bowers states that the lack of effort demonstrated in The Merry Wives may just indicate that Shakespeare relied on his audience's fond predilection for Falstaff.<sup>16</sup>

If the Dennis-Rowe accounts are true--in spite of their being circulated a century after the alleged incident--and if the Queen were familiar with the relevant

history plays featuring Falstaff, Halliwell's theory could be valid only if Elizabeth had seen "unamended," no longer extant, preliminary sketches of both parts of Henry the Fourth. Unfortunately for Halliwell's view, no evidence has yet come to light to suggest that such preliminary sketches by Shakespeare of his history plays ever existed.

One year after Halliwell ventured into the search for Shakespearean source material, he edited for the Shakespeare Society The First Sketches of the Second and Third Parts of King Henry the Sixth (1843). Unhappily, Halliwell again fared badly in light of new historical knowledge. In a long and zealously detailed introduction to his 1594 copy text, Halliwell discussed the publishers of The Sketches and Shakespeare's hand in the composition-- that is, whether Shakespeare was the author or whether he merely borrowed from some older dramatist. Halliwell noted that after Thomas Middleton (the original printer of The Contention) disposed of the copies, The Sketches, as Halliwell called them, came into the possession of Thomas Pavier. It was Halliwell's belief that "Pavier's copies of the old plays were piratically published and that Shakespeare's name was for the first time appended to them in 1619, not in 1600, because the poet was not



alive in 1619 to protect his interests, and in the latter case because he did not acknowledge them for his own" (Henry VI, p.xvi). But Halliwell firmly believed, as he pointedly stated in his Introduction, there were so many passages in the two plays beyond the power of any of Shakespeare's predecessors or contemporaries that, therefore, when these plays were printed in 1594 and 1595, they "included the first additions which Shakespeare made to the originals" (Henry VI, p.xix).

In a modern discussion of the source of 2 Henry VI, Geoffrey Bullough succinctly states that "Q1, entered in S.R. by Thomas Millington on 12 March 1594 [the first edition reprinted in Halliwell's volumes]. . . was not an earlier form of the play--a source, or an earlier version by Shakespeare--but a 'bad Quarto', a shortened memorial reconstruction of the piece as performed, maybe in the provinces."<sup>17</sup> In reference to the second play reprinted in Halliwell's volume, Bullough states that the 1595 octavo was a pirated version which was long thought to be a source-play, but was proved in 1929 by Peter Alexander to be another shortened memorial reconstruction of the play as performed, probably made by the actors playing Warwick and Clifford.<sup>18</sup>

The fact that neither of the Sketches edited by Halliwell proved to be sources for Shakespeare's

plays does not depreciate the value of Halliwell's efforts or those of his colleagues in the Society-- particularly Thomas Amyot, Collier, and Dyce--who attempted editorially to preserve rare and aging literary treasures and to use them to elucidate Shakespeare's text and shed light on Shakespeare's art and times.

Thomas Amyot (1775-1850), a close friend of Collier and a Council member of the Society from its founding until his death in 1850, edited the fourth source study. Amyot was not a devoted literary scholar; his primary love, for the better part of his life, was antiquarian studies of English history as illustrated through archeology. He did have the interest and the energy, however, to assist in the founding of the Camden, the Percy, and the Shakespeare Societies.

For the Shakespeare Society, Amyot ably edited the old play of The Taming of A Shrew, collating for his edition the rare 1594 copy with those of 1596 (of which only one was extant) and the 1607 copy (of which there were three preserved). Amyot mentioned that the texts of the old plays, as well as the "Induction," are "but faint outlines which, by [Shakespeare's] hands were embodied and enriched."<sup>19</sup> The fact that Meres in 1598 was silent about Shakespeare's The Taming of the Shrew convinced Amyot that this play preceded Shakespeare's.

The relation of A Shrew to Shakespeare's The Shrew is a matter of dispute to this day, but Sir Edmund Chambers adheres to the view expressed by Amyot that A Shrew was indeed used as a source-play.<sup>20</sup> A second view, outlined by Peter Alexander but discounted by Chambers, suggests that A Shrew is not the source of Shakespeare's play, but a bad quarto of it.<sup>21</sup>

Addressing the issue of dating Chambers noted that Shakespeare's play is sometimes assigned to about 1598 because, as Amyot pointed out, Meres did not name it. But, adds Chambers, The Taming of A Shrew "may quite well be the Love Labours Won of Meres." <sup>22</sup> In reference to the note in the Records of the Stationers' Company for 1596 citing a suppressed ballad called "the taminge of a shrew" alluded to by Amyot, Chambers claimed the entry is untrustworthy, and Greg labeled it a modern fabrication. <sup>23</sup> Collier had called it to Amyot's attention.

Some five months after the Introduction to Amyot's volume was written, H.G. Norton contributed an article to the second volume of The Shakespeare Society's Papers asserting that he had found the original of the Induction to The Taming of the Shrew.<sup>24</sup> Norton claimed that his print contained the very tale on which the Induction was founded, that it was probably printed

around 1620 or 1630, and that it had probably formed part of a book which may have been the storybook known to have been in circulation in 1570, but which had subsequently been lost. Norton conjectured that the 1570 storybook was reprinted fifty or sixty years after the original and that the five leaves in his possession represented a portion of that reprint. Norton subjoined a "verbatim et literatim" copy of his fragment, which the Society published as "The Waking Mans Dreame: The Fifth Event." <sup>25</sup> For no reason that can be ascertained, little, if any, modern notice has been taken of the Norton contribution.

The Society devoted 1844 almost entirely to the publication of work illustrative of Shakespeare's influence. To extend the chain of coincidences--for there did not seem to be conscious design in these cases, Shakespeare's Richard III was the subject of two volumes that year. Barron Field reprinted The True Tragedy of Richard the Third: to which is Appended the Latin Play of Richardus Tertius, by Dr. Thomas Legge, Both Anterior to Shakespeare's Drama, and Collier edited The Ghost of Richard the Third, a Poem, originally printed in 1614 and founded upon Shakespeare's historical play.

Field was less enthusiastic about this editing task than he had been when he undertook the Heywood editions. In a letter to Peter Cunningham, dated 9

December 1843, he wrote:

I persevere in transcribing the Latin play; but it is very long-- three parts of five short acts each. But it is so interesting, that it will redeem the dulness of the True Tragedy. I shall be ready by y<sup>e</sup> 1st Feby 1844. . . .<sup>26</sup>

The tone of Field's Introduction to the finished volume suggests that his ardor never increased. He justified the reprinting of The True Tragedy primarily on the basis of "antiquity and priority to Shakespeare" and on the fact, again suggested decades earlier by Hazlitt, that "the best way to measure [Shakespeare] is to place such an ordinary contemporary work as the following in juxtaposition with his Richard the Third."<sup>27</sup> The fact that this Richard III preceded Shakespeare's gave Field grounds to suggest that Shakespeare must have seen this work and that resemblances that existed were not purely accidental (Richard III, p.viii).

Recent discussions of The True Tragedy largely confirm Field's conclusion that Shakespeare saw the work. Critical opinions still differ, however, on whether Shakespeare actually used the play. Geoffrey Bullough, G.B. Churchill, and Dover Wilson believe, like Field, that Shakespeare did make limited use of the early play. Some of the parallels in the two dramas may be coincidental, according to Bullough, "but the plays

depart from the chronicles in the same way so often that one is justified in concluding that Shakespeare took some hints from The True Tragedy, no doubt from the authentic version of which the 1594 text is a debasement."<sup>28</sup>

Discussing the Latin tragedy, Richardus Tertius by Thomas Legge (1535-1607), reprinted by Field in the same volume, Bullough points out that though the play was well known (at least nine manuscripts survive) and though both plays contain similar scenes, the fact is that Legge, like Shakespeare, followed More and Hall, and the variations they share from the common sources are few and may be coincidental.<sup>29</sup> For Field, however, the Latin play was clearly the more exciting of the two (see p. 310, n.54 ).

Unlike the source studies published by the Shakespeare Society, the poem, The Ghost of Richard the Third, was reprinted not to sound the depths of Shakespeare's genius, but to suggest the appreciation that attended it. Collier's primary intention, as he declared it, was to preserve a rarity, for his reprint was made from a single existing copy in the possession of the Bodleian Library, "unknown to previous editors of Shakespeare as

well as to all bibliographical antiquaries." <sup>30</sup> However, equally important to Collier's editorial efforts on this poem was his attempt to demonstrate the contemporary esteem in which Shakespeare's play was held. "The poem," wrote Collier, "would probably not have been written but for the extreme popularity of that historical tragedy" (Ghost, p.v). Reinforcing his point, Collier revealed that on 22 June 1602, Ben Jonson was paid £10 by Henslowe, in earnest of a play to be called Richard Crookback and for some additions to Kyd's Spanish Tragedy (Ghost, p.xii). Fortunately, this entry was confirmed by Greg. <sup>31</sup>

Using an interpretive approach--an unusual tack for a contributor to the Shakespeare Society list of full-length publications--the Reverend Nicholas John Halpin (1790-1850) attempted to fix Shakespeare in his social milieu by addressing himself to the task of linking a passage in A Midsummer Night's Dream to Shakespeare's personal knowledge of private proceedings in Elizabeth's Court. In the introductory portion of Oberon's Vision in the Midsummer-Night's Dream Illustrated by a Comparison with Lylie's Endymion, Halpin recorded that his attention was called to the subject by a Times article on Halliwell's Essay on the Midsummer Night's Dream. <sup>32</sup> The writer of the article challenged interested Times readers to

elucidate the famous passage of the Mermaid on a Dolphin's back. Halpin confessed that the publication which ensued exceeded the bounds he had anticipated.

After forty-six pages of detailed interpretations suggested by his predecessors--primarily John Warburton, James Boaden, and Sir Walter Scott--Halpin applied himself to an allegorical analysis of the passage. With patience and ordered detail, Halpin described the "love-adventure" of Queen Elizabeth with the Earl of Leicester; Leicester's engagement to two women simultaneously; the rival to the Queen for the Earl's attentions; and the scene at Kenilworth Castle in the summer of 1575 during "the Princely Pleasures," an event supposedly attended by the young Shakespeare. Halpin was convinced that Shakespeare knew firsthand of the intrigues and secrets of Court and had allegorized them in this passage (MND, II,ii):<sup>33</sup>

Oberon. My gentle Puck, come hither, Thou  
rememberest,  
Since once I sat upon a promontory,  
And heard a mermaid, on a dolphin's back,  
Uttering such dulcet and harmonious breath  
That the rude sea grew civil at her song;  
And certain stars shot madly from their spheres,  
To hear the sea-maid's music.

Puck. I remember.

Oberon. That very time I saw--but thou couldst not--  
Flying between the cold moon and the earth,  
Cupid all-armed: a certain aim he took  
At a fair Vestal, throned by the West,



And loosed a love-shaft smartly from his bow,  
 As it should pierce a hundred thousand hearts;  
 But I might see young Cupid's fiery shaft  
 Quenched in the chaste beams of the wat'ry moon,  
 And the Imperial Votress passed on,  
 In maiden meditation, fancy-free.  
 Yet marked where the bolt Cupid fell:  
 It fell upon a LITTLE WESTERN FLOWER—  
 Before milk-white, now purple with Love's wound—  
 And maidens call it Love in Idleness.  
 Fetch me that Flower.

Halpin suggested that Shakespeare attended Kenilworth's "Princely Pleasures" and at the age of twelve was mature enough to perceive, digest, and file away for future use the personal events of Queen Elizabeth ("the fair Vestal"), Mary Queen of Scots ("the mermaid"), the dolphin ("Dauphin of France, son of Henry II, who married Mary), "the rude sea" (of Scotland), and "certain stars shooting in their spheres" (the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland as well as the Duke of Norfolk). Halpin based the explanation for Shakespeare's precociousness on his noble birth on both sides, particularly that of his mother (Vision, p.23). He explained that since the Shakespeare family were "not indifferent to the distinction of rank," they were certainly invited among the other nobility and gentry of Warwickshire to grace her Majesty's reception at Kenilworth (Vision, p.23-24).

Halpin's detailed, topical explication of the allegory, under the glaring light of older knowledge as

well as more recent biographical, political, and social revelations, seems somewhat insignificant. Not Halpin but Bishop Percy in his Reliques of Ancient English Poetry was the first to suggest that Shakespeare as a boy of twelve might have seen the entertainments designed by the Earl of Leicester for the Queen at Kenilworth.<sup>34</sup> Nor was Halpin the first or the last to weave details of Shakespeare's life into his works<sup>35</sup> or to glorify Shakespeare's life beyond reality. He was, however, the first and only one to do so for the Shakespeare Society.

Halpin included in his volume a reprint of John Lyly's Endymion for the purpose of providing "collateral evidence hitherto unexplored and unsuspected, which . . . will bring to the most incredulous minds all the satisfaction which such a subject--the solution of a poetical allegory--is susceptible, or which a matter of such real importance demands of the reason" (Vision, p.46). Halpin intended to show that Lyly's Endymion was another allegorical version of the same story and that since both versions of the story illuminate and enforce each other, a comparison of the two would obviate the general objections he foresaw might be offered to his view. Halpin was a painstaking commentator, but his volume received no public response that can be located.

Not so with Halliwell's final Shakespearean publication for the Society. In 1845, the year in which he compiled his Illustrations of the Fairy Mythology of Shakespeare, Halliwell also edited for the Shakespeare Society a significant version of Shakespeare's play of King Henry the Fourth Printed from a Contemporary Manuscript. Unlike his enthusiastic and exaggerated evaluations of his previous Shakespearean efforts for the Society, Halliwell's estimate of the significance of this volume was very modest. He communicated to his readers that this reprint had little, if any, value beyond the fact that it was a faithful copy of a rare document that presented some "new readings and variations in a play already in the hands and memory of every reader."<sup>36</sup> It was more than that, however.

The manuscript was discovered on 23 October 1844 by the Reverend Lambert B. Larking on a visit to the extensive library of Sir Edward Dering (1807-96) while Larking was conducting some researches among the valuable manuscripts preserved in the seventeenth century collection formed by the first baronet of the family, also Sir Edward Dering (1598-1644), a noted antiquary and bibliophile. It was Sir Edward's library that would supply Halliwell with the copy text of Wit and Wisdom the following year. When Larking discovered this singular copy of Henry IV, he promptly communicated his find to the Shakespeare

Society.

On examination, the volume showed that corrections were made to the edition in an early hand (recently ascertained to date from 1622 to 1624<sup>37</sup>). According to Halliwell, the body of the volume was the work of an inept copyist using some printed book or manuscript placed before him (Henry IV, p.xii). The initial corrections, however, seemed to be in the more expert hand of the first Sir Edward. The inept copyist, it was later conjectured, was probably a member of Sir Edward's house staff.<sup>38</sup>

The text does not contain the whole of Henry IV. Dering had combined the two parts of Henry IV, had reduced the number of acting parts--probably to accommodate a small private performance--had realigned scenes and acts, and had changed words and entire passages. Dering did not complete the correction of his manuscript, but modern judgment has endorsed Dering as "an attentive and literate amateur at work with, generally, an awareness of the dramatic and literary values of the plays and to some extent of the practical needs of the stage."<sup>39</sup>

Furthermore, though Halliwell could bring himself to voice only the muted desire that avid students of Shakespeare will give it some attention (Henry IV, p.xix), the Dering manuscript is, in modern times, valued as "the

only manuscript of a Shakespeare play surviving from the period of James I. . . ." 40

A contemporary review of the volume was more accurate than Halliwell in its assessment of the Dering volume. The reporter for The Literary Gazette not only reprinted, almost verbatim, Halliwell's Introduction to the volume, but he concluded his review by expressing the enthusiastic judgment that "every lover of Shakespeare--that is, every lover of superhuman genius--must rejoice in the resurrection of so precious a memorial of that immortal bard." 41

Methodical, if leisurely, research into Shakespeare's literary milieu, his life, and his art was not restricted to the Society's full-length studies. Indeed, nearly one hundred ardent scholars, many of them amateur, used The Shakespeare Society's Papers as the means of publishing and publicizing their literary interpretations and their discoveries. It might be said, in truth, that the Society's efforts toward cooperative scholarship were most successfully manifested through its labors in creating and printing The Papers. Moreover, these collections offered to the scholarly community an opportunity, unlike any other at the time, to convey, to learn

to confirm, and to dispute matters of literary concern. Indeed, they filled that void so well that The Shakespeare Society's Papers became the mirror of this period's literary consciousness.

CHAPTER 7: The Shakespeare Society's Papers

In 1913 Harrison Ross Steeves's Learned Societies and English Literary Scholarship included the pronouncement that the Shakespeare Society of 1840 was distinct from earlier publishing societies of its time because it held meetings at which scholarly questions were discussed and critical and historical papers read, the most valuable of which were published in The Shakespeare Society's Papers.<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately, Mr. Steeves was incorrect on all points. There were no scholarly discussions, no papers read, and the four volumes of The Papers were intended, from the start, "to afford a receptacle [not a record of Society Transactions] for papers illustrative of our early drama and stage, none of which, by themselves, would be of sufficient length and importance to form a separate publication."<sup>2</sup>

From first to last, The Papers were a popular expedient for the accumulation and dissemination of short scholarly ana. Thirty-seven men and one woman contributed ninety-two articles in the four-volume sequence of The Papers. Fourteen of those subscribers withheld their names, but not their support. "Dramaticus," for example, submitted six articles, a number exceeded

only by Collier, Peter Cunningham, and James Orchard Halliwell. Collier was, as might be expected, the greatest contributor with fourteen separate pieces, but Cunningham and Halliwell were not far behind with eleven each. As proof of the popularity of The Papers, even outside the ranks of the Society's membership, almost one-third of the contributors (twelve of the thirty-eight) were not listed on the membership rolls. A representative selection of articles published in the Society's Papers clearly confirms the growing eagerness among the literate public, not only the scholars, to elucidate and understand the works of Shakespeare as well as to measure, through a close examination of the works of his contemporaries, the range of his genius.

Nearly one-third of the ninety-two articles in The Papers dealt directly with Shakespeare's canon. Several contributions, for example, shed light on Shakespeare's text, communicating new information on the allusions in Shakespeare's plays. Andrew Barton, an interested amateur, submitted a ballad to which Peter in Romeo and Juliet (IV,v,103) referred and which had never been printed in full.<sup>3</sup> In a similar vein, an anonymous contributor, "A Ballad-monger," submitted the whole of a ballad, the burden of which was the same as that assigned



to Desdemona (Othello, IV, iii) and attributed to John Heywood.<sup>4</sup> Collier, in the second volume, contributed a note on the singer John Wilson, who sang in Shakespeare's Much Ado About Nothing.<sup>5</sup> In an Athenaeum review of this volume of The Shakespeare Society's Papers, the fact was communicated that "Mr. Collier's contribution has given rise to a separate pamphlet by Dr. [E.F.] Rimbault." Rimbault's article, "Who Was 'Jack Wilson'?" included the fact that Wilson was John, of Wood's Athenae, the Doctor of Music at the University of Oxford as well as composer of the favorite airs in The Tempest.<sup>6</sup>

In every volume, contributors exercised their bibliographical skills and their typographical and historical knowledge to clarify passages in Shakespeare. In the first volume, six of the twenty-five articles were dedicated to such concerns. Collier devoted four pages to a passage in Twelfth Night in which Sir Toby Belch says of "Dick surgeon": "Then, he's a rogue, and a passy-measures pavin" (Twelfth Night, V, i, 192). Collier explained that "until very recently," he was unaware that in Shakespeare's time there existed a well-known dance called "the passing measure pavin."<sup>7</sup> Perhaps it is because of Collier's discovery that modern editions of the play now explain the passage as "an eight-bar, double-slow dance."<sup>8</sup>

In a reference to Collier's (and other editors') printing of Hamlet's speech beginning, "O! that this too, too solid flesh would melt" (Hamlet, I,ii), Halliwell suggested in his article, "Observations on the Correct Method of Punctuating a Line in 'Hamlet,' Act i., Sc.2, with Reference to the Exact Force of the Word Too-Too," that the punctuation should be "too-too" or that the comma should be entirely dropped in order to reinstate the original meaning,"exceeding."<sup>9</sup> Halliwell supported his argument by saying, "the comma, indeed, is entirely a modern introduction; and in a copy of the second folio belonging to me the hyphen is found exactly as I have given it above."<sup>10</sup> He buttressed his claim by giving examples of its use not only in early drama, but also in prose models and in other plays by Shakespeare.<sup>11</sup> In this instance, modern editions may have picked up on Halliwell's suggestion because both The Riverside Shakespeare and the Pelican Edition of Shakespeare omit the punctuation between the two words.

In one of the lengthiest articles in the second volume, Barron Field contributed "Conjectures on Some of the Corrupt or Obscure Passages of Shakespeare." Among the passages and plays Field discussed were several cruxes in The Tempest, The Two Gentlemen of Verona, The Merry Wives of Windsor, Measure for Measure, The Comedy

of Errors, Much Ado About Nothing, Love's Labor's Lost, and A Midsummer Night's Dream. Field attempted not only to clarify possible readings of certain words, such as the several meanings of "rack" in Prospero's speech (IV,i):

And, like this insubstantial pageant faded,  
Leave not a rack behind,<sup>12</sup>

but he also suggested certain changes in the text as printed by the current editors of Shakespeare. Few of Field's suggestions were adopted in later editions, but his attempts were well-documented and scholarly and showed a distinct departure from criticism founded primarily on personal taste.

In the third volume, William Sandys recommended for textual emendation certain words in the provincial dialect of Cornwall "that are now obsolete in other parts of the kingdom, but which in the time of Shakespeare were familiar household words."<sup>13</sup> His suggestions, some of which have since been adopted in modern editions, added to the current glossary of Shakespeareana.

Jabez Allies submitted a short piece on the word "scamels" from Shakespeare's Tempest (II,ii) where Caliban uses the word in the passage:

and sometimes I'll get thee  
Young scamels from the rock.<sup>14</sup>

According to Allies, "scamels" had been altered to

"sea-mells" in some editions--Allies cited Knight's as an example--with the idea that it means "sea gulls." But Allies offered another opinion; his concept was that the term was a corruption of the ancient British word "samol," which in turn may be the same as "seamar" or wild trefoil, which the Irish Britons call "seamrog."<sup>15</sup> Since seamrog or samol was esteemed an excellent remedy for many animal diseases, Caliban may have thought it an especially appealing gift. Modern editions either disregard or are not aware of Allies's suggestion, for they gloss the word as either "unexplained" or as a misprint for "sea mews."<sup>16</sup>

The contributions, particularly in the realm of textual emendation and illustration, were sometimes offered half apologetically: for example, "I merely throw this out as a conjecture, as perhaps much may be said for and against both interpretations."<sup>17</sup> They were often unheeded or, in several instances, acknowledged and cast aside. In all cases, however, the contributions to The Shakespeare Society's Papers beneficially fed the natural and increasing flow of modern historical and interpretive commentary connected with the works of Shakespeare.

discoveries or attempting to correct or emend already published editions of Shakespeare's work, they displayed an insatiable and proprietary interest in his life. Articles were submitted covering the most minute details of Shakespeare's biography. In one article, Robert Bigsby discussed whether John Shakespeare, the poet's father, could or could not write his name. Bigsby recalled Malone's assurance that "John Shakespeare, the poet's father, could not write his own name, that he was a marksman, and that his mark 'nearly resembles the letter A.'" Bigsby also pointed out, however, that Malone's conjecture that John Shakespeare's mark was "'probably chosen in honour of the lady he married,'" was "sufficiently ludicrous."<sup>18</sup> According to Bigsby, though the much larger portion of markspeople signed with the cross, many used the caret, which resembled the A.

In another volume, the Reverend William Harness revealed "a peculiarity in the entry of Mrs. Shakespeare's burial in the church books of Stratford-on-Avon, which has hitherto passed unnoticed, but which may not, perhaps, be thought altogether undeserving the attention of those who take an interest in the history of our great poet and his family."<sup>19</sup> Harness was referring to the entry in the Register written:

1623  
August 8 { Mrs. Shakspeare  
          { Anna Uxor Richardi James.

It was Harness's belief that Mrs. Shakespeare, after William's death, became Mrs. James. To confirm his theory, he explained that the bracketing implied that the two names, "Mrs. Shakspeare" and "Anna Uxor Richardi James," identified the same person.

Sir Edmund Chambers reprinted the entry in William Shakespeare: A Study of Facts and Problems, but withheld his opinion as to the validity of Harness's conjecture, noting only that "W. Harness started a theory that the bracket in this entry implies that Anne Shakespeare had remarried with Richard James, and this has been revived by Appleton Morgan. . . ." <sup>20</sup> Chambers also said, however, that though events of even dates (such as 8 August) are usually recorded in the Register, not with a bracket, but with a repeated date (e.g., August 8 8),

or with the abbreviation "eod" (same day), "during the years 1622 and 1623, several baptisms of members of different families are exceptionally bracketed, just like the death of Anne Shakespeare." <sup>21</sup>

In a positive review of the first two volumes of The Shakespeare Society's Papers, a writer for The Athenaeum thought it highly likely that:

the old documents reported no more than the interment of Anna James; but that as the lady was better known at Stratford as the wife of our great poet, was so commemorated in the epitaph on her gravestone, and lay buried among his family in the chancel of the church, the 'Mrs. Shakspeare' was inserted by the copyist to indicate that Mrs. James was she, and to anticipate the suspicion of a defect in his transcript.<sup>22</sup>

The entry has been cited and reproduced by modern scholars, but no firm evidence, that I can locate, either confirms or disputes the identification of Anna James and Anne Shakespeare.<sup>23</sup>

In the third volume of The Papers, Collier communicated to the readers a few remarks on "The New Fact Regarding Shakespeare and his Wife, Contained in the Will of Thomas Whittington." The new fact, "recently discovered at Worcester, and transmitted not long since by Sir Thomas Phillipps [father-in-law of James Orchard Halliwell] to the Society of Antiquaries" concerned a debt of forty shillings owed to Thomas Whittington and attested to by a document "that is in the hand of Anne Shaxspere, wife unto Mr. William Shaxspere."<sup>24</sup>

According to Collier, it would be fair to gather that since Shakespeare was probably absent from Stratford during the time the debt was incurred, the money had been borrowed by Anne for some temporary emergency.

Another, more recent and more probable suggestion is that the forty shillings had been deposited with Anne Shakespeare for safekeeping by Mr. Whittington, or that it represented wages that were due but uncollected.<sup>25</sup>

The early individual expeditions into the literary world of Shakespeare's contemporaries by Hazlitt, Lamb, Collier, and then by Alexander Dyce in his creditable editions of Peele, Middleton, and Shirley, for example, were discussed and enlarged upon by contributors to The Papers. In one of the first articles published in the initial volume, J.F. Herbert, a gentleman who was not on the Society's membership lists at the time, submitted an essay entitled, "Additions to 'The Alleyn Papers,'" in which he claimed that he had found new information as a result of reading Collier's Introduction to The Alleyn Papers. In the prefatory pages to that volume, Collier had lamented that many of the Dulwich College manuscripts were probably in the hands of people who hardly knew they possessed them. Herbert recognized that such might be his situation and consequently searched his "own receptacles of 'unconsidered trifles,'" in hopes of finding something that might answer the purpose and be worthy of insertion among the proposed miscellany of the Shakespeare Society.<sup>26</sup> In so doing,



Herbert discovered two or three different manuscripts relating to poets, poetry, and players, including William Rowley, Joseph Taylor, and Robert Pallant, players of some repute who were involved in transactions between either Henslowe and the company or Alleyn and the company respecting wardrobe. Herbert also unearthed among his "trifles" some copies of verses in the form of an acrostic addressed by John Day to Thomas Downton, the actor. Herbert's contribution was not remarkable in the landscape of literary history, but the facts he communicated might have remained hidden for another century had it not been for the urgings of the Shakespeare Society.

In another article, Peter Cunningham reprinted for the first time a humorous petitionary letter from Ben Jonson to the Earl of Newcastle and, in that same article, the entries in the parish registers which record the death of Ben Jonson's son.<sup>27</sup> However, Collier's own discovery revealed in his Memoirs of the Principal Actors (p.xxiii) of a similar and more likely notice later corrected the data Cunningham had attributed to Ben Jonson and his son (above, p. 131).

In the second volume, James L. Pearson communicated a rather important discovery--the whole of a pageant by Thomas Middleton unknown to Alexander Dyce when the latter completed his four-volume edition of Middleton's

works in 1840:

He [Dyce] does not seem to have been aware of its existence, and I do not find it noticed in the *Biographia Dramatica*, nor in Mr. Fairholt's two publications on the subject of city Pageants issued by the Percy Society: neither is there any mention of it in Nicholas's *Progresses of James I.*; so that it may be looked upon as a new discovery, connected with the literary history of Shakespeare's most popular contemporaries.<sup>28</sup>

By way of introduction to the text of the pageant, Pearson continued in words most complimentary to the Society and reminiscent of Herbert's comments in the first volume:

I have had it by me for many years, but I was not aware that I had it, until one day I turned over some old books and papers, to ascertain whether I had anything in my possession that would contribute to the objects of the Shakespeare Society . . . .

. . . . .  
I might never have found this Pageant of 1622, but for the impulse given to my curiosity by the establishment and proceedings of the Shakespeare Society.<sup>29</sup>

Pearson's newly discovered pageant, entitled, "The Triumphs of Honour and Virtue," was ultimately included in A.H. Bullen's eight-volume edition of The Works of Thomas Middleton (1885-86).

In the very next article in that same volume, T. Horby submitted "T. Middleton's 'Game at Chess: His Son, Edward Middleton,'" in which Hornby announced that he was in possession of a copy of the 1625 edition of a

politico-allegorical play, The Game at Chess. Several unusual points were raised by the discovery of this play. First, Dyce had mentioned in his Middleton edition that the title page of the drama supposedly printed in 1625 did exist, but that he believed that no full copies of the play from that date were in extant.<sup>30</sup>

Hornby, on the other hand, claimed that he had in his possession a full copy of the 1625 edition which he said "appears to be nothing more than one of the undated impressions (supposed to be of 1624) with a new title-page."<sup>31</sup> Second, Hornby included in his article a small point which the title page of his copy established and which had, until that time, depended upon a single old manuscript note in a copy of the drama. The episode in question was the nine-day imprisonment of Thomas Middleton for the production of The Game at Chess, and his release on petition to King James I. A third point that Hornby raised was directed to the issue of the play's box office popularity, the reason for which Middleton was supposedly imprisoned.

According to Hornby, several manuscript notes confirm the fact that Middleton's play was acted for nine days and grossed the large sum of £1500. In his edition of the Middleton canon, Dyce had followed Malone in rejecting this amount and had not considered, wrote Hornby,

a passage in Sir William Davenant's Playhouse to be Let," performed in 1663, which alluded to the money taken at the doors for the repeated performances of Gondomar-- Davenant's name for Middleton's Game of Chance. Hornby pointed out that though Davenant may have over-estimated the receipts, Malone and Dyce, who gave the gate figure at £150, under-estimated. Thus, concluded Hornby, Dyce had not thoroughly researched the point himself and had relied on Malone for his facts.

A second question which Hornby raised relating to Dyce's edition was concerned with Thomas Middleton's son, Edward. Hornby noticed that Dyce twice mentioned Edward Middleton in his edition but "when he comes to quote the registers of the Privy Council, which expressly mention Edward Middleton and call him the son of Thomas Middleton, he inserts 'Thomas' between brackets, after 'Edward,' as if to correct an error of the Clerk of the Privy Council in making the memorandum."<sup>32</sup> Hornby again strongly intimated that Dyce paid greater heed to former scholars than he did to original records.

The third and most interesting discovery that Hornby communicated once more centered on Edward; and again Hornby accused Dyce of not having consulted the original sources and of relying on the work of others. In this instance, when Thomas Middleton was issued a

warrant to appear before the Privy Council, he disappeared and could not be found. After a second warrant was issued, Edward Middleton, the nineteen year old son, volunteered to appear. Edward's appearance was accurately recorded in the records of 30 August 1624. It was he and not his father who petitioned the King (in verse) for release, though Dyce's Middleton (I, xxxv) inaccurately recorded, according to Hornby, that the father was jailed and was released on his petition to King James.<sup>33</sup>

Dyce was not the only one to draw fire from the "amateur scholars" of The Shakespeare Society's Papers. In one of the first articles in the earliest volume, Thomas Edlyne Tomlins pointedly corrected Collier for the misinterpretation of information supplied to Collier by Tomlins and reprinted in Collier's "History of the English Stage" prefixed to his latest edition of Shakespeare's works. Tomlins had sent Collier etymological data relating to the origin of the name of the Curtain Theatre. Collier had understood the information which Tomlins delivered to him to mean that the name had derived from the fact that the ground on which the building stood was called "the Curtain," perhaps as part of the fortifications of London before any playhouse was built there.

Tomlins, a legal writer, in "repudiating Mr. Collier's conjecture," or rather "in removing the responsibility from himself," reprinted several legal conveyances in which the name "Curtain" or "Curteyn" appeared and which indicated that the ground in question had at one time formed part of a dissolved priorty of Holywell or Haliwell, not a fortification.<sup>34</sup> The name, "Curtain," said Tomlins, may have derived from either a stone wall which had originally enclosed the monastery or, using the etymology from medieval Latin, might also refer to a veil or tapesty "which was so termed from being hung around the nave or choir of a monastery on solemn occasions, thereby enclosing it."<sup>35</sup>

Tomlins's article met with no published reply from Collier, but it serves to validate the assessment made by more recent scholars that Collier's work was not only intentionally fraudulent in many instances, but also unintentionally inaccurate and misleading.

In a brief article by J.H. Baverstock in the second volume of The Papers, an error was also cited from the recently published Cyclopedia of Literature relating to the second performance before Queen Elizabeth of the first English tragedy on a classical subject, Damon and Pythias. Baverstock informed his readers that though it is true that Her Majesty witnessed the performance

of a play written by Richard Edwards, the author of Damon and Pythias, the play presented was "Palamon and Arcite, [a] production which Messrs. Chambers have never taken any notice of, and which I think is worthy of being recorded." <sup>36</sup>

Though many of the contributions, like the one above, aroused little controversy or even comment outside the pages of The Papers, one article, submitted anonymously to the last volume precipitated a considerable stir in the literary community. The article, "On Massinger's 'Believe as You List,' a Newly Discovered Manuscript, Printed by the Percy Society," announced the unearthing of "what must be looked upon as a valuable literary curiosity" relating to the Crofton Croker edition of the play for the Percy Society. <sup>37</sup>

The writer gently suggested that Croker had "employed some person to transcribe the old manuscript who was not sufficiently familiar with the writing of the time" since errors in punctuation as well as substantive misprints were found in comparison with the writer's personal copy. <sup>38</sup> "In the most friendly spirit," the writer asked questions of Croker in the hope that the latter would put his answers "hereafter among 'the Shakespeare Society's Papers;' for the Percy Society, which has issued 'Believe as you list,' and for which we

are much obliged to them, does not put forth any similar miscellany, in which questions of this kind can be asked and answered."<sup>39</sup>

The article was submitted for publication on 9 January 1849. By 5 April 1849, Crofton Croker, the editor of the play cited in the article, published a statement entitled, Remarks on an Article Inserted in the Papers of the Shakespeare Society. In words unusually harsh for a published piece, Croker criticized the Shakespeare Society writer who had impugned his reputation as a competent editor.<sup>40</sup> Croker made the point that he was preparing to print a list of errata for publication by the Percy Society to follow the original edition of the play but was anticipated by the unduly severe critique of the anonymous contributor to The Papers.

He mentioned too that he exchanged, after the appearance of the article no fewer than eleven pieces of correspondence with the officers of the Shakespeare Society. Croker noted in his Remarks that he first wrote to the Secretary of the Shakespeare Society on 12 March 1849 requesting the Council to furnish him with the name of the anonymous writer. When he was refused, he wrote to the Earl of Ellesmere, President of the Society, repeating the request, again with no success. Collier, however, in a letter to Croker, told him that a seditor of the volume



in which the article appeared, he [Collier] would shoulder the responsibility for the offense.<sup>41</sup>

Since Collier assumed the responsibility as editor of the volume--or perhaps because Croker suspected that Collier was that anonymous "Member of Both Societies" who had written the article--Croker directed personal attacks in his Remarks to Collier and to his edition of Shakespeare. Croker cited, for example, Collier's "entire ignorance of the common grammatical idiom drink up, which actually leads him to doubt that vinegar is intended by esil, which being printed with a capital letter, of course implies that Mr. Collier believed that it was the river Yssell to be drunk up!" Croker also caustically remarked that it was Collier's "evident incompetence" which made him (Croker) decide to undertake the laborious task of editorship himself, "instead of transferring it to that gentleman, as it was my intention to have done."<sup>42</sup>

The question begs to be raised whether Collier, offended by Croker's decision to complete the edition himself after having proposed joint editorship, used the opportunity afforded by The Papers to cast aspersions on Croker's final product--particularly his transcription. Moreover, the possibility that Collier was, in fact, this anonymous "Member," is stylistically supported by the article itself. Like Collier, the "Member" opens

with his description of the manuscript in question. With the exception of T. Edlyne Tomlins, the gentleman whose vocation it was to describe with accuracy the legal documents with which he worked, no other contributor to The Papers structured his article to begin with a description of the manuscript. Moreover, no contributor, with particular exceptions (noted below), followed that description with a statement to the effect that the purpose of the article was not so much to criticize or to point out deficiencies in someone's work as it was to propose a question. This stylistic characteristic marked the works of "A Member of Both Societies," Collier's signed articles, and the contributions of "Dramaticus," but no one else's. There are, in addition, other points of style which relate the works of these three contributors, particularly in matters of diction and in the creation of a persona who conveys the ethos of an erudite, gentle, but exacting scholar. Similarities proliferate as one delves more deeply.

It is possible, of course, that Croker did not seriously entertain the possibility that Collier wrote the critique. On the other hand, it is difficult to explain Croker's personal attack on Collier if one does not assume that Croker had his suspicions. Nonetheless, Croker

addressed the issue as well as the personal designs of the critic, mentioning in his Remarks that his was not a hasty performance, that he had spent four years of his leisure time reading and copying a manuscript of forty-eight folio pages and that:

although I have the fact to urge, as some apology for the printer's errata, that engagements and occupations of a pressing nature obliged me, in order to meet the arrangement of the Council of the Percy Society for the issue of No. lxxx on the 1st January, to pass the sheets of 'Believe as you List' very rapidly through the press,—so rapidly, that I doubt if I even read the proof of my Preface, which I observe was dated the day it was written, 30th December 1848, and I certainly did not see a revise of the last sheet, in which three of the thirteen most serious charges of incompetency made against me occur.

Croker explained in detail in his fifteen-page pamphlet the inconsistencies in punctuation and substantives criticized by the Member of Both Societies, and in two final, emotionally charged paragraphs, Croker mustered his adversaries, saying that:

Although Dyce, Gifford, and Halliwell are quoted as authorities to shew that I cannot read or understand correctly a manuscript of the time of Charles I, and the Athenaeum, therefore, considers me to be an incompetent editor, I think my anonymous critic, or critics, ought not to have omitted to consult Nares, as the respectable authority followed by Mr. Payne Collier in his 'Yssell' draught.

Shade of Gifford arise, and defend an honest editor. Arise, and shield the memory of Massinger from the 'juggling mysteries' of the Shakespeare Society. <sup>43</sup>

Unfortunately, Croker's troubles deciphering Massinger's autograph showed too clearly, and his arguments were never fully accepted.

iii

Information relating to the theater of Shakespeare's day, to the acting companies, and to the performance of contemporary drama did not go unnoticed in the pages of The Shakespeare Society's Papers. No fewer than twenty articles were submitted, adding new information, correcting old data, suggesting unexplored areas of inquiry into theatrical history.

The correction of Collier's reference to the Curtain Theater by T. Edlyne Tomlins was one such contribution. Another article, submitted by Tomlins also deserves special notice because it contained hitherto unknown information which had been communicated to him by a Mr. Palmer of the Rolls' Chapel. The new data relayed by Tomlins was a document found on the patent rolls of 1581, designated as "Rot. Paten. de diversis annis tempore R. Elizabeth,"<sup>44</sup> and granting Edmund Tilney (Master of the Revels from 1579 to his death on 20 August 1610) the authority to command not only painters, embroiderers, tailors, property makers and other workers, but also all actors and playwrights to come before him or his deputy

to recite such performances as they were preparing to present. If they refused, he was empowered to commit them at his pleasure "without bayle or mayneprise."<sup>45</sup> Thus, according to Tomlins, at this early date, 1581, just two years after Tilney took office, he had at his mercy not only the workers associated with the theaters, but all the actors and writers as well. It was clear that Tomlins was surprised by the date on the document.

Tomlins stressed that this patent empowered Tilney to reform or entirely suppress any plays he deemed unfit,<sup>46</sup> and that nothing, therefore, could have been more unqualified than the authority given to Tilney during the reign of Queen Elizabeth in all matters relating to the drama and the stage.

In his monumental edition of Documents Relating to the Office of the Revels in the Time of Queen Elizabeth, Albert Feuillerat reprints in its entirety a commission exactly like that supplied to Tomlins by his acquaintance in the Rolls' Chapel.<sup>47</sup> Feuillerat's reprint is substantively identical to Tomlins's though Tomlins expanded the legal abbreviations and subdivided long passages according to subject. However, Feuillerat's reprint, "A Commission Touching the Powers of the Master," is dated 1606, three years after the coronation of King James I.

In a discussion of censorship under Elizabeth I, Sir Edmund Chambers confirmed Tomlins's information relating to the 1581 patent and identified it as one of several measures to regulate and "to regularize" the position of actors in Elizabethan society. "The Master of the Revels position," wrote Chambers, "was fortified in 1581 by the award of [this] patent which confirmed Edmund Tilney as Master, in which capacity he had been acting since 1578. . . ." <sup>48</sup>

When James ascended the throne in 1603, he confirmed the Court's virtual control of the actors, plays, playwrights, and theaters. Feuillerat's document, therefore, probably represents a reinstatement of the patent that Elizabeth had granted. After that date, moreover, when Sir George Buc replaced Tilney, it became the additional task of the Master of the Revels to license plays for printing as well as for acting, a practice which was ultimately turned to considerable financial profit by the Masters. <sup>49</sup>

Equally significant information was brought to the attention of the Society's readers through an article submitted by Halliwell, entitled, "Dispute Between the the Earl of Worcester's Players and the Corporation of Leicester in 1586, from the Records of that City." Like Tomlins's

article, Halliwell's focused on the Court's efforts to take the control of the theater from the Church. To that end, as Halliwell pointed out, in 1582, dramatic performances were forbidden in Leicester without the authority of the Queen or the Lords of the Privy Council.<sup>50</sup> Of greater importance, however, was the list of members in the Earl of Worcester's company which Halliwell subjoined to the article, for among the names was that of "Edward Allen."<sup>51</sup>

In Collier's Memoirs of Edward Alleyn, Collier had noted that "the earliest date at which we hear of [Edward Alleyn] in connection with the stage, is the 3d of January, 1588-1589, when he bought, for £37.10s.0d., the share of 'playing apparels, play-books, instruments and other commodities,' which Richard Jones owned jointly with the brothers, John and Edward Alleyn, and their step-father" (Memoirs, p.4). If the "Edward Allen" listed in the 1849 Shakespeare Society article by Halliwell is the Edward Alleyn of Collier's Memoirs, Halliwell's, not Collier's, is the earliest document citing Alleyn--predating Collier's records by at least two years. Even the review in The Athenaeum, which reprinted the records with the list of players, made no mention of the possibility that Edward Allen was Alleyn.<sup>52</sup> It is interesting to speculate how Halliwell, the great literary scrap collector,

would have reacted to this unforeseen historical gem and, more particularly, to his oversight.

iv

After Collier, Peter Cunningham, and Halliwell, Dramaticus submitted the largest number of articles to The Shakespeare Society's Papers--six in all. Most of them either confirmed or elaborated upon facts included in previous Collier publications or, on frequent occasions, were designed primarily to impugn the scholarship of Collier's contemporaries.

In a very brief, barely three-page, article submitted by Dramaticus to the first volume and entitled, "The Profits of Old Actors," Dramaticus merely confirmed the position taken by Collier not only in his recently published Life of Shakespeare, and his Memoirs of Edward Alleyn, but also in The Alleyn Papers. It may be recalled that when Collier detailed the financial dealings of Edward Alleyn, he justified the space allotted to these matters on the grounds that "if Alleyn could attain to such wealth, being merely an actor, it renders it more likely that Shakespeare, when he retired to Stratford-upon-Avon, had realized at least a comfortable and easy independence (Alleyn Papers, p.xx). Dramaticus explicitly enforced Collier's point, claiming that "theatrical



speculations were very advantageous from about 1590 to 1615; that is during the period that Shakespeare was a writer for the stage."<sup>53</sup>

In the third volume *Dramaticus* again confirmed a Collier conjecture by announcing the discovery of large portions of the last eight pages of the interlude of Everyman from the press of Richard Pynson in spite of the fact that Dr. Thomas Frognall Dibdin's Typographical Antiquities had the statement that the existence of any play printed by Pynson was very doubtful.<sup>54</sup> More than fifteen years before, Collier had noted in his History of Dramatic Poetry that the moral play of Everyman had been printed once by Pynson and twice by John Skot.<sup>55</sup> In an addendum to this information, Collier wrote that "Mr. Douce is in possession of a curious fragment of Pynson's edition, consisting of considerable portions of the last eight pages, and beginning with Sig., E.i." Moreover, the eight-page Douce fragment supposedly contained a colophon with the name of Richard Pynson on it.

*Dramaticus* enthusiastically supported Collier in his article. "It is indisputable," wrote *Dramaticus*, "that Pynson printed the play, because his colophon is fortunately preserved in the following words, at the end of Mr. Douce's fragment."<sup>56</sup> It appears almost too obvious that *Dramaticus's* article was intended to recall



finished their tragedy in September, 1599, the last payment of £6 was made to them through Bird, Downton, and Jubey, who were to convey the last sum, not the full sum as Malone had thought, to the authors. Dramaticus remarked that when one added the payments made by Henslowe for the play, the total cost would be £11.<sup>59</sup> Though in his edition of Henslowe's Diary, Greg records the entries as Collier does, he takes no notice of Malone's mistaken assumptions or the corrections suggested by Collier or Dramaticus.<sup>60</sup>

Refocusing his sights from Malone to Alexander Dyce, Dramaticus submitted to the third volume of The Papers, almost immediately following the completion in 1846 of Dyce's eleventh volume of The Works of Beaumont and Fletcher, a transcript of the only known 1602 copy of the poem, "Salmacis and Hermaphroditus." The poem showed that Beaumont's name did not appear on the copy. Using this evidence, Dramaticus charged that Dyce used a faulty, corrupt, and falsely attributed text of the poem in his edition. Dramaticus further claimed that Lawrence Blaiklock in 1648 "not only appended [Beaumont's] initials, F.B. to the address, 'To the true patroness of all poetry, Calliope,' but he altered those of A.F. (subscribed in 1602 to three stanzas) . . . to I.F., with the intention that these commendatory verses should be imputed to

Beaumont's dramatic partner, John Fletcher." <sup>61</sup> The article "correcting" Dyce excited no public response, and modern scholarship continues to attribute "Salmacis and Hermaphroditus" to Francis Beaumont. <sup>62</sup> Nonetheless, it is difficult to ignore the fact that the criticism of Dyce's eleventh volume of Beaumont and Fletcher followed by a mere seven months the letter from Collier to Dyce requesting a copy of that volume.

Dramaticus ventured an original contribution on only one occasion. In the final volume of The Shakespeare Society's Papers, he submitted an article entitled, "The Players Who Acted in 'The Shoemakers' Holiday,' 1600, a Comedy by Thomas Dekker and Robert Wilson." Dramaticus suggested, in spite of a lack of support from Henslowe's Diary, that "another poet was a partner with Dekker in the piece, and probably in the payment, though his name in that capacity is not inserted by Henslowe: nevertheless, it often occurs in the 'Diary,' but not, in this instance, as Dekker's coadjutor." <sup>63</sup> Dramaticus believed that Robert Wilson, as well as Thomas Dekker, was engaged in the composition of The Shoemakers' Holiday or The Gentle Craft (by which title it is entered in The Diary). Dramaticus based his conjecture on the fact that an unidentified friend of his possessed a copy of the play with the names of both of these men subscribed to the

preliminary address. "These names are not printed," wrote Dramaticus, "but they have been added in manuscript in a handwriting coeval, I think, with the date of publication, but, at all events, very little posterior to it." 64

Unfortunately, Dramaticus is unsupported by modern scholarship in these conjectures. Michael Taylor, in a bibliographical sketch of the scholarship on Thomas Dekker, writes that The Shoemakers' Holiday and the second part of The Honest Whore are probably Dekker's alone. 65 Moreover, Greg in the Commentary to Henslowe's Diary clearly states that there is not the least ground for questioning Dekker's authorship and that some of the information communicated by Dramaticus to The Shakespeare Society's Papers in this article is based on "an obvious forgery, and a very clumsy one." 66

Dramaticus and Collier, it seems, had more in common than writing style!

v

After volume four, the Shakespeare Society published no more of its miscellanies. The Society treasury was languishing because of outstanding subscriptions and the heavy toll exacted by the printing of the Chandos Portrait. Nonetheless, The Papers deserve to be recognized for their pioneering efforts in encouraging the amateur

as well as the professional scholar to participate actively and thus enjoy more fully their literary heritage.

In a more specific context, The Papers achieved the two-fold purpose of the Society, as stated in its Prospectus: they did indeed promote the collection and the circulation of information by which Shakespeare might be thoroughly understood and fully appreciated; and they never failed to include within their pages "everything, whether derived from manuscript or printed sources, that will throw light on our early Dramatic Literature and Stage." 67

Had it not been for the fortuitous meeting of persons and circumstances, a vacuum would have been created in the literary community because of the discontinuation of The Papers. Coincidentally, however, Collier's long-time friend and loyal colleague on the Shakespeare Society Council, William J. Thoms, initiated a journal in which literary men could communicate on a regular basis. With the encouragement and support of Charles Wentworth Dilke, the owner of The Athenaeum, Thoms printed the first number of Notes and Queries on 3 November 1849. The tradition of free literary exchange, begun by The Shakespeare Society's Papers, continues to this day.

CHAPTER 8: Collier's Club--The Officers and Councillors  
of the Shakespeare Society

"I forget," wrote Collier in his Autobiography, "exactly who was the originator of [the Shakespeare Society]--perhaps Amyot, but Thomas Wright, the author & compiler of many works on literary antiquities, had a good deal to do with it . . . ." <sup>1</sup> Collier did recall, however, that he was appointed Director "in virtue of my three volumes published not long before," <sup>2</sup> and that the attention of the new Society was directed to an object which he long had in view. Collier went on to say that "I was able to collect immediately round me about a dozen or fifteen members who formed a Committee" and that "all were zealous, I may say enthusiastic" about the prospect. <sup>3</sup> By all accounts, Collier was the hub around which the activities of the Shakespeare Society revolved.

The Laws of the Society, which these devoted gentlemen formulated, provided for a Council of twenty-one members exclusive of a President and six Vice-Presidents, who were to manage the affairs of the organization. Each year, moreover, five of the Councillors were to retire to be replaced by new, actively interested candidates

from the general membership. During its twelve years of active publication, fifty-nine prominent members of England's journalistic, scholarly, and theatrical communities served on the Council of the Shakespeare Society.

That they were all inspired by a common interest in Elizabethan literature and a deep-rooted love for the art of their national poet may be assumed. What is unique to this body, contrasted with the composition of other literary and antiquarian associations of the time, is the fact that each member of the original Council, and most, if not all, of the later Councillors, were personally or professionally connected to one man, John Payne Collier.

The President and the six Vice-Presidents, unlike the very active Councillors, were primarily figureheads who lent their names but little else to the public support of the Society's activities. The single exception was Francis Egerton, the Earl of Ellesmere, who presided over the Society for six of its twelve years. Hereditarily, Ellesmere was uniquely suited to the position. Since the history of his family is important to the future labors of John Payne Collier, it is worth retelling.

The noble line of Francis Egerton began with the



illegitimate son by Alice Sparke of Richard Egerton. In spite of the circumstances of his birth, Sir Thomas Egerton distinguished himself so well at the Bar that he was appointed during the reign of Queen Elizabeth to fill the important offices of Attorney, Solicitor General, Master of the Rolls, and, finally, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal. Sir Thomas became important to future literary scholarship not only because of his very early support of men of learning,<sup>4</sup> but also because of his constant contact with the dramatists and poets of his day. Through the eminence and responsibilities of his position, because of the practices of the system of patronage which flourished in the period, and owing to his own partiality to the literati of his day, Sir Thomas became the recipient of numerous manuscripts and first editions, which he preserved with care in his library at Bridgewater. Just over two centuries later, the riches of Sir Thomas's library would be opened to, and abused by, John Payne Collier.

English letters were to benefit also through Sir Thomas's son, John Egerton, who in 1633 was appointed Lord President of Wales. It was to honor the inauguration of Sir John, the Earl of Bridgewater, as Lord President of Wales, that Henry Lawes, one of the most celebrated composers in England at the time, turned to John Milton

with the commission to produce an entertainment for the Earl, his family, and his guests. The commission resulted in Milton's composition of The Masque of Comus, presented for the first time at Ludlow Castle in Shropshire on Michaelmas night, 29 September 1634. While the circumstances of the first Comus presentation are fairly well-known, what has remained virtually unnoticed is the existence in the British Library of a manuscript of yet another entertainment believed to have been written for Bridgewater and his family at approximately the same time and for the same reason. Significant to our study of Collier and the Shakespeare Society is the fact that this entertainment was purchased by the British Library at a sale of Collier's papers at Sotheby's in 1885. More important is the use Collier made of the manuscript.

In 1848 when Collier was collaborating with Peter Cunningham and J.R. Planché on a study of the life and works of Inigo Jones, Collier included in his portion of the volume a manuscript in his possession. Since the manuscript bears no title page, Collier described it as a "show," calling it The Masque of the Four Seasons, and connecting it with designs drawn by Jones which were then housed in the Devonshire collection at Chatsworth.<sup>5</sup>

"It is evident," Collier chose to conclude, "that James I., his queen, the Princes Henry and Charles,

and Princess Elizabeth, were present and hence we may be sure that the performance occurred before 1612."<sup>6</sup>

Cedric Brown recently brought the information concerning the Collier manuscript to light in a Milton Quarterly article entitled, "The Chirk Castle Entertainment of 1634." According to Brown, Collier was bluffing when he associated the manuscript with James. He almost certainly knew, writes Brown, that the entertainment was played in 1634. The fact was clear enough to the British Library catalogers who noted on the manuscript:

Poetical addresses to 'Genius', 'Orpheus', and 'Winter', delivered at an entertainment at Chirke Castle, 1634. The endorsement, giving the place and date, has been carefully erased, but may still be read.<sup>7</sup>

From detailed external and internal evidence provided by Brown, the date of the manuscript may be conclusively placed at approximately the same date as the first performance of Comus--a time when the President of Wales was visiting Chirk Castle, the home of Sir Thomas Middleton, the Earl's distant kinsman.<sup>8</sup>

Brown strongly suggests that Collier wanted to use the manuscript in the volume on Jones and apparently sought "a royal occasion, a plausible royal group, and a plausible date." Since Chirk Castle, Denbigshire, North Wales, did not look promising, Collier "rubbed it out." By the time that Gerald Eades Bentley examined the

manuscript during his researches for The Jacobean and Caroline Stage, the endorsement was erased but clear enough to descipher. Moreover, when, in 1799, H.J. Todd, the editor of Milton's Poetical Works (1809) found the endorsement, it was so clearly legible to him that he identified it as being in the Earl's own hand.<sup>9</sup> Thus, it is highly probable that during the years that the manuscript was in the possession of John Payne Collier--the years between Todd's 1799 examination and Bentley's researches--the manuscript had been defaced.

Following Sir John Egerton, the succeeding members of the Bridgewater family did little to advance the cause of literary scholarship. For two generations, the energies of the family were directed to economic and industrial interests. It was only after the third Duke of Bridgewater (1736-1803) died unmarried and bequeathed most of his houses and pictures to his nephew, George Granville, Marquis of Stafford (later first Duke of Sutherland), that the literary genes of the family once again became dominant. The Duke of Bridgewater's will called for reversion of the estate, after Granville's death, to the latter's son, known successively as Lord Francis Leveson-Gower and then as Lord Francis Egerton (1800-57).

Egerton was raised to the peerage as the Earl of Ellesmere in 1846, while serving as Vice-President of the Shakespeare Society, but it was as Francis L. Gower that Collier was first introduced to him by Ellesmere's brother-in-law, Charles Greville. In a marginal autograph note in the Folger Library copy of his Old Man's Diary, Collier remarked that he had been introduced to Charles Greville by Thomas Amyot, who was later to serve with Collier on the Councils of the Camden and the Percy Societies. Greville was greatly impressed by Collier's reputation as a Shakespearean scholar and knew of his researches among the Duke of Devonshire's papers. When Greville took it upon himself to introduce Collier to his brother-in-law, Francis Leveson-Gower, Collier noted in his Diary that he found Lord Francis to be "most courteous, kindly, and confidential."<sup>10</sup>

The two men quickly established an amicable relationship, for, in Collier's words, after "a comparatively short acquaintance [he] has given me his keys, and has put all his valuable, I may say invaluable books and manuscripts at my disposal: he has made no reserves, even as to family papers."<sup>11</sup> Though an authoritative life of Ellesmere was understood to be his primary objective, Collier was at liberty to read and publish any matter that seemed of historical or biographical importance.<sup>12</sup>

From this source, Collier derived materials for his fifty-five page pamphlet, New Facts Regarding the Life of Shakespeare, in a letter to Thomas Amyot, Esq., F.R.S., Treasurer of the Society of Antiquaries from J. Payne Collier, F.S.A. (1835). The New Facts were contained in seven presumably contemporary documents found by Collier in the Bridgewater Library. Perhaps the most interesting of them was a statement of account of rewards and payments for entertaining Queen Elizabeth at Harefield in August, 1602, signed "Arth Maynwaringe." Supposedly in the handwriting of Sir Arthur Maynwaringe, whose signature is found on each statement, this single sheet noted the payment to Burbage's players for performing Othello, a "fact" which Collier urged on the reading public as definite proof that Othello was not written in 1604 as maintained by Malone, but as early as 1602. In spite of later proof that this sheet, among others, was spurious, W.N.C. Carlton, as late as 1918, recorded it as fact in his privately printed Notes on the Bridgewater House Library:

An incident of high literary interest associated with the lord keeper's career was the visit of Queen Elizabeth to his house at Harefield, July 31-August 3, 1602. As was customary on the occasion of such royal visits, an elaborate programme of entertainment was carried out with great pomp and pageantry throughout the

four days. The event that marks the royal visit as a memorable one in literary history was the first recorded performance of Shakespeare's Othello by 'Burbidges players,' who, with Shakespeare himself almost certainly amongst them, had been specially brought down from London to give the play before the Queen.<sup>13</sup>

From the same source, Collier gathered materials for his sixty-eight page publication, New Particulars regarding the Works of Shakespeare, in a letter to the Rev. A. Dyce, B.A., Editor of the Works of Peele, Greene, Webster, etc., from J. Payne Collier, F.S.A. (1836). And, in the subsequent year, Collier produced his 366-page Catalogue, Bibliographical and Critical of Early English Literature; forming a portion of the Library at Bridgewater House, the property of the Rt. Hon. Lord Francis Egerton, M.P. Fifty copies were printed at Lord Ellesmere's expense, and when the Lord was supplied with as many as he required for "public bodies and private friends," he liberally presented Collier with all of the remainder.<sup>14</sup> Collier noted in his Autobiography that he himself kept most of them, never selling any, and used his own copy to add numerous notes and corrections. When, more than twenty-five years later, in 1865, Collier produced The Biographical and Critical Account of the Rarest Books in the English Language, he included in it the whole of the Bridgewater catalog along with his own notes, corrections and additions.

One other publication remained to be gleaned from the materials in the Bridgewater Library. In 1840, Collier produced for the new Camden Society, The Egerton Papers: A Collection of Public and Private Documents, chiefly illustrative of the times of Elizabeth and James I., from the Original Manuscripts, the property of the Right Hon. Lord Francis Egerton, M.P., President of the Camden Society. The Papers ran to 509 quarto pages.

Collier's relationship with the Earl of Ellesmere took a turn for the worse around 1849 when he opposed Lord Ellesmere on an issue touching the printing of a catalog for the British Museum. The specific details of the incident gain importance in this study since they speak to the facet of Collier's personality which is at once foolhardy, combative, and stubborn. These same traits in later years damaged his reputation, brought dishonor to his name, and sacrificed the future of the Shakespeare Society.

The circumstances deserve retelling. On 17 June 1847, a Royal Commission was appointed to inquire into what must be done to make the British Museum more effective for the advance of Literature, Science, and the Arts. The Chairman of the Commission was Lord Ellesmere who, through his influence, arranged for the appointment of John Payne Collier to the position of Secretary of the



Commission. Collier's appointment was warmly greeted by The Times which described Collier as having the habits of application and business which peculiarly fit him for his new office.<sup>15</sup> The appointment also enabled Collier to resign his position as a journalist and to devote more of his time to his Elizabethan and Shakespearean studies.

The dispute originated between Collier and Antonio Panizzi, then Keeper of the Printed Books. Panizzi, though not a member of the Commission, was granted permission by Lord Ellesmere to be present during the whole inquiry. The controversy centered on the cataloging of the Museum's collection. Panizzi never favored a printed catalog; his ideal was an alphabetical manuscript full-title listing which could be kept up to date by hand. He also advocated a supplementary subject index and printed catalogs of special collections, designed primarily for scholars. Collier, on the other hand, believed what was needed was a brief, intelligible catalog which could easily be prepared in four years and printed in one. To plead his case, Collier drew up two letters to Lord Ellesmere: A Letter to the Earl of Ellesmere, on the subject of a new Alphabetical Catalogue of the Printed Books in the British Museum and A Supplementary letter to the Earl of Ellesmere; occasioned by certain

interrogatories from the Keeper of the printed books in the British Museum. <sup>16</sup> In the first, Collier stressed that a printed alphabetical list of books in the British Museum was necessary; that Panizzi had imagined difficulties which did not really exist; that Panizzi's methods of cataloging anonymous works were erroneous; that the catalog letter A had been compiled upon a wrong principle; and that the cost would not be so great as that of Panizzi's manuscript catalog in five hundred volumes.

While Panizzi had many enemies within the British Museum, including Sir Frederic Madden, who "hated him, both for personal and for political reasons," and Sir Henry Ellis, Principal Librarian, who shared the political prejudices of Madden, <sup>17</sup> Panizzi also had powerful friends, including Henry Peter Brougham, later Lord Chancellor, the statesman William Gladstone, William Ewart, founder of the Public Library movement, and ultimately, Lord Francis Egerton.

According to Collier, Panizzi completely ruled over Ellesmere, and in spite of the fact that, as Collier recalls, "Ellesmere used at one time to make me his confidant in all his poetical and literary matters--so much so that he gave me several of his poems that I might read, criticize and even correct them," Ellesmere's reliance on Collier was undermined

when Panizzi came about him. "I was then not infrequently detained in the dining room, while Panizzi in the library was moulding Lord Ellesmere to his views, as regards the British Museum." 18 Collier's voice as Secretary and as advocate of a system of brief catalog entries was heard, however. "They could not refuse to listen to my evidence," wrote Collier, "but it had not the slightest influence on the result." 19 Collier never forgave Ellesmere whom he said had often "told me, though certainly not in direct terms that he would see me provided for in the Institution." 20 After the incident, Collier never again spoke to Lord Ellesmere.

Collier's obvious displeasure with the personal and actual results of the Commission's inquiry does not entirely discredit his often-stated view of Lord Ellesmere as a morally weak and highly impressionable man. In a 1924 Bridgewater family history entitled The Bridgewater Millions, author Bernard Falk calls Francis Egerton the "Earl who Lacked Devil" and describes him as an indifferent performer in every sort of endeavor:

Stretching away in the distance the Promised Land lay open to his gaze, but never was he to be capable of the supreme effort needed to enter its gates. The fault arose not from the intervention of a malign fate; it was traceable entirely to the infirmities of an all-too-restful nature ill-fashioned for the highest accomplishment . . . . Some things he did

well--none superlatively well. Too many conditions vital to success were absent-- original thought, genuine inspiration, grit, staying power, and an all-consuming ambition. <sup>21</sup>

Though Ellesmere never personally advanced beyond the reputation of a dabbler in literature and politics, his immense wealth, his family's literary resources, <sup>22</sup> and his inherited proclivity to support the arts enabled important contributions to be made in the field of literary history. To his credit, Ellesmere's rift with Collier did not disturb his sense of responsibility to the Shakespeare Society, which he continued to support as President until the end.

For Collier, however, the year 1850, the time of his estrangement from the Earl of Ellesmere, clearly represents a turning point in his professional fortunes. Before him lay the unfortunate publication of his "Old Corrector's" emendations to the second folio of Shakespeare and the public inquiries into all of his previous scholarship. Behind him lay a solid reputation as an antiquary, an Elizabethan scholar, and a Shakespearean editor.

When Collier began his literary career, it was as a journalist following in his father's path as a reporter for The Times, which he served for twelve years or more, from 1808 to 1821. His ability attracted the notice of John Walter II,

then the proprietor of the paper. In the Preface to his Old Man's Diary, Collier recalls John Walter with affection:

He was the first person who discovered any ability in me, who employed it and rewarded it: how liberal he was may be judged from the fact that he gave me £50 for a few communications and £100 for getting the newspaper out of a scrape, in which I myself had accidentally involved it. 23

Collier's life before 1850, though filled with bright prospects for the future, was not without its shaded areas. The "scrape" to which Collier referred occurred in 1819 when as a Parliamentary reporter for The Times Collier had erroneously reported that Joseph Hume had stated in a speech in the House of Commons that George Canning, the future Prime Minister, owed the progress of his political career to the capacity to laugh at the miseries of the poor. After the House of Commons ordered Charles Bell, publisher of The Times, to attend the Bar, Collier assumed the responsibility for the incident in a communication to the Speaker. Collier's letter explained that when he was taking notes on Mr. Hume's speech, he was seated in a back row, had not heard Hume's words firsthand, and had asked another person seated near him what Mr. Hume had said. Collier had merely recorded what that person told him.

In spite of his explanation and apology, Collier

was taken into custody and committed to Newgate. Henry Crabb Robinson recorded the event in his Diary on 16 June 1819:

I was exceedingly alarmed lest this might hurt Collier and Walter, but, to my satisfaction, I found that Collier had raised himself in Walter's opinion; for, by his gentlemanly behavior, he raised the character of the reporters, and he completely relieved Walter from the imputation of having altered the article. I called on Collier in the House of Commons Prison; he was in good spirits. Mrs. Collier was there, and Walter came too, with Barnes. I chatted with Walter about the propriety of petitioning. He wished Collier to lie in custody till the end of the session, but I differed in opinion, and corrected the petition, which was ultimately adopted. . . . There was no opposition to Mr. W. Smith's motion for Collier's discharge.<sup>24</sup>

After a reprimand and a payment of fees, Collier was released.

Collier believed, and so stated in his Old Man's Diary, that he was useful to John Walter and "should never have quitted him but for a disagreement with a leading person of his establishment."<sup>25</sup> That person was Thomas Barnes, editor of The Times from 1817 to 1841. The reason for Collier's separation from The Times has several interesting and character-revealing versions. One, credited to Collier by the authors of the History of the Times, maintains that Barnes disliked Collier because the latter had written a letter to John Walter, the

proprietor, telling of Barnes's early poverty, of the time in which, as an act of friendship, the elder Walter had lent Barnes wine when his friend was too poor to buy his own entertainment, and that Collier himself had also lent Barnes money, which was never repaid. It was Collier's conclusion, as recounted in The History, that his presence reminded Barnes of less pleasant times and so Collier was dismissed.<sup>26</sup>

According to The History of the Times, however, Collier's story--which is related in its own pages, but not easily found elsewhere--is not credible in light of the known character of Barnes:

It was in large part due to Crabb Robinson's persuasive powers that Collier was retained on the staff for so long. Robinson's diary manifests on many occasions an increasing anxiety for Collier's future in office; tells of a concern given Walter by Collier's indiscretions; expresses a fear that Barnes dislikes Collier and allows that the laziness imputed to Collier is justly charged. Idleness, more probably than Barnes's spite, brought about his summary dismissal in 1821, and he went over to the Morning Chronicle.<sup>27</sup>

In the manuscript copy of his Diary, in the entry dated 21 August 1877, Collier recalls that his separation from The Times was voluntary and was prompted by his financial concerns at that period:<sup>28</sup>

I was always on the best terms with the late John Walter, although against his

will, and with some regret on my part I left his paper for the Morning Chronicle. I had married, children arrived & more were on their way. He gave me £350 a year but wo not increase it because, if he did he must increase the pay of some dozen others or discontent them.. Perry [of the Chronicle] offered me in the commencement £400 and subsequently augmented it . . . to £500 and then, when I began editorial duties to £600 a year which was the most I ever received from a London Newspaper.

It may be more accurate to conclude, not that Collier was lazy or idle, but that he had undertaken too many activities to perform any one to the the best of his abilities or with all of his powers of good judgment activated. He had, as early as 1813, while still a member of The Times staff, established a connection with the Morning Chronicle. On assignment for the Chronicle, in fact, Collier visited Holland and France in 1813-14 to report on French troop movements.<sup>29</sup> Perry, the editor of the Chronicle, was as quick as Walter of The Times to recognize Collier's abilities and while Collier was still with The Times appointed him to edit The Evening Chronicle, which was a thrice-weekly compilation and condensation of articles in the morning edition.

During the same period, Collier was also pursuing his interests in Elizabethan studies, publishing columns in The Chronicle, The Edinburgh Magazine, and in his father's Literary Review. It was said by The Times, in a posthumously published



article on Collier, that Collier's contributions to The Edinburgh and to The Literary Review "became the chief means of drawing the attention of scholars, and eventually of general readers as well, to a group and constellation of dramatists who were but little known and studied, with the single exception of Shakespeare himself, and possibly Ben Jonson, Massinger, and Beaumont and Fletcher." 30

Collier's employment for both newspapers, his visit to Holland and France, his editorship of The Evening Chronicle, and his literary publications were being accomplished at the same time that he was entered as a student of the Middle Temple. Collier also had ambitions for the Bar.

Late in 1816, however, newly married and newly introduced to the expenses of setting up house, Collier found himself, as he admits in his Autobiography, a little short of money. "It was the only excuse," he wrote, "I can offer for doing what I did." 31 Collier was referring to the "improper and injudicious" decision he made which ultimately trifled away his hopes for a career in Law:

. . . an offer was made me of £100 if I would furnish a short series of critical articles upon them [the leading counsel in the various Courts of Justice] in the 'Examiner' newspaper, which were afterwards to be reprinted in a small Volume, for editing

which I was to be paid another £100. In my then circumstances I could not make up my mind to resist the offer. . . . In short it was altogether a very foolish piece of business, & after I had been called to the Bar of the Middle Temple it was after thrown in my teeth and occasioned some personal quarrels with men upon whose heels I might be treading. However the 'Criticisms on the Bar' were written, were published in the newspaper, & afterwards in 1819 in a volume: & I received £200 for what I ought to have been glad to give as much, or possibly a great deal more, to avoid the very awkward position in which it placed me among men of the same, and of superior rank in the profession.

Thus, in 1819, Collier did little to enhance his reputation among members of the Bar. He not only slandered Joseph Hume and caused himself to be confined in Newgate Prison, but he also earned the animosity of over two dozen prominent barristers with his offensive sketches in Criticisms on the Bar: Including Strictures on the Principal Counsel Practising in the Courts of Kings Bench, Common Pleas, Chancery, and Exchequer. In spite of the fact that the book was published anonymously, by Amicus Curiae, it took little time for his subjects to discover that the author was none other than John Payne Collier.

As a result of his lack of judgment, Collier's call to the Bar was delayed until 6 February 1829, long beyond the time by which he was qualified. Collier, however, recognized

that the cost to him was more than a delayed call to the Bar. On 23 September 1882, the ninety-three year old diarist was still smarting. "I might have got on," he wrote, "even with a Wife and children, but for my 'Criticisms on the Bar.'" "They could never have been forgiven and I ought never to have expected it." <sup>32</sup>

Collier stayed with The Morning Chronicle for nearly forty years as law and parliamentary reporter, as drama and literary critic, and as writer of leading articles. During those same years, he completed his two-volume Poetical Decameron, or Ten Conversations on English Poets and Poetry, particularly of the reigns of Elizabeth and James I (1820), a book which The Times posthumously observed as "the Helicon, in fact, . . . from which Keats, Barry Cornwall, and Tennyson have derived much of their inspiration." <sup>33</sup> The Decameron earned Collier a name in the literary world and was his primary distinction as a scholar until the publication in 1831 of his History of English Dramatic Poetry to the Time of Shakespeare: and The Annals of the Stage to the Restoration. Between these two works, however, Collier published privately and anonymously an original allegorical poem entitled, The Poet's Pilgrimage (1825) which included preliminary verses to C.L. (Charles Lamb). During the same year,

he superintended a reprint of Dodsley's Old Plays in twelve volumes, and in 1828, Collier published as a supplementary volume to the latter work, Five Old Plays.<sup>34</sup>

As Collier was well-acquainted with the library of Richard Heber, perhaps, as Collier himself had it, because of his publication of The Poetical Decameron, Collier was asked to annotate the portion of the Heber catalog devoted to Old English literature. The result of his efforts was A Catalogue of Heber's Collection of Early English Poetry, the Drama, Ancient Ballads and Broad-sides, Rare and Curious Books and English, Scottish, and Irish History, and French Romances. With Notices by J. Payne Collier, Esq., and Prices and Purchasers' Names. Collier's Catalogue formed the fourth part of the Bibliotheca Heberiana (1834).

During his years at The Chronicle, which Collier did not leave until 1847, he issued a number of reprints of pieces of old literature, in limited editions, as well as in large numbers, for the Camden, the Percy, and the Shakespeare Societies. Collier's resignation from the staff of the newspaper resulted not only from his growing reputation as an Elizabethan scholar and the patronage--particularly of the Duke of Devonshire--which followed his scholarly publications, but primarily because of his appointment by the Earl of Ellesmere to the secretaryship

of the Royal Commission for the British Museum, and--if one may believe Collier--the other considerations: namely, Ellesmere's promise to provide for Collier's future with the British Museum, a prospect which greatly appealed to him.<sup>35</sup>

It is easy to understand how Collier was able to gather round him, in a short span of time, Councillors and members for the Shakespeare Society. He drew on friendships first sown in his father's home and later fostered during his careers as a journalist and as a literary scholar. Moreover, it must be credited to Collier--as unhappily demonstrated later in his career--that he never found it difficult to persuade friends and colleagues to his views.

Though it would be unduly tedious and unnecessary to parade every one of the fifty-nine Councillors before the reader, a representative view of the quality, diversity, and interrelationships of the more prominent members expands the picture and defines the extent of Collier's perfidy.

ii

The name which appears first on the original roster of Councillors is that of Thomas Amyot (1775-1850), an intimate of Collier's father, John Dyer Collier, and,

subsequently, of the diarist Henry Crabb Robinson, who lived in the Collier household during John Payne's early years (1803-4, 1811-12).<sup>36</sup> Robinson recalled not only the dinner parties with Amyot and the elder Collier, but also his personal and private meetings with Amyot, the devoted bibliophile, at book sales--most notably the Kemble sale on 30 January 1821 at which the Duke of Devonshire acquired much of the dramatic collection which was later to be of so much use to John Payne Collier.<sup>37</sup>

As an attorney, an antiquary and as an avid book collector, Amyot enjoyed a great circle of friends which he did not hesitate to expand by including such worthies as Robinson, a fellow barrister, and John Payne Collier, the young son of a respected friend. Robinson noted with affection Amyot's introducing him to the eminent book collector, Richard Heber<sup>38</sup> as well as to the fellowship of the Society of Antiquaries.<sup>39</sup>

Like Robinson, Collier became the beneficiary of Amyot's social and literary generosity. It may be recalled that Amyot had introduced Collier to Grenville, the brother-in-law of the Earl of Ellesmere. It was also Amyot who opened doors for Collier at the British Museum through an introduction to Henry Ellis, Principal Librarian of the British Museum and later (1844-51) a Councillor of the Shakespeare Society.<sup>40</sup> Of even more tangible importance

to Collier's literary future was his presentation, through Amyot, to Mr. Allen, then the Master of Dulwich College. Through Allen's efforts on his behalf, Collier was permitted to consult the Alleyn collection of books and manuscripts in the College Library.<sup>41</sup>

Amyot remained active in the Shakespeare Society from its founding until his death in 1850. Perhaps his most fitting epitaph was the personal narrative written by Edward Smith in the Dictionary of National Biography:

Amyot was a favourite with all who knew him, well-informed, accomplished, amiable, industrious. He collected a very fine library and was always ready to give literary assistance.

One can only be grateful that he was saved the personal grief of his friend's disgrace.

A second life-member of the Council as well as a regular in the Amyot-Collier-Robinson circle was William Ayrton (1777-1858), a musical writer and critic, a close friend, like the Colliers, of Charles Lamb and William Hazlitt. Ayrton is mentioned only occasionally, but with fondness, in Robinson's Diary and then generally as one of a party which included the elder Collier, Thomas Noon Talfourd, and Barron Field--the latter two ultimately Councillors of the Shakespeare Society. Charles Knight mentioned him briefly in Passages of a Working Life During Half a Century as a "man of education" who "moved

in the best society" with ability as a writer and an extensive musical knowledge.<sup>42</sup> Though Ayrton is hardly mentioned in Collier's reminiscences, both men served together on The Morning Chronicle for at least five years.

More prominent than Ayrton on the first Council was Charles Wentworth Dilke (1789-1864), who immediately assumed the task of Treasurer for the Society, but whose name appears only through the first four volumes on the roster of Councillors. Dilke is best known for his "shrewd management and sound honesty and good sense," abilities which turned an ailing Athenaeum into a thriving and influential periodical in the short space of two years.<sup>43</sup> Because of his modesty and retiring disposition, no lengthy record of Dilke's life exists. Even Dilke's grandson, who was closer to him in his later years than anyone else and who consequently composed a brief memoir of his grandfather, could include few insightful details of Dilke's life.

What is known is that Dilke had a reputation as an antiquary and critic before he came to The Athenaeum in 1829. He had contributed to The London Review, The London Magazine, Colburn's New Monthly, and The Retrospective Review. He had also edited, like Collier a decade later, a continuation of Dodsley's Old English Plays.<sup>44</sup>



When he joined the staff of The Athenaeum, his contributions were printed beside those of John Payne Collier, Alexander Dyce, James Orchard Halliwell, Thomas Wright, Peter Cunningham, Charles Knight, and Sir Frederic Madden--all future members of the first Shakespeare Society Council.

During his tenure as editor of The Athenaeum, Dilke initiated a column called, "Our Weekly Gossip on Literature and Art," which today can be read as a history of Victorian England. He opened the pages of The Athenaeum to prominent men of letters, engaging many as regular reviewers of scholarly works for the paper. Through Dilke's efforts, W.J. Thoms, another life-long friend of Collier and member of the Society Council, began in 1846 a "department" for The Athenaeum called "Folk-Lore," a term which Thoms is supposed to have originated. Three years later, again through the financial support and encouragement of Dilke, Thoms was able to satisfy a personal dream to publish the first number of Notes and Queries, a journal to which Collier regularly contributed and which to this day serves scholars in many fields.

Though The Athenaeum, under Dilke's management, regularly recognized and reviewed the productions and meeting of the Shakespeare Society, Dilke personally adhered to a strict policy of editorial and professional

independence. To support that policy, Dilke withdrew as much as possible from general society in order to avoid compromising personal intimacies with authors and publishers.<sup>45</sup> In joining the Council of the fledgling Shakespeare Society, Dilke may have intended to lend his name for a short time in public support of an association which in fact coincided with his own literary interests. Once public interest was aroused, however--in no small part owing to the announcements in The Athenaeum--Dilke may have decided to resume his private posture and to withdraw his name from the Council of the Society. Whatever his personal reasons, Dilke's Athenaeum never failed in its recognition of the works of the Shakespeare Society.

Among the original members of the Shakespeare Society Council, there were no fewer than five editors and biographers of Shakespeare. All of them were, at least in 1840, professional colleagues, if not close personal acquaintances, of John Payne Collier. Charles Knight (1791-1873), the tireless advocate of popular education, began his career as a Shakespearean editor with a Pictorial Edition of the Works of Shakspeare issued in monthly parts from 1838-1841. Unfortunately, the history of Knight's numerous publications is also a record of

his unsuspecting reliance upon Collier's scholarship.

In one well-known incident Knight adverted to a letter printed by Collier in New Facts which was purported to have been written in 1608 by Lord Southampton to Lord Chancellor Ellesmere. Knight had added it as a postscript to his edition of Twelfth Night. Following the publication, Knight's friend, J.W. Croker, wrote to him to suggest, for the first time on record, that the letter discovered by Collier among Lord Ellesmere's papers "smacks to me of modern invention, and all my reconsideration of the subject and some other circumstances which have since struck me, corroborate my doubts." 46

In spite of the doubts which chilled his regard for Collier's scholarship, the decent and tolerant Knight continued to cite Collier as an authority even in his later works. In fact, though Knight left the Council at the end of the year in which his Pictorial Edition appeared, he returned to a more-or-less regular membership on the Council in 1848 (See Appendix E).

It is curious as well as revealing of Collier's prodigious influence that in the same year--indeed, just a few months before--Knight rejoined the Council, he had been called into more-than-usual contact with Collier by Charles Dickens. In one of his many altruistic efforts, Dickens pressed both Collier and Knight into service

in a scheme to raise funds for the maintenance of Shakespeare's birthplace.

Dickens had met Collier through J.H. Barrow, a former colleague of Collier on The Times. Barrow was impressed with the abilities demonstrated by his nephew, Charles, who was gaining journalistic expertise as a reporter for The True Sun and The Mirror of Parliament. Barrow made efforts to get Dickens a post on one of the dailies since there were no openings on the staff of Barrow's Times. Dickens suggested to his uncle the possibility of a position on the liberal Morning Chronicle, and since by 1833 Collier had become a sub-editor in charge of Parliamentary reporting for the Chronicle, it was to Collier that Barrow applied for a recommendation for his nephew. Collier met with both men one evening and was impressed enough to write a letter on Dickens's behalf. This was in July, 1833. Collier's efforts, unfortunately, had little effect at that time. One year later, however, with The Morning Chronicle under new and vigorous management, Dickens was able to join the staff. <sup>47</sup>

Dickens and Collier remained on good terms from that time, and though Dickens was neither an original nor a consistent member of the Council, it is clearly revealing of Collier's powerful personal influence that a year

after Collier joined Dickens in his Amateur Theatre project, Dickens's name, like Knight's, appears on the roster of the Shakespeare Society Council.

Alexander Dyce, an Elizabethan scholar and an eminent and highly respected editor of Shakespeare, was, like Collier, Amyot, Ayrton, and Halliwell, a founding member of the Society. Unlike Ayrton or Knight, however, Dyce was mentioned dozens of times in the personal recollections of John Payne Collier. Regrettably, in his own Reminiscences, which were presented to the Victoria and Albert Museum in 1905, Dyce discussed few of his contemporaries who were still living in 1869. Crabb Robinson in his Books provided the first record of Dyce in the company of Collier:

April 6th [1833]. A Dinner at J.P. Collier's, where I met for the first time Dyce, whom I then thought agreeable. He is more than that, but by no means good-natured. He is a critic and too apt, as critics often are, to treat bad taste as bad morals. Woe be to the literary world if Pope's lie be true that  
     Every bad author is as bad  
     a friend.<sup>48</sup>

Robinson was more gracious to Dyce in his original Diary, but he revised his recollection of Dyce for his Reminiscences in light of the controversy over the integrity of his friend Collier.

Before Collier's defection from honest scholarship was publicly recognized in the 1850s, Dyce and he were on reasonably good terms. Dyce had dedicated to Collier his five-volume edition of the Works of Thomas Middleton in 1840 and publicly thanked Collier for assistance in his two-volume Skelton which appeared in 1843. By 1846, however, when Dyce was most harried by his scholarly occupations, primarily his recently completed eleven-volume edition of The Works of Beaumont and Fletcher and his contemplated edition of Shakespeare, he clearly had lost patience with both Collier and the entire literary association scene.<sup>49</sup> "Why," Dyce questioned Collier, "do you persist in trying to render my old age unhappy by threatening to borrow my books for that Society (which you will make me hate)?"

Dyce's disenchantment with Collier had privately revealed itself two years earlier. In a note cited by Richard J. Schrader in The Reminiscences of Alexander Dyce, John Gibson Lockhart wrote to John Wilson Croker (Knight's friend) on 29 March 1844 that, "Mr. Milman [the Reverend Henry Hart Milman, an original member of the Shakespeare Society Council] tells me Mr. Dyce is about to publish a volume on Shakespeare in which he proposes to 'knock Collier's head & Knights [sic] heads together, & shew that both are brainless.'"<sup>50</sup>

Dyce's published misgivings about Collier's scholarly work appeared, as Lockhard had predicted to Croker, that same year in Remarks on Mr. J.P. Collier's and Mr. C. Knight's Editions of Shakespeare. Dyce does indeed assail Collier's conclusions. Questions of honesty are never raised:<sup>51</sup>

Had I committed to paper all the remarks, which occurred to me during a careful perusal of Mr. Collier's and Mr. Knight's Editions of Shakespeare, they would have far exceeded the limits of a single volume, . . . even those remarks now printed form only a part of which I had actually written down; but the Publisher very reasonably disliking a bulky book, it became necessary to make the present selection and consequently to weaken the force of my protest about those two editions.

I must not be understood as if I meant to say that the same faults are always common to the editions of Mr. Collier and Mr. Knight; for, though it is my deliberate opinion that Shakespeare suffered greatly from both, yet the one appears to me to be some times right where the other is wrong, and vice versa. Some of my remarks apply to the modern editors generally.

The censure which I presume to pass so decidedly on these two editions does not extend to the biographical portions. Mr. Collier's Life of Shakespeare exhibits the most praiseworthy research, a careful examination of all the particulars which have been discovered concerning the great dramatist, and the most intimate acquaintance with the history of our early stage. Mr. Knight's Shakspeare, A Biography, I have not read.

It was not until 1853 that Dyce made public his

doubts about the genuineness of Collier's "discoveries." He followed his 1853 publication of A Few Notes on Shakespeare; with Occasional Remarks on the Emendations of the Manuscript-Corrector in Mr. Collier's Copy of the Folio 1632 with an 1859 work, Strictures on Mr. Collier's New Edition of Shakespeare. Dyce was outraged by Collier's fraudulent practices and his own gullibility.

During Dyce's final illness with a liver ailment, Collier made an attempt to see him. In an entry dated 1 July 1873, Collier wrote:

I wish to record that in spite of Dyce's hostility to me, shown in every page, almost, of his Shakespeare, I twice endeavoured, during his friendship, & after I had in every way, during the whole of that time, lent him my best and in every work he produced. He could not forgive me for stripping before him in publishing an edition of Shakespeare, when he never gave me a hint, even, that he contemplated such a work.<sup>52</sup>

In spite of the fact that Collier had accused Dyce of severing their long intimacy in which he thought of himself as having been the kindest and most useful of friends,<sup>53</sup> Dyce reported in 1859 that "the main object of [Strictures is] to expose the ungentlemanly treatment which I have received at the hands of one who seems to take pleasure in proclaiming that he was once my friend."<sup>54</sup>

Dyce was publicly hurting from Collier's reference to



him in his 1856 publication of Seven Lectures on Shakespeare and Milton by the Late S T. Coleridge. In that volume, Collier devoted over two dozen pages to Dyce's "inaccuracies" and "oversights," after which in a show of unbelievable hypocrisy--or insensitivity--Collier added an apology "to my friend, the Rev. A. Dyce, for so often bringing forward his name in connection with decided errors; but it has been his fortune to reprint so many more plays than I have done, that although I have studiously not spared my own mistakes, he is necessarily responsible for a greater number."<sup>55</sup>

Less than two years later, Collier, in receipt of a letter from Hepworth Dixon, then editor of The Athenaeum and planning to write an article on Dyce, expressed his attitude toward Dyce's scholarship more bluntly. Collier cautioned Dixon that he should look at the preface to the Seven Lectures. "I think you will admit," wrote Collier, "that I there point out some gross--ridiculously gross--oversights and blunders."<sup>56</sup>

James Orchard Halliwell (1820-1889) was the youngest of the Shakespeare Society Councillors as well as the youngest biographer of Shakespeare. He started his literary career as an avid antiquary, a protégé of Thomas Wright, Halliwell's senior by ten years. They met at

Cambridge when Halliwell, though only eighteen, was starting on his prodigious publishing career, primarily in antiquarian studies. Though he would not concentrate his attention on Shakespeare's life and the text of his works for at least two more years, Halliwell's joint venture with Knight, Wright, Amyot, and Collier in the founding of the Shakespeare Society, drew him very quickly to the study of Shakespeare.

His first contact with Collier came through a letter he wrote to Collier (in the latter's capacity as a newspaperman) to solicit from him a review of a pamphlet on freemasonry which Halliwell had completed. Collier refused Halliwell's request, but in spite of this untoward introduction, the two men became close friends.

Unfortunately, like Dyce and Knight, Halliwell was duped by Collier's forgeries. He cited Collier as authority in every one of his publications for the Shakespeare Society and in his 1850 New Boke About Shakespeare and Stratford-On-Avon. By 1853, however, Halliwell too had departed from the fold even though his name remained on the roster of Councillors through the Society's final publication. An abrupt break with Collier was forthcoming.

On 9 June 1859, Collier wrote to an unnamed recipient:

I had not seen Mr. Halliwell's circulars until you sent them to me.  
The 'well-known author' is myself.

I adopted the plan, now taken up by Mr. Halliwell, some years ago. He is fond of having an oar in every boat, sailing with wind and tide, and of following up other people's experiments. In this I have not requested to be put on Mr. Halliwell's list, merely because he does not wish it--I gather from his not having favoured me with a circular.<sup>57</sup>

The circulars to which Collier alluded in his letter may have been the advertisements of Halliwell's ambitious sixteen-volume edition of The Works of William Shakespeare, the Text Formed from a New Collation of the Early Editions: to Which are Added All the Original Novels and Tales on Which the Plays are Founded: Copious Archaeological Annotations on Each Play; an Essay on the Formation of the Text; and a Life of Poet (1653-1865). Since the edition was to be published in limited numbers by subscription and would be considered, even today, an expensive investment--£63 £84 for the set--it is highly likely that Halliwell exercised much care in soliciting his subscribers, all of whom were conspicuously listed in the preliminary pages of the first volume. Moreover, by that time, Halliwell was making a conscientious effort to eliminate all traces of Collier's influence from his scholarly publications.

Halliwell, however, was less relentless in his animosity toward Collier than was Dyce. In 1863, Halliwell presented

Collier with an inscribed copy of his publication, An Historical Account of the Birth-Place of Shakespeare by the Late R B. Wheler, Esq. Reprinted from the Edition of 1824, with a Few Prefatory Remarks by J.O Halliwell. The short volume, important segments of which were placed at my disposal by Professor Louis Marder, had been compiled for the benefit of the Birth-Place Fund and bore an inscription addressed to Collier in Halliwell's hand: "J.P. Collier, Esq. With the Editor's kind regards."

In addition to the journalists, barristers, antiquaries, and Shakespearean editors and biographers, the Shakespeare Society Council also claimed its share of representatives from the theatrical community. Douglas Jerrold (1803-1857), chiefly remembered as an original contributor to Punch, the illustrated weekly comic periodical, was also a successful playwright. Charles Dickens recalled Jerrold as "a little man, almost deformed, but bright-eyed, quick and eager in spirit."<sup>58</sup> In his Old Man's Diary, Collier recalled that Jerrold mentioned to him that he was considering going on the stage as performer as well as playwright and that, as Collier assessed him, Jerrold had a face "with not sufficient power of expression," and a "figure small, though not too bad" for such an ambition.<sup>59</sup>

Another original Councillor was Thomas Noon Talfourd

(1795-1854), a barrister who took early to literature through which he became acquainted with Charles Lamb and William Wordsworth. Talfourd may be best remembered, however, for several of his original dramas, most notably the tragedy of Ion (1835), and for Dickens's dedication to him of The Pickwick Papers. Collier, however, did not share Dickens's fond view of Talfourd.

In later life, Collier noted in his Diary that the Talfourds had come to a ball at his father's home in Hatton Garden,<sup>60</sup> but he recorded little else concerning Talfourd personally until a year later, when, in an entry dated 30 August 1881, Collier called Talfourd, "base."<sup>61</sup> If there was a specific cause for this ill will on Collier's part, there is no record of it in Collier's writings.

More active than either Talfourd or Jerrold on the Council of the Society was William Charles Macready (1793-1873), the eminent tragedian. Macready mentioned Collier frequently in his Diaries<sup>62</sup> starting as early as 1833. Macready also noted on 19 January 1838 that Collier called to tell him that his performance as Hamlet was far superior to Mr. Kean's. Macready appreciated such praise, particularly from the drama critic of The Chronicle.

With the exception of the time Macready spent in America (1843-44), his name appeared on the roster of the Shakespeare Society's Council through 1853. Other names from the theatrical community appear on the roster as well, but the only one to come close to rivaling Macready's loyalty was J.R. Planché (1796-1880), who joined the Society in 1842 and remained a committed Council member for seven years. It was Planché who was responsible for the historical accuracy of dress in Charles Kemble's revival of King John at Drury Lane in 1823, and it was Planché, the knowledgeable antiquary (particularly in matters of costuming), who contributed the very well-received portion of the volume on Inigo Jones's drawings for the Shakespeare Society publications.

iii

If anything may be concluded from this roll call of representative Councillors, it is that Collier's professional reach was formidable, his influence almost demonic. His life spanned nearly an entire century. He knew Coleridge and Hazlitt, played billiards with Keats, assisted Dickens professionally and avocationally, charmed Ellesmere and Devonshire--the great literary patrons of the age--reviewed and acclaimed the period's eminent actors and playwrights, and swayed to his

view the most respected scholars of his day.

When his touch was subtle, the sting was a long time being felt; but in direct contact, Collier was destructive-- as much to himself as to his associates. He agonized in 1819 over his publication of Criticisms of the Bar; he suffered in 1846 through his public censure of Dyce's scholarship; he grieved over his ill-advised methods in opposing Panizzi in 1850;<sup>63</sup> and he sacrificed his reputation in 1852 by foisting the Perkins folio on a society of scholars still doubtful over some of his earlier "discoveries."

Though Collier would never allow the case against him to be neatly concluded through an admission of guilt or a published show of repentance, he came close at one point in the last volume of his unpublished Diary. Nearly blind and unable to write because of a debilitating arthritic condition in his hands, Collier lamented:

I am bitterly sad and most sincerely grieved that in every way I am such a despicable offender. I am ashamed of almost every act of my life.<sup>64</sup>

Though relatively short-lived, the Shakespeare Society was a solid achievement for Collier. It gathered together, through his efforts, the most knowledgeable men of the day

in the first cooperative attempt on record to encourage discussion and fresh exploration of rare and unique manuscripts, to raise questions and arouse interest in little-known literary works, and to apply the methods of historical research to Elizabethan literary scholarship. The value of such an enterprise was genuine; and the accomplishments of the Society were substantial.

In the final analysis, glory, as well as ignominy, must attach itself to the name of John Payne Collier, for without him, the Shakespeare Society might never have breathed life.



APPENDIX A: Booksales

The record of book sales below includes not only the auctions of private libraries, but also dealers' sales, which, in the early part of the eighteenth century, were more common than private sales. This listing of book sales, however, does not paint an entirely accurate picture of library dispersals during the period; gifts and bequests to public institutions, for example, did not reach the auction block and could not be cataloged from contemporary records. Moreover, in some cases, the number of sales over a period of several years includes the dispersal of parts of especially large, but one-family, libraries. Such is the case with the library of Edward Harley, second Earl of Oxford, whose collections of pictures, prints, and drawings were sold on 8 March 1742 and whose tract and pamphlet collections occupied four sales in March, April, June, and October 1747 as well as February 1748. The most extensive library sold in England to that time and, with the exception of the Richard Heber library, the largest sold to the present day, was that of Thomas Rawlins, one of the first collectors of sixteenth century English literature. The Rawlins sale occupied sixteen separate days (from 4 December 1721 to 4 March 1734).

The listings for the first half of the nineteenth century

are sub-categorized to indicate the number of sales of private libraries, the number cataloged by booksellers, agents and dealers, and the small number of sales of duplicates by individuals as well as by the British Museum and the Bodleian.

Booksales, 17th and 18th Centuries\*

1676:	1	1700:	7	1734:	17	1768:	18
1677:	2	1701:	8	1735:	14	1769:	16
1678:	6	1702:	4	1736:	17	1770:	16
1679:	3	1703:	8	1737:	20	1771:	15
1680:	6	1704:	9	1738:	20	1772:	16
1681:	8	1705:	6	1739:	26	1773:	10
1682:	4	1706:	10	1740:	19	1774:	13
1683:	8	1707:	14	1741:	2	1775:	10
1684:	10	1708:	9	1742:	4	1776:	10
1685:	14	1709:	13	1743:	3	1777:	10
1686:	19	1710:	10	1744:	4	1778:	8
1687:	20	1711:	10	1745:	4	1779:	12
1688:	5	1712:	2	1746:	4	1780:	8
1689:	5	1713:	7	1747:	5	1781:	10
1690:	9	1714:	11	1748:	3	1782:	12
1691:	32	1715:	16	1749:	7	1783:	23
1692:	28	1716:	23	1750:	3	1784:	21
1693:	21	1717:	11	1751:	6	1785:	21
1694:	25	1718:	13	1752:	1	1786:	26
1695:	25	1719:	9	1753:	4	1787:	14
1696:	9	1720:	10	1754:	7	1788:	21
1697:	20	1721:	24	1755:	6	1789:	13
1698:	5	1722:	21	1756:	6	1790:	19
1699:	17	1723:	26	1757:	8	1791:	18
		1724:	19	1758:	7	1792:	14
		1725:	19	1759:	9	1793:	17
		1726:	23	1760:	12	1794:	19
		1727:	24	1761:	7	1795:	11
		1728:	25	1762:	12	1796:	28
		1729:	19	1763:	7	1797:	20
		1730:	18	1764:	11	1798:	40
		1731:	20	1765:	7	1799:	28
		1732:	25	1766:	9		
		1733:	12	1767:	16		
						Total:	1062

\*List of Catalogues of English Book Sales 1767-1900 Now in the British Museum (London: William Clowes and Sons, Limited, 1915), pp.1-105.

Booksales: First Half of the Nineteenth Century

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>PRIVATE LIBRARY SALE</u>	<u>BOOKSELLER/DEALER AGENT SALE</u>	<u>SALE OF DUPLICATES</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
		14	1	49
1800	34	2	0	33
1801	31	1	3	35
1802	31	2	2	44
1803	40	0	4	27
1804	23	1	2	27
1805	24	1	1	21
1806	19	7	1	34
1807	26	5	1	44
1808	28	3	1	43
1809	29	5	2	30
1810	23	9	5	38
1811	24	3	3	33
1812	27	10	2	39
1813	27	13	2	41
1814	26	21	3	52
1815	28	25	0	61
1816	36	20	1	52
1817	31	23	2	43
1818	18	16	1	48
1819	31	26	1	46
1820	19	19	1	40
1821	20	16	0	41
1822	25	14	1	42
1823	27	22	1	50
1824	27	26	2	59
1825	31	44	0	67
1826	23	35	0	80
1827	45	43	0	71
1828	28	32	0	83
1829	51	35	0	66
1830	31	37	3	72
1831	32	28	2	62
1832	32	44	0	71
1833	27	36	0	77
1834	41	30	0	63
1835	33			

Booksales: First Half of the Nineteenth Century

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>PRIVATE LIBRARY SALE</u>	<u>BOOKSELLER/DEALER AGENT SALE</u>	<u>SALE OF DUPLICATES</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
1836	23	38	0	61
1837	27	36	1	64
1838	26	37	1	64
1839	17	34	1	52
1840	36	36	0	72
1841	19	38	0	57
1842	27	34	0	61
1843	36	26	0	62
1844	23	23	0	46
1845	22	27	0	49
1846	30	26	0	56
1847	29	41	1	71
1848	43	32	1	76
1849	53	29	1	83
1850	33	42	1	75

APPENDIX B: Book Publishing Clubs, 1812-1846

- The Roxburghe Club (1812): Published unpublished manuscripts or reprinted rare works
- The Bannatyne Club (1823): Printed works illustrative of the history and literature of Scotland
- The Oriental Translation Fund (1828): Published translations from eastern manuscripts into the languages of Europe
- The Iona Club (1833): Investigated and illustrated the history, antiquities, and early literature of the highlands and islands of Scotland
- The Surtees Society (1834): Published manuscripts concerned with the ancient Kingdom of Northumberland
- The Abbotsford Club (1834): Printed miscellaneous pieces illustrative of history, literature, and antiquities--primarily Scottish
- The Camden Society (1838): Printed valuable but little known material relative to the civil, ecclesiastical, or literary history of the United Kingdom
- The Spalding Club (1839): Printed historical, ecclesiastical, genealogical, topographical, and literary documents pertaining to Scotland

Book Publishing Clubs, 1812-1846

- The Irish Archaeological Society (1840): Printed the genealogical, ecclesiastical, bardic, topographical, and historical remains of Ireland
- The Parker Society (1840): Printed without alteration the best works of the Fathers and early writers of the Reformed English Church
- The Percy Society (1840): Published and edited obscure specimens and works illustrative of ballad poetry
- The Shakespeare Society (1840): Published works illustrative of the life and writings of William Shakespeare and of early dramatic literature
- The Society for the Publication of Oriental Texts (1841): Published standard works in the Syriac, Arabic, Persian, Turkish, Sanscrit, Chinese, and other languages of the East
- The Wodrow Society (1840): Published works of the early writers of the Reformed Church of Scotland
- The Aelfric Society (1842): Published Anglo-Saxon and other literary monuments, civil and ecclesiastical, illustrative of the early state of England
- The Chetham Society (1843): Published archaeological, biographical, and historical books concerned with the Counties Palatine of Lancaster and Chester

Book Publishing Clubs, 1812-1846+

- The Sydenham Society (1843): Published medical literature
- The Spottiswoode Society (1843): Revived and published acknowledged works of the Bishops, Clergy, and Laity of the Episcopal Church of Scotland and rare manuscripts, pamphlets, and other works, illustrative of the civil, ecclesiastical state of Scotland
- The Ray Society (1844): Printed original works in zoology and botany
- The Wernerian Club (1844): Reprinted standard works of scientific authors of old date (occasionally published works by modern authors)
- The Cavendish Society (1846): Translated and published works and papers on chemistry
- The Hakluyt Society (1846): Reprinted rare voyages, travels and geographical records

+Abraham Hume, pp. 219-294; Harrison Ross Steeves, pp. 99-197.

APPENDIX C: ACCOUNT CHART--Shakespeare Society, 1841-51 #\*

YEAR ENDING DECEMBER	BALANCE ON HAND			ARREARS SUBSCRIPTIONS RECEIVED*	PRINTING COSTS*	BINDING COSTS*	PAPER COSTS*	OUTSTANDING SUBSCRIPTIONS
	£	s.	d.					
1841	552	3	0	—	—	—	—	—
1842	559	14	9	—	175	64	120	260
1843	371	16	9	567	360	105	164	220 cur- rent year
1844	229	3	6	513	256	106	114	1st: 30 2nd: 70 3rd: 125 4th: <u>417</u> 642
1845  (Collector employed)	301	3	1	548	159	79	87	1st: 5 2nd: 15 3rd: 41 4th: 113 5th: <u>308</u> 482
1846	355	16	3	511	212	56	50	1st: 3 2nd: 12 3rd: 27 4th: 74 5th: 115 6th: <u>275</u> 506
1847	252	15	2	338	195	50	50	not specified



APPENDIX C: ACCOUNT CHART—Shakespeare Society, 1841-51 #\*

YEAR ENDING DECEMBER	BALANCE ON HAND			ARREARS SUBSCRIPTIONS RECEIVED*	PRINTING COSTS*	BINDING COSTS*	PAPER COSTS*	OUTSTANDING SUBSCRIPTIONS
	£	s.	d.					
1848	77	18	9	242	180	32	70	not specified
1849	57	17	6	410	198	25	63	not specified
1850	21	17	7	196	242	12	—	not specified
1851	29	14	3	211	113	27	—	not specified

#The Shakespeare Society Auditors reported on the state of the accounts through April 15 of any given year. The printing, binding, and paper costs were computed to December 31 of the previous year while the subscriptions-in-arrears included unpaid accounts through mid-April.

\*These figures are rounded off to the nearest pound.

## APPENDIX D: Works Issued by the Shakespeare Society

- 1841 Memoirs of Edward Alleyn, Founder of Dulwich College.  
By J.P. Collier
- Gosson's School of Abuse. With Introduction, &c.
- Thomas Heywood's Apology for Actors. With Introduction and Notes.
- The Coventry Mysteries. Edited by J. O. Halliwell, with Introduction and Notes.
- Thynne's Pride and Lowliness. With Introduction, Notes, &c. [Edited by J.P. Collier]
- Patient Grissell. A Comedy, by Dekker, Chettle, and Haughton. Edited by J.P. Collier
- 1842 Extracts from the Accounts of the Revels at Court in Elizabeth and James's Reigns. With Introduction and Notes by Peter Cunningham.
- Ben Jonson's Conversations with Drummond. Introduction, &c by David Laing.
- First Sketch of the Merry Wives of Windsor: The Novels on which it is founded, and an Introduction and Notes by J. O. Halliwell.
- Fools and Jesters: with Armin's Nest of Ninnies, &c. Introduction &c by J.P. Collier
- The Old Play of Timon. Now first printed.  
Edited by the Rev. A. Dyce.
- Nash's Pierce Pennilesse. With Introduction, &c. by J.P. Collier.
- Heywood's Edward the Fourth, a Play, in Two Parts.  
Edited by Barron Field.

- 1843 Northbrooke's Treatise. With an Introduction. &c.  
By J.P. Collier.
- The First Sketches of the 2nd and 3rd Parts of  
Henry the VI. Edited by J.O. Halliwell.
- Oberon's Vision Illustrated. By the Rev. N.J.  
Halpin
- The Chester Whitsun Plays--Part I. With Introduc-  
tion and Notes by Thomas Wright.
- The Alleyn Papers, Illustrative of the Early Stage.  
With Introd. by J.P. Collier
- Inedited Tracts by John Forde, the Dramatist. With  
Introduction by J.P. Collier
- 1844 Tarlton's Jests and Tarlton's Newes out of Purgatory:  
With Life, &c. by J.O. Halliwell.
- The True Tragedie of Richard the Third, from a unique  
Copy, and the Latin Play of Richardus Tertius,  
from a Manuscript. Edited by Barron Field.
- The Ghost Of Richard the Third. A Poem. Edited by  
J.P. Collier
- Sir Thomas More. A Play. Edited by the Rev. A. Dyce
- THE SHAKESPEARE SOCIETY'S PAPERS. Vol. 1
- The Taming of a Shrew; and The Woman Lapped in Morrel  
Skin. Edited by T. Amyot.
- 1845 Illustrations of the Fairy Mythology of Shakespeare.  
By J.O. Halliwell.
- First Part and a portion of the Second Part of  
Shakespeare's Henry the IVth. From a Unique  
Contemporary Manuscript. Edited by J.O.  
Halliwell.

Diary of Philip Henslowe. 1591 to 1609. Edited by J.P. Collier.

THE SHAKESPEARE SOCIETY'S PAPERS. Vol. II.

1846

The Fair Maid of The Exchange, A Comedy, by T. Heywood; and Fortune by Land and Sea, a Tragi-Comedy, by T. Heywood and W. Rowley. Edited by Barron Field.

The Marriage of Wit and Wisdom. From the original Manuscript recently discovered [Edited by J.O. Halliwell]

Memoirs of the Principal Actors in Shakespeare's Plays. By J.P. Collier.

Rich's Farewell to Military Profession. From the Unique Copy of the first Edit., of 1581. [Edited by J.P. Collier].

1847

Ralph Roister Doyster, a Comedy, by Nicholas Udall, and the Tragedie of Gorboduc, by Thomas Norton and Thomas Sackville. Edited by W. Durrant Cooper.

The Chester Whitsun Plays Part II. Edited by Thomas Wright.

THE SHAKESPEARE SOCIETY'S PAPERS. Vol. III.

1848

The Moral Play of Wit and Science. Edited by J.O. Halliwell.

Extracts from the Registers of the Stationers' Company of Works entered for publication between 1557 and 1570; with Notes and Illustrations by J.P. Collier. Vol. I.

Inigo Jones. A new Life of the Architect, by P. Cunningham. Remarks on some of his Sketches for Masques and Dramas; by J.R. Planche. Five Court Masques; edited from the original MSS. of Ben Jonson; John Marston. &c. by J.P. Collier. Accompanied by Facsimiles of drawings by Inigo Jones, and a Portrait from a Painting by Vandyck.

1849

THE SHAKESPEARE SOCIETY'S PAPERS. Vol. IV.

Extracts from the Registers of the Stationers' Company: 1570 to 1587. Vol. II.

The CHANDOS PORTRAIT OF SHAKESPEARE, engraved from the original in the possession of the Earl of Ellesmere, by Samuel Cousins, A.R.A.

1850

The First and Second Parts of the Fair Maid of the West; or, a Girl worth Gold. Two Comedies by Thomas Heywood. Edited by J.P. Collier

Remarks on the Plots of Shakespeare's Plays, by M.K. Simrock. Edited by J.O. Halliwell.

The Royal King, and Loyal Subject; and A Woman Killed with Kindness. Two Plays by Thomas Heywood. [Edited by J.P. Collier]

1851

Two Historical Plays of the Life and Reign of Queen Elizabeth. By Thomas Heywood. Edited by J.P. Collier.

The Golden Age and the Silver Age. Two Plays by Thomas Heywood. [Edited by J.P. Collier]

1852

John a Kent and John a Cumber, a Play. To which is added a View of Sundry Examples, reporting many Strange Murders, sundry Persons perjured, Signs and Tokens of God's anger towards us; A Brief and True Report of the Execution of Certain Traitors at Tyburn; and an Advertisement and Defence for Truth against her Backbiters, &c by Anthony Munday. [Edited by J.P. Collier]

AMONG THE WORKS IN PREPARATION ARE:--

A Selection from Oldys's MS. Notes to Langbaine's  
Dramatic Poets. By P. Cunningham.

Extracts from the Registers of the Stationer's [sic]  
Company, from 1587-1607; including the period when  
most of the Plays of Shakespeare were entered for  
publication. Vol. III.

\*Reproduced from the Frontispiece of the final Shakespeare Society Publication of 1852. Titles are not modernized in spelling or in punctuation, but they are italicized. In addition, the name of the editor, if it is not included in the frontispiece listing, appears in brackets following the title of the volume.

APPENDIX E: The Shakespeare Society Council--  
A History of Membership

The Shakespeare Society inserted among the preliminary pages of each of its publications a list of Officers and Councillors. However, since the composition of the Council for a given year was determined through a general election at the annual April meeting, the names of retiring members would continue to appear on the printed roster in all volumes issued before that meeting. The names of newly elected Councillors, therefore, would be added to the published list only in volumes issued from the press after the April meeting.

On the charts that follow, an x appearing above a virgule, after the name of a Councillor, designates a retiring member. The x below the virgule records the election to the Council of a new member whose name appears on volumes issued by the Society after April of that year. To denote the rare cases in which a Councillor's name appears in only or two volumes during a given year, a virgule is placed both above and below the x.

<u>NAME</u>	<u>1841</u>	<u>1842</u>	<u>1843</u>	<u>1844</u>	<u>1845</u>	<u>1846</u>	<u>1847</u>	<u>1848</u>	<u>1849</u>	<u>1850</u>	<u>1851</u>	<u>1852</u>	<u>1853</u>
Amyot, T.	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x			
Ayrton, W.	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Barnard, A.					/x	x/							
Bell R.											/x	x/	
Bernard, B.						/x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Botfield, B.		/x	x	x	x	x/							
Bruce, John	x	x	x	x	x/			/x	x	x/			
Bruce, Knight							/x	x	x	x	x/		
Campbell, T.	x												
Clerke, S.				/x	x/								
Collier, J.P.	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Cooper, C.P.				/x	x/								



<u>NAME</u>	<u>1841</u>	<u>1842</u>	<u>1843</u>	<u>1844</u>	<u>1845</u>	<u>1846</u>	<u>1847</u>	<u>1848</u>	<u>1849</u>	<u>1850</u>	<u>1851</u>	<u>1852</u>	<u>1853</u>
Cooper, W.D.										/x	x	x	x
Corney, B.			/x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Courtenay, T.P.	x/		/x/										
Craik, G.L.	x	x	x/										
Cunningham, P.	/x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Dean of St Paul's											/x	x/	
Dickens, C.			/x	x/						/x		x/	
Dilke, C.W.		x/											
Dyce, Rev. A.	x	x	x	x	x	x	x/			/x/			
Ellis, H.				/x	x	x	x/			/x	x	x	x/
Field, B.			/x	x	x	x/							
Forster, J.					/x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x

<u>NAME</u>	<u>1841</u>	<u>1842</u>	<u>1843</u>	<u>1844</u>	<u>1845</u>	<u>1846</u>	<u>1847</u>	<u>1848</u>	<u>1849</u>	<u>1850</u>	<u>1851</u>	<u>1852</u>	<u>1853</u>
Hallam, H.		/x	x	x	x	x	x/	/x/	/x/				
Halliwell, J.O.	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Harness, Rev. W.	x	x	x/	/x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Heywood, J.				/x	x/		/x	x/		/x	x	x	x
Jerrold, Douglas	x	x/									/x	x/	
Jervis, Swynfen								/x	x/		/x/	/x/	
Kenney, J.	x	x/											
Knight C.	x							/x	x	x/	/x		x
Laing, D.													x
Lemon, M.													x
Lytton, Sir E.B.							/x	x/	/x	x/			
Macready, W.C.	x	x	x/		/x	x	x	x	x	x/	/x		

<u>NAME</u>	<u>1841</u>	<u>1842</u>	<u>1843</u>	<u>1844</u>	<u>1845</u>	<u>1846</u>	<u>1847</u>	<u>1848</u>	<u>1849</u>	<u>1850</u>	<u>1851</u>	<u>1852</u>	<u>1853</u>
Madden, Sir F.	x	x/											
Markland, J.H.							/x	x/					
Milman, Rev. H. H.	x	x	x/			/x/	x/	/x	/x/				
Mitford, Rev. J.						/x	x/						
Naylor, S.						/x	x/						
O'Callaghan, G.P.										/x	x	x	x
Ouvry, F.										/x	x	x	
Oxenford, J.		/x	x/	/x	x/		/x	x/	/x/				
Pettigrew, J.J.		/x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Planché, J.R.		/x	x	x	x	x	x	x/	/x/				
Rose, G.								/x/	/x/				
Sharpe, Rev. L.				/x	x/								

<u>NAME</u>	<u>1841</u>	<u>1842</u>	<u>1843</u>	<u>1844</u>	<u>1845</u>	<u>1846</u>	<u>1847</u>	<u>1848</u>	<u>1849</u>	<u>1850</u>	<u>1851</u>	<u>1852</u>	<u>1853</u>
Smith, G.													x
Talfourd, T. N.	x	x/				/x	x	x	x	x	x	x/	
Thoms, W.J.	/x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x/	/x	x	x	x	x
Thomson, T.								/x	x/	/x/			
Tomlins, F.G.	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Utterson, E.V.				/x	x	x/							
Watson, F. B.			/x	x	x	x/							
Webster, B.													x
Wright, T.		x	x	x	x	x	x	x/					
Van de Weyer, M.										/x	x	x	x
Young, C. M.	x	x/											

CHAPTER 1  
Notes

<sup>1</sup> Prospectus of the Shakespeare Society, 1840, p.1. The Athenaeum, 24 October 1840, p.852 approvingly announced the formation of the Society by reprinting, with slight alterations in diction, the Prospectus of the new Society.

<sup>2</sup> Report of the Council of the Shakespeare Society to the First Annual Meeting of the Subscribers, 26 April 1842.

<sup>3</sup> In a Folger Shakespeare Library manuscript, Y.d. 341 (63), dated 29 April 1844, Sir Henry Ellis inquired of Thomas Amyot if he and John Payne Collier "[would] be so good as to tell me now I am made a Councillor of the Shakespeare Society, whether a Pageant of the time of Henry VIIIth could be a proper offering to them for Publication." Sir Henry described the manuscript as belonging to the King's own library. Since the pageant did not comply with the Society's publication policies, however, the twenty-eight page, unidentified pageant was not published by the Shakespeare Society.

<sup>4</sup> Richard D. Altick, The English Common Reader: A Social History of the Mass Reading Public, 1800-1900 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957), pp. 308-10.

<sup>5</sup> The Athenaeum, 23 October 1841, p.810.

<sup>6</sup> George Malcolm Young, Early Victorian England: 1830-1865 (London: Oxford University Press, 1934), I, 131-134; Mrs. Bernard Bosanquet, Rich and Poor (London: Macmillan and Company, Ltd., 1899), p.24; Leone Levi, Wages and Earnings of the Working Classes: With Some Facts Illustrative of Their Economic Condition, Drawn from Authentic and Official Sources (London: John Murry, 1867), pp. xxxi, xxii, xxxiii.

<sup>7</sup> Thomas Frognall Dibdin, The Bibliomania; or Book-Madness; Containing Some Account of the History, Symptoms, and Cure of This Fatal Disease (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, and Orme, 1809).

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., pp. 14-71. Dibdin suggested that an uncut first edition of Shakespeare would "produce a little annuity" (p.61).

<sup>9</sup> John Timbs, Clubs and Club Life in London: With Anecdotes of Its Famous Coffee House, Hostelryes, and Taverns from the Seventeenth Century to the Present Time (London: Chatto and Windus, 1899), p.164.

<sup>10</sup> T.F. Dibdin, Bibliomania, p.79.

<sup>11</sup> Harold Mattingly, I.A.K. Burnett, and A.W. Pollard, comps., List of Catalogues of English Book Sales 1676-1900 Now in the British Museum (London: William Clowes and Sons, Ltd., 1915), p.ix.

<sup>12</sup> Accounts of this sale are recorded by Dibdin in The Bibliographical Decameron; or, Ten Days Pleasant Discourse Upon Illuminated Manuscripts, and Subjects Connected with Early Engraving, Typography, and Bibliography (London: W. Balmer and Company, 1817), III; The Bibliomania; Reminiscences of a Literary Life (London: John Major, 1836); Seymour DeRicci, English Collectors of Books and Manuscripts; Percy Hetherington Fitzgerald, The Book Fancier; or the Romance of Book Collecting (New York: Scribner and Welford, 1887).

<sup>13</sup> Dibdin, Bibliographical Decameron, p.57.

<sup>14</sup> Clive Bigham, The Roxburghe Club: Its History and Its Members, 1812-1927 (Oxford: University Press, 1928), p.1.

<sup>15</sup> Joseph Haslewood, The Roxburghe Revels, reprinted in The Atheaneum, 4 January 1834, p.5.

- 16 John Hill Burton, The Book-Hunter, etc. (Edinburgh: Blackwood and Sons, 1862), p.251.
- 17 Dibdin, Reminiscences, p.329.
- 18 James Heywood Markland (under the signature, "Templarius"), The Gentleman's Magazine (July, 1813), pp.3-4.
- 19 The Gentleman's Magazine (September, 1813), pp. 211-12.
- 20 The Gentleman's Magazine (October, 1813), p. 238-41; Sir Walter Scott, rev. of Trials and Other Proceedings in Matters Criminal, before the High Court of Justiciary in Scotland; Selected from the Records of that Court, and from Original Manuscripts Preserved in the General Register House, Edinburgh, by Robert Pitcairn, in The Quarterly Review 44 (February, 1831), 447-48 wrote that "the gentlemen of the Roxburghe Club displayed the consideration of old sportsmen, who, while they neglect no opportunity of acquiring game themselves, are not less anxious to preserve and keep up the breed for the benefit of others; neither was the effect on the public useless or trivial."
- 21 Bigam, The Roxburghe Club, p.7
- 22 "The First Half of the Nineteenth Century," Frazer's Magazine 43 (January, 1851), 11.
- 23 Dibdin, Reminiscences, pp. 473-74.
- 24 The Journal of Sir Walter Scott, I (1890), 350, reprinted in Harrison Ross Steeves, Learned Societies and English Literary Scholarship in Great Britain and The United States (1913); rpt. New York: AMS Press, 1970), p.108.
- 25 Sir Walter Scott, "Review," pp. 450-51.

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- 27 The Athenaeum, 1 August 1840, p.249.
- 28 Burton, The Book-Hunter, etc., p.249.
- 29 The Athenaeum, 12 December 1840, p.611.
- 30 Rules, etc. of the Surtees Society (Westminster: J.B. Nicholas and J.G. Nichols, n.d.), p.1
- 31 John Gough Nichols, A Descriptive Catalogue of the Works of the Camden Society: Stating the Nature of Their Principal Contents, the Periods of Time to Which They Relate, the Dates of Their Composition, Their Manuscript Sources, Authors, and Editors (Westminster: J.B. Nicholas and Sons, 1862), p.iii.
- 32 James Orchard Halliwell, A Letter to the Right Honorable Lord Francis Egerton, President of the Camden Society on the Propriety of Confining the Reports of That Body to the Illustration of a Strictly Early Period of History and Literature (London: James Bohn, 1839), p.10.
- 33 Nichols, A Descriptive Catalogue, pp. x-xiv, passim.
- 34 The Percy Society: Sixth Annual Report, 1 May 1846, pp. 4-6.
- 35 The Percy Society: Fourth Annual Report, 1 June 1844, p.3 announced that by economical application of comparatively small funds, the Society had published 1069 pages of matter in its first year, 1359 in its second, 1042 in its third, and 1550 in its fourth.



36 The Percy Society: Report Made by the Treasurer of the Percy Society to a Special General Meeting on the 26th February, 1852, p.3 The Athenaeum, 26 May 1855, responded less indulgently to the potential formation of a successor to the Percy Society: "Certainly it will be a relief to book buyers to be spared the infliction of another series so long as that of the Percy Society."

37 Thomas Balston, "Alderman Boydell, Printseller," History Today, 2 (1952), 550.

38 See accounts of the Jubilee of 1769 in Christian Deelman, The Great Shakespeare Jubilee (New York: The Viking Press, 1964); A Concise Account of Garrick's Jubilee, held at Stratford-upon-Avon, in Honor of Shakespeare in 1769 and of the Commemorative Festivals in 1827 and 1830 (Stratford-upon-Avon: J. Ward, 1930); Johanne M. Stocholm, Garrick's Folly: The Shakespeare Jubilee of 1769 at Stratford and Drury Lane (London: Methuen and Company, Ltd., 1964).

39 F.E. Halliday, The Cult of Shakespeare (London: Gerald Duckworth and Company, Ltd., 1957), p.24 attributes the first use of that phrase to David Garrick.

40 Deelman, The Great Shakespeare Jubilee, p.262.

41 F.E. Halliday, The Cult of Shakespeare, p.75.

42 A Concise Account, p.13.

43 Louis Marder, His Exits and His Entrances: The Story of Shakespeare's Reputation (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1963), p.242.

44 Allardyce Nicoll, "Stratford-upon-Avon A Hundred Years Ago," Shakespeare Survey, 14 (Cambridge: University Press, 1961), 112.

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- 50 Reprinted in Nicoll, A History of English Drama, IV,41.
- 51 Calvin Darlington Linton, "Shakespearean Staging in London from Irving to Gielgud," Diss. Johns Hopkins University, 1940, p.3.
- 52 Ibid.
- 53 Charles H. Shattuck, "Shakespeare's Plays in Performance from 1660 to the Present," in The Riverside Shakespeare, ed. G. Blakemore Evans (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 19074), p.1805.
- 54 Marder, His Exits and His Entrances, p.279.
- 55 Ibid., p.280.

CHAPTER 2  
Notes

- <sup>1</sup> Emmett L. Avery, "The Shakespeare Ladies Club," Shakespeare Quarterly 7 (1958), 153.
- <sup>2</sup> Christian Deelman, The Great Shakespeare Jubilee (New York: The Viking Press, 1964), p.30.
- <sup>3</sup> "A Shakespeare Society at Edinburgh in 1770," Notes and Queries, 2nd Series, IV (1857), 104.
- <sup>4</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>5</sup> "Preamble," Articles and Regulations of the Edinburgh Shakespeare Club (Edinburgh: Printed for the Club by N. Johnston, 1822), p.1
- <sup>6</sup> "Preface," Rules of the [Sheffield] Shakespeare Club, 1829 , p.v.
- <sup>7</sup> Ibid., p.viii.
- <sup>8</sup> Third Anniversary of the [Sheffield] Shakespeare Club, 21 November, 1821, p.20.
- <sup>9</sup> Fourth Anniversary of the [Sheffield] Shakespeare Club, 7 November, 1822, pp. 29-30.
- <sup>10</sup> The Athenaeum, 2 May 1846, p.455 reported that the 1846 triennial festival was a turning point for the Club. Originally, according to the Chairman, Dr. Thomson, the object of the Club was the encouragement of literature and arts in connection with Shakespeare and the drama, as well as the commemoration of the poet's birthday in his native town. Because the small subscription of the Club was barely sufficient to pay the expenses of the festival, however, it was "preposterous," according to Thomson, to speak of their encouraging literature and fine arts. Consequently, the Royal Shakespeare Club limited itself to the appropriate celebration of Shakespeare's birthday in Stratford and the raising of a fund for the purchase of authentic relics connected with Shakespeare.

- 11 Laws of the Shakspeare Club of Scotland (Edinburgh: A Canon, 1827, p.11).
- 12 Larousse du XIX<sup>e</sup> Siecle, 1864.
- 13 "Shakspeare Club of Alloa," Blackwood's Magazine, I (May, 1817), p. 152.
- 14 "A Very Modest Club," Chambers's Journal of Popular Literature, Science and Arts (January-June, 1862), p.280.
- 15 Ibid., p.281.
- 16 "The Shakespeare Club: A Note by Marcus Stone, R.A." Dickensian 41 (1944-45), 40.
- 17 Charles Knight, Passages of a Working Life During Half a Century: With Prelude of Early Reminiscences III (London: Bradbury and Evans, 1864), 38.
- 18 William Toynbee, ed., The Diaries of William Charles Macready 1833-1851 (1912; rpt. New York: Benjamin Blom, 1969), II,34.
- 19 Amazing Monument: A Short History of the Shakespeare Industry (London: William Heineman, Ltd., 1939), pp. 95, 96.
- 20 John Payne Collier letter to S. Jervis, Folger MS. Y.c. 1055 (530),
- 21 Collier should have said that five retiring members were to be replaced.
- 22 Folger MS. Y.c. 1055, dated 23 May 1846.

- 23 The Penny Magazine of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, 26 December 1840, p.497.
- 24 Ibid.
- 25 The British Almanac and Companion of The Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge for the Year 1838 (London: Charles Knight and Company, 1838), p.82.
- 26 Howard Robinson, The British Post Office: A History (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1948), pp.237-38.
- 27 Ibid., p. 332.
- 28 F.E. Baines, Forty Years at the Post-Office: A Personal Narrative (London: Richard Bentley and Son, 1895), II, 309.
- 29 Alan James, Sir Rowland Hill and the Post Office (London: Longman, 1972), p. 36.
- 30 The Athenaeum, p. 261.
- 31 "Ocean Penny Postage between Great Britain and France," The Athenaeum, 13 December 1851, p.1320.
- 32 Baines, Forty Years, II, 137.
- 33 A.L.S. from Collier to Octabe Delpierre inserted in The Tragicall Historie of Hamlet, Prince of Denmark (Folger Library, Sh.Col. PR 2807.A35).
- 34 Archives, Post Office Records, Post Headquarters, St. Martrin's-le-Grand, London, ECl.

- 35 Report of the Auditors of the Shakespeare Society to the Sixth Annual Meeting of the Members, 26 April 1847, p.10
- 36 Report of the Council of the Shakespeare Society to the Eighth Annual Meeting of the Members, 26 April 1849, p. 5.
- 37 Report of the Council of the Shakespeare Society to the Ninth Annual Meeting of the Members, 26 April 1850, p. 4.
- 38 Ibid., p. 5
- 39 Folger MS. Y.c. 1055.
- 40 The Athenaeum, 24 October 1840, p. 852
- 41 Report of the Council of the Shakespeare Society to the Fifth Annual Meeting of the Members, 27 April 1846, p. 1
- 42 The Athenaeum, 8 November 1845, p. 1069.
- 43 The manuscript is a notebook of cases reported by Dr. John Hall, husband of Susanna, the eldest daughter of William Shakespeare. Extracts from The Hall Casebook were translated by James Cooke in 1657 and reissued in 1683.
- 44 The Athenaeum, 24 February 1849, p. 197
- 45 Report of the Council of the Shakespeare Society to the Fifth Annual Meeting of the Members, 27 April 1846, p. 3.
- 46 John Payne Collier, Memoirs of the Principal Actors in Shakespeare's Plays (London: Shakespeare Society, 1846), pp. xiv-xv.

47 Leslie A. Marchand, The Athenaeum: A Mirror of Victorian Culture (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1941), pp. 100-09.

48 The Athenaeum, 7 May 1846, p. 240.

49 A.L.S. from William Charles Macready to John Payne Collier, dated 4 August 1844, from White Mountains, New Hampshire; Folger MS. Y.d. 341 (103).

50 Folger MS. Y.d. 6 (160).

51 The Athenaeum, 24 October 1846, p. 1093.

52 "Defense of a Bald Head--The Stationer's Registers," Notes and Queries, 8 December 1849, p. 84.

53 "Our Library Table," The Athenaeum, 17 February 1849, p. 165.

54 In a letter to Peter Cunningham, dated 9 December 1843, Barron Field wrote:

I persevere in transcribing the Latin play; but it is very long--three parts of five short acts each part. But it is so interesting, that it will redeem the dulness [sic] of the True Tragedy. I shall be ready by y<sup>e</sup> 1st Feby 1844. . . .

Folger MS. Y.c. 918 (1).

CHAPTER 3  
Notes

1 E.K. Chambers, The Elizabethan Stage (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1923), I, xiv.

2 The Literary Gazette: Journal of the Belles Lettres, 28 November 1846, p. 1009.

3 Notes & Queries I, 3 November 1849, p. 13.

4 The Athenaeum, 1 May 1852, p. 490.

5 The letter dated 2 March 1843 is reprinted in Madeline House, Graham Storey, and Kathleen Tillotson, eds., The Letters of Charles Dickens, The Pilgrim Edition, III: 1842-1843 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974), p. 445.

6 Peter Cunningham, ed., Extracts from the Accounts of the Revels at Court, in the Reigns of Queen Elizabeth and King James I., from the Original Office Books of the Masters and Yeomen (London: The Shakespeare Society, 1842), p. xiv--hereafter cited parenthetically in the text.

7 S. Schoenbaum, Shakespeare's Lives (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1970), p. 38.

8 "Malone with all his industry and unsatisfied thirst for research, was very far from an accurate transcriber of what he had before him" (Accounts, p. xlvi); "Some of the errors in Malone's extracts as printed by Boswell, are truly absurd. I shall note a few for the amusement of the general reader. 'Flavor and paste with a pelt for the same' (vol. iii, p. 376), turns out to be 'flower and paste with a pott for the same' . . . For 'x furre poles to make nayles,' at p. 401, read rayles; . . . I could point out others, but I have perhaps instanced enough'" (Accounts, p. xlvii).



- <sup>9</sup> Folger MS. C.a. 7 (2).
- <sup>10</sup> Some Supposed Shakespeare Forgeries: An Examination into the Authenticity of Certain Documents affecting the Dates of Composition of Several of the Plays (London: Bell and Sons, 1911), p. 22.
- <sup>11</sup> Law, Some Supposed Shakespeare Forgeries, p. 23.
- <sup>12</sup> Folger MS. C.c. 7.
- <sup>13</sup> E.K. Chambers, The Elizabethan Stage, IV (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1923), 137.
- <sup>14</sup> The Athenaeum printed Law's remarks on 9 September 1911, pp. 297-99; 10 September 1911, p. 324; and those of Audi Alteram Partem on 22 July 1911, pp. 101-02; 29 July 1911, pp. 130-31; 7 October 1911, pp. 421-22; 30 September 1911, pp. 388-89; and several more in 1912.
- <sup>15</sup> Ernest Law, More About Shakespeare 'Forgeries' (London: G. Bell and Sons, Ltd., 1913).
- <sup>16</sup> John Alfred Gotch, Inigo Jones (New York: Benjamin Blom: Inc., Publishers, 1968), p. v.
- <sup>17</sup> Horace Walpole repeats Webb's inaccuracies in his Anecdotes of Painting in England (London: Alexander Murray, 1871), pp. 211-14.
- <sup>18</sup> Peter Cunningham, ed. Inigo Jones (London: the Shakespeare Society, 1848), p. xv--hereafter cited parenthetically in the text.
- <sup>19</sup> Peter Cunningham, "Inigo Jones and His Office Under The Crown," The Shakespeare Society's Papers I (London: The Shakespeare Society, 1844), 103.

- <sup>20</sup> Designs by Inigo Jones for Masques and Plays at Court (New York: Russell and Russell, 1966).
- <sup>21</sup> The Gentleman's Magazine, N.S. XIII (June, 1850), 602
- <sup>22</sup> Arthur H. Bullen, ed., John Marston: The Works, I (London: John C. Nimmo, 1887); rpt. New York: Georg Olms Verlag, 1970), lii.
- <sup>23</sup> James Orchard Halliwell, ed., Tarlton's Jests, and News Out of Purgatory; with Notes, and Some Account of the Life of Tarlton (London: The Shakespeare Society, 1844), p. vii--hereafter cited parenthetically in the text.
- <sup>24</sup> Geoffrey Bullough, ed., Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare, II (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1958), 7.
- <sup>25</sup> James Orchard Halliwell, Illustrations of the Fairy Mythology of Shakespeare (London: The Shakespeare Society, 1845), p. ix--hereafter cited parenthetically in the text.
- <sup>26</sup> Early English Poetry, Ballads and Popular Literature of the Middle Ages, II (London: Percy Society Publications, 1841), part iv, vii. Madeline Doran dates the first production of A Midsummer Night's Dream at 1595, in the Introduction to the Pelican Edition of the Play.
- <sup>27</sup> Ibid., pp. vii-ix.
- <sup>28</sup> Sir Walter W. Greg, ed., Henslowe's Diary, Part I: The Text (London: A.H. Bullen, 1904), p. xlv.
- <sup>29</sup> James Orchard Halliwell, The Remarks of M. Karl Simrock on the Plots of Shakespeare's Plays (London: The Shakespeare Society, 1850), p. xii.

- 30 David Laing, ed., Notes on Ben Jonson's Conversations with William Drummond of Hawthornden (London: The Shakespeare Society, 1842), p. 35--hereafter cited parenthetically in the text.
- 31 R.F. Patterson, ed., Ben Jonson's Conversations with William Drummond of Hawthornden (London: Blackie and Son, Limited, 1923), p. xxxvii.
- 32 David Laing, "A Brief Account of the Hawthornden Manuscripts in Possession of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland: with Extracts Containing Several Unpublished Letters and Poems of William Drummond of Hawthornden," in Archaeologia Scotica, IV (Edinburgh: Printed for the Society, 1831), part i, p.58.
- 33 *Ibid.*, pp. 57-87.
- 34 C.L. Stainer, Jonson and Drummond their Conversations: A Few Remarks on an 18th Century Forgery (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1925), p. 77.
- 35 D.T.B. Wood, "The Revels Books: The Writer of the 'Malone Scrap,'" Review of English Studies, I (January, 1925), 72-73.
- 36 D.T.B. Wood, "The Suspected Revels Books," Review of English Studies, I (April, 1925), 170-71.
- 37 Stainer, Jonson and Drummond their Conversations, p. 13.
- 38 The Works of John Taylor, the Water Poet (London, 1630), p. 138, cited in Notes, p. viii.
- 39 Stainer, Jonson and Drummond their Conversation, p. 14.

40 Herford and Simpson's edition of Ben Jonson does not address the issue raised in the folio that Drummond was absent from Scotland at the time of Jonson's visit. Though the Herford and Simpson edition devotes seven pages to a description of Jonson's itinerary while in Scotland, the editors admit (p. 77) that "all we know of his journey, however, is that at Darlington he replaced his worn-out shoes with a new pair, which he expected to last as far as the same place on his way home."

41 C.F. Patterson, ed., Ben Jonson's Conversations with William Drummond of Hawthornden, p. xxxvii.

CHAPTER 4  
Notes

<sup>1</sup> Folger Library A.L.S., Y.c. 1055 (95), dated 4 January 1841.

<sup>2</sup> The Gentleman's Magazine, N.S. XVI (July, 1841), 3-16.

<sup>3</sup> The History of English Dramatic Poetry to the Time of Shakespeare; and Annals of the Stage to the Restoration, 3 vols. (London: John Muir, 1831). Collier revised and reissued the three-volume work in 1879 through Messrs. George Bell and Sons, but he retained the matter which had long since been found spurious.

<sup>4</sup> John Payne Collier, The Memoirs of Edward Alleyn, Founder of Dulwich College (London: The Shakespeare Society, 1841), p.v--hereafter cited parenthetically in the text.

<sup>5</sup> Contemporary publications devoted to the Shakespearean controversy include: Samuel Weller Singer, The Text of Shakespeare Vindicated from the Interpolations and Corruptions Advocated by John Payne Collier, Esq. in his Notes and Emendations (1853); James O. Halliwell, Observations on the Shakespearian Forgeries at Bridgewater House, Illustrative of a Facsimile of the Spurious Letter of H.S. (1853); Richard Grant White, Shakespeare's Scholar, being Historical and Critical Studies of his Text, Characters and Commentators, with an Examination of Mr. Collier's Folio of 1632 (1854); A.E. Brae, Literary Cookery, with Reference to Matter Attributed to Coleridge and Shakespeare (1855); C. Mansfield Ingleby, The Shakspeare Fabrications, or the MS. Notes of the Perkins Folio Shown to be of Recent Origin, with an Appendix on the Authorship of the Ireland Forgeries (1859); N.E.S.A. Hamilton, An Inquiry into the Genuineness of the Manuscript Corrections in Mr. J. Payne Collier's Annotated Shakspeare Folio 1632, and of Certain Shaksperian Documents Likewise Published by Mr. Collier (1860); Thomas Duffins Hardy, A Review of the Present State of the Shakespearian Controversy (1860); A.E. Brae, Collier, Coleridge and Shakespeare. A Review (1860); C.M. Ingleby, A Complete View of the Shakspeare Controversy, concerning the Authenticity and Genuineness of Manuscript Matter Affecting the Works and Biography of Shakspeare, Published by Mr. J. Payne Collier as the Fruits of His Researches (1861).

<sup>6</sup> N.E.S.A. Hamilton, An Inquiry into the Genuineness of the Manuscript Corrections in Mr. J. Payne Collier's Annotated Shakspeare Folio 1632, and of Certain Shaksperian Documents Likewise Published by Mr. Collier (London: Richard Bentley, 1860), p. 94.

<sup>7</sup> Hamilton, An Inquiry, p. 86.

<sup>8</sup> Hamilton, An Inquiry, p. 88.

<sup>9</sup> George F. Warner, Catalogue of the Manuscripts and Muniments of Alleyn's College of God's Gift at Dulwich (London: Longman, Green and Company, 1881), p. xlv.

<sup>10</sup> Edmond Malone, ed., The Plays and Poems of William Shakespeare with the Corrections and Illustrations of Various Commentators: Comprehending A Life of the Poet and An Enlarged History of the Stage, III (London: F.C. & J. Rivington, 1821), 503.

<sup>11</sup> The Alleyn Papers: A Collection of Original Documents Illustrative of the Life and Times of Edward Alleyn and of The Early English Stage and Drama (London: The Shakespeare Society, 1843), p. xx--hereafter cited parenthetically in the text.

<sup>12</sup> The Gentleman's Magazine, N.S. XVI (July-December), 18. The information was supplied by G.S. Steinman and was printed in The Gentleman's Magazine, N.S. I, 512 and III, 610.

<sup>13</sup> Robert C. Bald, John Donne: A Life (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970), p. 464.

<sup>14</sup> Bald, John Donne, p. 466.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

16 John Payne Collier, ed., The Diary of Philip Henslowe from 1591 to 1609 Printed from the Original Manuscript Preserved at Dulwich College (London: The Shakespeare Society, 1845)--hereafter cited parenthetically in the text.

17 Greg, Henslowe's Diary, I, xxxvii, n.l.

18 The Athenaeum, 12 July 1845, p. 685.

19 Ibid., p. 686.

20 Greg, Henslowe's Diary, I, xlvii.

21 John Payne Collier, ed., Extracts from the Registers of the Stationers' Company of Works Entered for Publication Between the Years 1557 and 1570 (London: The Shakespeare Society, 1848), p. 220. Reference is also made to Collier's reprint of the poem in the second volume of Extracts, p.13. Hereafter all references to the first volume will be cited parenthetically in the text as Extracts I.

22 Greg, Henslowe's Diary, I, xliii.

23 Martin Parker, "The King and A Poor Northern Man; or, Too Good to Be True," reprinted in Early English Poetry, Ballads, and Popular Literature of the Middle Ages Edited from Original Manuscripts and Scarce Publications, ed. J.P. Collier, I (London: Percy Society, 1840), part 5, vi.

24 R.A. Foakes and R.T. Rickert, Henslowe's Diary: Edited with Supplementary Material, Introduction and Notes (Cambridge: University Press, 1961), p. xxx.

25 An abbreviated listing of Collier's fabrications among the Dulwich manuscripts may be found in E.K. Chambers, William Shakespeare: A Study of Facts and Problems, II (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1930), 388-90.

26 The questionable entries are the elegy on Burbage, which Collier reprinted in its entirety on pp. 52-55 of his volume, and the epigram on Nathan Field, which Collier claimed was sold among the manuscripts at the Heber library sale. From information supplied by the epigram, Collier concluded: "Burbadge, some time before his death, had relinquished to Field the part of Othello; at all events Field, according to the epigrammatist, had played the character, and it may have been one of those which Burbadge, as he advanced in years, allowed younger performers to undertake" (Memoirs of the Principal Actors in the Plays of Shakespeare, p. 220.)

27 Frazer's Magazine for Town and Country, 35 (February, 1847), 165.

28 John Payne Collier, ed., Memoirs of the Principal Actors in the Plays of Shakespeare (London: The Shakespeare Society, 1846), p. xiv--hereafter cited parenthetically in the text.

29 The Athenaeum, 15 August 1846, p. 829.

30 S. Schoenbaum, William Shakespeare: A Documentary Life (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1975), p. 26.

31 Ibid.; Gerald Eades Bentley, Shakespeare: A Biographical Handbook (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961), p. 81.

32 Peter Cunningham, "Letter from Ben Jonson to the Earl of Newcastle, and Other Matters Relating to the Poet's Family," The Shakespeare Society's Papers I (London: The Shakespeare Society, 1844), 10.

33 The Athenaeum, 15 August 1846, p. 829.

34 The Athenaeum, 22 April 1846, pp. 857, 859; The Athenaeum, 15 August 1846, pp. 829-30.

35 Frazer's Magazine (February, 1847), pp. 163-69.



- 36 The Athenaeum, 24 October 1846, p. 1093.
- 37 The Athenaeum, 31 October 1846, p. 1133.
- 38 The Athenaeum, 7 November 1846, p. 1149.
- 39 The Athenaeum, 21 November 1846, p. 1196.
- 40 Correspondence of Dr. Bliss, vol. XIV, ff. 364-65  
(British Library Add. MS. 34,580).
- 41 John Payne Collier, ed., Extracts from the Registers of the Stationers' Company of Works Entered for Publication Between the Years 1557-1570 (London: the Shakespeare Society, 1848), p.v.
- 42 John Payne Collier, ed., Extracts from the Registers of the Stationers' Company of Works Entered for Publication Between the Years 1570-1587 (London: The Shakespeare Society, 1849), p. vii--hereafter all reference to this volume will be cited parenthetically as Extracts II.
- 43 John Payne Collier, An Old Man's Diary, Forty Years Ago; for the First Six Months of 1832, I (London: Thomas Richards, 1871), 39.
- 44 John Payne Collier, Diary, vol. XII, p. 32-33  
(Folger Library MS. M.a. 29).
- 45 A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London (1554-1640) I, part xviii, 2.
- 46 Folger MS. Y.c. 1055. The name of the recipient is carefully blackened at the bottom of the second page.

<sup>47</sup> John Payne Collier, Autobiography, Folger Library MS. M.a. 230, p. 144.

<sup>48</sup> The British Quarterly Review, V (February and May, 1847), 413.

<sup>49</sup> The Athenaeum, 5 June 1841, pp. 436-37.

<sup>50</sup> Malone, The Plays and Poems of William Shakespeare, III, 430.

<sup>51</sup> Malone, The Plays and Poems of William Shakespeare, III, 432.

<sup>52</sup> Malone, The Plays and Poems of William Shakespeare, III, 432.

<sup>53</sup> Malone, The Plays and Poems of William Shakespeare, III, 432.

<sup>54</sup> "Society in the Age of Elizabeth," The British Quarterly Review V (February and May, 1847), 436.

<sup>55</sup> E.D. Mackerness, "Bigotry and the Bard; the Case of the Sheffield Shakespeare Club," Theatre Notebook 33 (1979), 111.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 111

<sup>57</sup> See Chapter 2, p. 53.

<sup>58</sup> The Athenaeum, 24 October, 1840, p. 841.

<sup>59</sup> The Athenaeum, 7 January 1843, p. 22.

- <sup>60</sup> John Northbrooke, A Treatise Against Dicing, Dancing, Plays, and Interludes, with Other Idle Pastimes, ed. John Payne Collier (London: The Shakespeare Society, 1843), pp. xvii-xviii.
- <sup>61</sup> Arthur M. Clark, Thomas Heywood (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1931), p.68; E.K. Chambers, The Elizabethan Stage IV (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1923), 230.
- <sup>62</sup> Thomas Heywood, An Apology for Actors in Three Books, ed., John Payne Collier (London: The Shakespeare Society, 1841), p.62.
- <sup>63</sup> Francis Thynne, The Debate Between Pride and Lowliness, ed., John Payne Collier (London: the Shakespeare Society, 1841), pp. v-vi.
- <sup>64</sup> G.H. Kingsley, ed., Chaucer: Animadversions Upon Annotations and Corrections of Some imperfections of impressions of Chaucers workes (sett downe Before tyme, and nowe reprinted in the yere of oure lorde 1598 sett downe by Francis Thynne, rev. by F.J. Furnivall (London: Early English Text Society by Oxford University Press, 1875), p. cxvii.
- <sup>65</sup> John Payne Collier, ed., Fools and Jesters with a Reprint of Robert Armin's Nest of Ninnies 1608 (London: The Shakespeare Society, 1842), p.5--hereafter cited parenthetically in the text.
- <sup>66</sup> Thomas Nash, Pierce Penniless's Supplication to the Devil, ed., John Payne Collier (London: The Shakespeare Society, 1842), p. viii--hereafter cited parenthetically in the text.
- <sup>67</sup> John Ford, Honour Triumphant; and A Line of Life, ed., John Payne Collier (London: The Shakespeare Society, 1843), p. v--hereafter cited parenthetically in the text.

<sup>68</sup> John Payne Collier, ed., Eight Novels Employed  
by English Dramatic Poets of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth  
Originally Published by Barnaby Riche in the Year 1581  
(London: the Shakespeare Society, 1846), p. 16.

CHAPTER 5  
Notes

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Warton, The History of English Poetry from the Close of the Eleventh to the Commencement of the Eighteenth Century, 4 vols. (London: Thomas Tegg, 1824); William Hazlitt, Lectures Chiefly on the Dramatic Literature of the Age of Elizabeth (London: Stodart and Steuart, 1820); Charles Lamb, Specimens of English Dramatic Poets Who Lived About the Time of Shakespeare (New York: Wiley & Putnam, 1845).

<sup>2</sup> James Orchard Halliwell, Ludus Coventriae: A Collection of Mysteries, Formerly Represented at Coventry on the Feast of Corpus Christi (London: The Shakespeare Society, 1841)--hereafter cited parenthetically in the text.

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<sup>4</sup> Block, Ludus Coventriae, pp. xxxvii-xl; Hardin Craig, English Religious Drama of the Middle Ages (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1955), pp. 239-41.

<sup>5</sup> The Athenaeum, 4 September 1841, p. 723.

<sup>6</sup> The Chester Plays: A Collection of Mysteries Founded Upon Scriptural Subjects, and Formerly Represented by the Trades of Chester at Whitsuntide (London: The Shakespeare Society, 1843)--hereafter cited parenthetically in the text.

<sup>7</sup> Hermann Deimling, The Chester Plays: Part I (London: Kegan Paul, Grench, Trubner & Co., 1892), p. vii; A.W. Pollard, "Note by Mr. Pollard," in The Chester Plays, ed., H. Deimling, p. xxxv.

<sup>8</sup> Wright referred to MS. Harl. 1704, fol. 49 as the source of his reprinted legend on pp. 266-304 of his edition.

<sup>9</sup> Mystères Inédits du Quinzième Siècle . . . d'après le MS. Unique de la Bibliothèque Ste-Genève.

<sup>10</sup> E.K. Chambers, The Mediaeval Stage II (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1923), pp. 371, 409; Rosemary Woolf, The English Mystery Plays (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972), pp. 336-338.

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<sup>14</sup> John S. Farmer, Five Anonymous Plays (Guildford, England: Charles W. Traylen, 1908), pp. 257-298; Samuel A. Tannenbaum, "Comments on The Marriage of Wit and Wisdom," Philological Quarterly, 9 (October, 1940), 322, 323.

<sup>15</sup> Lennam, The Marriage Between Wit and Wisdom, pp. viii-x.

<sup>16</sup> Sir Thomas More, A Play; Now First Printed (London: The Shakespeare Society, 1844), p. 56--hereafter cited parenthetically in the text.

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- 38 The Athenaeum, 7 May 1846, p. 240.



- 39 The Athenaeum, 7 May 1846, p. 240.
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<sup>2</sup> Horace Hart, ed., The Book of Sir Thomas More, Malone Society Reprints (Oxford: University Press, 1911), p. xix.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p. xx.

<sup>4</sup> "Plays Edited by the Shakespeare Society," The Gentleman's Magazine, N.S. XXIII (March, 1845), 245.

<sup>5</sup> Walter W. Greg, ed., Shakespeare's Hand in the Play of Sir Thomas More (Cambridge, England: University Press), pp. 7-8.

<sup>6</sup> Cited in Hart, ed., The Book of Sir Thomas More, p. xx.

<sup>7</sup> Hart, ed., The Book of Sir Thomas More, p. xx.

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<sup>9</sup> Alexander Dyce, ed., Timon, A Play Now First Printed (London: The Shakespeare Society, 1842), p. vii--hereafter cited parenthetically in the text.

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<sup>11</sup> Geoffrey Bullough, ed., Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare VI (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1966), 235.

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- <sup>13</sup> James Orchard Halliwell, The First Sketch of Shakespeare's Merry Wives of Windsor (London: The Shakespeare Society, 1842), pp. viii, ix--hereafter cited parenthetically in the text.
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- <sup>16</sup> Ibid., p. 336.
- <sup>17</sup> Bullough, ed., Narrative and Dramatic Sources, III, 89.
- <sup>18</sup> Ibid., p. 157.
- <sup>19</sup> Thomas Amyot, The Taming of A Shrew (London: The Shakespeare Society, 1844), p. vii.
- <sup>20</sup> Chambers, William Shakespeare, I, 324.
- <sup>21</sup> Chambers, William Shakespeare, I, 327.
- <sup>22</sup> Chambers, William Shakespeare, I, 326.
- <sup>23</sup> Chambers, William Shakespeare, II, 392.
- <sup>24</sup> H.,G. Norton, "Origin of the Induction to Shakespeare's 'Taming of the Shrew,'" The Shakespeare Society's Papers, II (1845), 1-8.

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- <sup>4</sup> "The Song of the Willow, in Othello," SSP, I (1844), 44-46.
- <sup>5</sup> John Payne Collier, "John Wilson, the Singer, in 'Much Ado About Nothing,' a Musical Composer in Shakespeare's Play," SSP, II (1845), 33-36.
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Stanley W. Wells (London: Oxford University Press, 1975),  
p. 106.
- 66 Greg, Henslowe's Diary, Part II: Commentary, p. 203.
- 67 Prospectus, p. 1.

CHAPTER 8  
Notes

<sup>1</sup> John Payne Collier, Autobiography, Folger Library MS. M.a. 230, p. 143.

<sup>2</sup> Collier was undoubtedly referring to the material he had collected from his researches in Lord Ellesmere's library, which resulted in New Facts Regarding the Life of Shakespeare, published in 1835, New Particulars, published the following year, and Further Particulars, which he printed in 1839. His previous editorial effort had been his three-volume History of Dramatic Poetry, which appeared nine years earlier, and it was to be another year or more before his eight-volume edition of Shakespeare would pass through the presses.

<sup>3</sup> Collier, Autobiography, p. 144.

<sup>4</sup> Virgil B. Heltzel, "Sir Thomas Egerton as Patron," The Huntington Library Quarterly (February, 1948), p. 115.

<sup>5</sup> See discussion above, pp. 89-91.

<sup>6</sup> Peter Cunningham, Inigo Jones: A Life of the Architect (London: The Shakespeare Society, 1848), pp. xx-xxi.

<sup>7</sup> Cedric C. Brown, "The Chirk Castle Entertainment of 1634," Milton Quarterly 11 (December, 1977), 77.

<sup>8</sup> Brown, "The Chirk Castle Entertainment," p. 77.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> John Payne Collier, An Old Man's Diary, Forty Years Ago; for the Last Six Months of 1832, II (London: Thomas Richards, 1871), 79.

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- 19 Collier, Autobiography, Patch b.
- 20 Collier, Autobiography, Patch b.
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- 25 Collier, An Old Man's Diary, II, ii.
- 26 The History of the Times: The Thunderer in the Making 1785-1841 (London: Office of The Times, 1935), I, 137. In the Preface to the first of two volumes (p. xiii), the authors of The History write that the work is anonymous, "not from any desire on the part of its authors to appear either modest or mysterious. It is the work of a number of past members of the staff of The Times. . . ."
- 27 Ibid., p. 137.
- 28 John Payne Collier, Diary, vol. XVI, pp. 41-42 (Folger MS. M.a. 32).
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48 The passage is originally cited in R. Schrader, The Reminiscences of Alexander Dyce (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1972), p. 13. the reference to Books in the text refers to Henry Crabb Robinson's Books and Their Writers, 3 vols., 1930, compiled from his diary, travels, and reminscences.

49 A.L.S. from Dyce to Collier, cited in Schrader, Reminiscences of Alexander Dyce, p. 13.

50 Ibid.

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58 Johnson, Charles Dickens, I, 220.

59 Collier, An Old Man's Diary, I, 99 (Folger MS. W.b. 504-05).

60 Collier, Diary, vol. XXI, p. 170 (Folger MS. M.a. 37).



38).<sup>61</sup> Collier, Diary, vol. XXII, p. 103 (Folger MS. M.a.

<sup>62</sup> See, for example, William Toynbee, ed., The Diaries of William Charles Macready, 1833-1851, II (1912 rpt. New York Benjamin Blom, 1969), 67.

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