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TO COMMEMORATE THE

Death of Shakespeare

April 23, 1616

OXFORD

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CREATORS, TRANSMUTERS, AND TRANSMITTERS

AS ILLUSTRATED BY

SHAKESPEARE, BACON, AND BURTON

Remarks made at the opening of the Bodley Shakespeare
|Exhibition, April 24, 1916,

BY

WILLIAM OSLER

At the command of Prospero, the authors of the one and a half millions of books and manuscripts that rest in and beneath these historic buildings would arrange themselves in three groups—creators, transmuters, and transmitters. The first would not crowd the benches of this school; for the second it would be easy to find accommodation in the city; while the third would swarm black over Port Meadow and ‘the soft, low-lying Cumnor hills’. So restricted is the intellectual capital of the race that it goes easily on the seven-foot shelf of President Eliot’s (of Harvard) library. The vast majority of all books are dead, and not one in ten thousand has survived its author. Like the race of leaves the race of books is. The Bodleian is a huge mausoleum. Books follow a law of nature. Thousands of germs are needed for the transmission of an individual of any species. In the case of the salmon only one in a thousand is fertilized and of these not one in a thousand reaches maturity. So it is with books—a thousand or more are needed to secure the transmission of a single one
of our very limited stock of ideas. Were all the eggs of all the salmon to reach maturity the sea could not contain this one species, while the world itself could not contain the books that would be written did even one in a thousand transmit a fertile idea. It is enough, as some one has said, if 'every book supplies its time with a good word'.

In the days when Sir Thomas Bodley concluded to set up his staff at the Library door at Oxford, there lived in this country the last of the great transmitters, Robert Burton; the first of modern transmuters, Francis Bacon; and the greatest of the world's creators, William Shakespeare.

Emerson's remark that 'every book is a quotation' is true in a special sense of the encyclopaedias and dictionaries that fust unused on our shelves. From the huge tomes into which, at the behest of St. Louis, Vincent of Beauvais in the thirteenth century boiled down all knowledge—the earliest edition we have in Bodley weighs above one cwt.!—to the last issue of the Encyclopaedia Britannica, writers have striven to transmit the stores of human knowledge. Such 'systems' have their day and then cease to be. The individual fares better than the encyclopaedia, but not often. The Discoveries of Ben Jonson, a timbered mosaic, so skilfully designed that even the glue is invisible, is dead. No one now reads the Sylvae Nuptialis of Joannes Nevizano, a mere string of quotations; few have even heard of the Zootomia or Moral Anatomy of the Living by the Dead, by Richard Whitlock—though he was a Fellow of All Souls; or of scores of the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century patchworks. Only the golden compilation of Robert Burton lives, and lives by the law so well expressed in the lines:

Sappho survives because we sing her songs,
And Eschylus because we read his plays.

The silent, sedentary, solitary student (as he terms
and Transmitters

himself) in the most flourishing college of Europe, *augustissimo Collegio*, with Saturn lord of his geniture, to relieve a *gravidum cor*, swept all known literature into a cento. No book was ever so belied by its title as the *Anatomy of Melancholy*. In reality the anatomy of man in all possible relations it is easy to read the secret of its salvation. The panorama of human life is sketched in broad, firm outlines by a man of keen humour and kindly satire. Though page after page is laden with what Milton calls 'horse loads of citation', the golden links are of Burton's own fashioning. Even the dry bones of bibliography come to life as he pours out a torrent of praise upon the 'world of books that offers itself in all subjects, arts and sciences to the sweet content and capacity of the reader'. Except Shakespeare, no writer has realized more keenly that all thoughts, all passions, all delights, and whatever stirs this mortal frame, minister to the one great moving impulse of humanity. It is not a little surprising that from a student of Christ Church, an old bachelor, and the Vicar of St. Thomas the Martyr, should have come the most elaborate treatise ever written upon love. There is no such collection of stories in all literature, no such tributes to the power of beauty, no such pictures of its artificial allurements, no such representation of its power of abasement. The thoughts and words of more dead writers are transmitted to modern readers by Burton than by any other seventeenth-century author. That the *Anatomy* is not in the cemetery of dead books is due to the saving salt of human sympathy scattered through its pages. Burton comes within the net of the Baconians, but it was much discussed by the late Mr. George Parker, of the Bodleian, and Mr. M. L. Horr* of Denver whether it was not more likely that he wrote the plays of Shakespeare.

1 "Who wrote Shakespeare?" by 'Multum in Parvo' (M. L. Horr), from the Denver (Colorado) Tribune-Republican, 1885. 4 pp. (In Bodley.)
The melting-pot of the transmuters has changed the world. They have been the alchemists at whose touch the base metal of common knowledge has been turned to gold. Among them Francis Bacon takes a high place, not so much for his inductive philosophy, really a new creation, as for the convincing demonstration that the relief of man’s estate was possible only through a knowledge of the laws of nature. A great transformer of the mind, he realized, as no one before had done, that ‘within the reach of the grasp of man lay the unexplored kingdom of knowledge if he will be but humble enough, and patient enough, and truthful enough to occupy it’. With a Pisgah-sight of Palestine, he lacked the qualities of a Joshua to enter himself upon campaigns of conquest; but he was one of the world’s seers with a vision of the possibility of man’s empire over nature. The singularly human admixture of greatness and littleness was in his works as well as in his life.

History repeats itself. Greek philosophy, lost in the wandering mazes of restless speculation, was saved by a steady methodical research into nature by Hippocrates and by Aristotle. While Bacon was philosophizing like a Lord Chancellor, two English physicians had gone back to the Greeks. ‘Searching out nature by way of experiment’ (‘tis Harvey’s phrase), William Gilbert laid the foundation of modern physical science, and William Harvey made the greatest advance in physiology since Aristotle. Recking not his own rede Bacon failed to see that these works of his contemporaries were destined to fulfil the very object of his philosophy—the one to give man dominion over the macrocosm, the world at large; the other to give him control of the microcosm, his own body. A more striking instance of mind blindness is not to be found in the history of science. Darkly wise and rudely great, Bacon is a difficult being to understand. Except the Essays, his
and Transmitters

books make hard reading. In the *Historia Naturalis*, a work of the compiler class, one would think that a consideration of Life and Death would so far fire the imagination as to save an author from the sin of dullness. Try to read it. A more nicely tasteless, more correctly dull treatise was never written on so fruitful a theme. There is good sense about medicine and nature, but with the exception of the contrast between youth and old age, which has a fine epigrammatic quality, the work is as dry as shoe-leather, and the dryness is all his own, as other authors are rarely quoted. Only a mollusc without a trace of red marrow or red blood could have penned a book without a page to stir the feelings and not a sentence with a burr to stick in the memory. Bacon students should study the lengthy consideration given in it to the spirits, and then turn to Schmidt's *Lexicon* to see how very different in this respect are the motions of Shakespeare's spirit. The truth is Bacon had in a singular degree what an old Carthusian (Peter Garnefelt) called 'the gift of infrigidation'.

What a contrast when a Creator deals with Life and Death! The thoughts of the race are crystallized for ever. From Galen to Laurentius, physicians have haggled over the divisions of the ages of man, but with a grand disregard of their teaching. Shakespeare so settles the question that the stages are stereotyped in our minds. We can only think of certain aspects in terms of his description. The vicissitudes of every phase are depicted. The shuddering apprehension of death we can only express in his words.

The transmuters have given to man his world dominion. The raw ore of Leucippus and Democritus has been refined to radium by Crookes, Ramsay, and the Curies; the foundations of Krupp are laid in the *De Re Metallica* of Agricola; the defenders of Verdun use the expanded formulæ of
Archimedes and Apollonius; Lamarck and Darwin, Wallace and Mendel are only Anaximander, Empedocles, and Lucretius writ large; Poppy, Mandragora, and other drowsy syrups had been in use for centuries to make persons insensible to pain, but the great transmutation did not take place until October 16, 1846, when Morton demonstrated at the Massachusetts Hospital the practicability of aether anaesthesia; Pasteur, Koch, and Lister are Varro, Fracastorius, and Spallanzani in nineteenth-century garb. Only by the labours of transmuters has progress been made possible, and their works will fill the shelves of the concentrated Bibliotheca Prima of the future.

Whether the benches of this school would seat the members of our third group, the creators, would depend very much on the judgement of Prospero. Thus to Harvey claiming admission, he might say, 'You simply took the idea of a movement of the blood which had been current knowledge since Solomon, and by experiment demonstrated a motion in a circle and not by ebb and flow'. And this is true. Without Aristotle, Galen, and Fabricius there would have been no Harvey. Transforming their raw ores by methods all his own, he made the De Motu Cordis, 1628, a new creation in the world of science. Not by the material, not by the method of its manufacture, but by the value of the finished product is the author's position to be judged. In Science the best transmuters have been the fruitful creators. The same law holds in Art and in Literature. The Alchemy of Shakespeare made him a great creator. 'Self-school'd, self-scann'd, self-honour'd, self-secure,' in heaven-sent moments he turned the common thoughts of life into gold. From Carlyle and Emerson, the teachers who stirred our hearts, the youth of my day had a final judgement upon Shakespeare. After the two noble knights of literature have spoken, it will be safer for

1 Sir Walter Raleigh and Sir Sidney Lee.
and Transmitters

a layman to express his feelings in the words of one of these masters:

What point of morals, of manners, of economy, of philosophy, of religion, of taste, of the conduct of life, has he not settled? What mystery has he not signified his knowledge of? What office, or function, or district of man’s work, has he not remembered? What king has he not taught state? What maiden has not found him finer than her delicacy? What lover has he not outloved? What sage has he not outseen? What gentleman has he not instructed in the rudeness of his behaviour?—Emerson, Shakespeare; or the Poet.

Five thousand volumes in Bodley testify to a vast dominion unequalled in the history of literature. Once before in the world a poet held all the thoughts of his race. From Plutarch and Lucian we can judge how an educated Greek was really constrained to express himself in Homer’s words. Such universality is to-day the prerogative of Shakespeare:

All pains the immortal spirit must endure,
All weakness which impairs, all griefs which bow,
Find their sole speech in that victorious brow.

As a little needful leaven and just to indicate the very present help he may be in these troublous times, let me quote Hotspur—any officer to any wife:

And, to conclude,
This evening must I leave you, gentle Kate.
I know you wise; but yet no further wise
Than Harry Percy’s wife: constant you are,
But yet a woman: and for secrecy,
No lady closer; for I well believe
Thou wilt not utter what thou dost not know;
And so far will I trust thee, gentle Kate.

The exhibition which Bodley’s Librarian and his Assistants have arranged with such care and the many
celebrations the world over will have one good effect—a heightened appreciation of the value of Shakespeare in the education of the young. In life’s perspective we seniors are apt to resent that the rising generation should work out its own salvation in ways that are not always our ways, and with thoughts that are not always our thoughts. One thing is in our power, to admix in due proportions with their present somewhat rickety bill of fare the more solid nourishment of the English Bible and of Shakespeare.
With the Compliments of the President of the Bibliographical Society

13 Norham Gardens
Oxford
VENUS AND ADONIS

Vilia miretur vulgus: mibi fames Apollo
Pocula Castalia plena ministret aqua.

LONDON

Imprinted by Richard Field, and are to be sold at
the signe of the white Greyhound in
Paules Church-yard.
1593.

FIRST EDITION OF SHAKESPEARE'S FIRST PUBLICATION

From the unique copy in the Bodleian
A CATALOGUE OF THE SHAKESPEARE EXHIBITION

Held in the BODLEIAN LIBRARY
TO COMMEMORATE THE
Death of Shakespeare
April 23, 1616

OXFORD
PRINTED FOR THE BODLEIAN LIBRARY
BY FREDERICK HALL, PRINTER TO THE UNIVERSITY
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PREFACE

The Shakespearean collection of the Bodleian Library ranks in bibliographical value and interest only below that in the British Museum, which stands first throughout the world, in quality if not in quantity. The Bodleian collection is liberal in its range. The numerous editions of Shakespeare’s plays and poems, the dates of whose publication reach from 1593 to the present year, are solidly flanked by some three thousand volumes of adaptations, translations, commentaries, and books which gave cues to the dramatist. A formidable apparatus of Shakespearean study is thus placed at the student’s disposal. A fitly representative selection of the Shakespearean stores in the Bodleian figures in the Tercentenary Exhibition which is here catalogued.

To certain Shakespearean volumes of a comparatively late date much critical or bibliographical importance attaches. But the true test of a Shakespearean collection is its total of original sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century editions of Shakespeare’s works and of illustrative contemporary literature. Such editions now vary greatly in rarity, but surviving exemplars in all cases are few; in several instances the accessible number of copies is no more than one, two, or three. Supreme interest belongs to the separate quarto issues of Shakespeare’s plays and poems which appeared in his lifetime or in the years following his death and presented the text in the form in which it first came to the notice of Elizabethan or Jacobean readers. All Shakespeare scholars allot to these slender books the place of honour in every Shakespearean repository. Not even the national library preserves the whole series. Less than a score has made the lasting name of several private collectors. How high is the scale of Shakespearean complete-
ness which distinguishes the Bodleian Library is shown by the fact that of an estimated total of 100 of these envied publications, the library of Oxford University possesses 70.

The first entry in this Catalogue lends the Exhibition a peculiar prestige. The entry, of which no counterpart is possible elsewhere, describes the earliest edition of Shakespeare's earliest publication, his narrative poem *Venus and Adonis*. No other copy is known of this volume, in which Shakespeare made his earliest appeal to the reading public, and laid typographically the primal foundation of his fame. Printed and published in London by Richard Field, a native of Stratford-upon-Avon, who, like Shakespeare himself, had come a few years before to try his fortune in the metropolis, this unique book takes a foremost rank among the evidences of Shakespeare's literary career.

This narrative poem, which Shakespeare himself described as 'the first heir of my invention', was constantly reprinted in his lifetime, and the Bodleian is affluent in later issues. Of the edition of 1600 and of three subsequent editions which were published shortly after the dramatist's death, the only exemplars which are now known also form part of this Exhibition. No other library offers equal opportunities with the Bodleian for the bibliographical study of Shakespeare's separately published poems. Of cognate importance is the copy of the third edition of the anthology, *The Passionate Pilgrim* of 1612, which is of mingled authorship, although the whole was misleadingly put to Shakespeare's credit by an enterprising publisher. The only other extant copy of this edition was recently sold to an American collector, but the Bodleian copy has the unrivalled distinction of showing two title-pages, from one of which Shakespeare's name has been removed in deference to his protest, well attested elsewhere, against being saddled with responsibility for other people's lucubrations.

Rich as the Bodleian is in the seventeenth-century
quartos of the plays, there are some wide gaps in the ranks of the earliest issues; but the exhibited copy of the first draft of the second part of Shakespeare's *Henry VI* has unique bibliographical features, and the Library is fortunate in the possession of the first quarto issue (albeit a corrupt piracy) of *Romeo and Juliet*, the earliest play from Shakespeare's unaided pen which saw the light of the press.

The First Folio of 1623 is the fountain-head of knowledge of Shakespeare's complete achievements, and to each of the two exhibited copies there attaches a peculiar extrinsic or intrinsic interest. One copy, which reached the Library near the date of its original publication, left the Bodleian shelves some forty years later for other ownership, and remained in exile for as long a period as 242 years. Its welcome return to its old home took place no more than ten years ago in circumstances that reflect great credit on the present government of the Library. The other copy of the First Folio, which is described below, belonged to Edmund Malone, and has been in Oxford during the past ninety-five years. Malone's copy enjoys the distinction of presenting the engraved portrait of the dramatist in the rare state in which the engraver first parted with it. The plate was substantially retouched and altered afterwards, and there is only one other known print besides that in the Malone Folio which shows the engraving in its original form. As in the case of the sole second surviving copy of the 1612 edition of *The Passionate Pilgrim*, an American collector now owns the only other known copy of the First Folio print in its early state.

The historic fortunes and provenances of the two Bodleian copies of the First Folio furnish a clue to the manner in which the great Shakespearean collection of the Bodleian has been built up. Very few of the volumes which give the Shakespearean library of the University its bibliographical importance reached Oxford near the date
of their publication. Shakespeare’s writings were not the kind of literature which the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century curators of the Bodleian deemed best fitted for students’ needs. A single copy of the text was at the outset alone deemed needful or desirable. No compunction was shown in exiling a First Folio to make room for a Third Folio in 1664. A few years later the rarer Shakespeareana were solely represented by one quarto edition of *Venus and Adonis* and one of *Hamlet*, which had come respectively from the libraries of the Oxford scholars, Robert Burton and John Selden.

Neither in the seventeenth nor in the eighteenth centuries did the curators seek to meet Shakespearean requirements by exercise of the privilege which they enjoyed under successive Copyright Acts of requisitioning gratuitous copies of all London publications. The University Press in 1743 first undertook an issue of Shakespeare. It was edited by Sir Thomas Hanmer, for a short time Speaker of the House of Commons, who had caught the rising rage for Shakespearean exegesis. The result was the earliest edition possessing typographical beauty. But the fine mechanical tribute of the Oxford Press to Shakespeare’s text moved no misgivings in the Bodleian curators, and Shakespeare still long continued to be denied the bibliographical attentions which were generously paid to classical authors.

The conversion of the University library into a great home of Shakespearean study and learning was due to extra-academic agencies, and was not effected before the nineteenth century had well opened. The mass of the rare Shakespeareana now in the Bodleian was gathered together for purposes of research by Edmund Malone, a Shakespearean scholar of indefatigable industry. Dying at the age of 71 on May 25, 1812, Malone had for forty years pursued with heroic thoroughness the eighteenth-century tradition of
literary inquiry which set the claims of archaeology above some of the finer issues of critical taste without exposing itself to any just disparagement.

A native of Ireland and a graduate of Trinity College, Dublin, Malone settled down in London in early manhood, chiefly to carry on the minuter elucidation of Shakespeare’s life and work which others had lately begun. His first results were incorporated in the edition of Shakespeare which he produced in 1790, but he continued his Shakespearean labours till his death. When he died on May 25, 1812, he was revising his old edition of Shakespeare with the help of a younger scholar, James Boswell, the son of Dr. Johnson’s biographer. The younger Boswell continued the editorial revision after Malone’s death. Nine years passed before Boswell completed his labours, and it was only in 1821 that there was published, in twenty-one volumes, the edition of Shakespeare known as the *Thira Variorum*, in which Boswell embodied Malone’s latest researches. That publication is the best monument of Malone’s Shakespearean learning. In the departments of biographical and historical investigation this edition remains unrivalled.

Malone’s social instincts were strong, and he was welcomed as a young man to that London circle of wit and culture of which Dr. Johnson was the centre. He joined Dr. Johnson’s best-known literary club in 1782, and was the chief adviser of Boswell in the preparation of the doctor’s great biography. Other of Malone’s close associates were Sir Joshua Reynolds, Edmund Burke, Horace Walpole, George Canning, and Henry Flood.

Malone’s personal relations with Oxford were not close. He occasionally worked in the Bodleian, where he seems to have been the first to appreciate at their full value the MS. memoranda there of the Oxford antiquary John Aubrey, compiler of the earliest memoir of Shakespeare
with any claim to adequacy. The University, moreover, acknowledged the importance of his antiquarian energy by conferring upon him the degree of D.C.L. on July 5, 1793. But the lasting association of his name with Oxford was only effected posthumously, and through no act of his own devising.

At his death (on May 25, 1812), Malone bequeathed his working Shakespeare library to his brother Richard, Lord Sunderlin, who had been created an Irish peer in 1785. But the testator expressed a wish that if the family did not care to retain the library as an heirloom, it should be handed over to Trinity College, Dublin. In 1815 Lord Sunderlin resolved to modify his brother's expressed wishes. He presented his brother's Shakespearean library to the University of Oxford. Lord Sunderlin, however, made it a proviso that Boswell should retain the books until his labours on the Third Variorum were ended. It was consequently not until 1821 that Malone's collection reached the Bodleian. It was thus by a turn of Fortune's wheel, for which it was difficult to account, that the Oxford Library became the second Shakespearean treasury of the world.

Some useful gifts and purchases supplemented in the later years of the nineteenth century Lord Sunderlin's benefaction, and the valuable Shakespeareana on the Library shelves were substantially augmented. But the Irish scholar who is remembered by all earnest Shakespearean students as the most painstaking of their great fraternity remains the presiding genius of the Shakespearean collection of the University. Malone is a benefactor of Oxford through no overt action of his own, but in this season of the Tercentenary of Shakespeare's death, none better deserves pious commemoration by students of Shakespeare who are also alumni of the University.

SIDNEY LEE.
HISTORICAL NOTE

The Bodleian Library was founded in 1602 by Sir Thomas Bodley, a "worthy of Devon", and claims to be one of the earliest Public Libraries in Europe, as being one of the first owned by a public body (in this case the University of Oxford), and from the first open without payment to all who have a proper recommendation.

It is now the largest University Library in the world and also the largest which is not directly aided by the State. In size and importance (together) it ranks about eighth in the world, and among English-speaking peoples is second only to the British Museum, which was founded in 1753.

The Bodleian has grown to its present size, partly by the books and estates given to it by its founder, partly by collections, large and small, presented or bequeathed to it since that time, partly by accessions under successive Copyright Acts, and to some extent by its own powers of purchase, derived largely from the liberality of the University, in which it ranks first among academic Institutions.

The Bodleian now contains about 1,000,000 volumes, about 2,000,000 separate literary pieces, and about 40,000 manuscripts, not counting separate charters and rolls, which number perhaps 20,000. In the year 1914 the accessions were 74,348, of which 756 were MSS. and 51,489 came under the Copyright Act. In that year the income may be reckoned as £14,688, of which £2,746 was special, i.e. not certainly available in the future: the expenditure as £14,189.

The staff at present consists of the Librarian, two Sub-Librarians, fourteen Senior Assistants, four Minor Assistants, fourteen Junior Assistants, two Janitors, and two manual workers. On the Extra Staff or otherwise regularly employed in the Library are the Catalogue Revision Staff of nine persons, and thirty transcribers, classifiers, &c. The total number is seventy-nine persons.

The coin collection contains about 60,000 pieces, which are arranged geographically according to the places of issue.

ANNALS 1602-1916

The earliest library of the University was in existence in 1327 and fully established by 1400. It then bore the name of Bishop Cobham (d. 1327), who had built the room over the Old Convocation House at the north-east corner of St. Mary's Church, where the books were housed. The second library is usually stated to have been that of Bishop Richard of Dury, author of the Philobiblon (d. 1445), who intended to present his books, but it is very doubtful whether his library ever came to Oxford. The true second library was that of Humphrey Duke of Gloucester (d. 1447), who in 1435-44 gave about 500 manuscripts, and contributed largely to the building (now the Old Reading Room) which was built in about 1450-80 to contain his and similar benefactions. But out of twenty-nine of these MSS. known to be in existence, only three are still in the Bodleian, for in 1550-56 the library was dispersed and ruined by Edward VI's Commissioners.

In 1568 Sir Thomas Bodley, a statesman and diplomat high in the favour of Queen Elizabeth, being weary of state-craft, determined 'to set up' his 'staffe at the Librarie-dore in Oxon', and once again furnished Duke Humphrey's room with book-cases, and became, to his eternal glory, the founder of the Bodleian Library.

1602. Nov. 8. The Library was formally opened, with over 2,000 volumes, of which 299 were MSS. These were all contained in 'Duke Humphrey's Library' ('Old Reading Room'), the entrance being at the West (not as now the East) end.

1605. The first Catalogue of the Library was published.

1610. Dec. 12. An agreement was made by which one copy of every work entered at Stationers' Hall in London was granted by the Company to the Bodleian—a right extended by subsequent Copyright Acts, and still enjoyed by the Library.
Historical Note

1612. The 'Arts End', by which room visitors enter the Library, was completed, being the first augmentation of the buildings.

1613. Jan. 28. Sir Thomas Bodley died: on March 29 he was buried in the Chapel of Merton College, of which foundation he had been Fellow.

1620. The second Catalogue issued.

1629. The Barocci collection of 242 Greek MSS, was given by William Herbert, earl of Pembroke, Chancellor of the University.

1634. The Digby MSS. were presented by Sir Kenelm Digby.

1635-40. In four successive installments Archbishop Laud, seeing the troubles in front of him, presented his magnificent collection of MSS. and coins. More than twenty languages were represented in them.

1640. The second addition to the buildings, a room now called the 'Selden End', was completed.

1646. 'When Oxford was surrendered (24th Junii, 1646) the first thing General Fairfax did was to set a good guard of soldiers to preserve the Bodleian Library': and Cromwell not long after presented a collection of Greek MSS.

1659. The executors of John Selden sent most of his MSS. and printed books. The Latin MSS. which were not bequeathed perished by fire in London in 1680.

1673. The Dodsworth and Fairfax MSS. were bequeathed by Thomas, first Lord Fairfax.

1674. The third Catalogue of printed books was issued.

1677. The valuable Anglo-Saxon collections of Francis Junius were received.

1682. The first of the Annual Bodleian Speeches in Latin was delivered—a custom continued to this day on Nov. 8.

1690. The extensive Oriental manuscript collections of Pococke and Huntington were received, followed in 1713 by that of Archbishop Narcissus Marsh.

1697. A complete list of the MSS. (over 8,000) was published in Bernard's Catalogi MSS. Angliae.

1701. Thomas Hearne, the antiquary, was appointed assistant.

1714. Hearne calculated that in this year there were 50,169 printed books and 5,916 MSS. in the Library.

1735. The great donations of the middle of the eighteenth century began with Bishop Tanner's MSS. and printed books, received in this year.

1738. The fourth Catalogue of printed books was issued.

1753. The bulk of the valuable State Papers collected by Edward Hyde, first Earl of Clarendon, the historian of the Civil War, were bequeathed, as well as the first portion of the Carte papers, chiefly Irish State Papers.

1754. The original correspondence and documents on which was founded John Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy were presented.

1756. The vast manuscript collections of Dr. Richard Rawlinson, Bishop among the Non-jurors, numbering about 4,000, were bequeathed, including all Hearne's Collections.

1787. John Uri's Catalogue of the Oriental MSS. was published: Nicoll and Pusey's continuation came out in 1814 and 1820.

1790. In this year the Library began its encroachment on the various rooms or Schools of what is now the Bodleian Quadrangle: the last was taken over in 1814.

1809. The valuable topographical collections of Richard Gough came by bequest.

1817. The Canonici MSS., Greek, Latin, and Italian, amounting to over 2,000, were purchased in Venice.

1821. The Malone collection of Elizabethan (especially Shakespearian) dramatic literature came by bequest, containing all the Folios and many Quartos of Shakespeare's Plays.

1829. The Oppenheimer collection of over 5,700 Hebrew printed books and MSS. was purchased in this year.

1834. The Douce collection of about 400 MSS. and 17,000 printed books (bequeathed) brought many illuminated MSS. and much early and valuable English literature to the Library.

1837. A peculiar donation came in this year—copies of Clarendon and Barnet, grangerized until they contained 20,000 engravings of persons and places
mentioned in those works, were presented by Mrs. Sutherland.

1841. A bequest of £36,000 came by the will of the Rev. Robert Mason of Queen's College.

1845-51. The latest printed Catalogue of the Printed Books was issued.

1849. The number of bound volumes of printed books was in this year estimated to be 240,000, and the MSS. 21,000. In 1867 the numbers were stated to be 350,000 and 25,000 respectively; and in 1884, 410,000 and 36,300.

1860. In this year the Radcliffe Trustees offered the Radcliffe Camera, the dome of which is so conspicuous a feature of Oxford, as a Reading Room for the Bodleian and a loan for that purpose to the University. The original Radcliffe Library, which was scientific, had been removed to the New Museum.

The year is also marked by the transference from the Ashmolean Museum of the Ashmolean MSS., printed books and coins on deposit, an example which has been followed by the Radcliffe Trustees who have deposited coins and Oriental MSS., by the Savilian Professors, by the Clarendon Press, and by six Colleges which have deposited their MSS. as revocable loans, namely Brasenose, Hertford, Jesus, Lincoln, New, and University.

1893. The Shelley collection was presented by Jane, Lady Shelley.

1902. The Tercentenary of the Library was celebrated on Oct. 8-9.

1906. The original copy of the First Folio of Shakespeare which came to the Library in 1623 under the agreement with the Stationers' Company (see sub anno 1610, above), and which had been parted with after the Restoration as superseded, was bought by public subscription from W. G. Turbott, Esq., of Ogston Hall, Derbyshire, for £3,000.

1907. The Upper Reading Room was opened, on Oct. 8. The costs of preparing and fitting the room were defrayed by the generosity of the Hon. T. A. Brassey, now Viscount Hythe.

1910. The Maharajah Sir Chandra Shum Shore, Prime Minister of Nepal, presented 6,330 Sanskrit MSS.

1912. The Underground Bookstore between the Bodleian proper and the Camera, due to the munificence of the Trustees of the Oxford University Endowment Fund, was completed and made use of.

1912. Through the munificence of Lord Hythe, an adequate staff for the Revision of the General Catalogue of Printed Books has been provided, with a view to printing.

1913. A magnificent collection of Chinese works, both printed and manuscript, numbering about 17,000 volumes (chiefly), was presented by Mr. E. Backhouse.

1913. A subway between the Camera and the Bodleian proper for the Staff, with a lift for books, was constructed with money provided by the Oxford University Endowment Fund.

1915. A new Bodleian Statue in English, based on the old Latin code, but modified to meet modern requirements, was passed, and is printed in the Staff Manual.

1914. Prof. Ingram Bywater bequeathed a library of about 4,000 volumes on Aristotle and his commentators, and the Humanist scholars up to 1650.


The chief books relating to the Library are:


- **Some Oxford Libraries**, by S. Gibson, 1914, 12°; published by the Clarendon Press, Oxford: 2s. 6d.

- **The Bodleian Quarterly Record**, containing Notes and News, the chief Accessions, and Documents, and Records. Issued in April, July, October, and January, price 6d. Nos. i–ix are obtainable from the Librarian.

For the pictures see Mrs. R. L. Poole's *Catalog of Portraits*, vol. i, Oxf. 1912, 8°; 12s. 6d.
SHAKESPEARIAN LITERATURE
IN THE BODLEIAN LIBRARY

The Collection, though now a large one, has been of slow growth, until the gift of Malone’s books in 1821, with Thomas Caldecott’s additions in 1833, threw lustre on it.

Owing to the reluctance of the Founder, Sir Thomas Bodley, to place in his Library plays and ballads and such ‘baggage’ literature, many precious opportunities were lost, and the Catalogues of 1605 and 1620 show no Shakespeare entry at all! In the Appendix Catalogue of 1635 at last appears

Wil. Shakespeare. His works. Lond. 1623. S. 2. 17 [Art.]

This is the volume sold out of the Library soon after the Restoration and repurchased in 1906 for £3000 (see p. 14).

In the 1674 Catalogue we find three entries only:—

The Third Folio duly appears, but where is the Second? No trace of it has yet been found, and probably it was regarded as a mere reprint of the First, and never sent to the Library. The Hamlet came from Selden’s library, and the Venus from Robert Burton’s.

Even the 1738 Catalogue only adds the Tempest as adapted by Davenant and Dryden (Lond. 1674), Macbeth of the same date and kind, and a Lucrece imperfect at beginning and end.

In 1821 the Collection of Edmond Malone, for the importance of which see the foregoing Preface, was presented by his brother Richard, Lord Sunderlin (after Malone’s death), and greatly augmented the Shakespeare literature in the Library.

In 1827 came the first part of Sir John Oldcastle (1600), and Rich. III (1629); in the next year the Merchant of
Shakespearian Literature xv

Venice (1637), and Hamlet (1676). Four were added in 1829–30 (Poems, Lond. for B. Lintot, no date; Richard II and Richard III, both 1634, and Pericles, 1635) and nineteen more in 1833–8. This batch of additions was no doubt due to the stimulus of the Malone donation and the additions to it made by Caldecott.

STATISTICS

The following statistics refer to those works and editions relating to Shakespeare which have appeared to deserve a separate entry in the General Catalogue of Printed Books, but they do not include single sheets, engravings, &c.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Editions</th>
<th>Volumes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Texts: Works, separate editions</td>
<td>228</td>
<td>1251</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poetical works, selections, &amp;c.</td>
<td>389</td>
<td>400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dictionaries and concordances</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Separate texts of plays, with or without notes</td>
<td>1539</td>
<td>1545</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Hamlet and Merchant of Venice, 97 editions; Macbeth, 83; M.S.N.'s Dream, 78; Tempest, 75.)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Texts of Doubtful Plays</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commentaries: Notes or commentaries on the above classes (without the text), or on Shakespeare generally</td>
<td>1510</td>
<td>1675</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bibliographies and Catalogues</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lives of Shakespeare</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Texts</strong></td>
<td>2263</td>
<td>3314</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Commentaries</strong></td>
<td>1664</td>
<td>1839</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>3927</td>
<td>5153</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
THE CATALOGUE

The present Catalogue has been chiefly the work of the staff of the Library, aided by the valuable suggestions of the Consultative Committee (see p. 2 of Cover), and especially of Mr. A. W. Pollard and Sir Sidney Lee. To the latter and to Archdeacon Hutton thanks are also due for contributions of a Preface and an Essay respectively, as well as to Mr. E. T. Leeds, of the Ashmolean Museum, for a valuable note.

The members of the staff who have been most directly concerned are Mr. S. Gibson, who has aided both generally, and in particular in classes N and O, and Miss Hugon, who undertook much of the transcribing and collating work. Acknowledgement is also due to Sir S. Lee’s Life of Shakespeare (1915), and to W. Jaggard’s Shakespeare Bibliography (1911), from which some statements have been taken.

F. MADAN,

Apr. 24, 1916.

Bodley’s Librarian.

NOTE

On p. 75 after ‘The Davenants’ the first sentence should run: ‘Fletcher, in his part of King Henry VIII, mentions Cardinal College very nobly. Shakespeare is silent; but his association with Oxford . . .’

On p. 86 the last line should run ‘been he who, son of an “oulde servant” of Sir Thomas White, took the degree . . .’

On p. 87 add to footnote, ‘Cf. also Muniments, LXII. 2, p. 92.’

W. H. HUTTON.
CLASS A. EARLY WORKS

1 VENUS AND ADONIS, 1593.

The only copy of the first edition of Shakespeare's first publication.

Venus and Adonis. [motto, then device]
London Imprinted by Richard Field, and are to be sold at the signe of the white Greyhound in Paules Church-yard. 1593. 4°: signn. A1 B-G4 H4.

Unique copy, reproduced in facsimile by Ashbee in 1867, by Griggs in 1886, and by Lee in 1905. The motto on the title-page is from Ovid (Amores I. xv. 35-6):

'Vilia miretur vulgus: mihi flavus Apollo
Pocula Castalia plena ministret aqua,'

which Marlowe translated

'Let base-conceited wits admire vile things,
Fair Phoebus lead me to the Muses' springs!'

This and Lucrece were the only two works published with the author's sanction and co-operation. The preface declares the
Venus and Adonis to be ‘the first heir of my invention’ and is signed ‘William Shakespeare’. The printer, Richard Field, was a fellow-townsmen and almost coeval of the author, having been born at Stratford-on-Avon in 1561. This edition was entered in the Stationers’ Company’s Register on April 18, 1593. Malone long waited for a copy to turn up, and late in life secured this volume for £25.

Of the thirteen editions published before 1700 only 20 copies remain, eight of which are in the Bodleian, five in the British Museum, one at Trinity College, Cambridge, two in private hands in England, and four which are owned in America. The eight Bodleian editions are 1593 (unique), 1594, 1596, c. 1600 (unique), 1602, 1617 (unique), 1630 (unique), and c. 1630 (unique). The others are of 1599, 1620, 1627 (published in Edinburgh, and the first printing outside London of any work of Shakespeare), 1636, and 1675. It is stated that an imperfect copy of a new edition c. 1595 is now on exhibition in New York, owned by Mrs. Perry of Providence.

2 VENUS AND ADONIS,  
Fifth edition, c. 1600. The only copy.  

[Venus and Adonis]: signn. A–C⁸ D⁴.

The title-page is lost, but the book is bound with the Lucrece of 1600, and the true date is about that year. The text is of some importance as some new, but false, readings have been introduced which occur in all subsequent editions of the 17th century. The publisher was no doubt William Leake, to whom the copyright was transferred in 1597.

2* VENUS AND ADONIS,  
Sixth edition, 1602. The only copy of this issue.  

[Ornaments]. Venus and Adonis. [motto, device]  
Imprinted at London for William Leake, dwelling
at the signe of the Holy Ghost, in Pauls Church-yard. 1602: 8°: A–C³ D⁴.

Two other issues of this date, each unique, are known. This copy was owned by Robert Burton, the author of the Anatomy of Melancholy, and bears his characteristic mark 'r'.

3 VENUS AND ADONIS,
Seventh edition, 1617. The only copy.

[Ornaments]. Venus and Adonis. [line, motto, line]

'W. B.' is William Barrett, who purchased the copyright from Leake in 1617.

4 VENUS AND ADONIS,
Tenth edition, 1630. The only copy.

Venus and Adonis. [line, motto, line, device]
London, Printed by J. H. [John Haviland] and are to be sold by Francis Coules in the Old Baily without Newgate; 1630: 8°: signn. A–C³ D⁴.

5 VENUS AND ADONIS,
Eleventh edition, c. 1633. The only copy.

[Venus and Adonis]: 8°: signn. A–C³ D⁴.

The title-page is wanting, but it is known to have been issued between 1630 and 1636.
6  

**LUCRECE, 1594.**

A copy of the first edition.

*[Ornament]. Lucrece. [device]*

London. Printed by Richard Field, for John Harrison, and are to be sold at the signe of the white Greyhound in Paules Churchyard: 1594: 4°: signn. A² B–M⁴ N².

This was Shakespeare's second publication, and the preface is signed with his name. Eight editions came out before 1700, namely in 1594, 1598, 1600, 1607, 1616, 1621, 1632, and 1655. Of the last edition there are many copies, but of the first seven editions only twenty copies survive, of which five are in the Bodleian (1594 [two], 1600 [two], 1616) and five in the British Museum. One (1632) is at Corpus Christi College, Oxford.

7  

**THE PASSIONATE PILGRIM,**


Of the first edition (1599) only two copies are known; of the second, none; of the third, this (with two title-pages, one with and one without Shakespeare's name) and one other with only the one Shakespeare title-page. No other separate edition was issued before 1870.
Of this collection of poems only five out of twenty are by Shakespeare.

In this third edition the attribution of the whole to Shakespeare was made worse by the addition of translations by Thomas Heywood of two of Ovid's Epistles, nearly doubling the size of the book. Heywood at once protested in his Apology for Actors (1612, postscript), and professed to know that Shakespeare was 'much offended with M. Jaggard that al-together unknowne to him presumed to make so bold with his name'. Hence, we may imagine, the withdrawal of Shakespeare's name from one of the two title-pages here preserved.

8  SONNETS, 1609.

The first edition.

[Ornament]. Shake-speares Sonnets, Neuer before Imprinted. [double line]

This edition was entered in the Stationers' Company Register on May 20, 1609. The next edition was 1640, but no other occurs in the 17th century. Of the 1609 edition eleven copies are known, at least six of which bear a variant imprint 'are to be solde by Iohn Wright, dwelling at Christ Church Gate'. The Bodleian has copies of each type. One hundred and fifty-four Sonnets are to be found in this first edition. At the end (sign, K⅓) is added a poem, entitled 'A Louers complaint, by William Shake-speare', in all probability not written by him. It appears that Shakespeare took no part in the publication. The form of title is not such as he would have used, and the text is very corrupt.
9  
POEMS, 1640.
First edition of the collected Poems.

Poems: Written by Wil. Shakespeare. Gent. [device]
With a portrait of the poet, engraved by W. M(arshall).

On signn. Gtr–K6r, L2r–end are additional poems, not stated to be Shakespeare's, and partly at least by Thomas Heywood, Ben Jonson, Francis Beaumont, and I. G.
No further edition was published before 1700.
The contents are extracts from Venus and Adonis, Lucrece, and the Passionate Pilgrim (partly by Shakespeare), with the Sonnets (omitting eight), and other short poems.

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CLASS B. QUARTOS

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Shakespeare Quartos consist of separate editions of his plays, chiefly publishers' ventures without the author's co-operation and sold at about 6d. apiece, issued between 1594 and 1700. Of these editions and issues with variations there appear to be 101, of which the Bodleian possesses 70 and 11 duplicates, as follows:—

Hamlet: (1607?), 1611, 1637, 1676.

Henry IV, part 1: 1599, 1604, 1608, 1613, 1622, 1639, 1700 (two).

Henry IV, part 2: 1600 (E four leaves), 1600 (E six leaves).
Henry V: 1600, '1608'.
Julius Caesar: 1691.
King Lear: 1608, '1608' (two with variants), 1655, 1681.
Love's Labour's Lost: 1598, 1631.
Macbeth: 1673, 1674 (two), 1687, 1695.
Merchant of Venice: 1600 (J. R.), '1600' (J. Roberts), 1637.
Merry Wives: 1602, 1619, 1630.
Measure for Measure: 1700.
Midsummer Night's Dream: 1600 (Fisher), '1600' (Roberts).
Much Ado: 1600.
Othello: 1622, 1630, 1655 (three), 1695.
Pericles: 1609 (A², Enter Gower), 1619, 1630 (imprint 4 lines), 1635.
Richard II: 1598, 1608 (mention of additions to Parliament scene), 1615, 1634 (two).
Richard III: 1597, 1598, 1605, 1612, 1622, 1629, 1634 (two), 1700.
Romeo and Juliet: 1597, 1599, 1609, n. d. (with author's name), 1637.
The Taming of the Shrew: 1631.
Tempest: 1670 (by T. N.), 1670 (by J. M.), 1674, 1676, 1690.
Titus Andronicus: 1611, 1687 (five).
Troilus and Cressida: 1609 (with Wooing of Pandarus).
The Quartos may be divided into Early Quartos, issued before the Canon of 1623 as expressed in the First Folio of that date (among which are included First Editions, the majority of which are of primary value for the text and may be regarded as a class by themselves); Late Quartos issued from 1623 to 1655; and Restoration Quartos, chiefly adaptations, from 1670 to 1700. The value of the earliest class is far greater than that of the two last. A Census of the Quartos has just been issued by the Elizabethan Club, Yale University, U.S.A., under the editorship of Henrietta Bartlett and A. W. Pollard.
(a) Early Quartos

10 ROMEO AND JULIET, 1597.

The first edition of Shakespeare's first tragedy.

An excellent conceived Tragedie of Romeo and Iuliet. As it hath been often (with great applause) plaid publiquely, by the right Honourable the L. of Hunsdon his servants.

London, Printed by Iohn Danter: 1597: quarto: signn. A–D⁴ (large type, 32 lines to a page), E–K⁴ (smaller type, 36 lines to a page).

The first edition of the romantic tragedy which the young graduates of Oxford preferred to any other (see p. 15), and the first tragedy which Shakespeare wrote. The text is however imperfect, and the edition surreptitious. Other early editions are of 1599 (a better text), 1609, no date, and 1637.

II KING RICHARD II,
Second edition, 1598.

The Tragedie of King Richard the Second. As it hath beene publikely acted by the Right Honourable the Lord Chamberlaine his servants. By William Shake-speare.

London Printed by Valentine Simmes for Andrew Wise, and are to be sold at his shop in Paules churchyard at the signe of the Angel: 1598: 4°: signn. A–I⁴.

The first edition was issued in 1597; the second and third in 1598; the fourth in 1608; and the fifth in 1615. This second
THE Tragedie of King Richard the second.

As it hath beene publiquely acted by the Right Honourable the Lord Chamberlaine his servants.

By William Shakespeare.

LONDON
Printed by Valentine Simmes for Andrew Wise, and are to be sold at his shop in Paules churchyard at the signe of the Angel.

1598

FIRST WORK OF SHAKESPEARE WHICH BEARS HIS NAME ON THE TITLE-PAGE
edition is believed to be the first of Shakespeare's works and editions to bear his name on the title-page: but *Love's Labour's Lost* of the same date (which the Bodleian also possesses) may dispute the claim. The hyphen between the two parts of his surname is to be noted.

12 MERCHANT OF VENICE, (a, b) 1600.

Two editions, one genuine, one really of 1619.

The most excellent Historie of the Merchant of Venice. ... Written by William Shakespeare. [line, device, line]

At London, Printed by I. R. [i.e., James Roberts] for Thomas Heyes, and are to be sold in Paules Church-yard, at the signe of the Greene Dragon: 1600: 4°: signn. A–I* K*.

The excellent History of the Merchant of Venice. ... Written by W. Shakespeare. [device]


A brilliant and sound piece of reasoning, worked out as to the foundations by Mr. A. W. Pollard in 1906–7 and as to the superstructure by Mr. W. W. Greg in 1907, has proved that, whereas the first edition described above is a genuine first edition, the second is one of a set of nine reprints, some (as in this case) with false dates, issued in 1619 and printed by W. Jaggard. Briefly the argument is that a particular series of nine quarto plays with short imprints (*Mid. Night's Dream*, 1600; *Merchant of Venice*, 1600; *Sir John Oldcastle*, 1600; *Hen. V*, 1608; *Lear*, 1608; *Merry Wives*, 1619; *Yorkshire Tragedy*, 1619; *Pericles*, 1619; and *Whole Contention*, 1619) is found together, as a set, in several definite bound volumes, that identical water-marks run through the nine, in spite of the apparent difference of date, and
that the usual longer imprints of the original editions are not found in this set. The full account, with facsimiles, will be found in Mr. Pollard's *Shakespeare Folios and Quartos*, 1909. One of the sets, though not now bound together, is in the Bodleian.

(b) Late Quartos

13 TAMING OF THE SHREW, 1631.

A Wittie and pleasant Comedie Called The Taming of the Shrew. As it was acted by his Maisties Servants at the Blacke Friers and the Globe. Written by Will. Shakespeare. [device]

London, Printed by W. S. [i.e., Wm. Sheares] for John Smethwicke, and are to be sold at his Shop in Saint Dunstones Churchyard vnder the Diall: 1631: 4°: signn. A–I<sup>4</sup>.

The first separate edition of the play. The text is taken from the Folio of 1623.

14 THE TWO NOBLE KINSMEN, First edition, 1634.

The Two Noble Kinsmen: Presented at the Blackfriers by the Kings Maisties servants, with great applause: [line] Written by the memorable Worthies of their time;

{Mr. John Fletcher, and} [Mr. William Shakspeare, Gent. [line and printer's device.]

Printed at London by Tho. Cotes, for Iohn Waterson: and are to be sold at the signe of the Crowne in Pauls Church-yard: 1634: 4°: signn. A² B–M² N².
Possibly by Shakespeare and Fletcher. A version by Davenant appeared in 1668, and the present text was published in the 1679 and the 1750 editions of Plays by Beaumont and Fletcher. ‘The Two Noble Kinsmen was assigned to Shakespeare... by... Lamb, Coleridge, De Quincey, and Swinburne... The opening song ‘Roses their sharp spines being gone’ echoes Shakespeare’s note so closely that it is difficult to allot it to another. Yet the characterization falls throughout below the standard of the splendid diction.’ (S. Lee, *Life*, p. 441.) Sir Sidney Lee then suggests that Shakespeare may have re-drafted speeches already written by Fletcher, or that possibly Massinger, whose manner occasionally resembles Shakespeare’s, may have written the passages which are evidently not by Fletcher.

15 MERCHANT OF VENICE, 1637.

The most excellent Historie of the Merchant of Venice. With the extreme cruelitie of Shylocke the Iewe towards the said Merchant, in cutting a just pound of his flesh: and the obtaining of Portia by the choice of three Chests. As it hath beene divers times acted by the Lord Chamberlaine his Servants. [line] Written by William Shakespeare. [line, ornament, line]

London, Printed by M. P. [?i.e., Marmaduke Parsons] for Laurence Hayes, and are to be sold at his Shop on Fleetbridge: 1637: sm. 4°: signn. A–I*.

Previously published in 1600 and 1619. The present issue is only a typical reprint, and was itself reprinted in 1672.

(c) Restoration Quartos

See Class G (Adaptations).
The First Folio of 1623 is in a sense the Canon of the Plays, and the Second Folio of 1632 is little else than a reprint of it. The Third Folio (of 1663 and 1664) professed to include seven additional Plays, but only one out of the seven (*Pericles*) can be called Shakespeare's. It is stated to be rarer than the Second, owing to destruction caused by the Fire of London, and commands a higher price. The Fourth (1685) was practically a reprint of the Third.

The Bodleian possesses two copies of the First Folio, two of the Second, a composite one of the Third, with the title-pages of both issues, and one of the Fourth.

16 THE FIRST FOLIO, 1623.

The Malone copy, with the very rare earliest state of the Droeshout Portrait.

Mr. William Shakespeares Comedies, Histories, & Tragedies. Published according to the True Originall Copies. [*portrait by Droeshout*]


A 'First Folio' of Shakespeare is the foundation stone of any library of English Literature. This copy exhibits a unique state
DROESHOUT PORTRAIT OF SHAKESPEARE, 1623

A unique early state of the plate
DROESHOUT PORTRAIT OF SHAKESPEARE, 1623
From the Original Bodleian First Folio
of the famous Droeshout Portrait. A still earlier state seems to be found in one other exemplar now in America, but others will perhaps be discovered. Both differ from all others by the absence of any shading under the poet’s left ear and by the number of fine lines on the forehead, which were soon worn off.

The edition contains all the hitherto printed Plays except *Pericles*, and is the *editio princeps* of no fewer than twenty, namely, *Tempest*; *Two Gentlemen*; *Measure for Measure*; *Comedy of Errors*; *As You Like It*; *All’s Well*; *Twelfth Night*; *Winter’s Tale*; *Henry VI, Part 3*; *Henry VIII*; *Coriolanus*; *Timon*; *Julius Caesar*; *Macbeth*; *Antony and Cleopatra*; *Cymbeline*; *King John*; *Henry VI, Parts 1 and 2*; *Taming of the Shrew*; thirty-six in all.

The absence of *Troilus and Cressida* in the ordinary pagination, and its occurrence foisted in at the end of the Tragedies, are probably to be accounted for by some difficulty and delay in obtaining the right to print it.

About 180 copies of the First Folio are known, of which about half have crossed the Atlantic, and only three are on the Continent (at Paris, Berlin, and Padua). Originally sold at £1, the value of a fine copy is now £3500. The literature of this book is immense; see Jaggard’s Bibliography, Sir Sidney Lee’s *Life of Shakespeare* and Introduction to the Oxford Facsimile, and A.W. Pollard’s *Shakespeare Folios and Quartos*, with complete collations.

17 THE ORIGINAL BODLEIAN FIRST FOLIO.

The only copy which passed straight from the publisher into a public institution.

Mr. William Shakespeares Comedies...[&c., as above].

Under Sir Thomas Bodley’s agreement with the Stationers’ Company in 1610, by which the latter agreed to supply the Bodleian with one copy of every book published by a member of the Company, the publishers of the First Folio sent a copy in
sheets presumably late in 1623, and these sheets were on Feb. 17, 1624, fetched by William Wildgoose, an Oxford binder, to be bound, and were duly returned soon after. The book received the mark 'S. 2. 17 Art.', was entered in the hand lists, chained, and placed at the Arts End of the Library, where the present Exhibition is being held. But when the Third Folio came out in 1663-4, the First seems to have been regarded as a 'double' or duplicate, and was probably sold at once to Richard Davis, the Oxford bookseller.

On Jan. 23, 1905, Mr. G. M. R. Turbutt brought up a damaged copy of the First Folio in shabby brown binding, which had belonged to the Turbutts of Ogston Hall, Derbyshire, for over a century and a half. Mr. S. Gibson soon recognized that the binding was an Oxford one, and that the wanderer from our shelves had re-visited its old home. Eventually in 1906 it was re-purchased for £3000, Mr. Turbutt's father (who owned it) contributing £200 towards that sum. The full story up to 1905, with many details, is told in The Original Bodleian Copy of the First Folio of Shakespeare, privately printed with illustrations in 1905, which is now out of print.

The whole volume was gone through page by page in order to see what plays were most used by the younger generation of Oxford students before the Civil War, as judged by the comparative wear and tear of each leaf, and it was found that Romeo and Juliet and Julius Caesar were the favourites.

Care has been taken to preserve the volume exactly as it reached the Library from Mr. Turbutt, and it is now one of the greatest treasures of the Bodleian.

18 BODLEIAN BINDER'S BOOK,
1624.
Shakespeare Entry.

The Bodleian Binding book of 1621-4, open at the page showing that the First Folio of 1623 was on Feb. 17, 1624, given out to William Wildgoose to bind, the 'R' showing that it was duly returned in the binding which it still bears.
Lad. Ho Daughter, are you vp?
Int. Who is that calls? Is it my Lady Mother.
Is she not downe so late, or vp so early?
What vnaccustomed cause procures her hither?
Lad. Why how now Intnet?
Int. Madam I am not well.
Lad. Evermore weeping for your Cozins death?
What wilt thou wash him from his grave with teares?
And if thou couldst, thou couldst not make him live:
Therefore have done, some griefe shews much of Loue,
But much of griefe, shews still some want of wit.
Int. Yet let me weeppe, for such a feeling losse.
Lad. So shall you seele the losse, but not the Friend
Which you weeppe for.
Int. Feeling of the losse,
I cannot chuse but ever weeppe the Friend.
Ls. Well Girle, thou weepst not so much for his death,
As that the Villaine liues which slaunder'd him.
Int. What Villaine, Madam?
Lad. That same Villaine Romeo.
Int. Villaine and he, be many Miles assunder:
God pardon, I doe with all my heart:
And yet no man like he, doth grieve my heart.
Lad. That is because the Traitor liues.
Int. I Madam from the reach of these my hands,
Would none but I might venge my Cozins death.
Lad. We will have vengeance for it, feare thou not.
Then weeppe no more, Ile send to one in Mantua,
Where that same banished Runagate doth liue,
Shall give him such as vnaccustomed dram,
That he shall soone keepe Tybalt company:
And then I hope thou wilt be satisfied.

Enter Capulet and Nurse:

Cap. When the Sun sett, the earth doth drizzle daew
But for the Sunnet of my Brother's Sonne
It raines downright.
How now? A Conduit Gyrlle, what still in teares?
Evermore showring in one little body?
Thou counterfaits a Barket a Sea a Wind:
For still thy eyes, which I may call the Sea,
Do ebb and flow with teares, the Barket thy body it
Saying in this salt flood, she winde thy sighes,
Who raging with the teares and they with them,
Without a sudden calme wilt quer fet
Thy tempest tossed body. How now wise?
Hast thou delivered to her our decree?
Lady. I sirs;
But she will none, she gives you thankes;
I would the foolo were married to her graue.

Cap. Soft, take me with you, take me with you wise,
How, will she none? doth the not give vs thanks?
Is she not proud? doth she not count her blest,
Vnworthy as she is, that we have wrought.
So worthy a Gentleman, to be her Bridegrome.

Int. Not proud you haue,
But thankfull that you haue:
Proud can I never be of what I haue,
But thankfull even for hate, that is meant Loue.

Cap. How now?
How now? Chope Logikee? what is this?
Proud, and I thanke you, and I thanke you not.
Thankes me no thankings, nor proud me no prouds,
But settle your fine joints' gainst Thursday next,
Photograph of part of the most worn page in the Original Bodleian First Folio.

The young Oxford Bachelors of Arts seem to have found *Romeo and Juliet* the play of all others which suited their fancy; and of all parts of it the page which faces the well-known Balcony Scene, introduced by the stage direction 'Enter Romeo, and Juliet aloft' (Act III, Scene 5), for it is the most worn of the whole volume. If the photograph be inspected, an irregular white streak will be noticed at the lower right corner of the printed page, close to the catchword, where the fabric of the paper is actually worn away without tear, showing the persistent attrition of readers' hands or elbows.

From no other source except this volume can contemporary evidence be obtained of the comparative popularity of the plays. The order of the first six is—*Romeo and Juliet, Julius Caesar, The Tempest, Henry IV*, part 1 (Falstaff), *Macbeth*, and *Cymbeline*.

Photograph of the old place of the First Folio on the Bodleian Shelves (at the Arts End, where the chief part of the Exhibition is shown).

The books which in 1623 composed the shelf marked S. Art., the last volume in which, no. 17, was Shakespeare, were gathered together, and turned with their fronts to the spectator for the purpose of this photograph. An original old chain was also attached to a volume and placed beneath the Shakespeare Shelf to show the real appearance of chained books.

The result is an approximate reproduction of the spot in which the young Bachelors of Arts of the generation which followed Shakespeare and preceded the Civil War read and re-read and wore out the First Folio. They had to sit on the hard wooden seat depicted—for the book was of course chained and therefore only to be read within the area of this photograph—and had identically the same seat, table, and surroundings which are still there, at the Arts End. Observe a white cross to mark the actual position of the Shakespeare, the irregular size of the 'folios' on the shelf, the rigid shelves, and the ornamented underside of the gallery above, supported by the pillar. All this work was done before the Founder's death in 1613.
21  THE SECOND FOLIO, 1632.

Mr. William Shakespeares Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies. Published according to the true Original Copies. The second Impression. [portrait]

London, Printed by Tho. Cotes, for Robert Allot, and are to be sold at his shop at the signe of the Blacke Beare in Pauls Church-yard: 1632: folio: pp. [20] + 304 + 100 + '69' to '232' + 168 + '269' to '419' + [1 blank page].

This is a reprint of the First Folio, and the colophon in all copies shows that it was published by John Smethwicke, William Aspley, Richard Hawkins, Richard Meighen, and Robert Allot. On the title-page each of these five publishers placed his own imprint for the copies for which he had subscribed, that of Allot appearing (as above) on the majority of copies. There appears to have been an accident to the forme of the title-page, and some copies have the variant, in the re-set forme, Impression instead of the old fashioned Impression, with other minute differences. The value is about £1000–1350.

22  THE THIRD FOLIO,

First issue, 1663.

Mr. William Shakespeares Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies. Published according to the true Original Copies. The Third Impression. [portrait]


The Third Folio is stated to be rarer than the Second, many copies having been burnt in the Fire of London (1666): a copy has fetched £3300. In the first issue the Droeshout Portrait is on the title-page and the Verses opposite, and there are no additional plays.
The copy here exhibited has been kindly lent by Wadham College, since the Bodleian copy, though possessing this title-page (without the Portrait), cannot exhibit both it and the title of the second issue.

23 THE THIRD FOLIO, Second issue, 1664.

Mr. William Shakespear’s Comedies . . . The Third Impression. And unto this Impression is added seven Playes, never before Printed in Folio . . . [no Portrait, but device and motto]


In this issue the additional words and titles on the title-page have ousted the Portrait, which is found on the opposite page with the Verses beneath it.

The seven additional Playes are—Pericles, The London Prodigal ‘written by W. Shakespeare’, History of Thomas Lord Cromwell, History of Sir John Oldcastle, The Puritan, A Yorkshire Tragedy, and Locrine. Of these only Pericles was even partly written by Shakespeare.

The text is mainly a reprint of the Second Folio.

24 THE FOURTH FOLIO, 1685.

Mr. William Shakespeare’s Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies. Published according to the true Original Copies. Unto which is added, Seven Plays, Never before Printed in Folio . . . The Fourth Edition. [device]

The Portrait and Verses face the title-page. Variants in the imprint (1) introduce the name of R. Chiswell, (2) introduce the names of Joseph Knight and Francis Saunders, omitting Brewster and Bentley.

The text is that of the Third Folio, but modernized. Copies are worth about £300.

CLASS D. 18TH CENTURY EDITIONS

ROWE’S EDITION,
First issue, 1709.

The Works of Mr. William Shakespeare; in six volumes. Adorn’d with Cuts. Revis’d and Corrected, with an Account of the Life and Writings of the Author. By N. Rowe, Esq.; (Vol. I.)
London: Printed for Jacob Tonson, within Grays-Inn Gate, next Grays-Inn Lane, 1709: 8°: pp. [12] + xl + 464 + plates: with a frontispiece portrait, engraved on copper by Van der Gucht, together with a separate letterpress title and a copper-plate scene to every play.

Rowe was the first to attempt to edit Shakespeare’s Works. This edition was re-issued in 1714, and the Life and notes, &c., by Rowe appear in many later editions of Shakespeare’s Works, viz. 1723–5, 1771, and perhaps sixteen more in the 19th century, the last being in 1859.

A seventh volume, edited by ‘S. N.’, i.e. [Charle]s [Gildo]n, was added in 1710 (London, for E. Curril and E. Sanger), which contains the Poems and an ‘Essay on the... Stage’.

The text of Rowe’s edition is based in the main on that of
the Fourth Folio, but the editor has inserted the Prologue to
Romeo and Juliet which occurs only in the Quartos. The
valuable Life prefixed to this edition contains information
collected by Betterton the actor at Stratford-on-Avon. The text
repeats many errors of previous editions; but such emendations
as there are are generally happy. This is the first edition with list
of dramatis personae, or illustrations, or editor's name, or Life
of the author, or notes, or in octavo form.

26  POPE'S EDITION,
First issue, 1723-5.

The Works of Shakespear. In six volumes. [line]
Collated and Corrected by the former Editions, By Mr.
Pope. [line, quotation from Virgil, double line] (Vol. I.)
London: Printed for Jacob Tonson in the Strand.
plates.

Re-issued many times. A pirated edition was published at
Dublin in 1725-6—the first edition of Shakespeare's Works
published in Ireland. Perhaps sixteen editions containing
Pope's Prefaces, &c., were issued during the 18th century
in addition to those mentioned above, and one appeared in 1833.
This edition contains an engraving by Vertue supposed to
represent the Stratford Bust (but it differs from the Bust in that
it represents the poet with a profusion of hair), also portraits, the
Life by Rowe, an index of characters, and a list of subscribers.
Vol. I is dated 1725, the other five, 1723; a seventh volume
containing the poems was issued by different publishers in 1725.
The text is based in the main on that of Rowe. Any passages
which Pope thought undignified he relegated to the margin.
27 THEOBALD'S 'SHAKESPEARE RESTORED',
First edition, 1726.

Shakespeare restored: or, a Specimen of the Many Errors, as well Committed, as Unamended, by Mr. Pope In his Late Edition of this Poet. Designed Not only to correct the said Edition, but to restore the True Reading of Shakespeare in all the Editions ever yet publish'd. [double line] By Mr. Theobald. [double line, quotation from Virgil, double line]

London: Printed for R. Francklin under Tom's...

Re-issued in 1740. In this work, among other well-known emendations, there occurs at p. 137 (the page exhibited) the famous suggestion to replace 'His nose was as sharp as a pen, and a table of green fields' (Hen. V, Act II, sc. 3) by 'His Nose was as sharp as a Pen, and a' babied of green Fields', the reading now universally adopted, with the spelling 'babbled'.

28 THEOBALD'S EDITION,
First issue, 1733.

The Works of Shakespeare: in seven Volumes. [line] Collated with the Oldest Copies, and Corrected; With Notes, Explanatory, and Critical: By Mr. Theobald [and Martin Folkes]. [line, quotation from Virgil, line] (Vol. I.)


Re-issued in 1740, 1752, 1772, and 1773. This edition is based on the First Folio and on the contemporary Quartos, and
Theobald made some use of Pope’s edition, in spite of the criticisms he had previously levelled at it and which gained for him the position he occupied in Pope’s Dunciad. Theobald is famous for his many excellent emendations, e.g. ‘this bank and shoal of time’ for ‘this bank and school of time’.

29 HANMER’S EDITION,  
First issue, 1743-4.

The Works of Shakespear. In six Volumes. Carefully Revised and Corrected by the former Editions, and Adorned with Sculptures designed and executed by the best hands. —Nil ortum tale.—Hor.  

Re-issued in 1770-1. The earliest edition printed at Oxford, and the earliest which has any pretence to typographical beauty. It exhibits also the Chandos portrait, prefaces by Pope and sir Thomas Hanmer (whose name does not appear), and Rowe’s Life of Shakespeare. Vols. 2-4 are dated 1743. Another issue is dated 1744-6. The Bodleian possesses a copy of Pope’s edition of Shakespeare, 1723-5, which contains manuscript notes by Hanmer which were subsequently used by him in his edition.

30 WARBURTON’S EDITION,  
First issue, 1747.

The Works of Shakespear in eight Volumes. The Genuine Text (collated with all the former Editions, and then corrected and emended) is here settled: Being restored from the Blunders of the first Editors, and the Interpolations of the two last: With a Comment and
Notes, Critical and Explanatory. [line] By Mr. Pope and Mr. Warburton. [line, quotations, double line] [Edited by the latter.] (Vol. I.)

London: Printed for J. and P. Knapton . . .

Warburton 'worked on the editions of Pope and Theobald, making occasional references to Hanmer. . . . But such improvements as he introduced are mainly borrowed from Theobald or Hanmer, although the preface depreciates the value of his predecessors'.

31 JOHNSON'S EDITION,
First issue, 1765.

The Plays of William Shakespeare, in eight Volumes, with the Corrections and Illustrations of Various Commentators; To which are added Notes by Sam. Johnson. (Vol. I.)


This edition was the first variorum edition of Shakespeare's Works, and the foundation for very many later issues, the first of which appeared in 1768 and the last in 1897. From a textual point of view Johnson's edition has no great value, but his preface displays a genuine sense of Shakespeare's greatness, and he especially points out Shakespeare's genius for characterization.

32 CAPELL'S EDITION,
First issue, 1767-8.

Mr. William Shakespeare his Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies, set out by himself in quarto, or by the Players his Fellows in folio, and now faithfully republish'd from
those Editions in ten Volumes octavo; with an Introduction: Whereunto will be added, some other Volumes, Notes, critical and explanatory, and a Body of Various Readings entire. [quotation from Lucretius] (Vol. I.)


The earliest edition with a bibliography as distinguished from lists of books consulted. Some of Capell’s Readings were reprinted with those of Theobald in Hanmer’s edition of 1770–1, and his Introduction, together with a table showing his Readings, appeared in a Dublin edition of Shakespeare’s works published in 1771.

A first volume of ‘Notes and Various Readings’ appeared in 1775, but was recalled. The Notes were completed (in three volumes) in 1783. There is a medallion portrait engraved by J. Miller on p. 74 of vol. I. Capell was well versed in Elizabethan Literature, and is said to have transcribed the whole of Shakespeare ten times. His methods were more scholarly than those of any of his predecessors, and his collations are good. He presented his valuable Shakespearian library to Trinity College, Cambridge.

33 JOHNSON AND STEEVENS’ EDITION,

First issue, 1773.

The Plays of William Shakespeare. In ten Volumes. With the Corrections and Illustrations of Various Commentators; To which are added Notes by Samuel Johnson and George Steevens. With an appendix [by Richard Farmer]. (Vol. I.)

This edition, in which were united the native powers of Dr. Johnson with the activity, sagacity, and antiquarian learning of George Steevens, superseded all previous editions and became the standard for future editors and publishers.—Lowndes.

It was re-issued in 1778, 1785, 1793. It is a revision by Steevens of Johnson's edition without much help from the latter, and it contains many of Capell's hints. The value of Steevens' work lies mainly in his elucidations of obscure words and his citations of parallel passages from the writings of Shakespeare's contemporaries. Steevens was, however, of a difficult disposition, and in his later editions he appears to have made reckless alterations in the text, partly with a view to mystifying other commentators.

MALONE'S EDITION,
First issue, 1790.

The Plays and Poems of William Shakespeare, in ten volumes; collated verbatim with the most authentick copies, and revised: with the corrections and illustrations of various Commentators; to which are added, an Essay on the chronological order of his plays; an Essay relative to Shakespeare and Jonson; a Dissertation on the three parts of King Henry VI.; an Historical Account of the English Stage; and notes; by Edmond Malone. [quotations] (Vol. I.)


This edition contains the 'first rational attempt to ascertain the order in which the plays attributed to Shakespeare were written'. It includes 'The Tragicall history of Romeus and Iuliet', translated from the Italian by A. Brooke, and also an appendix and glossarial index, portraits, woodcuts, and facsimiles. Vol. 1 is in two parts.
Malone was a laborious rather than a highly talented commentator. His researches into the earliest history of the English stage are, on the other hand, very valuable, and he was the first editor to admit Pericles and all the Poems to the authentic canon of the poet’s Works, while he excluded the six spurious plays which appear with Pericles in the Third and Fourth Folios. His Shakespearian Collections were bequeathed to his brother, Lord Sunderland, and by him given to the Bodleian.

Class E.

Selected 19th Century Editions

The smallest printed edition.

The Plays of Shakespeare, in nine volumes. Vol. I.

A miniature edition, set in diamond type, was printed by Corrall for Pickering in 1822–3. Pickering also issued the same sheets (as here exhibited) in 1825, with the Droeshout portrait engraved by A. Fox, and plates by T. Stothard.

The largest edition issued.

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 the poet: by James O. Halliwell, Esq. . . . Vol. I. The illustrations and wood-engravings by Frederick William Fairholt . . . [16 vols.]


The Stratford bust portrait is given as a frontispiece to vol. 1, and there are numerous facsimiles of early title-pages. The work was issued by subscription, with plates on plain paper at £10, and twenty-five sets were produced with plates on India paper at £150. The whole impression was numbered and signed by the editor and printers. It constitutes 'the most extensive repository of literary, historical, and archaeological information regarding Shakespeare and his writings to be found in any single work, and, typographically, the most sumptuous edition'. This was 'the first issue actually edited by Halliwell-Phillipps, three previous editions bearing his name (1850 (two), 1851) being issued without authorization by the alleged editor.

37

DYCE'S EDITION,
First issue, 1857.


London: Edward Moxon, Dover Street: 1857:
8°: pp. xviii + ccxvi + 418 + plate (Stratford bust portrait).

Re-issued in 1864-7, &c. Dyce was well read in Elizabethan literature, and his edition contains valuable but brief illustrative notes.
38 CLARK AND WRIGHT'S EDITION,  
First issue, 1863-6.

Cambridge and London: Macmillan & Co.:  

Republished in 1887 and 1891-3. This edition 'exhaustively notes the textual variations of all preceding editions, and supplies the best and fullest apparatus criticus'. Vols. 2-9 were edited by W. G. Clark and W. A. Wright. The work is generally known as 'the Cambridge Shakespeare', and is the classical edition for any one who critically studies the text.

39 FURNESS'S EDITION,  
1871-1913,  
Vol. I (Romeo and Juliet).

1871: 8°: pp. xxiv + 480.

Vol. 16, containing Richard the Third, was edited by H. H. Furness, jun., who since his father's death in 1912 has continued the series, by publishing vol. 17, Julius Caesar, in 1913. A supplemental volume contains Mrs. Furness's Concordance to Shakespeare's Poems. Each volume may be said to contain all that is needed for a complete study of the play.
40 THE LEOPOLD SHAKSPERE,
First issue, 1877.

The Leopold Shakspere. The Poet's Works, in Chronological Order, from the Text of Professor Delius, with 'The Two Noble Kinsmen' and 'Edward III.', and an Introduction by F. J. Furnivall. [line] Illustrated. [line]


Republished c. 1880 and 1883, both without date. The Plays are arranged according to the order suggested by N. Delius. The introduction contains much valuable matter, but there are no notes. The text follows that of Delius's edition published between 1854 and 1861.

41 BRYCE'S EDITION, (1908).
The smallest issue of Shakespeare in one volume.

The Little Shakespeare, Complete with Glossary. Illustrated. (Biographical sketch with Eight . . . Portraits . . . Notes on the Portraits by W. S. Brassington.)

Glasgow, David Bryce and Son: New York, Frederick A. Stokes Company. (1908): 32°: pp. 34 + 986, size 3\(\frac{7}{8}\) x 2\(\frac{7}{8}\) x 1\(\frac{1}{16}\) in.

This is not set up in type, but is a reduction of a type edition by photo-lithography.

Two more volumes are exhibited to show artistic modern printing applied to Shakespeare (Vol. 1 of A. H. Bullen's Stratford-on-Avon edition of the Works, 1904, and T. J. Cobden-Sanderson's Hamlet, 1909: nos. 41*, 41**).
**Class F. Translations**

**SOME SPECIMENS OF TRANSLATIONS**

As early as 1620 occur German adaptations of *Titus Andronicus* and the *Two Gentlemen* in print, due to the professional tours of English actors in Germany, but no complete translation of any Play occurs before Von Borck's *Julius Cæsar* in German, 1741. The classical translations of Shakespeare's *Works* begin with Wieland's prose translation in 1763–6 (8 vols.), followed by Schlegel and Tieck in verse in 1797–1825. In France a prose translation by P. Le Tourneur appeared between 1776 and 1782, preceded by paraphrases and adaptations of separate Plays, from Voltaire's *Julius Cæsar* in 1731, onward. In Italy none is found till M. Leoni's in 1819–22. See Lee's *Life of Shakespeare* (1915), pp. 612–33.

**42 HAMLET, IN FRENCH, 1770.**

Hamlet, Tragédie, imitée de l'Anglois; par M. Ducis. Représentée, pour la première fois, par les Comédiens François ordinaires du Roi, le 30 Septembre 1769.


The first of six plays adapted by Ducis.

**43 HAMLET, IN SPANISH, 1798.**

Hamlet. Tragedia de Guillermo Shakespeare. Traducida é ilustrada con la vida del autor y notas críticas. Por Inarco Celenio P.A. [i.e., F. Fernandez de Moratin].

44  OTHELLO, IN ITALIAN, 1814.

Otello o il Moro di Venezia, Tragedia di G. Shakspeare, recata in versi italiani da Michele Leoni di Parma.

Bound up with this work are Romeo and Juliet and Hamlet, also translated by M. Leoni.

45  KING LEAR, IN GERMAN, 1819.

Shakspeare's König Lear von Heinrich Voss. Mit Erläuterungen.

46  WORKS, IN GERMAN, 1839-40.


The classical German translation of Shakespeare. First published in 1825-33.

47  AS YOU LIKE IT, IN FRISIAN, 1842.

As Jiemme It Lije Meie, in blijspul, uut it Ingels fen William Shakspeare forfryske in mei forkleerjende noten forsjoen troch R. Posthumus.
48 OTHELLO, IN BOHEMIAN,
1843.

Othello, mauřenjn Benátský. Truchlohra w pateru
gednánj od W. Shakespeara, přeložěna od Jak. Bud.
Malého.


49 WORKS, IN DANISH, 1845.

William Shakspeare's Dramatiske Værker, oversatte af
Peter Foersom (og P. F. Wulff). Første[—Ellevte]
Deel...


Pts. 6–11 were edited by O. Hoyer.

50 HAMLET, IN MODERN
GREEK, 1858.

'Αμλέτος, Βασιλέως τῆς Δασίας, τραγωδία τοῦ Ἰ.Αγγλου
Σαλετήρου, ενστίχως μεταφράσθεισα ύπο Ἰωάννου Ἡ. Περβα-
νόγλου . . .


51 OTHELLO, IN HEBREW,
1874.

Othello the Moor of Venice, by Shakespeare. Trans-
lated into Hebrew by J. E. S., translator of Paradise
Lost. Edited by P. Smolensky, editor of the Hebrew
52  **ROMEO AND JULIET, IN HEBREW, 1878.**

Shakespeare's Romeo & Juliet. Translated into Hebrew by J. E. S. [The title on one cover is in Hebrew, on the other in English, and there is a Hebrew and an English title-page.]

Vienna: 1878: 8°: pp. xii + 168.

53  **AS YOU LIKE IT, IN JAPANESE [before 1884].**


54  **JULIUS CAESAR, IN ESPERANTO, 1906.**


TEMPEST,
Dryden's edition, 1670.

The Tempest, or the Enchanted Island. A comedy. As it is now Acted at His Highness the Duke of York's Theatre. [Altered by John Dryden and Sir William Davenant.]


Dryden's was the earliest separate issue of the Tempest in any form. The first unadapted separate edition was published in Dublin in 1725. The Bodleian owns another Dryden edition of 1670, printed by 'J. M.' Another adapted edition appeared in 1674, embodying further changes by T. Shadwell, whose name does not appear.

In general the alterations consist of scenes between 'Hippolyto... one that never saw woman...' and 'Dorinda... that never saw man': also of 'comical parts to the sailors' by Davenant. Shakespeare's name only occurs in the preface.

MACBETH,
Davenant's version (?), 1673.

Macbeth: A Tragedy. Acted At the Dukes-Theatre.

The earliest separate issue of Macbeth in any form. Shakespeare's text, unaltered, did not appear in separate form till 1711. Shakespeare's name does not occur in this edition. The text appears to be his, with some modifications made with the aid of Middleton's Witch. The songs are in the main those which appear in the edition of 1674, but are here curtailed to fill up blank spaces.

MACBETH,
Second further adapted version, 1674.

Macbeth, a Tragedy. With all the Alterations, Amendments, Additions, and New Songs [line] As it's now Acted at the Dukes Theatre. [double line]


The text of this version differs considerably from that of Shakespeare, whose name does not occur.

KING LEAR,
Tate's edition, 1681.

The History of King Lear. Acted at the Duke's Theatre. [line] Reviv'd with Alterations. [line] By N. Tate. [line]

London, Printed for E. Flesher, and are to be sold by R. Bentley, and M. Magnes in Russel-street near Covent-Garden, 1681: 4°: pp. [8] + 68.

Tate has inserted into the intrigue a love story between Edgar and Cordelia. The play ends with their marriage and
the triumph of Lear. The part of the Fool is omitted. Addison protested against this version as an outrage on Shakespeare, and Johnson defended it on the ground of moral justice, as his feelings were shocked by the death of the innocent and virtuous Cordelia.

59 TITUS ANDRONICUS,
Ravenscroft’s edition, 1687.


The plot and much of the text are taken from Shakespeare. The alterations chiefly occur in the last act, the horrors of which are intensified.

60 MEASURE FOR MEASURE,
Gildon’s edition, 1700.


The editor of the adaptation of 1674 had strangely blended
the plots of Measure for Measure and Much Ado about Nothing. Gildon here took from that version whatever suited him, but without acknowledgement. He left out the parts of Much Ado about Nothing, and inserted the ‘Loves of Dido and Æneas, a Mask, in Four Mysical Entertainments’. The prologue and epilogue were written by Oldmixon.

61 RICHARD III,
Cibber’s edition, 1700.

The Tragical History of King Richard III. As it is Acted at the Theatre Royal. [line] By C. Cibber. [line]
—Domestica Facta. [line]

‘When this piece was first introduced the censor expunged the whole first act, assigning as his reason that the distresse of King Henry VI. killed by Richard in that part would put weak people too much in mind of King James, then living in France. In this mutilated state it was acted for several years, before the proscribed part was admitted.’

Class H. Music

From the time of Morley and Purcell to our own many efforts have been made to set Shakespeare’s songs and lyrics to adequate music. The books exhibited afford early specimens of this movement.
MORLEY'S FIRST BOOKE OF CONSORT LESSONS,
First edition, [1599].

The First Booke of Consort Lessons, made by diuers exquisite Authors, for six Instruments to play together, the Treble Lute, the Pandora, the Citttern [sic], the Base-Violl, the Flute & Treble-Violl. Newly set forth at the coast & charges of a Gentle-man, for his private pleasure, and for diuers others his frenedes which delight in Musicke.

Printed at London in Little Saint Helens by William Barley, the Assigne of Thomas Morley, and are to be solde at his shop in Gratious-streete ... 1599: signn. A–C'.

The arrangement of 'O Mistress Mine' (Twelfth Night, ii, sc. 3) is on sig. C2 verso. Only the parts for the 'Treble-Viol', Pandora, Cithern, and Flute are now known. The present volume exhibits the Cithern part.

PLAYFORD’S SELECT AYRES,
1652.

Select Musicall Ayres, and Dialogues, for one and two Voyces, to sing to the Theorbo, Lute, or Basse Violl. Composed by John Wilson, } Doctours of
Charles Colman, } Musick.
Henry Lawes, } Gentlemen.
William Webb,

‘Take, O take those lips away’ (Measure for Measure, iv, sc. 1), on p. 2, was set to music by Dr. Wilson.

64 HILTON’S ‘CATCH THAT CATCH CAN’,
First edition, 1652.

Catch that Catch can, or A Choice Collection of Catches, Rovnds, & Canons for 3 or 4 Voyces. [line] Collected & Published by John Hilton Batch: in Musick. [line]

Contains what is probably the earliest setting of ‘What shall he have that killed the deer’? (As You Like It, iv, sc. 2) here set (on p. 30) as a catch for four voices.

65 JOHN WILSON’S CHEERFUL AYRES, 1660.

Cheerfull Ayres or Ballads First composed for one single Voice and since set for three Voices by John Wilson Dr in Mysick Professor of the same in the Vniversity of Oxford. [line]

‘Full fathom five . . . ’ is on p. 6, and ‘Where the bee sucks’ on p. 8: both from the Tempest.
This book represents ‘The first essay of printing music in Oxford’.
66 PLAYFORD'S MUSICAL COMPANION, 1673.

The Musical Companion, In Two Books. . . Collected and Published By John Playford Practitioner in Mvsick. [line and engraving]

First published in 1667. ‘Where the bee sucks’ (Tempest, v, sc. 1), for three voices, by Dr. Wilson, occurs on p. 174.

67 LOCKE'S TEMPEST MUSIC, 1675.

The English Opera; or The Vocal Musick in Psyche . . . To which is Adjoyned The Instrumental Musick in the Tempest. [line] By Matthew Lock, Composer in Ordinary to His Majesty, and Organist to the Queen. [line] Licensed 1675. Roger L'Estrange. [line]
London, Printed by T. Ratcliff, and N. Thompson for the Author, and are to be Sold by John Carr at his Shop at the Middle Temple Gate in Fleet-street: 1675: 4°: pp. [8] + 72.
Class I. Sources

Shakespeare was so far from despising precedent literature, when casting about for his plots and characters, that few or none of his plays can be said to be wholly original in conception. But his work was of course far from being merely an adaptation or recension. It was rather assimilation and transformation. The following examples are arranged in the order of their first editions.

68 Matteo Bandello's Romeus and Juliett, 1562.

The Tragicall Historye of Romeus and Iuliet, written first in Italian by Bandell, and nowe in Englishe by Ar. Br. [i.e. Arthur Brooke or Broke].


This translation was made from a French version.

69 Ovid's Metamorphoses, tr. by A. Golding, 1567.

The .XV. Bookes of P. Ouidius Naso; entytuled Metamorphosis, translated oute of Latin into English meeter, by Arthur Golding Gentleman . . . [device]

Seven editions of this translation appeared before 1598. Shakespeare seems to have been familiar with it from his youth up, and Golding’s phraseology is often reflected in his lines.

70 HOLINSHED’S CHRONICLE, 1577.

One of the sources of Macbeth and the English historical plays.

1577. The Firste volume of the Chronicles of England, Scotlante, and Irelande... Faithfully gathered and set forth, by Raphaell Holinshed... God saue the Queene. [With woodcuts]

At London, Imprinted for George Bishop (1577): sm. fol.: the collation is too intricate to be here set out.

Re-issued in 1586–7 in 3 vols. The ‘Description of... Britayne’ is followed by ‘The Historie of Englande’, each with separate pagination and signatures. The ‘Historie of Scotlante’ and the ‘Historie of Irelande’ each have a separate title-page, pagination, and signatures. The work was for Shakespeare the standard history of Great Britain.

71 SIR THOMAS NORTH’S TRANSLATION OF PLUTARCH, Second edition, 1595.

The basis of the Roman plays.

The Lives of the Noble Grecians and Romanes, compared together by... Plutarke of Chæronea: Translated out of Greeke into French by Iames Amiot... and out of French into English, by Thomas North. [device]
42 Bodleian Library  Class I


First published in 1579. This translation was used as a basis of *Julius Caesar, Antony and Cleopatra*, and *Coriolanus*.

72 THOMAS LODGE’S ROSALYNE, 1592.

The foundation of *As You Like It*.

Rosalynde. Euphues golden Legacie, found after his death in his Cell at Silexedra. Bequeathed to Philautus Sonnes, noursed up with their Father in England. Fetcht from the Canaries by T. L. [i.e. Thomas Lodge] Gent. [device]

London, Printed by Abel Ieffes for T.G. [i.e. T. Gubbins?] and Iohn Busbie: 1592: sm. 4°: signn. A–P.

First published in 1590. Reprinted in 1596, 1612, 1623, 1634, &c.

While the main conventions of Lodge’s pastoral setting are loyally accepted, the action is touched by Shakespeare with a fresh and graphic vitality.... The characters of Jaques, Touchstone, and Audrey have been added.

73 SIR PHILIP SIDNEY’S ARCADIA, 1598.

Used in *King Lear*.

The Countesse of Pembrokes Arcadia. Written by Sir Philip Sidney Knight. Now the third time published, with sundry new additions of the same Author. [Ed. by H.S. Woodcut border title-page]
Class I  Shakespeare Exhibition


First published in 1590; afterwards in 1593, 1599, 1605, 1613, &c. It was translated into French in 1624-5, and into German in 1629. The story of the Duke of Gloucester and his sons in King Lear is taken from this work.

74  THE TROUBLESOME Raigne of John, 1611
(First and second part).

The First and second Part of the troublesome Raigne of John King of England. With the discoverie of King Richard Cordelions Base sonne... Also, the death of King John at Swinstead Abbey. As they were (sundry times) lately acted by the Queenes Maiesties Players. Written by W. Sh. [ornament]

Imprinted at London by Valentine Simmes for Iohn Helme, and are to be sold at his shop in Saint Dunstons Churchyard in Fleetestreet: 1611: 4°: signn. A–L4 M2.

First published in 1591. The present edition shows an attempt to pass off the work as Shakespeare's by printing his initials on the title-page; and in 1622 the publisher went the length of definitely assigning it to 'W. Shakespeare'.

In his King John, which did not appear in print till 1623, Shakespeare has in the main reproduced dramatis personae and episodes of The Troublesome Raigne. He has however entirely altered the spirit of the piece; the scene depicting the excesses of the monks at Swinstead Abbey has been omitted, and the lifeless personages of the older drama have been replaced by vigorous characters who already foreshadow Shakespeare's maturer manner.
75 **KING HENRY VI, PART 2.**
Copy with unique variants of the first draft, 1594.

The First part of the Contention betwixt the two famous Houses of Yorke and Lancaster... [device]
London Printed by Thomas Creede for Thomas Millington, and are to be sold at his shop vnder Saint Peter's Church in Cornwall [i.e. Cornhill]: 1594: 4°: signn. A–H⁴.

The present issue varies in small details from the only other copy known, which was sold in London in 1907 for £1910 and is now in the Boston Public Library, U.S.A. The Bodleian also possesses one of the two copies known of the second edition published in 1600.

It is one of the rare early issues of the first draft of what became in the First Folio (1623) the complete play of *King Henry VI*, part 2.

76 **TAMING OF A SHREW, 1607.**

A pleasaunt Conceited Historie, called The Taming of a Shrew. As it hath beene sundry times acted by the right Honourable the Earle of Pembrooke his Seruants. [ornament]
Printed at London by V.S. [i.e. Valentine Simmes] for Nicholas Ling, and are to be sold at his shop in Saint Dunstons Church-yard in Fleetstreet: 1607: sm. 4°: signn. A–F⁴ G².

Only one copy of the first edition, dated 1594, has survived. Another edition appeared in 1596, and the play was reprinted in 'Six old plays', 1779. From this comedy, which had already been acted several times before 1594, Shakespeare drew the 'Induction' of his *Taming of the Shrew*, as well as the energetic
scenes in which...Petruchio conquers Katherine... While following the old play in its general outlines, Shakespeare’s revision added... an entirely new underplot, the intrigue of... Bianca with three rival lovers.* These subsidiary scenes may, however, be due to a collaborator.

77  FAMOUS VICTORIES OF HENRY V, 1598.
Foundation of Henry IV and Henry V.

The famous Victories of Henry the fifth: Containing the Honourable Battell of Agin-court: As it was plaide by the Queenes Maiesties Players. [device]


Re-issued in 1617, and then stated to have been produced by Shakespeare’s company—perhaps a device of the publisher to identify it with Shakespeare’s work.

78  ROBERT GREENE’S PANDOSTO, 1607.
The foundation of The Winter’s Tale.

Pandosto. The Triumph of Time. ... By Robert Greene.


The first edition was published in 1588, and the work was reprinted eleven times in the 17th century. The running title is ‘The Historie of Dorastus and Fawnia’, and this is the
title prefixed to the later editions. Shakespeare has followed Greene in giving Bohemia a sea coast, and also in placing the Delphic oracle on the island of Delphos, instead of on the mainland in Phocis.

79 PARADYSE OF DAYNTY DEVISES, 1578.
Quoted by Shakespeare.

The Paradise of daynty devises. Conteyning sundry pithy preceptes, learned Counsels, and excellent inventions ... Deuised and written for the most part, by M. Edwardes ... the rest, by sundry learned Gentlemen ... whose names hereafter folowe ... [device]

¶ Imprinted at London, by Henry Disle, dwelling in Paules Churchyard, at the Southwest doore of Saint Paules Church, and are there to be solde: 1578: 4°: foll. [3]+ r—‘50’ (really 44): Black Letter.

The first edition appeared in 1576, and the work was several times republished. Song 62 ‘In commendation of Musick’ begins

‘Where griping grief ye hart would wounde, & dolfull dumpes ye mind oppresse,
There Musick with her siluer sound, is wont with spede to giue redresse’.

These lines are quoted memoriter by Shakespeare in Romeo and Juliet (iv. 5) as

‘When griping grief the heart doth wound,
And doleful dumps the mind oppress ... Then music with her silver sound,
With speedy help doth lend redress’.

Romeo and Juliet was probably finished early in 1592.


CLASS J.  

WORKS AScribed TO SHAKESPEARE

80 ARDEN OF FEversHAM,  
First edition, 1592.

The lamentable and true tragedie of M. Arden of Feversham in Kent. Who was most wickedlye murdered, by the meanes of his disloyall and wanton wyfe, who for the loue she bare to one Mosbie, hyred two desperat ruffins Blackwill and Shakbag, to kill him. Wherin is shewed the great malice and discimulation of a wicked woman, the vnsatiable desire of filthie lust and the shame-full end of all murderers.


Republished in 1599, 1633, three times in the 18th century, and many times in the 19th.

At the most it is possible that this tragedy may be one of Shakespeare's early works. "In support of the contention that the play is Shakespeare's production, it should be observed that two syllables from his own name (Will and Shak) occur in the cognomens of the characters, and that the title...recalls his mother's maiden name." (W. Jaggard.) It was believed by Swinburne to be by Shakespeare.
LOCRINE,
First edition, 1595.

The Lamentable Tragedie of Locrine, the eldest sonne
of King Brutus, discoursing the warres of the Britaines,
and Hunnes, with their discomfiture: The Britaines
victorie with their Accidents, and the death of Albanact.
No lesse pleasant then profitable. Newly set foorth,
ouerseen and corrected, By W. S. [device]
London, Printed by Thomas Creede: 1595: 4°:

The sole issue known before the play was included in the
Third Folio. Republished in 1732, 1735, and a facsimile of
the first edition in 1908.

This work was not definitely claimed as Shakespeare's until
1663–4. The play resembles in some respects the work of
Peele and of Greene, and it contains passages, only very slightly
altered, from Selimus, a tragedy attributed on good authority to
Greene.

SIR JOHN OLDCASTLE,
First edition, 1600.

The first part Of the true and honorable historie, of
the life of Sir John Old-castle, the good Lord Cobham.
As it hath been lately acted by the right honorable the
Earle of Nотingham Lord high Admirall of England his
servants. [device]
London, Printed by V. S. [i.e. Valentine Simmes]
for Thomas Pauier, and are to be solde at his
shop at the signe of the Catte and Parrots neere

Another edition, bearing Shakespeare's name and printed
for T. P.'s was issued with the date 1600, but was, as a fact, printed and published in 1619; see p. 9. Sir John Oldcastle was published three times in the 18th century.

The joint authors of this play were probably Drayton, Munday, Wilson, and Hathway. The 'Second Part' was revived in 1602 and amplified by Thomas Dekker. No copy of the Second Part has survived. The attribution of this work to Shakespeare is perhaps due to the fact that Falstaff in Henry IV originally bore the name of Oldcastle.

83 THOMAS LORD CROMWELL, First edition, 1602.

The True Chronicle Historie of the whole life and death of Thomas Lord Cromwell. As it hath beene sundrie times publikely Acted by the Right Honorable the Lord Chamberlaine his Seruants. Written by W. S. [Floral device]


Republished in 1613, 1734 (twice), 1735, 1810, 1891, 1898.

This play is without literary merit, and is possibly the work of Wentworth Smith. It was not seriously regarded as the work of Shakespeare until 1663, when it was included in the Third Folio. A copy was sold in 1907 for £222.

84 LONDON PRODIGAL, First edition, 1605.

The London Prodigall. As it was plaide by the Kings Maisties servaunts. By Wlliam Shakespeare. [device]
London. Printed by T. C. [i.e. Thomas Creede?] for Nathaniel Butter, and are to be sold neere S. Austins gate, at the signe of the pyde Bull: 1605: 4°: signn. A−G⁺.

Republished three times in the 18th century, and once in the 19th.
This play humorously delineates middle-class society.

85

PURITAN WIDOW,
First edition, 1607.

The Puritaine Or The VViddow of Watling-streete. Acted by the Children of Paules. Written by W. S. [Floral device]

The play was republished at least four times in the 18th century, and three times in the 19th. The headline is The Puritaine Widdow. It is one of the seven additional plays introduced as of Shakespeare’s composition in the Third Folio of 1663−4, and possibly by Wentworth Smith. It is probable that the publishers of the 1607 edition printed the initials ‘W. S.’ upon the title-page because they hoped to delude their customers into a belief that Shakespeare was the author, and not because they wished to give a clue to its real authorship by W. Smith. Malone states in a MS. note on the fly-leaf that ‘Kirkman the Bookseller was . . . the first person who interpreted the Letters W. S. in this title-page to mean Shakespeare: see his Catalogue, 1661’. The play bears no resemblance to Shakespeare’s work, and the ‘Children of Paules’ never performed in any of his dramas.
86 YORKSHIRE TRAGEDY,
First edition, 1608.


Republished in 1619, 1735 (twice), and three times in the 19th century.

The subsidiary title on A2 runs 'All's one, or, One of the foure Plaies in one, called a York-shire Tragedy...'. The play was attributed to Shakespeare not only in the title of the book, but also in the licence granted to T. Pavier by the Stationers’ Company on May 2, 1608. It was included among Shakespeare's Works in the Third Folio (1664) and in the Fourth (1685). The Yorkshire Tragedy has for its plot an episode also dramatized in The Miseries of Enforced Marriage (1607), by George Wilkins, who occasionally wrote for Shakespeare's Company, and may have been his coadjutor in Timon of Athens. Schlegel and a few other critics have seen in this work some traces of Shakespeare's hand. The play is, however, by a greatly inferior writer.

87 MUCEDORUS,
Fourth edition, 1611.

A Most pleasant Comedie of Mucedorus the Kings sonne of Valencia, and Amadine the Kings daughter of Aragon. With the merry conceites of Mouse. Amplified with new additions, as it was acted before the Kings Majestie at White-hall on Shroue-sunday night. By his Highnes
Servantes, usually playing at the Globe. Very delectable, and full of conceited Mirth. [line]

The first edition of this play seems to have appeared in 1595, but no copy of it is known. Other editions came out in 1598, 1606, and 1610, the last of which contained ‘new additions’. The present book appears to be a re-issue of this edition. No fewer than seventeen quarto editions appeared before the end of the 17th century.

_Mucedorus_ was regarded as Shakespeare’s work as early as 1661. Fleay attributes it to T. Lodge and G. Wilkins; Malone attributes it to Greene. A copy in the library of Charles II was bound up with _Fair Em_ and the _Merry Devil of Edmonton_ and labelled ‘Shakespeare. Vol. I.’ The ‘New additions’ introduced in 1610 are vastly superior to the rest of the play, and are probably the work of Shakespeare’s associates who were then producing the play. Mr. Payne Collier included _Mucedorus_ in his privately printed edition of Shakespeare (1878), and it may have been used by Shakespeare as a foundation for _The Tempest._

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**88 CUPID’S CABINET UNLOCK’T**, Published about 1660.

Cupids Cabinet Unlock’t, or, The New Accademy of Complements, Odes, Epigrams, Songs, and Sonnets, Poesies, Presentations, Congratulations, Ejaculations, Rhapsodies, &c. With other various fancies. Created partly for the delight, but chiefly for the use of all Ladies, Gentlemen, and Strangers, who affect to speak Elegantly, or write Queintly. [line] By W. Shakespeare. [line]
This edition appears to contain only one extract from Shakespeare, but there are several from Milton. Shakespeare's name was no doubt put into the title-page to make the book sell. After p. 38 the running head-title is 'The new Accademy of Complements'. The original Academy of Compliments was first issued in 1645; other editions of it are 1655, 1670, 1680, 1684, and 1713.

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CLASS K.

EARLY NOTICES OF SHAKESPEARE

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The following exhibits are examples of the early notices and appreciations of Shakespeare, both manuscript and printed.

89 BARNEFIELD'S POEMS, 1598.

Poems: In divers humors . . . [device] [By R. Barnefield. At end of his 'Encomion of Lady Pecunia . . .']


In 'A Remembrance of some English Poets' on sign. E2 there occur the lines:

'And Shakespeare thou, whose hony-flowing Vaine,
(Pleasing the World) thy Praises doth obtaine.
Whose Venus, and whose Lucrece (sweete, and chaste)
Thy Name in fames immortall Booke haue plac't.
Liue euery you, at least in Fame liue euery:
Well may the Bodye dye, but Fame dies neuer.'
90  **MERES' PALLADIS TAMIA,**
     **1598.**

Palladis Tamia. Wits Treasury Being the Second part of Wits Common wealth. By Francis Meres Maister of Artes of both Vniuersities . . .


In this book there are several allusions to Shakespeare, all appreciative; e.g. 'As the soule of Euphorbus was thought to lie in Pythagoras: so the sweete wittie soule of Ouid liues in mellifluous & hony-tongued Shakespeare, witnes his Venus and Adonis, his Lucrece, his sugred Sonnets among his private friends, &c. 'As Plautus and Seneca are accounted the best for Comedy and Tragedy among the Latines: so Shakespeare among y° English is the most excellent in both kinds . . . I say that the Muses would speak with Shakespeares fine filed phrase, if they would speake English.' (fol. 281r, 282r.)

91  **WEEVER'S EPIGRAMS,** **1599.**

Epigrammes in the oldest cut, and newest fashion. A twise seuen houres (in so many weekes) studie . . .

Iohn Weeuer . . .


Epig. 22, week 4 begins:

'Honie-tong'd Shakespeare when I saw thine issue
I swore Apollo got them and none other . . .'

92  **THE PILGRIMAGE TO PAR-
NASSUS, ABOUT 1601.**

'The Rev. W. D. Macray of the Bodleian c. 1885 found among Thomas Hearne's volumes of miscellaneous collections in the
Library, the long missing couple of Plays which preceded *The Returne from Pernassus* (Part II) so long known to us. The first play is *The Pilgrimage to Pernassus*, and the second is the first part of *The Returne* from it. It sets Shakespeare at the head of English Poets—above Chaucer and Spenser—so early as A.D. 1600.'

On fol. 215r. an enthusiast exclaims 'O sweet Mr Shakspeare, Ile haue his picture in my study at the courte'.

93 **EPIGRAMES, BY I. C.**

*[after 1603].*

Epigrames. Serued out in 52. seuerall Dishes for every man to tast without surfeiting . . . By I. C. Gent. *[ornamenti]* London: [soon after 1603]: 8°: signn. A–D³ [imperfect].

In No. 12 there occur the lines:

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. . . some other humbly craues,
For helpe of spirits in their sleeping graues,
As he that calde to Shakespeare, Iohnson, Greene,
To write of their dead noble Queene . . .
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94 **A PERFORMANCE OF WINTER’S TALE IN 1611.**

An early notice of the performance of Shakespeare’s *Winter’s Tale* at the Globe Theatre on May 15, 1611, written by Simon Forman.

This, the original MS., is now in the Ashmole Collection in the Bodleian. The note is printed in full in Appendix C in the Quarto Catalogue. There are also notes of the performance of *Cymbeline* and *Macbeth*. 
EXPENSES OF SHAKESPEARE PERFORMANCES, 1613.

'Item paid to John Heminges vppon the Cowncells warrant dated att Whitehall xx° die Maij 1613 for presentinge before the Princes highnes the Lady Elizabeth and the Prince Pallatyne Elector fowerteene severall playes viz one playe called Philaster, One other called the Knott of Foolès, One other Much adoe abowte nothinge, The Mayeds Tragedy, The merye dyvell of Edmonton, The Tempest, A Kinge and no Kinge. The Twins Tragedie / The Winters’ Tale, Srt John Falstafe, The Moore of Venice, The Nobleman, Cæsars Tragedye/ And one other called Love lyes a bleedinge, All which Playes weare played within the tyme of this Accompte, viz paid the some of iiiijxiii li vi s viii d'

This entry occurs in 'The Accompte of ... the Lord Stanhope of Harrington Treasurer of his Maiesties Chamber ...' for the period between Michaelmas 1612 and Michaelmas 1613, now in the Rawlinson Collection in the Bodleian.

FREEMAN’S ‘RUN AND A GREAT CAST’, 1614.

Rubbe, and A great Cast. Epigrams. By Thomas Freeman, Gent. . . [Followed by ‘Runne, And a great Cast . .’]


Epigram 92 of ‘Runne . .’ is addressed to ‘Master W: Shakespeare’, and begins:

'Shakespeare, that nimble Mercury thy braine,
Lulls many hundred Argus-eyes asleepe . .’
97 GREENE’S ‘GROATSWORTH OF WIT’, 1617.

Greenes Groatsworth of Witte: Bought with a million of Repentance: Describing the Folly of Youth... Published at his dying request, and, newly corrected... [Black letter].


First published in 1592. On sign. F3 is the famous diatribe against Shakespeare: ‘... there is an upstart Crow beautified with our Feathers, that with his Tygres heart, wrapt in a Players hyde, supposes hee is as well able to bombast out a Blanke verse, as the best of you: and being an absolute Johannes fac totum, is in his owne conceyt the onely Shake-scene in a Countrey...’

98 SHAKESPEARE QUOTED IN THE PULPIT IN 1620.

The Rev. Nicholas Richardson, Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, is related to have twice inserted the following passage from Romeo and Juliet (II. ii. 176-181) in sermons at St. Mary’s in 1620 and 1621:

Juliet. ’Tis almost morning; I would have thee gone:
And yet no further than a wanton’s bird,
Who lets it hop a little from her hand,
Like a poor prisoner in his twisted gyves,
And with a silk thread plucks it back again,
So loving-jealous of his liberty.

The preacher applied the passage to illustrate God’s love to His saints, never forsaking them.

The Commonplace Book in which this notice occurs contains other quotations from Shakespeare, one of them being from Richard II: and is now among the Miscellaneous English MSS. in the Bodleian.
Mr. Richard James, nephew of Dr. Thomas James, Bodley's first Librarian, criticizes Shakespeare by name for first offending Lord Cobham by using the name of Sir John Oldcastle (where now Falstaff stands) in *King Henry IV*, parts 1 and 2, and then for misusing the latter name, which also belonged to an honourable family. The passage occurs on the page exhibited, in a preface to an edition with notes of Occleve's poem on Henry V at Hampton.

*Witts Recreations, 1640.*

Witts Recreations [line] Selected from the finest Fancies of Moderne Muses. [line] With A Thousand out Landish Proverbs. [First title-page engraved. The *Out Landish Proverbs* have separate title-page and signn.]


No. 25 runs:

'Shake-speare we must be silent in thy praise
'Cause our encomium's will but blast thy Bayes,
Which envy could not, that thou didst do well;
Let thine own histories prove thy Chronicle.'

*TWO POEMS ASCRIBED TO SHAKESPEARE.*

In an interesting manuscript collection of English Poems made about 1640, besides W. Basse's Epitaph on Shakespeare (beginning 'Renowned Spencer': fol. 13") two poems occur which are here attributed to Shakespeare. The first is an epitaph of six lines (at fol. 41) on one Elias James, beginning 'When God was pleased, the world vnwilling yet'. The second, a poem
of ninety-five lines (on fol. 108), begins 'Shall I dye, shall 
I flye | Lovers baits and deceipts | Sorrow breeding. | Shall 
I tend, shall I send | Shall I shewe, and not rue | My pro-
ceeding': the end part with signature is exhibited.

102 BEN JONSON'S TIMBER, 1641.

Timber: or, Discoveries; [line] Made ... out of his 
daily Readings ... By Ben: Johnson ... [In vol. II of 
Works, 1640–1.] 

On page 97 Jonson writes: 'I remember, the Players have 
often mentioned it as an honour to Shakespeare, that in his 
writing ... hee never blotted out line. My answer hath beene, 
would he had blotted a thousand.... And to justifie mine owne 
candor, (for I lov'd the man, and doe honour his memory (on 
this side Idolatry) as much as any.) He was (indeed) honest 
and of an open, and free nature: had an excellent Phantsie; 
brave notions, and gentle expressions: wherein hee flow'd with 
that facility, that sometime it was necessary he should be stop'd: 
Sufflaminandus erat; as Augustus said of Haterius....'

103 ANECDOTE ABOUT 
SHAKESPEARE.

Mr Ben: Johnson and Mr Wm: Shake-speare Being 
Merrye att a Tauern, Mr Jonson haueing begune this for 
his Epitaph 
Here lies Ben Johnson that was once one 
he giues ytt to Mr Shakspear to make vpp, who 
presently wrightes 
Who while hee liu'de was a shoething 
And now being dead is Nothinge

* i.e. a show-thing.
This extract is found in a manuscript Commonplace Book written in the first half of the 17th century, and now in the Ashmole collection in the Bodleian.

104  SHAKESPEARE'S EPITAPH.

The original MS. of a letter from one William Hall junior, after a visit to Stratford in 1694, describing the poet's epitaph and the reason for it. The volume is now among the Rawlinson MSS. at the Bodleian. The letter is printed as Appendix D (in the Quarto Catalogue). Nothing is known of this William Hall.

CLASS L. GENUINE AND FORGED AUTOGRAPHS

105  THE SUPPOSED SHAKESPEARE AUTOGRAPH.

The volume here exhibited, the 1502 Aldine edition of the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid in Latin, bears on the title-page, just above the well-known Aldine Anchor, what appears to be an abbreviated signature of Shakespeare as 'Wm Sh'. This is explained by a note on the page opposite in the following terms: 'This little Booke of Ovid was given to me by W. Hall who sayd it was once Will. Shaksperes. T. N. 1682.'

The book was bought at a London auction in January 1864, when the stock of a bookseller named W. H. Elkin was sold.

The signature corresponds nearly with the shaky style of the signatures appended by Shakespeare to his Will at the end of his life. If genuine, the poet must have purchased the volume
QVAE HOC VOLUMINE CONTINENTVR

Ad Marianum Sannatum Epistola qui apud greces scripsit metamorphoses.
Aldo privilegium oneissum ad rep. literarie unilitem.
Orthographia difisionem graecum per ordinem literarum.
Vita Ouidi ex ipsius operis.
Indes fabularum et ceterorum, que insine hoc libro secundum ordinem alphabeticum.

OVIDII METAMORPHOSEON
LIBRI QUINDECIM.

AL

DVS

SUPPOSED ABBREVIATED SIGNATURE OF SHAKEESpeare LATE IN LIFE
after his retirement to Stratford in 1611. With respect to the note it is obvious to remark that Shakespeare’s daughter Susannah married a Hall, who died in 1635, and that their daughter Elizabeth married a Thomas Nash, who died in 1647.

In favour of the signature are the considerations (1) that he would be an exceptionally bold forger who ventured on an abbreviated signature—a rare occurrence in Shakespeare’s time, though found in such books as the University Verses of the period; (2) that the forgery (if it be one) would seem to be earlier than the golden age which began about 1760, before which scientific fraud, such as could deceive a critic of Victorian times, is hardly found; (3) that an early forger could hardly have had sight of the genuine signatures attached to the Will of 1616, which alone (of the six undoubted signatures) resemble the present one. Sir Edward Maunde Thompson has decided that both signature and note are forgeries, but until his proofs are published it is still allowable to regard the signature as perhaps genuine.

105* DISSERTATION ON THE SUPPOSED AUTOGRAPH.


(Berlin, 1881) 8°: pp. ‘367’—‘375’, with two illustrations.

Dr. Leo, well known for his studies of Shakespeare and as editor of the Jahrbuch above mentioned, here maintains with some hesitation the authenticity of the signature. The first plate exhibits the title-page of the Ovid and the note on the preceding page, the second gives a page of the book showing annotations by different hands, which show that it had been in Germany during the 16th century.
106 FACSIMILES OF SIGNATURES.

Genuine and doubtful: exhibited for the sake of comparison.

(a) Five autographs known to be genuine: of 1613 and 1616.
(b) In a copy of Florio’s translation of Montaigne’s *Essays* (1603, folio), now in the British Museum, occurs on a fly-leaf the name ‘William Shakspere’. Sir Frederick Madden wrote a pamphlet in defence of it published in 1838, but the book was withdrawn from exhibition at the British Museum before 1862.
(c) ‘Thyne sweeteste. W. Shakspere Stratforde March 16’, in the possession of Mr. E. Hawkins of Donnington Lodge, Newbury, who is persuaded that it is genuine.

107 AN IRELAND FORGERY, 1796.

William Henry Ireland, a barrister’s clerk, deceived first his father and then a considerable section of the literary public by a series of Shakespeare forgeries, which culminated in 1796 in a performance of a feeble and spurious play entitled *Vortigern* at the Drury Lane Theatre. The same year witnessed Malone’s exposure of the fraud, and in 1805 Ireland published his Confessions.

The present document is a good specimen of what Douce calls an ‘impudent and clumsy forgery on the part of Ireland’. It purports to be a memorandum of Shakespeare’s dying wishes. The page exhibited runs:—‘Mercye onne mye Soule [o] Godde nowe toe [my] lyttell Booke agayne forre Comforte. Thyne euer.

Stratforde on Avon
20 minutes after two i the morny[ng]e
William Shakespeare’.

The page on the right hand is a transcript of almost all the rest of this absurd paper.
Mr. William Shakespeare.

was born at Stratford upon Avon in the County of Warwick.

His father was a butcher, and there been told he had by some
of the neighborhood that when he was a boy he exercised his father's
profession, but when he was a man he went over in a high style of
living. He was very fond of books, and when he was a boy he used
to walk with his servant, in the country, and study. He was a
witty, well-read man, and was an actor of the first class. He
acted about 18 or 19 years, and was an actor of the first class, and
acted exceedingly well. Now Ben Johnson was a very
witty man, and he acted exceedingly well. He began early to
make copies of his plays, which, at that time, was a very
laborious and difficult task, and he acted well. He was a good
actor with a good company and of a very mild and
pleasant manner. The younger of...

In his "Journey's Dream," he happened to take as

*grandson in Batty's * in the fame * and that,

and there was living a gentleman about 50 years ago,

in the same house. He * of * and knew him

Ben Johnson, and he did gather the stories of men's days

of the town. One time as he was at the town

when it snowed, one of his actors, a man with a

good actor, was in the yard, he made him a copy of the

play of the Devil, and the Devil offers

Ten to the Heaven. The Devil offers

Ten to the Devil, the Devil

With a man who lies in the tomb.

Mr. Johnson, the Devil.

He was sent to go to the native town, and was there

and there, and he had a good copy of the

man with a good company, and when he was a boy he was

in the same house. He was a very witty man, and knew

human nature, and he had a good copy of

the Devil offers. Ten to the Heaven.

He was sent to go to the native town, and was there

man with a good company, and when he was a boy he was

in the same house. He was a very witty man, and knew

human nature, and he had a good copy of

the Devil offers. Ten to the Heaven.

He was sent to go to the native town, and was there

man with a good company, and when he was a boy he was

in the same house. He was a very witty man, and knew

human nature, and he had a good copy of

the Devil offers. Ten to the Heaven.
Class M. Lives

THE FIRST LIFE OF SHAKESPEARE.

The original MS., by John Aubrey, about 1681.

John Aubrey (1626–97), a friend of Anthony Wood and helper in the composition of the latter’s *Athenae Oxonienses* (Lives of Oxford writers), was an indefatigable collector of traditions and stories of the generation before his own, and his Lives have been admirably edited by Dr. Andrew Clark (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1898, 2 vols.). There is much authentic information in them, not known from other sources. With an easy and sociable disposition he gathered much from his boon companions, and wrote down his recollections the next morning.

The only earlier account of Shakespeare is some very sketchy and fanciful notes in Fuller’s *Worthies of England* (1662), describing Shakespeare as a combination of Martial (from his name!), Ovid, and Plautus! He had not even found out the date of Shakespeare’s death, and the piece is in no sense a Life, but only a crude criticism in very general terms.

A transcript of Aubrey’s Life is given (in the Quarto Catalogue) in Appendix A, with a facsimile.

NOTE BY AUBREY ABOUT SHAKESPEARE.

In another volume of the Aubrey MSS. (not the one which contains the Life), a quarto leaf is to be found, bearing a note which appears to relate to Shakespeare, and, if so, is of considerable importance as showing that he lived in Shoreditch, near the first London Theatre, presumably before the Globe was erected in Southwark.
The note runs as follows: 'the more to be admired q. [i.e. quia, because] he was not a company keeper lived in Shoreditch, wouldn't be debauched, & if invited to writ: he was in paine,' i.e. if invited to a Sybaritic banquet wrote that he was ill. A discussion on the true reference of this note is in Appendix B of the Quarto Catalogue, with a facsimile.

IIo Winstanley's 'England's Worthies', 1684.

England's Worthies. Select Lives of the most Eminent Persons of the English Nation, from Constantine the Great, Down to these Times. [line] By Will. Winstanley. [line]


The Life in Winstanley's work is only a feeble expansion of Fuller's.

III Langbaine's Life.

An account of the English Dramatick Poets . . . By Gerard Langbaine.


Langbaine is more interested in the Plays (about which he gives valuable but uncritical details) than in the author, of whom hardly anything is said. He esteemed the Plays 'beyond any that have ever been published in our language'.

The next Life of any importance is that of Rowe in 1709, see p. 18: and it may be said that there is no successor until Malone's in 1803. Since then Lives have abounded. The most recent and best Life is that of Sir Sidney Lee, 'new' (10th) edition, 1915, where full information on Shakespearian literature will be found.
ADDITIONAL PASSAGE ABOUT SHAKESPEARE (?), BY AUBREY
The other seventeenth-century sources of biographical detail are John Ward's Diary (1839); W. Fulman's manuscript collections at Corpus Christi College, Oxford; John Dowdall's and William Hall's visits to Stratford, and a few more.

Class N. Portraits

The Stratford Bust.

The Bust in Holy Trinity Church, Stratford-on-Avon, carved before 1623 by Garret Johnson, the younger.

(a) The earliest reproduction of the bust is in Dugdale's Warwickshire (1656), which was engraved from a sketch made by Dugdale himself in 1634. The engraving is inaccurate and slightly fanciful.

(b) A rather idealized mezzotint by William Ward, published on April 23, 1816, to commemorate the second centenary of Shakespeare's death.

(c) A delicately executed lithograph by R. J. Lane of the head of the bust.

The Droeshout Engraving.

The portrait appearing in the four Folio editions of Shakespeare's works (1623–1685) engraved by Martin Droeshout.

In the First, Second, and Third Folio (1663 issue) this portrait occurs on the title-page; in the second issue of the Third Folio and in the Fourth Folio it is placed with Ben Jonson's verses facing the title-page. Two unique early states of the Droeshout portrait exist (as described on p. 13), of
which the Malone copy is one. These early states may be easily identified by the absence of any shading on the collar. The later states exhibit alterations to the face, moustaches, and eyebrows. It is uncertain whether these alterations were made by Droeshout; but the general opinion is that the portrait was not improved by them. A third state of the plate is also found in some copies of the First Folio, and throughout the Second and Third.

114. THE CHANDOS PORTRAIT.

The 'Chandos' Portrait in the National Portrait Gallery.

The original painting is supposed to have been in the possession of Shakespeare's godson, Sir W. Davenant: afterwards it came into the possession of the Dukes of Buckingham and Chandos, and ultimately was sold to the Earl of Ellesmere, who presented it to the nation in 1856. The portrait seems to be an imaginative one, executed a few years after Shakespeare's death. 
(a) Photograph of the Chandos portrait with two reproductions of a lead pencil tracing of the portrait taken before restoration, by A. Pond, about 1730-40.
(b) Engraving by Robert Cooper.
(c) Engraving by Samuel Cousins, R.A. 1849.
(d) Engraving by Scriven from Ozias Humphry's drawing.

115. THE JANSSEN PORTRAIT.

The 'Janssen' portrait. Now in the possession of Sir J. F. Ramsden.

This is a fine painting, probably by Cornelis Janssen, but with nothing to justify its identification with Shakespeare. The statement that it once belonged to Prince Rupert is unsupported by evidence.
(a) Engraving by R. Dunkarton. 1811.
(b) Mezzotint by Charles Turner. 1824. (Two states, one being a proof on India paper before letters.) This mezzotint is of high artistic merit.
II6  THE FELTON PORTRAIT.

The present ownership of this portrait is not known. At the close of the 18th century it was in the possession of S. Felton, and its authenticity was strongly championed by Steevens. It may have been copied from the Droeshout engraving.

(a) Engraving by T. Trotter, 1794 (before letters).
(b) The same engraving, in a later state.

II7  FANCIFUL AND COUNTERFEIT PORTRAITS.

(a) An engraving by G. Vertue of a miniature once in the possession of Edward Harley. 1721.
(b) A portrait, once in the possession of M. Stace, engraved by Robert Cooper. 1811.
(c) An engraving by C. Turner, made in 1815, of a portrait in the possession of Dunford, a bookseller. It is a fabrication by Edward Holder, who bought the portrait of a man for five shillings, and altered it to resemble Shakespeare.
(d) An engraving by W. Holl of a miniature formerly in the possession of H. C. Jennings, and afterwards owned by C. Auriol, 1827.
(e) An engraving by W. Holl of a portrait once in the possession of Cosway, the artist. It is generally known as the Zucchero portrait. 1827.
(f) An engraving by Edward Smith, said to be based on the Chandos portrait. 1829.
(g) An engraving by T. W. Harland of a miniature said to have been executed by Nicholas Hilliard. 1840.
(h) A mezzotint by G. F. Storm of a portrait in the possession of C. U. Kingston, of Ashbourne, Derbyshire. This print is said to be of some rarity. 1848.
(i) An engraving by W. Holl of a picture by A. Carpentiers representing Roubiliac, the sculptor, finishing the statue of Shakespeare which he executed for David Garrick. The statue is now in the British Museum. 1827.
MAP OF WARWICKSHIRE, 1576.

A map of Warwickshire by Christopher Saxton, made in the year 1576. Stratford in this map occurs as Stratford.

NORDEN'S MIDDLESEX.

THE ROSE THEATRE, 1593.

A map engraved by Pieter Vanden Keere in 1593 for John Norden's Description of Middlesex.

On the south bank of the river is a representation of 'The playhowse' which is intended for the Rose Theatre, reconstructed in the year 1592. This Theatre was owned by Philip Henslowe, and 'was the first scene of Shakespeare's pronounced successes alike as actor and dramatist'.

THE GLOBE THEATRE IN 1610.

In a map of England engraved by Hondius in 1610 is a small inset view of London. On the south bank of the river, in the immediate foreground, is a round building with a flag. This is perhaps the only representation of the original Globe Theatre, so intimately connected with the representation of Shakespeare's plays. In 1613 the Theatre was burnt down, and a new building erected. The similar building a little further off to the left is the Bear House.

HORN-BOOK, 17TH CENT.

The Horn-book exhibited is one of the few undoubted examples which are early enough to be possibly of Shakespeare's time. It was discovered when the ground bordering on the High Street was excavated for the buildings forming the High Street front of Brasenose College, in 1881. The earliest instruction in country
SHAKESPEARE’S NAME AS SPELT IN 1623

From an old Bodleian Binding Book and shelf-lists
towns and villages was given by the use of these elementary spelling-books, surmounted by a 'Criss Cross Row', i.e. the letters, preceded by Christ's Cross.

A great part even of the horn and of the metal strip which fastened it down, as well as several of the pins, can be seen to be original.

I22 SPELLINGS OF SHAKESPEARE’S NAME IN 1623. (Photograph.)

The eight writings of the name of Shakespeare were all made in 1623 by members of the staff of the Bodleian, and probably in the order of descent on the page. The first on the page is part of the Binder’s List of books sent out to Wildgoose for binding, and the ‘R’ indicates that each book was Returned safely. This and the 2nd, 3rd, 5th, and 7th lists spell the name Shakespeare (nos. 2, 3 and 5 being probably in the same hand, and also 4, 6, and 8), but all the shelf-lists except the last place a hyphen in the middle of the word. Nos. 4 and 8 spell it Shakspeare, with or without a hyphen, and no. 6 Shak-sper. It would appear that the name was normally spelt Shakespeare and often pronounced Shackspere. The two forms of medial s (ʃ, s) and of r may be noted, as in a state of transition to the modern form.

I23 STRATFORD FESTIVAL, 1769.

The first Shakespeare Festival was conducted by David Garrick at Stratford in 1769.

(a) Ticket of admission, price one guinea, to the Oratorio, the Dedication Ode, and the Ball. Signed by George Garrick.

(b) Programme of the firework display at 8 o'clock on Sept. 7.

(c) Records of the proceedings on Sept. 6 and 7. It may be noticed that on the first day the Festival began at 6 a.m.

I24 IRELAND FORGERIES.

A caricature representing the discovery of Shakespeare autographs and relics in an old chest. As has been mentioned on p. 62, in 1796 W. H. Ireland produced a large number of
Shakespearian forgeries, among them being a play *Vortigern*, which was produced by Sheridan and Kemble at Drury Lane Theatre. The Ireland forgeries were exposed by Malone in his ‘Inquiry into the Authenticity of the Ireland MSS.’ in the same year.

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**BACON-SHAKESPEARE CONTROVERSY.**

Until the middle of the nineteenth century the authorship of Shakespeare’s works was unquestioned. In 1848 Joseph C. Hart, in his *Romance of yachting*, impugned the authorship, and since that time there has appeared an ever-increasing number of books written with the same object, or endeavouring to prove that the real author of Shakespeare’s works was Francis Bacon.

125


Apparently the second earliest contribution to the controversy.

126


London: 1856: 8° (pp. 16).

This seems to be the first definite attempt to prove that Bacon was the real author of Shakespeare’s works.

127

The philosophy of the plays of Shakspere unfolded. By Delia Bacon. With a preface by Nathaniel Hawthorne . . .

London: 1857: 8° (pp. cx + 582).

An obscurely written book in which the Baconian theory is tentatively advanced.
The authorship of Shakespeare. By Nathaniel Holmes
... 4th ed. ... Boston: 1882: 8° (pp. xvi + 696).

The most important of the earlier works on the controversy.
The first edition appeared in 1866.

The great cryptogram: Francis Bacon’s cipher in the
so-called Shakespeare plays. By Ignatius Donnelly ...
2 vols.

London: 1888: la. 8° (pp. 998).
The author professes to have discovered in the First Folio, by
means of a pre-arranged arithmetical cipher, proofs that
Bacon wrote Shakespeare’s plays.

The bi-literal cypher of Sir Francis Bacon discovered
in his works and deciphered by mrs. Elizabeth Wells
Gallup.

Detroit: (1899): 8° (pp. 246).

An alleged discovery of a cipher found in the italic letters
in the original editions of Bacon’s works. The author
arrives at the conclusion that the works of Spenser,
Peele, Greene, Marlowe, Shakespeare, and Burton are to
be attributed to Bacon. As a counterblast to this, the
way in which the typographical question presents itself
to the practical printer may be studied in ‘Juggling with
type. The typographical aspect of the Bacon-Shakespeare

Célestin Demblon ... Lord Rutland est Shakespeare.
Le plus grand des Mystères dévoilé: Shaxper de Stratford
hors cause ...

Paris: 1912: 8° (pp. 559).

A curious work by a Belgian professor.
I32
The Silent Shakespeare. By Robert Frazer.
Philadelphia: 1915: 8° (pp. 210).
The author finds that William Stanley, 6th Earl of Derby, was William Shakespeare.

I33
The Stratford-on-Avon Tercentenary Medal (bronze) by Dorothy Dick, 1916.
Presented by Sir Sidney Lee.
SHAKESPEARE AND OXFORD

For one who lived the greater part of his life in a great city and made his fortune there, whose work owed its existence to the demands and fashions of town-dwellers, Shakespeare has left us but very few memories of his association with the ways and manners of towns or with any towns in particular. There is marked contrast between him and Ben Jonson. From Ben one might collect a picture, almost complete, of the London life of his day, with enough of topographical detail to enable a stranger cast suddenly into the capital of Elizabethan England to find his way about, and know where to dine and sleep and walk and play games in and out of doors, and where not to do these things. Shakespeare seems indifferent to all these matters; though he knew the Eastcheap taverns well enough, and where the strawberries grew in Holborn. There is strangely little in his plays of close record even of London life. Of the ways of provincial towns one may say that there is nothing. No persistent town-dweller was ever so thoroughly a country writer. He knew the sights and sounds, the highways, the lanes, the hedgerows, the forests and rivers, birds and flowers, everything that the eye and heart learned to know in the country side. Whether or no he really gave to eight villages on the Gloucester and Warwick borderland each his appropriate epithet, he revelled in reference to country places that he knew from personal acquaintance, not only in the circle round Stratford but away over the Cotswolds by Woncot and 'the hill'. But about towns he is, by comparison, silent. They are named when English history compels the mention of them, not often else. And this may well be because he had cared to visit few towns: Stratford was never forgotten, but London overshadowed all the rest. So we hardly know for certain of any towns
that he had stayed in; to make even a possible personal itinerary from his plays would be a very difficult task. There is, of course, one outstanding exception. Windsor he seems to have known with the minutest intimacy, down even to the ditch where people washed their dirty linen. There the Court resided at times, and the King's players acted. But what of other towns? Very likely he had been to Cirencester, for he (or was it only his printers?) knew how to pronounce it. Perhaps he had seen a red-nosed innkeeper at Daventry. I will not imagine that because he makes Ulysses say to Achilles

The fool slides o'er the ice that you should break,

he had been to the Hart at Evesham, whose back windows looked on the riverside towards Pershore, where Jack Millar the fool crossed the ice to the clown Grumball. Some people, I believe, think that he had been to Monmouth—perhaps also to Macedon, because there is a river in both. There is little else one could even fancy. The plays, indeed, give one small help towards (what cannot be supplied from our scant knowledge of his life) a record of the towns Shakespeare had seen, and when he was at each, and how often; but there is another possible source of information. If he joined Lord Leicester's Company when they visited Stratford-on-Avon in 1587, and then went over to Lord Strange's Company (which eventually became King James I's own Company) in September 1588, he may have been (outside his native country) at Latham House, Leicester, Norwich, Maidstone, Dover, Plymouth, Bath, Gloucester, York, Cambridge, Canterbury, Chelmsford, Bristol, Shrewsbury, Winchester, Marlborough, Faversham, Rye: he may even have gone to Scotland. Not to continue the list of places, which any one can make for himself from Mr. John Tucker Murray's admirable book on English Dramatic Companies 1558-1642, let us end by
saying that in 1587, 1593, 1603 or 1604, 1605, 1606, 1607, 1610, 1612, 1613 (it is just possible, in all these years) he may have acted in Oxford.

It is tempting to linger here, and suggest that Shakespeare acted before a Vice-Chancellor and Proctors; but we know from the researches of Mr. F. S. Boas how fixed was the University policy, in the latter years of Elizabeth, to bribe the play-actors to go away. It was the Chancellor, Leicester, himself who had his players in Oxford in 1587, and they were paid twenty shillings to depart without further molestation of the University. If Shakespeare was with them in December at Oxford, his first experience of the University, remarks Mr. Boas, was to be paid by it to go away. And Mr. Boas has shown it to be not improbable that *Hamlet* (in the form of the First Quarto) was written between 1592 and 1594 and acted at Oxford in October 1592; and if so Shakespeare himself may have played the Ghost before the citizens, some dignified officials, no doubt, looking on, and probably some daring undergraduates who braved the risk of detection and ‘open punishment’ in S. Mary’s Church.

This, it may be said, is little more than guesswork. Admittedly, it is not certain. But it may serve to introduce the fact that, outside London and the County of Warwick, there is no town, save Oxford, which is known to have been frequently visited by Shakespeare.

**THE DAVENANTS**

Shakespeare’s association with Oxford is quite certain. Aubrey is writing of Sir William Davenant, of whom he says that

He was borne [about the end of February—vide A. Wood’s *Antiq. Oxon.*—baptized 3 of March a.d. 1608], in . . . . street in the city of Oxford at the Crowne Taverne.
His father was John Davenant, a Vintner there, a very grave and discreet Citizen: his mother was a very beautifull woman, and of a very good witt, and of conversation extremely agreeable. They had three sons, viz. 1, Robert, 2, William, and 3, Nicholas, (an attorney): and two handsome daughters, one married to Gabriel Bridges (B.D., fellow of C. C. Coll., beneficed ia the Vale of White Horse), another to Dr. (William) Sherburne (minister of Pembridge in Hereford, and a canon of that church). Mr William Shakespeare was wont to goe into Warwickshire once a yeare, and did commonly in his journey lye at this house in Oxon. where he was exceedingly respected. [I have heard parson Robert (Davenant) say that Mr W. Shakespeare haz given him a hundred kisses.] Now Sir William would sometimes, when he was pleasant over a glasse of wine with his most intimate friends—e.g. Sam. Butler (author of Hudebras) &c—say, that it seemed to him that he writt with the very spirit that Shakespeare, and seemed contented enough to be thought his son. (He would tell them the story as above, in which way his mother had a very light report.)

We may at once dismiss the suggested scandal about Mrs. Davenant: it is a discredit to her son to have allowed it to be hinted. With it goes the foolish story about the old Head of a House who jested at the boy Will's mention of the poet as his godfather: it is an old story, told long before it was told of Shakespeare.

It may be sufficient to dispose of the scandal to remember that poems on the death of the husband and wife especially eulogize their affection,—one of them in the following words—

If to bee greate or good deserve the baies,
What merits he whom greate and good doth praise?
What meritts hee? Why, a contented life,
A happy yssue of a vertuous wife,
The choyce of freinds, a quiet honor'd grave,
All these hee had; What more could Dav'nant have?
Reader, go home, and with a weeping eie,
For thy sinns past, learne thus to live and die.
And in his will John Davenant desired that he should be buried 'as nere my wife as the place will give leave where she lyeth'. There is no blot, certainly, on the name of the 'very beautiful woman of good wit and conversation'.

It may also be noted that if any Head of a House knew the Davenants well, it would doubtless be the President of S. John's, as we shall see later; and the contemporary Presidents were Buckeridge (1605) and Laud (1611); that either of whom should make a jest which was not only scurrilous but profane is quite incredible.

What remains is that Shakespeare stayed very often at the Crown Tavern and was an intimate friend of the Davenants.

The Crown Tavern (so called by Aubrey, who died in 1697) was in the parish of S. Martin (commonly called Carfax) on the East side of North Gate Street (now Cornmarket). It is now No. 3 Cornmarket, but probably no more than the cellars remain as in Shakespeare's day. The gabled front looked on the street, where on market days stood 'the forraine or country poleterrers', says Anthony Wood. On the West side of the street was the Crown Inn, a different house altogether, whose yard at the back opened on Sewy's Lane. But you cannot see either Tavern or Inn now. The modern craze for improving away the past has destroyed the one house outside Stratford which we could point to and say for certain that Shakespeare stayed there; but at least we may fancy him visiting the cellars with his friend the vintner.

But if we cannot see the house that Shakespeare knew so well, we can recover a good deal about the family whose friend he was. John Davenant, the vintner, the very grave and discreet person, was, says Anthony Wood, 'of a melancholic disposition and was seldom or never seen to laugh'. He was apparently the first of his family to settle in Oxford, coming no doubt from London. The name, spelled in different ways, most frequently Davenett,
if not Davenant (and in later days fantastically D'Avenant by Sir William, with a suggestion of kinship to the poetic Avon), is often met with among the Merchant Taylors, at least from 1537.

In 1568 John Davenett, one of the Bachelors' Company, was ordered by the Merchant Taylors' Company to help to serve at the Lord Mayor's Dinner, and apparently the same person was appointed to dine on the same occasion at the table set for the Mayor's Company. John Davenett, again, was chosen Warden of the Company for 1592-3. It is tempting to suppose that it was he who soon after this left London and settled as a vintner in Oxford. He took out his licence in 1604. The name does not begin to occur in the Register of S. Martin's Church, which I have inspected, till the seventeenth century. This records in 1603, 'aprilis 14° Robert Devenet the sonne of Mr. Devenet vintener'; in 1604, 'decembris 30 was bapticed Alice Devenet the daughter of John Devenet vintiner'; and, as the last entry of 1605, 'martii 3 was baptised William Devenet, the sonne of John Devenet vintener'.

It would seem, from the order in which they are mentioned in John Davenant's will, that Alice was the youngest daughter. The will bequeaths 'to my four sons one hundred fiftie pound apiece'. The three daughters were unmarried when their father died; Robert was at S. John's College, and to receive fifty shillings 'for his better allowance at the University,' as well as 'twenty shillings to buy him necessaries out of the provenew of the profit of wyne'; William, a boy of sixteen, ready to be apprenticed 'to some good marchant of London';

2 Wilson, History of Merchant Taylors' School, 1151; Clode, Early History of Merchant Taylors' Company, ii. 343.
3 In Halliwell-Phillipps, Outlines of the Life of Shakespeare, eighth edition, ii. 46–8.
Nicholas a schoolboy at Bourton—I suppose Bourton on the Water—to be kept there ‘till he be fifteen’; John only to stay half a year more and then to be ‘put to prentice’. All these children Shakespeare must have known. The father died in 1622, when he was Mayor of Oxford. His will was proved on October 21. It is tempting to identify his successor Thomas Harris, who ‘succeeded about 3 dayes after’, with the alderman whose monument in Burford church has so much similarity to Shakespeare’s at Stratford, but the dates do not allow this. Jane Davenant, it is recorded, died a fortnight before her husband. She was buried on the 5th of April, he on the 23rd.

The will provides for the two younger daughters keeping the bar by turns, under the charge of their aunt, the old servants being retained for a time. The eldest daughter, Elizabeth, as may be seen from Anthony Wood, first married Gabriel Bridges, sometime fellow of Corpus, afterwards Rector of Letcombe Basset, and then Richard Bristow, B.D., Rector of Didcot. Her name was placed on the marble tablet put up in S. Martin’s Church by Charles Davenant, her nephew, Sir William’s son. This is now in All Saints’ Church. She is not mentioned with any special provision in the will. Of the next daughter, Jane, Aubrey evidently did not know anything. But a comparison of her father’s will with the registers of S. Martin’s Church shows that after her father’s death she married her father’s apprentice, Thomas Hollome, who had the ‘managing of the business’. The will said ‘now if any of my daughters marry with the consent of my overseers, that her porcion be presently paid her, and shee that remaineth longest in the house either to have her porcion when Thomas Hollome comes out of his yeares, or if he and shee can fancy one another, my will is that they marry together, and her porcion to be divided by it-selfe towardse the maintenance of the trade’. Hollome in
time succeeded to the inn, as the sons took up other pursuits. The register records the burial of 'Mr. Thomas Hallum, vintner, 1 Oct. 1636' and of his widow on September 27, 1667. Alice married Dr. William Sherburne, as recorded by Aubrey.

Of the sons, John doubtless died as a child, since Aubrey had never heard of him; and all we know of Nicholas is what Aubrey tells us.

Of William it is that Hearne (in 1709) tells that 'ye said [apparently Oxford tradition] that Mr. Shakespear was his godfather and gave him his name'. He was baptized, as we have seen, at S. Martin's Church on March 3, 1606. It is quite likely that Shakespeare stood godfather in person. To his godson William Walker he left 'xxs in gold' in his will, but that was very likely because he saw more of him than of Will Davenant in his later years, for the Walkers were a Stratford family. The bequest does not tell against Hearne's record. The King's Company of players is known to have been at Marlborough 'after Jan. 17, 1606', and at Oxford in July (as in the previous October). Shakespeare might easily have come to Oxford from Marlborough, or on one of his visits to Stratford.

S. Martin's Church has disappeared, but its ancient font is now in All Saints' Church, and it may well be that Shakespeare stood beside it at the christening of his godson.

William did not follow the way his father intended for him, and he probably left Oxford, being 'preferred to the first dutches of Richmond' to wayte on her as a page' says Aubrey. He afterwards entered the household of Sir Fulke Greville, Lord Brooke. And so his history passes away from Oxford. But it is worth noting that he 'went

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1 The wife of Lodowick, Duke of Lennox, created Duke of Richmond 1623.
to schoole at Oxon to Mr. Sylvester', who, as Aubrey tells us in another place, kept school 'over the Meadows' and had many notable pupils, several of whom are mentioned in the Brief Lives.

**ROBERT DAVENANT**

We come now to Robert, who, from his association both with Shakespeare and with S. John's College, is of special interest in our survey.

He was born March 10, 1603 and baptized April 14, 1603. He was entered at Merchant Taylors' School in 1615. Aubrey had heard him say 'that Mr. W. Shakespeare haz given him a hundred kisses', a statement which he afterwards crossed out, for some reason or other. Robert was nearly three years older than Shakespeare's godson, and would be thirteen when the poet died. It may well be that he, of whom Wood says that he alone of the family 'imitated' his father 'who was of a melancholic disposition and was seldom or never seen to laugh', was the one of the children in whom Shakespeare took special interest, for he was a student from his early years. On December 11, 1618, he matriculated at S. John's College, having been elected a Merchant Taylor scholar on the previous S. Barnabas Day. He is entered as of Oxon., aged 15, and gen. fil., which shows the status of the family. From that time his University and College career can be traced from the registers of the University and of S. John's. 1622 May 9, he was admitted B.A., determined 1622–3. 1626 April 28, licenc. M.A., incepted 1626. 1633 March 23, admitted B.D. 1660 August 2, D.D. On July 23, 1623, he was elected travelling fellow, probably by this time having become chaplain to his kinsman John Davenant (1576–1641), bishop of Salisbury from 1621 to his death.
The Bishop gave him the living of West Kington in 1633. In 1631 he had become rector of Talbenny, co. Pembroke. He signs the College minutes in 1632 four times (thrice as D'avenant, once Davenant), and resigned his fellowship on March 31, 1635. He obtained a licence to marry Jane, daughter of John Harward, vicar of Wanborough, Wilts., 21 July, 1640. After the Restoration he was made Prebendary of Sarum and rector of Dauntsey, 1669.

Aubrey tells how in 1637 his brother William, with Sir John Suckling and Jack Young, visited him on their way to Bath, and stayed a week, 'mirth, witt, and good cheer flowing.' This does not look as if he was so melancholic as Wood says. Perhaps he only became so after his marriage.

The kinship of the Davenants of Oxford to the Bishop of Salisbury is not very clear. Edward Davenant, who was elected to the Livery, 10 July, 1602, is mentioned as being engaged in a law-suit with the Company and submitting in 1600. 'A guilt Pott, of the guift of Mr. Davenaunt, weying twenty ounce and a quarter', is in the inventory of 1609 (p. 93), given by Edward in 1600. He may perhaps be identified with that elder brother of the bishop who is described by Aubrey, in one of his most delightful sketches, as a 'rare man in his time' who rose at 4 or 5 in the morning to study till 6 or 7 and then went to his business, and was a better Grecian than his more eminent brother the Bishop. He sent his son Edward to Merchant Taylors' School. May he not have been a brother of John the vintner? If so, Robert was the Bishop's nephew.

1 Clode, Memorials, p. 598.
2 N. 539, Early Hist., i. 204.
3 Early Hist., i. 97.
It was natural, then, that the family, as Merchant Taylors, should be associated with S. John's College. Robert gave two books to the College Library. One is Commentarius Lorini in Librum Numerorum, Coloniae Agrippae 1623, fo. (F. i. 11.) It is inscribed 'Ex dono Roberti Daunant, Thomae Weekes, Francisci Standish, eiusdem Collegii Alumnorum, Magistrorum Artium. 1626'.

Of the other we learn from the Register of Benefactors to the Library, col. 110: which gives

Sir Walter Raleigh's History of the World. Fol. Lond. 1614.'

This is no longer in the library and was probably sold when another copy came from the Crynes bequest. But the father, the vintner, Shakespeare's friend, also gave a book, a MS. volume, which the College still possesses. It is LVII in Coxe's catalogue, and is inscribed 'Ex dono Magistri Ioannis Davenet Oenopoli civitatis Oxon'. It contains Richard Rolle of Hampole's 'Prick of Conscience' and one of the many chronicles of London with lists of officials. The volume is thus described by Dr. Derham, President of the College 1748-57:


There is no evidence as to the date at which this volume was given to the College by the vintner. May it not well have been before his son matriculated there, and before Shakespeare's death? May not Shakespeare have been familiar with the College, dined in the hall, and sat with the fellows round the fire in the evenings talking, animum laxandi causà, of the mirabilia mundi,'
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and even on feast days singing songs and enjoying other *honesta solatia*? He would certainly be in congenial company, for S. John's was a college which especially affected the drama. Among the rare books is the perhaps unique copy of John Heywood's *Play of the Weather*; but in the early seventeenth century its living dramatists formed a closer link with Shakespeare. Already James Shirley, the last of the great company, had come to S. John's, and Laud, says Wood, 'had a great affection for him, especially for the pregnant parts that were visible in him ', though he would not encourage him to be ordained. Besides this

Small clear beacon whose benignant spark
Was gracious yet for loiterers' eyes to mark,

so long after, there were in the first decade or so of the seventeenth century at S. John's, Matthew Gwynne, who made a tragedy of *Nero* and a comedy of *Vertumnus*, the latter of which sent James I to sleep; among the seniors the ingenious Sandsbury, afterwards vicar of S. Giles's; and among the juniors Christopher Wren, who became chaplain to Bishop Andrewes, and Dean of Windsor, and was the father of the great Sir Christopher. Fuller calls S. John's at this time a nursery of many bright wits. And the wits had a dramatic turn.

The *Narcissus* of 1602, the *Christmas Prince* of 1607 are well known. But we come nearer to Shakespeare in Wake's *Rex Platonicus*, which describes the visit of James I in 1605, and tells how the king was received on August 27 outside the gate of S. John's by a device, recalling the legend of ancient Scottish History that three Sibyls foretold the accession of Macbeth and the future rule of a long line of Banquo's issue, and presenting in pageant this prophecy as now fulfilled. 'Three young youths' habited as Sibyls elaborated the theme and prophesied that Banquo's line should never fail on the
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thrones of Britain. And Banquo's line was the line of James the First and Sixth.

John Buckeridge, Archdeacon of Northampton, was then President of the College, and the next year the King made him his Chaplain and a Canon of Windsor. Laud and Juxon were Fellows; and Laud in the crisis of his trial nearly forty years later, though he said he was never a 'play-hunter', declared the recreation to be legitimate. No doubt they approved the dramatic setting of the Royal welcome.

Was Shakespeare present when S. John's received the King with this polite reminiscence and prophecy? There is no reason why he should not have been. The King's Company of Players, of which he was a member, was, as we have said, at Oxford in the autumn of that year. They were at Marlborough, it appears, early in the spring. They did not act at Court after February 12th, when, perhaps, they acted The Merchant of Venice. Shakespeare was probably already a friend of the Davenants, as he was godfather to their boy in the next March.

John Davenant's connexion with Merchant Taylors would without doubt have already made him known at S. John's, and what more likely than that he and his friend should have stood among the crowd on the terrace which welcomed the King and watched the device?

MACBETH

May not the fitness of Macbeth's story for a play have struck him as he watched? Dr. Andrew Bradley has argued a late date for that play, and, apart from metrical tests, there is evidence enough to place its composition and production very shortly after this period.

The earliest is the quite obvious parallel, in the Sophonisba of that unblushing purveyor of other men's good
things, John Marston, which is dated 1606. Malone also noted the allusion in ‘here’s a farmer that hanged himself on the expectation of plenty’ to the abundance of wheat in 1606, and no reasonable person can doubt that the porter’s pointed allusion to the equivocator refers to the Jesuit Garnett and his defence of equivocation during the trial of the Gunpowder plotters in March 1606.

At the time of the christening, the subject of the Plot, the plotters and their trial, would certainly be uppermost in all men’s minds. Sir Sidney Lee says, with an air of certainty, that Shakespeare began Macbeth in 1605 and completed it next year, and, without deciding a point between him and Dr. Bradley as to its place among the tragedies, we may readily agree with him as to the date.

We arrive thus at the likelihood that Shakespeare knew S. John’s College and was there on an important occasion. The boy who had him for playfellow did not become a scholar till thirteen years later. But another member of the College may well have been known to the dramatist a quarter of a century before. Till 1577, or perhaps a year later, Shakespeare was at the Grammar School, Stratford on Avon, and about that time the school had a new master.

THOMAS JENKINS, SCHOOLMASTER

The Chamberlain’s accounts show on January 10, 1578, as paid ‘to Mr. Jenkins, scholemaster, for his half-yere’s wage, 10l.,’ which seems to show that he had begun to teach at Lady Day 1578. Later entries show further payments to him ending in 1579, when John Cotton obtained the Bishop’s licence (September 25) to teach boys at Stratford—at first, it would appear, as Jenkins’s assistant, and afterwards as his successor. I believe this Jenkins to have been he who took the degree of B.A. from S. John’s in
1566, and that of M.A. in 1570; who had from the College a lease of the house which it held in Woodstock from the Queen’s Majesty ‘commonly called Chawser’s Howse’; and whose signature is found in the College books from 1566 to 1572. If this Jenkins is he who taught at Stratford, he may very well be the prototype of Sir Hugh Evans, and there is another connexion suggested between Shakespeare and the College of which he would certainly have known later through the Davenants.

However that may be, whether Shakespeare ever said a construe to Mr. Jenkins of S. John’s or no, he certainly read Ovid at school, and that brings us to the possible relic of him which the Bodleian possesses. This is the Aldine edition (1502) of the Metamorphoses.

**THE SUPPOSED AUTOGRAPH OF SHAKESPEARE**

Over the printer’s emblem is written, in a hand which some experts declare to be Shakespeare’s, ‘Wm Sh.’. The similarity of the letters to the undoubted signatures of the poet is evident enough. The volume bears on the leaf opposite the title-page the note ‘This Little Booke of Ovid was given to me by W. Hall who sayd it was once Will Shakespere’s. T. N. 1682.’ If this be genuine,—and experts must be allowed still to debate,—it were easy to conjecture that W. Hall belonged to the family into

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1 Mr. W. H. Stevenson, Fellow and Librarian of S. John’s, to whom I am indebted for much kind help, supplies me with the following note: ‘Thomas Jenkins, B.A., present at admission of Fellows and Scholars July 19, 1566, June 28, 1568, June 26, 1570 (S. John’s College Muniments, LXII. 2, pp. 6, 7, 10, 11, 12). Occurs in list of residents in College c. 1565–6 (Clark, Reg. Univ., II. ii. 28). This is the Thomas Jenkins of Boase (Reg. Univ., i. 261), as proved by dates of degrees. He is called M.A. on June 26, 1570 in LXII. 2, p. 13, but B.A. on the same date p. 12. He incepted M.A. 10 July, and our notice at p. 13 was probably written after that date.’
which Shakespeare's daughter had married; but she was long dead, and her daughter, Shakespeare's only grandchild, was dead too, before the book was given to T. N. The book may have been given years before by Shakespeare's son-in-law, who certainly set little store by the books and manuscripts which came to him, to some kinsman's boy to study his Latin in. But this is guesswork.

Such are the links which bind Shakespeare to Oxford. They are few and slender, but they are more and stronger than those which connect him with any other town, save London and Windsor, outside his own shire.

**SHAKESPEARE'S WORKS IN OXFORD**

But if her association with his biography is but slight, Oxford has many treasures of Shakespearian literature. In the College libraries there is no lack of Elizabethan books, and the drama was certainly not neglected by those who stocked the shelves in the sixteenth century. S. John's has a good tall copy of the Second Folio (1632), given by Henry Osbaston, Fellow of the College, in 1637. But the chiefest treasures, of course, are in the Bodleian, which has, next to the British Museum, the largest Shakespearian collection in the Empire. It has the only known copy of the first edition of *Venus and Adonis*, 1593, and eight copies of other early editions, no other public or private library having more than one, except the British Museum, which has five. It has the first edition of *Lucrece*, 1694, the *Sonnets*, 1609, and the posthumous *Poems*, 1640; and the quarto of *Romeo and Juliet*, 1597, *Richard II*, 1698, the *Merchant of Venice*, 1600, and *Pericles*, 1609. And it has two copies of the First Folio, 1623. One, given by Malone, shows the earliest state of the Droeshout portrait, so unpleasing as to have been seriously touched up before later copies of the edition came from the printer. But more interesting still is the
copy which the London Stationers' Company, in pursuance of their agreement with Sir Thomas Bodley, sent to the library on its publication. It no doubt came in sheets, and on February 17, 1624, it was sent to William Wildgoose, a binder in Oxford. The old binding book shows this, and is marked R, to show the return. It remained chained to the shelves, probably till the issue of the Third Folio, when it was sold to Richard Davis, an Oxford bookseller, between September 1663 and September 1664. It came before long into the possession of the Turbutt family of Ogston, Derbyshire, where it remained till it was repurchased for the Bodleian in 1900. A full account of this volume is given in the pamphlet by Mr. F. Madan (now Bodley's Librarian), *The Original Bodleian copy of the First Folio Shakespeare* (Clarendon Press, 1905). It shows, by the wear and tear of the different pages, the popularity of the plays among readers in a public library. The taste of the time was evidently first for the tragedies, and for the comedies next. The play most read is *Romeo and Juliet*, and in that the balcony scene. So the young bachelors who could read in the library made choice of what, if all the world were polled, would probably be the scene in Shakespeare most popular to-day.

But it is not only in editions of Shakespeare that Oxford is rich. It has the earliest biography of him. The ill-penned, untidy manuscripts of John Aubrey, full of corrections and erasures and interlineations, often 'hastily writt', often incomplete, contain the first attempt we possess to tell the story of Shakespeare's life. This must be collected from three parts of the MS. There is the formal attempt, decorated in the margin with a laurel wreath, which begins 'Mr. William Shakespear was borne at Stratford upon Avon'. There is the passage, quoted above, in the life of Sir William Davenant. And there is a most curious and interesting addition, the value of which has only recently been observed — and first, I
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think, by Mr. E. K. Chambers in the Malone Society's Collections. On a page (the verso of which is the life of Ogilby) Aubrey has written, apparently, four distinct notes, one relating to Fletcher, one to Ogilby, one to Shakespeare, and one to Ben Jonson. The last was from information supplied by the actor Lacy, the second in continuation of the life of Ogilby on the other side. The note relating to Fletcher is clearly divided, by a line across the whole page, from the rest. The note relating to Shakespeare is written partly above and partly below his name, and is separated from the Ogilby note by a line. It reads thus—

'The more to be admired q. he was not a company keeper
lived in Shoreditch: would not be debauched, & if invited to
writ: he was in paine.

W. Shakespeare.

@ Mr. Beeston who knows most of him from Mr. Lacy
he lives in Shoreditch near Nort at Hoglane
within 6 dores fr Norton-Folgate
@ etiam for B. Jonson.'

The MS. then goes on to tell of Ben Jonson. Aubrey also derived from Beeston, one of a famous actor family, the information that Shakespeare 'had been in his younger years a schoolmaster in the countrey.' These notes add happily to our slight knowledge. They show that the poet, though, as the dramatists of his day told Aubrey, 'he had a most prodigious witt', and was 'very good company', was not, like some of the 'Alsatians' of his day, a man who would be 'debauched', which no doubt means fond of roistering drinking parties. If he was invited to them he excused himself on the score of illness. He loved quiet; and this may well be the reason that we have no record of him in any of the towns that he visited and not much more than a memory of him at Oxford.

W. H. Hutton.
NOTE ON THE CROWN TAVERN AT OXFORD

The earliest notice of John Davenant's connexion with Shakespeare is given by Aubrey (1626-1697) (A. Clark, Aubrey's Brief Lives, i. 204), who, in speaking of Sir William Davenant, John Davenant's son, says that he 'was borne... in... street in the City of Oxford at the Crowne Taverne. Mr William Shakespeare was wont to goe into Warwickshire once a yeare and did commonly in his journey lye at this house [the Crown Taverne] in Oxon,'...

Anthony Wood (1632-1695) in his Athenae Oxonienses (Bliss ed.), iii. 802 (of which the original edition was published 1691-1692), says: 'John Davenant was a sufficient vintner, kept the tavern now known by the name of the Crowne,... was mayor of the said city in the year 1621,... was a very grave and discreet citizen (yet an admirer of plays and play-makers, especially Shakespeare, who frequented his house in his journeys between Warwickshire and London), was of a melancholic disposition, and was seldom or never known to laugh...'

In 1604 'John Davenantt vintener' became a freeman of the city, when also he obtained from the city a 'lycence to sell wyne', also a bailiff's place (City Council Book, B, f. 94). He had apparently been using the licence of the lessee of the tenement which he then occupied. In the course of a dispute between the University and the City as to which was the proper wine-licensing authority, he surrendered his City licence to the University in 1620 (Clark, Reg. Univ., ii, Pt. 1, p. 322). He became Mayor in 1621, but died during his mayoralty, and was buried in St. Martin's, Carfax, on April 23, 1622, eighteen days after his wife.

The Crown Tavern has been confused with the Crown Inn, owing to a failure to distinguish clearly between taverns and inns (the title of vintner connoted in the seventeenth century a licence to retail wine and the house of a vintner was called a tavern; in Davenant's day the number of vintners in Oxford was not more than five). Davenant's name never appears as lessee or occupier of the Crown Inn which stood on the west side of Cornmarket Street. The site of the Crown Tavern is on the east side, now No. 3 Cornmarket Street, Messrs. Hookham
& Gadney’s shop, and belonged then, as now, to New College. In the lease books of the College (Registr: ad Firm: 71, fol. 404, 1601–1614) on 8 July, 46 Jac. I (i.e. 1613), a lease of this tenement in St. Martin’s parish known as ‘Tatleton’s house’ was given to Walter Paine, alderman, the occupier being ‘John Davenett, vintner, late Elizabeth Tatleton widow’. Davenant’s name does not occur again, but those of his son-in-law, Thomas Hallam, and of his daughter, Jane Hallam, appear in subsequent leases of 1638, 1658, and 1663. His name occurs, however, in a lease of 1669 of a tenement in All Saints’ parish, then belonging to Christ Church (Register 5, f. 364), now the western half of No. 7 High Street. Reference is there made to a ‘piece of voyd ground lying between the wall of the Crosse Inne Stables on the North side & the said stone wall heretofore built by one John Davenant on the South side’.

The name of the tavern in Davenant’s day is unknown. It is never actually called the Crown before 1675. In the lease of 1613 it is called ‘Tatleton’s house’, in others of 1658 and 1663 ‘the Salutation tavern’, and in 1675 ‘ye Salutation Tavern, now commonly called and known by ye name of ye Crown Tavern’, and in 1687 ‘ye Crowne Taverne late ye Salutation Taverne’. There is evidence to suggest that the name Salutation was only adopted in 1647, when Thomas Wood was licensed by the Mayor ‘to hang out & sett up the sign of the Salutation att his dwelling-house or Tavern in St. Martin’s fishe’, so that it may have been a temporary change during the Commonwealth. Since Thomas Wood was then using Jane Hallam’s wine-licence, presumably he was also at John Davenant’s tavern. On the other hand, from 1657 to 1663 Wood occupied another tavern in St. Mary’s parish, which, during his tenure at least, was called the Salutation; the change of name at Davenant’s house may therefore have been made merely to avoid possible confusion.

There is no reason to believe that the Crown Tavern occupied an area different from that of the present day. Its length would thus be about 120 feet, and its frontage on Cornmarket 22 feet, but its width apparently varied at different points along its length. In the seventeenth century, as in Loggan’s bird’s-eye view of the city in 1674-5, it seems to have consisted firstly of a building, facing Cornmarket Street,
The Crown Tavern at Oxford

with twin gables parallel to the street. This was followed by a series of buildings along the south side of the tenement, including one of three stories, and facing an open yard which abutted on the Cross Inn (now the Golden Cross) to the north. Finally, at the east end of the site was a stone wall across the site, with the row of buildings on the south side projecting slightly beyond it. Apparently very little, if anything, above ground is contemporaneous with Davenant, but the stone cellars may well be so. They run the whole length of the site, and consist of three divisions, a large timber-roofed chamber in front, followed by two smaller square chambers, and lastly a third long barrel-vaulted chamber with brick wine-bins of more recent date inserted.

E. T. Leeds.
APPENDIX A

JOHN AUBREY'S LIFE OF SHAKESPEARE, 1681 (see p. 63).

Mr. William Shakespear.

was borne at Stratford vpon Avon in the County of Warwick [:] his father was a Butcher, & I have been told heretofore by some of the neighbours, that when he was a boy he exercised his fathers Trade, but when he kill'd a Calfe, he would doe it in a high style, & make a Speech. There was at that time another Butchers son in this Towne, that was held not at all inferior to him for a naturall witt, his acquaintance & coetanean, but dyed young. This Wm. being inclined naturally to Poetry and acting, came to London I guesse about 18. and was an Actor at one of the Play-houses and did act exceedingly well: now B. Johnson was never a good Actor, but an excellent Instructor. He began early to make essayes at Dramatique Poetry, wch at that time was very lowe; and his Playes tooke well: He was a handsome well shap't man: very good company, and of a very readie and pleasant smooth Witt. The Humour of... the Constable in a Midsomer night's Dreame, he happened to take at *Grendon in Bucks wch is the roade from London to Stratford and there was living that Constable about 1642 when I first came to Oxoñ. Mr. Jos: Howe is of y't parish and knew him. Ben Johnson and he did gather Humours of men dayly where ever they came. One time as he was at the Tavern at Stratford super Avon, one Combes an old rich vsurer was to be buryed, he makes there this e-

* I think it was Midsomer night that he happened to lye there.
Appendix A

Ten in the Hundred the Devill allowes
But Combes will have twelve he sweares & vowes:
If any one askes who lies in this Tombe:
Hoh! quoth the Devill, 'Tis my John o' Combe.

He was wont to goe to his native Country once a yeare.
I think I have been told that he left 2 or 300\textsuperscript{h} per annum there and therabout: to a sister. I have heard Sr Wm Davenant and Mr Thomas Shadwell (who is counted v. his the best Comœdian we have now) say, that he had a most prodigious Witt, and did admire his naturall parts beyond all other Dramaticall writers. He was wont to say, that he never blotted out a line in his life: sayd Ben: B. Jonson Johnson, I wish he had blotted out a thousand. His Underwoods Comœdies will remaine witt, as long as the English tongue is understood; for that he handles mores hominum; now our present writers reflect so much upon particular persons, & coxcombeities, that 20 years hence, they will not be understood. Though as Ben: Johnson sayes of him, that he had but little Latine and lesse Greek, He from Mr ... understood Latine pretty well: for he had been in his younger yeares Schoolmaster in the Country.

APPENDIX B

A NOTE BY AUBREY ABOUT SHAKESPEARE (?)
(see p. 63).

The page exhibited is written upside down on the back of Aubrey’s draft Life of John Ogilby, and bears at least six notes, relating respectively to Fletcher, Ogilby, Shakespeare (?), Shakespeare, Ben Jonson, and Ogilby. A full description and discussion with photographs are in the Malone Society’s Collections, pts. 4 and 5 (1911), pp. 341-7, written by E. K. Chambers. The note con-
ceivably relates to Beeston, Fletcher, or Ogilby, as well as Shakespeare. Fletcher may be removed from the list, for the passage is cancelled in ink, showing that it had been made use of in a later draft, and the later draft of the Fletcher Life is extant and does not contain this note. The other claimants are less formidable. Of Beeston, Aubrey never attempted or intended a biography, and so a personal note of this kind would be out of place. From the note about Ogilby the present note is marked off by a horizontal line, just as the Ogilby note is from the Fletcher paragraph above it.

The facts, after a fuller consideration of them than I was able to make for Mr. E. K. Chambers (loco citato, p. 343), appear to be as follows.

The writing on MS. Aubrey 8, fol. 45, began with an untidy draft Life of Ogilby.

Aubrey sent leaves 45, 46, 47, all connected with Ogilby, to William Morgan, Ogilby's step-grandson. Morgan, possibly during an interview with John Lacy (who had been a pupil of Ogilby), wrote down hastily four pencil notes, two of which are on fol. 45*, one relating to Ogilby and one to Ben Jonson. Morgan, before returning the papers to Aubrey, inked over his four notes.

Aubrey next used the paper for scribbling a Fletcher memorandum and a Shakespeare memorandum, in the latter noting that Beeston, who 'lives in Shoreditch' (observe the present tense), might be able to tell him more about Shakespeare and about Ben Jonson. Aubrey, after hearing from Beeston, wrote the note in question, that Shakespeare 'lived' in Shoreditch and disliked riotous company. Unfortunately the later draft, in which this cancelled note was made use of, seems to have perished.

As a fact Hog Lane, if correctly placed on old maps, was much further from the liberty of Norton Folgate than six doors.
Appendix C

APPENDIX C

NOTICE OF A PERFORMANCE OF THE WINTER'S TALE, MAY 15, 1611 (see p. 55).

"In the Winters Talle at the glob 1611 the 15 of maye Wednesday.

Observe ther howe Lyontes the Kinge of Cicillia was overcom with Jelosy of his wife with the Kinge of Bohemia his friend that came to see him, and howe he contriued his death and wold haue had his cup berer to haue poisoned. who gaue the King of bohemia warning therof & fled with him to bohemia.

Remember also howe he sent to the Orakell of appollo & the annswer of apollo. that she was giltes and that the King was jelouse &c. and howe Except the child was found again that was loste the Kinge should die without issue. for the child was caried into bohemia & ther laid in a forrest & brought up by a sheppard and the Kinge of bohemia his sonn maried that wentch & howe they fled into Cicillia to Leontes. and the sheppard hauing showed the letter of the nobleman by whom Leontes sent a was that child and the jewells found about her. she was knowne to be leontes daughter and was then 16 yrs old.

Remember also the Rog that cam in all tottered like roll papri [sic] and howe he leynd him sicke & to haue bin Robbed of all that he had and howe he cosened the por man of all his money. and after cam to the shepsher with a pedlers packe & ther cosened them again of all their money. And howe he changed apparrell with the Kinge of bo[he]mia his sonn. and then howe he turned Courtier &c. 'beware of trustinge semed beggars or fawninge fellows.'

The passage here quoted occurs in a manuscript account by Simon Forman, a London quack doctor, of the plays he saw acted in 1611. The notices include one on Cymbeline (undated), and one on Macbeth. They are valuable as being the testimony of a person who saw these plays soon after they left the poet's
Appendix C

hands. None of them were printed till many years later, as the following table will show.

**The Winter's Tale.**
- Completed by Shakespeare: Autumn 1610
- Seen by Forman at the Globe: May 15th 1611
- Printed for the first time: 1623

**Cymbeline.**
- Completed by Shakespeare: Spring 1610
- Seen by Forman: [? 1610]
- Printed: 1623

**Macbeth.**
- Completed by Shakespeare: 1606
- Seen by Forman (a revival): 1610
- Printed: April 20th 1623

In his notice of *Macbeth*, Forman makes it clear that Macbeth and Banquo came on to the stage on horseback. He says, 'In Mackbeth... ther was to be obserued... howe Mackbeth and Bancko 2 noble men of Scotland ridinge thorowe a wod the[r] stode befor them 3 women feiries or Nymphes...'

APPENDIX D

LETTER FROM MR. WILLIAM HALL, AFTER VISITING STRATFORD, 1694 (see p. 60).

Dear Neddy,

I very greedily embraced this occasion of acquainting you with something I found at Stratford upon Avon. That place I came unto on Thursday night, and ye next day went to visit ye ashes of the Great Shakspear which lye interr'd in that Church. The verses which in his life-time he ordered to be cut upon his tomb-stone (for his Monument have others) are these which follow:

Reader, for Jesus's Sake forbear
To dig the dust enclosed here:
Blessed be he that spares these Stones,
And cursed be he that moves my bones.
The little learning these verses contain, would be very strong argument of ye want of it in the Author; did not they carry something in them which stands in need of a comment. There is in this Church a place which they call the bone-house, a repository for all bones they dig up; which are so many that they would load a great number of waggons. The Poet being willing to preserve his bones unmoved, lays a curse on him that moves them; and haveing to do with Clarks and Sextons, for ye most part a very ignorant sort of people, he descends to ye meanest of their capacities; and disrobes himself of that art, which none of his co-temporaries wore in greater perfection. Nor has the design mist of its effect; for lest they should not onely draw this curse upon themselfs, but also entail it upon their posterity, they have laid him full seven-teen foot deep, deep enough to secure him. And so much for Stratford...

Your friend and servant
Wm. Hall.

Direct your letter for Wm. Hall Junr. at ye White-hart in Lichfield.
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