

**'NEW-FOUND METHODS AND ... COMPOUNDS STRANGE':
READING THE 1640 'POEMS: WRITTEN BY WIL SHAKE-
SPEARE. GENT.'**

Faith Acker

**A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
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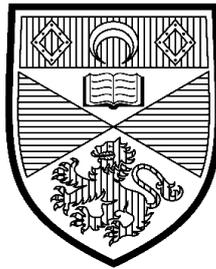
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‘New-found methods and . . . compounds strange’: Reading the 1640
Poems: Written by Wil. Shake-speare. Gent.

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University of
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Abstract

The second edition of Shakespeare's sonnets, titled *Poems: Written by Wil. Shake-Speare, Gent.*, and published by stationer John Benson in 1640, was a text typical of its time. In an effort to update the old-fashioned sonnet sequence in which its contents had first reached print, the compiler or editor of the Bensonian version rearranged the poems from the earlier quarto text, adding titles and other texts thought to have been written by or about the sonnets' author. The immediate reception of the 1640 *Poems* was a quiet one, but the volume's contents and structure served as the foundation for more than half of the editions of Shakespeare's sonnets produced in the eighteenth century. In part due to the textual instability created by the presence of two disparate arrangements of the collection, Shakespeare's sonnets served only as supplements to the preferred Shakespearean canon from 1709 to 1790. When, at the end of the century, the sonnets finally entered the canon in Edmond Malone's groundbreaking edition of the plays and poems together, Benson's version was quickly overshadowed by the earlier text, which was preferred as both more authorial and, due to Malone's careful critical readings, autobiographical. In contrast to the many scholars since Malone who have overlooked or denigrated the *Poems* of 1640, this thesis studies the second edition of Shakespeare's sonnets within the framework of the early modern culture that produced it, arguing that Benson's edition provides valuable evidence about the editorial habits and literary preferences of the individuals and culture for which it was originally intended.

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In memoriam

Patricia R. Eliason

Thomas W. Eliason

Virginia H. Eliason

et William Drazga (canus)

Aut epitaphia vestri facere vivam.

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Abbreviations

BL	British Library
CELM	Catalogue of English Literary Manuscripts 1450-1700
CUP	Cambridge University Press
EEBO	Early English Books Online
<i>ELH</i>	<i>English Literary History</i>
ESTC	English Short Title Catalogue
Folger	Folger Shakespeare Library
<i>Index</i>	Beal, Peter. <i>Index of English Literary Manuscripts</i> . Mansell: 1980.
LMA	London Metropolitan Archives
MRTS	Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies [Press].
MS/MSS	Manuscript/Manuscripts
NYPL	New York Public Library
OUP	Oxford University Press
<i>Poems</i>	<i>Poems, by Mr. Wil. Shake-Speare, Gent.</i> London: Benson, 1640.
<i>PPWP</i>	Edmond Malone, ed. <i>The Plays and Poems of William Shakspeare, in Ten Volumes</i> . London: Rivington, et al., 1790.
Rawl.	Rawlinson
<i>RES</i>	<i>The Review of English Studies</i>
SFR	Scholars' Facsimiles & Reprints [Press].
<i>SQ</i>	<i>Shakespeare Quarterly</i>
SR	Stationers' Registers
<i>SS</i>	<i>Shakespeare Survey</i>
UP	University Press
<i>Variorum</i>	Hyder Edward Rollins, ed. <i>A New Variorum Edition of Shakespeare: The Sonnets</i> . 2 vols. Philadelphia: 1944.

INTRODUCTION

‘Tis better to be vile than vile esteemed’ (121.1)¹

In May of 1609, an unassuming pamphlet was entered in the Stationers’ Register for London publisher Thomas Thorpe. After a short encounter with the printing presses of George Eld, Thorpe’s slim tome made its way into the stock of bookshops owned by William Aspley and John Wright, from whose shelves it might have been purchased by any number of early readers eager to update their poetical libraries with the work of a then-famous playwright whose dramas were earning praise on the stage and on the pages of pamphlets printed by Richard Field, Valentine Simmes, Thomas Creede, James Roberts, and many of their contemporaries. Despite all the import of its author’s name, Thorpe’s modest quarto, titled *Shake-speare’s Sonnets*, made its grand entrance on the Jacobean literary scene into what recent editor Katherine Duncan-Jones has described as a ‘resounding silence,’² and the pamphlet that posthumously became Thorpe’s greatest triumph was all but forgotten during his lifetime.

The many features, problems, failures, and irregularities of the ‘priceless gift’ Thorpe ‘gave to his own and succeeding generations’³ have been chronicled and debated by numerous scholars over the past four hundred years, and it is now generally accepted that Thorpe’s edition did not reach print under the direct oversight of its author and that the sonnets themselves were far less vendible in Jacobean London than were Shakespeare’s narrative poems and many of his

¹ References to Shakespeare’s sonnets, unless otherwise noted, refer to the Quarto of *Shakespeare’s Sonnets* (London: Thorpe, 1609).

² Katherine Duncan-Jones, ed. *Shakespeare’s Sonnets*, London: Nelson, 1997, 7.

³ Leona Rostenberg, *Literary, Political, Scientific, Religious & Legal Publishing, Printing & Bookselling in England, 1551-1700: Twelve Studies*, New York: Franklin, 1965, I.7.

dramatic works.⁴ Particular attention has been paid to the apparently incongruous lapse in time between the heyday of the sonnet sequence as a literary form—as popularised by collections and sequences such as *Astrophil and Stella* (1591), *Delia* (1592), *Diana* (1592), and *Amoretti* (1595)—and the delayed appearance of Shakespeare’s quarto edition. During the thirty years following the publication of the 1609 quarto, Shakespeare’s sonnets were read by at least twenty readers, each of whom has left behind evidence of an encounter with one or more of these poems, and by the late 1630s Shakespeare’s literary fame had reached so great a height that another stationer—this one an early-career bookseller—was prepared to finance another edition of Shakespeare’s poetical gems. John Benson’s *Poems: Written by Wil. Shake-speare* appeared in his London bookstall in 1640.

Poems was a little book; although an octavo, it was in 1657 mistaken for a duodecimo,⁵ and most extant editions—even hardbound—are about four inches by six inches around, and less than half an inch thick. Although the title page is consistent in every copy I have examined, some of the facing versos showcase a woodcut of Shakespeare clutching a laurel branch and a short poem praising his skills. In extant copies, the title page is consistently followed by a two-page address to the reader, signed by John Benson himself, and two poems in praise of

⁴ A simple comparison of the 1609 *Sonnets* with the printed editions of Shakespeare’s narrative poems demonstrates the unachieved potential of Thorpe’s quarto most effectively; while the sonnets were printed only once during Shakespeare’s lifetime, his narrative poems *Venus and Adonis* and *The Rape of Lucrece* were reprinted ten and five times, respectively, before 1616. Many of his plays, including *Henry IV Part I*, *King Lear*, *Richard II*, and *Richard III*, were also printed and reprinted before their joint appearance in the folio edition of the poet’s works. For further details, see in particular Hyder Edward Rollins, ed., *A New Variorum Edition of Shakespeare: The Poems*, New York: Lippincott, 1938; David Scott Kastan, *Shakespeare and the Book*, CUP, 2001, and Colin Burrow, ed. *The Complete Sonnets and Poems*, OUP, 2002.

⁵ See William London, *Catalogue of the Most Vendible Books in England*, London: 1657 (and 1658).

Shakespeare, attributed to Leonard Digges and John Warren. After a second title page, the poetry begins in earnest, with a conflated text of forty-two lines titled ‘The glory of beautie.’ The poems in the first section of the volume are printed in upright roman type, with titles and the running headers of the volume in italics. As the book includes the majority of Shakespeare’s sonnets, most of its poems are fourteen lines or some multiple thereof, but a few pieces, such as ‘The unconstant Lover’ and ‘A Duell’ are clearly not based on poems in the sonnet form.⁶ The sonnet excerpts fade out midway through the volume, supplanted by longer poems such as *A Lover’s Complaint* and some long classical translations by Thomas Heywood (but attributed to Shakespeare in *The Passionate Pilgrim*). Signatures K8 and L (recto and verso in both instances) contain three poems in praise of Shakespeare (and the bold announcement ‘FINIS’), and the rest of the volume consists solely of ‘An Addition of some Excellent Poems, to those Precedent, of Renowned *Shakespeare*, By other Gentlemen,’⁷ some of whom are indicated by attributive initials.

The running headers in most extant editions contain variations on the word ‘Poems,’ and the scattered arrangement of non-sonnets within the volume suggests that the contents were arranged with attention to format as well as the thematic connections between specific verses.⁸ As the poem ‘Vnanimitie’ on sig. C3[r] demonstrates, the volume is perfectly sized to fit one header and two sonnets to a

⁶ See sigs. [B5v] and [C6v], respectively. Other non-sonnet poems appear on sigs. C[r], C3[v] and C4[r], [C7r] to [C8v], [D5v] to [D6v], F3[v], [F7r] to [F8v], and from signature G to the end of the volume.

⁷ Sig. L2r.

⁸ In many instances, as will be evinced by the foliation set forth above, the poems in non-sonnet forms are placed at the end of quires, perhaps to fill out a specific amount of space before the beginning of a new group of sonnets at the beginning of the subsequent quire, or, as with the pieces on C[r] and F3[v], to fill out an unusual amount of space at the bottom of a page. This is not the case on C3[v], where the non-sonnet is printed primarily on this verso, with two lines on the facing recto (C4).

page, yet the paucity of sonnets conflated in pairs means that most groups of poems begin and end in the middle of pages. Occasionally a couplet or quatrain runs over to the following page, but only rarely, and one of the stationers involved in the production of the finished book clearly took care to ensure that these lines were always kept in groups of two or another even number. As with the 1609 *Sonnets* and most of Benson's other early publications, *Poems* was not popular enough to warrant a second edition, but the revisions made to *Sonnets* before *Poems* was set and inked suggest that Benson had a keen understanding of the readers to whom he subsequently marketed and sold this book, and the text of *Poems* draws upon and imitates a number of early modern scribal and printing practices that were used by dozens of scribes, manuscript compilers, and stationers throughout the early seventeenth century and beyond.

The format of Benson's *Poems* highlighted the elite literary skills of poet William Shakespeare, then best known for his dramatic works and longer poems,⁹ and provided a text that not only allowed readers of Shakespeare's sonnets to

⁹ While Shakespeare's *Venus and Adonis* and *The Rape of Lucrece* were also well known and often reprinted in early modern Britain, the sheer quantity of his plays, and their frequent appearances on stage, in pamphlets, and as part of the larger Folios alike, would have made Shakespeare's dramatic works accessible to a wider range of early modern men and women than those works—sonnets and otherwise—presented only in print. Peter Stallybrass and Roger Chartier note, in 'Reading and Authorship: The Circulation of Shakespeare 1590-1619' (Andrew Murphy, ed., *The Concise Companion to Shakespeare and the Text*, Oxford: Blackwell, 2007, 35-56) argue for the 'relative impact of Shakespeare's published poems as compared to his plays' (38), but Richard Dutton has recently suggested that Shakespeare's plays may have been less abundantly published than his poems because works that were particularly profitable for the players' companies were protected from piracy more rigorously (although he notes that it is difficult to apply this unequivocally because some unpublished plays may simply have been less marketable); see *Licensing, Censorship and Authorship in Early Modern England* (Houndmills: Palgrave, 2000), particularly page 95. Given the difficulty of comparing print runs and reprint rates to attendance at performances in the early modern period, it is only possible to establish that Shakespeare's long works, plays and dramatic poems alike, were far more widely disseminated than his sonnets.

appreciate and read these poems individually as well as corporately but formed the basis for most early eighteenth-century editions of Shakespeare's shorter pieces. Although *Poems* was not reprinted during Benson's lifetime, it served as the source text for more than a dozen editions of Shakespeare's sonnets printed in London, Edinburgh, Dublin, and eventually the United States during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Manuscript annotations in extant copies of both Benson's 1640 edition and many of its literary descendants suggest that readers of this carefully revised and titled sequence were interested in and intimately involved with the text of Shakespeare's sonnets. The purchasers of these editions also invested their hard-earned money in Benson-based editions with some degree of discrimination, as several editions of the sonnets based on Thomas Thorpe's earlier quarto publication also entered print at various times during the eighteenth century, creating both freedom of choice for buyers and a specific textual instability that would shape the sonnets' reception for nearly a century. The sonnets spent most of the eighteenth century in supplemental volumes excluded from the complete and carefully edited editions of Shakespeare's 'Works' compiled by editors such as George Steevens, who disliked the sonnets in any and every form and format available. Edward Capell and Edmond Malone, who disapproved of the 'rubbish' material used to supplement and complement Shakespeare's poems in Benson's edition, preferred the authenticity of Thorpe's version, published during Shakespeare's lifetime.¹⁰

By the end of the eighteenth century, the careful scholarship of a new body of editors, including Lewis Theobald, Edward Capell, and Edmond Malone, had forced a permanent shift in the attitudes and approaches used in scholarly editing, and the simple excellence of a method concerned with preferring authorial intentions

¹⁰ Trinity College Wren Library, Cambridge, Capell MS 5.

over aesthetic elegance had transformed the practice of editing from a matter of mere taste into one of research and collation.¹¹ Within a matter of decades, Thorpe's text became firmly entrenched within the Shakespearean canon, and Benson's aesthetic production was all but forgotten. Even where it was remembered, most often by a handful of zealous academics, it was harshly condemned for its 'falsifications of the text,'¹² 'inept headings,'¹³ 'mutilated' form,¹⁴ 'bowdlerized' poems,¹⁵ and other 'harm' done to the text of the sonnets by Benson.¹⁶ Benson, it has been argued, modified the text of *Poems* to conceal his piracy of Thorpe's text,¹⁷ to hide Shakespeare's latent and then-inappropriate same-sex attraction,¹⁸ or to

¹¹ For an elegant summary of seventeenth-century editorial practices in manuscript and print, see Sonia Massai, *Shakespeare and the Rise of the Editor* (CUP, 2007), particularly the introduction (1-38). The preface to Edmond Malone's 1790 edition of *The Plays and Poems of William Shakespeare* (London: Baldwin) sets forth a brief description of eighteenth-century editorial methods, particularly in its comments on past 'corruptions of the texts' as compared with his own 'careful collation of the oldest copies' (I.v) and following (see I.v-lvii). A more recent summary of eighteenth-century editorial practices and the rise of authorial editing appears in Marcus Walsh, *Shakespeare, Milton, an Eighteenth-Century Literary Editing: The Beginnings of Interpretive Scholarship* (CUP, 1997); see especially pages 5-29.

¹² J. M. Robertson, *The Problems of the Shakespeare Sonnets*, London: Routledge, 1926, 9.

¹³ Lord Alfred Douglas, *The True History of Shakespeare's Sonnets*, London: Secker, 1933, 12.

¹⁴ Frayne Williams, *Mr. Shakespeare of the Globe*, New York: Dutton, 1941, 218.

¹⁵ Colin Burrow, 'Life and Work in Shakespeare's Poems,' Stephen Orgel and Sean Keilen, eds., *Shakespeare: The Critical Complex: Shakespeare's Poems*, New York: Garland, 1999, 4.

¹⁶ Duncan-Jones *Sonnets* xv.

¹⁷ See, among many others, J. Dover Wilson, *Shakespeare's Sonnets: An Introduction for Historians and Others*, Cambridge, 1963, 10-13; Paul Edmondson and Stanley Wells, *Shakespeare's Sonnets*, OUP: 2004, 118; Carl D. Atkins 'The Importance of Compositorial Error and Variation to the Emendation of Shakespeare's Texts: A Bibliographic Analysis of Benson's 1640 Text of Shakespeare's *Sonnets*,' *Studies in Philology* 104.3 (Summer 2007), 307.

¹⁸ See in particular Paul Hammond, 'Friends or Lovers? Sensitivity to Homosexual Implications in Adaptations of Shakespeare, 1640-1701' in Cedric C. Brown and Arthur Marotti, eds., *Texts and Cultural Change in Early Modern England*, Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1997, 225-247. Duncan-Jones similarly notes that 'There is little doubt that Benson set out at once to ingratiate and to mislead his readers,'

diminish the negative impact of Shakespeare's (also then-inappropriate) miscegenous affair.¹⁹ Under the weight of these and lesser accusations the 1640 *Poems* has been repeatedly disparaged, and its relevance to the fields of literary historicism and the study of the seventeenth-century book trade has been ignored.

Despite the critical condemnations heaped upon it in the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries alike, Benson's tiny octavo reflects the types of literary modifications that were made to Shakespeare's sonnets and countless other early poems in hundreds of contemporaneous manuscripts, demonstrating that changes such as those made during the transformation of *Sonnets* into *Poems* were not necessarily an act of concealment, but a reflection of current literary tastes and practices. That *Poems* also incorporates the types of revisions and adaptations found in printed poetical miscellanies and single-author collections published both before and after 1640 further illustrates not only the typicality of the text, but Benson's awareness of current tastes and early modern marketing methods. Finally, the variety of supplemental versions of *Poems* available to readers throughout the eighteenth century affords scholars of that period a clear example of the ways in which editorial theory was revised, amended, and applied to texts canonical and otherwise; the appearance of two disparate and diverse sonnet texts—Benson's and Thorpe's—upon the eighteenth-century publishing scene enabled Shakespeare's earliest editors, as they debated editorial theory, to transform, if slowly, Benson's supplemental and marketable collection of poems by a popular author into a canonical and even biographical component of Shakespeare's collected *Works*.

citing specifically the 'visible attempt . . . to suggest that the addressee is a woman' (*Sonnets* 42).

¹⁹ Margreta de Grazia argues in 'The Scandal of Shakespeare's Sonnets,' also in Orgel and Keilen's collection, that the social horror the Elizabethan or Jacobean public would have found in these sonnets would have been the fact that 'the mistress's *black* is the antithesis not just of fair but of *white*' (82).

Many readers today are introduced to the Rival Poet, Young Man, and Dark Lady of Shakespeare's sonnets even before they have read the original sequence itself, and this is primarily due to the work of Edmond Malone, whose decisive and influential reading of the story of Shakespeare's sonnets can be partly traced back to his frustration with the two early and rival texts of these poems, and his unambiguous preference of Thorpe's earlier version. Yet while the transformation of Shakespeare's sonnets into a sequence of dramatic and character-driven poems is an important moment in the story of Shakespeare's sonnets and their textual development, their earlier history—and the story of their transformation and earliest readers—is even more essential to a comprehensive understanding of the poems, their readers, and their survival.

PIRATE, PRESERVER, OR PUBLISHER? THOMAS THORPE AND THE 1609 QUARTO

Well before George Eld, Thomas Thorpe, William Aspley, and John Wright ever printed, financed, and sold *Shake-speare's Sonnets*, Shakespeare's contemporary Francis Meres had already offered at least some of these poems their first critical review, noting, in 1598, that 'the sweete wittie soule of Ovid lives in mellifluous & honytongued Shakespeare, witness his *Venus* and *Adonis*, his *Lucrece*, his sugred Sonnets among his private friends.'²⁰ In the following year,

²⁰ Francis Meres, 'Poetrie; Poets; and A Comparative Discourse of our English Poets, with the Greeke, Latine, and Italian Poets,' *Palladis Tamia. Wits Treasury*. London: Short, 1598 (281v-282). In his introduction to *The Sonnets: A Casebook*, Peter Jones has suggested that 'that the sonnets Meres alludes to 'need not be those we have and accept as Shakespeare's' (New York: Palgrave, 1977, 11).

sonnets 138 and 144 appeared in William Jaggard's 1599 *The Passionate Pilgrim*, an unauthorised text that—unlike both early editions of the sonnet corpus—was reprinted quickly and twice, if, perhaps, to Shakespeare's chagrin.²¹ Despite Katherine Duncan-Jones' suggestion that the sonnets in full—or, at least, a larger collection than that from *Pilgrim*—may have been first proposed for the press in 1599/1600,²² the full collection reached print only in the aforementioned quarto of 1609. This quarto was quite possibly purchased by Shakespeare's theatrical colleague Edward Alleyn,²³ and in 1613 the sonnets it contained were referenced by Leonard Digges, 'the stepson of Shakespeare's overseer.'²⁴ Beyond this, most of the early responses to Thorpe's text and its contents are found only in the several extant manuscripts containing one or more of the sonnets, mostly datable to the 1620s and 30s, and in the preface to the 1640 revision; most other critics of Thomas Thorpe

²¹ In his *Apology for Actors* (London: Okes, 1612), Thomas Heywood protested the inclusion of his poems in a collection attributed to Shakespeare, and noted that Shakespeare was 'much offended with M. Iaggard (that altogether unknowne to him) presumed to make so bold with his name' and 'to do himself right, hath published them [the sonnets] in his own name.' See sig [G4], recto and verso. Given the absence of Shakespeare's name from one version of the 1612 title page, Lukas Erne and several other critics have suggested that Heywood's assessment of Shakespeare's response was valid, and that 'Shakespeare may well have taken the matter further' (Erne, *Shakespeare as Literary Dramatist* [CUP, 2003], 1). See also Duncan-Jones *Sonnets* 3.

²² See Duncan-Jones *Sonnets* 4-6. It is generally agreed that the majority of Shakespeare's sonnets were written in the late sixteenth century (see, for instance, T. G. Tucker, *The Sonnets of Shakespeare: Edited from the Quarto of 1609*. CUP, 1924 [xxv], Claes Schaar's 1962 book on the same topic, or Duncan-Jones' own introduction). Whether Duncan-Jones' suggested edition provides a clue as to their delayed appearance in print is uncertain, and so many theories on this matter have been set forth—often in the context of the widely varied theories discussed in Chapter Three—that to add to the speculation seems fruitless.

²³ A note from Alleyn, reproduced in R. A. Foakes, ed. *Henslowe Papers* II, 'Manuscripts II,' item 12, notes the purchase of 'a book. Shaksper sonnets 5d,' after a list of 'Househowld Stuff.' Duncan-Jones, *Sonnets* 7, considers this 'almost certainly a forgery by John Payne Collier.'

²⁴ Kenneth Muir, *Shakespeare's Sonnets*, London: Allen & Unwin, 1982 (1979), 139.

began their analysis of his career—and his most famous publication—more than a century after his death.

Today, Thorpe is generally regarded as a stationer with an incomplete regard for literary ownership, and it is possible that much of the skepticism of his *Sonnets* is related to scholars' knowledge of his willingness to procure new texts by any means possible. After his apprenticeship to Richard Watkins, Thorpe 'was admitted as a freeman to the Stationers' Company on 4 Feb. 1593/94'²⁵ although there is little record of publications or activities in which he participated during the next six years. In a defense of the traditional view that Thorpe stole his copy for Shakespeare's sonnets and printed this text without permission, a number of early modern scholars have identified similar behavior at other times in Thorpe's career: Colin Burrow contends that Thorpe's very first effort 'to register a piece of copy . . . [was later] cancelled because the work was already registered to "Master Seaton."²⁶ Yet despite the doubtful provenance of 'Marlowe's unprinted translation of the first book of "Lucan"²⁷ and 'Thorpe's unlicensed printing of *The Odcombian Banquet*,²⁸ Brian Vickers has gone to great trouble to propose several alternative and non-piratical scenarios in which Thorpe might have been given his now infamous copy.²⁹ Thorpe has been greatly praised for the significant proportion of notable books published with his assistance: of Thorpe's forty known publications,

²⁵ Rostenberg I.50.

²⁶ Burrow 34. The work in question was a congratulatory poem to James I, and—had it not been cancelled—would have been printed, like the *Sonnets*, by George Eld.

²⁷ Sidney Lee *A Life of William Shakespeare*, London: Smith and Elder, 1898, 393.

²⁸ Burrow 35.

²⁹ Brian Vickers, *Shakespeare, A Lover's Complaint, and John Davies of Hereford*, CUP, 2007, 11-12. Vickers includes the caveat that 'Thorpe's record as a publisher . . . is not enough on its own to guarantee the authenticity of this work' (1). J. Dover Wilson has more recently suggested that the Dark Lady of the later sonnets was Thorpe's source (24).

Robert Giroux considers ‘twenty-six [to be] of enduring quality.’³⁰ Of particular interest are his numerous publications by Marston, Johnson, and Chapman; Leona Rostenberg suggests ‘that Thorpe was the literary agent, if not the tool, of this particular clique which sought to rival Shakespeare’³¹ and further argues that their acquaintance, with any accompanying ‘encouragement and patronage[,] may well have prompted the first complete publication of Shakespeare’s “sugred sonnets.”’³²

Barring a future discovery of Shakespeare’s sonnets in a manuscript clearly intended for Thorpe’s hands and Eld’s press, it is probably safe to assume that even the most rigorous scholars may never be able to prove the origins of and authorial opinion towards Thorpe’s *Sonnets*. Even the reception of this volume has been hotly contested: Frank Mathew, Kenneth Muir, and others have suggested that the volume was suppressed,³³ while Duncan-Jones views the good condition of extant copies as indicative that ‘the volume did not undergo the kind of enthusiastic thumbing that destroyed hundreds of early copies of Shakespeare’s earliest poem, *Venus and Adonis*.’³⁴ Whatever their provenance, and however craftily or legitimately obtained by Thomas Thorpe, the sonnets were transformed on the presses of George Eld from a quiet, intimate collection of (apparently) personalised love poems into a public sequence of widely applicable sonnets that readers and courtiers alike could read, enjoy, and adapt, and the sonnets, in one way or another, were indeed read and adapted by more than a dozen early individuals who saw fit to collect and revise poems from the collection to meet their own specific needs and designs.

³⁰ Robert Giroux, *The Book Known as Q: A Consideration of Shakespeare’s Sonnets*, London: Weidenfield and Nicolson, 1982, 158.

³¹ Rostenberg I.57. Vickers sees Thorpe’s publication of works by these authors as further indication of his potential piracy (8).

³² Rostenberg I.57.

³³ See Frank Mathew, *An Image of Shakespeare* (1922) 114, and Muir 6.

³⁴ Duncan-Jones 8.

Furthermore, whether they argue for Thorpe's piracy or his legitimate procurement of the text, or believe the sonnets suppressed or merely unpopular, most scholars of the early sonnets and their first publisher do agree that the 1609 quarto of the sonnets was neither widely bought nor widely read by Thorpe's intended audience. It is little wonder, then, that John Benson, in the year following Thorpe's death, may have seen an opportunity to turn a less-than-profitable text by a popular author into a book more in keeping with current trends and literary styles. How and why John Benson accomplished this is still a mystery, but the transformation of an outdated sonnet sequence into a popular single-author miscellany is clear and elegant, and the impact of the updated *Poems* lasted for more than a century after its publisher's death.

'MOST PROUD OF THAT WHICH [HE] COMPILE[D]' (78.9): JOHN
BENSON'S BOOKS

Little is known today about the early years of stationer John Benson. His name entered the written records of the Stationers' Company in 1624, when he was apprenticed to Thomas Lownes on the seventh of June; his apprenticeship was transferred to Robert Allott on December 20, 1627, and to Simon Waterson on April 7, 1630.³⁵ Benson was freed on the last day of June, 1631, and presumably completed his apprenticeship having gained a number of the skills necessary to

³⁵ D. F. McKenzie, *Stationers' Company Apprentices 1605-1640*, Charlottesville: Bibliographical Society of UVA, 1961, pp. 34, 92, and 95. McKenzie also lists a John Benson from Rismire bound to Godfrey Edmondson in 1630, but textual evidence and the very late date of this indenture suggest that the Rismire Benson is not the same man as the John Benson who eventually published Shakespeare's sonnets.

establish himself as a successful publisher and bookseller in early modern London.³⁶

There are few records of texts Lownes financed and sold during this period, although he may have been busy selling off old stock or volumes published by other stationers. Robert Allott's bookshop, which specialized in books of a religious nature, published a handful of new books around the time of Benson's indenture and Benson, during the years 1628-9, indubitably had access to Lewis Bayly's *The Practice of Pietie*, Bishop William Cowper's *Works*, John Frewens' exposition of the eleventh chapter of Romans, John Norden's *A Poore Mans Rest*, and *The Foundation of Christian Religion* by William Perkins. Of the five additional books that Allott published in 1630, Benson must have dealt with Robert Southwell's *St Peters Complainte [&] Mary Magdal Teares*, as he financed a reprint of the same text only six years later. Simon Waterson, who spent the earlier decades of his career publishing hundreds of books of high literary caliber, seems to have financed only a handful of new tomes during Benson's year at his shop, and may have been in the process of retiring after his successful career.³⁷ Although Waterson's bookshop at the sign of the Crown advertised at least eight new texts in 1630-1, many of these bore the name of Simon's son John. Nevertheless, during his years with the Watersons, Benson may have had an opportunity to handle sermons by Samuel Page, Christian exercises by Robert Parsons, an exposition of the Apostles' Creed

³⁶ McKenzie's *Apprentices 1605-1640* is clearly divided into two sections: one for stationers who were printers, and one for other stationers. Not one of Benson's three masters was a printer, and the title page of every extant text Benson published lists him not as the printer, but as the bookseller or, occasionally, the commissioner of the text.

³⁷ During his early years as a stationer, Waterson published hundreds of volumes containing works by such still-recognised authors as Samuel Daniel, Philip Sidney, and Ariosto; by the 1630s, many of the imprints directing bookbuyers to 'the signe of the Crowne in St Paul's Church-yard,' where Simon had kept his shop since the 1590s, bear the name of Simon's son John.

by William Perkins, Arthur Dent's *The Ruins of Rome*, Michael Drayton's *Muses Elizium*, and plays by Philip Massinger and Sir William D'Avenant.

After the quiet uncertainty surrounding Benson's years as an apprentice, his years as a full stationer are less obscure, albeit only slightly so. The loan book of the Stationers' Company records that he borrowed fifty pounds from the Stationers' Company on two separate occasions, in April 1634 and again in August 1637, and repaid the sum both times.³⁸ Within a year of his first loan, he had set up a bookshop in St. Dunstan's Churchyard in Fleet Street, and had published Joseph Rutter's drama, *The Shepherds Holy Day* (1635). He followed this text with some other dramatic and poetical works, including, significantly, a reprint of Robert Southwell's *St Peters Complainte [&] Mary Magdal Teares*, and, of course, even more significantly, his infamous edition of Shakespeare's sonnets. In 1639 he gained an apprentice, John Playford, who would become his business partner in the 1650s. As was typical for many stationers during the early 1640s, many of Benson's early and now-extant publications were religious and political in nature, and it may have been his convictions on certain religious and political matters that caused his Royalist, Protestant contemporary David Lloyd to describe him, posthumously, as 'an honest bookseller in Fleet-street.'³⁹ Every book published by Benson in 1647 directs would-be buyers to a shop in Chancery Lane, but from 1648 until the end of his career, in or around 1661, he appears to have returned to St. Dunstan's

³⁸ W. Craig Ferguson, *The Loan Book of the Stationers' Company with a List of Transactions 1592-1692*, London: Bibliographical Society, 1989, 12.

³⁹ David Lloyd, *Memoires of the Lives, Actions, Sufferings & Deaths of those Noble, Reverend, and Excellent Personages that Suffered by Death, Sequestration, Decimation, Or Otherwise for the Protestant Religion, And the Great Principle Thereof, Allegiance to Their Sovereigne, In our late Intestine Wars* (London: Speed, 1668), 564. Lloyd's mention of Benson comes in a paragraph describing the death of Mr. Daniel Kniveton, at whose deathbed Benson apparently sat.

Churchyard.⁴⁰ His later publications, often financed and copyrighted in partnership with John Playford, are occasionally political and frequently musical in nature, and the last extant text with his name on the title page was the legal treatise *The Compleat Lawyer*, published in 1661. Beyond this, little is known of his life: his remains are primarily literary, and his biography mostly written between the lines of prefaces and colophons.

St Peters Complainte [&] Mary Magdal Teares, one of Benson's earliest publications, is also one of his most fascinating productions. The 1636 edition, with a woodcut title page almost identical to the earlier title page used by Benson's former master, reached bookshops, conveniently, one year after Allott's death.⁴¹ The contents of Benson's text reflect a few subtle and select modifications. Benson's compositor has adapted Allott's text into this new and improved edition, modifying the spelling, punctuation, and capitalisation from that found in the 1630 text, and such changes are frequent and common enough to assure anyone examining the two texts that they are indeed from two separate printings. Nevertheless, Benson's text is entirely reliant on its predecessor; the pagination is consistent in both editions throughout the poetical contents of the *Complainte*, and differs only slightly on pages containing prose pieces. In addition, the Benson edition faithfully reprints the poem titles found in the earlier edition, occasionally with updated spelling or

⁴⁰ EEBO contains a surprisingly sparse number of books to be sold by Benson in either Fleet Street (4) or St. Dunstan's Churchyard (6) for the year 1647, but the reason for this paucity is currently unclear.

⁴¹ It is worth noting that both the ESTC and EEBO list the printer of this text as 'E. Benson.' Although the italicised inscription, in an irregular italic script, does bear some similarity to the letter 'E,' it also looks remarkably like a heavily serifed letter 'I' followed by a small dot (not unlike those after the words Mary and Magdal in the codex's title), perhaps to indicate an abbreviation. As Plomer lists no other stationers named Benson working in London during the time period in question, and given Benson's relationship to Allott, it is far simpler to read the letter in question as, in fact, an 'I.'

alternate capitalisation, but otherwise following his source text verbatim.

Intriguingly, too, the titles in *Complainte*, although primarily religious in nature and not initiated by Benson, bear a striking similarity to those that would later appear in the 1640 *Poems, Written by Wil. Shakespeare, Gent.*, both in font style and in tone. While this certainly does not mean that Benson or his compiler created the titles for *Poems* based upon those in *Complainte*, it does mean that Benson, by the time he published *Poems*, was familiar with the use of similar literary titles, such as the *Complainte*'s 'Losse in delayes' or 'Loves servile lot,' and would have found the sort of titles used in *Poems*, including 'Losse and gaine' or 'Loves powerfull subtilty' both familiar and appropriate.⁴²

Despite the similarities between *Poems* and the *Complainte*, it is worth noting that the arrangement of and revisions to Shakespeare's sonnets in Benson's edition thereof, while (as this thesis endeavours to demonstrate) typical for their time, are not particularly typical for books published by John Benson. The vast majority of Benson's publications can be divided into four main categories: literary works, including dramas and various poetical miscellanies; legal and political texts, which were particularly common in the middle of his publishing career when England's politics were at their most divisive; religious works of many kinds; and, at the end of his career, music books.⁴³ Most of the literary texts appeared early in his career: Rutter's dramatic *The Shepherds Holy Day* was joined by Fletcher's *The*

⁴² See Robert Southwell, *St Peters Complainte Mary Magdal Teares. Wth Other Workes of the Author* (London: Benson, 1636). The titles noted here appear on signaturess E4, E5, and F4[v] and although stylistically similar to many titles in *Poems*, collectively reflect a religious tone entirely absent from titles in the later Shakespearean collection. In the *Moeoniae* section of the *Complainte*, titles such as 'Her Nativitie' (sig. [G10v]) and 'S. Peters remorse' (sig. I[1r]) are included in a large italic font that bears a strong typographic resemblance to that later used in *Poems*.

⁴³ A list of Benson's known publications, as well as additional works entered into the Stationers' Register under his name, can be found in Appendix I.

Elder Brother (1637) and Webster's *The Dutchesse of Malfy* (1640) and Benson's poetical publications included, in addition to Southwell's *Complainte* and Shakespeare's sonnets, works by Ben Jonson and Francis Quarles. Most of Benson's literary publications seem to have been first editions, but the second version of the *Complainte*, as noted above, was edited and reprinted with great care and attention to the original text; neither the revisions to Southwell's text nor the general approaches to Benson's other literary publications suggest that Benson was his own editor (although he may have taken a special interest in the preparation of certain volumes). Based on the dissimilarities between each of Benson's dramatic and poetical publications, it is likely that he obtained many of these texts in copies that would transition quickly and easily into print, emending as necessary, and possibly with the help of compositors or editors.

As with the *Complainte*, Benson's edition of Quarles is a heavily religious work, titled *Hosanna, or Divine Poems on the Passion of Christ* (1647). Quarles' dozens of earlier publications had already firmly established him as a renowned and marketable religious poet in early modern England, and it is unsurprising that his texts appealed to Benson on these accounts; the Royalist undertones in some of his poems may have further inspired Benson to invest in the text.⁴⁴ *Hosanna* is shorter than *Poems*, and more overt in its religious and political sympathies; it also, as Benson's last literary text still extant, marks a distinct shift in the contents and tone of Benson's publications as a whole. By 1647, his publications were almost entirely

⁴⁴ During the early 1640s, several political texts by Quarles also appeared in print, suggesting strong Cavalier sympathies. These sympathies are most explicit in poems such as that titled 'The Sunne was in a Totall Eclips,' (*Hosanna* C4v), which repeatedly refers to Charles as 'Great' and even compares him to the 'King of Kings' and 'God of Nature' (lines 3 and 7). The references to princes and crowns in other poems from this collection offer a subtler approach to the political problems at hand.

political or religious in nature, and the simple fact that his last literary dabbling seems to have been political and religious as well as poetical suggests Benson's growing preference for texts promoting works of religious and political significance over the many more frivolous pieces of his early career. Even Benson's earlier Jonson text, *Ben Jonson's Execration against Vulcan* (1640) contains numerous Royalist poems, suggesting that his interest in furthering political and religious controversies lasted for nearly as long as did his publishing career. Jonson's *Execration* is fascinating on two points: first, it contains Jonson's poem 'His Mistress Drawne,' which had appeared, only a few weeks previously, among the supplemental poems added to the end of Shakespeare's *Poems*.⁴⁵ As a second and perhaps more intriguing point, the title page of the *Execration against Vulcan* first mentions Jonson's less controversial poem of that title, then subtly hints at the 'Epigrams . . . to severall Noble Personages in This Kingdome'⁴⁶ that appear in the final pages of Benson's collection. Although the epigrams are primarily Royalist, and sometimes very vehemently so, the subtlety of Benson's marketing here suggests that the volume's title page was crafted by an astute—and politically cautious—publisher. Rather than revealing the political proclivities of the included texts, Benson keeps the title page vague, promising only 'Epigrams' to unspecified 'Noble Personages,' presumably because a mention of nobility often increased the

⁴⁵ According to the Stationers' Register, Benson applied for the copyright of *Poems* in early November 1639, and for the copyright for *Vulcan* in mid-December. See Edward Arber's *Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London, 1554-1640* (London: 1875-1894), IV.493 and IV.487.

⁴⁶ Ben Jonson, *Ben. Jonson's Execration against Vulcan*, London: Benson, 1640, title page.

vendibility of early modern books.⁴⁷ A similar tactic is evident on the title page of *Poems*, published almost simultaneously with the *Execration*.

Benson's attentiveness to popular and marketable features of early modern texts is apparent from his religious texts as well as his political ones. From his early *Complainte* and various tracts and sermons to the heavier and often politically-laden prose he published near the end of his career, Benson unarguably presents a wide range of moral and religious texts. Some of Benson's publications, such as William Strong's *The Vengeance of the Temple* (1648), blend spirituality with politics,⁴⁸ and even in the less politically charged Christian texts Benson published and sold, the religious debates that lay beneath much of the period's political dissention are still evident, as with Thomas Neesham's *A Sermon Preached at the Funerall of the Honourable Sir Francis Vincent* (1642) or even Thomas Riley's devout *A Triall of Conscience*, both of which mention issues of political debate, albeit briefly, in devoutly Christian texts.

Indubitably, Benson's repeated willingness to publish politically divisive texts must have been part of what motivated modern scholar David Baker to consider the 1640 *Poems* as a Cavalier text, and particularly one that, even if not explicitly intended to support or appeal to the Royalists, nonetheless could be read

⁴⁷ Zachary Lesser, in *Renaissance Drama and the Politics of Publication: Readings in the English Book Trade* (CUP, 2004), explores many 'techniques of presentation and marketing [publishers developed] to ensure that their imagined customers became real ones' (21), as well as the importance of considering the interests and preferences of their customers (35).

⁴⁸ Strong's sermon, an overt celebration of 'a Victory obtained by the Forces under the Command of Colonel Horton' (title page), places the victory it celebrates into a spiritual setting: 'the warfare of the Church' (1). While encouraging his audience to strive for grace and joy (3), and to live lives of prayer (4), as well as other Christian virtues, Strong's sermon clearly places the civil wars of divided Britain into the realm of spiritual battles, arguing that 'They that are the Churches enemies are Gods enemies, whether they bee within or without the Church' (11).

and interpreted in that manner.⁴⁹ Yet where the subtle political implications of *Poems* and, perhaps, *The Dutchesse of Malfy* leave a great deal to debate, the Royalist poems in *Execration* and the overtly Cavalier sentiments expressed in Charles Cornwallis' *A Discourse of the Most Illustrious Prince, Henry, Late Prince of Wales* (1641) or *His Maiesties Declaration to all his Loving Subjects* (1642) place Benson's bookshop firmly in the middle of the political controversies of early modern London. Benson's earlier publications, if political, are quietly so, but his bookshop must have held increasingly controversial material from 1640 onwards, and by 1642 the vast majority of books bearing Benson's imprint were explicitly political, although not solely Royalist, in nature. Among his most definitive political texts are George Joyce's *A Vindication of His Majesty and the Army* (1647) and *A True Narrative Concerning the Armies Preservation of the Kings Majesties Person* (1647), neither of which could be read as anything but Royalist, yet Benson also published Thomas Twiss' *An Elegy upon the Unhappy Losse of the Noble Earle of Essex* (1646), which celebrates the virtue and valour of that leader of the Parliamentary army, and William Strong's *Hemera Apokalypseos* (1645), a sermon delivered to the House of Commons in December of that same year.⁵⁰ Whether his bipartisanship was a clever form of marketing or merely a means of avoiding the censure of public authorities, Benson appears to have escaped the political wrath of

⁴⁹ David Baker, 'Cavalier Shakespeare: The 1640 *Poems* of John Benson,' *Studies in Philology* 95.2 (1998), 152-178.

⁵⁰ Strong's sermon is, in many ways, nonpartisan; in his preface, he both mentions his prayers for the members of parliament to whom his sermon is addressed (A4r), and reminds them that 'God will bring thee to judgment' (A3v). These prayers and admonitions could be read both as the simple spiritual support of a godly man, or as a subtler political injunction that the members of parliament be wary of eternal judgment should they lead their people badly.

the Parliament, while his former apprentice and later partner John Playford was named on a warrant in 1649 for his role in publishing similar Cavalier tracts.⁵¹ From 1642 until the end of that decade, Benson published only a handful of texts that were not either legal treatises or explicitly political tracts,⁵² and between 1643 and the very end 1646 he published little to nothing in any genre, if the complete absence of any extant editions bearing his name is any indication. It is likely that his absence from printing in general, and his overarching avoidance of nonpolitical texts in the later part of the decade, contributed to the fact that his editions of poetry, including the sonnets of Shakespeare, were never reprinted. By the 1650s, Benson's interest in politics had become less overt: legal treatises were preferred over the more controversial Royalist texts, and the great majority of texts printed under his sponsorship were musical miscellanies, including *A Musical Banquet* (1651), *Musick and Mirth* (1651), *A Book of New Lessons for the Cithern and Glittern* (1652), and *Catch that Catch Can* (1652, 1658). Most of these were printed for Benson and Playford jointly, and Playford himself is the composer for two of these collections.⁵³ In fact, with the exception of a few legal texts reprinted in 1659-61, it

⁵¹ The warrant, made out to Edward Dendy on November 19, 1649, names 'Peter Cole, Fras. Tyton, and Jno. Playford, printers, for printing a book entitled "King Charles's Trial, &c.,"' (*The Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1649-1650*, London: Longman, 1875, 555). I am indebted to John Barnard's *London Publishing 1640-1660 Crisis, Continuity, and Innovation*, Book History IV.1-16, Penn State UP, for pointing out this reference.

⁵² His exceptions are Thomas Neesham's sermon on Sir Francis Vincent (1642), William Strong's *Hemera Apokalypseos* (1645), astronomical texts by Noel Duret (1647), and Quarles' poems.

⁵³ Playford's *English Dancing Master* is listed by Kathryn Pierce in *The Coronation Music of Charles II* (MA Thesis, Bowling Green State University, 2007) as a source for Charles' coronation music, suggesting that his joint interests in politics and music found a happy companionship in the Restoration.

is these musical volumes that conclude Benson's career as a publisher, and allow him to fade gently into obscurity until his death in January 1666/7.⁵⁴

'FOR THEY IN THEE A THOUSAND ERRORS NOTE' (141.2): THE
HARSHEST CRITICS OF THE PAGE

Aside from the comments of Smyth and Lloyd, it appears that 'honest' Mr. Benson was more or less forgotten in the decades immediately following his death. Many of the books he procured for print and financed into bookstalls still survive on the shelves of libraries around the world, yet his literary legacy has been subsumed by later critics' relentless desire to condemn his then-vendible revisions to incomparable Shakespeare's sonnets. The compiler of *Poems*, perhaps following directives issued by Benson, reordered and regrouped the sonnets found in Thorpe's quarto, added titles, changed the persons and genders of a few pronouns in a handful of sonnets, omitted eight poems found in the earlier numbered sequence, and supplemented the volume with several texts by Shakespeare's contemporaries, including non-Shakespearean passages on the poet's literary prowess and several pieces attributed to Shakespeare in other early modern texts but written, in fact, by Shakespeare's contemporaries. For these editorial sins, Benson's literary legacy was first criticised for its supplemental 'rubbish' and complete lack of 'authority or

⁵⁴ Richard Smyth, in *The Obituary of Richard Smyth, Secondary of the Poultry Compter, London: Being a Catalogue of All Such Persons as He Knew in Their Life: Extending from A.D. 1627 to A.D. 1674* (ed. Sir Henry Ellis, K. H., London: Camden Society, 1849), notes beside the date January 23 that 'Mr. Benson, bookseller in Chancery Lane, died' (73).

value;⁵⁵ and its publisher and editor alike have been more recently condemned for ‘disguis[ing their] wholesale borrowing from Thorpe’s collection,⁵⁶ ‘allow[ing] so many egregious blunders of [their] own to pass the press in corruption of Thorpe,⁵⁷ and ‘set[ting] out at once to ingratiate and to mislead [their] readers.’⁵⁸ Many of Benson’s recent critics, fascinated by the hesitation with which many eighteenth century readers greeted Malone’s introduction of the characters addressed within Shakespeare’s sonnets,⁵⁹ have viewed Benson’s edition as an attempt to conceal Shakespeare’s overt affection for another man.⁶⁰ Margareta de Grazia has recently suggested that the ‘scandal’ concealed by Benson’s edition was not Shakespeare’s homosexuality but his miscegeny,⁶¹ and Sasha Roberts and T. G. Tucker have found similar indications that the Bensonian rearrangement ‘doesn’t only make the Fair Youth sonnets look like heterosexual love poems but diminishes the narrative of a deceptive, predatory and promiscuous woman developed by the Dark Lady sequence.’⁶² What all these critics agree upon, however, is that Benson, in publishing *Poems*, had something to hide, whether this was his questionable procurement of another stationer’s text or Shakespeare’s deviant sexuality as expressed within the original sonnet sequence.

⁵⁵ Malone, *PPWP*, X.93.

⁵⁶ Wilson 10.

⁵⁷ Tucker xxviii.

⁵⁸ Duncan-Jones 42.

⁵⁹ See de Grazia, ‘Scandal,’ especially pages 67-69, for an excellent summary of the eighteenth-century homophobic response to Malone’s edition.

⁶⁰ Stephen Spender, Martin Seymour-Smith, W. H. Hadow, and Robert Giroux are only a few of the numerous scholars who have explored in detail the homosexual elements of the sonnets and Shakespeare’s intentions when composing these controversial texts.

⁶¹ See de Grazia ‘Scandal’ 82, or footnote 13.

⁶² Sasha Roberts, *Reading Shakespeare’s Poems in Early Modern England*, New York: Palgrave, 2003, 165. See also Tucker, xv.

The transformation of Shakespeare's sonnets from the possibly purloined sequence of Thorpe into the greatly rearranged collection of Benson is only a small part of the story of their reception. By the eighteenth century, these two texts competed for the attention of early editors and early readers, throwing the poems as an entity into a period of extreme textual instability. The form Shakespeare's sonnets should take was unclear, and the sonnets themselves existed on the periphery of the Shakespearean canon in volumes intended to supplement, rather than complete, Shakespeare's 'Works,' a corpus comprised solely of his dramas. By the end of the eighteenth century, when Edmond Malone included the sonnets for the first time in his definitively titled *Plays and Poems of William Shakespeare*, his authorial method of editing had firmly established the earliest sonnet edition, that published by Thorpe, as the definitive—and perhaps only—text of Shakespeare's sonnets. The procedures and approaches of Malone and his editorial contemporaries laid the groundwork for numerous schools of editorial practice still used today, and within the scope of most of these, Benson's text is simply an irrelevant outlier, if not something to condemn in light of the authorially and culturally grounded forms of literary criticism that have been in vogue, to some degree, since the eighteenth century. At the same time, Malone's approach to the text was that of a man steeped in the traditions of Shakespeare's character-driven dramatic works, actively seeking information to flesh out his biography of Shakespeare, and in the process of preparing the sonnets for print and compiling information on Shakespeare's life in Stratford and London. Due in great part to these additional interests, Malone easily identified many parallels between events alluded to in Shakespeare's sonnets and the historical events that were shaping Shakespeare's world at the time of their composition. This character-based and biographical reading of the sonnets has

shaped modern receptions of the text in a manner so effective that even modern scholars of the sonnets have been unable to distance themselves from the critical directives and impositions introduced by Malone more than two hundred years ago, more than a hundred years after the sonnets' author and first two publishers had long since passed away.

The most common form of the sonnets as printed today follows the sequence established by Thorpe and revived by Malone in 1780. The resulting editions and readings often provide many useful observations into Elizabethan literary culture and the story of the sonnets as explored by scholars interested in authorial and autobiographical interpretations of the text, but to read the quarto sequence exclusively and in isolation is to restrict our overall comprehension of the sonnets and their earliest literary surroundings. Whatever the flaws and failures of the poems' earliest editors and printers, there is much to be understood about the mindsets and cultures of the sonnets' readers—from 1609 to today—by exploring the readings and interpretations suggested by Benson's titles as well as the numerous and more recent sequences and accompanying stories suggested by Charles Knight (1841), Robert Cartwright (1859), Gerald Massey (1888), Samuel Butler (1899), Parke Godwin (1900), Charlotte Stopes (1904), C. M. Walsh (1908), Arthur Acheson (1922), Denis Bray (1938), Brents Stirling (1968) John Padel (1981), A. D. Wraight (1995), and S. C. Campbell (2009), among others. Yet where Stirling and Padel sort the sonnets into groups of similarly themed poems, Butler, Godwin, Campbell, and most of the others created new and revised sequences, each of which—their editors promised—would reveal the true story behind Shakespeare's sonnets. All of these revisers and a few of their critics are willing to challenge the verity of Thorpe's sequence, yet only a few scholars, including the formidable

researchers Edward Dowden and James Orchard Halliwell-Phillips, have consistently challenged the eighteenth-century suggestion that Shakespeare's sonnets, like his plays and like his all-too-desirable biography, can be read as a narrative sequence. Similarly, Don Paterson, whose recent *Reading Shakespeare's Sonnets: A New Commentary* attempts to approach the poems untainted by secondary criticism, still loses the merits of his 'direct reading' by dividing the sonnets into the traditional three sections and anticipating the Malone-inspired presence of the Young Man and Dark Lady even in sonnets whose pronouns are indefinite.⁶³ Helen Vendler has recently asserted in *The Art of Shakespeare's Sonnets* that Margareta de Grazia's '*Shakespeare Verbatim* has cleared away the early editorial contextualizing of the *Sonnets* by Benson, Malone, and others; the construction of a "story" behind the sequence has been rebuked by critics pointing out how few of the sonnets include gendered pronouns; and the new purity of anti-intentional criticism . . . is salutary as a defense against the search for biographical origins of the *Sonnets*.'⁶⁴ Despite this claim, the arguments of de Grazia, Roberts, Stanley Wells, and a handful of others have been far less persuasive than Vendler suggested—or hoped—in 1997. The Fair Youth, the Dark Lady, and the sexual angst of their poet have been imposed upon readings of the sonnets for centuries, and these conceits will not disappear merely because some twenty-first century critics have challenged their eighteenth-century origins.

Many past and current scholars, using the apparatus and precedents established by Malone, have used the sonnets as source material on Shakespeare's

⁶³ London: Faber, 2010. This quotation and the full description of a 'direct reading' appear on page xv, but Paterson's entire introduction, and in particular his assumptions about the sonnets' autobiographical elements, serves as a useful example of the problems inherent in most modern approaches to the sonnets.

⁶⁴ Helen Vendler, *The Art of Shakespeare's Sonnets*, HUP, 1997, 14.

sexual proclivities, as well as his biography as a whole. Despite the merits and benefits of these approaches, it is also important to understand Shakespeare's poems within their earliest cultural contexts, in an age in which variations and personal preferences routinely took precedence over authorial intentions. Distanced from authorial-based textual criticism, and viewed as unique texts that differ structurally from their author's narrative- and character-driven dramatic works, Shakespeare's poems, as evidenced by the 1640 text, can also be understood as a collection of poems on popular early modern themes and topics rather than as a carefully scripted sequence. Because Thorpe's acquisition of the original text remains a mystery, scholars have focused more on the authenticity of the text than on the approach Thorpe or someone in his employ may have taken in preparing the text for print. Thorpe, like every stationer of his time, would have been acutely aware of current literary trends and effective marketing methods, and it is even, if only wildly, possible that the sequence in which most individuals read these poems today was imposed on the sonnets in the printshop in an effort to make the sonnets appear more like the popular sequence by Sir Philip Sidney which had inspired the sonnet craze of the 1590s. Although Shakespeare's sonnets did not reignite the popularity of sonnets and sonnet sequences as a genre, the entire volume published by Thorpe is formatted in the same irregular style used for the earlier, unauthorised, and intimate text of Sidney's sonnet sequence *Astrophil and Stella*.⁶⁵ Regardless of the suggestion of unauthorial origins that this layout may have implied, such a similarity to the earlier volume must also have brought to readers' minds a remembrance of the elegant and personal poems of Sidney's sequence. Similarly, Benson's *Poems*,

⁶⁵ Colin Burrow has noted the similarity between the sonnets that 'stagger across pages, their form broken by the printed page' in both Thorpe's *Sonnets* and Sidney's *Astrophil and Stella*. See 'Life and Work,' 27.

published thirty-one years after Thorpe's quarto, reflects a number of popular seventeenth-century literary trends and conventions and demonstrates not Benson's desire to conceal a great literary (or deplorable sexual) sin, but his attentiveness to his customers and their tastes. Benson's edition may not reveal new data about Shakespeare's life story, or even any aspect of Shakespeare's work, but it is nevertheless a valuable relic of early modern literary culture, and reveals a great deal about early modern publishing and marketing, as well as one publisher's understanding of Carolinean England's literary culture at large.

As I will explore in the ensuing chapters, the story of Shakespeare's sonnets—and particularly of John Benson's edition of 1640—is not so much the story of Shakespeare's poems as it is the story of ever-changing literary preferences and the ways in which the stationers and editors over the past four centuries have responded to and shaped those preferences. The structure of *Poems* demonstrates the influence of an editor who was intimately aware of early modern literary conventions in printed texts as well as manuscripts. Where Thorpe's edition of *Sonnets* emphasised the previously-popular sonnet sequences of Shakespeare's predecessors (and, in some cases, contemporaries), Benson's *Poems* built upon literary traditions practiced in the 1620s and 1630s and continued, in many cases, for more than a century afterwards. Each textual variant, particularly those made by printers and editors preparing the sonnets for distribution to a large number of readers with a wide range of literary preferences, can provide a wealth of information about the readers for whom it was intended and the marketing tactics and critical theories of the editors and stationers who shaped the contents and paratexts of the finished edition. In particular, the Bensonian adaptations reflect a clear awareness of nearly eighty years of publishing history, in which poetry

compilations such as Richard Tottel's *Songes and Sonettes* (1557) or the diverse array of single-author collections prevalent in the 1630s were edited in a manner that elegantly foreshadowed the Bensonian revisions to Shakespeare's sonnets. It is out of these traditions, then, that Benson's *Poems* was born, and the careful rearrangement and titling of his work to meet the sonnets' pre- and post-Restoration readers enabled the 1640 arrangement of Shakespeare's sonnets to live on long into the eighteenth century. In regarding the unfamiliar approaches of Benson and his successors, it is imperative to consider the literary practices of their times, rather than basing our modern evaluations of older texts solely on a critical foundation of opinions and determinations reached and developed over the past three hundred years.

Perhaps one reason the 1640 text has been so consistently criticised over the past three and a half centuries is that many of the textual practices its editor emulated during his revision have been all but lost. Only a very few individuals today make their own manuscript miscellanies; titles to poems are almost always given by their authors rather than their readers; the texts an author creates are his or her own property (at least until the rights are sold for a satisfactory sum); and literary texts, today, have been afforded so great a degree of authorial emphasis that revising a text without authorial permission would be unthinkable for anyone but an editor or, perhaps, a parodist. Instead, the treatment of Shakespeare's sonnets in the early modern period might be best likened to the modern-day transmission and adaptation of recipes, inspirational photographs, popular music tracts, and memes—Shakespearean and otherwise—as they are dispersed and adapted, most often

electronically.⁶⁶ In the latter instance, photographs and (less frequently) quotations are shared and adapted across forums, humour websites, and social networking communities for the general pleasure and amusement of adaptors and audiences alike. Just as, today, many visitors to allrecipes.com may feel free to adapt, amend, annotate, comment upon, and even re-post the recipes of other members and contributors, or the fan of a band might download and rearrange the songs on an album to fit his or her musical tastes more closely, so the early modern readers felt free to prefer specific poems, readings, and single lines over those present in the texts they bought, received, read, and copied. The emendations evident in *Poems* are, as I shall show in my first and second chapters, perfectly in keeping with textual emendations made to texts in both manuscripts and printed books during the first half of the seventeenth century, although very few complete texts from the period were revised quite so drastically between their first and second printings as was *Poems*.

For both the unfamiliarity of its approach and also for its uniqueness among contemporaneous publications, then, *Poems* is, for all its flaws, a gift to

⁶⁶ For instance, after the line ‘I’m sending that bitch a smiley face. Bitches love smiley faces’ from the television show *Boondocks* (ep. ‘Let’s Nab Oprah, first aired February 12, 2006). began making the rounds of internet memes, it inspired a Shakespearean edition: ‘I’m writing that bitch a sonnet. Bitches love sonnets’ superimposed over a drawing of Shakespeare with a quill pen. (http://www.funnyjunk.com/funny_pictures/1114744/Bitches+Love+Sonnets/ Accessed 4 June 2012). While the meme on its own appeared using a wide variety of verbs and direct objects, the sonnet version itself inspired at least half a dozen additional revisions. In one, the injunction appears in the imperative mood over a cartoon stencil of Shakespeare’s head; in another the image has shifted to that of a musician, who ‘played’—in the past tense, and using an entirely new verb—the sonnet in question. The ultimate play upon both the sonnet idea and the original derogatory term for women can be found in the adaptation superimposed upon an image of a small dog resting his head upon one open book and a copy of *The Sonnets of William Shakespeare*, captioned ‘Heard bitches love sonnets. Wish I could [expletive] read.’ (<http://narwyn.wordpress.com/author/otherdemons/> Accessed 4 June 2012).

bibliographers and literary scholars today. Few other early modern texts expose so clearly the relationship between early practices of manuscript adaptation and early approaches to improving the marketability of early texts, and, similarly, if the degree of revision required to transform *Sonnets* into *Poems* is surprising, then so too—to scholars of the book—should be the extent to which a publisher would be willing to adapt, revise, amend, and even mutilate a text until it could be reborn into a fresh, new, and more vendible volume for his bookshop. Although not a single Bensonian revision to Shakespeare's sonnets would be remarkable on its own, the composite effect of several changes of differing types has created a unique and fascinating edition. What Benson's text accomplished was the expansion of textual interpretation: by placing Shakespeare's sonnets into the structure of a verse miscellany, the compiler of *Poems* enabled each reader of the text to read its sonnets sequentially or thematically, to pick and choose texts at will, and to develop a broader and more individualised understanding of the relationships between sonnets that might not have been printed in succession in the original quarto. By expanding the number and variety of potential readings purchasers of the book might perform, the editor of *Poems* also expanded the number of readers who might find the collection interesting or relevant.

The increased textual instability of *Poems*—and the numerous readings thus created for the sonnets both individually, in small clusters such as those suggested by Benson's editor, and for the collection as a whole—is not only a significant feature of the early modern literary world, but a structural and conceptual development in the presentation and function of the poems corporately, and one that lasted long into the eighteenth century, as I shall discuss in my third chapter. On this point, Benson's omissions even reflect a certain irony, if unintentionally, as the

edition excludes, along with seven other poems, Sonnet 76 and its promise of stability, or ‘verse . . . far from variation or quicke change’ (76.1, 2). Edmond Malone’s preferment of *Sonnets* over *Poems* marked not only the end of the destabilisation of the sonnets as a text, but also the moment at which the authorial school of editing had most fully replaced the aesthetic school of editing where the plays—and even, finally, the sonnets—of Shakespeare were concerned. From 1609 to 1790, the treatment of Shakespeare’s sonnets on the page reflected almost perfectly the editorial methods and debates that scholars and students were practicing and challenging in the English-speaking world, and it is for this reason that the story of Shakespeare’s sonnets—and particularly the story of Benson’s *Poems*—must be examined more closely and reevaluated in the light of its bibliographical significance to scholars of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

CHAPTER ONE
TEXTS AND VARIATIONS: MANUSCRIPT PRECEDENTS
FOR THE 1640 *POEMS*

Although it arrived more than a century after the invention of the movable type printing press, John Benson's 1640 edition of Shakespeare's *Poems* reached a London in which printed books had not yet lessened the demand for—and interest in—manuscripts of nearly every variety.⁶⁷ During the greater seventeenth century, manuscripts and printed texts were not only both widely bought and read, but the construction and compilation of manuscripts influenced that of printed texts, and vice versa. Among the extant literary remnants of the seventeenth century can be found manuscripts whose first pages imitated the title pages of printed books; printed books that built in marginalia—a manuscript practice—or used italic text, particularly during prefatory or paratextual matter, to imitate the intimacy of a scribal text; and volumes in which print and manuscript coexist, where printed pages were interleaved with blank pages for personal use,⁶⁸ where blank spaces or wide margins left in a printed text could be filled in by readers long after the

⁶⁷ In their preface to *Print, Manuscript, & Performance: The Changing Relations of the Media in Early Modern England* (OUP, 2000), Michael D. Bristol and Arthur F. Marotti expound upon the flourishing relationship not only between manuscript and printed texts in the early modern period, but between these written pieces and oral texts as well.

⁶⁸ Adam Smyth, in *Autobiography in Early Modern England* (CUP, 2010), provides examples of interleaving effected both by publishers, such as Thomas Bretnor, almanac maker (19), and readers, such as John Evelyn, who interleaved his own almanac with blank pages to use as a diary (37). Heidi Brayman Hackel, in *Reading Material in Early England* (CUP, 2005) notes that in literary texts, interleaving goes beyond the standard practice of annotating a text, interrupting it and allowing the main text and manuscript commentary to exist on equal terms (142).

original printing,⁶⁹ or in which the original printed text had been supplemented—even if the format did not deliberately invite such a possibility—by a reader interested more in personalising or commenting upon a book from his library than in preserving the volume in its original, printed, authorial form.⁷⁰ Some features, such as glosses and running headers, were established in medieval manuscripts and incorporated into later texts, printed and inscribed alike, as occasion warranted.⁷¹

Certain textual approaches, such as the practice of titling a poem, most common in early manuscript miscellanies, slowly became commonplace in printed texts of the same period;⁷² other features, such as the title page and table of contents, first common in printed volumes and useful in marketing, were utilised in manuscripts as well.⁷³ Other common features of these early printed and manuscript texts, such as their compilers' methods of spacing and formatting the texts, their use of marginalia, or even their practices of selecting and adapting texts for inclusion within a specific collection, were established in manuscripts and printed books

⁶⁹ Stephen B. Dobranski, in *Readers and Authorship in Early Modern England* (CUP, 2005) suggests that the blank spaces in Donne create a intimate text that both 'evok[es] a manuscript miscellany' and presents itself as 'a definitive, collected edition' (119).

⁷⁰ The titles and commentary added to Folger Copy 2 of the 1640 *Poems*, the grammatical supplements to the Henry White copy of Donne's 1633 *Poems* in the Texas A&M University Cushing Memorial Library, and hundreds, if not thousands, of other texts from the greater early modern period contain manuscript annotations suggesting varying degrees of reader involvement with the texts in question. See William Sherman, *Used Books: Marking Readers in Renaissance England* (Philadelphia, 2008) for a general overview of marginalia at this time and Peter Beal's *CELM* for an extensive list of Donne marginalia in extant printed texts.

⁷¹ See Malcolm Beckwith Parkes, *Scribes, Scripts and Readers* (London: Hambledon, 1991), particularly pages 35-70, for an extended description of the ways in which these and other textual apparati were developed in early medieval manuscripts.

⁷² See Anne Ferry, *The Title to the Poem* and various articles, for a broader expansion of this argument, also discussed in greater detail later in this chapter.

⁷³ In her article 'Ann Halkett's Morning Devotions,' (Bristol and Marotti 215-234), Margaret Ezell notes that in Halkett's manuscripts, one of the 'numerous indications that she was consciously shaping . . . [them] for a print readership rather than a manuscript one' (217) is her inclusion of tables of contents (219).

almost simultaneously, as their respective constructions allowed, so closely related were these two methods of production.⁷⁴ It is, then, not only unsurprising that John Benson's 1640 publication shares many features with poetical manuscripts compiled during the first half of the seventeenth century, but imperative that we approach Benson's text with these more individualised volumes in mind; *Poems* is a product not only of early modern print culture, as shall be demonstrated in Chapter Two, but a child—if indirectly—of its handwritten predecessors whose carefully scripted pages showcased the works not only of Shakespeare, but also of John Donne, George Herbert, William Strode, Henry King, and many of their contemporaries.

Nearly every early modern manuscript is unique, and many of them differ quite dramatically in matters of quantity, structure, attributions, format, titles, organisation, and similarities to printed texts. Yet the greater trends within many of the manuscripts of Shakespeare's sonnets, as well as in numerous contemporaneous manuscripts, demonstrate that early modern readers, and particularly verse compilers, approached early modern poetry, including the poetical works of William Shakespeare, in many of the ways showcased in Benson's 1640 *Poems*. As shall be described in greater detail in the rest of this chapter, poetical manuscripts frequently rearranged and recontextualised poems that had originally been intended

⁷⁴ Shape poems such as George Herbert's 'Easter Wings,' though clearly easier to reproduce in manuscripts than in printed collections, transferred between manuscripts and printed volumes with relative ease during the seventeenth century; other poems, such as the 'Loves Laborinth' [*sic*] knot poem in Bodleian MS Poet. Rawl. 160 (f. 102v), would have been more difficult to replicate in print (although the 1641 edition of Blunden's *Witt's Recreations* included several knot-shaped poems, including the popular 'This is love and worth commending' on sig. T3v). Arthur Marotti's *Manuscript, Print, and the English Renaissance Lyric* (Ithaca: Cornell, 1955) looks at the many ways in which the treatment of poems, and particularly lyrics, differed in an assortment of early modern texts, suggesting that the treatment of lyrics varied quite widely from manuscript to manuscript rather than from printed text to manuscript compilation (17).

for distribution in a specific sequence or context; conflated multiple poems under one title or in one large unbroken body of text; added and amended titles and attributions to the poems they copied; supplemented or interspersed the work of one poet with texts by other, often unrelated, authors; ignored specific and sometimes popular texts by authors whose other works featured quite prominently in their miscellanies; excised words, lines, and even entire stanzas from the poems they transcribed; and changed and modified pronouns, nouns, and often entire phrases or lines within the poems they copied and recopied.⁷⁵ Of course, in many manuscripts, the textual variants can be explained away as indicative of oral transmission, transcription from memory, scribal errors, and missing links in the chain of transmitted poems, but the frequency with which such modifications, adaptations, and recontextualisations were made demonstrates that poetical revisions such as those evident in Benson's 1640 *Poems* were commonplace and unremarkable in the manuscript and printed miscellanies that preceded, anticipated, and co-existed alongside his now-denigrated collection. Furthermore, the approaches used by the volume's compiler were not merely typical, but the standard—and perhaps expected—textual practices used on hundreds of collections of poetry in the early modern period.

Therefore, despite the many critics who have taken issue with aspects of Benson's edition of the sonnets, what must eventually become clear to every student of the sonnets and early modern literary culture is that each and every revision, modification, or appropriation made in this volume to Shakespeare's

⁷⁵ Although most of these tendencies are evident in dozens of poetical manuscripts from the early seventeenth century, a brief representative sample of manuscripts containing such approaches could contain Bodleian Tanner MS 307, Folger MS V.a.339, Bodleian Tanner MS 307, the Dalhousie manuscripts, the Stoughton manuscript, Folger MS V.a.148, and BL Add. MS 10309, which, respectively but not solely, illustrate each of these common approaches to early modern poetry.

sonnets as a whole, or even to any single sonnet, had cultural precedents in the long-established traditions of manuscript miscellanies and commonplace books, as well as in the printed books published, produced, and sold by Benson's contemporaries. Benson's controversial edition was, for its time, so imitative of these early manuscripts and so typical a printed volume that its appearance, presentation, and even existence were wholly unremarkable in mid-seventeenth-century London. Even as they melded perfectly with the literary offerings of Benson's stationer contemporaries, *Poems* and similar contemporaneous texts were built upon a popular and variable manuscript model of verse collection, and each of these early printed volumes, Benson's included, were preceded and anticipated by dozens of forerunners and an ever-broadening genre providing early printers with inspiration and sample textual approaches. The revisions and modifications for which Benson's edition is most often criticised are not only similar to the revisions and modifications made to a number of Shakespearean sonnets in verse miscellanies compiled during the 1630s, but also to the appropriations and alterations applied to thousands of contemporaneous poems in hundreds of other miscellanies compiled from the late sixteenth century up until the publication of *Poems* and for several further decades. Benson's text reflects not only the common early modern approach to Shakespeare's poetry—an important indicator in itself—but the common contemporaneous approach to poetry in general. As a closer examination of early modern manuscripts—and, later, seventeenth-century printed texts—will show, not a single approach for which he has been criticised in the past hundred years would have seemed noteworthy or problematic to Benson's contemporaries and readers; rather, it is the very parts of his approach that we take for granted—*Poems'* insistent faithfulness to the original texts and persistent

dedication to highlighting (if incorrectly) the authorship of the compiled pieces—that bear the fewest similarities to early seventeenth-century literary collections, methodologies, and approaches.

Like the now-controversial *Poems* of 1640, each of the twenty-one known manuscripts containing one or more of the sonnets offers a close and unique reading of its Shakespearean poems, recontextualised and reinterpreted by an early reader or copyist interested not in textual authority or Shakespeare's intentions, but in the poem as he or she understood it. Versions of Sonnet 2, most often titled to indicate a feminine addressee, appear in at least fourteen separate seventeenth-century manuscripts in the midst of romantic and courtly poems, elegies and epitaphs, and jests and puns.⁷⁶ Sonnets 32 and 71 appear in Folger MS V.a.162 alongside both racy and religious texts. Occasionally, as in the Folger MS V.a.345 copy of Sonnet 2, one or more sonnets are formatted in stanzas arranged to suggest a musical setting, or, as in New York Public Library Drexel MS 4257, heavily adapted to fit that setting more comfortably. In Folger MS V.a.148, a post-Bensonian text, selected lines from a number of Shakespearean sonnets are excised, copied, and gathered together under thematic titles based on those in the 1640 edition. As a whole, these manuscripts suggest that Shakespeare's earliest copiers were comfortable with decontextualising and adapting his sonnets to fit more comfortably within their own collections of poetry, songs, and literary pieces in general. That the seventeenth-century manuscripts containing Shakespeare's sonnets vary so widely in other ways only highlights the emphatic similarities in the treatment of Shakespeare's sonnets in each of these texts.

⁷⁶ Folger MS V.a.148 is included in this number, although it was compiled after 1640 and does not include the full text of Sonnet 2.

‘CHAMPT AND MUMBLED:’⁷⁷ TEXTUAL DISSEMINATION BEFORE
SHAKESPEARE

Many of the extant manuscripts of Shakespeare’s sonnets can be traced to a manuscript coterie based in Christ Church College, Oxford, where—presumably—students of the great poetical wits, including William Strode and Bishops Richard Corbet and Henry King, copied the poetry composed and promoted by their elders and instructors, supplemented it with texts of their own, and fleshed out the volumes with miscellaneous and humorous tidbits gathered, perhaps, from a wide array of sources that might have included the commonplace books of friends and relatives. For this reason, Shakespeare’s sonnets, when they appear in these manuscript miscellanies, are surrounded by spectacular assortments of devotional poems, bawdy recollections of sexual amusements, witty epitaphs that often mock the names and careers of the deceased, prose extracts from useful texts including sermons and homeopathic remedies for a number of dire diseases, and various verses of similar—and often unrelated—manner. This motley array of schoolboy ribaldry (and occasional devout reflection) is a far cry from the earlier and more formal manuscripts and commonplace books that foreshadowed a seventeenth-century Britain in which even the plethora of printed texts did little to staunch the flow of manuscript transmission in colleges, in the royal court, in the Inns of Court, and across nearly the entire British Isles, wherever paper, ink, and poetry could be obtained.

⁷⁷ C. Thimelthorpe, in the dedication of *A Short Inventory of Certain Idle Inventions*, (London: Marsh, 1581), sig. Aij, verso, anticipates that texts given to too many friends will end up altered and, by their changes, despised.

With the dawn of the age of print came a steady consistency in the number of manuscripts compiled and sold in early modern Britain. With printed books so readily accessible, the elegance and expense of handwritten manuscripts created a demand for the elite individuality of a personalised text, and thus it was that in the later age of Elizabeth I, the choice between print and manuscript was driven by function and intention more than by price or necessity. Scribes and scriptoriums could produce multiple copies of a text when intimacy or privacy was required,⁷⁸ either on commission or speculation. Alternately, some treatises were printed in small quantities when the authority of print would give added credence to the document's claims.⁷⁹ The abundance of commissioned texts produced during the English Renaissance does not even take into account the popularity of self-compiled manuscripts, such as commonplace books and verse miscellanies, in which individual readers assembled relevant, preferred, and otherwise personally interesting texts for their own reference and amusement.

For centuries before the rise of print, a reader's only access to literature would have been by oral transmission or through a manuscript compiled personally or by a professional scribe, whose services might be engaged by a visit to a monastery or scrivener's shop. Although even the most skilled of scribes—at least

⁷⁸ See Love 37 and 221 and Woudhuysen 134-145. As Earle Havens notes in *Commonplace Books* ([New Haven]: UP New England, 2001), various scriptoriums anticipated the demand for commonplace books and constructed collections of 'apothegms, questions, answers, and other witty & facetious retorts and sayings' or other texts, designed to appeal to the general public (79).

⁷⁹ Jason Peacey noted, in his seminar 'Print and Political Practice in Seventeenth Century England: Rethinking Petitioning and Lobbying' (Reformation Studies Institute, University of St Andrews, February 24, 2011) that even into the seventeenth century, individuals offering petitions at court or Parliament might hire the services of a scribe to produce multiple elegant, scribal copies of their cases, that those in authority might understand the great weight and importance of their pleas, or select a manuscript collection of verses or sayings, where they could afford it, rather than a printed one.

those in the professional world—were still ‘no more than mere mercenary mechanics,’ the texts they produced were magnificent and offered the appearance of individuality and intimacy.⁸⁰ Completed manuscripts were costly; the expense of owning or commissioning one, coupled, as Peter Beal suggests, with the ‘fiction of exclusivity’ their scribes perpetuated, allowed the finished products to be considered valuable and prestigious.⁸¹ Scribes could be commissioned to copy out works by single authors, such as Donne, either at the author’s request or at that of a would-be owner, which allowed authors a more specific degree of control over the readers of their works.⁸² Manuscripts were valuable not only for their exclusivity, but also for their contents, especially when the texts thus contained had not yet been printed or made widely available, usually due to authorial caution or to controversial subject matter. At the same time, manuscripts for personal use offered individuals a means of clarifying and organising their thoughts and their readings, retaining important pieces of information for future reference, and perpetuating the knowledge and even existence of the texts they chose to include.

⁸⁰ Peter Beal, *In Praise of Scribes: Manuscripts and their Makers in Seventeenth-Century England*, Oxford: Clarendon, 1998, 10.

⁸¹ *Scribes* 18. Comparing manuscripts with printed versions of the same text, Beal notes that ‘the narrower the audience, the more specifically targeted it is, and the more personalized both the means of production and mode of distribution . . . the less need be said about it’ (18). The fiction of exclusivity to which he refers is crafted and maintained by scribes who ‘discreetly downplayed their personal contribution; avoided that faintest suggestion—at least in their texts—that there was a *shop* where duplicates of their product could easily be *purchased* . . . and, tacitly, scribes maximized the sense of the specialness, even exclusivity, as well as “authority”, of their product in the eyes of its users’ (18).

⁸² See Beal, *Scribes*, especially 31-57; Arthur Marotti, *John Donne, Coterie Poet* (Madison: U Wisconsin P, 1986), especially xi-xiii; and Woudhuysen, *Sir Philip Sidney and the Circulation of Manuscripts 1558-1640* (OUP, 1996), especially 150. A small portion of this authorial concern was indubitably due to the ‘stigma of print’ described by J.W. Saunders in ‘The Stigma of Print,’ *Essays in Criticism* I (1954), 160. By the mid- to late-seventeenth century, this stigma had mostly evaporated, but authors still used manuscript transmission to control divisive political and religious texts.

By the early seventeenth century, the reading of printed commonplaces and the compilation of personal ones had become widespread among the schools, universities, and (as the students graduated and found careers) Inns of Court in England.⁸³ Schoolboys and university students were taught to create their own commonplaces following the methods established loosely in Aristotle's *Rhetorica* and more definitively in Erasmus' *De Copia* and Obadiah Walker's *Of Education: Especially of Young Gentlemen*,⁸⁴ while professionals, particularly in the legal and religious fields, crafted similar volumes to help them sort and arrange important texts for easy reference.⁸⁵ The contents of a traditional commonplace book, by its narrowest definition, would have been grouped by subject—these often denoted by running headers at the tops of pages—and arranged either alphabetically or by a careful hierarchical system such as that listed at the front of Samuel Brewster's *A Brief Method of the Law: Being an Exact Alphabetical Disposition of All the Heads Necessary for a Perfect Common-Place*.⁸⁶ Only a small percentage of extant

⁸³ Havens notes the rise of the commonplace book in the Renaissance schools of rhetoric (25); Ann Moss, in *Printed Commonplace-Books and the Structuring of Renaissance Thought* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996) notes the progression of uses for the commonplace book as students first filled their books with 'illustrative quotations . . . or discursive compositions on a moral topic' and then 'learn[ed] to arrange a theme according to its proper parts, exordium, narration, and the rest,' finally applying their growing knowledge to a finished rhetorical composition (217, 219, 220). John Foxe and publisher William Day also attempted to capitalise upon the genre's popularity by providing blank books of titles designed to help their purchasers organize their thoughts and references more easily, but when the volume failed to sell as hoped in Britain, 'Elizabethan printer John Day began trimming off the theological commonplace headings from the otherwise blank folio sheets, and reusing them to print other popular Protestant works' (Havens 50). For a more thorough discussion of printed commonplaces, see Havens, particularly 48-53.

⁸⁴ John Brinsley's *Ludus Literarius: or, The Grammar Schoole* does not set forth the fundamentals of compiling a commonplace book so specifically, but it certainly promotes the advantages of having such a helpful collection at hand.

⁸⁵ Other individuals, such as Gabriel Harvey, simply cross-referenced their entire libraries, as discussed at length in Anthony Grafton and Lisa Jardine, *From Humanism to the Humanities*, Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1986.

⁸⁶ Facsimile in Havens 40.

manuscripts from the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods are properly commonplace books. Many volumes begun with this more formal structure, including the Rosenbach MS 1083/16 with its opening selection of poems on women that fades into a medley of assorted verse or the collection Havens describes by Francis Castillion that begins as a commonplace and concludes with a ‘haphazard’ collection of passages ‘consumed in a blaze of sententious glory,’⁸⁷ quickly succumbed to the less structured and more general form of the verse miscellany, a genre as random as the name implies. Such commonplaces-turned-miscellanies begin with headers, subjects, and classmarks, and then digress into a less careful collection of anything the compiler—or, as was more common, compilers—found interesting or pertinent. Dozens of other verse compilers never even attempted the strict structure of the categorical commonplace, as most of the manuscripts containing Shakespeare’s sonnets demonstrate.

Among the students of Christ Church college, Oxford, particularly in the 1630s and 1640s, the creation of a miscellany provided an ideal opportunity to record and share poems about everyday life, well-known figures, discipline and piety, and any other subjects that caught their interest. Students collected poems by their tutors, well-known public figures, popular manuscript authors of the time, and several still-anonymous individuals whose authorship of various texts may never be identified due to the loose or absent attributions in these early collections. Nevertheless, the careful research of Mary Hobbs and Henry Woudhuysen has identified a group of manuscripts whose compilers, likely students, were central to or on the fringes of a busy manuscript coterie whose participants were keenly interested in a wide variety of poems, often by university members, especially

⁸⁷ Havens 77.

faculty, and other figures of authority.⁸⁸ Henry King, a church official and poet active at Christ Church during the time, probably supervised the collection and distribution of a number of manuscripts containing his own poems as well as those by other authors whose works he appreciated.⁸⁹ Several of the manuscripts he eventually influenced contain, among many other common and popular poems, copies of Shakespeare's second sonnet, appropriated into a number of new contexts, as well as, more broadly, a wide array of theological and devotional poems scattered throughout the volumes and intermixed with romantic verses of courtship as well as erotic and satirical compositions.⁹⁰ If the contents of their miscellanies can be said to be any indication, the members of the Christ Church coterie also appreciated poems on individuals within the community, such as William Strode's poem on butler John Dawson and Richard Corbet's on mancipule Richard Rice, as well as even more widely popular works such as Raleigh's 'What is our life? A play of passion,' Henry Wotton's 'You meaner beauties of the night'

⁸⁸ For a description of the major Christ Church miscellanies, see Mary Hobbs' *Early Seventeenth-Century Verse Miscellany Manuscripts* (Aldershot: Scolar, 1992) and Woudhuysen 169-70. In the process of examining the Skipworth miscellany, Hobbs lists several common traits of Oxford manuscripts: the Skipworth is 'not a typical Oxford manuscript, . . . [it contains] no college or university satires . . . no bawdy poems, nor . . . anything to link it with legal circles. It even lacks Strode's "I saw fair Cloris walk alone" and other popular lyrics like "Ask me no more whither do stray", found in almost every student verse miscellany' (Aldershot: Scolar, 1990, 66).

⁸⁹ Identifying a specific group of related manuscripts is difficult, as the collection of a miscellany was often the work of several years (or, sometimes lifetimes) and a manuscript could be influenced by and borrow from a wide variety of other texts in several unique circles of manuscript transmission over the course of its assembly. In *Manuscripts* and her facsimile edition of the Stoughton manuscript, Hobbs identifies manuscripts clearly linked to The Stoughton Manuscript, an early miscellany, which is in the hand of King's amanuensis.

⁹⁰ For more on the unusual juxtaposition of devotional and sexual poems in early miscellanies, see Joshua Eckhardt, *Manuscript Verse Collectors and the Politics of Anti-Courtly Love Poetry*, OUP, 2009, particularly pages 21-32.

and ‘If shadows be a picture’s excellence,’ as well as Donne’s ‘Come, madam, come, all rest my powers defy.’⁹¹

The Christ Church coterie was by no means the only active coterie in Jacobean England, but the frequent inclusion of Sonnet 2 in the collections its compilers so carefully copied presses it to the forefront of any discussion of the early reception of Shakespeare’s short poems. Even more intriguing, however, are the early miscellanies that pass over this piece and feature, instead, one or more of the poet’s other short works. To the active schoolboys of Christ Church and the compilers of NYPL Drexel MS 4257 and St. John’s College MS S.23 alike, Shakespeare’s sonnets served as musical amusements, injunctions to marry, devotional poems, and demonstrations of wit. In each of these manuscripts, one or more of the playwright’s sonnets were reorganised and recontextualised, conflated, supplemented, titled, emended, and often excluded, treatments applied not only to works by Shakespeare, but, of course, to possibly millions of poems and variants that passed through probably thousands of miscellanies compiled in the Elizabethan, Jacobean, and Carolinean periods. Of course, as previously noted, the treatment of texts in manuscripts matched and often anticipated the treatment of similar or the same texts in contemporaneous printed books, and it is due to this correlation that manuscript practices such as those that will be examined in the remainder of this chapter became commonplace not only in seventeenth-century manuscripts themselves, but in many similar books printed and published by

⁹¹ Donne’s ‘Come, madam, come’ appears in more than 64 early modern miscellanies (*Index* I.1.493-8), Raleigh’s ‘On Man’s Life’ appears in at least 70 contemporaneous manuscripts (*Index* I.2.396-401), Henry Wotton’s ‘meaner beauties’ feature in at least 71 (*Index* I.2.569-75) and ‘If shadows be a picture’s excellence’ appears in no fewer than 78 (*CELM*). The titles and attributions to each vary widely, as an examination of *CELM* and the Donne variorum texts reveals.

members of the Stationers' Company during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

THE STATIONER-SCRIBE AND THE CORRECTIONAL COPIES: ADAPTING THE SONNETS IN *POEMS* AND MANUSCRIPTS

'Robbing no old to dress [their] beautie new' (68.12): Reorganization

Perhaps the most oft-criticised textual feature of Benson's 1640 *Poems* is what eighteenth-century editor Edward Capell would disparagingly call 'groups of his [Benson's] own invention.'⁹² In the 1640 *Poems*, Shakespeare's sonnets are interspersed with a few pieces by other authors and heavily rearranged. Although the volume does contain some poems by other authors in its Shakespearean section, every single misattributed piece in this section had previously appeared under Shakespeare's name in earlier pamphlets, such as Thorpe's *Sonnets* and Jaggard's *The Passionate Pilgrim*. The modifications to the texts of the poems themselves are relatively minor and concerned more with spelling and punctuation than with dramatic revision (or, as has been suggested, the concealment of same-sex proclivities or miscegeny within the poems). More importantly, not only do the extant manuscripts of Shakespeare's sonnets rearrange and recontextualise these poems; conflate multiple poems under one title; add and amend titles and attributions to Shakespearean and other poems; supplement or intersperse the work of one poet (sometimes Shakespeare) with texts by other, often unrelated, authors;

⁹² Wren Library, Trinity College, Cambridge, Capell MS. 5.

excise words, lines, and even entire stanzas from the poems they transcribed into their miscellanies; and change and modify pronouns, nouns, and often entire phrases or lines within the poems they copied and recopied, but—in many cases—they do so more actively and dramatically than Benson ever did, a disparity that clearly shows Benson's awareness of these early modern principles and his corresponding desire to use them sparingly in an attempt to appeal to the greatest number of buyers possible.

Separated today by several thousand miles of ocean and a few hundred miles of land, the University of Nottingham and Folger Shakespeare Libraries each contain one of two uniquely linked early manuscript miscellanies, both carefully divided into generic sections like those of a formal commonplace book. It is easy to imagine a compiler sitting down before one or both of these books with a selection of poetry and a quill pen, and dividing the volume into sections: 'Epitaphs: Laudatory,' 'Epitaphs: Merry and Satyricall,' 'Love Sonnets,' 'Panegyricks,' 'Satyres,' 'Miscellanea,' and so forth.⁹³ As suggested by the shifts in handwriting in Folger MS V.a.103, these titled sections were all created more or less simultaneously, with a number of blank pages initially left between each section and the following, and filled out over a larger period of time, either by the same compiler or one who had been similarly trained.⁹⁴ Despite a few variations in the

⁹³ While the Folger manuscript has six original sections, including the empty 'Serious Poems,' the Nottingham copy adds three more: 'Miscellanea' (170-205), 'Merry Poemes' (307-323), and 'Verses on Christ-Church Play' (363-374), and fills its own 'Serious Poemes' section (225-255) with fourteen poems, the last three in a variant script.

⁹⁴ Eckhardt considers this 'the work of a single scribe who worked in two major shifts and changed his ink and writing style roughly half way through most sections' (249). I agree with his more recent argument in the Spring 2011 Folger seminar 'In Praise of Scribes' that the scribe or scribes used very similar versions of the letters h, l, v, and T throughout all three sections, although I am not fully convinced that this indicates a single transcriber.

texts included—Shakespeare’s Sonnet 2, for instance, is currently absent from the extant pages of the Folger version, although it may have been included when the text was first copied⁹⁵—the heavily similar contents of the two miscellanies suggests that one was probably copied from the other, the assignation of each poem to a particular section of the original book clearly demonstrates the copyist’s interest in creating a coherent arrangement of relevant and related poems, carefully grouped under section headers that direct a specific sort of reading experience. Even more intriguingly, by the end of Nottingham MS Pw.V.37, the compiler has moved from genre-specific section titles to the much narrower category ‘Verses on Christ-Church Play,’ a single but much celebrated incident that inspired an assortment of poetical reflections, twelve of which are contained within the Nottingham miscellany.

Of course, unlike the assembler of the Nottingham and Folger manuscripts, Benson or the original compiler of the collection the stationer printed in 1640 has not divided the sonnets into large generic sections—such an endeavour would not be attempted until the Malone edition of 1780—but his specific groupings and rearrangements reflect a similar approach. Just as one can imagine the compiler of the Nottingham text (or its Folger counterpart) sorting through his poems and assigning each to a particular section, so it is possible to imagine Benson or his editor sitting down with as many of Shakespeare’s poems as had previously been

⁹⁵ During a series of discussions about Folger MS V.a.103 at the Folger Shakespeare Library in Washington, D.C. in the summer of 2011, Joshua Eckhardt suggested that the outer top portion of leaf 33, which has been cut away, may have originally contained the text of Sonnet 2. He based this suggestion on the general size of the excision; the visible letters ‘ld’—the sonnet ends with the word ‘cold’—remaining on the verso side of the page, just outside the cut portion; and its juxtaposition to three other poems, ‘I dy when as I doe not see,’ ‘Why should Passion lead thee blind,’ and ‘To her that best deserves these worthles lines,’ which immediately surround the excised poem in V.a.103 and immediately surround Sonnet 2 in Nottingham Portland MS Pw.V.37.

printed and assigning each a carefully chosen title. While problematic to some of Benson's early readers,⁹⁶ the interpretations such titles suggest are only as questionable as, say, the Nottingham compiler's assignation of epitaphs to the 'Laudatory' or 'Merry and Sayricall' portions of his commonplace book. Benson's critical retitler had only as much to complain about as a potential reader of the Nottingham collection who might have been surprised at the placement of a mildly laudatory (but partly satirical) epitaph on the death of Christ Church butler John Dawson in the 'Merry and Satyricall' section of Portland Pw.V.37.⁹⁷

What the compiler of the Nottingham and Folger manuscripts produced, at the end of his or her endeavours, was a thematically-driven collection of poems in which an editorially imposed sequence, enhanced by titles and groupings, took an assortment of possibly unrelated poetical pieces and transformed them into a coherent and elegant poetical treatise, readable both sequentially and section by section as the reader preferred. What Benson or his compiler accomplished was, in effect, the same: a quantity of poems presumably by a single author but with many varying themes and allusions were drawn together, offered a fresh sequence, and grouped together under titles designed to encourage even the most casual reader to explore, for instance, the handful of poems on 'Injurious Time' or 'Friendship.' The unknown individual who determined the sequence and titles of the 1640 *Poems* can, in many ways, be seen as the compiler of the text; Benson, for his part, served as

⁹⁶ An early reader of Folger Copy 2 worked his or her way through the first two quires of the text, replacing or emending most of the titles on those pages. Some titles are struck through and entirely replaced by new readings, a few—such as the emended 'Cruell Deceit' in which 'Deceit' has been struck through and replaced with 'Bashfulness'—are only partially emended, and others are merely supplemented, such as Benson's 'Injurious Time,' framed by handwritten lines that transform the title into 'Eternity of Verse, spight of / [Injurious Time] / that destroys all things else' (A3r).

⁹⁷ Page 43.

facilitator to its printer, who perpetuated and multiplied the text much as a paid scribe might also have done. Aside from the printed text's insistence on offering the work of only a single author, the core treatment of these two volumes is identical: both Benson's editor and the Nottingham compiler strove to sort and organise the poems with which they were presented, in each instance with the goal—eventually—of creating a poetical commonplace book whose readers could easily find relevant and interesting poems to read and enjoy. Similarly, just as the ways in which early modern miscellany compilers arranged and organised their miscellanies sheds light upon their reading practices, so the format and structure of Benson's edition reflect a specific and interesting example of an early compiler's approach to one specific text. That most of the manuscript compilers assembled their texts for personal and nonprofit use, while Benson's edition is clearly intended to appeal to the greatest number of purchasers possible, serves only to expand our understanding of the editorial approaches that these two types of early textual editors held in common; that the methodologies used in the creation of these manuscript miscellanies are also evident in the 1640 *Poems* demonstrates that, whether for private or public use, and whether for study, pleasure, or profit, early modern readers-turned-editors all approached their texts and books with the same basic principles in mind.

A similar, if shorter, illustration of a recontextualisation can be found in Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 152, a bound volume consisting of many individual sheets and quires of varying sizes, colours, and watermarks sewn together, presumably long after their respective compositions. Folio 34 in this volume is a single and heavily creased sheet containing five poems crowded together on both sides of the leaf without much attention to line breaks. A unique version of

Shakespeare's Sonnet 128, here beginning 'How orsft when thow, deere deerist of musick plaiest,' is the third of five poems on the sheet, appearing beneath two short poems begging for generosity in love, but followed by a poem of ecstasy and another depicting the anguish of unrequited love. In the context of this short sequence, Sonnet 128 becomes a poem of courtship and adoration, and its attention to the beloved's talented fingers and overt concluding plea 'give them youre fingers mee youre lipes to kisse' appears to have suited the would-be wooer's immediate needs but failed, in the long term, to provide romantic satisfaction. Thus this sonnet, which within the 1609 sequence seems one of the happier and more fruitful courtly love sonnets, and within Benson's text—there presented under the title 'Vpon her playing on the Virginalls'⁹⁸—seems almost a guide for would-be wooers of musical ladies, is overshadowed in the manuscript with notes of failure: the courtly process begun with the wide invocation to 'rest awhile you cruell cares' and then focused with a direct plea for 'Laura fayre gaine of loves despight [to] come grant me love in loves desire,' utilises Shakespeare's sonnet but ultimately fails; the miniature sequence concludes by emphasizing the speaker's 'in ward grief' and 'hart . . . throuly wounded.'⁹⁹ Sonnet 128, so lighthearted in comparison with the later sonnets in the quarto text and portrayed as instructional in Benson's edition, has failed the narrator of the poetical sequence in Rawl. Poet. 152. Like Benson, then, the scribe of this single leaf has removed the poem from its original context

⁹⁸ Fol. [E7v]. Benson's short title certainly if concisely anticipates the extensive footnote that would later be applied to this sonnet by the eighteenth-century editor Edmond Malone, whose thirty-three line analysis of the same sonnet, after noting nearly every other allusion to musical instruments within Shakespeare's works, concludes 'He is here speaking of a small kind of spinnet, anciently called a *virginal*. . . . A virginal was shaped like a *piano forte*,' (X.300) attributing part of this identification to Steevens but otherwise offering very little substantial evidence for his suggestion.

⁹⁹ Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 152, fol. 34 recto and verso.

and grouped it with several other related texts, and both revisions—the manuscript recontextualisation and that enacted by Benson’s compiler—reappropriate the sonnet for a broader purpose by adding extraneous but believable details. Benson’s virginals and the Bodleian manuscript’s new narrative interpretation, within their respective texts, impose a specific attitude and context upon the original fourteen lines of Shakespeare’s poem, changing it by context rather than emendation.

‘Which three till now, never kept seate in one’ (105.14): Conflation

The grouping of poems together takes a slightly variant turn in Rosenbach MS 1083/16, a modestly sized miscellany about an inch thick that contains a surprisingly large number of the non-Shakespearean poems used in Benson’s 1640 Shakespeare. Beginning with a series of eighty-seven poems on women—sometimes praising women in general, sometimes discussing the attributes of individual women, and occasionally considering the benefits or problems of marriage—and another long sequence of epitaphs, the Rosenbach compiler, like the Nottingham compiler, demonstrates a particular interest in grouping poems by genre and subject. While the thematic divisions fade about halfway through the Rosenbach manuscript, however, more drastic connections are made between a few of the specific texts therein included. Of particular interest is the appearance of Shakespeare’s Sonnet 106 under the title ‘On his M^{ris} Beauty,’ which is immediately followed by another sonnet, this one by William Herbert, beginning ‘When mine eies first admiring of your beauty.’¹⁰⁰ Though the title is appropriate

¹⁰⁰ Rosenbach MS 1083/16, pp. 256-7.

for both poems, the conflation thus created might be just as shocking to modern readers inclined to view texts as authorial creations rather than as aesthetic productions to be adapted for the preferences of their owners, yet in the Rosenbach manuscript, as in Benson's *Poems*, the poems' conflations are performed elegantly, intentionally, and with an editorial interest in grouping texts thematically. Both Benson's source or employee and the Rosenbach compiler thus use conflation to emphasize the connections between two or more related poems, and in both instances, the action of juxtaposition—whether of poems by a single author or of texts on similar subjects by two or more authors—is identical in Benson's printed text and the Rosenbach manuscript.

Taking the role of authorship under more due consideration, a model even more similar to Benson's can be found in Folger MS V.a.339, a tiny and lengthy text tightly bound and filled with nearly a thousand poems, fragments of poems, and prose excerpts, all crowded into the volume in a hand capable of a nearly microscopic script. In the middle of the manuscript is a single leaf containing poems and passages almost exclusively by—or previously attributed to—Shakespeare.¹⁰¹ Unattributed and untitled, these verses are primarily from *The Passionate Pilgrim*, and are crowded together in a long string of lines, distinguished from one another only by the compiler's occasional use of indentations. Shakespeare's Sonnet 138, first printed in *Pilgrim*, appears at the bottom of page 203v, below two other pieces also from Jaggard's collection.¹⁰² Where Benson intersperses the *Pilgrim* poems with the later-published but structurally similar sonnets, however, the compiler of this miscellany goes on to borrow from a number

¹⁰¹ fol. 203 (For citations in V.a.339 I use the smaller of two penciled paginations; other accounts give this page number as 197).

¹⁰² 197v by the other pagination.

of Shakespeare's plays, including *Richard II* and *The Merchant of Venice*, although such extracts are unattributed by the original compiler.¹⁰³ As the Shakespearean section progresses and the compiler moves from the sonnets of *Pilgrim* into Shakespeare's more dramatic (but still, as the eighteenth-century scholars contend, completely poetical) pieces, the miscellany features a series of extracts, grouped together in a number of short clusters, unattributed and distinguished from one another only by a series of thematic keywords crowded into the left margins. Like the compiler of Benson's poems, the compiler of V.a.339 has seen fit to decontextualise and conflate not only Shakespeare's sonnets, but numerous brief selections from Shakespeare's other works, these latter texts heavily rearranged under a series of topical titles.

Conflation of Shakespeare's texts is managed in a variety of ways in early manuscripts. Although Rosenbach 1083/16 provides the only known pre-Bensonian example of a Shakespearean sonnet conflated with another poem in its entirety, the Folger V.a.339 compiler's arrangement of Sonnet 138 and other *Pilgrim* poems distinguishes between poems only by indentations, while Pierpont Morgan MA 1057 boasts a number of excerpts from *Othello*, differentiated from one another with the insertion of spaces between extracts and inclusion of page numbers alongside each quotation. Even more drastically, the post-Bensonian compiler of Folger MS V.a.148 adapted and conflated the sonnets as they appeared in Benson's edition, extracting one or more lines from a number of Shakespeare's sonnets, and then fashioning these extracts into cento poems, each conflated grouping of extracts titled with an abbreviated form of a title originally found in the 1640 *Poems* of

¹⁰³ fol. 205v [199v] and 207r [201r].

Benson.¹⁰⁴ In the simpler case of the Shakespeare and Herbert sonnets of Rosenbach MS 1083/16, the conflation, like that in Benson's edition, amplifies thematic relationships between complete poems with a great deal in common. Attention has been given, in both cases, to the completeness of the poems thus transcribed, as well as to the similarities between two originally isolated texts. In V.a.339 and V.a.148, the excision-happy conflations serve a similar thematic purpose but show far less respect to the unity and scope of the original poems. In the more cohesive conflations of *Poems* and 1083/16, the compilers of each text appear to view Shakespeare's sonnets as individual poems, complete without the support of a sequence or narrative, but worthy of the textual reflection that could produce titles and conflations, even if, as in the Rosenbach manuscript, those conflations superseded the bounds of authorship. Finally, while the Rosenbach conflation certainly stands on its own as the simple conflation of two thematically complementary poems under a mutually accessible title, if the issue of diverse authorship irks those of a more modern and authorial mindset, the juxtaposition of two related poems by two separate authors was already a staple in many other contemporaneous manuscripts, whose compilers preferred the thematic unity of placing response poems after the texts they answered, creating a multi-author dialogue within the pages of many early modern manuscripts.¹⁰⁵ The Rosenbach compiler,¹⁰⁶ then, performed a relatively commonplace poetical fusion in the

¹⁰⁴ For the full text of this cento, see Appendix Three.

¹⁰⁵ One such example of response poems by varying authors occurs in the previously mentioned Nottingham Portland MS Pw.V.37, whose twelve poems in the section 'Verses on the Christ-Church Play,' by nearly as many authors (some unattributed) provide a textual dialogue of the many responses and disagreements that this event inspired.

¹⁰⁶ David Redding's unpublished 1960 dissertation *Robert Bishop's Commonplace Books: An Edition of a Seventeenth-Century Miscellany* (Thesis, University of Pennsylvania) is widely credited with being the first to establish

process of his personal transcription of favoured poems, creating a text that gave precedence to thematic unity over authorial name or title. Although Benson's compiler, by very nature of his collection, was more interested in assembling texts by a single writer or source than was the Rosenbach compiler, the conflations performed by each—allowing for the differing focal points of each collection—reflect identical approaches to the texts in both collections.

'Increasing store with losse, and losse with store' (64.8): Supplementation and Omission

With respect to the manuscripts containing Shakespeare's sonnets, it seems almost irrelevant to point out their compilers' approaches to supplementing and omitting texts from their personal compilations: no compiler included a large enough number of Shakespeare's poems that the deliberate omission of one sonnet or another can be proven. Within a wider range of early modern manuscripts, such as the large handwritten compendiums of poems by Donne and Herbert that shall be discussed later in this chapter, omissions such as the eight sonnets excluded from the 1640 *Poems* seem relatively typical for the time, but even within the twenty manuscripts containing the sonnets there are a number of instances in which a poem's absence from a particular volume seems remarkable. Such omissions are most easily noted when one or more of the poems in a miscellany are part of a larger group of poems, such as the aforementioned series of poems on the Christ Church Play, the numerous poems and responses composed after and creating a

Robert Bishop as the compiler of 1083/16. Marotti and Eckhardt, in particular, follow his precedent.

dialogue upon the death of Prince Henry, or even more lighthearted reponse poems such as Ben Jonson's 'Sitting, and ready to be drawne' and 'Painter y'are come and may be gone,' which appear together at the end of the 1640 Benson publication *Ben: Ionson's Execration against Vulcan*, again in the supplements to Shakespeare's 1640 *Poems*, and also in several of the manuscripts containing one or more of Shakespeare's sonnets.¹⁰⁷ Although the two poems are frequently juxtaposed and Jonson's transitional conclusion to the first poem allows a continuous narrative to flow between the dialogues of the two, in Yale Osborn MS b.205, the first poem, praising the woman's beauty, appears on fols. 87r-88r, while the latter—in which the painter is spurned—is ignored in favour of more poems discussing feminine beauty and, fairly quickly, its fading charms.¹⁰⁸ Omitting Jonson's strong feminine speaker in favour of the more romantic and occasionally frivolous love poems of Donne and Carew could suggest that the compiler promoted a misogynistic mindset, but the exclusion could also have been made simply on thematic grounds, in an attempt to offer greater consistency within the miscellany, or it could simply have been an oversight. In the same way, the eight Bensonian exclusions may have been made for political or religious reasons, but it is equally likely that they simply reflect a literary preference, the editor's inability to fit these poems within the collection as a whole, or simple compiler error.

¹⁰⁷ The first lines I give are from the 1640 *Poems*, which revises the spelling of 'painter' from the *Vulcan* 'Paynter' and adds an extra capital to the title of the second poem. Both poems, with variant titles and spellings, appear in BL Add. MS 25303 (075v-077r), Westminster Abbey MS 41 (034r-035r), Folger MS V.a.170 (159-163), as well as several contemporaneous manuscripts devoid of any Shakespearean sonnets. For a list of all poems appearing in multiple manuscripts also containing one or more of Shakespeare's sonnets, see Appendix Two.

¹⁰⁸ Jonson's poem is followed in the Yale manuscript by Donne's 'Since she must goe & I must stay come night' and 'Deerest thy tresses are not thredds of gold,' then Carew's 'Thinke not cause men flattring say' (fols 88r-90v).

A similar personal preference influencing editorial selectivity is also evident in the Christ Church miscellanies, or in British Library Add. MSs 25303 and 21433, which have more than a hundred and twenty poems in common. Beyond these common poems, however, are more than fifty poems found only in MS 25303 and seven poems that appear only in MS 21433, four of which must be discounted as they appear on the very final pages of the volume and could have been added at nearly any point in the volume's history. The fifty-odd additional poems scattered across the pages of MS 25303, however, suggest that a compiler of one of these two manuscripts has performed a very deliberate act of omission or supplementation; either the compiler of 21433 found these several dozen poems unworthy of inclusion in his own, slightly better organised text (the elegies widely distributed throughout the pages of 25303 are, in 21433, grouped together in an untitled but logical cluster at the end of the volume) or the compiler of 25303 determined that the collection of poems obtained from 21433 should be carefully supplemented with additional verses obtained from other sources.¹⁰⁹ In particular, the absence of three popular poetical texts from MS 25303 reflects a now incomprehensible

¹⁰⁹ Where the differences between MSs 25303 and 21433 are most intriguing is in the poems found in 21433 and absent from 25303. That the final four poems in the shorter manuscript are nowhere to be found in the longer text seems to indicate that these poems were added to 21433 after the manuscripts were no longer in contact with one another. The omission of the poems titled 'Suis' and 'Black Haire,' beginning 'Think whose you are, and in your selves renewe' and 'If shaddowes be a pictures excellence,' respectively, seems a little more unusual; transcribed on pages 109r-110v of MS 21433, they would have been difficult to overlook, and, indeed, 25303 contains all the poems that appear facing these two texts in the shorter manuscript. Furthermore, 'If shaddowes be a pictures excellence' was one of the most frequently copied poems in the early modern period, appearing in nearly eighty manuscripts of the time, and the compiler of 25303 would almost certainly have come across it during the assembly of his poetical collection. Similarly, a poem on Edmund Spenser, beginning 'He was & is, see then where lyes the Odds,' copied onto the middle of folio 177v in MS 21433, is excluded from 25303 although two other poems that appear on the same page of the volume are included, though not immediately one after the other, in the longer collection.

decision on the part of one manuscript's compiler, much like the exclusion of eight sonnets from Benson's 1640 sonnet collection.¹¹⁰ Nevertheless, of the poems available to them, a certain degree of selectivity or supplementation can be assumed on the part of the compiler of at least one of these two manuscripts, and certainly the omissions, supplementations, and rearrangements made to the 1609 quarto text of Shakespeare's sonnets in the text of the 1640 edition parallel quite neatly the differences between MSs 25303 and 21433.

Perhaps the most obvious Benson-styled exclusion in an early modern sonnet manuscript is that of Sonnet 144, first printed immediately after Sonnet 138 in *The Passionate Pilgrim*, and not included among the poems from that text collected in a short sequence in Folger MS V.a.339. Like the sonnets omitted in *Poems*, the absence of Sonnet 144 seems strange and incomprehensible four hundred years after the text's original assembly. Like Benson's editor, the compiler of V.a.339 has placed his poems in a sequence that differs from the sequence given in the earlier, printed version of those texts, and it is possible that in the process of reordering their respective texts, both the Bensonian editor and the compiler of V.a.339 simply overlooked one or more of the possible inclusions. On the other hand, there is nothing to suggest that the absent poems were not left out for thematic or stylistic reasons. The careful titles applied to many lines of poetry printed after the *Pilgrim* excerpts in V.a.339 suggest that the compiler was paying

¹¹⁰ This case for omission or supplementation, of course, does not take into account the more fluid and recurring interplay between manuscripts that indubitably occurred during their compilations; while it is possible that the compiler of one or the other of these manuscripts simply sat down with the other at hand and proceeded to copy out all the poems from his source text into a new and empty volume or sheaf of pages, it is far more likely that the process of sharing occurred over a much longer period of time, and that the compiler of each of these manuscripts was influenced not solely by the compiler of the other text, but also by a much larger collection of additional books and poems available from friends, family members, instructors, fellow students, and other correspondents.

careful attention to the themes of the texts from which he extracted his entries, and it is possible that the tense description of the sonneteer's 'two loves' felt incongruous with the more definitively romantic poems from *Pilgrim* placed together in the middle of the manuscript. Similarly, some of Benson's exclusions may indicate an editorial decision to portray the religious and thematic elements of Shakespeare's poetry in a wholly positive light or to exclude poems that were imperfect or no longer relevant to the collection as a whole. Among the eight excluded sonnets are three in which imagery associated with royalty or heaven could be understood negatively¹¹¹ and a fourth that is not properly a sonnet in the 1609 edition.¹¹² Finally, although it is currently difficult to identify any potentially negative images or allusions in omitted Sonnets 43, 56, and 75, the Bensonian excision of Sonnet 76 is evidence of metatextual genius—if unintentional—for in *Poems*, this sonnet's self-reference to Shakespeare's verses as 'far from variation or quick change' (76.2) would become, itself, a lie. Even if this self-referential contradiction did not lie behind the Sonnet 76 exclusion, this particular oversight must be forgiven Benson and his editor, for in the very edition omitting a sonnet

¹¹¹ At a stretch, the lion whose paws are to be blunted in Sonnet 19 could be read as an allusion to King Charles, whom Katherine Phillips described as 'The dying Lyon kick'd by every Ass' in her poem 'On the double murder of the King' (line 10), and the association of faults and base jewels with the figurative queen of Sonnet 96 could be similarly viewed as a criticism or belittling of a royal figure, although these are certainly not the most obvious readings that could be associated with these two poems. Still, it is difficult to interpret the care with which a poetic volume containing political imagery might have been constructed during the restless 1630s and 1640s. Similarly, Sonnet 18's remark that 'Sometime too hot the eye of heaven shines' (line 5) is the only instance in any of Shakespeare's sonnets—or, indeed, in any of the poems included in Benson's collection—in which heaven is criticised.

¹¹² It would be perhaps a little too fanciful to suggest that the missing lines from Sonnet 126 may have been omitted from the 1609 edition on account of offensive imagery or allusions that also led to the poem's eventual exclusion from Benson's edition, but it might be less specious to suggest that the same editor who carefully assembled so many short poetical texts attributed to Shakespeare became frustrated with the incompleteness of this text and excluded it on artistic grounds.

establishing textual stability, Benson and his editor have also destabilised the sonnets, for the first time in print.

‘And thou in this shalt finde thy monument’ (107.13): Titles

Beyond its structure as a commonplace book, the 1640 *Poems* also shares many common elements with the less formal verse miscellanies that, although often less clearly structured than the Nottingham manuscript or Benson’s *Poems*, helped—if obliquely—to shape many stationers’ approaches to contemporaneous printed texts. As Anne Ferry has elegantly discussed in great detail in *The Title to the Poem*, the practice of titling poems began in the miscellanies of early modern England, and often indicated the transcriber’s particular status or importance.¹¹³ Manuscripts of Shakespeare’s Sonnet 2 frequently present the poem under some version of the title ‘To one that would dye a Mayd,’¹¹⁴ or, slightly less frequently, with the Latin header ‘Spes Altera,’¹¹⁵ but the Nottingham manuscript and Rosenbach 1083/17 title the poem ‘W. S. A Lover to his Mistres’ and ‘The Benefitt of Marriage,’ respectively. Only St. John’s College (Cambridge) MS S.23 leaves the sonnet untitled. In Folger MS V.a.345, the title is followed by ‘A Song,’

¹¹³ Ferry notes in her book that ‘Often the wording of a title in this early modern period appropriated further authority for the giver by adding information otherwise unavailable to the reader even after having read the poem itself, information about its authorship or the circumstances in which it was written. Such a title . . . could give the maker of it status as an implied insider, a member of a coterie, someone closer than the reader to notable figures and events’ (12).

¹¹⁴ This title is used for Sonnet 2 in Yale Osborn MS.b.205, Westminster Abbey MA 41, BL Sloane MS 1792, BL Add. MS 30982, and Folger MS V.a.170.

¹¹⁵ BL Add. MSs 10309, 21433, and 25303; Folger MS V.a.345; and London Metropolitan Archives MS Acc/1360/528 all include copies of Sonnet 2 under this title.

indicating—as with the ‘Merry’ and ‘Serious’ headers in Nottingham MS Pw.V.37—that a specific form of response is expected by the compiler. For other poems, most of which appear only once or twice within the known manuscripts of Shakespeare’s sonnets, titles include the obvious ‘A Sonnet,’ the more thematic ‘On his Mistris Beauty,’ and the Latin ‘In laudem Musice et gynobrium.’¹¹⁶

The frequent recurrence of the titles ‘To one that would dye a Mayd’ and ‘Spes Altera,’ allowing for some scribal variation, as well as the repetition of ‘On his Mistris Beauty’ in Pierpont Morgan MS 1057 and Rosenbach MS 1083/16 do suggest that many early transcribers of Shakespeare’s sonnets were less interested in retitling the poems than in copying and recopying the original texts as faithfully as possible. On the other hand, when these sonnets were first printed in 1609, and even when two of them appeared in the 1599 *The Passionate Pilgrim*, they were untitled, and when they entered into manuscripts in the early seventeenth century, four fifths of the copied versions gained titles.¹¹⁷ Whether all or some of Shakespeare’s sonnets originally had titles in a now-lost manuscript whose paratext Thorpe ignored or whether—as is perhaps more likely—these titles were added during the sonnets’ respective isolations and adaptations into early manuscripts, the act of titling remains the same: the compilers of several of these early manuscripts expended time and energy upon the creation of titles—paratextual matter that

¹¹⁶ Folger MS V.a.162 heads both Sonnet 32 and Sonnet 71 ‘A Sonnet,’ a poetical appellation they share with seven other poems within the miscellany. ‘On his Mistris Beauty’ heads Sonnet 106 in Pierpont Morgan MA 1057 and—with the common abbreviation ‘M^{ris}’ for ‘Mistris’—in Rosenbach MS 1083/16. The Latin title of Sonnet 8 can be found in BL Add. MS 15226. Sonnets 116, 128, and 138, in New York Public Library Drexel MS 4257, Bodleian MS. Rawl. Poet. 152, and Folger MS V.a.339, respectively, are untitled.

¹¹⁷ In addition to the untitled Sonnet 2 in St. Johns College MS S.23, the musical version of Sonnet 116 in NYPL Drexel MS 4257, the copy of Sonnet 128 in Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 152, and the copy of Sonnet 138 in Folger MS V.a.339 are also untitled, so that of the twenty pre-Bensonian transcriptions of Shakespeare’s sonnets, eighty percent (16) are titled in some fashion.

influenced the organisation and focus of their collections—and other compilers either followed their examples or replaced these titles with others. The four extant titles of Sonnet 2 suggest either that up to three separate compilers took it upon themselves to modify a title suggested by a fourth copyist or that up to four separate individuals, with no knowledge of one another, individually found and enjoyed the sonnet and were motivated, when transcribing it, to title it according to their respective interpretations. Whether the titles for Benson's edition were relics from an earlier manuscript or applied in the printhouse, their applications are clearly in keeping with early modern acts of readership practiced by Benson's predecessors and contemporaries.

'Varying to other words' (105.10): Emendations

It seems pedantic to note the few occasions on which Benson's text deliberately alters a single word or pair of words from those printed in earlier texts, and an exercise in the exhaustingly trivial to offer even a selection from the dozens of instances in which the same action is performed within the manuscript copies of the sonnets themselves, or other and similar poems, when there exist among the twenty pre-Bensonian manuscripts of the sonnets at least two substantial revisions that make all these single-word emendations little more than trifles. Familiar to most scholars of the sonnets will be the frequently-revised version of Sonnet 2 passed between members of the Christ Church community during the 1620s and 1630s; in the most common variant, found in a dozen early manuscripts, a compiler turned editor has counted 'forty' winters as 'threescore,' turned 'digge deep

trenches' into 'trench deep furrowes,' amended 'gaz'd on' to 'accounted,' revised 'a totter'd weed' to 'rotten weeds' and 'smal' worth to 'no' worth, changed 'treasure' to 'lustre,' (subtly) altered 'thine owne deepe' sunken eyes to 'these hollow-sunken' eyes, modified 'shame' to 'truth' and 'thrifltesse' (more gently) to 'worthlesse,' replaced 'more praise deseru'd' with 'better were,' generalised 'answer' to 'say,' shifted 'Shall sum' to 'saves,' conjugated 'make' to 'makes,' simplified 'Proouing' to 'making,' and enhanced 'made' to 'born.'¹¹⁸

While the adaptation of Sonnet 2 may be a splendid example of the heavy textual modifications impressed upon a Shakespearean sonnet by a pre-Bensonian editor, an even more fascinating revision is found in New York Public Library Drexel MS 4257, in which Sonnet 116 is broken from the constraints of its original structure and heavily modified to allow for its transformation into the lyrics for a song composed, according to the manuscript, by Henry Lawes. Modern readers familiar with the original version as seen in the quarto or Benson's octavo, both of which begin 'Let me not to the marriage of true minds / Admit impediments' might not instantly recognise the sonnet in the NYPL manuscript, whose eighteen-line version begins 'Selfe blinding error seazeth all those mindes; who with falce Appellations call that loue . . .' and supplements the remainder of Shakespeare's text with religious couplets comparing false or feeble love 'not much unlike y^e

¹¹⁸ The variants listed here are based on the text presented in BL Add. MS 10309, but closely matches the versions of Sonnet 2 found in WA MS 41; Folger MS V.a.345; and BL MSs Sloane 1792, Add. 21433, Add. 25303, and Add. 30982, except that all these retain the number 'forty' in the first line. A version retaining the original 'forty' and substituting (rotten) 'cloaths' for 'weeds' appears in V.a.170; the sonnet as it appears in Nottingham Portland MS Pw.V.37 retains most of these variations but retains the original 'forty' of line 1 and suggests 'esteemed' in place of 'gaz'd on' or 'accounted' (line 3) and 'yeilds' instead of 'make' and 'makes' (line 11). The version in Rosenbach MS 1083/17 differs, again, from all these, offering unusual—and simplified—variants such as 'yeares' for 'winters,' and 'fairer feild' [*sic*] for 'fair beauty.' St John's MS S.23 maintains, for the most part, the sonnet text as given in the 1609 quarto.

hereticks p^rsence / that scites trew scripture but p^rsents thes sence:’ and contrasting the true love of Shakespeare’s sonnet with ‘mountebanks with eierdeludeing flashes / But flameing Martyr in his holy ashes.’¹¹⁹ Whether the sonnet’s concluding couplet would have been unsuitable as a refrain, or whether Lawes was simply desirous of introducing his religious ideals into the poem is uncertain,¹²⁰ but the heavy variations of the first lines, the four new and non-Shakespearean lines added to the remainder of the poem, and a number of smaller modifications performed upon individual words in the rest of the song all combine to create a version of Shakespeare’s Sonnet 116 that is not only drastically revised from the original text, but also wholly unrecognizable, structurally, as a sonnet. Even the pre-Bensonian variations of Sonnet 2 are far more attentive to the original text and its meanings than is this musical adaptation with its heavily religious overtones that slant the poem’s focus, forcing the singers of the Lawes version to pay equal attention to the roles of love and religion as compared within the song. If Benson’s *Poems* is, as David Baker suggests, a political text subtly promoting the views of early modern Royalists,¹²¹ the undertones of Benson’s rearrangements and occasional textual modifications are so much subtler than those of the Lawes poem as to seem almost absent from the finished text.

¹¹⁹ NPYL MS Drexel 4257, song 33 [folio 17r].

¹²⁰ BL Add. MS 15226 breaks Sonnet 8 into stanzas of four, four, and six lines respectively, but here again the concluding couplet does not seem to be viewed as a chorus, and if this is indeed transcribed as lyrics, the means of addressing the unequal stanzas in the music is not indicated. The version of Sonnet 2 in Folger MS V.a.345, which adds ‘A Song’ to the title ‘Spes Altera,’ breaks that poem into four stanzas, three of four lines and the final couplet alone as an abbreviated concluding verse.

¹²¹ See Baker’s ‘Cavalier Shakespeare.’ Baker argues not that Benson intended this reading of the poems, but that the volume’s ‘cavalier packaging’ (154) enhanced readings such as that provided by the compiler of Folger MS V.a.148, who ‘was interested in imagery invoking the lamentable mortality and collapse of majesty and kingdoms’ (171).

Although a large number of early modern manuscript compilers copied texts from one another with very few modifications—and a number of those can be attributed to misreading or mishearing the original text rather than to deliberate revision—it is certainly true that, from time to time, a text was adapted and revised by its copyists and compilers. Certainly there are several manuscript versions of Sonnet 2, to say nothing of two printed versions of Sonnets 138 and 144, and certainly the Lawes version of Sonnet 116 reflects a very intentional restructuring of the poem to accomplish political, religious, and possibly musical ends as well. As can also be seen in manuscripts of non-Shakespearean texts, such as those to be discussed during the second half of this chapter, the compilers and owners of manuscripts revised the texts they collected in many ways, and for a large number of reasons. Where Benson's text differs quite heavily from the modifications made to the sonnets—and other poems—by manuscript compilers of the early seventeenth century, however, is in its restraint. It is more than possible that the handful of words changed in the 1640 edition reflected not an ulterior political motive or an attempt to conceal the sonnets' sexual tensions, but rather a literary preference or even a simple editorial or typographical error. From the printed form of the text of *Poems*, it is clear that Benson's compiler had the texts of both *The Passionate Pilgrim* and the 1609 quarto available to him; rather than selecting particular lines he preferred from each, he carefully selected the earliest version of each poem for his inclusion in the edition of the poetical works of William Shakespeare. The handful of words altered in other sonnets suggests not concealment but literary attentiveness, and the textual emendations made throughout the 1640 *Poems* reflect a subtler—and thus more publicly versatile—version of the alterations found in BL Add. MS. 10309 or NYPL MS Drexel 4257.

Conclusion: ‘And in this change is my invention spent’ (105.11)

Although it is of course improbable that London stationer John Benson—or his unknown compiler—ever read or drew upon any of the specific manuscripts of Shakespeare’s sonnets discussed here, Benson and his editor or source would have been familiar with manuscripts of similar types, and it is thus imperative that these texts be taken as indicative of the ways in which Shakespeare’s sonnets were read, decontextualised, conflated, supplemented, titled, emended, and otherwise generally transformed by a large number of early modern readers. Whether these manuscripts and their compilers specifically influenced Benson—a relationship that would be impossible to establish today in the absence of any more explicit evidence—they are significantly indicative of the early modern approach not just to poetry and verse miscellanies in general, but specifically to Shakespeare’s poetry within verse miscellanies. Early seventeenth-century readers of Shakespeare’s sonnets felt comfortable performing the same actions upon Sonnets 2, 8, 32, 71, 106, 116, 128, and 138—to say nothing of a handful of sonnets from *The Passionate Pilgrim* transcribed in Folger MS V.a.339—that Benson’s compiler likewise performed, whether on his own or during the preparation of a copy-text for print. For much of the remainder of this chapter, I will explore the ways in which these adaptations and similar textual approaches were used by compilers and original authors alike in dozens of other, contemporaneous miscellanies, which, taken in conjunction with the twenty pre-Bensonian Sonnet manuscripts, corporately if not individually influenced the structure, contents, and apparatus used in the creation of the printed *Poems* of 1640. In most of these early texts, the approaches used by manuscript compilers are similar but more drastic versions of

those used by the creator of the copy-text for *Poems*, and this is probably indicative of the differences between manuscript and printed texts in the early modern period. Compiling for personal benefit or perhaps—if a scribe—for an individual commissioner, the manuscript compilers had the freedom to personalise the texts they copied as heavily as they wished; political and religious themes could be emphasised without fear of repercussion and titles or the text to be transcribed and emended could be slanted to fit one particular individual and no more. Benson's edition incorporates all the textual elements seen in these early sonnet manuscripts, but softens and mutes their impact for maximum vendibility. While borrowing from the same culture that produced the decontextualised copy of Sonnet 2 in Yale Osborn MS b.205, the conflated Sonnet 106 in Rosenbach MS 1083/16, and the revised texts of Sonnets 2, 8, and 116 in many varying manuscripts, Benson's edition also modifies their adaptative approaches to appeal to a broader audience whose custom he hopes to woo with a readable edition that emulates the elite manuscript traditions upon which it has drawn.

Where Benson's edition differs most widely from the early seventeenth-century manuscripts of the sonnets is primarily with respect to quantity. Even Folger V.a.148, which adapts its collection of sonnet extracts directly from Benson's text, has pieces of only twenty-eight sonnets (as well as some of the other poems from *Pilgrim*), in stark contrast with Benson's hundred and forty-six original sonnets and dozens of supplemental pieces. This is to be expected; the early miscellanies that contain Shakespeare's sonnets are all collections of a wide variety of poems that their compilers enjoyed or appreciated, and when their compilers include more poems by one particular author or another, it is frequently—as in the Christ Church miscellanies—because he or she felt a particular affinity with the

poets included. British Library Add. MS. 30982—assembled by Daniel Leare, a cousin of popular early author William Strode—contains twenty-five poems by Richard Corbett and nearly a hundred by Strode himself. Such strong collections of poetry by particular authors are indicative, in this manuscript and others, of the circles in which the compiler moved and the influences under which the miscellany was created. In the manuscript anthologies of poets such as Donne and Herbert, and in a wide variety of miscellanies composed in the first half of the seventeenth century that omitted any works by Shakespeare, the same sorts of revisions and emendations as those found in the manuscripts with Shakespeare's sonnets and in Benson's printed edition are likewise to be found.

MORE THAN A MISCELLANY: ANTHOLOGISING EARLY MODERN AUTHORS IN *POEMS* AND BEYOND

Because John Benson's understandable, if erroneous, belief that the poems from *The Passionate Pilgrim* were by Shakespeare caused a selection of non-Shakespearean poems to be scattered through the Shakespearean section of his publication, it is easy to relate *Poems* to the previously discussed seventeenth-century miscellanies whose compilers practiced many of the same textual approaches found in the 1640 collection. Because all of the incorrectly attributed poems had, in fact, been attributed to Shakespeare in the 1612 edition of Jaggard's popular pamphlet, however, it is also important to examine Benson's own text not just as a miscellany—since this relationship is purely accidental—but also as a single-author collection. John Benson has for far too long been blamed for errors of

supplementation that rightly belong to Jaggard, and the 1640 *Poems*—whatever its other flaws may have been—clearly distinguished between poems that were thought to be by Shakespeare and poems that were known to have been written by other authors.

As a collection of works by a single author, *Poems* follows in the footsteps not only of the commonplace books and verse miscellanies assembled academically and sometimes capriciously by university students, members of the Inns of Court, and others, but also in the footsteps of manuscripts whose primary purpose seems to have been to assemble numerous works by one specific author within one designated text. Some of these, such as the Williams and Bodleian manuscripts of the poems of George Herbert, were likely compiled with future publication in mind, while others, such as the Dalhousie and Westmoreland manuscripts of Donne's poems or the Stoughton manuscript featuring the poems of Henry King, may have been intended simply for personal and private enjoyment. Despite their many differences, these manuscripts, and others that similarly highlight the work of only one or two early authors, also demonstrate many of the textual approaches utilised in Benson's *Poems*, and often, because of the nature of their construction, are far more similar to the Benson text than were their miscellaneous contemporaries.

'Thy words do finde me out / and parallels bring'¹²²: Printing Herbert's *Temple*

The relationship between the two extant manuscript anthologies of the poetry of George Herbert is perhaps as strikingly similar to that between the 1609

¹²² Herbert, 'Holy Scriptures II,' lines 11-12.

Sonnets and the 1640 *Poems* as any two manuscripts could be. The earlier Williams MS (Jones MS B 62), written in a careful scribal hand and annotated by Herbert himself,¹²³ contains fewer than half the poems found in the later Bodleian MS (Tanner MS 307), copied after the poet's death and probably used as the base text for the 1633 Thomas Buck edition of Herbert's poems.¹²⁴ Both volumes exhibit a deliberate care in their respective constructions, and, as Amy Charles notes, 'in both volumes the soul moves haltingly but surely to the final triumph of joy in "Love,"'¹²⁵ but the Bodleian text builds upon the earlier volume, 'expan[ding] and re-ordering' its predecessor into a 'more complex and more subtle' collection and sequence,¹²⁶ and, in the process, performing upon Herbert's poems the sorts of reorganizations, (occasional) conflations, supplementations, omissions, and emendations that are applied to the Shakespearean sonnets in Benson's 1640 edition. The difference, to modern critics, is that most of the changes to Herbert's edition presumably stem from his growth as a writer, and the development of his own canon through his own authorial additions and reconsiderations of past texts. Both the Williams MS and the 1609 *Sonnets* were published—one scribally, and one in print—during their authors' lifetimes, and both the Bodleian MS and the 1640 *Poems* were assembled, so far as we know, after their authors' deaths. Herbert's posthumous assemblage, possibly transcribed by members of the Little Gidding community,¹²⁷ is clearly a more authorial collection than the 1640 *Poems*,

¹²³ This bibliographic information is provided in Margaret Crum's bibliographical description of the volume in question, quoted in the 'Introduction' to Amy Charles, ed. *The Williams Manuscript of George Herbert's Poems*, New York: SFR, 1977.

¹²⁴ Mario A. Di Cesare, ed. *George Herbert The Temple: A Diplomatic Edition of the Bodleian Manuscript (Tanner 307)*, Binghamton: MRTS, 1995, xxxiii.

¹²⁵ Charles xxviii.

¹²⁶ Charles xxix, xxx.

¹²⁷ Di Cesare attributes the copying of the Bodleian manuscript to 'Anna and Mary Collett, and perhaps also their mother, Susanna Collett,' the former the nieces of

but the similarity between forms of adaptation used in both these editions is significant for its very typicality: the changes made by Benson or his employee reflect common modifications used by authors, copyists, and editors alike during the Carolinean era. The emphasis of this correlation is in no way intended to diminish Herbert's almost certain influence over the transformation of his poems into the fuller and more matured version evident in the Williams MS and in the subsequent publication of *The Temple*, and neither is it in any way intended to imply that Shakespeare had any part in the assembly of Benson's *Poems* (particularly in light of that volume's inclusion of many non-Shakespearean texts). Rather, the similar textual approaches between the second Herbert manuscript and the Shakespearean second edition reflect a specific model of early modern textual treatment that was applied by authors to their own works and also by editors to the works they were preparing or compiling for publication. As George Herbert the poet developed and matured, he reshaped and restructured his poetical corpus, refining its sequence to create a specific reading experience, conflating and separating poems to develop the collection more elegantly, and revising the texts where necessary to articulate his meaning more precisely.¹²⁸ The modifications to Shakespeare's sonnets and other short poems included in Benson's edition reflect a

Nicholas Ferrar, founder of the Little Gidding community. Elizabeth Clarke, in 'George Herbert and Cambridge Scholars,' *George Herbert Journal* 27.1-2 (2003-4), highlights Ferrar's active role in getting the volume published. Anne Ferry, in 'Titles in George Herbert's "little Book,"' *English Literary Renaissance* 23.2 (1993), takes great care to refer to both the Bodleian and Williams manuscripts as 'authoritative' (321). J. Max Patrick, in his now-printed lecture 'Critical Problems in Editing George Herbert's *The Temple*' (in J. Max Patrick and Alan Roper, *The Editor as Critic and the Critic as Editor*, Los Angeles, 1973), even suggested that Herbert may have sent a fair form of this text to the printers himself before his death (12).

¹²⁸ Charles' specific summary of the modifications—important because the words she uses are remarkably like those applied negatively to Benson's text—is that the Williams text is 'reordered, expanded, corrected, and refined' (xxviii).

similar approach, made by a compiler or editor who was familiar with the contemporaneous attitudes towards poetical development and revision and who applied these, in a manner common to early modern poets and readers, to the texts in his possession.

Even the most cursory comparison of the two Herbert manuscripts will reveal that a great deal of revision was imposed upon the titles and sequence of the Williams manuscript by the compiler or editor of the later Bodleian manuscript. Both manuscripts begin with the long poem 'The Church-porch' and continue with some form of the poems titled 'Peirranterium' and 'Superliminare' in the earlier manuscript (both appear on the same page, although separated by several horizontal lines, in the later copy, where the former is titled 'Superliminare' and the latter left untitled).¹²⁹ The next four poems are the same in both editions. Where the Williams manuscript follows Herbert's poem of thanksgiving beginning 'I have consider'd it and find' with two poems both titled 'The Passion' and then the penitential 'Good Friday,' in the later text 'Good Friday' begins the sequence, conflated with a revised version of the first 'The Passion' poem, while the second 'The Passion' is retitled 'Redemption.'¹³⁰ Similar conflations and retitlings are practiced throughout the restructured sequence of the Bodleian manuscript, and while in many cases the revisions do clarify or refocus the shape of the collection as a whole or the impact of a particular poem, they also treat the poems and sequence of the Williams

¹²⁹ See fols. 14v-15r in the Williams manuscript and page 38 in the Bodleian copy. The pagination of the original texts is maintained in the facsimile and diplomatic edition.

¹³⁰ See Williams MS fols 25v-26v and Bodleian MS pages 56-8. The first lines of 'The Passion (I)' are given as 'Since nothing Lord can bee so good / To write thy sorrows in, as blood' in the earlier text, while in its conflated form the equivalent lines read 'Since blood is fittest, Lord, to write / Thy sorrows in, & bloody fight.' It is also worth noting that the revised form of 'Good Friday' is an obvious conflation, since the two halves of the poem are not metrically consistent.

manuscript in much the same way as Benson's editor treated the quarto text of Shakespeare's sonnets and the 1612 version of *The Passionate Pilgrim*.

Like the sequence in *Poems*, the organisation of the Tanner manuscript and the contemporaneously published *Temple* is complex and not immediately evident, even by—as Random Cloud notes—some of the text's earliest editors.¹³¹ The structures Herbert's critics eventually suggest for his edition are adventures in fluidity: from Louis L. Martz's early description of the 'subtle, almost intangible sense of unity which pervades the interior of Herbert's *Temple*'¹³² to Helen Vendler's assertion that Herbert's poems, as presented in the *Temple*, 'permit successive and often mutually contradictory expressions of the self as it explores the truth of feeling.'¹³³ Amy Charles moves beyond these and presents a complex argument which requires one to read Herbert's arrangement using no fewer than five separate chronologies:

Even an experienced reader trying to determine the pattern of *The Temple* must divine and catch the sense at two or more removes. [In t]he final arrangement . . . the reader must discern and follow several orders at a time: the physical order in which he follows the poet

¹³¹ Cloud, in 'FIAT fLUX,' in his own edited volume *Crisis in Editing: Texts of the English Renaissance* (New York: AMS, 1994), 61-172, suggests that our modern reading of the shape poem 'Easter Wings' is erroneous, and that a series of editors over nearly four centuries have repeatedly misread two poems, with the same title, as two stanzas in one common poem, thereby effectively demonstrating loyalty 'to the substitute, which their actions over the generations render incrementally more and more familiar and credible, as the evidence becomes excrementally more and more quaint and disregarded' (127-8).

¹³² Louis L. Martz, *The Poetry of Meditation: A Study in English Religious Literature of the Seventeenth Century*, New Haven: Yale UP, 1954, 287. Martz goes on to explain that 'Herbert has taken pains to avoid any obvious, easy arrangement: chronological, thematic, or otherwise. . . . The spiritual life (the *Temple* seems to say) will not fall into such easy patterns' (296)

¹³³ Helen Vendler, *The Poetry of George Herbert*, Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1975, 56.

through the preparatory stages into the church; a generally chronological arrangement[;] . . . a theological arrangement leading from sin to salvation; and, most importantly, the spiritual arrangement in which the soul grows in knowledge and understanding of God's love towards man, undergoes trials and discouragement, and is drawn gradually, sometimes haltingly, but inexorably from the point of partial knowledge to that of knowing even as it is known, in Herbert's quiet surrender to divine love . . .¹³⁴

Under a similar critical lens—and one not so unlike that of the nineteenth- and twentieth-century scholars eager to rearrange Shakespeare's sonnets for maximum critical and fictional impact—*Poems* too might be seen to possess a complex narrative structure, based on personal growth, chronology (or time and eternity), theology (or politics), and the development of the spirit as it begins to understand love. Certainly the four-part structure Charles describes is, while impressive and plausible, so complex that a similar assessment could be made of almost any contemporaneous text, were enough factors included in the resulting evaluation.¹³⁵

The similar themes in Herbert's more authorial text are no more definitive than the narratives many post-Bensonian critics have found in the quarto sequence of the sonnets—or in their own rearrangements thereof—but what is true in both cases is that the compilers of both *The Temple* and *Poems*, whether authorial or editorial, have recognised common themes and identified them by titling and arranging the

¹³⁴ Charles xxx.

¹³⁵ Necessitating an even more complex approach to the overall sequence, Paul Dyck in ““Thou didst betray me to a lingring book”: Discovering Affliction in *The Temple*,” *George Herbert Journal* 28.1-2 (2004-5), suggests that the volume's repetitive titles, at least in the case of the poems titled ‘Affliction,’ are ‘a problem that readers must solve: the repeated titles point backwards and forwards in ways that interrupt linear reading’ (29).

poems in some sort of logical sequence. The prevalent themes in Shakespeare's sonnets, particularly as identified by the Bensonian titles, can likewise be made to form a number of miniature narratives, and if the religious journey evident in *The Temple* takes Herbert and his readers through a narrative of repeated repentance and continued grace, so too the adventurer in Benson's sequence experiences, with equal repetition, passion for the beloved's beauty and concern over the beloved's commitment (or lack thereof), punctuated with occasional moments of joy and pleasure upon catching sight of (or being loved by) the beloved.

'Change is the nursery / Of music, joy, life and eternity'¹³⁶: Collecting John Donne

Of course no examination of single-author miscellanies—whether manuscripts or printed—would be complete without a mention of John Donne, whose poems feature prominently in the Dalhousie manuscripts, St Paul's Cathedral MS 49, the Westmoreland manuscript, and the O'Flahertie manuscript, among dozens of others. As Arthur Marotti and Joshua Eckhardt have noted, the collection and ownership of poems by Donne could be at times heavily political in nature, although there also seems to have been some degree of personal preference involved in the process.¹³⁷ A large assortment of collected poems by Donne appears

¹³⁶ Donne, 'Elegie III,' lines 35-6. See his 1633 *Poems* (48).

¹³⁷ Joshua Eckhardt suggests that ownership of the Dalhousie manuscript, with its many poems by Donne, was a sort of consolation prize for Robert Devereaux, earl of Essex, who lost his wife to Robert Carr, earl of Somerset, but still ended up with the manuscript, the textual representation of 'an impressive network of clients and friends, many of whom had served in his father's military campaigns' (82). Noting the insufficiency of the text in light of Essex's losses, Eckhardt quips, 'Somerset got the girl, but Essex got the poetry,' for the Dalhousie manuscripts contained pieces that Somerset and even Donne himself were striving—and failing—to obtain

in more than sixty manuscript collections of his era,¹³⁸ although the word ‘assortment’ may be incorrect; Harold Love notes that ‘Donne followed the practice of the classical poets in structuring his output into groups determined by genre,’¹³⁹ suggesting that the carefully controlled distribution of Donne’s poems may have limited and structured the compilations his recipients eventually assembled. What these collections do provide—to say nothing of the individual, isolated, and recontextualised Donne poems that appear in hundreds of other contemporaneous manuscripts, sometimes even those that contain one of Shakespeare’s sonnets—is manuscript precedent for the editorial approaches used not only for the 1633 *Poems* of Donne, which is perhaps to be expected, but for the 1640 *Poems* of Shakespeare.

The O’Flahertie MS of Donne’s poems now owned by Harvard Library contains one of the largest contemporary collections of Donne’s works, and has been utilised by the poet’s editors and critics since long before collation with manuscripts was fashionable.¹⁴⁰ Like Benson’s *Poems*, the manuscript contains an incomplete (but extensive) collection of the poems found in the 1633 printed edition; also like Benson’s *Poems* it contains nearly three dozen poems now believed to have been by Donne’s contemporaries, rather than by the Dean himself. The title page introducing the volume boldly claims the contents to be ‘The Poems

(82). Marotti notes that Francis Davison, compiler of *A Poetical Rhapsody*, also ‘could not gain access to the poet’s work. It was easier for him to obtain privately circulated poems of the Court than to lay his hands on Donne’s verse’ (xi).

¹³⁸ Beal’s *Index* lists sixty-three early modern manuscripts containing ten or more poems by Donne; thirty-four of these contain significant and dateable selections from his collection, while the others appear to be more miscellaneous (I.1.250-8).

¹³⁹ Love *Publication* 51.

¹⁴⁰ In the preface to his early-twentieth-century edition of Donne (OUP, 1938 [1912]), Herbert J. C. Grierson discusses the benefits and complications of manuscript collation, criticizing earlier critics who had based ‘a text on any single extant manuscript’ (v) but noting that ‘as wide a collation as possible of extant manuscripts . . . would . . . establish in many cases what was, whether right or wrong, the traditional reading before any printed edition appeared’ (v). He includes the O’Flahertie text among the eleven manuscripts consulted (xxii).

of D. J. Donne, / Not yet imprinted,' and dates itself as 'finishd this 12 of October 1632.'¹⁴¹ The title page breaks down the contents of the volume into eight groupings apparently determined by genre and form, but the following leaf lists the volume's contents in a 'Table' that serves primarily as a first-line index to the book's contents; placed at the end, it would be a traditional index. Like the printed edition that would appear the year after its completion, the O'Flahertie MS opens with most of Donne's more spiritual poems, although the overall sequence does not match that of the printed text. Irregular numbers of blank pages between sections suggest either that the compiler hoped to obtain additional poems at a later date or that the volume was not transcribed sequentially. Finally, the more than thirty non-canonical poems included in the volume are scattered throughout it, suggesting that the compiler of the manuscript, like the individual who incorporated the non-Shakespearean texts from *The Passionate Pilgrim* into Benson's 1640 miscellany, was unaware of their dubious authorship.

St. Paul's Cathedral Library MS 49.b.43 contains a smaller but more directly focused collection of Donne's earlier poems.¹⁴² Perhaps a little unusually, it contains only poems definitely by Donne himself, and the poems it contains bear many textual similarities to the versions of these same verses used in the eventual print publication of Donne's poetical works. However, the collection as a whole is remarkably different from that presented in the O'Flahertie manuscript, and the differences do not seem particularly linked to the expansion of Donne's canon.

¹⁴¹ O'Flahertie [ii], recto.

¹⁴² The Digital Donne project defines this cathedral MS as part of the 'Group I' MSs, which 'descend from a single prototype and contain an essentially identical canon in an essentially identical order. They contain no poem written later than 1614, concluding with the epicede on the Lord Harrington (who died in 1614) and possibly preserve, at some remove, a collection of poems that Donne assembled for publication prior to his entry into the ministry in 1615.' <http://digitaldonne.tamu.edu/SP1-biblio.html>. Accessed 15 November, 2011.

Where the O'Flahertie begins with Donne's spiritual texts, including the 'A Letany' sequence, 'Good ffryday. 1613,' 'Of the Crosse,' and the sequence of religious sonnets now known by their 1633 denotation 'Holy Sonnets,'¹⁴³ the earlier St. Paul's text—with no prefatory material—springs instantly into five of Donne's satires and transitions from these into a bawdy collection of Elegies. The Holy Sonnet sequence is relegated to the middle third of the text, where it begins on the bottom half of a verso, visually overwhelmed by the conclusion to the previous poem extolling the virtues of the Countess of Salisbury.¹⁴⁴ Like the variant sequences of poems offered by the Thorpe and Benson editions of Shakespeare's poems, the differing sequences of Donne's poems in the O'Flahertie and St. Paul's manuscripts corporately provide two unique reading experiences: in the earlier text, Donne's poems are all weighted more or less equally, inserted one after the next with few page breaks and no section breaks to indicate thematic or stylistic variations, while the O'Flaherty manuscript anticipates the structuring of the 1633 *Poems* in which Donne's spiritual poems are forced to the forefront of the volume, so that a reader of Donne would experience his poetry first through his devotion and only later through his sensual wit. The titles, as in so many of Donne's manuscripts, occasionally differ, but these variants are fairly steadfast and seem less to offer new readings than to be the products of various scribes and readers with varying degrees of insight into the poems or interest in titling them.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴³ These begin on pages 1, 11, 12, and 20 respectively; there are several other poems between 'Of the Crosse' and 'The Crown,' which latter begins the Holy Sonnets sequence, and all of these are similarly spiritual in nature. The 'Holy Sonnets' begin in the 1633 printed edition on page 28, where 'The Crown' has been retitled 'La Corona,' a revision also found in the St. Paul's manuscript.

¹⁴⁴ p. 108.

¹⁴⁵ Donne's 'Divine Meditations' are untitled in both the O'Flahertie and St. Paul's manuscripts alike. In both texts the Holy Sonnets and Satires are simply numbered. Most of the individual poems in the St. Paul's manuscript are titled, many with the

The Dalhousie manuscripts of Donne's poetry differ from the O'Flahertie and St. Paul's manuscripts in many ways, not least because of the vast number of noncanonical poems they incorporate into the collection. Although pieces by Donne make up the bulk of the collection in both its volumes, the first poem by the Dean himself does not appear until fol. 16r of the first volume, after prose pieces by Archbishop George Abbot and James I and poems by Edward de Vere, Sir John Davies, Sir Henry Wotton, Sir Robert Ayton, and a number of other unidentified poets, mostly reputable authors and nobles of high status, much like the 'gentlemen' whose poems flesh out the concluding section of Benson's 1640 *Poems*. Following upon a string of amorous and courtly selections, Donne's 'Marrye: and loue thy flauia for she' thrusts itself upon the page and moves the focus of the miscellany from courtship to overt sexuality. Donne's sensual vitriol is complemented by the next poem, 'The Curse,' which appears on the following recto, only to be somewhat ameliorated by the next poems in the miscellany, Joshua Sylvester's cautionary 'Bewayre fayre Maud; of musicke courtiers oathes,' and a similarly themed anonymous poem on virginity proclaiming 'Lost Iewells may be recouered, virginitye neuer: / That's lost but once, and once lost, lost for ever.'¹⁴⁶ Even in the space of these few pages, it is clear that the Dalhousie compiler has no qualms about recontextualising Donne's poems into his own sensual narrative of seduction, nor about interspersing canonical Donne with thematically related poems by his contemporaries. Although the correct order for some of the pages and quires

titles by which they would eventually be known in print, while a large number of the O'Flahertie poems are left untitled.

¹⁴⁶ Dalhousie MS I.17v.

is, as Ernest Sullivan notes, difficult to establish,¹⁴⁷ the collection in general is arranged more by theme than by genre: in the first volume, the included Satires are bundled together in a cluster, while all but ten of Donne's Elegies (in two groups of five) are scattered widely throughout the volume; in the second, only four appear in close proximity.¹⁴⁸ Many of the poems in this volume are untitled, several of them have been corrected and revised, and, of course, there are many textual variants between the texts of the poems in these manuscripts, the texts of the poems in the St. John's manuscript, the texts of the poems in the O'Flahertie manuscript, and the texts of the poems that were eventually printed in the 1633 edition of Donne's works. Like the collection of poems eventually printed in Benson's 1640 Shakespeare text, the sequences and contexts in these Donne manuscripts each offer readers a particular textual experience of Donne's poems, shaped by the themes and poetical elements its compiler preferred. Similarly, just as the transcriptions in each manuscript demonstrate one verse collector's encounters with and responses to Donne's poetry—and specific works by his fellow early modern poets—so Benson's *Poems* illustrates both one compiler's experience with the sonnets of Shakespeare and his contemporaries, and also stationer Benson's interpretation of elements that he expected to appeal to his early modern clientele.

Where the O'Flahertie manuscript opens with Donne's spiritual texts and the St. Paul's manuscript simply includes them in the volume as equal to but no more significant than his other poems, the spiritual aspects of the Dalhousie

¹⁴⁷ 'Introduction,' *The First and Second Dalhousie Manuscripts: Poems and Prose by John Donne and others, A Facsimile Edition*, Columbia: U Missouri P, 1988, 1-3.

¹⁴⁸ The elegies in volume I appear beginning on fols. 16r and 27r, then 30v, 31r, 32r, 32v, and 33r in a row, then 48v, 49v, 50r, 51r, and 51v in another cluster, and finally 53v. In volume 2, the first two begin on fols 5r and 9r, then a sequence of four on fols. 15r-17r, then more in isolation on fols. 25r, 27r, and 31r.

manuscripts are derived not from poems by Donne, but from the supplemental verses by other authors scattered throughout the volumes. Sullivan notes that many of the poems appear in very early forms, and dates the body of the collection to pre-1609 and some of the prefatory and conclusive insertions to pre-1617;¹⁴⁹ this would account for the omission of Donne's spiritual verses, but the Latin prayer that appears early in the first volume, and the short poem on the symbolism of the arms of Christ that follows immediately after it, suggest that the compilers, had they¹⁵⁰ had access to Donne's religious poetry, would not have been averse to including these verses as well. Cumulatively, the O'Flahertie, St Paul's, and Dalhousie manuscripts present three responses to Donne's poetry, each compiled at a slightly different time than the others and by a transcriber with a specific set of goals and approaches. They differ in context and focus, in sequence, in terms of the poems selected and excluded, and with respect to titles; furthermore, each of the three contains a large number of textual variants that are not found in the other two versions.¹⁵¹

Individually, each text showcases the response had by one reader or small group of readers to the poems of Donne; corporately, they reflect common trends in early modern manuscript assembly. The more suggestive poems highlighted in the Dalhousie texts were viewed as troubling, if not obscene, by some readers, such as

¹⁴⁹ Sullivan 4.

¹⁵⁰ See Sullivan 7 for a discussion of the manuscripts' provenance.

¹⁵¹ For example, the poem 'The Good Morrow,' untitled in all three of these manuscripts, has a number of variants, from small words such as 'our' and 'on' (line 3, Dalhousie I and O'Flahertie MSS, respectively) to more substantial differences such as that between 'childish pleasures seelilie' (Dalhousie I) and 'Countreys pleasures childishly' (St. Paul's) in line 3. There are numerous other variations between the three texts, in word choice, phrasing, verb tense, punctuation, and the like, several of which are clearly accidents of misreading or transcription, and others of which may represent both the development of a poem over a course of time as well as the revisions suggested for various lines by later owners and editors of the poems themselves.

the individual who painted over the text of ‘To his mistress going to bed’ and a few other poems in Rosenbach MS 239/22,¹⁵² other manuscripts, such as the St. Paul’s text, simply included all the poems in a steady, deliberate sequence, avoiding emphasis whenever possible. Each manuscript is unique, and each reading is unique, but as these three manuscripts evince the wide variety of ways in which the poems of John Donne were understood by his first readers, so, too, John Benson’s 1640 publication reflects both the specific reading experience and textual response of its compiler, and also the wide range of ways in which the individual—or thematically grouped—poems within its pages could have been interpreted and understood by seventeenth century readers. The elements these manuscripts share with Benson’s text emphasize historic textual approaches that are mostly overlooked in the present day, but were unremarkable and expected in manuscript and printed books alike during the early modern period.

‘Both the scribe and author to become’¹⁵³: Amending Henry King

Just as the textual approaches seen in the primarily single-author manuscripts of Herbert and Donne reflect the methods used to compile in *Poems* and numerous other early modern printed texts, so too can they be found in some of the manuscripts that straddled the divide between miscellany and single-author compendium, such as the Stoughton Manuscript and its textual cousins, first identified by Mary Hobbs. The Stoughton manuscript contains one hundred and

¹⁵² See Randall McLeod’s article ‘Obliterature: Reading a Censored Text of Donne’s “To his mistres going to bed,”’ *English Manuscript Studies* 12 (2005), 83–138.

¹⁵³ From King’s poem ‘Upon a Table-book,’ line 8.

twenty-six poems by Henry King and almost the same number again by authors in his immediate circle, such as Thomas Carew, George Morley, and Henry Reynolds, as well as a few others whose poems make individual guest appearances. Hobbs notes in her preface to the Stoughton facsimile that ‘while the texts of the miscellaneous poems are virtually identical in all the Stoughton group of manuscripts, the King poems differ in readings from manuscript to manuscript,’ which ‘suggests that the scribes were copying at . . . different stages in King’s continuing revision of his own poems, whereas the poems from other poets, once he had received them, might be expected to remain as they were.’¹⁵⁴ The King manuscripts, if she is correct, thus provide an excellent example of the ways in which authorial revisions, which indubitably informed the non-authorial editorial methods used concurrently in other texts such as *Poems*, were effected in manuscripts of the time.

Folger MS V.b.43 is a close relation to the Stoughton manuscript, and possibly a predecessor; Hobbs suggests that the seventeen poems by King in the Folger text represent ‘what was very likely, at the time of copying, a complete canon of poems by Henry King.’¹⁵⁵ In the breadth and structure of their broad and author-specific collections, as well as in the titles and lines of the poems themselves, the two manuscripts demonstrate marked differences. The slim (and incomplete) Folger folio places the bulk of its King poems towards the front of its collection, just behind three poems by Richard Corbett, in a sequence of thirteen poems that begins with the response poem ‘Why slightest thou what I approve’ and wanders through a series of sonnets primarily addressing unrequited love and the

¹⁵⁴ Mary Hobbs, ed., *The Stoughton Manuscript: A Manuscript Miscellany of Poems by Henry King and his Circle*, circa 1636, Hants: Scolar, 1990, xvi.

¹⁵⁵ Hobbs *Stoughton* xv.

beloved's inconstancy.¹⁵⁶ After the King collection, the Folger manuscript moves to a scattered collection of poems by Thomas Carew, William Strode, Richard Corbett, Ben Jonson, and a handful of lesser-known others, and ends abruptly (with catch-words at the bottom of the last page suggesting that a portion of the text has now been lost) with King's famous 'Accept thou shrine of my dead saint.'

Where the Folger text places the bulk of King's poems towards the front of the volume, the Stoughton manuscript presses them to the end, neatly grouped together but almost entirely segregated from the texts by other authors (many of which are the same in both texts).¹⁵⁷ Like Benson's editor, the Stoughton compiler—possibly, it must be admitted, King himself—likewise rearranges King's poems, incorporating most of the earlier verses into the bulk of the new and longer sequence. With the exception of one carefully displaced group of poems,¹⁵⁸ most of the Folger poems appear in the Stoughton collection mixed in among what Hobbs

¹⁵⁶ Fols. f2r-f5v. Two of the poems in this manuscript are even titled 'To his Inconstant friend' (f3r-f4r) and 'To an Inconstant Mistris:' (f4r); the latter of these—now known by its printed title 'The Vow-Breaker' from the 1657 *Poems, Elegies, Paradoxes and Sonnets* (London: Marriot and Herringman)—is even omitted from the Stoughton manuscript.

¹⁵⁷ The exception to this is King's wildly popular 'Black Mayd, complaine not that I fly,' which appears in this volume facing Henry Reynolds' 'Why louely Boy, why fly'st thou mee' [70-1]. These two poems are placed together in many other early miscellanies, including Rosenbach MS 1083/17; BL Add. MS 30982; Folger MSs V.a.148, V.a.170, and V.a.339; and Yale Osborn MS b.205, as well as perhaps fifty others (*Index* II.1.598-602). The *Index* does not include Reynolds, but the majority of the entries for King's response indicate that it is, in fact, used as a response poem in the collections in question.

¹⁵⁸ The poem 'To his vnconstant Friend' appears early in the Stoughton sequence and without its companion from the Folger text; seven of the Folger sonnets appear in a group of eight poems in the middle of the miscellany, but King's 'Sic Vita,' and 'My midnight meditation,' which follow four short sonnets in the earlier text, suddenly move to the beginning of the cluster, and the sonnet beginning 'Tell me no more how fair she is,' which begins the group in the Folger MS, concludes it in the revised text, before the volume's abrupt shift to a number of more formal poetical addresses.

and Margaret Crum would suggest were King's later poems.¹⁵⁹ Three poems left untitled in the Folger text are promoted to the title 'Sonnet' in the Stoughton; few other titles, once established, are shifted, but the application of new titles to previously untitled poems fits, rather neatly, with the approach later used by Benson's editor.

Like Shakespeare's sonnets, King's poems could be read in a variety of contexts, and the mid-seventeenth-century manuscripts featuring his poems arrange them in a wide variety of ways. Margaret Crum has identified three manuscripts at the Bodleian Library whose King poems appear to have been derived from a single common source,¹⁶⁰ but even among these three, the contents appear in varying sequences and under a number of variant titles. BL Harley MS 6917 similarly, and in a more flamboyant manner than that applied to Benson's *Poems*, incorporates the poems of both King and Carew into the scope of a much broader miscellany with a seemingly deliberate attention to authorship. The volume opens with a long sequence of poems by Carew, slowly integrates poems by a variety of other authors (often left unattributed), and veers back to its first author briefly before rearranging itself into a proper miscellany. Later in the volume, a long sequence of sixteen poems by King offers a miniature anthology of the poet's work, preferring the authorial juxtaposition over any thematic arrangement of the volume's contents:

¹⁵⁹ Hobbs *Stoughton* xv; Margaret Crum, editor of *The Poems of Henry King* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1965) places the Folger poems towards the beginning of her manuscript-based attempted dating scheme; poems such as 'To a Lady who sent me a copy of my verses at my going to bed,' which precedes the Folger cluster in the Stoughton manuscript, are placed towards the end of her attempted chronology.

¹⁶⁰ Crum notes that the individual poems themselves are heavily similar within the three editions, including their revisions: 'the textual agreement is so close in poems which are included in all three as to suggest a common origin. There is a near approach to unanimity in them in spelling, in punctuation, and in an apparently capricious use of capital letters. They are even in agreement in their rare mistakes, seeming to have encountered difficulty at the same points' (50).

elegies, hymns, and love poems all appear somewhat randomly throughout the miscellany, drawn together by composition rather than topic, and even King's poems are not arranged in any sort of systematic fashion.

By the time Henry King's poems reached print in 1657, the foundling assembly of poems in Folger MS V.b.43 and more finessed assortment from the Stoughton manuscript had been transformed into an octavo anthology in which thematically titled poems on a wide variety of subjects were arranged in a not-too-comprehensible sequence beneath the running header 'POEMS.'¹⁶¹ A few titles had been modified or added; and the poems had been occasionally refined for clarity. The manuscripts of King's poems had facilitated this transformation, and the fact that the scantily titled selection of V.b.43 had blossomed into the 'Modest and Legitimate' collection of 'Juvenalia' pirated and printed by Marriot and Herringman¹⁶² was due, in great part, to the intermediary transformations made in the Stoughton Manuscript and several others. Within the group of texts that Hobbs has identified can be seen evidence of textual revisions, possibly, as she notes, King's own, and these glimpses into the editorial process—reorganising, supplementing, (occasionally) omitting, titling, and amending poems—reflect the editorial process applied to the rough and scattered assortment of Shakespeare's sonnets from 1609 by an editor who, in 1640, was attempting to reshape them for his own time and his contemporary readers. I am in no way attempting to suggest that the Bensonian revisions are authorial, but they do reflect, discernibly if not emphatically, the editorial methodologies common in Benson's era.

¹⁶¹ Crum notes that '[t]he poems were arranged by kind, beginning with the songs and other secular poems; going on to occasional poems, with royal occasions first; and ending with religious and meditative poems. The few strays from the confines of this scheme may have been in the minds of the publishers when they spoke of their edition as "immethodical"' (54).

¹⁶² Marriot and Herringman, 'The Publishers to the Author,' [A4r, A3v].

Conclusion: ‘Room / for Shakespeare in your threefold, fourfold tomb’¹⁶³

The reorganisations, conflations, additions, supplementations, titlings and retitlings, and abundant textual revisions emphasised in these manuscripts of Herbert, Donne, and King are not unusual. Similar revisions can be found in poems from the longer single-author manuscript collections of poems by Thomas Carew and Nicholas Oldisworth,¹⁶⁴ and in numerous miscellanies, both those previously discussed for their sonnet inclusions, and hundreds more. Occasionally, as with King, it is possible to assume authorial influence over the ever-fluctuating texts; at other times, as with Herbert, it is impossible to be certain; and for still others, such as Donne, the chance that most—if any—of the frequent manuscript variations are authorial is next to nothing. What Herbert, Donne, and King provide, however, are three varying examples of authors whose poems were anthologized in manuscripts and printed during the seventeenth century, and specifically within twenty years of the appearance of Benson’s *Poems*. Herbert’s *Temple* is probably quite close in scope and detail to the text its author might have hoped to see printed—if he did indeed wish to see it printed—and the manuscripts of his poems, as well as the completed edition, share many elements with Benson’s *Poems*. King’s *Poems*,

¹⁶³ From the popular poem beginning ‘Renowned Shakespeare, lie a thought more nigh,’ often attributed to William Basse (although Brandon Centerwall has suggested it is a lost poem by John Donne; see ‘Who Wrote William Basse’s “Elegy on Shakespeare”? Rediscovering a Poem Lost from the Donne Canon.’ *Shakespeare Survey* 59 [2006] 267-284) and found among the elegies in Benson’s 1640 *Poems*, sig [K8v].

¹⁶⁴ See the Wyburd MS of Carew’s poetry in the Bodleian library (MS Don.b.9). John Gouws, in his recent edition of *Nicholas Oldisworth’s Manuscript (Bodleian MS. Don.c.24)*, (Tempe, 2009), notes many instances in which the Doncaster texts differ from those inscribed in other manuscripts, and frequently attributes such variations to authorial—and sometimes ‘painstaking’ (notes to poem 25, page 204)—revisions (notes to poems 1 [194], 9 and 11 [199], 15 [200], etc.) or a shift in audience (notes to poem 6, 197).

printed—the preface claims—for the purpose of ‘preventing the present attempts of others, who to their theft would (by their false copies of these Poems) have added violence, and some way have wounded your [King’s] reputation’¹⁶⁵ nevertheless reflect enough of the textual apparati and revisions found in the apparently legitimate Stoughton manuscript that one is almost willing to concede the claimed participation of ‘friends that honour you’ in the publication efforts.¹⁶⁶ In Donne’s case, as with the manuscripts of Shakespeare’s sonnets discussed in the first half of this chapter, the abundant modifications pressed upon his poems in countless personal anthologies and miscellanies serve as the cultural precedents for the forms of correction that would, later, be performed by Shakespeare’s mid-century editor.

Where Donne is liberally recontextualised, conflated, retitled, and adapted in many of his manuscripts, including those discussed in this chapter, Shakespeare is prepared for the public more gently, modified to fit the needs of a literary community accustomed to reading thematic collections of titled verses, whether by one author or many, and to adapting poems in their own possession to fit the time, the addressee, and even the mood or style currently prevalent. Like the potentially authorial revisions to the poems of King and Herbert, the non-authorial changes to Shakespeare’s sonnets reflect a desire to refine and update poetical texts for a public audience with many differing and specific interests. More to the point, it is less that Benson’s text borrows from these early manuscript approaches to poetry and more that—as shall be demonstrated by a discussion of contemporaneous print culture in the next chapter—the approaches used by early modern authors, seventeenth-century scribes, and the other compilers of Renaissance manuscripts

¹⁶⁵ Marriot and Herringman [A3v]. Crum notes that this edition was pirated.

¹⁶⁶ Marriot and Herringman [A4r].

alike were, in fact, the accepted methods with which to approach any text that came across one's path during this period of literary growth and refinement.

TO PRINT AND BACK AGAIN: THE SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY FLUX

The manuscript miscellanies containing Shakespeare's sonnets—like the manuscript collections showcasing the works of single authors such as Herbert, King, and Donne—contain a rich array of bibliographical, cultural, and personal information that can help modern scholars gain a fuller perspective of the life, times, and mindset of seventeenth-century scholars and readers. The fluidity of the miscellany as a form allowed early compilers to mix alchemical potions, sermon notes, weekly and monthly accounts, records of their lives, and a wide collection of other texts into the volumes that also showcased the poems and prose they enjoyed and appropriated, and from such sources, as nearly every scholar of seventeenth-century miscellanies has noted, much remains to be learned. Within the scope of this dissertation, space does not permit me the luxury of delving deeply into the social, political, and religious attitudes conveyed by the compilers of the Renaissance miscellanies I have studied and addressed, nor have I looked much beyond the poetry they collected and reshaped, and the implications of their selections and editorial choices. While much remains to be explored in these miscellanies and more than a thousand others, what is immediately evident is the diversity of approaches these early compilers made to the texts they read, borrowed, and amended, and—simultaneously—the broader mindset so evident in nearly all

of these miscellanies that allowed students, scholars, and scribes alike to appropriate a poem for their own personal use without regard for its original author.

Most of today's great scholars of early modern manuscripts and literature have found and argued, over the course of their monographs, that the lines between the print and manuscript cultures of early modern England were heavily blurred; the same is true for the manuscripts discussed during this chapter as well. Corporately, the manuscripts containing Shakespeare's sonnets utilise all of the types of revisions and appropriations to the text for which John Benson's edition has more recently been criticised, and the single-author collections presented in the second half of the chapter have demonstrated that even collectors who sought to draw together as many works by a single author as possible nevertheless transformed and revised the individual texts and the overall structures of their collections to present the authors' poems through the eyes, perspectives, and variant interpretations suggested by their editors, owners, and readers.¹⁶⁷ The 'True Virgin Texts as Intended by Authors' to which J. Max Patrick semi-satirically refers in his discussion of Herbert's critics¹⁶⁸ had not even been imagined during the era in which Herbert and Shakespeare were themselves writing; the author's ownership of his text lasted only so long as the author held its only copy in his possession, and at the moment at which he sold his creation, or sent the first copy to his patron, it

¹⁶⁷ See D. F. McKenzie, *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts* (London: British Library, 1986, especially page 45) for a fuller description of the instability and re-making of texts and Stanley Fish, *Is There a Text in this Class?* (Cambridge; Harvard UP, 1980, especially pp.147-180) for a discussion of the role of readers in the interpretation of a text. On the function of an 'indeterminate text' see also Jerome McGann's description of three variant texts of William Blake's *Urizen*, in the eighth chapter of *Social Values and Poetic Acts: The Historical Judgment of Literary Work* (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1988, especially pp. 152-172).

¹⁶⁸ Patrick 3.

became the property of its readers, who became its editors, then its critics, and occasionally even its authors—or re-makers—all over again.

As the skills of printers improved and the printed text lost some of its stigma and began to be viewed as an opportunity to broaden one's audience—particularly where matters of religion or politics were at stake—the types of texts that had formerly existed only as manuscripts were adapted for the press as well. Printed texts imitated the elegant and elite features of their manuscript contemporaries, and the compilers of manuscripts were quick to discover that certain features of printed texts could enhance their collections even more. The classification of a text as a printed or manuscript work—a distinction still difficult today—was complicated by the interfoliation mentioned at the beginning of this chapter and the vast numbers of readers who annotated their texts as they read. Problematic to the study of textual transmission became the compilers—such as the individual who collected Folger MS V.a.148—who copied texts from printed books into their own personal miscellanies, making the transmission of poetry during the seventeenth century a fluid and bi-directional activity. Printers sought out rare texts (preferably those without copyright) and pressed multiple and mostly standardised copies of them into the world stage of London bookstalls frequented by potential bookbuyers; purchasers adopted them, brought them into their own homes, and often personalised them with emendations and emphatic marks of active reading such as manuscules, underlinings, and crosses and asterisks. Finally, a handful of these readers returned selected contents of their books to the manuscript world in which they had been birthed, allowing the manuscripts turned to print to be restored to their personalised state, only far more heavily adapted and personalised than ever before.

The last extant seventeenth-century manuscript containing any of Shakespeare's sonnets is a small volume, tightly bound in brown leather over boards, with the mysterious initials 'E. H.' on its cover and filled with nearly three hundred poems, sermons, epigrams, fragments, and other miscellaneous pieces in a slanted italic hand. Dated in the Folger catalogue to the 1660s, the collection was clearly assembled by a careful and deliberate reader, who was probably a scholar as well. He copied down sermons in shorthand, providing a record of some texts he presumably experienced in their oral form; made careful notes of Bible passages, perhaps for future study; and carefully copied out entire poems and, also, selected portions of poems he enjoyed in a more abbreviated fashion. Three pages of his miscellany are entirely dedicated to selections from Benson's *Poems*, and the resulting excerpts create a long poem in the cento style that has been carefully crafted from the 1640 edition with little regard to line breaks, verse lengths, or the poems' original authors, but with great attention to the now-criticised titles.¹⁶⁹ The V.a.148 compiler seems to have taken Benson's edition exactly as it was presented, and to have found new and often thematic similarities between many of the poems Benson conjoined and titled, as the compiler's own abbreviations and conflation suggest. His attention to the titles indicates his acceptance of the volume's structure and paratexts, and his observance of Benson's sequence—with one variation—suggests that his experience with the book was sequential, although other readers could just as easily have approached *Poems* as a reference text to be explored selectively, using the titles to find interesting or personally relevant poems. Where Benson's editor adapted and updated the sonnets to appeal to readers in the 1640s, one such reader, and one who was educated or informed enough to keep his own

¹⁶⁹ See Appendix Three for the full text of this cento.

verse miscellany, found in Benson's publication a text worthy of adapting and revising back into his own private and unique manuscript. Insofar as this reader was concerned, the 1640 *Poems* accomplished its intended goal, appealing to at least one early modern individual who perused, explored, and adapted the updated versions of Shakespeare's sonnets and other poems as presented by Benson. Insofar as early modern bibliographical studies are concerned, Folger MS V.a.148 demonstrates not only the fluidity of the textual transmission between early modern printed texts and early modern manuscripts, but also the critical acceptance of the sorts of editorial apparatus used in the composition and restructuring of *Poems*, not to mention—as shall be discussed in the next chapter—nearly all its printed poetical contemporaries.

CHAPTER TWO
THE PERMANENCE OF PRINT: VARIATIONS AND VENDIBILITY
IN EARLY MODERN PUBLICATIONS

That the textual approaches used to prepare the 1640 *Poems* for print reflect contemporaneous manuscript practices used by numerous scribes and commonplace compilers of the time certainly suggests that the early modern practices evident in the editorial tactics applied to the printed text of *Poems*, when critically removed from the relaxed Renaissance literary culture in which physical ownership of a poem permitted a reader to become the editor and adapter of the texts he owned, have been viewed without an appropriate understanding of their cultural contexts by more recent critics working from a more authorial critical mindset. Quite simply, the text of *Poems* imitates and reflects these early modern adaptative practices, found in manuscripts such as Nottingham Portland MS Pw V 37, Rosenbach MS 1083/16, British Library Add. MS. 25303, Folger MS V.a.339, New York Public Library Drexel MS 4257, and others so precisely that the text Benson published may well have been a manuscript miscellany itself long before Benson immortalised and multiplied its compiler's revisions in his printed book.¹⁷⁰

¹⁷⁰ In her edition of *Shakespeare's Sonnets* Katherine Duncan-Jones argues that '[t]here is little doubt that Benson set out at once to ingratiate and to mislead his readers,' as evidenced by his complete rearrangement of Thorpe's sequence. J. Dover Wilson similarly suggests that the 1640 rearrangements are little more than 'elaborate pains to cover' Benson's 'wholesale borrowing from . . . [Thorpe's] collection' (10). T. G. Tucker, on the other hand, finds that Benson's avoidance of Thorpe's order, his use of sonnet forms found in *The Passionate Pilgrim*, and his omission of eight sonnets from the quarto indicate that Benson did not have Thorpe's edition before him when he prepared the text in 1640 (xxvi-xxvii). On the other hand, it is equally possible that Benson discovered or was sold the contents of *Poems* in a form close to that which was subsequently printed, and that the changes so harshly criticised were unrelated to the dubious origins of the volume. Many of the poems printed in multiple contemporaneous manuscripts similarly appear to

While the similarities between Benson's text and contemporaneous manuscripts are significant and important, the application of manuscript practices in texts intended for print was common well before the advent of *Poems*, well before Benson had begun his apprenticeships, and well before the first edition of Shakespeare's sonnets had even been imagined by Thorpe. Printed texts served functionally as methods by which material could be disseminated more widely, but also, and particularly in literary and poetical volumes, as opportunities to provide the public with elite works that had once enjoyed the privilege of exclusivity. The incorporation of manuscript compilers' editorial techniques into printed texts began in the early decades of British print culture as Britain's first printers began to reproduce significant texts formerly available only in a few carefully transcribed manuscripts, replicating textual practices that were already inherent in the early modern cultural mindset of literary ownership. Where miscellanies were concerned, however, the adaptation of these practices to a text that many early readers might have considered less significant occurred when one ambitious printer, in one ambitious book, swiftly and immediately proved the astonishing marketability and vendibility of imitation manuscript miscellanies, mass-produced for the educated but middle-class reader and modified, wherever necessary, to appeal to a ever-widening group of readers. By the time *Poems* reached the press in 1640, the printed miscellany had been a fixture of the Stationers' Register and stationers' bookstalls for nearly eighty years, during which time it had been subjected to numerous revisions and further spawned a number of single-author poetical collections, many of which were also highly vendible in the early seventeenth century. In the context of these anthologies and miscellanies, Benson's *Poems* is an

have been included in collections by printers unaware of earlier printed versions of specific poems, and it is entirely possible that this was the case for Benson as well.

unsurprising and typical text, and the revisions and emendations evident within it, which have been remarked upon by many of Benson's critics, are not the innovations of an editor striving to disguise an older text, but the marks of a compiler eager to personalise Shakespeare's poems or a stationer eager to market the finished codex alongside the highly vendible *Songes and Sonettes* of Henry Howard and Thomas Wyatt, *Poems by J[ohn] D[onne]*, *The Temple* by George Herbert, and miscellanies such as *Witts Recreations* or *The Academy of Complements*. The inclusion of Benson's *Poems* in the 1657 and 1658 editions of the *Catalogue of the Most Vendible Books in England*, where bookseller William London listed it alongside editions of the works of Donne, Drayton, Herbert, Herrick, Milton, and Quarles,¹⁷¹ further suggests that Benson's edition, if nothing else, achieved precisely the well-marketed literary status also attained by many of its literary contemporaries. How well it mirrored the marketing, presentation, and editorial practices already evident in these other texts is the subject of this chapter.

RICHARD TOTTEL AND THE INVENTION OF THE PRINTED MISCELLANY

Although it would be easy to see Benson's edition of the sonnets merely as a response to Thorpe's 1609 quarto, it is fair to suggest that the foundation for *Poems* was first laid in 1557, when stationer Richard Tottel—or someone in his employ—collected nearly two hundred poems by Wyatt, Surrey, Grimald, and a

¹⁷¹ London: London, 1657 and 1658. See Sigs Ee4v and Fr, both editions. While London's list contains a very large number of single-author anthologies by these and other authors, it omits most of the miscellanies printed and reprinted during this time.

number of 'uncertain' authors and constructed the first printed miscellany, titled *Songes and Sonettes*, and often known today as *Tottel's Miscellany*. Heralded in the early twentieth century as 'the beginning of modern English verse,'¹⁷² *Songes and Sonettes*, which strove to create a false but tantalising 'access to the cloistered world of "private manuscripts,"'¹⁷³ was a groundbreaking text. In one small and fairly compact volume, Tottel's miscellany offered readers a wide variety of poems, each titled as it might have been in a private manuscript miscellany, carefully arranged by author—with an emphasis on each author's noble or gentlemanly status—and allowing just the smallest bit of authorial mystery to linger over the unattributed poems at the very end of the volume, as if this collection truly were a privileged, private miscellany, and Tottel's readers, allowed to peek into it, were still not quite permitted to know the finer points of authorship and ownership tucked away in the mind of its compiler. This hint of privacy and mystery, the well-marketed presence of the elite, and the all-important inclusion of some very good poetry joined together to make *Songes and Sonettes* a most marketable and, ultimately, popular volume for several decades after its first publication.

Tottel's popular text begins with a modest collection of poems attributed to Henry Howard, the 'right honorable Lorde . . . Earl of Surrey,' whose social status, proclaimed in the text's full title, serves to highlight the book's elite and courtly

¹⁷² Hyder Edward Rollins, ed., *Tottel's Miscellany*. Revised ed. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1965 (1928). Rollins II.4.

¹⁷³ Randall Louis Anderson, "'The Merit of a Manuscript Poem": The Case for Bodleian MS Rawlinson Poet. 85.' (Bristol and Marotti 127). Anderson's quotation refers not specifically to *Songes and Sonettes*, but to early printed miscellanies as a whole.

contents.¹⁷⁴ Following Howard's lordly verses is a larger collection of poems attributed to Thomas Wyatt, which is then in turn followed by a handful of pieces by Nicholas Grimald. These carefully defined authorial sections are followed by a rather substantial collection of poems by miscellaneous uncertain authors, many of whom have become rather less uncertain during the last century, in part due to the efforts of Hyder Edward Rollins.¹⁷⁵ As a whole, the volume is a carefully scripted mock-elite miscellany, a commonplace book primarily featuring poems about romance and organised by author rather than by genre, and even an early book of courtly conduct.¹⁷⁶ Thanks to Tottel's careful marketing, each of these uses became a vendible textual component that would influence not only Tottel's immediate printshop successors, but the seventeenth-century generation of single-author collections and romantic, perhaps Cavalier, miscellanies so popular when Benson's *Poems* was pressed into life.¹⁷⁷ Perhaps a manuscript borrowed or bought and then

¹⁷⁴ Eric Nebeker, 'Broadside Ballads, Miscellanies, and the Lyric in Print.' *ELH* 76.4 (2009), 992.

¹⁷⁵ Rollins, in *Tottel* II.80-85, identifies ten authors whose works appear in this section and discusses several other possible contributors.

¹⁷⁶ In 'Misogyny and the Complete Gentleman in Early Elizabethan Printed Miscellanies' (*The Yearbook of English Studies* 33 [2003]), Elizabeth Heale notes that '*Tottel's Miscellany* . . . transformed its context and effect from witty or graceful gestures in a system of elite manuscript exchange and social pastime into exemplary models of an approved and refined style' (234). Wendy Wall, Arthur Marotti, and Mary Thomas Crane have all also suggested the volume's potential use as a book of conduct; Crane notes that 'The published miscellanies actually share elements of the unpublished courtly poetic anthology, the humanist epigram collection, and the published prose commonplace book. And by combining elements of the versions of textuality and authorship constituted by such different systems, they establish for the latter half of the century a complex and ambivalent attitude towards the nature of poetic texts and authorship, and toward the social role of poetry' (*Framing Authority: Sayings, Self, and Society in Sixteenth-Century England*, Princeton: Princeton UP, 1993, 167).

¹⁷⁷ Heale refers to Tottel's influence as his 'double legacy,' which inspired miscellany collectors as well as the compilers of single-author anthologies (236). However, Tottel's legacy is not so much double as blurred: from 1557 through to the appearance of Benson's *Poems* in 1640, the lines between the miscellany and the anthology were repeatedly blurred by compilers of texts in both genres.

adapted for the press, *Songes and Sonettes* contains the poems of two elite authors, whose compositions might also have appeared in courtly miscellanies of the period; a carefully crafted series of titles that might have been at home in any number of contemporaneous commonplaces; and enough private delicacies of upper-class romance to tempt the average ambitious reader—and to give the original authors some causes for concern at Tottel's subtle but worrying breach of privacy.¹⁷⁸ Furthermore, while the editorial decisions that shaped Tottel's first edition are difficult to identify in the absence of a source text, the more deliberate editorial revisions that reshaped both the structure and the details of *Songes and Sonettes* in the second and subsequent editions are indicative of Tottel's continuous desire to improve the elegance and popularity of his wondrously vendible tome.¹⁷⁹ These same changes mirror those used to improve early modern plays as they were prepared for the press and also serve as an excellent case study of the aesthetic editorial method so popular with editors and stationers throughout the early modern

¹⁷⁸ Rollins suggests that the original text 'was based upon a manuscript, or manuscripts, compiled by some person . . . for his own use and pleasure' (II.92), then 'thoroughly, but not critically, edited' at the print-house, either by Tottel himself, or by someone in his employ (II.94). Anne Ferry's *The Title to the Poem* notes that early titles were generally applied to poems by readers and copyists, rather than authors, and thus tended to be in the third person: 'in both manuscripts and printed books, . . . titles very commonly use third-person pronouns to refer to the *I* in the poem, even when the rest of the wording makes no mention of bibliographical material . . . that would identify the *he* or *his* of the title as the actual poet . . . Tottel's miscellany includes many of these' (12). Finally, the authorial concern I suggest may be one of the factors that led to the omission of thirty of Grimald's poems from the second edition of *Songes and Sonettes*, printed later in 1557. Joshua Eckhardt has noted that Tottel's collection 'differs markedly. . . [from] a nevertheless textually related manuscript verse miscellany such as the Arundel Harington manuscript. The family of the courtier poet John Harington copied into this manuscript miscellany many of the same poems that Tottel published, but alongside others that he could not, or would not, publish' (10-11), suggesting that even as the elite and private works of these authors reached print, some things were still better left unpublished.

¹⁷⁹ For a fuller discussion of the variations in successive editions of Rollins' text, see the 'Variant Readings and Misprints' I.263-335 and the more detailed discussions of variations in Volume II of his edition.

period.¹⁸⁰ The changes made to the second edition of *Songes and Sonettes* included 'the insertion or the omission of words or entire phrases, the substitution of more recent words for those that were archaic, or the transposition of words and phrases.'¹⁸¹ Tottel's collection introduced the miscellany format to the early London stationers, placed courtly and eloquent English texts into the hands and homes of the educated middle class, and established the literary value and marketability of contemporary English poetry.¹⁸² The success of *Songes and Sonettes* made Tottel's volume a valuable resource and source of inspiration not only to his contemporaries but to the stationers and publishers in the generations that followed. More specifically, the numerous modifications made both to individual words and phrases in poems scattered throughout Tottel's collection and, particularly, to the contents of the second edition, established editorial precedents that would affect later printers' approaches to many British texts—including the

¹⁸⁰ Sonia Massai notes, in *Shakespeare and the Rise of the Editor* (CUP, 2007) that 'while non-authorial completion or revision of an authoritative, though fragmentary copy, was increasingly regarded as detrimental tampering, non-authorial preparation of dramatic copy for the press was valued both when it corrected a manuscript draft of a work which the author had failed to perfect and when it corrected imperfections which had found their way into earlier editions then used as a printer's copy for later re-issues' (9-10). See R. F. Jones and Marcus Walsh for a fuller discussion of the aesthetic model of editing.

¹⁸¹ Rollins *Tottel* II.95.

¹⁸² Tottel remarks in his preface that he publishes these texts 'to the honor of the English tongue and for the profite of the studious of English eloquence' and notes that although 'some might mislike the statelynesse of style removed from the rude skil of common eares,' they would benefit from reading the text nevertheless (verso of title page, 2nd edition). Marotti suggests that Tottel 'locates the reader midway between the nobility of Surrey and the commonness of the rude multitude, portraying his own printing of the anthology as an act of sharing what was hoarded (courtly coterie literature) to the end of satisfying and edifying an educated audience interested in vicarious contact with courtly eloquence and life' ('Patronage' 4). Tottel's posturing not only on behalf of the author but also of his audience was apparently successful, for his 'audience of educated and fashionable gentlemen and gentlewomen purchased printed poetry collections and pamphlets of individual poets' work partly to gain access to such socially restricted literary communications' (*Manuscript* 214-5).

plays and poems of Shakespeare—published during the sixteenth, seventeenth, and early eighteenth centuries.

The allure of literature written by and for the upper classes surely led to Tottel's most readily apparent marketing tactic: the prominent placement of the Earl of Surrey's lordly name upon the title page and the heavy-handed distribution of his poems at the front of the volume. Tottel's immediate successors mirrored this successful advertising tactic, proudly displaying the names of their noble contributors on their own title pages and appending the suffix 'Gent' to the names of less titled authors whenever possible.¹⁸³ Other attempts to link these volumes to the upper classes appear in the prefaces and dedications to Tottel's tome and those that followed; where Tottel makes much of 'the honorable stile of the noble earle of Surrey, and the weightinesse of the depewitted sir Thomas Wyat the elders verse,'¹⁸⁴ printers with less-well-known contributors used dedications to forge a link between their printed miscellanies and the elite individuals whose manuscripts they strove to emulate.¹⁸⁵ As if these prominent indications of nobility were not enough to convince the average bookbuyer of the cultural value of the text and its

¹⁸³ Not unlike Tottel's aforementioned emphasis on contributor 'Lord Henry Haward late Earle of Surrey,' the title page of *A Paradyse of Daynty Devises* refers to the 'learned Gentlement' [*sic*] who authored some of its contents. Nicholas Breton, similarly, is given the title 'Gent.' on the title page of his *Bower*, as Shakespeare would be in Benson's 1640 edition.

¹⁸⁴ Tottel, 'The Printer to the Reader,' verso of title page.

¹⁸⁵ Davison's *A Poetical Rhapsody* is prominently dedicated to 'the most Noble, Honorable, and Worthy Lord, William Earle of Pembroke, Lord Herbert of Cardiffe, Marmion, and Saint Quentine,' and this dedication is followed by some selective name-dropping of the authors to be included, and the worthiness of their companion contributors. Marotti has recently noted 'an interesting friction' in 'the juxtaposition of dedicatory letters and epistles to readers' at this time ('Patronage' 2): dedications acted as insurance against early censorship and established an elite or ideal readership for printed texts, noting particularly that 'In his prefatory material to *The Paradise of Dainty Devises* . . . Henry Disle positioned himself as a publisher between the broad readership to whom he appealed and the social and intellectual élite that included the patron to whom he dedicated the volume' ('Patronage' 4).

contributors, the editorial or publishers' prefaces to these early miscellanies often extol the merits of the 'wryters . . . of honor and worship' therein included.¹⁸⁶

Sometimes this is subtle, as with Francis Davison, whose preface humbly compares his own 'meane and worthles Scriblings' to the 'diverse things written by great and learned Personages' also included in the volume,¹⁸⁷ in *England's Helicon*, Nicholas Ling attempted a bolder declaration of class, noting that 'the names of poets . . . have been placed with the names of the greatest princes of the world, by the most authentic and worthiest judgments,'¹⁸⁸ thereby intimating the cultural prominence or social reputation of his contributors, their works, and perhaps—by inference—their readers.

Particularly where the collections' compilers are mere stationers or other members of the working class, Tottel and his immediate imitators rely upon the allure of the upper-class authors and dedicatees—whose names are almost always displayed prominently on the title and prefatory pages of a given work—to imbue their books with a greater sense of textual class and authority and to entice ambitious or intrigued readers to purchase these volumes and thus gain a glimpse into the mysterious world of courtly love and noble entertainment. For these works in the first corpus of English miscellanies, their editors' endeavours were largely successful, in part because of the elitism their publishers emphasised.¹⁸⁹ This careful cultural posturing on the part of Tottel and his contemporaries swiftly

¹⁸⁶ H. D., preface to *Paradyse*, transcribed in Rollins *Paradise* 3. The preface to *Helicon* similarly refers to the 'Many honoured names' of its contributors on signature A[4]r.

¹⁸⁷ Preface to *Rhapsody*, printed in Rollins' edition of 1931, II.5. This comment appears on the second recto after the title page in the original text.

¹⁸⁸ A4v. Ling is identified by Bullen in the 1899 edition of *Helicon*.

¹⁸⁹ Arthur Marotti notes that a 'larger audience of educated and fashionable gentlemen and gentlewomen purchased printed poetry collections and pamphlets of individual poets' work partly to gain access to such socially restricted literary communications' (*Manuscript* 214-5).

established for publishers the importance of upper-class affiliations; although the editors of miscellanies rarely named patrons, who could grant early publishers acknowledgment or pecuniary support, miscellany publishers used courtly and noble authors and dedicatees to promote their books' class and clout to would-be readers. Similar marketing tactics were used not only in these miscellanies, but in thousands of contemporaneous and later volumes, including, of course, Benson's *Poems* by Wil. Shakespeare, carefully established and postured 'Gent.' both in his own time and, finally, in Benson's edition, on printed pages that would perpetuate this title for posterity. How fully these tactics were appreciated by their intended audiences is difficult to determine, for if the elite status of poetical contributors was highlighted in Tottel's miscellany and Benson's edition alike, it was also done accurately: Howard was indeed a 'right honorable . . . Lord,' and Shakespeare took great pains, during his career, to establish himself as a member of the gentry.¹⁹⁰

To accentuate the poems by noble authors more clearly, and perhaps to imitate the carefully categorised commonplace books kept by members of the nobility and highly learned early modern scholars, Tottel and some of his successors also divided their volumes into smaller sections, whose running headers and prefatory pages (particularly in later miscellanies) helped organise the vast contents of many miscellaneous texts into smaller and more manageable groups of

¹⁹⁰ S. Schoenbaum's *William Shakespeare: A Documentary Life* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1975) suggests that Shakespeare's father John was granted the coat of arms for which he re-applied in 1596 only due to the young playwright's instigation. He notes that had Shakespeare 'started from scratch with a new application in his own name while his father still lived, the College of Arms would have regarded such a course as irregular; but there was nothing to prevent the eldest son from setting into motion the machinery for a grant in which the entire family would take pride' (167).

poems, arranged primarily by topic, genre, or author.¹⁹¹ Tottel, perhaps because Surrey's prestige would have overshadowed the volume's commonplace origins in the Inns of Court and colleges of Oxford, divided *Songs and Sonettes* by author, although quite subtly: Surrey's name appears in italicised capital letters at the end of his poems, 'T. Wyate the elder' is similarly printed after Wyatt's contributions, Grimald's section likewise concludes with his initials, and the final section begins merely with the header 'Uncertain auctours.'¹⁹² Tottel's most immediate imitators, without the benefit of the esteemed Surrey or an equally noble author, often arranged the contents of their volumes by poetical genre.¹⁹³ In Davison's *A Poetical Rhapsody*, which reflects the manuscript commonplace books of its time as well as the miscellanies of Tottel and his contemporaries, each section of the book is given its own title page, which lists the genres and authors or origins of poems in each section, thereby breaking this rather substantial codex down into three deliberate and manageable components, presumably arranged in order of authorial importance

¹⁹¹ *Handful*, *Paradise*, and *Helicon* do not seem to have been divided into sections of any sort. The running headers in *Helicon* give only the volume's title, but while the divisions between individual poems are very obviously established by the word 'Finis' appended to the end of each poem, usually accompanied by an author's name and a single rule, the poems are not grouped or arranged in any way. A stronger case could be made for using the printers' decorations in *The Phoenix Nest* to indicate section divisions, but these divisions are not as clear as those in the other texts I am here examining.

¹⁹² See sigs D.iv (recto), M.ii (verso), P.iiii (verso), and Q.i. (recto). For details of pagination I am indebted to the facsimile of Tottel's first edition, published by Scolar in 1966.

¹⁹³ *Breton's Bower* begins with a long poem titled 'Amoris Lachrimae' and then shifts, on signature B3r, to a section of 'Pleasant Poems, Pastorals and Sonnets.' These shorter miscellany poems are followed by two longer poems at which the headers again shift (see sigs E[1v] and E4[r]). From Fv through to the end of the volume, the headers revert back to the all-encompassing title 'Pleasant Poems, Pastorals and Sonnets.' As the publisher of this text seems to have been fairly unconcerned with line breaks in poems, or the location of a poem's title on the page, these headers are really the only means by which a deliberate reader might navigate the volume, and they manage to break the text down into five distinct sections, each of which contains a small shift in tone or focus from the others.

but also divided by the genres of the poems each section contains.¹⁹⁴ Even more intriguingly, the publisher of *Rhapsody* has used numerous decorative rules to emphasise the divisions between certain poems within each larger section.¹⁹⁵ In Benson's text, divisions between sonnets are established with indented couplets; it is possible to distinguish between conflated poems, but the titles themselves serve as the dividers that guide readers to a particular reading experience by encouraging them to make specific, and suggested, thematic connections between the sonnets themselves.¹⁹⁶

¹⁹⁴ The volume begins with 'Pastorals and Eglogues' by numerous renowned authors, beginning on sig. B[1]r in the 1602 text and followed by 'Sonnets, Odes, Elegies, and Madrigalls. By Francis Davison and Walter Davison[,] Brethren,' the text of which begins at sig. D2r. The Davison section is followed by one containing 'Sonnets, Odes, Elegies, and other Poesies,' again by an assortment of authors; these begin on sig. G[1]r in the 1602 text, although the running headers are slightly irregular in the British Library copy, formerly owned by editor Edmond Malone. The first edition contains a number of generic headers, such as 'Pastorals and Eglogues' (B1v-C12r) or 'Sonnets, Odes, Elegies' (G1-I2 versos), while in the second edition, these are supplemented, occasionally, with the titles of specific poems, such as 'A Complaint' (C4v-C5) and 'Wonders of the world' (B1v-B2).

¹⁹⁵ Many poems throughout *A Poetical Rhapsody* are separated by a single decorative line, particularly on pages on which one poem ends mid-page and another poem begins immediately beneath it, but a few poems are further emphasised or isolated by two or more lines, either pressed close together, as above the 'Dialogue' beginning on B5r, or used to fill a greater amount of space, as with the three decorative lines on the bottom of B7v and top of B8r. Certain poems, such as 'Sonnet IIII' on D3v, are differentiated from the others even more clearly by the use of variant rules, such as, in this instance, lines of leaves and curls that look not unlike hearts and flowers.

¹⁹⁶ The variants between two printed versions of *Poems* reflect a tension between generic and specific headers similar to that in *A Poetical Rhapsody*; where most copies of *Poems* contain only running headers proclaiming 'Poems' or 'Poemes' in accordance with the collection's title, the copies in the Wren Library of Trinity College, Cambridge and at the Huntington Library both contain a variant first quire in which signatures A4[r], [A6r], and [A8r] are headed 'True Admiracion,' 'Youthfull glory,' and 'Magazine of beauty,' respectively, providing an alternate method by which readers might have navigated the themes of the collection. In Benson's case, given the absence of these specific headers throughout the rest of the volume—and, indeed, on the verso of this first sheet—the generic headers were clearly preferred.

In addition to sectional divisions, Tottel and his contemporaries also classified and sorted their printed miscellanies by applying titles to nearly all the poems they brought to print. This use of titles is of course another vestige of manuscript culture applied to the mass-produced print miscellanies, but where a title in a manuscript would likely have been created and applied by the poem's reader-turned-owner,¹⁹⁷ Tottel and his colleagues applied titles to printed poems before offering these texts for sale to their future owners, thus creating a specific, guided reading experience that purchasers of these volumes could follow and, in some cases, personalise. These editorial titles served three significant purposes. In the first place, they provided each miscellany's readers with a guided approach to the text as a whole, and in the second place, many of these titles, written in the third person, offered Tottel's readers just a little more information than the poem itself conveyed, affording interested readers one more glimpse into the elite world of the nobility.¹⁹⁸ Finally, Tottel's use of these titles began a centuries-long transformation from the early modern approach to titles into that more commonly practiced today, where the title to a poem is conferred by an author and used by

¹⁹⁷ Ferry remarks that early poetical titles, conferred not by authors, but by the collectors and owners of poems, served to highlight the titler's ownership of the poem or (particularly in print) imitate other popular texts with titles (2-14).

¹⁹⁸ Ferry notes that '[o]ften the wording of a title in this early modern period appropriated further authority for the giver by adding information otherwise unavailable to the reader even after having read the poem itself, information about its authorship or the circumstances in which it was written. Such a title . . . could give the maker of it status as an implied insider, a member of a coterie, someone closer than the reader to notable figures and events' (12). On the other hand, she also observes that because Tottel's editor's indiscriminately used third-person titles on poems attributed to Surrey, Wyatt, and Grimald as well as on the poems of uncertain authorship, 'there is usually no way to distinguish whether the pronouns refer to the poet who wrote the poem or to the figure using the first person in it . . .' (13).

most, if not all, of his or her readers.¹⁹⁹ As for the specific readings Tottel's titles created, perhaps none is more obvious than that crafted around the poems of Thomas Wyatt. In *Songs and Sonettes*, Wyatt's poems are carefully bundled into groups of similar or complementary poems, then sculpted by their titles into miniature narratives of desire and increased self-awareness. Wyatt's first fourteen poems, all sonnets, are carefully sequenced and then titled to guide Tottel's readers towards a particular reading of the collection. The first sonnet printed in *Songes and Sonettes* describes the manner in which love has seized the narrator-lover, to the displeasure of his beloved, and concludes with the lover's determination to follow love, even to death, most faithfully. In the second poem, the narrator's persona adopts a more moderate approach to romance, and in the third, considering himself deceived, he determines to turn from his passions and trust more cautiously. Yet the titles applied to these poems tell a related, but slightly differing story: 'The lover for shamefastness hideth his desire within his faithfull heart,' then 'waxeth wiser, and will not die for affection,' and finally 'seeth his folly, and entendeth to trust' not cautiously, as the poem itself suggests, but 'no more.'²⁰⁰

While the titles applied in the miscellany are relevant to the poems they describe, often referencing specific elements and words from the poems themselves, such titles also simplify the texts they describe into titular narratives that can be understood without reference to the original sonnets, and direct readers to see not the debates shaped by the structure and arguments in each of Wyatt's sonnets

¹⁹⁹ According to Ferry, '[i]n the period when titles were beginning to be widely used, some professional writers copied the formation of editorial titles when they saw to the publication of their own poems. Among such sixteenth-century poets the unabashed motive seems to have been to appropriate the style in which courtly verse was presented in prestigious miscellanies like Tottel's. Thomas Churchyard, who made no effort in prefaces to disguise his promotion of his own poems, nevertheless gave them titles referring to himself by proper name' (14).

²⁰⁰ Rollins *Tottel* 32-3.

individually, but the overarching and simpler shape of the poems corporately. It is possible to read the first sonnet, which ends wondering,

What may I do? when my maister feareth,
 But in the field with him to live and dye,
 For good is the life, endyng faithfully²⁰¹

and find a response not in the lines of the subsequent poem, but in this same sonnet's titular assurance that 'The lover waxeth wiser, and will not die for affection.'²⁰² In the age of sonnet sequences, this titular imposition seems an unnatural approach to a collection of sonnets that could simply have been numbered and left to tell their own stories. Similar editorial methods, however, can be identified in the collections printed and titled by Tottel's contemporaries,²⁰³ and each such use of titles reflects a specific editorial intention that may or may not have been realised by the members of the compiler or emender's eventual audience; few readers of Tottel's collection would have been aware of the origins and textual variants of its contents—the volume itself allowed individuals outside the intimate circles of Howard and Wyatt access to these poems for the first time—and, likewise, Benson's newly crafted titles, when amended by one of his readers, were

²⁰¹ Rollins *Tottel* I.32, 'The longe love, that in my thought I harber' lines 12-14.

²⁰² Rollins *Tottel* I.32.

²⁰³ The 1608 edition of *A Poetical Rhapsody*, for example, adds dozens of titles to untitled or numbered poems from the 1602 edition. The text beginning 'Smoothe are thy lookes,' (poem 86, Rollins p. 141), in which the poet describes the tantalising and binding effects of the beloved's lookes, is untitled in the first *Rhapsody* and appears in the 1608 text beneath the title, 'Her outward Iesture deceaving his inward hope' (sig. Hr), a titular summary which reshapes the sonnet from a descriptive one in which the beloved recounts the anguished joys of loving such a beautiful woman, concluding 'if my choyce were now to make againe, / I would not have this joy without this paine' (sig. Hv) into a poem in which even the poet's happy pain reflects the woman's deception. The variant readings Rollins lists at the end of his 1931 edition of *Rhapsody* catalogue numerous other, similar examples; many of these other additions similarly recontextualise the poems to which they are applied, creating a number of directed readings not present in the 1602 version of this text.

corrected rather than removed. More to the point, in both sixteenth-century miscellanies and Benson's later, similar volume, titles were used to strengthen connections between groups or short sequences of poems, to establish specific readings, and to provide helpful or interesting information to the miscellanies' less elite readers.

The elite emphasis of Tottel's marketing, the careful sectional divisions of his volume and of Davison's related *Rhapsody*, and the deliberate titles that offered readers a more directed reading experience were all vendible elements of *Songes and Sonettes* that Tottel's colleagues were swift to adapt for their own miscellanies and other books and that eventually, as traditions and marketing strategies continued, made their way into Benson's *Poems*. Yet where the editorial approaches to *Songes and Sonettes* and *Poems* most obviously overlap is in the revision of these texts. *Poems*, it must not be forgotten, is the second edition of Shakespeare's sonnets. Therefore, although the 'Gent' applied to Shakespeare's name on the title page, the careful division between poems by Shakespeare and those by other gentlemen, and the application of numerous titles to sonnets and groups of sonnets throughout the volume are all reminiscent of Tottel's approach to the first print miscellany,²⁰⁴ the greatest similarity between the work of Tottel's editor and that of Benson's is not in any of these three areas, common to so many miscellanies and other texts of the time. Rather, it is in the second edition of *Songes and Sonettes* that one can find the most obvious precedent for the supposedly heavy rearrangements and textual emendations for which Benson has been so frequently castigated in more recent centuries.

²⁰⁴ Cathy Shrank's article on Benson briefly compares the titles in *Poems* with those in *Songes and Sonettes* (278) and further suggests that Benson's volume reflects a certain updated 'nostalgia' towards these miscellanies of old (274).

In Tottel's second edition, his editor has effected, in numerous places, 'the insertion or the omission of words or entire phrases, the substitution of more recent words for those that were archaic, or the transposition of words and phrases,'²⁰⁵ a more abundant version of the revisions that would later be made to Shakespeare's sonnets by Benson and/or his employees. Furthermore, this same editor has excised a number of Grimald's pieces from the text and rearranged selected pieces throughout the volume. Rollins considers that the 'order of the poems has been completely changed,'²⁰⁶ but, as with Benson's poems, the editor of Tottel's second edition revised selectively: poems that are clearly linked thematically and appeared together in the first edition of *Songes and Sonettes* remain similarly grouped despite the 'complete' rearrangement Rollins describes. Thus, the first twenty-six poems in the first edition also open the second edition (in the same sequence), two sequences of poems by Wyatt (numbered 37-81 and 83-113 in Rollins' edition) are similarly replicated in the revised order, and numerous groups containing between two and ten poems are grouped identically in the first and second editions.²⁰⁷

Eighty years after Tottel, Benson would move thirty poems from the middle of the sonnets' first sequence to the beginning of his own miscellany, maintaining groups of related texts rather than adhering to an earlier sequence of collected poems. That Benson's compiler struggled to find connections between all of Shakespeare's sonnets and poems is most clearly indicated when he isolates a single sonnet under its own title, as with Sonnet 7, on—the compiler suggests—

²⁰⁵ Rollins *Tottel* II.95.

²⁰⁶ Rollins *Tottel* II.10.

²⁰⁷ In addition to the longer groups of poems identical in both editions, Rollins' careful collation of the two editions indicates that the poems originally appearing in positions 27-31, 32-36, 114-127, 168-177, 179-201, 202-233, 234-241, 244-252, and 266-271 in the first edition are grouped together and in the same sequence in the second edition.

'Quicke prevention,' which cannot be so clearly linked to the other pieces commonly understood, since 1640 if not previously, as 'An invitation to Marriage.' Yet if not specifically grouped with another sonnet or two from these matrimonial invocations, 'Quicke prevention,' in both the first and second editions of Shakespeare's sonnets, is placed in the middle of a cluster of the same seventeen sonnets, serving in both editions as a transitional piece between the same set of thematically related texts.²⁰⁸ Paving the way for later editors such as Benson's compiler, Tottel's editor presumably identified groups of related poems and reordered not every poem, but several large sections containing several poems apiece. In both texts, these changes are surely indicative not only of the stationers' mutual desire to sell as many copies of their new, improved texts as they possibly could, even if this meant exaggerating the amount of new material or careful revision that stood behind each volume, but also of the stationers' mutual desire to improve upon the reading experiences offered in the first editions of their respective texts. Thus the second editions of both *Songes and Sonettes* and *Poems* present their readers with texts somewhat more navigable than those printed in the preceding versions. Many of the rearrangements to Tottel's text appear to have been made out of a desire to make the included poems by each disparate author more cohesive, or to juxtapose response poems with the texts to which they reply, and Benson's text similarly features thematic titles that link related poems from the

²⁰⁸ In Benson's edition, Sonnet 7 follows Sonnets 1-3, 13-15, and 16-17, and before Sonnets 8-12; while the order of the surrounding poems differs slightly from that given in the 1609 quarto, in both cases this text plays a central but transitional role within these seventeen sonnets specifically.

original sequence and emphasize the connections between pairs and triplets of complementary sonnets.²⁰⁹

In *Renaissance Drama and the Politics of Publication*, Zachary Lesser explores the careful structures and methods early publishers used to 'imagine and control their customers' readings.²¹⁰ These readings, he suggests, were shaped both by the greater context of a publisher's entire printed corpus and by the title pages, cultural connotations, and prices of the books they sought to sell.²¹¹ The first edition of *Songes and Sonettes* differs greatly from the second edition, which is, in turn, unlike its immediate successors *A Handful of Pleasant Delights* (1566, 1584), *The Paradise of Dainty Devices* (1576), *Britton's Bower of Delights* (1591), *The Phoenix Nest* (1593), *England's Helicon* (1600), and the aforementioned *Rhapsody*, texts which responded to and imitated Tottel's miscellany in the decades immediately following its success. Each of these remarkable texts offers the early modern reader something slightly separate from that offered by the miscellanies on sale at the bookshops across the churchyard. Like Tottel, many of his fellow publishers depicted themselves as individuals 'doing a public service for [their] clientèle rather than as . . . mercantile exploiter[s] of texts belonging to a social and intellectual élite,'²¹² yet the ultimate goal of this public service, in every case and however carefully presented, was to profit from the sale of books. To this end, the greatest similarity between all of these early printed miscellanies was their almost

²⁰⁹ Rollins notes that 'The additional poems of Wyatt and Surrey (Nos. 262-271) that in *A* appeared at the end of the volume are inserted [in *B*] among the other poems by these writers' and 'No. 82 has been moved from Wyatt's poems to those of the uncertain authors' (II.10). He also states that in the second edition 'No. 243 is inserted among Surrey's poems, but with the clear statement that it is an answer by an uncertain author to Surrey's No. 26' (II.10).

²¹⁰ Lesser *Politics* 21.

²¹¹ Lesser *Politics* 47, 71, and 75, particularly.

²¹² Arthur Marotti, 'Patronage, Poetry and Print,' *The Yearbook of English Studies* 21 (1991), 3.

instantaneous market appeal. In a world where the average stationer's success depended heavily upon his ability to select and market texts effectively, and particularly his skill in selecting texts that would be reprinted at least once, the swift success of *Songes and Sonettes* not only inspired the printers of *Handful*, *Paradise*, *Breton's Bower*, *Phoenix*, *Helicon*, and *Rhapsody* to create similar volumes, but began to influence publications in other genres and with more modest intentions. The broader scope of contents appearing in these volumes is imitated in the single-author collections of Donne, Drayton, and others, in which the works of one popular author, the marketed composer of the included pieces, are supplemented with works by other poets, particularly praises of and elegies upon the primary author of the volume. Similarly, the elaborate paratextual influences Tottel and his colleagues used to shape their readers' experiences of these early miscellanies were adopted by the compilers of many subsequent volumes of poetry, miscellaneous and otherwise.²¹³

JOHN DONNE'S EDITORS: FROM MISCELLANY TO AUTHORIAL COLLECTION

In much of the recent criticism on early print miscellanies, scholars' discussions of *Songes and Sonettes* often move from Tottel's text to the single-author collections of George Turberville, Barnabe Googe, and George Gascoigne, whose publications followed many of the paratextual precedents that had helped

²¹³ See the essays in *Renaissance Paratexts*, ed. Helen Smith and Louise Wilson, CUP, 2011, for a broad overview of many early modern paratexts and discussions of the authors' and publishers' roles in instigating and establishing these.

make the texts of Tottel, Breton, Davison, and the rest so vendible in the bookstalls of St. Paul's Churchyard.²¹⁴ Davison's own self-publication and consequent self-promotion in *Rhapsody* mark a slow shift from the editorially compiled text to the authorially compiled text, a shift which surely opened up new concerns about reception and audience for poets used to presenting their texts only to a small group of carefully chosen individuals. Gascoigne's text downplays its own authorship,²¹⁵ Googe's dedicatory poem 'betrays Googe's anxieties and discomfort in publishing his verse.'²¹⁶ Yet although these self-compiled single-author collections show their authors' uncertainties—whether assumed or genuine—about the public exposure and reception of their volumes, these author-compilers were nevertheless eager to 'promote themselves in print as participating in the kind of elite gentlemanly manuscript circulation of verse that Tottel brought to the public in the *Miscellany*.'²¹⁷ From here, the market for single-author poetical miscellanies expanded with astonishing rapidity: although many authors were still hesitant to publish their own works, collections of poetry (and works in other genres) were swiftly gathered, printed, and promoted by London stationers.

The almost immediate popularity of the early poetical miscellanies; the collections of Googe, Gascoigne, and Turberville; and the *Works* of Geoffrey Chaucer, John Skelton, Michael Drayton (1605, 1619, 1637), Ben Jonson, and others were observed and imitated by the early stationers, many of whom hastened

²¹⁴ See particularly Marotti *Manuscript* 217 and Heale 236-241.

²¹⁵ 'Although his name appears in the titles of poems included in the volume's table of contents, the volume does not openly proclaim to be the collected works of George Gascoigne . . . the book pretends to be at once an anthology of 'pleasant Pamphlets' and a collection of manuscript-circulated literature written by various authors made available to the public without anyone except the publisher taking responsibility for the act' (Marotti 'Patronage' 10).

²¹⁶ Marotti 'Patronage' 6.

²¹⁷ Heale 236.

to release similar single-author collections showcasing the works of Francis Beaumont (1640, 1653), Thomas Carew (1640, 1642), Samuel Daniel (1623, 1635), John Donne (1633, 1635, 1639, 1650), Henry Glapthorne (1639), George Herbert (1633), Francis Quarles (1630, 1633), Thomas Randolph (1638, 1640), and numerous other seventeenth-century poets. Manuscript and other evidence suggests that many of these individuals, particularly Drayton, Jonson, and Herbert, were able to influence the preparation of their *Works* for print,²¹⁸ but other volumes, such as the 1633 text *Poems, by J. D.*, or the posthumous and mostly falsified *Poems: By Francis Beaumont* (1640),²¹⁹ were collected, arranged, titled, and marketed by the

²¹⁸ That many of the poems in Herbert's *Temple* exist in manuscript form titled and arranged much as they later appeared in his *Temple* has been discussed most exhaustively by Amy Charles, Mario A. Di Cesare, and Anne Ferry. Drayton oversaw many publications of his poems, both in pamphlet form and in his collected *Works*, and after his 1619 *Works*, which Drayton presents as unarguably his poems, published with his permission, the publishers of his posthumous texts show a level of editorial respect not even accorded to Herbert and Donne. Finally, although twenty-seven of Daniel's sonnets appeared with Sidney's pirated *Astrophel and Stella* in 1591, when Daniel printed his authorised edition in 1592, Sonnets 3, 10, 12, and 16 from the 1591 sequence were omitted but supplemented with twenty-seven additional poems, thus forming a complete group of fifty sonnets followed by an ode and a longer poem titled 'The Complaint of Rosamond.' This authorial sequence was followed in subsequent editions of *Delia*, although the actual sonnets included in each text varied slightly from year to year, presumably as Daniel revised not only the lines of specific sonnets, but the greater contents of his sequence (Hiller and Groves 27). John Pitcher's 'Divulging and Pulishing Samuel Daniel' (in Andrew Murphy, ed., *The Renaissance Text*, Manchester: Manchester UP, 2000) describes the author's deliberate presentation and sequencing of his poems in each successive edition, beginning with the 'rich flow of internal reference' in *Delia* and reconfigured 'pattern of allusion, social parallels, and generic shading' drawn out in the third edition and concluding with the omission of the sonnets from *Poetical Essayes* (1599) and their placement at the end of the first edition of Daniel's *Works* (9-14).

²¹⁹ As William A. Ringler has so capably illustrated, Beaumont's *Poems* is more a miscellany mistakenly attributed to Beaumont than a collection of that playwright's actual poems (William A. Ringler, Jr., 'The 1640 and 1653 *Poems: By Francis Beaumont, Gent.* and the Canon of Beaumont's Nondramatic Verse,' *Studies in Bibliography* 40 [1987] 120-140). Ringler identifies many authors whose poems, in this volume, were mistakenly ascribed to Beaumont, and notes that of the 'fourteen poems . . . circulating under Beaumont's name or initials, seven of them in print and the rest in a number of manuscripts,' publishers Blaikelocke and Wetherd

stationers after the death of their authors. Donne's *Poems*, in particular, bears a striking number of similarities to many aspects of the poetical miscellanies popular from 1557 until the early years of the seventeenth century, and also, in turn, is structured in a manner that somewhat anticipates the structure and form of Benson's *Poems* by Shakespeare. The editors and publishers of Donne's *Poems*, and many contemporaneous anthologies, followed many editorial precedents made popular by the work of Tottel, Breton, Davison, and their colleagues and printers.

The compilers of early single-author anthologies amassed and arranged poems found in varied and various manuscripts, excluded less favoured pieces from their collections, and—in later editions of early texts—amended their selections and the volumes' structures, if but slightly. Most early single-author anthologies display their compilers' and editors' deliberate attempts to arrange and rearrange an author's entire body of works into a less miscellaneous format; to this end, Donne's editors occasionally omit or censor words, phrases, and even entire poems that do not match the themes or propriety of the dean's more devotional pieces and choose for most poems titles that will clarify or spiritualise the poems or further distinguish the collection as a whole. Obviously, identifying these editors' specific revisions is difficult: the first compiler of Donne's poems would have found it nearly impossible to obtain a copy of every one of Donne's poems, thereby making it

overlooked '[a]ll but one' (134). The 1640 and 1653 *Beaumont* texts offer one definitive but extreme example of the printed miscellany culture informing a single-author anthology of the seventeenth century. Blaikelocke, or someone in his employ, drew upon earlier methods of collation to create a miscellany shaped after Tottel's *Songs and Sonettes*, preferring and advertising the texts of one author and supplementing these with works by other authors of presumably similar caliber, and imitating the single-author anthologies of the 1630s such as the *Poems* of Donne and Herbert. The resulting text, one far more falsified and misleading than Benson's *Poems* could ever have been, displays the lengths to which a young stationer in early modern London might have gone in hopes of making a living.

difficult for modern scholars to distinguish poems excluded intentionally from those left out by accident or fortune, although many of the exclusions in the 1633 text are clearly made by editors wary of damaging Donne's liturgical reputation. Similarly, many of the titles applied to Donne's poems in the 1633 text can be found in earlier manuscripts of the same pieces, although a compiler comparing texts with differing titles would still have had to choose between a wide variety of possibilities.

In format, Donne's *Poems* is arranged in a style that immediately calls to mind Tottel's poetical miscellany and Davison's *Rhapsody*, two of the texts, of course, to which Benson's *Poems* is also stylistically indebted. Donne's poems, arranged by genre and topic, appear—with a few obvious omissions—beneath his editors' titles in a volume prefaced with an epistle that both justifies the existence of this text by a 'new Author'²²⁰ and reflects a common concern of the seventeenth-century stationer: 'how my stocke will hold out I know not; perchance waste, perchance increase in use.'²²¹ The author of this preface also expresses a hope that his text will carry Donne's poems into perpetuity: 'if I do borrow any thing of Antiquitie, besides that I make account that I pay it to posterity,'²²² a comment that reflects Tottel's own presentation of his text as a gift to the now-privileged reading public, if not specifically to future generations thereof. The first edition of Donne's *Poems* is a modest one, with no great attention being paid to Donne's clerical status on the title page, yet the preface is ambitious and the volume itself is a lengthy masterpiece.²²³ As with *Rhapsody*, Donne's text is divided to showcase poems in

²²⁰ sig. A3r.

²²¹ sig. A3v.

²²² sig. A3v.

²²³ The paratextual material of the second, 1635, edition of the *Poems* is expanded to include two short poems on the author at the beginning of the volume and an

specific genres all together, and poems on specific topics are grouped together, often under collective headings. Like Benson's later *Poems*, Donne's *Poems* begins with a short sequence of thematically related poems, and the volume concludes with a series of poems by other authors, a reflection of the 'Poems by Uncertain Authors' included at the end of *Songes and Sonettes* and an anticipation of the 'Addition of some Excellent Poems . . . By other Gentlemen' with which Benson's Shakespearean compilation would later draw to a close. That the structural similarities between the 1633 volume of Donne's poems and the miscellanies that preceded and followed it relate also to the 1640 text of Shakespeare's poems suggest simply that Tottel's popular miscellany had established a structural template for collections of poetry that was followed in miscellanies and then, subsequently, single-author collections that strove to transform and capitalise upon the vendible miscellany format. Donne's *Poems*, then, reflects and propagates the already established miscellany structure, as would Benson's *Poems* only a few years afterwards, and these texts—and the other single-author anthologies that capitalised upon the popular miscellany format—likewise helped to herald the return of the poetical miscellany in the 1640s.

The sequence of poems in the 1633 Donne is, of course, a reflection of the compilers' desires to highlight Donne's religious poetry and minimalise the impact of his more secular and controversial pieces.²²⁴ The 'incredible power of publishers,' as Zachary Lesser notes, is 'their ability to frame readings on a mass

address to the reader discussing the contents of the volume and arrangement of the supplemental poems.

²²⁴ Marotti notes that the order of poems in the 1633 Donne partly reflects the editor's desire 'to locate relatively late in the collection those amorous lyrics that could damage Dean Donne's reputation' (*Manuscript* 251).

scale and even well into the future,²²⁵ and Donne's publishers have certainly used their compositorial skills to create a volume that highlights some of Donne's most profound spiritual reflections, shaping the first quarter of the text into a devotional collection of Christian meditations not unlike those in Herbert's *Temple*, published that same year. Yet where the *Temple* is, as manuscripts of the text attest, a deliberate devotional intended and structured to this end by its author, the spiritual overtures in Donne's *Poems* are self-consciously displayed by Donne's compilers: men who wished to highlight the Christian convictions of the former Dean of St. Paul's and, perhaps, appeal to the religious readers who would have welcomed a volume of religious poetry by a prominent Christian leader. The 1633 text begins with fifty-two short stanzas from the 'ambitious' yet 'incomplete' *Progresse of the Soule*,²²⁶ moves quickly to two groups of *Holy Sonnets*, and then presents a batch of epigrams on classical and contemporary themes. The middle of the volume contains elegies and some of Donne's more courtly but modest poetical addresses to countesses and ladies and the like, including several epithalamions, and these are succeeded by Donne's numerous elegies and some noncanonical psalms. If read in sequence, the volume suggests the idea of a reverse spiritual biography: Donne's posthumous volume opens with the promise that a soul—perhaps his—has gone to heaven following the death of its former body: the first sequence of poems explores the development of a 'deathlesse soule'²²⁷—that is, one which has attained eternal life—and expands from that concept of salvation into scattered arrangements of devotional poetry—that is, poetry which the penitential soul, in search of salvation,

²²⁵ Lesser *Politics* 230.

²²⁶ George Williamson uses both these terms to describe Donne's unfinished *Metempsychosis* in 'Donne's Satirical Progresse of the Soule,' *ELH* 36.1 (1969), 250.

²²⁷ 'Progresse' I.1.

might write and pray—following this with less spiritual dedicatory verses and, of course, the bawdier poems of Donne's youth, showing the early weaknesses from which he has been spiritually saved. At the close of the volume are the poems exalting Donne's life and literary labours that would, in most verse collections, be presented near the beginning of the tome.

Despite the volume's structural emphasis on salvation and the spiritual conclusion to a life worthy, in the early modern church, of perhaps a little rebuke, the religious emphasis of the text has another potential effect as well: to a non-sequential reader of Donne's *Poems*, the profusion of spiritual texts at the front of the volume would have simplified a search for Donne's romantic and lusty verses of innuendo and metaphor, conveniently clustered towards the end of the volume and clearly indicated by the compilers' occasional use of dashes whenever they have removed particularly inappropriate words or couplets. As Lesser also notes, the publishers' perceived power to shape a volume can also be 'their real weakness, their inability to control the reading of even a single person,'²²⁸ and it is impossible today to know just how this text was read: the volume is more than four hundred pages long and contains more than twelve dozen poems, which would have made it difficult to read in a single sitting. With both Donne's *Poems* and Benson's Shakespeare, whether readers began at the beginning and read straight through the volume or skimmed the text to find poems whose titles or first lines they found particularly intriguing is, of course, unknown, yet in both instances, the publishers' preferences for themes and texts is clearly evident from the structure of the volumes as a whole. In the 1633 edition, Donne's religious verses take precedence, being at once the least questionable and—given his well-known ecclesiastical status

²²⁸ Lesser *Politics* 230.

in early modern London—the most marketable, and it is they that initiate the textual sequence Donne's compilers created.²²⁹

In addition to the compilers' deliberate presentation of Donne's popular and religious verses at the beginning of the volume, these individuals also had the freedom to select or compose titles for the poems in the collection. Although contemporaneous manuscripts containing versions of Donne's poems only rarely modified the texts of the poems themselves, a poem could be given a differing title in every manuscript in which it was included, and although the 1633 collators would not have had access to all the titles now collated in the variorum editions of Donne's poetry, they might well have been aware that variant titles existed. Some of the numerous manuscripts containing Donne's poems title his works as simply as 'Elegie,' as summarily as 'To a gentelwoman whose bracelet having lost she demands a dozen angels to be turnde into an other,' as academically as 'Ad amica de perditione armillae euius,' and as directly as 'UPON A gold cheyne lent and lost';²³⁰ and the printed text shows a similar range. The titles in *Poems* range from 'Elegie' and 'Song' to the simple yet clearer 'The Annunciation,' 'The Angels,'

²²⁹ Where the order of Donne's poems was determined in part by the questionable references to 'dildoes,' 'letany,' 'bastardy,' 'sodomy,' 'lechers,' and 'impotence' in some of his compositions, the 1637 collators of Drayton's *Poems* seem to have privileged some of Drayton's pieces based on public taste rather than dubious imagery. Drayton's sonnet sequence *Idea*, printed about halfway through his 1619 *Poems*, is the very last component of the 1637 *Poems*, suggesting that as sonnet sequences were no longer in vogue, Drayton's could be relegated to the final pages of the volume quite easily.

²³⁰ These are all titles applied to the elegy beginning 'Not that in colour it was like thy haire,' omitted from the 1633 *Poems* and titled 'Eleg. XII. Upon the losse of his Mistresses Chaine, for which he made satisfaction' in the second edition (1635, 89). The titles I have quoted appear in BL MSS Harley 4955 fol. 94v (spelled 'Elegye' and accompanied by twelve other poems identically titled) and Lansdowne 740 fol. 66r (followed by a numeral); Bodleian MS Rawlinson poet. 117. 55r/225v; Bodleian MS Rawlinson poet. 212, fol. 152v; and Bodleian MS Rawlinson poet. 160 fol. 171v. For further examples of titular variations applied to this poem, see the *Variorum Edition of the Poetry of John Donne* (Bloomington: Indiana UP, 2000) II.22.

'To the Countesse of Bedford' and 'The Brides going to Bed,' and finally, at the other end of the spectrum, the more whimsical and interpretive 'Valediction to his booke,' 'Loves Usury,' and 'Negative love.'²³¹ Donne's satirical response to Raleigh's pastoral 'Come live with me and be my love' appears in the 1633 text without any title at all, although the title 'The Baite,' by which Donne's reply is now most commonly known, was printed above this poem in the 1635 edition, again, as in Tottel's second edition and Benson's revised *Poems*, demonstrating the typicality of titular revisions between the first and second editions of a printed text.

The titles applied to Donne's works in the first and second editions of his *Poems* are by no means unique to his time: similar titles can be found, of course, in early miscellanies of both the manuscript and print varieties and in other collections of a single author's posthumous poetry.²³² What the titles in *Poems* do show, however, is a specific form of editorial methodology in the construction and application of paratextual material—in this case, titles—to the work of an author who had no say in the textual apparatus created for his printed works. Other single-author collections from the seventeenth century, such as those of Jonson, Drayton, and Herbert, evince a greater degree of authorial intention with regard to titles and

²³¹ See pages 149, 153, and numerous others (Elegie); 196 and 206 (Song); 28; 174; 77, 79, and others (Bedford); 132; 219; 201; and 293, respectively.

²³² Many poems in Donne's 1633 edition are either directed to an addressee, or titled using an article and a simple noun. Poems in the first style can be found in numerous early manuscripts, and include, among many others, the poems titled 'John Hoskins to the Lady Jacob,' in BL Add. MS 25303, fol. 70v; 'To the Duke of Buckingham by RC' in BL Add. MS 30982, fol. 57r; and 'Dr Wild to the Ingenious Mr. Wanley,' also in 30982, on fol. 110r. 'Elegy' is a popular manuscript miscellany title, appearing in Folger MS V.a.162 and Yale Osborn MS b.205 in isolation (as in Donne's *Poems*) and in many other manuscripts preceded by an article or followed by descriptive clauses. The 1633 anthologies of both Donne and Herbert include poems titled 'The Crosse,' 'Hymn,' and 'Good Friday,' with occasional variations in spelling or the surrounding articles and descriptive clauses. The simple article-noun format used in Donne's first edition for poems such as 'The Will' and 'The Funerall' (among many others) matches that of Robert Herrick's poems 'The Hag,' 'The Fairies,' and 'The Curse.'

the overall presentation of the text.²³³ It is in Donne's work, therefore, collected and printed posthumously, that the application of titling precedents first initiated in texts such as *Songes and Sonettes* is most obvious. In Donne's *Poems*, the structure and methodology evident in the editorial titles, the construction of the 1633 text as a whole, and the calculated presentation of this text as a valuable literary purchase not only reflect the titular, structural, and marketing decisions of Tottel, adapting the concept of the miscellany for this single-author collection, but they anticipate the future approach John Benson or his editor would use to transform the old, potentially quaint sequence of Shakespeare's sonnets into the popular and common format of a printed miscellany. Yet where Jonson, Drayton, and even Herbert were able to influence the shape of their eventual texts, Donne and Shakespeare had no say in the recreation of their texts following the Tottel model. Certainly, also, the 1633 Donne was not the only posthumous publication of the decade—or even the century—in which Tottel's miscellany approach was applied to previously unpublished texts, but Donne's *Poems* affords one of the clearest examples of the ways in which methodologies begun in Tottel's printhouse were applied to a single-author text before Benson's.

Where the 1633 Donne falls short of Benson's 1640 Shakespeare is in its presentation of the volume's author. Benson's 1640 text, from the frontispiece

²³³ For Ben Jonson, self-titling was an important part of the presentation of his poems as compositions of value and merit (Ferry *Title* 42). Drayton's poems, like those of Jonson, show a marked interest in authorial ownership of the contents: Drayton is not afraid to use first person pronouns in his titles, a practice less surprising in light of the fact that Drayton presents the 1619 *Poems* as unarguably *his* poems, published with *his* permission, despite the vestigial stigma of print still lingering over the early modern manuscript writers of his time. Paul Dyck has suggested that Herbert's 'Affliction' poems disallow a linear reading of the volume, forcing a reader to 'solve' them as a problem through many repeated readings of this scattered group (29); In her article on Herbert's poems, Ferry compares the format and titles of Herbert's *Temple* to a psalter.

facing the title page to the commendatory verses at the end of the volume, exalts Shakespeare's elite literary status: in Marshall's updated engraving of Shakespeare, 'the once handless playwright now metamorphoses into a theatrical poet whose gloved hand dramatically grips, Achilles-like, the branch of a cut laurel,'²³⁴ and the final verses of Benson's collection include a poem placing Shakespeare as a literary giant alongside Elizabethan poet laureate Edmund Spenser.²³⁵ Such excellence of eloquence goes unadvertised in the early Donne texts: his name lies in mysterious shadow behind the initials of the title page, and the numerous concluding poems herald not his literary prowess, but his ecclesiastical leadership and the devotional nature of even his 'Looser sort' of poems: 'But dare read even thy Wanton Story / As thy Confession, not thy Glory.'²³⁶ The discrepancy between the presentations of these two texts, however, can be explained by one common feature of the two: each volume markets itself to the class of readers most likely to be interested in its contents. Admirers of Dean Donne were more likely to desire a text that might contain more spiritual insights from a highly regarded religious leader, while Benson's text capitalised, if belatedly, upon the success of Shakespeare's Folio—then marketable enough to have been reprinted for the first time—which strove to establish his plays as quality literary works equal to those of other esteemed authors whose folios also demonstrated their elite textual prowess. The 1633 and 1640 editors of Donne and Shakespeare borrowed, then, many of the textual approaches

²³⁴ Patrick Cheney, *Shakespeare's Literary Authorship*, CUP, 2008, 60.

²³⁵ This poem, titled in Benson, 'On the death of William Shakespeare who died in Aprill, Anno Dom. 1616,' is the well-known piece beginning 'Renowned Spenser lie a thought more nigh' which has been attributed both to William Basse and John Donne. See Brandon S. Centerwall, 'Who Wrote William Basse's "Elegy on Shakespeare"?: Rediscovering a Poem Lost from the Donne Canon.' *Shakespeare Survey* 59 (2006) 267-284.

²³⁶ Donne, 1633, 376, 'To the deceased Author' by Thomas Browne, subtitle and lines 13-4.

begun in the early miscellanies of Tottel and others, but these borrowings were not verbatim imitations, but broader recognitions of a style of text and manner of marketing that sold copies, and each set of editors transformed these proven methodologies to the specific texts in question. At the same time, both texts anticipated the impending return of the miscellany form, which regained popularity in 1640 with a few well-timed texts with which Benson's Shakespeare would have looked even more at home in the bookshops of early modern London.

A PROLIFERATION OF POETRY: THE MISCELLANIES OF BENSON'S TIME

During the rise of the miscellany-inspired single-author anthology, such as those discussed above, mid-seventeenth-century London also saw a significant rise in the number of new poetical miscellanies created and printed using the methodologies established by Tottel and transformed by the editors of Donne and his contemporaries. In 1640, the year in which Benson produced Shakespeare's *Poems*, his anthology would have been joined in bookstalls by several other single-author collections as well as the miscellanies *Witts Recreations* and *The Academy of Complements*, published by Humphrey Blunden and Henry Moseley respectively. Both these texts were reprinted in 1641, 1645, 1650, and 1654; *Academy* was also reprinted in 1646. More importantly, the compilers of both these texts utilised elements of the early miscellanies that were also used by the compiler and editor of Benson's *Poems*. These miscellaneous compilations mirror Benson's approaches to textual emendation, titles, reorganization, and supplementation of a

volume, and, even more significantly, the second and later editions of both these compilations show their editors' distinct interest in enhancing and supplementing earlier versions of the same texts,²³⁷ revising the original miscellanies in many ways that reflect the revisions made to the first edition of Shakespeare's sonnets by the text of Benson's *Poems*, technically the second edition of that text. Even the first editions of these texts, however, display editorial approaches similar to those found in earlier miscellanies and anthologies as well as contemporaneous texts such as, again, *Poems*. The poems and titles in these manuscripts appear as unique and variant as those in the miscellanies from which their printers, and quite possibly John Benson as well, gained their inspiration. These very variants, however, and the marketing techniques utilised by printers of these miscellanies, have a great deal in common with the variants and promotion used by Benson in his own contemporaneous publication.

In *Profit and Delight: Printed Miscellanies in England 1640-1682*, Adam Smyth identifies forty-one separate miscellanies printed within the dates his title specifies, beginning of course with the two 1640 texts named above. As his monograph elegantly demonstrates, these mid-seventeenth-century poetic miscellanies were marketed to many audiences and corporately served at least three very distinct purposes, though some volumes strove to satisfy more than one area of the market simultaneously. For instance, texts such as *The Marrow of Complements* (1655) and *Mysteries of Love and Eloquence* (1658) served as instruction guides for would-be lovers and wooers, filling their title pages with promises of, among other things, 'Amorous Epistles, or Love-Letters, Complementall Entertainments, . . .

²³⁷ The title page of the 1641 *Witts Recreations* adds the word 'Augmented' to the title, and makes a point of listing the specific number of (increased) contents on the following recto.

Presentations of Gifts, [and] Instructions for Wooers.'²³⁸ Others promised to bring humour into the lives of their perhaps less jovial readers; as is evident from even a cursory survey of their contents, these volumes, such as *Wit and Drollery* (1656) or the 1661 *Merry Drollery*, featured collections of humorous or bawdy poems and songs that could be sung, from jovial tavern tunes praising alcohol and women to more serious songs about England's history and countrymen. Finally, a few of these miscellanies—including several of Benson's publications from the years immediately surrounding the release of *Poems*—used their popular poetical contents as a vehicle with which to present subtle political undertones, usually Royalist in intention, by printing poems honoring the king, prince, and prominent Cavaliers in between courtly love songs and light verses.²³⁹ In most of these miscellanies, beneath the promises of lyrical frippery and courtly instruction lies the suggestion of high-class elegance so carefully promised first in the earliest poetical collections of Tottel and his followers, and later in these political compendiums from Benson's time.²⁴⁰ How carefully Benson and his

²³⁸ *Marrow* sig. A3r.

²³⁹ Zachary Lesser's discussion of supposedly political plays can also be applied to these supposedly political early miscellanies. Lesser states that 'Plays do not have politics, because politics, like reading, is not something that texts can do for themselves. Rather, the politics of . . . [texts,] like their meanings, consist in the ways that they are *used*, the ways that people read them and try to make others read them in particular contexts at particular moments' (*Politics* 226). He encourages modern scholars to examine supposedly political texts in the contexts of other texts released by the same publishers who financed the texts under consideration.

²⁴⁰ *The Academie of Eloquence* advertises the class of compiler Thomas Blount by affixing the suffix 'Gent' to his name, kept in a plain Roman text that stands out clearly from the his name in preceding italics, and the 1660 miscellany *Poems Written by the Right Honorable William Earl of Pembroke, Lord Steward of his Majesties Houshold. Whereof Many of which are Answered by Way of Repartee, by Sr Benjamin Ruddier, Knight. With Several Distinct Poems, Written by Them Occasionally, and Apart* pronounced its contributors' *stati* in large block capitals. The second edition of *J. Cleaveland Revived* announces its elitist origins by the inclusion of a Latin passage above the printer's imprint on the title page. Other contemporaneous miscellanies followed suit whenever possible.

contemporaries juxtaposed and advertised every possible marketable facet of their early printed miscellanies demonstrates their wider approach to books and business: any vendible component of an early miscellany should and usually would be noted in its prefatory material. Furthermore, the percentage of these miscellanies reprinted at least once shows that such texts appealed to early modern readers. *The Academy of Complements* and *Witts Recreations* were among the most popular, and as the rates at which an early book was reprinted are now often cited as indicative of a volume's popularity in early modern England,²⁴¹ the incredible reprint rate of these volumes and their several dozen literary cousins demonstrates that the publishers of mid-century miscellanies had found and filled a significant hole in the early modern market.

Academy and *Recreations* both market themselves to an audience that might have enjoyed not only these miscellanies, but their literary cousin, Shakespeare's *Poems*. Like *Songs and Sonettes* and the 1633 and 1640 *Poems* of Donne and Shakespeare respectively, these texts use clever titles to guide readers through their respective volumes and enable non-sequential readers to find poems on topics of interest easily. Later editions of both *Academy* and *Recreations* also rearrange and revise the poems of their earlier editions to reflect literary tastes of the time. Finally, like *Songes and Sonettes* and Benson's *Poems* in particular, the second and subsequent editions of both these 1640 miscellanies supplement their earlier verses with other relevant materials in an attempt to update new editions of popular texts

²⁴¹ For specific instances in which reprint rates are used to demonstrate and argue for the popularity of early modern texts, see Peter W. M. Blayney's 'The Publication of Playbooks,' *A New History of Early English Drama*, ed. John D. Cox and David Scott Kastan, New York: Columbia, 1997, 383-422 and 'The Alleged Popularity of Playbooks,' *Shakespeare Quarterly* 56.1 (2005) 33-50 as well as Alan B. Farmer and Zachary Lesser, 'The Popularity of Playbooks Revisited,' *Shakespeare Quarterly* 56.1 (2005) 1-32 and 'Structures of Popularity in the Early Modern Book Trade,' *Shakespeare Quarterly* 56.2 (2005) 206-213.

for new and old readers alike. In particular, the infusion of new verses into popular older texts reflects the contemporaneous practice of Benson's editor, who collated verses from Shakespeare's sonnets with pieces from *The Passionate Pilgrim*, a volume that had once been marketed as wholly Shakespeare's.²⁴²

That *The Academy of Complements* was an intensely popular early miscellany is particularly evident from the numerous editions printed and, presumably, sold by Humphrey Moseley between 1640 and 1670. Where the first edition, a modest 286 pages, consists primarily of sample courtly dialogues and phrases to use in the composition of letters, by its self-acknowledged tenth edition in 1650²⁴³ the volume had been so heavily supplemented that in 'The Authors Epistle to this new Edition,' the editor, working under the name Philomusus suggests that the volume itself merits not one but two prefatory epistles since he has 'added so much, and altered so many notions,' creating 'a labyrinth of new matter' through which this preface must assist the readers.²⁴⁴ In addition to revising many words and lines of the original, this tenth edition also boasts thirty-five new amorous poems, sample 'amorous letters,' more than a hundred songs 'of love and mirth,' new 'expressions on love-tokens,' a 'ridling entertainment,' and some proverbs.²⁴⁵ After a few letters also found in the earlier editions, the volume adds an extended dedication called 'A Character of Complements' and two detailed indices, the presence of which is advertised in the book's tremendously expanded

²⁴² The 1599 edition of *Pilgrim* attributes the volume to Shakespeare alone; although the second edition of this text has been lost, later comments by Thomas Heywood in *An Apology for Actors* indicate that many of the pieces therein contained had been stolen from his earlier *Troia Britannica*, and as most of the non-Shakespearean texts in Benson's *Poems* can be traced to *Troia Britannica*, it stands to reason that these contents came, in fact, from a later edition of *The Passionate Pilgrim* that Benson had somehow procured.

²⁴³ See sig A4r.

²⁴⁴ Sig A3v.

²⁴⁵ These sections begin on pages 113, 167, 190, 225, 250, and 259 respectively.

title.²⁴⁶ A further indication of Moseley's improved marketing skills can be evinced in the seven-page list of 'Books . . . printed for Humphrey Moseley, and . . . sold at his Shop at the Princes Armes in St. Pauls Church-yard' which precedes the promised 'complements' found in this tome.²⁴⁷

The first three editions of Humphrey Blunden's *Witts Recreations*, also first printed around 1640, demonstrate a similar interest in expanding each successive edition of a specific literary text. Again, the first edition is a fairly simple volume, modestly titled *Witts Recreations: Selected from the Finest Fancies of Moderne Muses* and containing some elegant prefatory poems, just over five hundred epigrams, 126 epitaphs, and about a thousand 'Outlandish Proverbs, Selected by Mr. G. H.,' the latter of which are isolated at the end of the text following a separate title page.²⁴⁸ In the edition of 1641, however, the proverbs have been completely omitted, and although there are more than a hundred new epigrams, several of the original ones, including those on 'Gender and Number,' Sir John Suckling, George Sands, Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher, George Chapman, Thomas Randolph, and Shakespeare himself, have been excised or occasionally

²⁴⁶ Where the original title-page simply stated, '*The Academy of Complements. Wherein Ladyes, Gentlewomen, Schollers, and Strangers may Accommodate Their Courty Practice with Most Curteous Ceremonies, Complementall, Amorous, High Expressions, and Formes of Speaking, or Writing,*' the title of the tenth edition is more than three times as long, adding such titular marketing gems as '*A work Perused, Exactly Perfected, Every Where Corrected and Inlarged, and Inriched by the Author, with Additions of Many Wittie Poems, and Pleasant Songs. With an Addition of a New Schoole of Love, and a Present of Excellent Similitudes, Comparisons, Fancies, and Devices,*' noting that this text is '*The Last Edition,*' and commenting further upon the presence and usefulness of the concluding tables.

²⁴⁷ This list can be found on the leaves beginning at signature A5v. It is conveniently numbered and arranged by genre, and contains eighty-two items.

²⁴⁸ Although the two sections of the book appear in one codex in the British Library copy, reference number C.65.c.6, the title page for the 'Outlandish Proverbs' lists the printer as 'T.P.' in 1640, while the colophon at the end of the codex states 'Imprimatur. / 1639 / Matth. Clay.' As the BL copy has been bound more recently than either of these dates, it is difficult to establish when and by whom the two halves of this volume were drawn together.

rearranged to occupy less prominent places within the epigrammatic sequence. Likewise, this edition contains more than thirty new epitaphs, and the volume itself contains a section of popular poems common in contemporaneous manuscripts, here appearing in a section titled 'Fancies and Fantastickes.'²⁴⁹ Only four years later, the third edition of this volume added another twenty epitaphs and dramatically rearranged its content yet again, as noted in the prefatory poem's lines, 'let them search it thoroughly & they'l finde / Many that were before, come now behinde.'²⁵⁰ The emphasis here has proudly shifted to the volume's newly revised sequence, and editorial revision also performed—if not so cleverly advertised—by Benson or his editor five years earlier.

Revisions such as those found in successive editions of *The Academy of Complements* and *Witts Recreations* are, of course, not limited to these two texts, although the skillful marketing practices of their publishers and sellers and the frequent rearrangement and substitution of poems in these two texts may have contributed, in part, to their immense popularity in the mid-seventeenth century.²⁵¹ What both these texts demonstrate, however, is their editors' repeated reliance upon marketable textual components such as those found in numerous earlier books, as

²⁴⁹ Page T3v contains a knot design on which is printed a poem beginning 'THIS is love and worth commending,' also found in Edinburgh MS Halliwell-Phillips 401, fol 32r; V[1r] contains a poem beginning 'Dearest thy twin'd haire are not threds of gold,' which also appears in BL Add. MSS 21433 and 25303, rectos 90r and 78v, respectively.

²⁵⁰ On verso of the prefatory poem 'The Stationer to the Reader' following the title page.

²⁵¹ Smyth identifies fourteen other poetical miscellanies reprinted at least once before the end of the seventeenth century; of these, the most popular by numbers were *Wits Interpreter* (1655, 1662, 1671), *Wit and Drollery* (1656, 1661, 1682), *Merry Drollery the First Part* and *The Second Part of Merry Drollery* (both 1661, 1670, and 1691), *The New Academy of Complements* (1669, 1671, 1681, 1694), *Oxford Drollery* (1671, 1674, 1679), and *A Collection of Poems* (1672, 1673, 1693). The second and later editions of many of these volumes contain supplements and rearrangements quite similar to those already described in *The Academy of Complements* and *Witts Recreations*.

well as a repeated emphasis upon what early editors consistently portrayed as textual improvements. Like the second edition of *Songes and Sonettes*, the second—and many subsequent—editions of both *Academy* and *Recreations* promise that the contents of the original texts have been revised and, in many cases, improved upon. Philomusus' 'labyrinth of new matter' is, in fact, one of the second edition's greatest advantages over the former text, and the new and supplemental texts that form this 'labyrinth' are, in fact, carefully placed throughout the sequence—much as the pieces from *Passionate Pilgrim* are carefully integrated into the revised sequence of Shakespeare's sonnets in Benson's 1640 *Poems*—to offer a fuller and richer reading experience than that provided by the slightly shorter first edition. Even more intriguingly, the miscellanies published in the decades following the profitable appearances of *Academy* and *Recreations* occasionally contained verses also found in these two texts, or in other contemporaneous printed miscellanies. Of the 4,369 poems in the texts Smyth surveyed,²⁵² nearly four hundred appeared in two separate printed texts, and over a hundred can be found in three separate miscellanies.²⁵³ Some poems were reprinted three, four, and five times after their first appearance in print, and Smyth has identified a select four poems that appear in six separate miscellanies published during this period.²⁵⁴ It is quite possible that some of these printed miscellanies began their literary lives as private manuscript miscellanies compiled by readers and sold to printers well after their original compilations, and that others were specifically commissioned by printers who hoped to replicate the vendibility of *Witts Recreations*, *The Academy of Complements*, or even the earlier miscellanies

²⁵² Smyth *Profit* 9.

²⁵³ 392 and 111, respectively. See Smyth *Profit* 78.

²⁵⁴ Smyth *Profit* 78.

by Tottel and his colleagues. Because of this, even where two miscellanies share a common author or publisher, it is entirely possible that any overlap between the contents of each volume occurred by accident, and it is similarly possible that Benson's text may have existed as a private manuscript of Shakespeare's poems long before it became a vendible commodity of the seventeenth century.

As Benson's *Poems* was printed at the very beginning of the seventeenth-century revival of the miscellany, it is unlikely that the miscellanies Smyth has identified influenced the revisions made in the second edition of Shakespeare's sonnets. On the other hand, the textual revisions and confluations of related poems for which Benson has often been criticised are common features in these mid-century texts, suggesting that the practice, if noticed, was a fairly common one in poetical volumes of the time. For example, a poem beginning 'Beauty and Love once fell at odds,' appeared in the 1655 miscellany *Wits Interpreter* and also in the 1656 *Wit and Drollery*. In *Wit and Drollery*, the poem, titled 'A Song' is presented in three stanzas of eight lines, and describes a debate between Beauty and Love, in which Beauty so insults Love's blindness that Vulcan is sought to punish Beauty, making her 'ever since . . . counted for a Whore' and decry the 'sinne' of quick love of temporal beauty.²⁵⁵ In *Wits Interpreter*, the harsh description of Beauty as a whore is replaced by the suggestion that she is courted only briefly, and the poem is supplemented with twenty elegant lines excerpted from Robert Herrick's longer poem 'To Anthea, who may command him Anything.' In the context of this miscellany, Herrick's lines read as a vow of eternal love in which the poet/narrator states that whatever the beloved bids him do shall, in turn, be done:

Bid me but live, and I will live

²⁵⁵ Lines 21, 22, 'A Song,' *Wit and Drollery*, pages 74-5.

Thy votary to be.
 Or bid me love, and I will give
 A loving heart to thee.

The poem concludes with the elegant promise,

Thou art my love, my life, my heart,
 The very eye of me,
 And hast command of every part,
 To live and die for thee.²⁵⁶

By appending Herrick's passionate song of devoted love to the cantankerous debate between beauty and love, the compiler and conflator of these texts has softened the more divisive argument of the original poem into an elegant praise of eternal love. The *Wits Interpreter* conflation, nearly contemporaneous with Benson's oft-disparaged groupings, illustrate the persistent typicality of the Bensonian juxtapositions. While the compiler or editor of *Interpreter* has joined together two distinct poems by two separate authors using two different metres, the conflation in Benson's edition retain most of the groupings found in the original 1609 text, but keep together the texts from each of his two sources and usually—albeit, with a few exceptions—retain short sequences found in the original quarto.

Although the structural, introductory and paratextual, organizational, and titular elements of the 1640 *Poems* are clearly evident not only in contemporaneous miscellanies from the Carolinean and interregnum periods but in the precedents established in the previous decades in the early print miscellanies and first single-author collections, one significant aspect of Benson's volume is less obviously present in the early Tottelian collections and later anthologies, and it is one for

²⁵⁶ Lines 25-28, 41-44, 'Song,' *Wits Interpreter*, pages 155-7.

which Benson has been most frequently criticised. As Hyder Edward Rollins and a few others have noted, a handful of words scattered throughout Benson's 1640 text of the sonnets differ from the equivalent words in the quarto. A few of these are gender-specific terms, and a few are not. Overall, however, with the exception of the two sonnets found in both *The Passionate Pilgrim* and *Shake-speare's Sonnets*, which Benson reprints in their earliest—*Pilgrim*—form rather than using the versions found in the 1609 quarto, there are fewer than a dozen verbal differences between the words in sonnets from the 1609 quarto and those in Benson's collated text. Furthermore, while such verbal revisions were, of course, common in many manuscripts compiled throughout the early modern period, the mid-century printed miscellanies show a surprising degree of similar textual revision. Full lines and couplets are often omitted in reprints of popular volumes,²⁵⁷ and the 'Phrases, for the beginnings of Letters, for our greater speede in our urgent occasions' and following sample concluding remarks or entire letters in the 1640 *Academy of Complements* have been frequently revised and reworded, perhaps as a means of

²⁵⁷ The second epigram in the 1640 and 1641 *Recreations* reappears in the 1645 edition stripped of its final couplet, which (when included) explains why its subject, Battus never opens his many books: 'it cleane against his nature goes / To know mens secrets, so he keeps them close[d].' (Lines 7-8, '2. On Battus,' *Witts Recreations* (1640, 1641) B1v. In the 1645 edition, the abridged poem appears on leaf B2.) The epigram titled 'On Women' (D2r in 1640, C7r 1641) bears a similar omission: lines 3-4, which read 'Here sometimes wee a blot, there wee espy / A leafe misplac'd, at least a line awry' are omitted in 1645 (C7r). Even where lines are not specifically omitted, the 1645 editor often makes revisions, sometimes by changing small words, and at least once by conflating parts of two poems to create a more powerful single piece. 'On a woman's will,' in 1640 begins 'How dearly doth the simple husband buy' (B1v), a form continued in the 1641 text (also B1v), but in 1645 'simple' is changed to 'honest' (B2v). A more drastic revision is applied to the 1640 epigram 'On a youth married to an old woman,' which in the earliest texts begins 'Fond youth I wonder why thou didst intend / To marry her who is so neer her end,' (C1v 1640, B7r 1641), but the 1645 editor has replaced these lines, in his edition, with the first two lines of a later poem in the previous texts, one titled 'Auri-sacra fames-quid non?' (C2r in 1640, B7v 1641), which begins 'A smooth-fac'd youth what wedded to an old / Decrepit shrew! (such is the power of Gold)' (1645 B8v).

updating the text, in subsequent editions of this miscellany, although Philomusus' modifications—like Benson's—rarely change the sense of the letters.²⁵⁸ In many ways, the revisions and changes made to poems printed in variant forms in several differing miscellanies as well as those made by a miscellany's editor when preparing the second or subsequent edition of a popular text reflect, but often far more drastically, the modifications made to the 1609 text of Shakespeare's sonnets by the later editor of Benson's text. It would be difficult to determine the point in their development at which these poems were placed into their two separate sequences, but whether the few textual revisions arose as a natural product of manuscript transmission and textual personalization or were made in the printing house, the changes made to pronouns and other key words in the 1640 revision are perfectly in keeping with those evinced in many other contemporary miscellanies.

So much has already been said about the similarities between the titles in Benson's text and those in the early miscellanies and single-author anthologies that it seems superfluous to reiterate, yet again, that titles such as those applied to Shakespeare's conflated sonnets in the 1640 *Poems* were a common feature of nearly all printed miscellanies and anthologies at this time. As in contemporaneous

²⁵⁸ A complementary letter entitled merely 'Another' in the 1640 *Academy* asks the writer's beloved (a female) 'if *Cupid* be not blinde, but to eschew hurts from you, can I have a heart without loving you, or a soule without adoring you?' (233). The 1650 edition, along the same lines but using differing words, similarly begins, 'if *Cupid* hath gained his eyes again on purpose to guard you from danger . . .' and continues with the same enquiry (288). A letter on the subject of happiness, printed a few pages later in the 1640 text, asks 'shall I publish it [my happinesse], to make it greater? No, no, my silence shall the more honour it, yet my words shall make it the more glorious; for in leaving it, I shall deprive its memory of forgetfulnesse' (242). The editor of the 1650 text, presumably aware of the slight contradiction this rambling joy proclaimed, revised these clauses to say, 'my words shall make it [this happiness] more glorious, but not more constant by doing so, for I cannot deprive my mind by forgetfulnesse' (296). These rephrased sentences, like others similarly revised, do not in any way alter the sense of the letters in which they are contained, suggesting that the corrections are made solely to enhance the eloquence of the collection.

manuscript culture, each text could apply a unique title to a poem shared between several manuscripts, and these variant titles offer modern readers valuable clues about the ways in which the collators of early miscellanies intended their volumes to be read and used.²⁵⁹ Even where the titles in a particular poetical volume are not thematically linked, the editors or publishers of some volumes took the time to offer more detailed and descriptive titles than those of other miscellanies. Given the prevalence of non-authorial titles in manuscripts and printed books throughout the first half of the seventeenth century, and long before that, the titles in the 1640 *Poems* must be taken as a matter of course and not as base editorial impositions upon Shakespeare's simply numbered sequence of 1609.

Finally, and perhaps most importantly, the efficient adaptation of the sonnet genre for Benson's text is nearly synonymous with the efficient adaptation of the sonnet genre for the mid-century printed miscellanies, particularly those that sought to endow their texts with the fashionable—and marketable—allure of courtly eloquence. As many scholars of Shakespeare's sonnets have noted, the popularity of the sonnet sequence had waned by the early seventeenth century, making even

²⁵⁹ A passage by Ben Jonson beginning 'Hang up those dull and envious fooles' appeared in the 1655 *Marrow of Complements* and later in the 1671 *Oxford Drollery*. In the earlier text, sixteen lines of the poem are given and titled 'The Elegant Amazon, Fighting in the vindication of her selfe and her whole sex, against the whole race of mankind, who tax them with inconstancy' (84); in the second text, eight more lines are added to the poem, then titled more simply, 'The Amazon Womens Song' and naming the tune to which it could be sung (125). A slightly bawdy poem beginning 'He that marries a merry Lass' was printed in five separate miscellanies between 1655 and 1682; three miscellanies titled it simply 'Song,' but *Wits Interpreter* headed it with the catchy title 'Which wife to choose' (71) and the 1682 *Wit and Mirth* called it 'Councell to a Batchellor' (103). Thomas Goodwyn's longer poem beginning 'I went from England into France' appeared in the 1656 *Musarum Deliciae* and the 1656 *Parnassus Biceps* under the title 'A journey into France' (*Deliciae* 17, *Biceps* 24), whereas the 1661 *Merry Drollery the First Part* added 'merrie' to the title (64), and *Wit and Mirth* made the title even more specific by titling the poem 'Dr. Corbet's journey into France' (76). These are a very few examples chosen out of hundreds.

the publication of the 1609 quarto slightly incongruous in light of the nonchalance with which that genre was handled after the turn of the century and death of Elizabeth I. Yet while the sonnet sequences of Drayton and Daniel disappeared into the back pages of their respective *Works*,²⁶⁰ the sonnets scattered through the *Poems* of Donne and Herbert's *Temple* did not affect the vendibility of these texts. What Benson's text accomplishes, then, is the transformation of an old-fashioned and unpopular sonnet sequence into a fresh, popularly-fashioned miscellany, complete with paratextual matter promoting the author's status and the courtly potential of the volume as well as supplementary texts by other authors that further imitate the contents of a printed verse miscellany. Sonnet, at this time, was not merely a synonym for 'Song' or 'Poem' (although it could be used thus in some circumstances), but still to some degree indicative of the upper class or the highly educated, and thus a term whose secular connotation referenced an elite mode of courtly behaviour that had become both desirable and marketable to early modern readers.²⁶¹ The sonnets emphasised in the slightly later miscellanies the *Card of*

²⁶⁰ In Daniel's 1594 version of *Delia* and *Rosamund*, the sonnet sequence opens the volume and is followed by the longer poem. In 1601 and every subsequent seventeenth-century edition, however, *Rosamund* precedes the *Delia* sequence. Similarly, the 1637 edition of Drayton's *Works* moves the sonnets of *Idea* to the final pages of the codex and omits the sonnets used to preface the sequence in 1619, thus creating a sonnet sequence of 63 sonnets that, at the latter end of a series of textual revisions, lacks the initial three sonnets printed in Drayton's first *Idea* of sonnets.

²⁶¹ On the title pages and in the prefaces of many sixteenth- and seventeenth-century codices, the term 'sonnet' is used to describe numerous poems whose forms in no way match the fourteen lines of iambic pentameter now almost universally described by that same term. Many religious tracts from the same period divide the idea of the 'sonnet' into two categories: the 'vaine' (Robert Green, *Gwydonius*, London: Ponsonby, 1584, 75v), 'idolatrour' (Walter Haddon, *Against Ierome Osorious Byshopp* London: Daye, 1581, 321v) or 'amatorious' (William Fulbeck, *A Booke of Christian Ethics or Moral Philosophie* London: Iones, 1587, A8r) sonnets presumably of the courtly or non-Christian lifestyle, and the more sacred and liturgical sonnets used in worship, as in Gregory Martin's *The New Testament of Jesus Christ* (Rhemes: Fogy, 1582) where he describes 'private

Courtship (1653), the *Marrow of Complements* (1655), and the 1660 *Poems by Pembroke and Ruddier*, all three texts which advertised their courtly or noble contents and the elite skills their readers might gain by purchasing and reading these texts,²⁶² suggest that the sonnet form, if not the sonnet sequence, was still a symbol of elite literary culture in the mid-seventeenth-century. Benson's text slightly anticipates these miscellanies, and the continued popularity of courtly love: where the miscellanies often downplay the precise metrical forms of the poems—including sonnets—they contain, Benson retains the old-fashioned poetical structure and revises, instead, the 1609 edition's antiquated numerical captions and problematic layout.²⁶³ In the three courtly miscellanies named above, the title 'Sonnet' is applied to several poems apiece, emphasising the form's benefits for students of courtship and the court alike.²⁶⁴ For Benson, then, the presentation of

praisers' of 'psalmes or hymnes and sonnets newly inspired . . . by God' (462).

Tottel's courtly *Songs and Sonettes* gave the term some of its elite connotations.

²⁶² *The Card of Courtship*, subtitled 'The Language of Love,' promises 'Curious and ingenious Dialogues, Pithy and pleasant Discourses, Eloquent and winning Letters, Delicious Songs and Sonnets, Fine Fancies, Harmonious Odes & Sweet Rhapsodies,' (title page) suitable for 'longing Virgins, amorous Batchelors, blithe Widows, kinde Wives, and flexible Husbands, of what Honour, Title, Calling, or Conversation soever . . .' [A2]r. The *Poems by Pembroke* is presented as an elite volume from the title page, which boldly flaunts the name of Pembroke, 'Lord Steward of his Majesties Household,' and emphasizes the fact that 'Sr' Ruddier is a 'Knight.' The dedication 'To the Right Honorable Cristiana,' 'extracted from an ancient and Royal Family,' further accentuates the elite readers who might also have enjoyed Pembroke's poems, and Rudier's poem to the prince beginning 'Sir, such my fate was that I had no store,' emphasizes its royal addressee in enormous letters on page 63 of the codex.

²⁶³ Burrow notes in 'Life and Work' that the 1609 quarto shared many features with the earlier and pirated *Astrophil and Stella*: 'to contemporary readers . . . [the quarto] would have looked unusual: Sonnets topped by the name of Shakespeare stagger across pages, their form broken by the printed page . . . only one other printed sonnet sequence shares these features . . . the 1951 edition of *Sir P. S. His Astrophel and Stella* . . . which was called in, and . . . is manifestly the printed offshoot of a manuscript which walked away from its rightful owner' (27).

²⁶⁴ *Poems by Pembroke and Ruddier* contains a wide selection of 'Sonnet' poems, including one of twenty lines beginning 'Canst thou love me, and yet doubt.' In *Wits Interpreter*, a volume of instruction for those who aspired to the

courtly sonnets by a popular author whose plays had recently been published must have been a particular delight: the arrangement of the volume would have allowed him to shape it as a miscellany like those just coming back into vogue, keeping the courtly implications of Shakespeare's sonnets while minimising the effects of Thorpe's old-fashioned sequence. That other stationers were also following similar practices suggests that such modernizations were beneficial, or, at least, that Benson and his colleagues believed they could be used effectively. Furthermore, even as Moseley's compilers were quietly incorporating the sonnet form into *The Card of Courtship* and *The Marrow of Complements* and Donne's son was preparing the sonnet-heavy *Poems by Pembroke and Ruddier* for print, the 1640 text of Shakespeare's *Poems* had already impacted Benson's colleagues and readers even more directly.

USING *POEMS* IN A MISCELLANEOUS CANON: BENSON'S IMMEDIATE EFFECT

Where there are many stylistic similarities between *Witts Recreations*, *The Academy of Complements*, other late miscellanies and Benson's *Poems*, such correspondences derive not from their editors' direct influences upon one another,

'Accomplishments that compleat our English Gentry,' this same poem is titled 'The entire heart;' but its appearance alongside many other 'Sonnet's in *Poems by Pembroke* reflects the courtly posturing of this volume, and also the titular consistency evident in the mock-sonnet sequence thus created. This quoted intention of *Witts Interpreter* is printed upon the title page of that volume and implied by comments made in its preface. The poem itself appears in *Interpreter* page 64 and *Pembroke* 23. Robert Ayton's poem beginning 'Wrong not dear Empress of my heart' is similarly titled 'Sonnet' in *Pembroke* (35), but appears in *Westminster Drollery the Second Part* (1672) under the title 'Silence the best Wooer' (129).

but from a shared understanding of effective marketing tools, built upon methods observed from these texts' common vendible predecessors. Yet where the 1640 *Poems* and its contemporary miscellanies all reflect their common literary ancestors, including but not limited to *Songes and Sonettes* and *Poems by J. D.*, Benson and Moseley's mid-century imitations of previous texts and paratexts are difficult to trace definitively to one or two earlier texts. Instead, Benson's *Poems* and the contemporaneous miscellanies are products of a constantly developing and fluctuating literary culture, in which collections such as *Songes and Sonettes* or *Poems by J. D.* serve as highlights or indicators of popular trends in literature and marketing during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The 1640 *Poems*, however, like the instantly popular *Recreations* and *Academy*, is, as are the works compiled by Tottel and collected from Donne, another indicator of popular commercial trends in its time. Though not reprinted in full for more than seventy years, *Poems* had an important and direct impact upon both manuscript and print books compiled and prepared in the decades immediately after its publication. In print miscellanies, collections of poetry, and even the plays of Sir John Suckling, Shakespeare's sonnets, as reintroduced in Benson's edition, were borrowed, revised, and adapted for personal and public use by readers, writers, compilers, and editors alike. Several texts, each created for a unique purpose, borrowed one or more of the sonnets Benson had reprinted and adapted these poems—sometimes for the third time in the sonnets' short history—to fit an even wider array of situations than those suggested by Benson's titles and reorganization.

Joshua Phillips' 1658 *The Mysteries of Love and Eloquence* is a printed verse miscellany containing, among many other texts, sample love letters detailing the precise art of wooing, numerous romantic verses, and extensive lists of rhyming

words. Building on the recent success of *Recreations* and *Academy, Mysteries* is a print miscellany of the romantic sort, intended to appeal 'To the Youthful Gentry'²⁶⁵ and described by its compiler as 'A Magazin richly furnisht, for his dispatch of any of those high Concernments, [which] *Cupid* or *Mercury* shall at any time instate in him'²⁶⁶ particularly as 'it cannot but be confessed by all men in their right mindes, that Artificial set Forms may be aiding to them all, not as they are litteraly to be applied, but as they are additional helps to quicken and inlighten the Genius.'²⁶⁷ Among these helps to quicken Genius is a sample 'Perswasive Letter to his Mistress,' which opens with lines culled and revised from the concluding couplets of six Shakespearean sonnets and is, in its entirety, a miniature cento culled from texts previously printed in *Poems*.²⁶⁸ In the first half of his collation, Phillips has included couplets from Shakespeare's Sonnets 23, 6, 4, 5, 11, and 92, as well as two from *Love's Labours Lost* and *The Passionate Pilgrim*, both, significantly, also found in Benson's 1640 collection. The latter half of Phillips' conflation consists of several couplets borrowed from Thomas Heywood's 'The amorous Epistle from Paris to Hellen,' which appeared in *Pilgrim* before it was reprinted by Benson in *Poems*. Phillips' cento has only one focus: each and every one of its lines is intended to persuade a young, unwed 'Mistress' to 'leap into [her] bed' (PLM 40), presumably with the poem's eventual speaker in tow. To this end, Phillips has drawn together and rewritten lines from four of Shakespeare's marriage sonnets, presumably selected with care from the most relevant sections in Benson's carefully titled text, mingling these with selections from several other

²⁶⁵ Joshua Phillips, *The Mysteries of Love and Eloquence*, London: Brooks, 1658, sig. A3r.

²⁶⁶ Phillips sig. A4r.

²⁶⁷ Phillips sig. A5r.

²⁶⁸ For a reproduction of Phillips' cento conflation and citations of his borrowed excerpts, please see Appendix Three.

Shakespearean—or presumably Shakespearean—poems that emphasize the beauties and benefits of love. The concluding lines, borrowed in couplets from *Poems*' 'Paris to Hellen,' drive Shakespeare's elegant generalizations about the 'Bashfull lover,' the beloved's 'Magazine of Beautie,' and the joys of an 'Invitation to Marriage'²⁶⁹ towards a more intimate and specifically physical relationship, matrimonial or otherwise.

Within the space of forty lines, Phillips' conflation swiftly moves from the high rhetorical couplets that, with simple elegance, describe the joys of procreation, ('Sweetest, but read what silent Love hath writ / With thy fair eyes, tast but of Loves fine wit') into lines that are more concerned with the specifics of the speaker/lover ('For some fair Maids by me would have been Mothers'), the beloved ('I will raise thy name, and set thee forth, / Enjoy thy riches, glorifie thy worth'), and the relationship between the speaker and the addressee ('*Venus* her self my pen to this theam lead, / And gives thee freely to my longing bed').²⁷⁰ Although there are two couplets that cannot be identified as specifically borrowed from *Poems*, the themes of their four lines are similar enough to related passages in Shakespeare's sonnets and Heywood's poetical epistle that they are clearly Phillips' appropriations of themes, if not specific lines, from within Benson's anthology.

²⁶⁹ These are the titles applied to five of the six Bensonian sonnets Phillips has borrowed from the 1640 text. The sequence of Phillips' borrowings—these are from compound poems 16, 10, 11, and 60, respectively—and the addition of additional lines from the supplemental materials in Benson's edition clearly establish the 1640 text as the conflation's source; presumably Phillips (or the poem's collator) used the titles in *Poems* to identify poems most likely to satisfy the courtship-inspired poetical requirements for this cento of seduction.

²⁷⁰ The lines quoted here are from 'A Perswasive Letter to his Mistress,' in Phillips, 138-9, lines 1-2, 20, 37-8, and 25-6. The originals are from Sonnet 23.13-14 and 'The amorous Epistle of Paris to Hellen,' *Poems*, H3r-I4r, lines 164, an unidentified passage, and 37-8.

Throughout Phillips' conflation, not only are lines from the 1640 *Poems* borrowed to fit the direction of the 'Perswasive Letter,' but such lines are repeatedly revised, often quite drastically. Although the lines 'What[,] hast thou vow'd an aged Maid to die? / Be not a fool; Lovers may swear and lie'²⁷¹ cannot be directly identified as a Shakespearean couplet, the themes therein contained reflect those found in many of Shakespeare's sonnets of procreation, particularly Sonnet 2, and may be simply a drastic rewording of this sonnet or another similar one; similarly, the previously quoted line 'I will raise thy name and set thee forth,' while not a direct quotation or clear borrowing from Heywood, contains promises that are made, using other words, in the original epistle.²⁷² Likewise, when Shakespeare in Benson's edition suggests that 'To heare with eyes belongs to loves fine wit' (23.14), the revised text is far more direct, commanding the addressee, 'With thy fair eyes, tast but of Loves fine wit.'²⁷³ Within this poem, Phillips has pulled together twenty couplets from *Poems*, rearranged them to form a persuasive narrative of seduction focused on the beloved's desirability, and adapted the words of each selection to reflect more specifically upon the characters in the little

²⁷¹ Phillips, 'Letter,' lines 11-12.

²⁷² Near the end of 'Paris to Hellen,' Heywood's translation states that 'To gaine rich Prizes men will venture farre' and 'If all the world about you should contend, / Your name would be eterniz'd without end,' promising the prized Helen the same eternal glory as that suggested for the beloved in Phillips' conflation.

²⁷³ 'Letter' li.2. Similarly, when one of Shakespeare's sonnets considers the beloved 'much too faire, / To be deaths conquest and make wormes thine heire' (6.13-14), Phillips revises the poet's intentions and refocuses the line on reproduction, stating, 'thou art much too fair / For death to triumph o're without an heir.' (Letter' li.3-4). Phillips makes similar revisions to the lines borrowed from Heywood's epistle, changing Heywood's translation 'I wish'd thee, ere I knew thee' ('Amorous Epistle' li.67) to 'I lov'd thee, ere I saw thee' ('Letter' li.20) and replacing Heywood's description of a face that 'did incite me' ('Amorous Epistle' li.177) to one 'that did invite me' ('Letter' li.32), shifting the focus from the lover's desires to the beloved's supposed invitation. More intriguingly, where Heywood's Paris begs, 'Oh pardon me that have confess'd my error' ('Amorous Epistle' li.19), Phillips' lover is instructed to state, 'Pardon me not, for I confess no error' ('Letter' li.21), thus completely changing the lover's interpolation of these lines

epistolary drama Phillips has created for the benefit of amorous young men in need of literary inspiration. By excising, rearranging, and revising these couplets, Phillips has given Shakespeare's sonnets yet another focus, taking even the non-procreative poems and applying them specifically to 'The Arts of Wooing and Complementing.' That the non-marriage sonnets as well as poems urging procreation can be transformed in his persuasive epistle exemplifies yet another way in which the emergence and instability of *Poems* allowed early modern readers to apply Shakespeare's sonnets to a wider range of topics and themes, from politics and religion to the sweet urges of seduction.

Although Phillips' conflated cento is by far the most elegant or dramatic adaptation of Benson's *Poems*, borrowings from this volume are nevertheless evident in both the body and paratextual components of a few other texts. Shortly after *Poems* reached print, the stationer Francis Eaglesfield published John Suckling's play *The Discontented Colonell*, which was reprinted by Humphrey Moseley in 1646 under the title *Brennoralt*.²⁷⁴ Despite the change of publishers and titles, the two plays are similar in many respects, including the several lines and images they borrow from Shakespeare's sonnets. In many instances, Suckling's adaptations are subtle, which may be why Suckling's borrowings have been identified slowly by various scholars over the past few decades.²⁷⁵ Some of these references are more direct than others: where Sonnet 47 reads 'When that mine eye

²⁷⁴ These plays are often dated to 1639-40, which may reflect the dates of performance, but the ESTC suggests that Eaglesfield published *The Discontented Colonell* about 1642, two years after *Poems*.

²⁷⁵ In his *Variorum* edition of the sonnets, Hyder Edward Rollins identified *Brennoralt*'s extensive borrowings from Sonnet 47 and noted some smaller allusions to 1.9, 9.9-10, 12.10, 52.1-4, and 104 (Rollins I.130, 140, 26, and 256). He also notes a similarity between Shakespeare's Sonnet 23.9 and Robert Baron's *An Apology for Paris*, published in 1649. Katherine Duncan-Jones, upon whose identification of Benson's edition as the source for these allusions I rely, has identified *Brennoralt* phrases borrowed from Sonnets 99.7 and 140.7-8 (222, 230).

is famisht for a looke' (47.3), Suckling's *Iphigenia* states, quite similarly, 'That when my eye is famisht for a looke, / It may have where to feed,'²⁷⁶ but Suckling's use of the phrase 'the wastes of time' is so short that it can hardly be a definitive allusion to Sonnet 12. Yet where the borrowings are clearer, Suckling's Shakespearean adaptations not only fragment and revise lines from Shakespeare's Sonnets, but completely recontextualise them. Sasha Roberts noted that in *Brennoralt* 'Suckling puts lines from the Fair Youth sonnets into the mouth of a cross-dressed woman (Iphigene) who, for appearances, maintains a relationship with another woman (Francelia),'²⁷⁷ suggesting that Suckling has read the sonnets in Benson's text—which opens with a sequence of poems directed to a young man—as poems suitable to be used during a man's courtship of a woman as well as during the exchange of same-gender affections. Here, apparently, some of Benson's revisions and rearrangements have updated Shakespeare's old-fashioned sonnet sequence adequately enough to influence a popular mid-century playwright.

An even clearer demonstration of the ways in which Shakespeare's sonnets in Benson's text are more widely applicable to individuals of either gender occurs in the dedication of William Chamberlayne's 1683 novel *Eromena: Or, the Noble Stranger*. *Eromena* is itself an appropriation of Chamberlayne's earlier poem *Pharonnida* (Robert Clavell, 1659), yet where *Pharonnida* is a poem in five cantos dedicated to Sir William Portman, *Eromena* is a much-abridged prose piece dedicated to Madam Sarah Monday, and the dedication of this later, heavily revised text borrows and transforms Shakespeare's Sonnet 55 into a short poem—perhaps, as titled in Benson, 'A living Monument'—promising to remember and

²⁷⁶ Sir John Suckling, *The Discontented Colonell*, London: Eaglesfield, 1642. See sig. [G2v]. (Quotation from V.1).

²⁷⁷ Roberts 163.

immortalise the dedicatee. Although this sonnet appears early in the 1609 sequence, intermixed with poems commonly considered to have been addressed to the 'young man,' the sonnet itself contains no masculine pronouns in either the 1609 or 1640 versions, so the application of such a poem to a woman would not have seemed unusual or required any textual alteration. In Benson's text, however, this sonnet is presented as a 'Monument,' with which a beloved or favoured individual might be acclaimed, and it is possibly the immortality promised through Benson's appropriate title, coupled with the text of the poem itself, that has recommended such a piece to Norris or Chamberlayne.²⁷⁸ In their careful reconstruction of this poem into an address to an honoured lady, however, the editors have further removed any masculine or warlike connotations evident in the full sonnet, omitting Shakespeare's second quatrain, with its references to 'wasteful warre,' 'warres quick fire,' and the sword of Mars (55.5,7). Otherwise, despite a few small changes made to specific phrases of the sonnet—changing 'unswept stone' to 'dusty trophies,' 'shall you pace forth' to 'so shall you live' and the like,²⁷⁹ the revision retains most of Shakespeare's non-pugilistic primary themes, and the adaptation of one sonnet and only one sonnet, is unique to this dedication.

In many ways, the rejection of the warrior's quatrain and the slight revisions of other lines from the sonnet are in keeping with the revisions made to *Pharonnida* itself in this new prose text. Chamberlayne or Norris has, perhaps tactfully, omitted

²⁷⁸ The text of the poem itself is identical—save for spellings—in the 1609 and 1640 editions, but it is the chronological proximity of *Poems* and *Eromena*, coupled with the appropriateness of Benson's title, that makes it particularly plausible that Norris or Chamberlayne based his poem selection on Benson's text.

²⁷⁹ Norris or Chamberlayne also changes the phrases 'were this world out' (55.12) and 'that your selfe arise' (55.13) to 'were this frail world sunk' and 'you again shall rise.' These are, as far as content is concerned, more minor modifications.

the original text's references to 'Earth's . . . pregnant Womb'²⁸⁰ and both simplified and shortened most of *Pharonnida*'s descriptions of battle or combat.²⁸¹ As with other revisions of and responses to Benson's edition of the sonnets, the *Eromena* dedication is simply an example of the varied contexts and revisions into which Shakespeare's sonnets were assimilated during this early period of textual instability. That sonnets now so carefully praised for their dramatic narrative and biographical sequence could, within a few decades of their first publication, have been applied so widely to such a large number of themes and contexts, and have been adapted so thoroughly, is surely evidence both of the instability and flexibility which *Poems* offered early modern readers of the sonnets, and of the vastly differing approaches to reading, writing, and books in general that Benson's contemporaries and readers would have held.

Where Phillips' cento and the dedication of *Eromena* suggest that Benson's 1640 text was read and utilised by Benson's contemporaries in the stationers' company, the adaptation of several of these sonnets for use in *Brennoralt*, coupled with manuscript evidence from around the same time suggest that the text of *Poems* impacted readers outside the small circle of mid-century stationers. In addition, the manuscript evidence scattered in the margins and flyleaves of various extant editions of *Poems*, as well as a cento poem based on Benson's text composed in a mid-century manuscript miscellany, demonstrates that Benson's edition was indeed read in the decades following its publication. Some reader-annotators carefully revised Benson's titles and amended the punctuation in various poems,

²⁸⁰ *Pharonnida* 1.

²⁸¹ The first six pages of *Pharonnida* describe two battles, one at sea and one on land. In the second combat, several lines telling of 'a Troop of desp'rate men . . . / [who] Let their own anger loose, which flaming in / A fatall Combate, had already bin / In blood disfigur'd' (4) are compressed, in *Eromena*, to describe merely 'a Company of those shipwrack'd persons engag'd in a desperate Combate' (6).

Shakespearean and otherwise, anticipating the editorial revisions to these poems that would be made by critics and scholars throughout the eighteenth century. Others left marginalia that suggests they valued *Poems* more for its paper than for the words upon it.²⁸² Even more than these short marginal revisions, what the cento manuscript demonstrates is the degree to which at least one of Benson's readers revised, adapted, and engaged with the 1640 text, redrafting Benson's own recreation into yet another text, even more heavily adapted and personalised than its source.

The compiler of Folger MS V.a.148, as I mentioned at the end of the first chapter, collected into his manuscript miscellany primarily sermons, epigrams, tables of passages from the Bible, and a few poems, among the latter a lengthy cento poem comprised of lines and phrases borrowed from more than two dozen of Shakespeare's sonnets, and ordered, with two slight variations, in the sequence found in *Poems*. The compiler of this book began at both ends of his codex and worked inwards, adding occasional titles to what is otherwise a random assortment of poems and passages. Many of the bawdier poems commonly found in university and courtly miscellanies are missing, and the sonnets this compiler selected from *Poems* are not those transmitted in coteries of the 1630s. Although this cento may be indicative, as David Baker suggests,²⁸³ of a Royalist reader searching through the text of *Poems* for selections whose imagery might support or enhance his political cause, it is also, and quite obviously, the textual relic of one reader's critical approach to and appropriation of the sonnets, and reflects the instability

²⁸² Folger Copy 10 of *Poems* is filled with scribbles, practice letters and signatures, and even a fragment of a love poem that seems fairly unrelated to any of the other poems found in the volume.

²⁸³ See Baker 152-178.

under which the text of *Poems* was able to grow and change during the late seventeenth century.

In the V.a.148 cento, the manuscript compiler began his collation with two lines from Ben Jonson's poem on Shakespeare and thirteen lines from Sonnets 60 and 65, both part of 'Injurious Time' in *Poems*. In this new almost-sonnet, the compiler omits the first quatrain and concluding couplet of Sonnet 60, and includes only lines 3-8 of Sonnet 65, thereby removing most of Shakespeare's references to the destructive power of time and, even more intriguingly, omitting Shakespeare's parallel arguments that 'to times in hope, my verse shall stand / Praising thy worth, dispight his cruell hand' (60.13-14) and 'this miracle have might, / That in black inck my love may still shine bright' (65.13-14). Because of the prominent location granted to Jonson's poem, and the compiler's annotation 'Shakespeare' in the top corner of the page, the first portion of this cento can be read either as a sonnetlike construction attributed to Shakespeare himself, or as a new poem created in tribute to him, just as Jonson's quoted poem was originally printed in *Poems* as a tribute to Shakespeare. Yet the compiler's selections, while utilising some of Shakespeare's most elegant metaphors, seem to overlook the timelessness of verse which is, if the concluding couplets and Benson's titles are to be believed, the very point of the original poems.

At the bottom of the manuscript's first page, under the title 'Cruell,' the manuscript's compiler performs a careful textual revision, creating a new sonnet from the last ten lines of Sonnet 1 and the first four lines of Sonnet 2. This juxtaposition that makes perfect sense in light of the structure of *Poems*. Here the compiler has selected fourteen lines from poems Benson himself had already conjoined, creating a new poem that more obviously fits the title from *Poems* and

linking the early sonnets more clearly to the themes of Sonnet 107, which is included in its entirety on the same page of the manuscript. By omitting the first four lines of Sonnet 1, the compiler both highlights the 'cruell' behaviour of the addressee (1.8) and turns the focus of these sonnets away from reproduction and towards the selfishness of the addressee. Finally, this compiler adds to this poem a couplet from Sonnet 54, using a description of the 'dy' of Canker blooms and the perfume of Roses (54.5-6) both to supplement the description of the 'youths proud livery' turned into 'totterd weeds' (2.3-4) and to anticipate the description, drawn from Sonnet 68 and included on the following page of the miscellany, of an 'out-worne' cheek, where 'beauty liv'd and dy'd as flowers do now' (68.1-2). In Shakespeare's sonnet, and in *Poems*, the 'out-worne' face belongs to the beloved described in the poem; in the manuscript, the pronoun 'his' becomes 'my,' so that the out-worne face now belongs to the poem's author or compiler. In this new structure, the sonnets once heralding the joys of procreation suggest not that marriage is the answer, but that the beloved's non-specific cruelty has led to a particular kind of aging and physical discontent. Where the manuscript annotator of Folger *Poems* Copy 2 altered titles to represent a critical reading of the poems that differed, somewhat, from the one suggested by the titles in the 1640 text, this manuscript compiler has adapted various pieces from *Poems* to fit more closely with the nuances of specific Bensonian titles. Each reader represents an early modern critical response to the format and contents of *Poems*, and both responses clearly demonstrate the growing instability of the text of Shakespeare's sonnets, which could be read, both in manuscript and in print, in some very disparate ways.

In addition to the unique readings of Shakespeare's sonnets thus afforded by the V.a.148 cento, this manuscript as a whole also offers a fascinating account of

the reading habits and favored texts of one specific early modern reader. That the compiler was interested in Biblical studies is evident by the many sermons and tables of Bible verses transcribed within the volume. This is borne out again by the inclusion of numerous religious epigrams on Adam, Noah, Moses, Joseph, Joshua, Zaccheus, 'Sinne,' 'The Infant Martyrs,' 'Christs Wounds,' and 'Magdalens Tears Luke 7,' to name but a small selection.²⁸⁴ The compiler's politics are also fairly evident from the inclusion of poems such as 'A Deep Groane at the Funerall of Charles I' and an extensive account of 'The Tryal of M. Christopher Love,' without any texts proposing an alternative viewpoint. What is perhaps most surprising, however, is the compiler's apparent interest in miscegeny, as found in the poems titled 'Betwixt a Black maid and a fair boy' and 'Black Brows.' Both these poems reflect some of the tension found in Shakespeare's later sonnets, in which he compares the fair youth and dark lady, yet the compiler of V.a.148 has transcribed none of the related lines from *Poems* in his cento. Although this aspect of the sonnets may have appealed to him, then, the fact that the cento entirely overlooks the 'dark lady' debates suggests that the compiler's intentions were focused on another, more specific theme. His intentions might have been to highlight the Royalist imagery identified by Baker, to examine some religious imagery and issues of death and penitence, or, even more simply, to celebrate the life of 'renowned Shakespeare.' Whatever his intentions—and many are possible—it is unquestionably clear that this annotator was not trying, with his cento, to comment upon Shakespeare's love for a dark lady. That the cento can be read in several other ways only highlights the flexibility with which any and all early

²⁸⁴ The titles referenced here are mostly found on pages 49, 55, and 56 of V.a.148, counting inwards from what appears to be the back of the codex, but there are numerous others scattered throughout this text.

modern readers could have read and responded to Shakespeare's sonnets, in part because of the instability created by *Poems*. Taken together, this manuscript, the sonnet borrowings in *Brennoralt* and Phillips' *Mysteries*, and the prefatory adaptation of Shakespeare's sonnet in *Eromena* demonstrate a few ways in which the sonnets—in part due to their revival in Benson's *Poems*—were assimilated into the mid-seventeenth-century literary world. Through these adaptative receptions, and also in light of the great homage Benson's text pays to the printed miscellanies and single-author collections whose editorial precedents are reimagined in Benson's edition, it is possible to understand the 1640 *Poems* as a typical and standard early modern text read and enjoyed by contemporaneous readers who were accustomed to the types of editorial interventions made by Benson or the individual who prepared his now-controversial collection.

It is possible to trace, if not perfectly, many of the inspirations and precedents for Benson's *Poems*, beginning with its broader textual origins in an early modern England in which readers transcribed the poems they liked, recontextualising and titling them in order to possess and personalise them, and in which stationers strove to meet the needs of these highly literary readers and satisfy customers whose only access to the elite and courtly texts transmitted in the coterie of early modern Britain was provided by these diverse and well-marketed printed volumes. More specifically, it is possible to see how the supplementation, exclusion, rearrangement, and retitling for which Benson has been so often lambasted during the past two and a half centuries indicate not his concealment of a previously published text, not his suppression of a scandalous homosexual love affair, and not even his response to the 'shocking social peril' of Shakespeare's

miscegenous love,²⁸⁵ but his presence in and awareness of the editorial and marketing methods blossoming in early modern London. Like *Songs and Sonettes*, *Poems: By J. D.*, *The Academy of Complements*, *Witts Recreations*, and many others, the 1640 *Poems: By Wil. Shake-speare* presents itself as a multipurpose text, designed to appeal to would-be buyers seeking books that promised romantic eloquence, courtly passion, political imagery, pleasing amusements, genteel authors, or other popular literary features advertised by Benson and his contemporaries.

The title page and contents of *Poems: By Wil. Shake-speare* promise most of these highly-marketed delights, and the text itself builds upon a large and wide variety of methodologies proven viable by the rampant successes of *Songes and Sonettes*, *Poems by J. D.*, the 1640 miscellanies of Moseley and Blunden, and numerous other texts that also replicated the formats, structures, elite marketing tactics, titles, and other elements imitated in numerous printed texts of the time. More to the point, although *Poems* was not reprinted during the seventeenth century, it was read and adapted by stationers and members of the public alike, and it—unlike many of its textual contemporaries—realised a tremendous revival in the eighteenth century, indubitably due to the growing popularity of Shakespeare's name in theatres, households, and scholarly circles alike. From the moment of its first appearance in London bookstalls in 1640 through to the mid-eighteenth century, Benson's text was read, revised, and reprinted in ten separate editions, each a slightly modified imitation of its immediate predecessor, as each successive editor of Shakespeare's poems strove to imitate and improve upon the marketable components of Benson's *Poems* and to update his own version of Shakespeare's

²⁸⁵ de Grazia 82.

sonnets to influence a new wave of readers and bookbuyers whose fiscal responses to new versions of Benson's text would, ultimately, demonstrate the literary and monetary value of Shakespeare's poems in the eighteenth century.

CHAPTER THREE

THE HUMBLE STATUS OF A SUPPLEMENT: CRITICAL AND EDITORIAL APPROACHES TO THE SONNETS, 1709-1790

In the previous two chapters of this thesis, I have looked at many elements and examples of the early modern print and manuscript cultures, most of which reflect or anticipate some of the more frequently criticised aspects of John Benson's edition of Shakespeare's sonnets. Through an examination of these manuscripts and print sources, the ways and means by which the 1640 *Poems* was situated in the literary culture of early modern London become increasingly clearer, and the strong links between the editing of early texts and that of *Poems* force us to reexamine *Poems*, not as a spurious text designed to conceal stolen poems or illegitimate sexual preferences, but as a repackaged and well-marketed text in which an older sonnet cycle is updated to appeal to the diverse tastes of a British public sharply divided on matters of court and church. That Benson was to some degree successful in this adaptation of Shakespeare's text for his mid-century readers is partly evident from the product's early reception, as indicated by booksellers' catalogues and readers' manuscript revisions, and partly demonstrated by the volume's survival into and adaptation throughout the eighteenth century. In short, Benson's edition was notable not only for its reflections of early modern traditions and tastes, but for the impact it would have upon the blossoming editorial culture of the eighteenth century, and upon the establishment of the Shakespearean canon as one definite and unified corpus. By the very fact of its existence, the 1640 *Poems* forced Shakespeare's sonnets into a period of extreme textual instability, a void of literary flux in which the sonnets and most of Shakespeare's other poems became both

liminal and supplemental elements of a canon whose editors were all but obsessed with the poetry of the theatre. Repeatedly, and during the divisive editorial debates of Theobald and Pope or—later—Steevens, Capell, and Malone, Shakespeare's sonnets served as appendages to the more highly preferred texts of his plays, straggling poetically into Shakespeare's 'Works' in the final and appended volumes of only a few editions. Even the few critics who dared or bothered to compile or comment upon editions of Shakespeare's sonnets were brief and often condescending in their remarks: where Gildon fought hard to establish the authenticity of Shakespeare's poems in 1709, Sewell and Steevens suggested they were merely rough drafts of Shakespeare's later poetic excellence.²⁸⁶ The brief praises offered up by early scholar Giles Jacob were limited to the simple suggestion that Shakespeare's poems, 'tho' inferior to his Dramatick Performances, yet have . . . numerous Beauties,'²⁸⁷ and Edward Capell, though he praised many of their qualities, primarily strove to exalt Shakespeare's sonnets far above the non-Shakespearean 'rubbish' introduced in Benson's 1640 edition, carefully avoiding any actual analysis of Shakespeare's poems.

Even as Shakespeare's eighteenth-century critics and editors repeatedly overlooked or dismissed the poetical supplements to the poet's supposedly greater

²⁸⁶ Sewell noted only that '[i]f we allow the rest of these Poems to be genuine . . . the Occasional ones will appear to be the first of his Works,' ('Preface,' 1724).

²⁸⁷ Giles Jacobs, *The Poetical Register: or, The Lives and Characters of all the English Poets. With an Account of their Writings*. London: Bettesworth, Taylor, Batley, Wyat, Rivington, Bell, Meadows, Pemberton, and Hooke, 1723. II.280. Jacobs mentions Shakespeare's 'several other small Miscellaneous Poems, particularly on the Subject of Love; which, with its Effects, are often happily touch'd' and 'many Epigrams, perfect in their kind' (281, 282), but otherwise skims over most of Shakespeare's shorter poems. His full text, one of the earliest biographical and semi-critical accounts of English poets from Chaucer to Pope, lists Shakespeare twice: in the first volume, for 'English Dramatick Poets,' and in the second, for mere 'English Poets,' listing him with 'Dramatick Poets, out of the Dramatick way.'

dramatic works, readers and bookbuyers in eighteenth-century London, Edinburgh, and Dublin slowly responded to the literary appeal of Benson's well-packaged text, and the personal libraries in several eighteenth-century homes across the British Isles often contained Shakespeare's poems, occasionally placed upon bookshelves that contained not a single volume of Shakespeare's plays.²⁸⁸ As the century progressed, so too did the debates over the theory and practice of editing British texts, many of which were played out in the prefaces and approaches of Shakespeare's editors Pope, Theobald, Capell, Steevens, and Malone.²⁸⁹ Benson's own editorial successors were forced to decide which version of the sonnets to include in their own editions, and these individual value judgments kept the sequence and contents of Shakespeare's sonnets in a state of constant variation for a century and a half. At the heart of the unspoken debate surrounding the Thorpe and Benson texts of the sonnets lay a far greater controversy, one between the aesthetic and authorial schools of editorial practice, and the two variant versions of the sonnets printed and reprinted during the eighteenth century are as representative of this textual discourse as the plays themselves.

In and through such debates, the early eighteenth-century editors and publishers who first edited Shakespeare were redefining the idea of literature in

²⁸⁸ The books owned by some eighteenth-century households are indicated in library catalogues compiled by booksellers of the time. Many of these will be discussed later in the chapter, and a more extensive list of Shakespearean texts resold during this time is available in Appendix Seven.

²⁸⁹ A more extensive discussion of the disparities between these editorial approaches can be found in the introduction to Marcus Walsh's *Shakespeare, Milton, and Eighteenth-Century Literary Editing: The Beginnings of Interpretive Scholarship* (CUP, 1997); in D. C. Greetham, *Textual Scholarship: An Introduction* (New York: Garland, 1992), particularly the sixth chapter; in Richard Foster Jones' *Lewis Theobald: His Contribution to English Scholarship with some Unpublished Letters* (New York: Columbia, 1919); and in Margareta de Grazia's *Shakespeare Verbatim: The Reproduction of Authenticity and the 1790 Apparatus* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1991).

general to include not only the great classical texts, which had always received the benefits of critical acclaim and scholarly treatments, but works by more recent English writers such as Sidney, Spenser, Milton, and, of course, Shakespeare.²⁹⁰ By the eighteenth century, the sonnet sequence as a genre had been out of vogue for more than a century, and the popular miscellany form used for texts such as *Wit's Recreations* and *An Academy of Complements* as well as *Poems* itself had taken the literary world by storm.²⁹¹ As with the classical texts, Shakespeare's plays and poems presented numerous textual difficulties for these early editors, whose classical training had taught them to privilege the earliest known manuscripts, add in certain aspects of later manuscripts where appropriate, and amend their source or sources liberally when doing so might privilege a more authorial or aesthetic reading of a text.²⁹² These editorial approaches to classical manuscripts translated partially into a preference for Shakespeare's earliest quartos, except where obviously corrupt, and partially into an appreciation for the work of Shakespeare's earliest editors, such as the amenders of the Second Folio,²⁹³ and the contrast

²⁹⁰ Don-John Dugas makes an interesting case, in *Marketing the Bard: Shakespeare in Performance and Print 1660-1740* (London: U Missouri P, 2006), for the Tonson publishers' role in raising certain Renaissance authors to the level of classical artists. A more comprehensive overview of Shakespeare's rise to textual significance can be found in Lukas Erne's *Shakespeare as Literary Dramatist*, although Erne argues that Shakespeare had a significant literary presence well before he received the acclaim of his eighteenth-century editors.

²⁹¹ The miscellany in the eighteenth century took the form of single-author collections of excerpts such as William Dodd's *Beauties of Shakespeare* as well as a number of more varied texts that collected popular pieces from the past and present. See the Digital Miscellanies Index (digitalmiscellaniesindex.org) for a more thorough introduction to the more than 1,000 miscellanies printed and often reprinted during the eighteenth century.

²⁹² See Jones, Greetham, Walsh, and de Grazia *Verbatim*.

²⁹³ Library catalogues of this period, such as those published for booksellers Thomas Green and R. Montagu and discussed later in this chapter, routinely call the 1632 Folio the 'best' edition. Librarians at the University of Oxford were apparently more impressed by the third edition, which added eight plays to the collection printed in the first and second folios; Peter Blayney notes that they

between these two approaches made it possible for various eighteenth-century editors to promote either Benson's text, for its vendible aesthetic value, or Thorpe's, for its primacy, when editing and reprinting the poems.

Table 3.1
Editions of Shakespeare's Sonnets, 1700-1791.

YEAR	VERSION	PRIMARY PUBLISHER	EDITOR (where known)
1709-10	Thorpe	Lintott	
1710	Benson	Curll	Gildon
1712	Thorpe	Lintott	
1714	Benson	Curll	Gildon
1725	Benson	Bettesworth	Sewell
1726	Benson	Grierson and Ewing [Dublin; <i>pirated</i>]	Sewell
1728	Benson	Tonson and Bettesworth	Sewell
1760	Benson	[Edinburgh]	
1766	Thorpe	Tonson	Steevens
1771	Benson	Ewing [Dublin; <i>pirated</i>]	
1774	Benson	Bell and Etherington	
1775	Benson	Evans	
1780	Thorpe	Bathurst	Malone
1790	Thorpe	Rivington	Malone
1790	Thorpe	[Dublin; <i>pirated</i>]	Malone
1791	Thorpe	[Dublin; <i>pirated</i>]	Malone

[See Appendix Five for a more detailed description of editions.]

As can be seen in Table 3.1 and in Appendix Five, most of the early eighteenth-century editors and publishers of Shakespeare's sonnets based their texts upon Benson's *Poems*, while Bernard Lintott and George Steevens chose to print editions based upon the original quarto text. Yet where Lintott and Steevens prepared texts that followed Thorpe's original copy as closely as possible, retaining spelling and punctuation in an effort to increase the authenticity of their more authorial texts, the editors and printers of versions based upon Benson's publication amended words, capitals, and punctuation in the 1640 text, often quite liberally, in an effort, presumably, to make their editions as aesthetically correct and pleasing as

disposed of their First Folio upon purchasing the third edition (*The First Folios of Shakespeare*, Washington: Folger, 1991, 34).

possible.²⁹⁴ In every pre-Malone edition, however, the sonnets appear without the editorial apparatus of prefaces or commentaries, features found in—or appended to—nearly every edition of Shakespeare’s dramas throughout the century.

The textual instability created by the publication of the heavily revised and non-authorial *Poems* in 1640 manifested itself in numerous ways throughout the late seventeenth century and the vast majority of the eighteenth century. In the specific editions of Shakespeare’s poems printed throughout this century, editors revised and amended the poems using a wide variety of editorial approaches, and each of their editions contributed to a larger debate about the size, form, and contents of the Shakespearean canon as a whole. In addition, the eventual establishment of the quarto text as authoritative and legitimate changed not only the Shakespearean canon, but Shakespearean biography, creating a story of the sonnets that is still taught and accepted around the world today. How this more modern belief in the autobiographical romance of Shakespeare’s sonnets blossomed from the numerous seventeenth- and eighteenth-century interpretations of this same text is a major part of the story of the sonnets, and one that must not be overlooked.

FOLLOWING THE PATH OF SUPPLEMENTARITY: BENSON’S SUCCESSORS

Though one motivation behind the publication of the 1640 *Poems*, by *Wil. Shake-speare, Gent* may have been the simple fact that by 1640 Shakespeare’s plays had been printed twice, suggesting to any contemporaneous stationer that the

²⁹⁴ See Appendix Four for a selection of Bensonian sonnets as emended during the eighteenth century.

Folio publishers must be enjoying the rewards of Shakespearean vendibility,²⁹⁵ Benson's delicate octavo—barely larger than a pack of index cards—would have seemed out of place on a bookshelf beside one of the comparatively gargantuan Folios: even as Benson's pocket-sized publication supplemented the preceding folios, then, it emphasised the poems' isolation from the existing Shakespearean canon. Only the author's name, emblazoned proudly upon the front of Benson's volume, would have suggested to a potential reader that the 1640 *Poems* contained works previously excluded from the canonical Shakespeare. Whether Benson intended to establish his text as a supplement or merely to offer his readers a typical miscellany of poems that simply happened to have been written by a popular author, the 1640 edition effectively established the otherness and supplementarity of the sonnets. The understandable exclusion of the sonnets from the players' Folio of Shakespeare's plays; Benson's presentation of the sonnets as physically, thematically, and textually dissimilar to the contents of the Folios; and the apparent uninterest with which Benson's edition was received by his clients all contributed to the establishment of the sonnets as separate from and merely supplemental to the greater corpus of Shakespeare's work in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. From their reappearance on the press in 1709 through the eight decades that followed, the sonnets were perpetual appendages to the Shakespearean canon, heavily modified by a stream of editors striving to improve upon the sonnets as reprinted by Benson and generally overlooked or downplayed by those who read or reprinted the Thorpe quarto. Furthermore, although both versions of the sonnets

²⁹⁵ Patrick Cheney in particular notes the frequency with which Benson and his followers produced the poems as 'response volume[s]' to editions of the plays (xvii), while Margareta de Grazia suggests that the 1640 text 'adopted . . . the Folio format' in terms of prefatory material and the careful placement of Shakespeare as a literary figurehead, and, in so doing, 'appropriated something of its authenticity' (*Verbatim* 167).

were available throughout the eighteenth century, the two disparate editions received none of the attention applied to early and variant editions of Shakespeare's plays. At a time when Theobald and Capell were enthusiastically transcribing and collating variant readings in the folios and quartos, then selecting one reading from the numerous possibilities and arguing for it in footnotes and commentaries, Benson's *Poems* and the earlier quarto were studiously avoided, and left, for most of the century, to be read only by the general population.

The story of Shakespeare's sonnets in the eighteenth century is not limited to the story of these numerous small poems of fourteen lines, or even to that of Shakespeare's non-dramatic poetry as a whole. The commentaries and prefaces of Shakespeare's many eighteenth-century editors, coupled with the texts of a few outspoken critics, form a large and fascinating critical dialogue, the greater themes of which quietly murmur in the background of nearly every literary discourse, Shakespearean or otherwise, from that time. Into this drama, of course, Shakespeare's sonnets are ushered, but the critical dialogues of the sonnets' early editors not only paved the way for the eventual establishment of the sonnets as part of the Shakespearean canon, but eventually and slowly enabled the quiet resurrection of the sonnet form in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, as evinced most dramatically at the end of the eighteenth century, in yet another edition of the sonnets themselves. Many scholars of Shakespeare's sonnets have already noted that Shakespeare's quarto edition reached print after the early modern sonnet craze had begun to die out; ironically, the sonnets of Shakespeare were one of only a few Elizabethan sonnet sequences reprinted during the entire eighteenth century. Shakespeare's poems would have appeared in bookstores alongside texts containing the works, including the sonnet sequences, of Edmund Spenser (1715,

1778, 1787), Samuel Daniel (1718), Sir Philip Sidney (1724-5 and 1739), and Michael Drayton (1748, 1753, and 1793). Many aspects of these texts suggest that their editors and publishers, Jacob Tonson and A. Bettesworth among them, included these early sonnet sequences in editions of their authors' works or poems only so that booksellers and purchasers could claim to have a 'complete' edition of the poets' works, a particular irony in light of the general exclusion of Shakespeare's sonnets from many editions of that poet's 'Works' published by Tonson himself. Samuel Daniel's sonnets conclude the second volume of his 1718 *Poetical Works*, and are barely alluded to in the prefatory 'Some Account of the Life and Writings of Mr. Samuel Daniel' that opens the first volume.²⁹⁶ Drayton's *Idea* is unaesthetically crowded onto the last seven pages of his 1748 *Works*, and the author of his biography mentions the text by name, but only in passing, using it to transition between praises of Drayton's early essays and his later poetical elegance.²⁹⁷ The 1724-5 edition of Sidney's *Works* skims over *Astrophil and Stella* in the prefatory material, but places this sonnet sequence in the middle of the third and final volume of the edition, and, remarkably, not in a position of supplementarity. Although the bulk of this edition is devoted to Sidney's long *Arcadia*, the sonnet sequence plays a significant role in the collection as a whole, suggesting that in the context of Sidney's works, at least, these sonnets were valuable and significant to his eighteenth-century readers. Although Daniel, Sidney, and Drayton—unlike playwright Shakespeare—were catapulted to literary renown

²⁹⁶ Daniel's biographer, after many digressions into the merits and themes of other Daniel works, notes 'He was married, but whether to the Person he so often celebrates under the name of *Delia*, is uncertain' (xxii).

²⁹⁷ See *The Works of Michael Drayton, Esq. A Celebrated Poet in the reigns of Queen Elizabeth, King James I. and Charles I.*, London: Hughs, Dodsley, Jolliffe, and Reeve, 1748, 'An Historical Essay on the Life and Writings of Michael Drayton, Esq.' especially page 4.

by their poems alone, their sonnet sequences, like Shakespeare's, were also marginalized in the eighteenth-century editions of their collected works, suggesting, and significantly, that the liminal status accorded *Poems* and Shakespeare's sonnets more generally was a function of popular preference for specific forms and genres of literature. In the eighteenth century, the treatment of sonnet sequences—a form that had already gone out of fashion in 1640—continued to reflect the literary preferences of the era's editors and publishers, rather than the skills or flaws of the texts themselves. For most of the eighteenth century, then, Shakespeare's sonnets were overshadowed by his dramatic works, and the sonnet sequences of these contemporaneous authors were similarly marginalised, both physically on the pages of their editions and critically in their editors' commentaries, in nearly every edition of their respective works.

Only in Jacob Tonson's 1715 *The Works of Mr. Edmund Spenser* does a variant treatment of a sonnet sequence become apparent. Not only are the sonnets in the middle of the penultimate volume, and thus even more firmly established as part of the Spenserian canon, but the prefatory essay on 'The Life of Mr. Edmund Spenser' spends the better part of two pages defining and discussing the sonnet form so 'scarce known among us at this time'²⁹⁸ and exploring its influence on Sidney. Indeed, where the editors and biographers of Daniel, Drayton, Sidney, and Shakespeare mention their sonnets only in passing, if at all, Spenser's editor even includes the full text of Sonnet 15 from Sidney's *Astrophil and Stella* in his 'Life of Spenser,' emphasizing the potential of the sonnet sequence in a positive manner for the first time in nearly a century. Such careful attention to the sonnet form, and

²⁹⁸ *The Works of Mr. Edmund Spenser. In Six Volumes. With a Glossary Explaining the Old and Obscure Words. Publish'd by Mr. Hughes*, London: Tonson, 1715, 'The Life of Mr. Edmund Spenser,' I.cvii.

such careful praises of a poem in that style are absent from every other printed edition of an Elizabethan sonnet sequence until 1780. Just as the editors of Daniel, Drayton, and Sidney overlook their sonnets, so too are the prefaces of Gildon and Sewell, contemporaneous editors of Shakespeare's poems, unconcerned with anything more than establishing the authorship of the sonnets and suggesting their literary inspirations, respectively.²⁹⁹ Yet where Spenser's *Works*, one of the first eighteenth-century texts to include an Elizabethan sonnet sequence, should have formed a model for other editions of early modern sonnets and sonnet sequences, the ensuing collections of Shakespeare and, to a lesser degree, his contemporaries, remained, for the most part, liminal afterthoughts to collections of their authors' stronger or more favoured works.

Where most of Shakespeare's contemporary sonneteers reached print only once or twice in the eighteenth century, if at all, Shakespeare's sonnets were printed more than fifteen times during that period, affording modern scholars a unique opportunity to examine their variations and the approaches used by each of their editors over the course of the eighteenth century. The fifteen editions of the sonnets listed in Table 3.1 and Appendix Five can be broken down into three distinct chronological groups. The first four editions, those printed by Lintott and Curll, show the transition of the two disparate—and thus textually unstable—versions of the sonnets into the eighteenth century, and reintroduce, from the very beginning of the century, the same instability first created by Benson in 1640. The second

²⁹⁹ Gildon's 'Remarks on the Poems of Shakespear' merely states that all the poems in his volume 'carry [their] Author's Mark, and Stamp upon [them]' (445) and later notes that the 'Miscellaneous Poems . . . are generally Epigrams' (457) before turning his attention to the plays, the *Passionate Pilgrim*, the Greek origins of *Venus and Adonis*, and the rules of poetry (particularly epigrams). Sewell merely notes that 'the Occasional [Poems] will appear to be the first of his Works. . . . I conjecture, that SHAKESPEAR took fire on reading our admirable *Spenser*' (ix) before turning his attention to Shakespeare's linguistic abilities.

group—that containing the eight editions printed between 1725 and 1775—shows the mid-century predominance of Bensonian supplementarity: with two exceptions, which shall be discussed later in this chapter, the sonnets were consistently printed as volumes supplementary or unrelated to editions of Shakespeare's plays. From this group, the 1780 supplement edited by Malone serves as a transition to the third set of publications, in which Shakespeare's sonnets were at last introduced into the Shakespearean canon, and in which Thorpe's quarto text was first accorded a critical apparatus. Although the story of Shakespeare's sonnets does not end with Malone's 1790 edition, it is this text that incorporated the sonnets into the Shakespearean canon and established the first critical readings of and approaches to the sonnets, many of which are still widely followed today. The debates which initially surrounded Malone's 1790 version of the sonnets having abated, for the most part, by the mid-nineteenth century, it can be argued that the sonnets' period of supplementarity drew to a close with the appearance of Malone's influential edition.

After the publication of Benson's *Poems*, the bulk of Shakespeare's sonnets did not enter print again until the early eighteenth century, while the third and fourth folios of his more vendible plays appeared in 1664 and 1685. Shakespeare entered the eighteenth century in a 1707 text titled *Poems on Affairs of State*, in which *The Rape of Lucrece* and *Venus and Adonis* were included alongside poems by Waller, Dryden, and others, but by 1709 the Tonsons had discovered the marketable quality of Shakespeare's name. Their resulting text, Nicholas Rowe's 1709 edition of *The Works of Mr. William Shakespear; in Six Volumes*,³⁰⁰ and its

³⁰⁰ This edition was also issued with a title page indicating a set of nine volumes; this version, of which the Folger library has five copies, is typographically identical to the six-volume text except for the title pages and binding of each volume.

nearly immediate success, presumably inspired two ambitious early publishers, Bernard Lintott and Edmund Curll, to publish supplementary texts based upon the Quarto and Benson versions of the sonnets, respectively. Both these editions mentioned and used the Rowe Shakespeare in their marketing. Lintott's *A Collection of Poems, viz. I. Venus and Adonis. II. The Rape of Lucrece. III. The Passionate Pilgrim. IV. Sonnets to Sundry Notes of Music* appeared prefaced by the remark that 'several Gentlemen have subscrib'd to a late Edition of his [Shakespeare's] Dramatick Works in Six Volumes; which makes me hope that this little Book will not be unacceptable to the Publick.'³⁰¹ Infamous publisher Edmund Curll's Bensonian production, edited by Charles Gildon, was boldly titled *The Works of Mr. William Shakespear. Volume the Seventh* in an even more direct attempt to associate Curll's supplemental text with the newly popular Shakespearean canon. Thus the sonnets were introduced to the eighteenth century in their two disparate forms, each contained within a paratext designed to imply that these simple poems were meritorious of inclusion in the Shakespearean canon, and should be purchased to complete—or supplement—an edition of Shakespeare's plays. Furthermore, both Lintott and Curll achieved some measurable success with their editions, each of which was reprinted once shortly after its first publication: this suggests, intriguingly, that both books reached their target markets and were relatively popular among early readers. Not only did the sonnets reach the eighteenth century in both forms used during the seventeenth century, then, but also and perhaps even more importantly, both forms must have been equally popular

³⁰¹ London: Lintott, [1709] sig. A2r. Although Lintott's edition at first included only the three Shakespearean sonnets also found in *The Passionate Pilgrim*, at some point around 1710, Lintott republished his text, adding a second volume with the 154 sonnets from Thorpe.

with the early eighteenth-century bookbuyers when first printed.³⁰² On the other hand, the literary reputation of Curll would have preceded him at that time: he was a man prone to piracy and occasionally unethical practices, and for bookbuyers who remained well-informed about the politics of eighteenth-century publishing, Curll's edition of the sonnets might only have highlighted the difference between the plays (printed by respected stationer Tonson) and poems (produced by adventurous and sometimes conniving Curll).³⁰³

Between 1714, when Curll's edition was reprinted for the first and last time, and 1725, when the appearance of Alexander Pope's edition of Shakespeare's plays (titled *Works*) reached print, the Bensonian text as updated by Gildon may have been just as widely read as the Thorpe text reprinted by Lintott. The preponderance of Benson's version in the eighteenth-century may have been partly due to a particular gift of marketing accorded to Curll's text by the Tonson dynasty. The 1714 reprint of Rowe's imprint as an eight-volume octavo collection (as opposed to the original 1709 edition issued in six quarto volumes) was sold with two disparate title pages. The original, an example of which can be found in the copy at Birmingham Central Library, advertises the edition as *The Works of Mr. William Shakespear; in Eight Volumes. Adorn'd with Cutts. Revis'd and Corrected, with an Account of the Life and Writings of the Author*; the second, as found in the British Library, promises a larger collection and more elaborate selection of contents: *The*

³⁰² While the accessible format of Benson's miscellany may have appealed to early eighteenth-century readers, Barbara Benedict notes that the idea of the miscellany, at this time, was 'rather a dubious one, at least one scorned by the literati of the first half of the century' (408). Pope, Swift, and Johnson were its main denigrators.

³⁰³ For a more complete discussion of Curll's less-reputable activities and the budding literacy legacy of the Tonson publishing dynasty, see Paul Baines and Pat Rogers, *Edmund Curll, Bookseller* (Oxford: Clarendon, 2007), Robert B. Hamm, 'Rowe's "Shakespear" (1709) and the Tonson House Style' (*College Literature* 31.3 (2004), 179-205), and Ralph Straus, *The Unspeakable Curll: Being Some Account of Edmund Curll, Bookseller* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1927).

Works of Mr. William Shakespear, in Nine Volumes: With His Life, by N. Rowe Esq; Adorn'd with Cuts. To the Last Volume is Prefix'd, I. An Essay on the Art, Rise, and Progress of the Stage, in Greece, Rome, and England. II. Observations upon the Most Sublime Passages In this Author. III. A Glossary, Explaining the Antiquated Words Made Use of Throughout His Works. In both editions, Curll's supplement is given its own title page, formatted and attributed differently than those in the volumes financed directly by Tonson, and Tonson's eighth volume concludes with the remarkable assertion, 'The End of the Eighth and Last Volume.'³⁰⁴ Tonson's revised title page accepting the supplemental poetical volumes may have given Curll an unanticipated boost in sales, as well as what was probably a fairly profitable share in the Tonson venture; in 1725, when Dr. Sewell's revision of the Benson-Gildon text appeared as the supplement to Pope's *Works*, no contemporaneous publication of the Thorpe text surfaced to challenge this Benson-based collection. The 1726 Dublin reprint of Pope's edition similarly borrowed from Sewell's text, offering an updated Benson-Gildon-Sewell version of Shakespeare's poems as 'Volume Eight' of the collection.³⁰⁵

Together, the 1725 Sewell supplement and the 1726 Dublin reprint of plays and poems anticipate and perhaps cause two eighteenth-century trends in the reception and reproduction of Shakespeare's sonnets. Sewell's poetical volume,

³⁰⁴ VIII.39[7]. See Birmingham Central Library 32327 / 9429472 and BL 11763.aa.19. The title page in the British Library copy is printed on a paler sheet of paper than is the rest of the volume, and the fragment of a carefully excised page immediately following this lighter sheet suggests that the original title page was trimmed and replaced after publication. Except for these variant pages, the internal typography of the two copies is identical throughout.

³⁰⁵ Technically, this edition was the first to include the poems of Shakespeare in a collection claiming to contain Shakespeare's *Works*. However, textual evidence in extant copies suggests that the readers of this edition, as shall be discussed later in this chapter, nonetheless chose to purchase and read only certain volumes: occasionally they owned and used the plays without the poems, and, at least once, one individual owned and used the poems without the plays.

under the care of publisher Bettesworth, helped Benson's text attain critical superiority for the next half-century or so: the one lone edition of the Thorpe text published during this time was afforded no editorial apparatus whatsoever,³⁰⁶ and was critically overlooked by both its editor and its eighteenth-century readers.

The years after the appearance of Pope's edition and Sewell's supplement saw the appearance of an ever-widening divide between Shakespeare's *Works* (the plays) and his *Poems* (the sonnets and narrative poems). Lewis Theobald (whose Tonson edition of Shakespeare appeared only five years after the revised Pope text), as well as his editorial contemporaries and successors Thomas Hanmer, William Warburton, and Samuel Johnson, never prepared a single Shakespearean sonnet for print: despite the relevance of their editorial approaches to the complex and divergent history of Shakespeare's sonnets, the heavily debated editorial methods practiced and improved upon by these eminent Shakespearean editor-scholars were not once applied to Shakespeare's sonnets or narrative poems by even one of these men. When Shakespeare's poems—and particularly his sonnets—reappeared in print, as they did in 1760,³⁰⁷ 1766, 1771, 1774, and 1775, they were primarily produced as texts wholly separate from the Shakespearean canon, in supplemental or otherwise unrelated volumes, often printed outside London and

³⁰⁶ George Steevens, in his 1766 collection of Shakespeare's early quartos, 'refused to honour them [the sonnets] with an editorial apparatus, the trappings of a classic,' (de Grazia 'Scandal' 67), and in his 1793 edition of Shakespeare's plays noted that he had 'not reprinted the Sonnets . . . because the strongest act of Parliament that could be framed, would fail to compel readers into their service; notwithstanding these miscellaneous Poems have derived every possible advantage from the literature and judgment of their only intelligent editor, Mr. Malone, whose implements of criticism . . . are on this occasion disgraced by the objects of their culture' (Steevens *Plays* I.vii).

³⁰⁷ The 1760 Edinburgh edition spuriously claiming a London publisher appears to have been edited more obviously and carefully than its editorial predecessors, and while it is difficult to establish the precise edition used as a source for this text, it most likely served as the foundation for the Bensonian editions of 1771 and 1774, published by Thomas Ewing of Dublin and J. Bell of London, respectively.

marketed in ways that all but ignored the dramatic publications of Shakespeare the poet. The 1766 edition of Shakespeare's sonnets, printed under the oversight of George Steevens, offers the only eighteenth-century example of a text in which the poems of Shakespeare were published alongside his plays, yet even Steevens' Thorpe-based reprint, which shall be discussed later in this chapter, offers the sonnet sequence as an unedited relic of the past rather than as an updated, modern edition that might appeal to the everyday eighteenth-century reader.

The Benson-based sonnet editions so prevalent in the mid-eighteenth-century were among the last poetical relics of a dwindling editorial culture concerned with the aesthetic improvements of a text, and just as Benson or his supplier made many modifications to the original quarto version of Shakespeare's sonnets, so the many later editors of the Benson *Poems* also revised the text to fit not only the constantly evolving ideals of language, spelling and punctuation, but also their individual editorial tastes and preferences. Many words and lines from Shakespeare's sonnets were modified by Gildon, Sewell, and their unnamed colleagues. As in many contemporaneous editions of the plays, many editions of Shakespeare's sonnets during the eighteenth century were revisions of revisions of revisions, so that the late-eighteenth-century editions of the sonnets often reflected the interpretations of half-a-dozen editors, each of whose revisions were borrowed and amended by their editorial successors. It is this editorial approach which Benson's *Poems* anticipated, but also this approach which that text facilitated, for, just as the quarto and Folio readings of many Shakespearean plays provided fodder for the editorial debates running rampant through the prefaces and footnotes of contemporaneous editions of Shakespeare's plays, so the differences between Thorpe's quarto and Benson's octavo miscellany provided eighteenth-century

editors with variant readings and interpretations for many Shakespearean sonnets. Many of these readings and interpretations would not enter the realm of printed literary debate until the end of the eighteenth century, but their very presence is indicative of the long-term influence Benson's *Poems* enjoyed during this period.

THE NON-INCLUSIVE *WORKS*: THE EARLY SHAKESPEAREAN CANON

From the very beginning of the eighteenth century, Shakespeare's sonnets were accorded a quiet liminality in the Shakespearean canon and in the discourse of the early great editors as they examined, amended, debated, and explored the themes, characters, and genius of Shakespeare's poetic dramas. Each edition brought something new to the figurative editorial table: with each successive version the Tonsons targeted a specific audience, and each editor, in turn, found something to improve upon in the works of his predecessors.³⁰⁸ Nearly every one of Shakespeare's eighteenth-century editors has been, at some time, considered the father of modern editorial practice (at least with regard to the Shakespearean

³⁰⁸ On the steady perfecting of the Shakespearean canon, see particularly Kastan (103); John Kerrigan *On Shakespeare and Early Modern Literature*, OUP, 2001 (130); and Julia Paraizs, 'The Author, the Editor, and the Translator: William Shakespeare, Alexander Chalmers and sandor Petofi or the Nature of a Romantic Edition,' *Shakespeare Survey* 59 (2006), especially page 124. James Raven describes some methods used by early booksellers to encourage the purchase of 'entertaining but also instructional literature' (197). Dugas notes particularly that the 1725 Shakespeare 'was an exercise in niche marketing aimed at the very wealthiest level of society' and even 'a status symbol' (195). As for the editors themselves, each in turn attempted to elevate himself above the editions of his predecessors. For one analysis of these would-be improvements, see de Grazia *Verbatim* 69-70.

canon), and for most of these editors, such accolades are merited.³⁰⁹ Rowe, Pope, Theobald, Hanmer, Warburton, Johnson, Capell, and of course Malone did each bring new approaches and insights to the continuing debates about Shakespeare and editorial practice, and each of these men, to some degree, built upon his predecessors to help shape the Shakespearean canon as we know it today. Rowe's 1709 Shakespeare, titled *Works* but containing only plays, continued the plays-only tradition of the folios but also made the first attempt to modernize the bulky and complicated Folio texts into a collection of smaller volumes that would appeal to a wider range of eighteenth-century readers.³¹⁰ It was quickly followed by dozens of

³⁰⁹ For discussions of Rowe's contributions, see Dugas, especially page 195; Hamm 179-80; Holland 24; and Massai, especially page 1. On Pope, see Peter Seary, who notes that he and Theobald first 'raised editorial practice as a subject for detailed consideration' (*Lewis Theobald and the Editing of Shakespeare*, Oxford: Clarendon, 1990, 1) and Gary Taylor, who notes Pope's textual mechanism for producing 'both authenticity and novelty' (*Reinventing Shakespeare*, London: Hogarth, 1990, 85). Margareta de Grazia notes that the editorial practices of Pope, Hanmer, and Warburton, 'shaped ideas of correctness and incorrectness, the beautiful and defective, the proper and improper' (*Verbatim* 63). Little needs be said of Theobald, whose praises have been sung—or at least gently hummed—by Honigmann (see especially page 47); R. F. Jones; Thomas Lounsbury; who names him the 'first great editor of Shakespeare' (*The First Editors of Shakespeare (Pope and Theobald)*, Nutt: London, 1906, 122); McKerrow (see especially 'Treatment' 23); and Marcus Walsh. E. A. J. Honigmann notes Johnson's early willingness to assume an unusual reading of the text and avoid modification wherever possible (*The Stability of Shakespeare's Text*, London: Arnold, 1965, 163). Capell's contributions to the field have been particularly noted by Ronald B. McKerrow, who specifically acknowledged the editor's care and thoroughness ('The Treatment of Shakespeare's Text by his Earlier Editors 1709-1768,' London: Humphrey Milford Amen House [1933], 30), as well as Marcus Walsh (see *Editing* 182-3) and Gary Taylor, the latter of whom pointed out that despite its failures by modern standards 'Capell's editorial practice . . . was undoubtedly a great and radical advance upon prevailing methods' (*Reinventing* 144). Kastan notes of 'Hanmer, Warburton, Johnson, Capell, Steevens, Malone, [and] Boswell, men more or less talented, knowledgeable, and industrious, [that] each in turn did add to what was known about what Shakespeare had written and how his texts were transmitted . . . [although] the editions cannot be seen as steady steps towards the perfecting of Shakespeare's text' (103).

³¹⁰ Don-John Dugas and Robert D. Hume argue in 'The Dissemination of Shakespeare's Plays "CIRCA" 1714,' *Studies in Bibliography* 56 (2003-4) that the early editions were 'conveniently packaged' and 'far more vendible' than the folios

other editions of Shakespeare's 'Works' that also contained only the author's plays. Like Rowe's 1709 text, the editions prepared by Alexander Pope in 1725 and William Warburton in 1747 were published as *The Works of Shakespear[e]*, though they contained none of Shakespeare's poetical texts.³¹¹ No edition edited by Lewis Theobald and none of the first seven editions based on Thomas Hanmer's Oxford text contained either the poems or any apology for their absence,³¹² and these texts were similarly permitted the suggestively inclusive title *The Works of Shakespear*.³¹³ Play-only versions of Shakespeare's 'Works' were printed in London, Birmingham, Dublin, Edinburgh, and Glasgow throughout the eighteenth century,³¹⁴ and most of Shakespeare's early critics based their arguments about Shakespeare's work primarily, if not completely, on the plays alone.³¹⁵ Despite the

(278) but just as expensive; even in 1715, ownership of Shakespeare's complete works was still a symbol of status; Curll offered the nine volume edition for £1.10.0, more than the cost of an elegantly bound folio both in 1623 and, used, in the early eighteenth century (270).

³¹¹ Pope's *Works*, often criticised for its 'process of literary elevation and repression, of "highlighting" and "stigmatizing" by which certain passages were distinguished and others were degraded' (de Grazia *Verbatim* 63), anticipated many future collections of popular Shakespearean and literary quotations, such as Dodd's *The Beauties of Shakespeare* (London: Walter, 1752) or, more recently, Bartlett's *Familiar Quotations* (1855), while the rampant errors in Warburton's edition sparked one of the most detailed early debates on the editing and publishing of Shakespeare.

³¹² Despite this omission, Theobald's preface and editorial process—so far as the Tonson copyright would allow—paved the way for the further, more editorial, and occasionally more complete editions of later scholars such as Capell, Johnson, and Malone. A publishing history of Hanmer's text, which was printed both in Oxford and later by Jacob Tonson, can be found in Murphy, *Shakespeare in Print*, 113-6.

³¹³ Edward Capell's 1768 edition of *Mr William Shakespeare his Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies*—which imitated the seventeenth-century Folio editions in title—was the first eighteenth-century edition whose contents were accurately described by the title. This was likely due to Capell's original plan to publish a companion volume of Shakespeare's poems, which is discussed later in this chapter.

³¹⁴ See Appendix Six for a complete list of these editions and their supplements.

³¹⁵ Alexander Pope praised the 'Poetry of Shakespeare,' only as it related to the playwright's blank verse and dramatic narratives. See his 'Preface' (London: Tonson, 1723-5), I.ii. Similarly, William Dodd remarks in his *Beauties* that he was

blossoming authorial theories of editing evident in these early editions of Shakespeare's plays, to nearly all of Shakespeare's most prominent eighteenth-century critics, then, and particularly to those individuals involved in the production and reproduction of his texts for sale in the bookshops of eighteenth-century London, the sonnets and other poems written by Shakespeare deserved no such critical approaches, but existed primarily as appendages to his dramatic works, and were most frequently edited, promoted, and sold as such.

During this period of sonnet supplementarity, George Steevens printed and edited a four-volume edition of Shakespeare's early quartos, titled *Twenty of the Plays of Shakespeare, being the Whole Number Printed in Quarto during His Lifetime, or before the Restoration, Collated where there were Different Copies, and Publish'd from the Originals*.³¹⁶ Steevens' text is a self-professed attempt to preserve these 'hasty outlines of the pencil' for future generations,³¹⁷ yet the title is misleading. *Twenty of the Plays* does indeed include twenty of Shakespeare's plays (some of them more than once), yet it also includes, as the penultimate item in the fourth volume, a reprint of Thorpe's 1609 edition of the sonnets: a quarto printed before the Restoration, to be sure, but also very definitely not a play. Despite the level of detail in Steevens' title, the sonnets are not mentioned until the table of contents for the final volume of the set, where their appearance must have been a surprise to some of Steevens' readers. Steevens' inclusion of the sonnets, with little to no external mention of their presence, in an edition so highly focused on

'obliged to confine [him]self solely to a collection of his [Shakespeare's] Poetical Beauties' (xvi), yet even these poetical beauties include not a single line of a Shakespearean sonnet. Elizabeth Montagu's 1769 *Essay on the Writings and Genius of Shakespeare* (London: Dodsley, et al) similarly contains not a single reference to the sonnets.

³¹⁶ London: Tonson, Payne, and Richardson, 1766.

³¹⁷ Steevens *Twenty* I.7.

Shakespeare's plays is consistent with the sonnets' nebulous status during the eighteenth century, and their placement immediately before the non-Shakespearean text of *The True Chronicle History of King Leir* keeps them as firmly on the outskirts of the eighteenth-century literary world as did the numerous supplemental editions that allowed readers to pick and choose the aspects of Shakespeare's art worth buying.³¹⁸ On the other hand, because the sonnets in the fourth volume are bound between two dramatic works, Steevens' four-volume set is the only text printed during the entire eighteenth century from which Shakespeare's poems could not have been easily excluded by purchasers and readers interested in collecting only the plays. In the very structure of his edition, Steevens anticipated—unwittingly and unintentionally—the future legitimacy that would be accorded the sonnets in editions such as that later published by Edmond Malone.

Where Steevens' text included the sonnets—if under the title 'Plays'—in a very physical sense, the liminality pressed upon these texts in most contemporaneous and multi-volume editions allowed early readers of Shakespeare to create various and personalised editions or canons of the poet's works. Would-be purchasers of Shakespeare's works in 1709 or 1710 would have found the six volumes containing the plays at the book stall of Jacob Tonson and the seventh volume, containing the poems, at the shop of Edmund Curll.³¹⁹ By 1717, bookbuyers who were less inclined to do such legwork could find two versions of

³¹⁸ The inclusion of the sonnets, 'A Lover's Complaint,' and the non-Shakespearean *Leir* in Steevens' edition may have been something of an afterthought, if the sizes of the respective editions are any indication. Running to signature Pp, the fourth volume—in which these texts appear—is the longest of the four volumes in Steevens' set. Volume II comes a close second, ending at signature Oo, while the first volume ends at signature Ff, coincidentally only eight pages beyond signature Ee, at which point, in Volume IV, the sonnets are placed.

³¹⁹ Curll's 1712 and 1716 catalogues of books for sale list 'The Works of Mr. William Shakespear, Vol. VII' and 'Shakespear's Poems; with Remarks upon his Plays' without any indication that Tonson's texts are available at the shop as well.

Shakespeare's *Works* 'at Montague's Coffee-House in Shear-Lane,' where the proprietor offered Shakespeare's 'Plays' in a set of nine volumes and 'Works' in a set of seven tomes, although both listed collections may have included plays and poems alike.³²⁰ On the other hand, even while readers could buy editions of Shakespeare's plays both with and without the poems, some individuals chose to purchase the supplemental volumes of poetry and completely failed to collect any volumes of Shakespeare's plays in their personal libraries.³²¹ In many instances, when an eminent or learned man, who had in life amassed an impressive library, passed away, his books would be collected and advertised for resale by a bookseller such as Olive Payne, Daniel Browne, or another, and the sale catalogues that remain today afford a fascinating picture of the choices many eighteenth-century bookbuyers made when building their libraries.³²² Unfortunately, little can be determined from these catalogues but that Shakespeare's texts, where they were

³²⁰ *A Catalogue of Very Valuable and Curious Books in Greek, Latin, Italian, French and, English, in Most Faculties . . . which will begin to be Sold Very Cheap, . . . at Montague's Coffee-House in Shear-Lane, next Temple-Bar, on Thursday the 5th of December 1717.* Montagu lists these two versions of Shakespeare's *Works* on pages 13 and 16 of his catalogue. The 1709 Rowe edition of nine volumes, as found in the Folger Shakespeare Library, would have provided the only nine-volume edition without the poems at the time, but Montagu's set could also have been the 1714 Rowe text, which consisted of eight volumes of the Plays and one (supplemental) volume of poems. The only way in which a seven-volume edition could have been formed at this date would have been by marketing Rowe's six-volume edition of the plays with Gildon's matching and supplemental volume. Montagu's use of the word 'Plays' in his listing suggests that he was interested in appealing to two disparate groups of buyers, whatever the listed texts might include.

³²¹ When the libraries of William Carr and Reverend John Herbert were auctioned off at the Black Swan in 1721, the auction catalogue mentioned only 'Shakespeare's Works, vol. 7,' undoubtedly Gildon's edition of the Poems. See *A Catalogue of the Libraries of the Honourable William Carr, of Lincoln's-Inn, . . . and of the Reverend Mr. John Herbert, . . . to be Sold . . . at D. Browne's, at the Black-Swan . . . on Monday the 6th of March, 1720-21*, page 34. The 1723 *Catalogus Librorum in Omni Ferè Arte & Scientia Præstantium*, similarly, contains a listing for 'Shakespeare's' under the heading 'Poems' on page 35.

³²² See Appendix Seven for a list of Shakespearean entries in bookstore and resale catalogues, 1710-1740.

sold or included in libraries, existed in a variety of forms throughout the entire eighteenth century. Certainly, during the eighteenth century, many readers still owned copies of the first four folios, of which the Second Folio was particularly prized.³²³ By the time Pope's edition and its Dublin imitation arrived in 1725, Shakespeare's plays could be purchased in any one of eight multi-volume editions, so it is difficult to discern whether the nine-volume set offered by Daniel Browne in his shop at the Black Swan consisted of nine volumes of plays with no poems (Rowe, 1709, second imprint), or eight volumes of the plays with the poems as well (Rowe, 1714), but, either way, Browne, in addition to 'Shakespear's Works, compleat, 9 vol. with Cuts' also offered, in a separate section of his catalogues, a book titled simply, 'Shakespear's Poems.'³²⁴ Furthermore, the March 1725 edition of *The Monthly Catalogue*—a list of books printed in London each month—described Pope's edition as 'containing his Plays and Poems' and 'compleat in seven Volumes,'³²⁵ thus including the elegant edition of the poems edited by Dr. Sewall as an option for purchasers. Perhaps in partial response to this demand, the 1728 edition of Pope's Shakespeare was published in three forms: the first with eight volumes lacking the poems; another of ten volumes with the authoritative

³²³ Thomas Green's 1726 *Catalogus Librorum in Omni Genere Literaturæ Præstantium: being a Catalogue of the Library of the Late Learned Samuel Gibbes Esq; . . . Which Will Begin to be Sold Cheap (the Price Mark'd in Each Book) by Tho. Green, at His Shop, Charing-Cross, on Thursday the Third of March 1725-6. at Nine a Clock in the Morning* lists the 1632 folio as the '2d and best edition' (14), and R. Montagu's 1735 catalogue for the libraries of Sir Thomas More and Reverend Thornburgh applies the same accolade to this edition. Other folio copies are listed in John Ware's 1710 catalogue (no edition or date given), Thomas Corbett's 1723 catalogue (the third edition), and Osborne's 1734 catalogue (the fourth), to name but a few.

³²⁴ *Librorum in Omni Scientia & Facultate Insignium Catalogus. A Catalogue of Very Scarce and Valuable Books, in Most Faculties, Sciences, and Languages . . . Which will Begin to be Sold Cheap, (the Price Mark'd in each Book) at Dan. Browne's, at the Black Swan without Temple-Bar, on Wednesday the 3d of March, 1724/5 . . .*, pp. 49-50.

³²⁵ p. 35.

plays, other apocryphal dramas, and the poems; and finally, one with nine volumes, which contained the first eight volumes of definitively Shakespearean plays and, most likely, the apocryphal plays but no poems.³²⁶ Shakespeare's eighteenth-century readers could and did purchase editions containing every work definitively attributed to Shakespeare, collections of the plays without the poems, and even (if less frequently) copies of Shakespeare's poems isolated from his plays.³²⁷ Because of the sonnets' supplementarity, for the entirety of the eighteenth century, each and every bookbuyer willing to visit multiple bookshops to see all the available textual offerings would have had complete control over the Shakespearean contents of his personal library. The predominance of personal libraries containing the plays without the poems, of course, attests to the supplementarity of the poems as a text, but the number of libraries containing plays and poems together, or occasionally the poems alone, indicates quite rightly that despite many scholars' and editors' lack of interest in the poems at this time, they were still purchased by a number of eighteenth-century readers with varying backgrounds and tastes.

³²⁶ These descriptions are in part taken from Murphy *Print* 314-5. No copy of the third variety is currently listed in the ESTC. The catalogue auctioning off the 'libraries of Henry Smith, Esq; late one of the benchers of the Inner-Temple; and the Reverend Mr. Ilive, M.A.' (London: Osborne, 1733) lists 'Pope's Shakespear, 6 Vol. 1723,' and fails to mention the poems, thus suggesting that some readers, at least, overlooked the seventh volume suggested in advertisements.

³²⁷ The 1735 *A Catalogue of the Libraries of Peter Baudoin, Esq; and the Reverend Mr. Brown, (Both Lately Deceased) Containing Near Ten Thousand Volumes in All Languages, Arts and Sciences; And will be Sold Very Cheap on Wednesday the 7th of this Instant May 1735; and Continue Selling Daily till All are Sold, By Olive Payne, Bookseller, At Horace's Head in Round-Court, Opposite York-Buildings in the Strand*, despite the quantity of books promised, contains no mention of Shakespeare's plays but lists two separate volumes of Shakespeare's poetry: Gildon's 1710 supplement and 'A Vol. of Shakespear's Poems, viz. Venus and Adonia' [sic] (97, 119). Similarly, one reader of the 1726 Dublin edition took the final volume, with a title page reading *The Works of Shakespear. Volume Eight* and pasted in a new title, this one reading *The Poems of Shakespear*, and leaving no indication that the volume might once have been part of a larger collection of Shakespeare's works (see the copy in John Rylands University Library, G895).

COLLATE, COMPARE, CORRECT? EDITING SHAKESPEARE'S PLAYS
AND SONNETS

Perhaps the most unifying aspect of eighteenth-century editorial practice was a general inclination towards the speculative authorial improvement of the Shakespearean canon and its contents. The four folio editions of the plays, together with the dozens of early quarto editions printed during Shakespeare's lifetime, offered editors such as Pope, Theobald, Capell, and Johnson an almost endless array of material to discuss and debate, and when Edmond Malone prepared his own supplemental version of the sonnets in 1780, he defended the printing of yet another edition of Shakespeare by remarking that 'the field of illustration is so extensive, that some time may yet elapse before the dramas of Shakspeare shall appear in such a manner as to be incapable of improvement.'³²⁸ Indeed, it would be difficult to find a single edition of Shakespeare's dramatic works published between 1725 and 1790 that does not claim in its prefatory material to have improved upon some, if not all, of the previous editions of Shakespeare's works.³²⁹

³²⁸ Edmond Malone *Supplement to the Edition of Shakespeare's Plays Published in 1778 by Samuel Johnson and George Steevens. In Two Volumes. Containing Additional Observations by Several of the Former Commentators: to which are subjoined the Genuine Poems of the Same Author, and Seven Plays that have been Ascribed to Him; with Notes by the Editor and Others*, London: Bathurst, et al, 1780, I.i.

³²⁹ Pope does not go so far as to criticise Rowe outright in his Preface, noting rather that 'since the above-mentioned Folio Edition, all the rest have implicitly followed it, without having recourse to any of the former, or ever making the comparison between them' (xxi-xxii). Theobald's *Shakespeare Restored* suggests that 'thro' the *Indolence*, what thro' the *Ignorance* of his Editors, we have scarce any book in the *English Tongue* more fertile of Errors, than the plays of *Shakespeare*' (i). The preface to his actual edition mentions his desire to 'rescue him [Shakespeare] from those Errors which have been transmitted down thro' a series of incorrect Editions, and a long Intervention of Time' (xli). Steevens noted in his advertisement to his edition, co-edited with Johnson, that 'every fresh editor continued to make the text of his predecessor the ground-work of his own (never collating but where

Where Rowe and Pope strove to enhance readability and emphasised Shakespeare's eloquence, Theobald, Capell, and Malone spent hours collating the tiny linguistic details scattered throughout Shakespeare's quartos and folios in order that they might offer their readers the most authentic (authorial) versions of the plays possible.

As the aesthetic school of editing lost ground to the convincing scholarly texts produced by Theobald, Capell, and Malone, the sonnets were overlooked by academics interested in both approaches. Pope, whose aesthetic valuations in his 1723-5 edition of the plays consisted, in great part, of highlighting 'prefer'd' portions of Shakespeare's texts with inverted commas, and placing 'excessively bad' passages at the bottom of each page,³³⁰ already approached the sonnet form with apparent disdain, as is evident in his refusal to highlight any of the poetical elements in *Love's Labours Lost* as indicative of Shakespeare's particular eloquence. It is similarly significant that Theobald, one of the earliest practitioners of an authorial style of editing, seems to have completely avoided any contact with Shakespeare's sonnets. Given the many problems with the text—not the least of which may have been related to the Tonson dynasty's apparently very limited interest in obtaining printing rights to the sonnets—Shakespeare's eighteenth-century editors seem to have been generally uninterested in editing any of his poems.

Certainly because of this lack of interest—shared by nearly all of Shakespeare's more careful and attentive early editors—most eighteenth-century versions of the sonnets are far more lightly edited than contemporaneous editions of

difficulties occurred) some deviations from the originals had been handed down, the number of which are lessened in the impression before us, as it has been constantly compared with the most authentic copies' (I.180).

³³⁰ Pope I.xxii.

Shakespeare's plays. Lintott and Steevens strove to reproduce the quarto text as closely as possible, hoping to preserve the particulars of Shakespeare's older quartos for future generations, while editors of Benson's *Poems* took more liberties with the spelling, punctuation, and capitalisation of their reprints, and even occasionally modified words and phrases. Gildon and Sewell, in particular, seem to have been primarily concerned with standardising and modernising spelling, punctuation, and capitalisation throughout their editions of *Poems*, and the new readings thus created offer not authoritative versions of Shakespeare's poems, but clearer and occasionally alternative readings of the poems printed in 1640. Rarely, if ever, do the revisers of *Poems* make substantial changes to Shakespeare's text or Benson's arrangements and inclusions.³³¹

Although Gildon and his followers reject the epitaphs on Shakespeare and the 'Addition of some Excellent Poems . . . By other Gentlemen' as non-Shakespearean, Benson's borrowings from *The Passionate Pilgrim* and other early modern texts are included as part of Shakespeare's poems throughout the greater part of the eighteenth century. Gildon, for one, states that 'there is not one of . . . [these poems] that does not carry its Authors Mark, and Stamp upon it . . . whoever knows any thing of *Shakespeare* will find his Genius in every Epigram of these poems.'³³² Furthermore, the passages that Shakespeare's eighteenth-century editors modify, in general, are ones that will make more poetic or rhythmic sense if revised. One of the most deliberate early revisions occurs in many of these early

³³¹ I exclude, here, these editors' decisions to omit the clearly non-Shakespearean material, such as the poems by 'other Gentlemen' added to the 1640 text and omitted by every eighteenth-century author. See Appendix Four for examples of eighteenth-century modifications made to selected Shakespearean sonnets.

³³² Gildon 445-6. On p. 448, Gildon quotes a line of Marlowe's 'The Passionate Shepheard to His Love' as Shakespeare's, adding that it was 'a known and celebrated song when *Shakespear* wrote [*The Merry Wives of Windsor*].'

editions, and first in the 1714 edition of Gildon's poems. Here Gildon changes the third line of the sonnet beginning 'Those parts of thee, that the Worlds Eye doth view' from 'All Tongues (the Voice of Souls) give thee that end' to 'All Tongues . . . give thee thy due.'³³³ In this case, either Gildon or one of his publishers has decided that the nonrhyming pair view/end can be 'fixed' if changed to view/due, and this revision was perpetuated in the next six decades' publications of *Poems*. Even Malone, in his more authorially inclined edition of the quarto text, retained the eighteenth-century 'due,' although he changed Gildon's 'thy' back to 'that.'³³⁴

Of specific word changes, there are few that cannot be attributed to modifications of spelling. Some—such as the revision of 'Thus is his cheeke the map of daies out-worne' to 'This is his cheek'³³⁵—simply allow the poems to be freshly contemporized: where 'Thus is his cheeke' sets the stage for a descriptive poem describing the manner of beauty's aging, the insertion of the pronoun 'this' brings the beloved (and his cheek) to the present, as though the editor is describing a character who sits immediately before both editor and reader. Another revision to Benson's text appears in the line of Sonnet 69 'Then churls their thoughts (although their eyes were kind) / To thy faire flower adde the ranke smell of weeds,' which is revised, in later editions, to describe 'their churl thoughts.'³³⁶ Malone's later edition of the sonnets offers yet another variation on the theme; while keeping the concept of the latter reading, he places 'churls' in parentheses as a criticism of the individuals who would dare to create such a mental, jealous stench.

³³³ 69.1,3. This change is first made in Gildon (London: Curll, 1714) IX.102.

³³⁴ Malone suggests 'The letters that compose the word *due* were probably transposed at the press, and the *u* inverted' (*Supplement* IX.249). Hyder Edward Rollins retains the original *end*.

³³⁵ 68.1. This change first appears in the 1760 edition of the poems published in Edinburgh.

³³⁶ 69.11. This change is first made in Gildon's 1714 edition, but Sewall chooses the original word order for his 1725 edition, then revises it, as did Gildon, in 1728.

Revisions to the punctuation of Shakespeare's sonnets are yet another way in which these editors established new readings for old poems. In many instances, the revised punctuation is simply a response to the struggles for a standardisation of punctuation during the eighteenth century, or occasionally an instance of great experimentation. Since commas, semicolons, colons, and periods had very indefinite uses during the early eighteenth century,³³⁷ it would be difficult to attribute specific interpretative intentions to the common editorial revision of a comma or period to a semicolon or colon, or vice versa. Although the completion of thought indicated by a question mark could occasionally be just as nebulous as the significance of using a semicolon rather than a period, the use of this symbol consistently indicates, at the very least, the editor's choice to end a specific question, or a clause thereof, with this symbol. For instance, when Sewell interrupts the couplet 'But why thy odor matcheth not thy show, / The foyle is this, that thou doest common grow'³³⁸ to insert a question mark after 'why,' he changes not only the punctuation, but the point of the poem's conclusion. In the uninterrogative early couplet, 'why' functions as a relative pronoun, suggesting that because the odor and

³³⁷ John Jones' 1701 *Practical Phonography: or, the New Art of Rightly Speling and Writing Words by the Sound Thereof* . . . discusses in great detail the instances in which each of these figures of punctuation should be used, noting that the comma is 'to be used after *Words*, or *Sentences*, that require the lease *Pause* or *Stop* for *Distinction*,' the semicolon 'when the *Sense* is a little more perfect,' a colon 'when the *Sence* is perfect, yet is not the whole *Sence*,' and a period 'when the *Sence* is fully, and compleatly ended' (141-2). Benjamin Keach's c. 1704 *The Child's Delight: or Instructions for Children and Youth* (London: Marshall) notes that the comma 'is placed between words, which depend on what did go before,' the semicolon 'is put, when there doth remain behind as much as went before,' and the colon used 'when full sense is expressed, yet the whole sense or sentence is not expressed' (56-7). Numerous other books suggest that the difference between these symbols depends on the length of time for which the reader is supposed to pause. See *Right Spelling Very Much Improved* 1704, a1v, and Nathaniel Strong, *The English Tutor, or the Plain Path-way to the English Tongue*, London: Crouch, 1716, 82.

³³⁸ 69.13-14.

beauty are at odds with one another, the beloved grows common. Sewell's reading and subsequent placement of the question mark reshape the remainder of the couplet as a response to the preceding lines. Why, Sewell's version asks, do these churlish worldly individuals begrudge the beloved's beauty and imagine his 'rank smell'? Because, in this sentence structure, his 'odor matcheth not [his] show.' In this revision, the beloved's increasing commonness causes the world to look down upon him, despite his beauty, thereby underlining Benson's original title quite effectively. Similar changes transform simple commas into question marks and exclamation points throughout the eighteenth-century editions of Shakespeare's sonnets, and, but less often, reverse the procedure.³³⁹ In many instances these typographical revisions clarify or suggest one particular possible reading of the sonnets, but in other cases they affect the poems' meanings only very loosely.

Although nearly every successive edition of Shakespeare's poems takes great pains to revise and standardize Shakespeare's spelling throughout the text, and to capitalise letters in the poems more consistently and effectively than did earlier editions, such changes affect the meaning of the sonnets only slightly. Certainly, revising the spelling of a word can either change it to another word or highlight subtle undertones within the passage as a whole, yet these changes are so frequent and consistent within any given edition that a study of their importance and nuances would overwhelm my current topic. Likewise, although it is worth noting that Benson's edition places capital letters only on the most significant words, and particularly on those capitalised in the 1609 quarto, and that Gildon's edition seventy years later was the true originator of many of the capital letters used and abused in editions of *Poems* throughout the eighteenth century, a study of these

³³⁹ For a comparative and annotated text of the sonnets' typographical journey during the eighteenth century, see Appendix Four.

capitalised words will invariably reveal the grammatical practices of eighteenth-century editors more than it will illuminate the editorial approaches to Shakespeare's sonnets in this period. It must suffice to note that, even as editors were busily revising and adapting the words and punctuation of Shakespeare's poems to offer new readings and to make old readings clearer, these same editors were also exploring numerous stylistic approaches to the text, and others like it.

The examples I have just cited show an abundance of widely varied responses to the sonnets throughout the eighteenth century. Editors of the sonnets were forced, when preparing each successive sonnet edition, to choose the sequence and format of the poems they published, and then to determine an appropriate critical apparatus through which to approach the text. Some revised spelling and punctuation in hopes of establishing a consistent textual style; others prized the authenticity of earlier editions to the point of correcting only the most glaring errors of typesetting. Publishers and booksellers marketed Shakespeare's plays without his sonnets and his sonnets without the plays, then compiled the productions of differing printhouses to create a complete set of Shakespeare's 'Works' with the poems in a companion volume. Readers bought Shakespeare's texts in every edition, format, and combination of components available, read and annotated these texts, and established Shakespeare throughout the century not only as a subject of critical acclaim, but as a vendible author of popular literature. What these various responses and approaches established, above all, was the versatility of Shakespeare's canon and the liminality of Shakespeare's poems.

EDWARD CAPELL AND THE SCHOOL OF CONUNDRUMS

One unique approach to the process of editing Shakespeare's sonnets and other poems can be found in the papers and publications of eighteenth-century scholar Edward Capell. In 1767, Capell finished his preparations for a large and elegant edition of Shakespeare's plays, painstakingly transcribing each line of the eventual printed texts into large manuscript 'fair texts,' from which, eventually, his printed texts derived.³⁴⁰ In 1766, however, and probably simultaneously with some of his work on the plays, Capell carefully edited and annotated a copy of Lintott's quarto-based edition of Shakespeare's sonnets and other poems, even writing his own four-page preface for the anticipated edition. Some Shakespearean critics have held the mistaken impression that Capell did not like the sonnets and, particularly, that he dismissed Benson's edition as 'rubbish.'³⁴¹ On the contrary, Capell's preface praises Shakespeare's sonnets highly, and although he criticised many aspects of the 1640 *Poems*, the 'rubbish' and 'ribaldry' Capell denigrated most thoroughly are Heywood's translations and the non-Shakespearean pieces from *The Passionate Pilgrim*.³⁴² Of the sonnets themselves, Capell praised the 'single thought, vary'd and put in language poetical' that forms the foundation for each poem and added that 'a stile flowing and copious, natural and lively images, a rich vein of fancy but not always confining itself within due bounds, are the marks that

³⁴⁰ A close comparison of several pages in Capell's manuscript play texts with the finished printed edition reveals that these copies are all but letter-perfect predecessors to Capell's publication.

³⁴¹ See Giroux 7.

³⁴² The abundance of early editions consulted by Shakespeare's early editors eventually established that the translations in *Poems* were not Shakespeare's. Richard Farmer's contemporaneous *Essay on the Learning of Shakespeare* illustrates in particular the late date at which the true author of these pieces was identified to be Heywood.

distinguish them, that have preserv'd them the esteem of sooner times, and will do that of ages to come.³⁴³ Yet despite this and the other praises written into his manuscript preface, Capell never followed his edition of the plays with a companion volume of the poems, although these remarks were composed more than fifteen years before his death. Instead, Capell allowed his careful edits to the sonnets to fall by the wayside as he prepared his *Notes and Various Readings to Shakespeare*, a large three-volume set of appendices and supplements designed to complement his edition of the plays. In the third and final volume of this appendix, a large volume titled *The School of Shakespeare*, Capell included brief extracts from more than twenty of Shakespeare's sonnets strung together in the format of a cento (and much like the one in Folger MS V.a.148).³⁴⁴ The *School*, published posthumously in 1783, contains, according to its subtitle, *Authentic Extracts from Divers English books, that were in Print in that Author's Time; Evidently Shewing from whence his Several Fables were Taken, and Some Parcel of his Dialogue: Also, further Extracts from the Same or Like Books, which [so] Contribute to a Due Understanding of his Writings, or give Light to the History of his Life, as to the Dramatic History of his Time.*³⁴⁵ This volume, according to its title and preface, is designed both to give Shakespeare's readers a better idea of his sources and influences, and to look at texts that might have influenced other playwrights both in Shakespeare's time and in the decades after his death. It is for this latter purpose, presumably, that Capell might have included excerpts from Shakespeare's sonnets and other poems in a book created to showcase Shakespeare's sources, an inclusion

³⁴³ Capell MS. 5, Trinity College Library, Cambridge.

³⁴⁴ See Appendix Three for a reproduction of Capell's cento.

³⁴⁵ London: Hughes, 1783 and Capell MS. 2, vol. III, Trinity College Library, Cambridge. The word 'so' is misprinted as 'or' in the printed edition, but 'so' has been included on the mock title page of Capell MS 2.III.

that is, at best, unusual, and at worst establishes the sonnets as texts far removed from the glorious Shakespearean canon so lauded by Capell and other critics during the eighteenth century.

The components of *The School of Shakespeare* can be divided into three basic genres. Capell has quoted Shakespeare's sources; works by Shakespeare's contemporaries and literary followers, particularly where their texts seem to clarify or illustrate some aspect of early modern drama or language; and Shakespeare's own texts, particularly where linguistically interesting. More than ninety of the texts Capell lists in his index were published after Shakespeare's death: a startling number, perhaps, in light of the fact that Capell's volume was originally intended to showcase sources for Shakespeare's works. Of the texts included, Capell has thrown them together in no apparent order; although all the excerpted works by any particular author are grouped together, the authors are sequenced neither alphabetically nor chronologically: indeed, works published in the sixteenth century routinely appear gathered together into the same signature as works published well after Shakespeare's death. Capell also does not discriminate by genre: prose, poetry, and dramatic texts are interspersed throughout the volume. In short, the entire volume of *The School of Shakespeare* is compiled in much the same manner as were many early miscellanies, although without the topical and categorical divisions and headings common in traditional commonplace books. Even without the jumbled texts conundrum, many of the pieces Capell includes seem incongruous with his intentions for the volume, as specified in the title and the preface, and no text seems as discordant in Capell's *School* as the excerpts from the works of Shakespeare himself.

Whatever Capell intended, by including the sonnets in his compendium of Shakespeare's sources, he again relegated these poems, which he had once praised so highly, to the status of supplements, and, perhaps, even less than that. Where earlier editors prepared the sonnets for supplemental volumes and appendices, Capell placed the texts in the last volume of his own appendix, a text so supplemental that it not only avoided the title 'Works' of Shakespeare, but completely avoided any attribution to that author, promising, instead, to highlight complementary and contemporary texts that would assist a reader of Shakespeare's canon. Given the careful bibliographic information Capell provides for the sonnets before his selected excerpts, and considering his manuscript assertion that the poems in Lintott's Shakespeare had 'so much of his manner throughout that no judgment can possibly doubt of them,'³⁴⁶ it is clear that Capell is not trying to conceal Shakespeare's authorship. Instead, these texts are included to supplement Shakespeare's own—and canonical—plays, as well as the plays of Shakespeare's contemporaries.

Whatever his intentions, Capell's inclusion of the sonnets in *The School of Shakespeare* is itself a proclamation about the Shakespearean canon: despite the merits of their 'stile flowing and copious,' the sonnets' primary purpose in the *School* is to support and supplement Shakespeare's dramatic compositions. Capell's abbreviated version of the sonnets, by its very brevity, further suggests that the poems of Shakespeare are only marginally meritorious, and his avoidance of all previous textual emendations suggests that by the time he compiled his *School*, he viewed the sonnet sequence, as had George Steevens in *Twenty of the Plays*, purely as a historical document. His adherence to the poems' quarto text suggests this as

³⁴⁶ Capell MS. 5.

well; although Capell made numerous editorial annotations in his copy of the sonnets, modernising the spelling, punctuation, and even a very few words of Lintott's edition,³⁴⁷ his excerpts in *The School of Shakespeare* ignore all these red-pen revisions. Instead, Capell transcribes (and ultimately prints) lines from the sonnets with the precise spellings and punctuation used in the 1609 quarto.³⁴⁸ Capell's amendments are not drastic, and his avoidance of them does not impede a reader's understanding of his *School* cento, yet the decision to use the unmodified text—particularly given the simplicity with which he could have applied corrections he himself had already indicated—is probably evidence of Capell's interest in preserving and studying the language of Shakespeare's time, which could provide important information about the poet's skills and linguistic influences for readers and students of his plays.³⁴⁹ *The School of Shakespeare* is ultimately a text celebrating early modern drama, Shakespearean and otherwise, and the linguistic contributions these plays and their sources made to the English language in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries combined.

Many of the excerpts Capell includes in his volume are from texts now widely acknowledged to have influenced Shakespeare's plays or works in some fashion, as with *Plutarch's Lives*, *Holinshed's Chronicles*, the 1562 *Romeus and*

³⁴⁷ Had Capell's edition gone to print, he would have corrected the 'And' of 12.4 to 'In' and the 'worth' of 25.9 to 'might,' and made a handful of similar revisions to a few other words.

³⁴⁸ A quick glance at Lintott's edition will demonstrate to even the most casual observer that Capell has changed very little, if anything, in his borrowings. Corrections Capell indicated but never made include the placement of numerous commas throughout the sonnets, and his suggested spelling corrections for words such as herauld (1.10), buriest (1.11), chorle and wast (1.12), fortie and beseige (2.1), howers and worke (5.1), tirants (5.3), unfaire and fairely (5.4), and the like. Each of these has been modernised in Capell MS. 5, and each, like those in the lines that follow, is ignored in *The School of Shakespeare* (p. 263).

³⁴⁹ Capell's obedience to the quarto text is mirrored in a similar, almost obsessive, precise relating of the spelling and punctuation from most of the other seventeenth-century texts he includes in his *School*.

Juliet, and several works by Ovid. Capell's excerpts from these texts serve both to supplement Shakespeare's work, as the lengthy excerpts from the stories of Coriolanus and Antonius would indicate,³⁵⁰ and also to showcase key components of North's translation, excerpted and revised into an abridged text that struggles to tell a story and highlight some of North's more elegant or unusual phrases simultaneously. With many of the authors Capell includes, it is difficult to ascertain whether they were chosen for their possible Shakespearean influences or for their exemplary early modern literary techniques. This is particularly the case with Capell's excerpts from the poems of Donne and Drayton, for example, or the fragments he includes from numerous early modern plays written and performed throughout Shakespeare's lifetime. Other texts, such as Henry Glapthorne's *Argalus and Parthenia* or Massinger's *City Madam*, to name two out of a long list of post-Shakespearean texts, were both performed and printed more than a decade after Shakespeare's death, could in no way have influenced the dramas of Shakespeare, and must have been selected solely for their exemplary linguistic attributes. By including such post-Shakespearean materials, Capell has effectively replaced the 'School' of Shakespeare's sources aspect of his compendium with a 'School' of seventeenth-century authors, comprised of various texts that might have influenced them.

Even the suggestion that the *School of Shakespeare* is really a 'School of Seventeenth-Century Authors,' however, seems incongruous with Capell's inclusion of Shakespeare's poems and avoidance of most of the dramatist's plays. Although Capell does include snippets from several apocryphal Shakespearean

³⁵⁰ Where Capell takes only snippets from the stories of some Romans, his excerpts from the life of Coriolanus span four and a half pages (*School* 126-31), and the story of Antonius occupies a full sixteen pages (137-53).

plays, including *Edward III*, *King John*, *Lochrine*, *London Prodigal*, *Merry Devil of Edmonton*, *Mucedorus*, *Sir John Oldcastle*, and *Two Noble Kinsmen*, he also excludes every one of Shakespeare's canonical plays from his *School*. That the apocryphal Shakespearean texts follow immediately after the playwright's poems in Capell's work suggests that the poems Capell so praised in his earlier manuscript had become, in the wake of his work with the plays themselves, only as important or valid within the Shakespearean canon, as, say, *The London Prodigal*, listed in Capell's text under the running header '[Shakespeare], Plays imputed.'³⁵¹ Although Capell never suggests that the sonnets might be nonauthorial, the simple fact that *The School of Shakespeare* avoids the plays—then Shakespeare's entire canon—and juxtaposes the sonnets with disputed apocryphal texts indicates pretty clearly the lesser status Shakespeare's poems were accorded at this time. Whatever the other inconsistencies of Capell's inclusions, he has framed his Shakespearean excerpts in such a way as to suggest that the sonnets, like the plays of dubious authorship, belong not in a collection of Shakespeare's works, but in a collection of assorted texts from the English Renaissance and slightly thereafter. Perhaps these texts are intriguing to scholars of the early modern period, Capell's text suggests, but they are not any more an essential part of the Shakespearean canon than are *Mucedorus*, *The City Madam*, and the poems of John Donne.

Of the actual sonnet excerpts included in *The School of Shakespeare*, much can be discovered by looking both at the passages Capell included, and at those he subtly suggested would merit further examination. Part of Capell's focus is on the unique vocabulary of the early modern period, and he highlights a number of words from all his excerpts, Shakespearean and otherwise, for inclusion in a glossary at

³⁵¹ This header runs from 269-75 over the pages containing excerpts from all the plays previously listed.

the end of the volume.³⁵² Another focus of Capell's volume is, of course, on passages that influenced lines in other early modern dramas. Yet although allusions to several Shakespearean sonnets are found in Sir John Suckling's *Brennoralt*, many of the lines Suckling borrows or revises are omitted in Capell's cento, although Capell includes Suckling's play in his 'Table of Plays, Alphabetical' at the end of the volume.³⁵³ Furthermore, the excerpts Capell presents, for the most part, overlook many of the thematic ties between various sonnets, and his cento seems entirely oblivious to the characters and narrative Edmond Malone would introduce as the key characters of Shakespeare's sequence not quite a decade later. In his ten excerpts from sonnets on marriage and procreation, Capell focuses primarily on passages referring to the beloved's beauty and, to a lesser extent, on the passages concerned with time, including a sparse two lines on reproduction.³⁵⁴ Also unlike Malone, who would later strive to identify numerous biographical elements within these sonnets, Capell seems unconcerned with lines that might relate to Shakespeare's life or experiences. Rather than approaching these sonnets thematically, as did the compiler of V.a.148 and some of the earlier publishers who

³⁵² Although this glossary is not included in the manuscript of *The School of Shakespeare*, the words to be included are marked out in the text, from which, one assumes, John Collins assembled the actual glossary after Capell's death.

³⁵³ The appendices in *The School of Shakespeare* are not paginated, but the reference to 'Brenoralt' [sic] occurs at the bottom of the third page in the section mentioned above. Although Capell includes Sonnet lines 1.9, 9.9-10, and 48.11 in his cento, all of which are referenced in *Brennoralt* or one of Suckling's other plays, he completely overlooks the several lines Suckling has borrowed from Sonnets 12, 47, and 52, suggesting that his focus is not upon finding Shakespearean passages quoted elsewhere or, perhaps, that he has not made the connection between Suckling and the Sonnets.

³⁵⁴ 'Ah; if thou issullesse shalt "hap" to die, / The world will waile thee like a "makelesse" wife' (9.3-4), inverted commas Capell's. Capell does include Shakespeare's allusions to 'fortie Winters' (2.1), 'those howers that with gentle worke did frame' (5.1) and 'fortune to breefe mynuits' (14.5), in his cento, but overlooks the lovely time-focused lines of Sonnet 12, suggesting that his inclusion of these other timely passages has nothing to do with their relevant themes.

appropriated pieces of various sonnets to fit specific occasions,³⁵⁵ Capell is concerned only with the words and style of Shakespeare and his contemporaries, and includes elegant and novel phrases rather than thematically related selections.

Of the fifty-nine separate sonnet excerpts Capell includes in his cento, all but ten include one or more words enclosed within inverted commas, each of which can be found in the glossary in the back of *The School of Shakespeare*. The words Capell selects for this glossary include ‘gaze,’ ‘unthrift,’ ‘ruinate,’ ‘coopelment,’ ‘obsequious,’ ‘foyzon,’ ‘indigest,’ and ‘compare,’ to name but a varied few. Each of these words, according to Capell’s discussion, is one of the ‘phrases and words uncommon’ in the English Renaissance, and ‘the extracts containing them serve *now* for confirmance of glossary explanation’ even as ‘the same passage that yields example of words in each writer serv[es] also to shew his talent in general.’³⁵⁶ An examination of the words Capell has carefully indicated by inverted commas shows that many of his selections either influenced lines in early modern plays, applied new meanings to previously-existing words, or in some way changed or refined the spelling or usage of the words in question, so that he has, to the best of his ability, made and clarified his excerpts exactly as he intended. Ten other excerpts lack such highlighted words and phrases, suggesting instead that Capell considered them

³⁵⁵ An interesting contrast between Capell and the V.a.148 compiler arises when comparing their texts. Between their two centos, these two poets have selected twenty-one common lines and used excerpts, if not the same lines, from eleven of the same sonnets. Some of these common excerpts attest to the complementary preferences of their compilers, and many of these commonly excerpted lines are still highly regarded and widely known today, such as their mutual appropriation of the first quatrain of Sonnet 2 and each compiler’s use of lines from Sonnet 116. Their specific omissions, on the other hand, may be attributed both to the differing literary tastes in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and the contrasting themes or forms of elegance each compiler wished to showcase.

³⁵⁶ Capell *School* Preface [i].

simply examples of Shakespeare's finest poetical language.³⁵⁷ In nearly every case, however, Capell includes only a few lines from the sonnets he has selected, leaving them either incomprehensible or completely devoid of their correct contexts.³⁵⁸ In this sense, Capell himself conjoins some Shakespearean sonnets in—dare we call them thus—'groups of his own invention'³⁵⁹ therefore creating for many of these lines new meanings that Shakespeare would not have intended.

Not only has Capell repeatedly excised only small snippets of most of the Shakespearean sonnets highlighted in his cento, but his treatment of the Shakespearean sequence is at great odds with his treatment of sonnets by Shakespeare's contemporary Michael Drayton.³⁶⁰ Under the title '*Poems*. 1602,'

³⁵⁷ Capell does not state this directly, or give any other indication of his methodology for selecting his Shakespearean excerpts, but his extensive inclusion of Drayton's 'Nymphidia' and pastorals is explained in a footnote praising the rhymes of the former and calling the latter 'the best we have of their kind' (*School* 195).

³⁵⁸ Sonnet 21, whose final couplet states 'Let them say more that like of heare-say well, / I will not prayse the purpose not to sell' (21.13-14) discusses the possible evils of secondhand knowledge only at the end of a poem heralding the beloved's beauty and the truth of the author's descriptions thereof. Even more significantly, Capell quotes this couplet from Sonnet 64: 'This thought is as a death which cannot choose / But weepe to have, that which it feares to loose' (13-14) but completely omits the preceding line, which contains the thought to which the couplet refers ('Time will come and take my death away'), prefacing this excerpt instead with four lines from Sonnet 62 that describe the 'Sinne of self-love' (62.1). In this instance, at least, Capell's borrowings are far from true to their original text; certainly the care with which Capell labeled each excerpt would indicate to a diligent reader that these two quotations are not from the same poem, yet the very structure of the cento and the otherwise irrelevance of Sonnet 64's couplet suggest that, in Capell's text, they must be read together.

³⁵⁹ From Capell's manuscript criticism of *Poems*, Trinity College, Cambridge, Capell MS. 5. Capell's free juxtaposition of these non-similar lines is matched in other *School* excerpts. In his selections from North's translation of *Plutarch's Lives*, Capell similarly constructs his excerpts so loosely that he begins a sentence with part of Plutarch's description of Publica and concludes it with a predicate describing Themistocles, whose biography follows a few pages later in North's translation (124).

³⁶⁰ See Capell *School* 176-9.

Capell has excerpted a number of poems from Drayton's *Idea*.³⁶¹ As with his Shakespearean excerpts, Capell has selected only certain sonnets for his text, and his excerpts are randomly culled from the early text of Drayton's *Idea*: the sonnets are numbers 1, 2, 3, 8, 44, 47, 53, and 58 in the 1602 text.³⁶² Yet where Capell used only a few specific lines from each of the Shakespearean sonnets he selected, he printed the full fourteen lines of each sonnet from Drayton's *Poems*, offering each of these poems a sense of cohesion and unity that is lacking in Capell's Shakespearean excerpts. Although Capell's selections from *Idea* do ruin any sense of sequence or narrative that might be offered by the full set of numbered sonnets found in the original text, his decision to keep each borrowed sonnet in its original form, rather than running together disparate lines from various sonnets, indicates a textual treatment entirely incongruous with that which Capell applied to Shakespeare's own sonnets in the same volume. More intriguingly, Drayton's sonnets 1, 8, 47, and 58 all lack the inverted commas indicating 'unusual words,' and were presumably included as a result of Capell's self-described fascination with Drayton's ability to rhyme.³⁶³ Capell, in quoting the few sonnets from Drayton's poems, attends carefully to their author's original intentions and contexts, utilising a textual approach that is sorely lacking in his Shakespearean centos.

³⁶¹ The only Drayton text of 1602 listed by the ESTC is titled *England's Heroicall Epistles*, so the specific copy Capell used may now be lost. The 1605 edition in the Folger Shakespeare Library has several textual variants from the text Capell reprints, which suggest (based on Capell's faithfulness in other texts) that Capell based his inclusions on the edition he cites.

³⁶² One of Capell's selections is, by his own admission, from a later text.

³⁶³ Capell notes that Drayton has 'a style flowing and natural, join'd to a most wonderful richness and facility of riming; of which his—"Nimphidia," and the other piece that is here inserted entire, are very pregnant examples' (*School* 195).

Capell's cento revisions to Shakespeare's texts in particular leave modern readers and scholars with many questions about his motives and methods for creating such an unusual piece. The deliberate authenticity he relies upon when reproducing the spelling of the original quarto text seems at odds with his thematic reappropriations discussed above. Without altering a single one of the words he chooses to reproduce, Capell nonetheless manages to change the thematic intent and focus of certain sonnets more drastically than even Benson. Of the many questions Capell's cento leaves in its wake, however, the one most crucial to this thesis is that of Capell's concern with Shakespeare's authorship: did Capell intend to herald these few lines, and those from Shakespeare's other non-dramatic texts, as the most excellent fragments of Shakespeare's non-dramatic poetry, a sort of budding of later excellence, or adumbrative anticipations of Shakespeare's future dramatic glory, or did he include them solely as examples of elegant and innovative Elizabethan texts that may or may not have influenced early modern plays? Certainly Capell has not overlooked or disregarded the poems, as had so many of his editorial contemporaries. Yet his decision to make, in his cento, changes mirroring the revisions he criticised in Benson's *Poems* seems incongruous unless, in the intervening years, his opinions of the poems and their importance and authenticity had changed. By including them in *The School of Shakespeare* and forgoing his fully-prepared edition of Shakespeare's complete sonnets, Capell reduced Shakespeare's sonnets and other poems to a liminal status even more dramatic than that suggested by the supplemental volumes of poems produced by his editorial peers. Like Benson, Capell has adapted Shakespeare's poems to fit within the context of a miscellany text, but where Benson or his compiler borrowed poems by Shakespeare's contemporaries to supplement and flesh out the 1640

volume of Shakespeare's poems, Capell uses his miscellany containing Shakespeare's sonnets and lyrical poems to supplement Shakespeare's canon—and contemporaneous plays—as a whole.

What all these aspects of Capell's miscellany really show, ultimately, is the fascinated regard in which Capell held early modern drama, and the seemingly inexhaustible energy with which he plundered texts written throughout the early modern period in search of similarities, sources, and references that could help explain and complement the word choices, approaches, attitudes, and development of these early playwrights. From Capell's inexplicable failure to print his edition of the sonnets to his overwhelming focus on texts and fragments of texts that showed Shakespeare's sources and later influence, Capell's works serve, ultimately, one overarching purpose: to celebrate the dramatic legacy of the early modern playwrights. This becomes increasingly evident as one reads through the *School*, which follows the literary excerpts with an 'Index, of Words & Phrases'³⁶⁴ and a 'Notitia Dramatica; or, Tables of Ancient Plays';³⁶⁵ his volume concludes with a table of Shakespearean plays, each entry including the full text of its original title page, and which, significantly, overlooks the early quartos of the sonnets.

Surprisingly, many of the plays listed in Capell's appendices never appear in the body of *The School of Shakespeare*, suggesting that Capell's tables are separate

³⁶⁴ This Index appears in the printed text after the addenda that follow page 534, and is paginated separately from the rest of the volume. No version of the index is to be found in the fair manuscript of this edition, but as the words included are only those designated throughout the volume by Capell's inverted commas, it would not have been very difficult to assemble during the volume's printing.

³⁶⁵ Capell is particularly concerned with the sequence of plays, and the authors whose works and styles may have influenced their literary descendants. He presents a list of plays whose authors might be 'the rival (if such there be) of his excellence' (preface to 'Notitia,' sig. *a). Finally, Capell presents his tables of plays, all of which include, generally, the same assortment of plays and authors, presented both alphabetically and chronologically.

entities from the selected quotations. It is equally important to note that *The School of Shakespeare* is the final volume of a three-volume set intended to accompany Capell's previous edition of Shakespeare's plays: Capell's appendix of Shakespearean editions mirrors the lists of plays and editions printed by his editorial predecessors, at the close of their own editions of the plays, usually as a list of editions consulted,³⁶⁶ and his list of non-Shakespearean dramas may have served more effectively as a conclusion to the *Notes and Various Readings* found in the first two volumes of this set. Yet whatever Capell's intention, these exhaustive concluding tables effectively dominate *The School of Shakespeare* by their deliberate exclusion of all poems, histories, and novels, creating an exclusive Shakespearean canon into which even Shakespeare's own poems are not admitted. The very exhaustiveness of Capell's research, displayed so deliberately throughout both his actual editions of the plays and these carefully compiled accompanying volumes, coupled with his consistent exclusion of the sonnets from all but the most minor place among a list of preferred Renaissance texts and Shakespearean sources, speaks loudly. Where Capell has presented the plays to the public in elegant quarto volumes, accompanied by notes and sources, including mere fragments of significant or related sonnets, the unpublished manuscript of Shakespeare's sonnets is a critical response in itself: and this response, the cold silence into which the sonnets were received, is the silence of liminality. Shakespeare's sonnets could be changed, revised, and amended to suit the preferences of editors and readers throughout the eighteenth century, but, and more importantly, they could be overlooked without consequence.

³⁶⁶ Some version of this table of editions consulted can be found in the editions of Pope, Theobald, and many other editors from the eighteenth century.

A TRANSFORMATIVE APPARATUS: EDMOND MALONE AND THE SONNETS

Edmond Malone has long been heralded as one of the great Shakespearean scholars of all time, and certainly receives most of the credit for initiating the authorial school of editorial theory that many critics still apply to present-day editions of Shakespeare's sonnets. Yet Malone's first dealings with these controversial small texts occurred a decade before his definitive edition, in a supplementary text that—in the copy currently owned by the National Library of Scotland—proclaims the word 'supplement' in large, gold, capital letters on the volume's spine, and again on the title page (a feature common to every edition of the text) and finally in the text of Malone's 1780 preface. For all its emphasis on supplementarity, Malone's 1780 *Supplement to the Edition of Shakespeare's Plays Published in 1778 by Samuel Johnson and George Steevens* serves more definitively as a bridge between the supplemental treatment of Shakespeare's sonnets during the greater part of the eighteenth century and the recognition they would eventually earn, in part because of Malone's later work with Shakespeare's plays and poems. Nevertheless, where Malone remarks, of the noncanonical Shakespearean plays also included in his text, that these works of dubious authorship may rightly be included since 'the present publication assumes only the humble title of a Supplement to the last excellent edition of our author's plays; and under this description these imputed performances may perhaps not improperly be arranged,'³⁶⁷ he also takes great pains—unlike Capell, in his similarly juxtaposed excerpts—to establish the legitimacy of the sonnets themselves, remarking that

³⁶⁷ Malone *Supplement* I.v.

‘they have been illustrated with notes, in which all such parallel expressions as have been discovered in our author’s dramattick performances are quoted, as furnishing a very strong proof of their authenticity.’³⁶⁸ Furthermore, Malone’s notes are not merely reflections upon the similarities between Shakespeare’s plays and nondramatic works, but the first critical engagements with the sonnets themselves. In these notes, Malone suggests a biographical reading of Shakespeare’s sonnets, relates lines and topics within the sonnets to individuals and events of Shakespeare’s time, examines textual variations and offers the most authorial readings possible, suggests similarities between lines in the sonnets and pieces of Shakespeare’s plays, creates a cast of characters about whom and to whom the texts themselves may have been written, and offers close readings and suggested meanings for difficult passages within the poems themselves.

The text and notes on the sonnets in Malone’s 1780 *Supplement* vary only occasionally from those in his 1790 *Plays and Poems*, although those in the latter text certainly demonstrate the ongoing development of Malone’s scholarship and knowledge in the decade between the two editions. Despite their similarities, each of these two texts is significant for a separate reason: the *Supplement* raised the status of the sonnets by affording them a critical apparatus for the first time, while the presentation of *Plays and Poems* was the first edition of Shakespeare’s works to include the sonnets—as well as Shakespeare’s other poems—as a definitive part of the Shakespearean canon. Certainly bookbuyers and readers could have chosen to exclude Malone’s tenth volume from their collections, or allowed it to sit unread on a shelf, but the inclusion of a volume containing Shakespeare’s poems as a

³⁶⁸ Malone *Supplement* I. iv-v.

definitive part of an edition of Shakespeare's works was almost unprecedented.³⁶⁹ Malone's thorough and inclusive practice was not adopted immediately by all his contemporaries, but the 1790 *Plays and Poems* certainly marks the first introduction of the sonnets into the Shakespearean canon, and this inclusion—as well as Malone's textual apparatus—has shaped the ways in which nearly every English-speaking reader approaches and reads the sonnets today.

Taken in the context of the entire Shakespearean canon, and particularly in light of many of Malone's revisions, what the sonnets seem to have lacked in the minds of their eighteenth-century readers and scholars was the plot and characters so highly praised in nearly every other Shakespearean work, and particularly in the dramatic pieces. In the Preface to his own edition, Dr. Johnson praised Shakespeare's 'faithful mirror of manners and of life. His characters are . . . the genuine progeny of common humanity, such as the world will always supply, and observation will always find.'³⁷⁰ A few years later, Maurice Morgann suggested that 'Shakespeare is, in truth, an author whose mimic creation agrees in general so perfectly with that of nature, that it is not only wonderful in the great, but opens another scene of amazement to the discoveries in the microscope.'³⁷¹ Finally, and perhaps most importantly for Malone, Morgann later suggested that

it was not enough for *Shakespeare* to have formed the characters
with the most perfect truth and coherence; it was further necessary

³⁶⁹ I have already mentioned the 1726 Dublin edition in which the lightly edited Benson sonnets were offered as a definitive 'Volume Eight,' but Malone's textual inclusions are far more critical than those in the pirated Dublin text, which strove merely to reprint the most current London texts—including the sonnets—without making claims about the literary value of the texts stolen for profit.

³⁷⁰ Samuel Johnson, *Mr. Johnson's Preface to his Edition of Shakespeare's Plays*, London: 1765, viii-ix.

³⁷¹ Maurice Morgann, *An Essay on the Dramatic Character of Sir John Falstaff*, London: 1777, 60-1.

that he should possess a wonderful faculty of compressing, as it were, his own spirit into these images, and of giving alternate animation to the forms.³⁷²

By creating characters within the sonnet sequence, Malone enabled the application of these praises of Shakespeare's dramatic characters into praises of the Sonnets and their characters as well. As with those in Shakespeare's contemporaneously popular plays, the characters Malone introduces in his revisions and footnotes are complex, flawed, and human, and Malone's narrative focuses on matrimony, friendship, and betrayal, as well as rivalry and the world of the theatre. In many respects, Malone's list of characters and suggested plot summary attempt, even if subconsciously, to emulate the preferred and popular characters and plots of Shakespeare's actual dramatic works. Malone found in the sonnets those same elements that he and Johnson had admired in the plays, and the unintentional marketability of these common Shakespearean elements, as well as the genuine scholarship Malone brought to the pages of his edition, swiftly established his 1780-90 reading of the sonnets as the critical foundation upon which nearly every future edition would—to some degree—build. By restoring the 1609 order of Shakespeare's sonnets, and creating an argument for the sonnet addressees with which any scholar of Shakespeare today is quite familiar, Malone offered Shakespeare's critics three further characters to enjoy and analyse (the rival poet, young man, and the dark lady) and suggested a more dramatic autobiographical reading than could be found by reading Shakespeare's 'own spirit' into any character in the plays.

³⁷² Morgann, footnote, 61.

The eighteenth-century liminality of Shakespeare's poems seems unusual if examined in light of our modern Shakespearean canon, shaped as it has been by the all-inclusive scholarly edition of Edmond Malone, which not only created a demonstrable standard for editorial practice,³⁷³ but, by applying this standard to Shakespeare's dramatic and poetic works alike, definitively established the sonnets as a fundamental part of Shakespeare's canon and ended many of the eighteenth-century debates about editorial practices and the treatment of early modern texts, particularly those by Shakespeare. Similarly, the sonnets' supplementarity seems at odds with the critical practices applied to Shakespeare's plays for the better part of the eighteenth century. Behind the prefaces, notes, catalogues, appendices, and indices found in nearly every eighteenth-century edition of Shakespeare's 'Works,' however flawed and inaccurate these texts may appear when viewed in light of modern critical approaches and editorial standards, lies the eighteenth-century obsession with the search for authenticity. The editorial methods and textual apparatus used upon eighteenth-century editions of Shakespeare's plays certainly reflect this predominant drive, which is surprisingly absent from contemporaneous texts of Shakespeare's poems. The driving force behind Pope's oft-denigrated edition of aesthetic bowdlerization (before Bowdler) was his desire to prefer and extol the passages most elegant and natural, and therefore (in Pope's view) most definitively Shakespeare's, while minimising the effect of the 'trifling and bombastic passages' surely, in his mind, added after the poet's death or in the scribbled margins of Elizabethan and Jacobean prompt-books.³⁷⁴ His edition both affirms Shakespeare's growing literary status and highlights the passages that seemed the most aesthetically pleasing parts of the author's plays. Where Pope and

³⁷³ See de Grazia *Verbatim* 69-70.

³⁷⁴ Pope 'Preface' I.xvi.

eventually Warburton sought an aesthetic text of Shakespeare's works, Theobald was more concerned, in his own edition, with authorial intention: Shakespeare's 'genuine Text is for the most part religiously adher'd to, and the numerous Faults and Blemishes, purely his own, are left as they were found.'³⁷⁵ Theobald's edition of the plays is meticulously collated and researched; his analytical approach, which paved the way for future New Bibliographers such as W. W. Greg, also helped drive the eighteenth century fascination with Shakespeariana and the editorial craze for ever-earlier texts of Shakespeare's works.³⁷⁶ Even as the bibliographies and indices of extant Shakespearean texts expanded throughout the eighteenth century, so too did the debates about textual practice and editorial methodology: the ever-increasing number of sources led to a renewed fascination with the principles and approaches that could lead to a single, authentic, Shakespearean text.

Malone's edition, the first to read the sonnets through the newly constructed critical apparatus of the eighteenth century, served a number of important purposes. First and foremost, it definitively established the sonnets as a significant part of the Shakespearean canon, if only by merit of the narrative Malone constructed through which the sonnets could be analysed, like the plays, as a story. His narrative transformed the sonnets from love poems of perhaps

³⁷⁵ Lewis Theobald, *The Works of Shakespeare in Seven Volumes*, London: Bettesworth and Hitch, 1733, 'Preface' I.xl.

³⁷⁶ Dugas argues that Theobald's edition, for all its merits, was based upon Pope's, and thus not nearly as well collated or researched as his preface indicates (212); R. F. Jones suggests that the similarities between Pope's 1728 edition and Theobald's subsequent publication are derived solely from Pope's inclusion of many of Theobald's corrections from *Shakespeare Restored* (122). The British library copy of *Antony and Cleopatra* at classmark C.45.b11 contains a number of manuscript notes in a hand presumed by many past librarians or scholars to be that of Theobald, and the notes and emendations made in this text are identical in content to the comments and revisions present in Theobald's first edition. Even if these comments are not Theobald's—and this seems an unlikely circumstance—both *Shakespeare Restored* and Theobald's edition proper demonstrate a degree of textual collation and consideration unattempted in earlier editions of Shakespeare.

debatable authorship into the autobiographical ‘key’ with which, as Wordsworth would later claim, a careful reader could unlock the secrets of Shakespeare’s heart. By appealing to the interests of eighteenth-century readers, and relating these interests to aspects of the sonnets, Malone catapulted the sonnets to fame and prestige. Furthermore, Malone dispensed with the inauthentic material with which Benson supplemented his supplement, establishing the quarto version of the sonnets as the most authorial and, therefore, authentic, text of Shakespeare’s sonnets. In his two editions, but particularly the latter, which introduced Shakespeare’s poetry to the glorious heights of his dramatic canon, Malone had undone most of the instability created by more than a century of well-meaning editors, creating a text that would stand the tests of canonization and, as is now apparent, of time. The immediate shift of attitudes thus effected by his edition is evident in the Dublin version of the ‘Plays and Poems’ printed immediately after Malone’s authorized London text; in the critical debates finally, and for the first time, focused directly upon the sonnets; and the 1791 text, by Reverend John Armstrong, titled (with a brief pseudonym) *Sonnets from Shakespeare, by Albert*.³⁷⁷ This latter collection proudly presented—as if the 154 sonnets in Malone’s text were suddenly insufficient—forty more sonnets, culled and revised from Shakespeare’s plays, as carefully adapted and recontextualised as the quarto sonnets had been, in 1640, by John Benson. Suddenly the supplementarity of Shakespeare’s sonnets was transformed: a text once excluded from the canon had inspired a new canon, and one in which the sonnets themselves were emulated and exalted by adapters of Shakespeare’s plays into sonnets. In Armstrong’s text, the elegant blank verse of

³⁷⁷ Robert Watt’s *Bibliotheca Britannica* (London: Routledge, [1824], 1996 edition) lists Reverend Armstrong under the entry for ‘Albert’ and the title ‘Sonnets from Shakespeare’ (11).

Romeo and Juliet, *Troilus and Cressida*, *Twelfth Night*, and other plays struggles to fit into the suddenly-reborn sonnet form: lines are revised, reworked, and forced to rhyme, and these revisions recreate the plays, or selected parts of them, according to the stylistic conventions of what was, until 1791, Shakespeare's most-overlooked work.³⁷⁸ As Armstrong's collection demonstrates, once the characters of the sonnets had been so carefully suggested by Malone, the form could be expanded to accommodate other character-driven sonnets, such as those used to create a new dialogue between Shakespeare's star-crossed lovers in the early pages of *Sonnets from Shakespeare*.

What is missing from many modern editions of the sonnets is not the stability and the authorial structure so highly prized in the eighteenth century, but a full sense of the history behind the sonnets. Where they are now read almost exclusively within the narrative constraints suggested by Malone, some attention should be paid to the century of thematic reading that preceded his edition. And while they might in some way, as Wordsworth suggested, unlock the very secrets of Shakespeare's heart, in the manuscripts compiled by Shakespeare's readers, the prefaces composed by Shakespeare's borrowers, and numerous other texts from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, they serve a far greater purpose: to reveal the interests and fascinations of Shakespeare's earliest readers, if only those who chose to overlook the poems' temporary liminality. The legacy of the sonnets is not merely one of Shakespeare's heart, but one of his readers, revisers, and editors as

³⁷⁸ Most of Armstrong's sonnets take fourteen lines of blank verse, keep the first half of each line, and revise the second half to fit the rhyme scheme of a traditional sonnet and the theme with which Armstrong has classified his newly revised text. In true Bensonian style, Armstrong applies a title to most of his pieces (sometimes indicating the addressee and at other times the predominant theme), but he also numbers his poems, creating a second sonnet sequence. See particularly the two sonnets on music, numbered 27-8, on pages 30-1 (London: Debrett, 1791).

well, and the sonnets both individually and corporately must be read with this in mind, for they are no longer Shakespeare's sonnets only, but—in true early modern form—the property of his readers from 1609 to today.

CONCLUSION

DIALOGUES AND BIOGRAPHIES: POST-MALONE READINGS

OF SHAKESPEARE'S SONNETS

When John Benson published and sold *Poems: by Wil. Shake-speare* in 1640, he took a collection of texts first published at the beginning of the century and updated their presentation to reflect the poetical modes and formats popular in his own, later generation. Benson's attention to the vendible features in other early modern texts and subsequent incorporation of these and similar features into his own unique edition of Shakespeare's collected poems provides the modern reader with one specific example of ways in which certain publishing trends changed or were even more firmly integrated into printhouse practices during the first half of the seventeenth century. As evidenced by the abundant similarities between the textual approaches used in Benson's edition and those found in dozens of contemporaneous manuscripts, or between the format and structure of *Poems: by Wil. Shake-speare* and those of *Poems, by J. D.*, Herbert's *The Temple*, and more than a dozen contemporaneous printed verse miscellanies, the 1640 text reflects the tastes and mindsets held by readers of its time, and, as such, provides a valuable tool not only for scholars of Shakespeare and his reception, but also for historians and bibliographers interested in understanding the seventeenth-century literary marketplace. The cultural and bibliographical reading offered by Benson's modifications is imperative to our understanding of the ways in which not only Shakespeare's sonnets, but Renaissance poems in general, were understood by their most immediate readers, and it is in *Poems*, and the many other contemporaneous miscellanies and second editions whose features so completely anticipate and

reflect those in Benson's edition, that scholars of early modern readers and the early modern book trade will find a wealth of information about the pressures, principles, and preferences of early modern readers and the stationers who speculated on and sold to them.

Although the bibliographical and cultural significance of *Poems* has been noted by a few critics over the past thirty-seven decades, the broader importance of the edition has often been lost in the pursuit of authorial intention. Shakespeare's once-overlooked sonnets, finally raised to canonical status by Malone, have suffered for nearly two centuries from an overwhelming interest in the characters also suggested in that editor's critical editions of Shakespeare's poems. For the past two centuries, countless scholars of Shakespeare's sonnets have overlooked the bibliographical and cultural evidence present within Benson's volume in their quests to identify the characters suggested by Malone, and this oversight has often forced modern readers to experience the sonnets without a thorough appreciation of the poems' cultural and literary inspirations and contexts. This increasingly popularised approach would have horrified the careful historian and critic who unwittingly inspired it, had he lived to see its seemingly boundless expansion into realms of speculation and unsubstantiated controversy. Not all, but many of the critics who followed after Malone analysed and interpreted both the sonnets and the—supposed—inmost heart and feelings of their author in what was to become a nearly universal desire to reveal the character of the poet and unravel the mystery of his sonnets. In a strange parody of Benson's titles and rearrangements, the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century critics and biographers of Shakespeare offered new contexts and readings for the controversial collection of one hundred and fifty-four sonnets, guessing at the identities of Shakespeare's addressee or addressees,

suggesting new interpretations and identifying key themes, and often rearranging the sequence as a whole to support their theories. Not only did some of these same rearrangers and recontextualisers of the sonnets seem blissfully unaware of their mimicry of many of the same elements for which they frequently criticised Benson,³⁷⁹ but they also frequently expressed disdain for the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century readings that overlooked their preferred (and always obvious) readings of the sonnets' story itself.

In 1905, George Brandes noted with some surprise that

during the first eighty years of the eighteenth century the Sonnets were taken as being all addressed to a woman. . . . It was not until 1780 that Malone and his circle pointed out that more than one hundred of the poems were addressed to a man. . . . Not until the beginning of the nineteenth century did people in general understand, what Shakespeare's contemporaries can never have doubted, that the first hundred and twenty-six Sonnets were inspired by a young man.³⁸⁰

Brandes' argument is based not on any study of early modern responses to the sonnets themselves—such as Benson's edition or the contemporaneous manuscripts

³⁷⁹ Samuel Butler's rearrangement of the sonnets into his own chronological sequence follows an introduction in which he criticises Benson for 'the juxtaposition in which he has seen fit to disarrange them; it is as though some one were to break up an old stained-glass window, the story of which could be determined sufficiently though not perhaps easily, and present it to us in the form of six or seven dozen of kaleidoscopes' (5). Similarly, Lord Alfred Douglas criticised the 'inept headings' and 'arbitrarily selected groups' of Benson's edition, then provided his own version of the sonnets, in which the poems are interspersed with a prose narrative (a bit more intrusive than mere headings, it must be said) in which the sonnets are carefully placed to demonstrate his own narrative reading of the text (12).

³⁸⁰ George Brandes, *The Life and Work of William Shakespeare*, The Garrick Shakespeare, vol. 12, London: Heinemann, XII.166-7.

of the sonnets—but on his reading and understanding of the text three hundred years after its creation, in a time strikingly different from the one Shakespeare and his contemporaries would have experienced and understood. Brandes' conception of the sonnets, then, was based not so much on a knowledge of their contents, as his own modernist understanding of language and themes allowed him to interpret the poems, but on his own knowledge of a century of sonnet-specific criticism, some of which he is happy to overturn and much of which he takes for granted. In the centuries after Malone, scholars and critics of the sonnets revised their arguments and rearranged the sonnets, debated at great length the definitions of single words (the improved understanding of which would clearly provide the key to other scholars' misinterpretations of Shakespeare's poems), and imposed many new readings upon these badly maligned Shakespearean texts. The sonnets, in essence, became the Bible of Shakespeare's would-be biographers: quoted out of context, or interpreted with the correct marginalia or commentary, Shakespeare's sonnets can be manipulated to prove just about any theory that has been raised about his life. The decontextualised interpretations of the romantics, modernists, and post-modernists, however, at once both exaggerate the sorts of revisions imposed by the sonnets' earliest editor in 1640, and also denigrate that early text—the only clear and extant indication of the ways in which anyone in the seventeenth century read and understood Shakespeare's sonnets as a whole—for its failure to anticipate their own, supposedly obvious, future readings.

While it failed to appeal to many eighteenth-century scholars, and while Benson's text as a whole has been criticised for the better part of the past two hundred years, the Bensonian *Poems* offered its earliest purchasers a specific literary experience that was based upon the trends and interests of the time. The

literary apparatus surrounding the 1640 text offered poems highlighted for their poetical merits: Benson's warm and approbative address to the reader, the laudatory poems, and the laurel-enshrined bust of the author included as a woodcut all worked to celebrate the rich variety of poems contained within the volume, praising the author for his skill and content to leave the mystery of his emotions un plundered. The sonnets entered the notice of eighteenth-century critics and readers, however, as afterthoughts to the first biography of Shakespeare ever written,³⁸¹ and—though they were distanced from this biography by the critics whose editions followed Rowe's—were firmly established as integral elements of the subsequent factual and thorough studies of Shakespeare's life such as, of course, that researched by Malone. Where Malone merely identified the supposed characters of Shakespeare's sonnets, however, and suggested a few historical events that might have been referenced in a handful of the poems themselves, his academic and other descendants over the past two centuries took biographical studies of the sonnets to remarkable extremes, criticizing and examining any hint of the Malone-proposed male affection; speculating at length upon the identities of the young man, dark lady, rival poet, and addressee; and pronouncing the sonnets the 'key' to Shakespeare's heart³⁸² or, less poetically but with equal significance, 'documents of the first importance, for they are the most autobiographical ever written.'³⁸³ In the so aptly titled *Shakespeare's Autobiographical Poems: Being His Sonnets Clearly Developed: with His Character Drawn Chiefly from His Works*,

³⁸¹ Rowe's 'Some Account of the Life &c. of Mr. William Shakespear' concluded, 'There is a Book of Poems, publish'd in 1640, under the name of Mr. *William Shakespear*, but as I have but very lately seen it, without an opportunity of making any judgment upon it, I won't pretend to determine, whether it be his or no' (I.xl).

³⁸² William Wordsworth, *The Poetical Works of William Wordsworth in Five Volumes*, London: Longman, et al., 1827, II.305.

³⁸³ A. L. Rowse, *William Shakespeare. A Biography*, New York: Harper, 1963, 161.

Charles Armitage Brown aptly sums up the sonnet biographer's dream:

Shakespeare's

true lovers cannot, and ought not to be content. In their love they would know all about him; they would see him face to face, hear him speak, be in his companionship, live with him altogether. . . . let us . . . strictly examine into his own writings, and endeavour to elicit something that may throw a light on the circumstances of his life, or his opinions, or his disposition.³⁸⁴

Brown's longing to understand his favourite author swiftly fuels his extrapolation of countless biographical details from the shortest and most drastically decontextualised excerpts of Shakespeare's work conceivable, and his final interpretation is consequently quite creative.

As can be seen from the extreme examples of Brown and other seekers of the key to the poet's heart, the approach and amendments of Edmond Malone dramatically transformed the focus and scope of Shakespearean criticism from the eighteenth century through to today.³⁸⁵ The influence of the authorial method created, as Margareta de Grazia has so skillfully argued, a 'demonstrable standard that was neither self-evident nor dependent on either the editor's authority or the reader's predilections,' thus eliminating the need for an editor with specific literary credentials.³⁸⁶ From the late eighteenth century through to the first decade of the twenty-first, the critics of the sonnets have been all too eager to argue for various

³⁸⁴ (London: Bohn, 1838) 3.

³⁸⁵ Peter Martin suggests that Malone's 'explicitly biographical method . . . would unfold a new range of critical possibilities, at last enabling one to trace the development of the poet's mind as well as his art' (*Edmond Malone: Shakespearean Scholar: A Literary Biography*, CUP, 1995, 32).

³⁸⁶ de Grazia 1991 69-70.

‘perfectly obvious and indisputable’³⁸⁷ readings of the ‘perfectly evident’³⁸⁸ interpretations clear to ‘anyone who reads the Sonnets carefully.’³⁸⁹ Such readings, the earliest ones of which are clearly responses to Malone, often rely heavily upon their authors’ rhetoric and ability to interpret commonly-cited lines of poetry in new contexts; a few scholars base their entire arguments upon one or two lines excised from a single sonnet, while others take a more holistic approach, looking at the sequence of themes as indicative of the sonnets’ previously undiscovered stories. During the centuries since Malone first presented his edition, many scholars have produced interesting and innovative readings of single sonnets or the sequence as a whole either in an attempt to contradict him or building upon readings made in the editions of 1780 and 1790. That the sonnets are now a part of the Shakespearean canon, and that they are easily identifiable by number as well as by first line, is certainly due to the influence and endeavours of Edmond Malone. That they have inspired poets, film directors, and other artists in numerous disciplines is again, to some degree, a product of Malone’s insistent restoration of this text to the Shakespearean canon, and his treatment of it, critically, as a valid and stable text. The benefits provided by Malone’s careful edition are abundant, but in their adaptations and expansions by subsequent critics over the past two centuries, they have come at a high cost to future scholarship, causing several generations of students and scholars to rely on a critical foundation now accepted more for its longevity than for its accuracy. Malone’s reading catapulted Shakespeare’s formerly unconsidered sonnets into the mad fray of biographical and textual

³⁸⁷ Douglas 19.

³⁸⁸ Walter Bagley, *Is It Shakespeare? The Great Question of Elizabethan Literature. Answered in the Light of New Revelations and Important Contemporary Evidence Hitherto Unnoticed* (London: Murray, 1903) 53.

³⁸⁹ Butler 113.

criticism, and inspired scholar Denys Bray to enquire, somewhat rhetorically, ‘whether we should all pore so lovingly over the sonnets were it not for the mystery of them. If all their secrets were laid bare, would their appeal be so impelling?’³⁹⁰ Where the sonnets are concerned, Bray’s question is—with apologies to Hamlet—the only real question at all.

In the decades following Malone’s edition of the sonnets, and particularly those after his death, various Shakespearean critics hastened to contradict and flesh out his propositions. In 1799 George Chalmers endeavoured to correct the flawed logic of Malone’s footnotes with his own suggestion that Shakespeare’s sonnets were addressed to Queen Elizabeth, ‘who *was often more than a man, and sometimes less than a woman*,’³⁹¹ while Nathan Drake seized the opportunity afforded by Malone’s suggested characters and pressed forward one of the earliest identifications of Henry Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton, as Shakespeare’s beloved addressee.³⁹² By the middle of the century, Brown, Wordsworth, and their contemporaries had expanded Malone’s cautious reading of the characters into a

³⁹⁰ Denys Bray, *The Original Order of Shakespeare’s Sonnets*, London: Methuen, 1925, 43-4.

³⁹¹ George Chalmers, *A Supplemental Apology for the Believers in the Suppositious Shakespeare-Papers*, [London]: Egerton, 1799, 21. S. W. Fullom also suggested that sonnets 78-86 were similarly directed (*History of William Shakespeare, Player and Poet*, London: Saunders, 1862, 279). As a female counter to Gloriana, Parke Godwin suggested in 1900, ‘Interpreting these three sonnets as addressed by a rustic lover to his rustic sweetheart, may we not conclude from the little we know of the poet’s real life, and not from guesses in the void, that if they related to any person in particular it must have been to Anne Hathaway, then or soon to become his wife? Unless the poet was already a gay Lothario in the fields, we have no right to connect them with any other woman; while, connecting them with her, we open the way to a series of real love poems which are among the most tender and touching to be found in our literature’ (*A New Study of the Sonnets of Shakespeare*, New York: Putnam, 1900, 94).

³⁹² See *Shakespeare and His Times: Including the Biography of the Poet; Criticisms on His Genius and Writings; A New Chronology of His Plays; A Disquisition on the Object of His Sonnets; and a History of the Manners, Customs, and Amusements, Superstitions, Poetry, and Elegant Literature of His Age*, London: Cadell and Davies, 1817, II.62.

romantic portrayal of the sonnets as the autobiographical keys to the inmost feelings of their beloved British poet, while critics such as Allen Hitchcock and James Orchard Halliwell-Phillips fought a valiant critical battle for an interpretation of the sonnets as purely literary exercises.³⁹³ Other critics adopted a more selective approach, often suggesting that only a small selection of the sonnets—and a differing selection from each commentator, of course—were autobiographical in any way.³⁹⁴ These three approaches to the sonnets—as biographical, as rhetorical, and as a mystery somewhere in between the two—remained in play for the better part of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, giving rise to an astonishing number of diverse and conflicting arguments about the poems themselves, to say nothing of Shakespeare's life, and the stories created by the proponents of various theories moved far beyond Malone's original criticism into realms of selective speculation.

By the end of the nineteenth century, assertions such as Frederick S. Boas' claim that '[i]t is inconceivable that such intensity of passion as they reveal—the love, the jealousy, the remorse, the strivings between sense and spirit—should

³⁹³ In the subtler first edition of his *Outlines of the Life of Shakespeare*, Halliwell-Phillips argued that '[i]n the absence of some very important discovery, the general and intense desire to penetrate the mystery which surrounds the personal history of Shakespeare cannot be wholly gratified. Something, however, may be accomplished in that direction by a diligent and critical study of the materials now accessible, especially if care be taken to avoid the temptation of attempting to decipher his inner life and character through the media of his works' (Brighton: Halliwell-Phillips, 1881, vi-vii).

³⁹⁴ In the introduction to his nine-volume *The Works of William Shakespeare. The Text Revised*, London: Chapman and Hall, 1875 (1857), the Rev. Alexander Dyce argues that 'In his CXIth *Sonnet* our poet evidently expresses his real sentiments' (I.85-6), provides a rehashing of the story suggested by Malone, and finally concludes, 'though I would not deny that one or two of them reflect his genuine feelings, I contend that allusions scattered through the whole series are not to be hastily referred to the personal circumstances of Shakespeare' (I.101-2).

spring from no solid basis of fact³⁹⁵ were repeated by many, but always balanced with the oppositions of those such as Halliwell-Phillips, who argued that

all hypotheses, which aim at a complete biographical exposition of the Sonnets, necessitate the acceptance of interpretations that are too subtle for dispassionate reasoners. Even in the few instances where there is a reasonable possibility that Shakespeare was thinking of living individuals . . . scarcely any, if any, light is thrown on his personal feelings or character.³⁹⁶

In the face of such diverse speculation, Thomas Lounsbury's contemporaneous claims that 'so long as the knowledge and taste and judgment of men vary, no edition will ever attain to that authoritative position in which it is received as the standard one for all time'³⁹⁷ and that 'the text will continue to move [towards uniformity] until variation has been reduced to its lowest possible limit'³⁹⁸ seem painfully oblivious. Lounsbury's depiction of an endlessly dissatisfied editorial body, debating each nuance of Shakespeare's text and eliminating options, one by one, suggests a blend of aesthetic and authorial approaches that has not yet been reached and indeed, perhaps, should not be reached. Shakespearean texts today are more often celebrated for their variations—as with the flexible twentieth-century *The Complete King Lear 1608-1623* in which readers may mix and match acts and scenes from several early texts to create their own preferred editions—than for their stability, yet the sonnets, thus far, have escaped this desirable variability. More to the point, without the remarkable claims of these early and divided scholars, fans of Shakespeare and his sonnets might never have enjoyed the literary and critical

³⁹⁵ *Shakespeare and His Predecessors*, London: Murray, 1940 (1896), 115.

³⁹⁶ *Outlines of the Life of Shakespeare*, London: Longmans, 1887, 175.

³⁹⁷ Lounsbury 1.

³⁹⁸ Lounsbury 67.

extrapolations improvised by the sonnets' critics and Shakespeare's biographers in the years after Malone.

Like Frederick Boas, many of Shakespeare's early biographers and other students of the poet's 'genuine autobiographical confessions'³⁹⁹ were not only captivated by the purported chance to understand the sonneteer's heart, but intrigued by the appearance of characters in the playwright's supposedly nondramatic works. The 'chief characters of the story'⁴⁰⁰ cited as evidence of the poems' autobiographical elements quickly became 'actors in a drama,'⁴⁰¹ an idea that appealed both to those who viewed the sonnets as windows into Shakespeare's heart and those who seized this story as a chance to read the sonnets as fiction. Even as nearly two centuries of scholars and biographers incorporated Malone's mysterious characters into their accounts of Shakespeare's life (or Francis Bacon's) with varying degrees of interest and success, writers of fiction such as Oscar Wilde were busy transforming the figments of Malone's footnotes into Willie Hughes, shown as a 'young man in late sixteenth-century costume, . . . about seventeen years of age, . . . of quite extraordinary personal beauty, though evidently somewhat effeminate. . . . [with] closely cropped hair, . . . dreamy wistful eyes, and . . . delicate scarlet lips' whose identity as the true subject of Shakespeare's sonnets is so important that Wilde's fictitious Cyril Graham would rather die than be disbelieved.⁴⁰² The opportunity to create a scene and set—to say nothing of supporting dialogue—for the last characters crafted by England's most-renowned playwright also appealed to the otherwise more scholarly, such as Parke Godwin,

³⁹⁹ Boas 114.

⁴⁰⁰ Boas 115.

⁴⁰¹ Hamilton Wright Mabie, *William Shakespeare: Poet, Dramatist, and Man*, New York: Macmillan, 1901, 212.

⁴⁰² Oscar Wilde, 'The Portrait of Mr. W. H.' *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* 146.885 (July 1889) 1-21.

whose argument for Anne Hathaway as dedicatee also inspired him to imagine and transcribe a romantic dialogue for the poet and his bride:

[Anne Hathaway], if she was the woman I take her to have been,
threw her arms about him and gave him some hearty kisses,
exclaiming,

“Oh, Willie, boy! If ever there was a poet, you are one; but, alas,
you make too much of my good looks, for remember that I am older
than you are, and beauty is a thing that soon decays.”

“Does it?” he reflected, as he went away thoughtfully,—and the next
time they were alone he gave her his version of that question.⁴⁰³

Godwin’s contemporary Lord Alfred Douglas also interspersed Shakespeare’s sonnets with a prose narrative, which, he suggested in his preface, ‘set forth the true story of Shakespeare’s Sonnets for the first time,’ adding ‘The story of the Sonnets is there, as it always has been, . . . It stands out perfectly plainly from the text of the Sonnets illuminated by Thorpe’s dedication to their “onlie begetter, Mr. W. H.”’⁴⁰⁴ What Douglas sees so ‘perfectly plainly,’ alas, does not quite match the visions of Wilde and Godwin, to say nothing of the dozens of their critical contemporaries whose visions of the sonnets’ story were transformed less dramatically into academic articulations of a multitude of viewpoints, the greatest of which may have been the contemporaneous *Shakespeare’s Sonnets Reconsidered* by the remarkably creative Samuel Butler, to whose Bensonian rearrangements I have already alluded.

Squaring himself for a dramatic critical conflict with his many contemporaries who steadfastly proclaimed that Shakespeare’s sonnets were

⁴⁰³ Parke Godwin, *A New Study of the Sonnets of Shakespeare*, New York: Putnam, 1900, 100. Shakespeare’s response to Anne’s remark, according to Godwin, is Sonnet 104.

⁴⁰⁴ Douglas v.

‘impersonal,’ ‘imitative,’ or written as literary exercises,⁴⁰⁵ Butler directs his argument to ‘those who will not read anything that fell from such a man as Shakespeare without doing their best to fathom it,’ further noting pointedly that ‘[n]o such persons can even begin to read the Sonnets without finding that a story of some sort is staring them in the face.’⁴⁰⁶ The story Butler argues is a dark mystery, impossible to unravel fully, but with many possible readings, most dependent on the date of the poems’ composition: ‘If we date them early we suppose a severe wound in youth, but one that was soon healed to perfect wholesomeness. If we date them at any age later than extreme youth, there is no escaping from supposing what is morally a malignant cancer.’⁴⁰⁷ In an endeavour to salvage the poet’s reputation, so harshly maimed by his contemporaries, Butler suggests that the sonnets tell a ‘very squalid’ story of Shakespeare’s youth⁴⁰⁸ and argues forcefully against any other readings:

Those who pass the riddle of the Sonnets over in silence, tacitly convey an impression that the answer would be far more terrible than the facts would show. Those who date the Sonnets as the

⁴⁰⁵ See Bray 34 and Sidney Lee *A Life of William Shakespeare* (London: Smith, 1898 [1898]) 153, respectively. Lee further noted that the sonnets ‘are often adapted from the less forcible and less coherent utterances of contemporary poets, and the themes are common to almost all Elizabethan collections of sonnets’ (152). James Orchard Halliwell-Phillips was another great proponent of reading the sonnets as exercises, and as his *Outlines of the Life of Shakespeare* expanded from the intimate and compact publication intended for distribution among his friends in 1851 into—six editions later—the elegant quarto of 1887, so did his discussion of the sonnets expand from the omitted to the heavily argued. By 1887 Halliwell-Phillips was confident that the sonnets would ‘be accepted as entirely impersonal. . . precedence will always be given to early testimonies over the discretionary views of later theorists, no matter how plausible or how ably sustained those views may be’ (London: Longmans, viii). Rollins, whose ability to translate German far exceeds mine, notes that a similar view was held by the German critic Nikolaus Delius and forcibly argued in print for a period of nearly thirty years (II.138)

⁴⁰⁶ Butler 111.

⁴⁰⁷ Butler 112.

⁴⁰⁸ Butler 113.

Southamptonites, and still worse the Herbertites do, cannot escape from leaving Shakespeare suffering as I have said from a leprous or cancerous taint, for they do not even attempt to show that he was lured into a trap, and if they did, he was too old for the excuse to be admitted as much palliation. Those who regard the Sonnets as literary exercises would have us believe that in the naughtiness of his heart, Shakespeare, with a world of subjects to choose from, elected to invent sonnet 23, and to imagine a situation which required the writing of sonnets 33-35 of my numbering [121, 33, and 34 in the 1609 edition]. This is the most degrading view of all; but these four ways of treating the Sonnets are the only ones now before the public, and they are all of them alike slovenly and infamous.⁴⁰⁹

At the end of the day, the ‘cancer’ Butler found so readily within the sonnets seems to have infected the mental capacities not only of the esteemed critic himself, but also those of the greater number of the poems’ critics in the centuries before and after Butler’s remarkable claim. Despite the passionate arguments of Sidney Lee, Halliwell-Phillips, Edward Dowden, and dozens of others—as well as the more recent urges to sanity and historical context promoted by James Shapiro and Stanley Wells—the allure of Malone’s mystery has triumphed in the battlefield of scholarly criticism, and the true story of Shakespeare’s sonnets—so carefully encoded within these little poems—has at length been revealed, thanks to two centuries of creative scholarship. The first sonnets are clearly addressed to a man and the later ones to a woman,⁴¹⁰ or only ‘a tiny number of the entire corpus can be

⁴⁰⁹ Butler 112-3.

⁴¹⁰ See Boas 115; Joseph Quincy Adams’ *A Life of William Shakespeare* (London: Constable, 1923) 173; Denys Bray, *The Original Order of Shakespeare’s Sonnets*

correctly held to have been addressed by Shakespeare to a woman,⁴¹¹ or more attention should be paid to the pronouns, since only a handful of the sonnets purportedly to the ‘young man’ actually contain masculine pronouns.⁴¹²

Shakespeare’s relationship with the fair youth (if there is such a character) is ‘innocent,’⁴¹³ paternal,⁴¹⁴ misunderstood,⁴¹⁵ or merely representative of the youth’s patronage;⁴¹⁶ unrequited,⁴¹⁷ platonic,⁴¹⁸ exploited, or a result of the fair youth’s

(London: Methuen, 1925) 29-30; Walter Thomson, *The Sonnets of William Shakespeare & Henry Wriothesley, Third Earl of Southampton: Together with A Lover’s Complaint and The Phoenix and the Turtle*. (Oxford: Blackwell, 1938) 85; Edgar Fripp, *Shakespeare: Man and Artist* (OUP, 1938) I.254; and Walter Cohen’s essay on ‘The Sonnets and “A Lover’s Complaint” in *The Norton Shakespeare*, ed. Stephen Greenblatt (New York: Norton, 1997) 1916 for a representative sample.

⁴¹¹ Butler 86. Rollins notes that Keller, who wrote in Germany in 1916, concurred (*Variorum* II.245). Nathan Drake noted of the final sonnets that ‘it is not true, as Mr. Malone has asserted, that they are *all* addressed to a female. Two, at least, have not the slightest reference to any individual; the hundred and twenty-ninth sonnet being a general and moral declamation on the misery resulting from sensual love, and the hundred and forty-sixth, an address to his soul of a somewhat severe and religious cast. Of the residue, four have no very determinate application’ (II.72).

⁴¹² R. M. Alden argued as early as 1922 that in the first 126 sonnets ‘there is no sonnet which could not, conceivably, have been addressed to one of the same sex, though there are many which give no indication of that matter and would doubtless be thought to be addressed to ladies if found elsewhere’ (*Shakespeare*, London: Allen & Unwin, 124). More recently, Edmondson and Wells have noted the ‘obviously . . . careful division’ between the first sonnets, which ‘include none that are clearly addressed to, or concern, a woman’ but have many ‘that are clearly addressed to, or primarily concern, a male,’ and the later sonnets, which ‘include all the poems that are overtly addressed to, or primarily concern, a female,’ then remark that ‘it should not be assumed that the first part does not include any poems which might be addressed to a woman, and vice versa’ (28).

⁴¹³ Both F. E. Halliday (*The Life of Shakespeare*, London: Duckworth, 1961, 99) and Bagley (35) use this word to describe the relationship implied by the sonnets.

⁴¹⁴ Though the recent film *Anonymous* (Sony, 2011) never mentions the sonnets directly during the course of its early modern scenes, it heavily implies that the sonnets were written by Edward de Vere to Henry Wrothesley, his son (incestuously) by Queen Elizabeth I.

⁴¹⁵ C. S. Lewis found the ‘incessant demand that the Man should marry and found a family . . . inconsistent . . . with a real homosexual passion’ (*English Literature in the Sixteenth Century Excluding Drama*, Clarendon: Oxford, 1954, 503).

⁴¹⁶ Lee argues that ‘The sole biographical inference deducible from the sonnets is that at one time in his career Shakespeare disdained no weapon of flattery in an endeavour to monopolise the bountiful patronage of a young man of rank’ (159). Richard Dutton explores this more extensively, arguing that ‘The choice of a

advances.⁴¹⁹ The mysterious figure of the later sonnets, the ‘the one woman in the whole of London that the poet would have the young man shun’⁴²⁰ and ‘a woman in the extremest sense of the word,’⁴²¹ is a prostitute,⁴²² married,⁴²³ or a lady-in-waiting of Queen Elizabeth.⁴²⁴ The notorious lady is merely a figment or

“master-mistress” (Sonnet 20) . . . may simply have been a witty exploitation of the poet/patron relationship, which mirrors in interesting ways the frustration of a lover’s courtship of his mistress in the traditional Petrarchan sonnet-sequence. . . . Looked at in this light, we may see Shakespeare’s sonnet-sequence as a witty adaptation of the conventions, subverting expectations and exploring unusual sexual waters as a metaphor for the uncomfortable client/patron relationship’ (*William Shakespeare: A Literary Life*. Houndmills: Macmillan, 1989, 43).

⁴¹⁷ R. P. Blackmur described, in his essay ‘A Poetics for Infatuation,’ Sonnet 36’s portrayal of ‘the perennial guilt felt in any unrequited love,’ guilt over ‘the motive for action that cannot be taken’ (in *Outsider at the Heart of Things* [Urbana: U Illinois Press, 1989], 248).

⁴¹⁸ John Berryman, *Berryman’s Shakespeare*, ed. John Haffenden, New York: Farrar, 1999, 286.

⁴¹⁹ Peter Quennell suggests that ‘the older man [Shakespeare] may have fallen a victim to the rakish and experienced youth [Southampton]’ (*Shakespeare: The Poet and His Background*, London: Widenfield, 1963, 134).

⁴²⁰ Frayne Williams 195. Williams notes that during the course of his sonnets, Shakespeare ‘realizes that the woman is both designing and intriguing and altogether unworthy of the young gentleman, who possesses neither the experience nor the poet’s fine gift of judging character’ (195).

⁴²¹ See Brandes, XII.186.

⁴²² William Minto remarked in 1874 that ‘One must not treat published sonnets addressed to a courtesan as earnest private correspondence’ (*Characteristics of English Poets from Chaucer to Shirley*, Edinburgh: Blackwood, 276). G. B. Harrison similarly referred to the woman in 1933 as a ‘courtesan, notorious to fashionable young gentlemen of the Inns of Court who took their pleasures in Clerkenwell’ (*Shakespeare at Work: 1592-1603*, London: Routledge, 1933, 64).

⁴²³ Charlotte Stopes, in 1904, referred to the lady as ‘a dark-eyed witch, a married woman, full of coquettish wiles’ (*Shakespeare’s Sonnets*. London: de la More, xxxii). Brandes seems to agree with many of his predecessors that ‘in Sonnet clii, . . . Shakespeare . . . states expressly that she too is married, calling her “twice forsworn,” since she has not only broken her “bed-vow,” but broken her “new faith” to Shakespeare herself’ (XII.184). Henry David Gray noted in 1917 that ‘Until we reach Sonnet 142 we have no indication that the lady is married, and indeed the opposite is implied not only in the tone but in the subject matter of the so-called “Sonnets story”’ (‘Shakespeare’s Last Sonnets,’ *Modern Language Notes* 32.1, 19). To a similar end, Frayne Williams’ rendition of the sonnet story suggests that the dark lady married during the time of her acquaintance with Shakespeare’ (*Mr. Shakespeare of the Globe*, New York: Dutton, 1941, 196).

⁴²⁴ Mary Fitton, often identified as the dark lady, was one of Queen Elizabeth’s maids of honour in 1595. Pushed to the forefront of the dark lady debates by

exaggeration of Shakespeare's imagination,⁴²⁵ the scenes involving her are a 'legal fiction to give decorum to a theme of unfaithfulness,'⁴²⁶ or—alternately—there are several ladies.⁴²⁷ Many or most of the sonnets were written to Shakespeare's beloved wife Anne Hathaway,⁴²⁸ or were composed on behalf of someone else, such as the youth,⁴²⁹ or were intended for inclusion within Shakespeare's plays,⁴³⁰

Thomas Tyler on account of her relations with William Herbert (*Shakespeare's Sonnets*, London: Nutt, 1890, pp. 73-92, but especially 75), she is also accorded this status by Brandes (XII.182), who lingers only briefly on her role in the court but mentions her social status repeatedly in his biography of Shakespeare.

⁴²⁵ Adams argues that although 'we must not exclude the possibility that she may have had a real existence in some form,' much of Shakespeare's work on the related sonnets 'is fiction for the sake of artistic effect,' as compared with the 'man celebrated [. . . for] we can hardly doubt that he was of flesh and blood, and that Shakespeare entertained him for a high reward' (174).

⁴²⁶ S. C. Campbell, *Shakespeare's Sonnets: Neuer before Imprinted: 1609: The Alternative Text*, Cambridge: Cassandra, 2009, viii.

⁴²⁷ Fripp—who calls the later sonnets 'fancies'—notes that 'the Poet was sufficiently observant of the loose-mannered and loose-tongued women among whom his lot was cast to write of them' (I.262).

⁴²⁸ Anna Benneson McMahan, in *Shakespeare's Love Story: 1580-1609* (Chicago: McClurg, 1909), creates a possible scenario for Shakespeare's early selection of an addressee, creation of a sonnet, and transmission of the finished product into Anne's hand (28-31). Similarly but less imaginatively, and before his disparaging remarks about the 'castles of conjecture inhabited by dark ladies and other wild folk,' W. Teignmouth Shore suggested, a little more tentatively, that 'quite probably, or at least possibly, some of them were addressed to his wife. . . . It is not unknown for poets to love their wives and to write poems to them,' and 'Shakespeare's wife may have been beautiful and dark and tantalising for all we know to the contrary' (*Shakespeare's Self*, London: Allan, 1920; 88, 37-8, and 39). Stephen Greenblatt argues to the opposite end in *Will in the World* (New York: Norton, 2005), suggesting that 'There is no room, in the way in which Shakespeare represents himself in the sonnets, for his wife or his children. . . . all of the sonnets are in effect acts of erasure' (255).

⁴²⁹ J. M. Robertson suggests that 'if we make the supposition that the Sonnet [23] was written by the poet *for another*, to send to a woman—say, for Southampton addressing Elizabeth Vernon, or for Sir Thomas Heneage wooing the Countess of Southampton in 1594, or for Hervey wooing her after Heneage's death in 1595—it becomes at once wholly natural and intelligible' (136).

⁴³⁰ If not written on behalf of someone else, Robertson suggests, 'There is, however, one further possibility which has not, I think, been thus far suggested—namely, that some of the Sonnets in the Quarto may have been originally *intended for inclusion in plays*' like those found in *Love's Labours Lost* (215). Robertson attributes the poems' absence from said plays to the 'virtue of his [Shakespeare's] ripening judgment' (215).

or for the boy actors who played women on Shakespeare's stage;⁴³¹ or were written by the poet to himself, exploring 'the double nature' of 'himself and his genius.'⁴³² The sonnets as a whole are exercises,⁴³³ or passions,⁴³⁴ or both, or religious allegories,⁴³⁵ or parodies.⁴³⁶ The Sonnets of Shakespeare are invocations of the androgynous muse of poetry,⁴³⁷ evidence that Shakespeare himself became the embodiment of human love,⁴³⁸ and indicative of his lifelong battles with alcoholism⁴³⁹ or syphilis,⁴⁴⁰ or not Shakespeare's at all,⁴⁴¹ or—of course! at last the

⁴³¹ Shore enquires 'Is it possible that some of these "boy-theme" Sonnets were written to some of the young actors of the day, who played the parts of women upon the stage?' (87).

⁴³² John F. Forbis, *A Shakespearean Enigma and an Elizabethan Mania*, New York: American Library Service, 1924, 7.

⁴³³ See Halliwell-Phillips *Outlines* 1887, especially 175-6. More recently, the late Sasha Roberts suggested that 'reading the sonnet sequence alongside *A Lover's Complaint* with which it was paired opens up alternative views of men and women in love and lust and works to emphasize each text as a rhetorical showpiece; brilliant displays of literary wit rather than the intense outpourings of a charged affair' (16).

⁴³⁴ The definition of 'passion' has, in the study of the sonnets, been hotly contested by such scholars as Walter Thomson, who argued that the word as used by Shakespeare 'meant "poem" or "emotional poem"' (2) and F. E. Halliday, who saw it as a term of 'innocent affection' (99).

⁴³⁵ Allen Hitchcock, in his *Remarks on the Sonnets of Shakespeare; with the Sonnets* (New York: Miller, 1866), argued that the sonnets 'were a series of hermetic studies and contemplations into the mysteries of Nature under the *double name* of MASTER-MISTRESS' (v); the mysteries of nature, he carefully explains, can only be understood by referring to God (vi), and the poems themselves provide a 'vision of the Spirit' (viii) and, self-referentially, can be seen as '*entombing the spirit*' (ix). [All emphases his].

⁴³⁶ Massey suggests that Sonnets 135-6 are parodies of Sidney's Sonnet 37 (*The Secret Drama of Shakespeare's Sonnets Unfolded, with the Characters Identified*, London, for Massey and subscribers, 1872, 6).

⁴³⁷ See Godwin, particularly 178-206.

⁴³⁸ See Patric Dickinson, 'Shakespeare Considered as a Poet.' in John Garrett, ed., *Talking of Shakespeare*, London: Hodder, 1954, 73-90.

⁴³⁹ See Forbis for details of Shakespeare's battle with liquor, as evidenced by the sonnets themselves.

⁴⁴⁰ I am again dependent on Rollins' translation of a German critic, in this case Gustav Landauer, who 'hints at syphilis' in his 1920 book *Shakespeare (Variorum* II.258). More recently, scientist John J. Ross has explored this possibility in his article 'Shakespeare's Chancre: Did the Bard have Syphilis?' (*Clinical Infectious Diseases* 40.3 [2005], 399-404). Reading the final two sonnets as 'an ironic

mystery is made clear—not even sonnets.⁴⁴² Malone, researching Shakespeare's biography even as he edited the sonnets, and working on his edition in the era in which character criticism had reached its apex, would never have imagined the exhaustive lengths to which his literary descendants and borrowers could and would stretch his careful suggestion of three characters. Voices of contradiction have been raised against many of the theories here listed—and some are so speculative as to invite disregard rather than critical engagement—but the underlying suggestions of Malone, thanks to their consistent inclusion in criticism

metaphor for venereal disease,' Ross suggests 'Cupid's "fire" is the dysuria of gonorrhoea, and the hot bath is the tub treatment of syphilis. . . . the "eye" of his mistress can be understood as her pudendum' (401).

⁴⁴¹ An early argument for non-Shakespearean authorship was posed by Jesse Johnson, in 1899, who suggested that 'W.H.' indicated the sonnets' author, and that the poems were written for, rather than by, Shakespeare of Stratford; see particularly his *Testimony of the Sonnets as to the Authorship of the Shakespearean Plays and Poems* (New York: Putnam, 1899), particularly pages 50-52. Judge Webb's *The Mystery of William Shakespeare: A Summary of Evidence* proposed Francis Bacon as the Sonnets' author (London: Longmans, 1902); see especially pages 160-65. The Reverend Walter Bagley followed in Webb's footsteps with his own argument, longer and more detailed than those of his predecessors, is in part based upon the capital letters 'FRB' in the first two lines of *The Rape of Lucrece* and in part based heavily upon his assumption that the fair youth of the sonnets is Henry Wriothesley, Third Earl of Southampton and Bacon's colleague at Gray's Inn. He also indicates that the 'infection' of 'intense innocent male friendship' (38) is incongruous with our knowledge of Shakespeare's life: 'William Shakespeare was most distinctly *not* the kind of man for a scandal of this nature, nor was there the slightest trace of such a stain in his whole life. . . . he was the father of twins begotten in lawful wedlock before he was twenty-one—so there was not much sexual inversion about *him*' (34). For additional non-Shakespearean candidates for the poems' authorship, see—among others—John Stotsenburg's argument for Sir Philip Sidney in *An Impartial Study of the Shakespeare Title* (Louisville: Morton, 1904), 232-51 and Robert Palk's articles 'The Puzzle of "The Sonnets": A Solution?' and 'Sir Walter Raleigh and Shakespeare' in the *Times Literary Supplements* of April 20, 1916 (189) and October 24, 1918 (512), respectively, which propose Sir Walter Raleigh as a plausible author for the poems in question: tentatively in the first case and with more assurance in the later. The *Variorum* provides an excellent summary of pre-1944 theories of authorship, most of which were mercifully laid to rest in the ensuing decades.

⁴⁴² Brown argues that the Thorpe quarto contains six 'POEMS in the *sonnet-stanza*, . . . five . . . addressed to his friend and the sixth to his mistress. This key . . . unlocks every difficulty, and we have nothing but pure uninterrupted biography' (45).

of the sonnets and in biographies of Shakespeare himself, have become so ingrained in modern-day pedagogies and stories of Shakespeare that even those who seek to read the sonnets independently of our critical assumptions, such as Don Paterson, still find themselves unwittingly tied to Malone's late-eighteenth-century interpretations.⁴⁴³ Paterson mockingly relates that 'more than one perfectly well-read individual [of his acquaintance had] remarked: "Many of them [the sonnets] are addressed to a man, I believe," as if the information had only recently come to light through ingenious advances in 21st-century cryptography,'⁴⁴⁴ but overlooks the fact that this information, though discernible in the sonnets, appears clear to Malone's successors and modern readers precisely because they, and we, anticipate it.

Even beyond Paterson's mainstream reiteration of the Malone reading as the only reading, popular culture has also helped entrench views and attitudes based upon the eighteenth-century interpretation firmly within typical twenty-first-century understandings of Shakespeare. As with the earlier dialogues created in the biographical fictions of Parke Godwin and some of his contemporaries, the allure of writing a script for Shakespeare's characters has captivated individuals far removed from academia and biographies. The British Broadcasting Company's recent televised drama *A Waste of Shame* conflates a number of the more universally accepted theories into a compelling period drama, scripted by William

⁴⁴³ In the *Guardian* article introducing his text and commentary of Shakespeare's sonnets, Paterson notes that '[t]he problem with reading Shakespeare's sonnets is the sonnets themselves, by which I mean their reputation,' then proceeds, in his 'primary reading,'—defined as one that 'engages with the poem directly, as a piece of trustworthy human discourse' rather than relying on critical interpretations and analyses—to describe the sonnets using a number of post-Malone perspectives. See 'Shakespeare's Sonnets by Don Paterson,' *The Guardian*, Saturday 16 October 2010. [<http://www.guardian.co.uk/books/2010/oct/16/shakespeare-sonnets-don-paterson>]. Accessed 25 April 2011.

⁴⁴⁴ Paterson *Guardian*.

Boyd with some consultation from the renowned sonnet scholar Katherine Duncan-Jones. Basing his characters in part on the readings offered by previous scholars, Boyd wrote a dark drama depicting the development of Shakespeare's love over a specific stretch of time—Patric Dickinson considered them a story of Shakespeare 'maturing emotionally, bridging the gulf between adolescent and adult which in our cold climate many sensitive men never cross their lives long'⁴⁴⁵—and particularly for two very specific individuals, the effeminate and flirtatious young William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, who insists that he is to be called 'Mister' on the first occasion of his visit to a brothel in Shakespeare's company, and the salacious 'Lucie,' an exotic French whore whose well-received attentions to Shakespeare are ended when she is given the means to live independently by none other than Pembroke himself.⁴⁴⁶ Like Oscar Wilde a century and a half before him, Boyd sprinkles excerpts from Shakespeare's sonnets liberally throughout his dialogue, but, and again as with Wilde, the sonnets included are only those necessary to support his argument, and provide no comprehensive reading of the collection as a whole.⁴⁴⁷

The mystery of the sonnets may be compelling, and speculations into it—as Boyd so aptly demonstrates—lend themselves to the creation of entertaining dramatic situations using some truly elegant poems interspersed with dark stories of brothels and a struggling poet, but they are fictions, inspired by the eighteenth-

⁴⁴⁵ Patric Dickinson 82.

⁴⁴⁶ *A Waste of Shame*, dir. John McKay, Perf. Rupert Graves, Tom Sturridge, Indira Varma, BBC, 2005.

⁴⁴⁷ Boyd's drama is notable for its representation of Shakespeare's unrequited love for Herbert, an approach not particularly in keeping with the 'sweet love remembred' of Sonnet 29—one of many sonnets of joy and satisfaction omitted from the agonised passions of the TV drama—but quite in concord with Bagley's contention, based on the first four lines in Sonnet 121, that the sonnets' author never gave in to the sexual desires he articulated in the sonnets themselves (53).

century character criticism of scholars such as Johnson and Morgann, suggested by Malone, and fleshed out into many dozen incarnations by countless scholars, biographers, and creative writers during the past two centuries. Despite the endeavours of dozens of scholars eager to suppress Malone's reading of the characters within the sonnets (and the sexual preferences with which these characters and poems were quickly associated), the supposed story of the sonnets has survived for more than two centuries. To some extent this is related to the allure of mystery so aptly noted by Denys Bray: any study of Shakespeare's life, no matter how thorough, still consists mainly of broader discussions of Shakespeare's world and the London theatres, interspersed with a handful of known facts about Shakespeare's parents, marriage, property, publications, and children gleaned from sixteenth- and seventeenth-century record books.

The survival of Malone's theory is also, in some small part, linked to misreadings of Benson's edition, in which the assumption that Benson's revisions must indicate his concealment of something—whether homosexuality, miscegeny, or piracy—creates another mystery to be exploited by critics and biographers alike. Similarly, given Shakespeare's reputation in the western world, it is impossible to read Shakespeare's sonnets without an awareness of his dramatic skills, and the existence of such masterful characters brought to life on the pages (and stages) of his plays, coupled with Malone's now-familiar character theory, makes readers more inclined to seek out and identify characters within the sonnets as well. At heart, such readings do not necessarily create problems for the sonnets, but the interpretations thereof have been taken too far by scholars and others intent upon presenting airtight cases based upon excerpted (and occasionally decontextualised) lines of the sonnets. Such appropriations of Shakespeare's texts to support these

theories eventually create far worse impositions on the text than those—identified by many of the same critics—forced upon the sonnets by Benson’s titles and reorganisations. For if Benson’s revisions—as his critics suggest—force us to read the sonnets disarranged, out of their ‘autobiographical’ sequence and contexts, so the autobiographical readings of the sonnets proposed by many of those same critics similarly overlook many other possible readings and understandings of these same sonnets, such as the reading provided by Benson’s own edition. In reading the sonnets autobiographically, many scholars overlook the ‘imitative element in them,’⁴⁴⁸ the closeness with which they mirror elements and themes found in Daniel’s *Delia*, Drayton’s *Idea*, and many other contemporaneous sonnet sequences and collections; and the creativity and stylistic care with which the poems were crafted. Perhaps within these arguments, the critics on each side of the autobiographical divide are at fault for their almost singleminded pursuits of polar interpretations of Shakespeare’s sonnets; a middle ground is necessary, as is one that takes into account the earliest evidence of the ways in which Shakespeare’s sonnets were actually read.

Although the early twentieth-century critic J. M. Robertson made a number of unfounded claims about the 1640 *Poems*—including the unsupportable argument that Benson originated, ‘set up,’⁴⁴⁹ and imposed by ‘falsifications’ the idea of a feminine addressee—he also elegantly summed up the problems with autobiographical sonnet criticism in his time. As Robertson puts it, ‘the orthodox editors have made three ill-warranted assumptions which they have never tested: (1) that all (or at least some 150) of the Sonnets in the Quarto are really penned by Shakespeare; (2) that 126 are addressed to a man; and (3) that these must all refer to

⁴⁴⁸ Lee *Life* 151.

⁴⁴⁹ Robertson 9.

one man.⁴⁵⁰ To this list one might add the pervading theory that the sonnets must tell a story, preferably a passionate narrative worthy of the attentions already given it by its great author. Between the fictitious narratives crafted by scholars and biographers, and the defensive arguments of those unwilling to find even the smallest hint of Shakespeare's person, beliefs, or life within the allusions and emotions of the sonnets, however, are a few who seem willing to look at the sonnets as simple poems written by a popular writer who had, whether by accident or intent, at some point experienced at least one emotion upon which he was able to draw when composing love sonnets. Building upon Malone's idea of a narrative, and identifying the key themes and focus therein contained, Hamilton Wright Mabie argued most intelligently for an interpretation between the current 'extremes':

it seems probable that the Sonnets are disclosures of the poet's experience without being transcriptive of his actual history; that they embody the fruits of a great experience without revealing that experience in historic order. . . . they use the material which experience had deposited in Shakespeare's nature, but they hide the actual happenings in his life behind the veil of an elaborate art and of a philosophy with which the thought of western Europe was saturated in his time. The Sonnets may be read as the poetic record of an emotional experience which left lasting traces behind it, and as a disclosure of the mind of the poet; but they cannot be safely read as an exact record of fact.⁴⁵¹

⁴⁵⁰ Robertson vi.

⁴⁵¹ Mabie 220-1.

Joseph Quincy Adams' remark that the poems are 'characterized by an ingenuity that suggests pride in wit rather than deep emotion'⁴⁵² implies a similar awareness of Shakespeare as an author: a man who certainly might have drawn upon elements of his life when composing his most intriguing work, but who was also, and above all, aware of himself as a literary composer, deliberately crafting a series of poems in a specific poetical form rather than pouring out his passions in a carefully locked diary hidden beneath his pillow. As with those who read Benson's 1640 *Poems* through a lens of modern scholarship and find it wanting, the critics who read Shakespeare's sonnets as entirely autobiographical all too often lose their awareness of the early modern culture in which the poems were written and then translated into print. The societal constructs that would have shaped both the 1609 and 1640 versions of the collection in the early modern period are difficult to delineate, but one of the most significant clues about the sonnets' early reception exists in the form of an octavo book printed in 1640, intended, perhaps, to reintroduce the sonnets of a currently popular author to readers who might have overlooked the first edition. How and why Shakespeare wrote his sonnets is a mystery that centuries of scholarship may never be able to solve, but how they were presented, understood, and read during the seventeenth century is far less uncertain than many sonnet critics would suggest. If we read Benson's edition as an honest attempt to revitalise an antiquated sonnet collection, rather than as an endeavour to conceal a dreadful scandal Shakespeare had passionately unleashed into perfectly formed sonnets, much can be learned not only about the sonnets' early readers, but about the literature and culture of their time.

⁴⁵² Adams 173-4.

'EVEN TO ETERNITIE': THE EVER-LIVING SONNET STORY

In the more than four hundred years since their debut in Thomas Thorpe's controversial quarto, Shakespeare's sonnets—and Malone's characters—have become an integral part of western culture, often far outside academia, in part, no doubt, due to the quietly titillating appeal of the mystery Malone proposed. The oft-sought quarto text would indubitably have reached the bookshelves of Shakespeare's eighteenth-century collectors had Benson's edition never been printed, and the supplemental editions crafted by Malone's predecessors would certainly have survived into later centuries even had Malone not established the poems' place in the Shakespearean canon, but both Benson and Malone played a significant role in the survival and shaping of the sonnets as we know them today. Where Malone's contribution has been more consistently praised, however, Benson's edition has earned the almost unanimous disapproval of scholars whose arguments about every other aspect of the sonnets are so universally diverse and contradictory as to make summaries of their opinions either impossible or ridiculous, as demonstrated earlier in this chapter. G. E. Bentley's more moderate approach to the sonnets' biographical elements in 1961 came coupled with a criticism of Benson that may have been the only part of his text with which his contemporaries agreed. *Poems*, he asserted, 'is a scissors-and-paste job which confused Shakespeare's editors for 200 years and which even now sometimes misleads the gullible, who are inclined to assign some significance to Benson's irresponsible rearranging and appropriating.'⁴⁵³ Bentley's sound assessment of the

⁴⁵³ Gerald Eades Bentley, *Shakespeare: A Biographical Handbook*, New Haven: Yale UP, 1961, 157.

‘wildly imaginative’⁴⁵⁴ accounts of the sonnets’ addressees and stories carefully articulates a problem of speculation that has plagued the sonnets since the early nineteenth century, but to disparage the earliest known reading of the text is as serious a critical error as those made by the sonnets’ would-be biographers.

Benson’s text is rich with cultural interpretations and impositions, and its paratextual elements and editorial suggestions offer us, today, the only remaining glimpse into the sonnets’ early reception. Whatever its provenance, and for all its failures to anticipate and accommodate modern and post-modern editorial theories, the 1640 *Poems* is a product of its time, and John Benson has left us with the chance to view the ways in which older, less-favoured texts, could be updated in the early modern period to reflect the changing times and preferences of the reading classes. The adaptation of *Sonnets* into *Poems* occurred over thirty years in which England was quickly growing and transforming, and the literature of the time, *Poems* included, reflects this change. Benson’s publication is as much a part of the story of Shakespeare’s sonnets as are the characters suggested by Malone a century and a half after the appearance of *Poems*, and just as the dark lady and young man, for better or worse, have become integral components of the unending story of *Shakespeare’s Sonnets*, so must *Poems* be included within the story of this text, as a reflection of its early readers and first editor, but also as a relic of the turbulent cultural and literary world that allowed and facilitated its production. In short and in sum, *Poems: Written by Wil. Shake-Speare, Gent.* is of course not an authorial text, but it is a cultural one, and one which provides a clear indication of the changing needs and culture of its earliest readers.

⁴⁵⁴ Bentley 154.

APPENDIX ONE

Books Published or Copyrighted by John Benson, 1635-1661

1635

Rutter, Joseph. *The Shepherds Holy-Day*. London: N. and I. Okes for John Benson, 1635. STC 21470. SR 9 January 1634 [1635].¹

1636

Nash, Thomas. *Quaternio or a Foure-Fold Way to a Happy Life. Set Forth in a Discourse Betweene a Country-man, a Citizen, a Divine, and a Lawyer. Wherein the Commodities of the Country and the City, Together with the Excellency of Divinity and the Law are Set Forth*. London: Nicholas Okes for John Benson, 1636. STC 18383. Pollard and Redgrave date to 1634 and note that this is a copy, with cancel title-page, of an edition printed by J. Dawson in 1633.²

Southwell, Robert. *St Peters Complainte Mary Magdal Teares. Wth Other Workes of the Author*. London: I. Haviland for E. [probably I] Benson, 1636. STC 22968. Copy of edition printed by Allott in 1630. No mention of this book as Benson's is to be found in the *Stationers' Registers*, but the copyright passed from 'Master Parker' to 'Master Haviland and John Wright on September 4, 1638'.³

1637

Church of England. *Articles to be Inquired of in the Diocese of S. Asaph*. London: John Haviland for John Benson, 1637. STC 10324.

Fletcher, John. *The Elder Brother*. London: F. K. for I. W[aterson] and I. B[enson], 1637. STC 11066. SR 29 March [1637].⁴

Malvezzi, Virgilio. *Romulus and Tarquin. First Written in Italian by the Marques Virgilio Malvezzi: and Now Taught English, by HL*. London: I. H[aviland] for John Benson, 1637. STC 17219. SR 20 February 1636 [1637].⁵

The Pathway to Musick. London: [Danter] for Benson, 1637. Poss. STC 19464. Pollard and Redgrave note another edition printed by Danter for Barley in 1596.⁶

Swadlin, Thomas. *Sermons, Meditations, and Prayers, upon the Plague*. London: N. and Io. Okes for John Benson. STC 23509. SR 28 February 1636 [1637].⁷

¹ Arber *Transcript* IV.332.

² *STC* II.173.

³ Arber *Transcript* IV.432.

⁴ Arber *Transcript* IV.376.

⁵ Arber *Transcript* IV.373.

⁶ *STC* II.220.

⁷ Arber *Transcript* IV.374.

1638

Close, [George]. *Close's Closett, being Certaine Prayers and Meditations.*

Alternate title *Close's Closet, or the Septemary of Prayers.* First entered into the SR by Henry Gosson, 7 October 1618; transferred to John Benson on April 2, 1638.⁸

The Golden Meane. London: J. H. for John Benson, 1638. STC 17759. Pollard and Redgrave note that this is the third edition; the first two were published by Lownes in 1613 and 1614.⁹

The Golden Meane. Enlarged by the First Author. As it was Formerly Written to the Earle of Northumberland. Discoursing the Noblenesse of Perfect Vertue in Extremes. London: John Benson, 1638. STC 17759.5.

Malvezzi, Virgilio. *Romulus and Tarquin first written in Italian by the Marques Virgilio Malvezzi.* Transl. H. Cary. 2nd edition. London: I. H. for John Benson, 1638. STC 17220.

1639

Benson, Doctor. *A Semon Preacht at the Funeral of Justice [Thomas] Couentry Father of the Right Honorable the Lord Keeper. Upon Ecclesiastes 12:5.* SR 18 October 1639.¹⁰

Davenant, Sir William. *The Tragedy of Albovine, King of the Lombards.* STC 6037. First printed by Kingston for Moore, 1629. Permission was granted to Benson to publish 1500 copies in 1639.¹¹

Riley, Thomas. *Triall of Conscience in a Quotidian Exercise.* London: I. Okes for John Benson, 1639. STC 21056.4. SR 8 October 1638.¹²

1640

Horace. *Q. Horatius Flaccus: His Art of Poetry.* Transl. Ben Jonson. London: I. Okes for John Benson, 1640. STC 13798. SR 8 February 1639 [1640].¹³

Palmer and Redgrave suggest this may have been bound with the *Execration and Epigrams.*¹⁴

Jonson, Ben. *Ben. Jonson's Execration against Vulcan. With Divers Epigrams by the Same Author to Severall Noble Personages in this Kingdome.* London: J. O. for John Benson, 1640. STC 14471. SR 16 December 1639.¹⁵ Palmer and

⁸ Arber *Transcript* III.633 and IV.414. No extant copies of either printing are recorded in the STC, ESTC, or EEBO, unless by a variant title; the only recorded text by Close was *The Rocke of Religion. Christ, not Peter*, a collection of sermons, printed by Mathewes for Law in 1623-4 (STC I.244).

⁹ STC II.149.

¹⁰ Arber *Transcript* IV.484. No extant copies.

¹¹ STC I.284, citing *Court-Book C*, 325.

¹² Arber *Transcript* IV.439.

¹³ Arber *Transcript* IV.498.

¹⁴ STC I.600.

¹⁵ Arber *Transcript* IV.493.

Redgrave note that this was reprinted as part of Benson's copy of Horace published in the same year.¹⁶

Jonson, Ben. *The Masque of the Gypsies*. London: J. Okes for J. Benson, 1640. STC 14777a. SR 20 February 1639 [1640].¹⁷ Palmer and Redgrave note that this was bound with Benson's Horace of the same year.¹⁸

Shakespeare, William. *Poems: written by Wil. Shake-speare. Gent.* London: Tho. Cotes for John Benson, 1640. STC 22344. SR 4 November 1639.¹⁹

Webster, John. *The Dutchesse of Malfy: as it was Approvedly Well Acted at the Black-friers, by His Maiesties Servants: the Perfect and Exact Copy, with Divers things Printed, that the Length of the Play would not Beare in the Presentment.* London: I. Raworth for I. Benson, 1640. Also London I. Raworth for I. Waterson and I. Benson, 1640. STC 25177a. Palmer and Redgrave note that the unsold copies were reissued with a new title page c. 1664.²⁰

1641

Biondi, Giovanni. *An History of the Civill Warres of England, betweene the Two Houses of Lancaster and Yorke the Originall whereof is Set Downe in the Life of Richard the Second, their Proceedings, in the Lives of Henry the Fourth, the Fifth, and Sixth, Edward the Fourth and Fifth, Richard the Third, and Henry the Seventh, in whose Dayes They had a Happy Period : Written in Italian in Three Volumes.* Transl. Henry Carey, Earl of Monmouth. London: T. H. and I. D. for John Benson, 1641. STC B2936. SR 20 March 1640.²¹

Carey, Henry, Earl of Monmouth. *A Speech made in the House of Peeres by the Right Honourable the Earl of Monmouth on Thursday the 13 of Ianuary 1641 upon the Occasion of the Present Distractions and of His Majesties Removall from White-hall.* London: I. Benson, 1641. STC M2425.

Colet, John. *Daily Devotions. Or, the Christians Morning and Evening Sacrifice. Digested into Prayers, and Meditations, for Every Day of the Weeke and Other Occasions. With Some Short Directions for a Godly Life.* London: E. G. for J. Benson, 1641. Also titled *A Ryght Frutefull Monycian, Cocernyng the Order of a Good Chrysten Mannes Lyfe*. STC 5549.7. SR assigned to Benson by 'Master Oulton' 22 April 1640.²²

Cornwallis, Sir Charles. *A Discourse of the Most Illustrious Prince, Henry, Late Prince of Wales.* London: I. Benson, 1641. STC C6329.

¹⁶ STC II.32.

¹⁷ Arber Transcript IV.500.

¹⁸ STC II.32.

¹⁹ Arber Transcript IV.487.

²⁰ STC II.444.

²¹ Plomer Transcript I.16.

²² Arber Transcript IV.507

Hakewill, William. *The Manner how Statutes Are Enacted in Parliament by the Passing of Bills*. London: T. H. for John Benson, 1641. STC H211. SR 16 July 1641.²³

Hakewill, William. *The Order and Course of Passing Bills in Parliament*. London: I. Benson, 1641. STC H218. May have been included in the SR entry for Hakewill's other text of this year.

1642

Carey, Henry, Earl of Monmouth. *A Speech Made in the House of Peeres, by the Right Honourable the Earle of Monmouth, on Thursday the 13 of Ianuary 1641 upon the Occasion of the Present Distractions and of His Majesties Removall from White-hall*. London: I. Benson, 1642. STC M2426.

Charles I. *His Maiesties Declaration to All His Loving Subjects vpon Cccasion of his Late Messages to Both Houses of Parliament, and their Refusall to Treat with Him for the Peace of the Kingdome. Charles R. Our Expresse Pleasure is, that This our Declaration be Published in All Churches and Chappels within the Kingdome of England and Dominion of Wales, by the Parsons, Vicars or Curates of the Same. Printed by His Majesties Command at Oxford*. London: I. Benson and N. Vavasour, 1642. Two editions; publishers' names appear only on the second edition. STC C2258 and C2258A.

A Deep Sigh Breath'd through the Lodgings at White-Hall, Deploring the Absence of the Court, and the Miseries of the Pallace. London: N. V. and J. B., 1642. STC D812.

Merke, Thomas. *A Pious and Learned Speech Delivered in the High Court of Parliament, 1. H. 4. by Thomas Mercks then Bishop of Carlisle. Wherein Hee Gravely and Judiciously Declares His Opinion Concerning the Question, What should be Done with the Deposed King Richard the Second*. London: N. V. and J. B., 1642. STC M1826.

Neesham, Thomas. *A Sermon Preached at the Funerall of the Honourable Sir Francis Vincent, Knight and Baronet at Stokedawbernon in the County of Surrey, the Tenth Day of Apill 1640*. London: Tho. Brudenell for John Benson, 1642. STC N413.

A Treatie of Peace, Concluded the 29 of September, 1642. Also Treatise. London: I. Benson. STC T2100.

A True Relation of the Severall Passages and Proceedings of Colonell Goring at Portsmouth, and How He is Revolted from the Parliament, who Imposed that Trust in Him, and Keepes it for the King. How He hath Shut the Gates, and hath Gotten a Garrison of above Five Hundred Men with Great Store of Money and Ammunition Beside. Also How the Parliament hath Given Order to His Excelency the E. of Essex to Rayse Forces to Demand Portsmouth and the Castle, and to Apprehend Colonell Goring as Guilty of High

²³ Plomer Transcript I.29.

Treason. With Other Severall Matters of Note Concerning Portsmouth, and the Ile of Wight. Whereunto Especially is Added a Catalogue of the Names of the Lords, that Subscribed to Levy Horse to Assist His Majesty in Defence of his Royall Person, the Two Houses of Parliament, and the Protestant Religion, with the Monies Men and Horse, already Subscribed unto by Severall Counties of this Kingdom, and Undertaken for His Majesties Service, August. 6th. 1642. London: E. G. for John Benson, 1642. STC T3046.

1646

- Strong, William. *Hemera Apokalypseos. The Day of Revelation of the Righteous Judgement of God. Delivered in a Sermon Preached to the Honorable House of Commons, at Margarets Westminster, at their Late Solemn Fast, December 31. 1645.* London: T. H. for I. Benson and I. Saywell, 1645 [1646]. STC S6003. SR for Benson and Saywell 26 January 1645 [1646].²⁴
- Twiss, Thomas. *An Elegy vpon the Unhappy Losse of the Noble Earle of Essex.* London: John Benson, 1646. STC T3417.

1647

- A Declaration and Representation from the Forces of the Northern Associations to His Excellencie, Sir Thomas Fairfax. And by Him Presented to the Parliament, June the 12th. 1647.* London: John Benson, 1647. STC D550.
- Duret, Noel. *Cosmographi Regii, ac Eminentissimi Cardinalis Ducis de Richelieu Supplementi Tabularum Richelienarum Pars Prima cum Brevi Planetarum Theoria ex Kepleri Sententia. Ad Meridianum Parisiensem 40 Minutis Vraniburgico Occidentaliorem Juxta Keplerum. Opus non Modo Astronomis & Astrologis, sed & Theologis, Medicis, Historiographis, Politicis, ac Poëtis, per Utile & Necessarium.* London: Johannem Benson, 1647. STC D2695A.
- Duret, Noel. *Novae Motuum Caelestium Ephemerides Richelianae Annorum 15, ab Anno 1637 Incipientes, ubi Sex Anni Priores e Fontibus Lansbergianis, Reliqui Vero e Numeris Tycho-Keplerianis eruntur, quibus Accesserunt. In Priori Parte. 1 Isagoge in Astrologiam. 2 De Aeris Mutatione. 3 Doctrina Primi Mobilis Exquisite Demonstrata. In Secunda Parte. 1 Usus Tabularum Astronomicarum pro Rebus Omnibus ad Astronomiam Spectantibus Instituendis. 2 De Crisium Mysterio Tractatus. 3 Gnomonices Liber Unus, ubi Scioterica Delineandi Horologia Quocunque Modo vel Declinantia, vel Inclinantia Methodus Omnium & Facillima & Brevissima Tabularum Ope, Traditur.* London: Johannem Benson, 1647. STC D2696A.
- Joyce, George. *A Vindication of His Majesty and the Army. As Also the Grounds and Reasons of the Armies Guarding and Preservation of His Majesties*

²⁴ Plomer Transcript I.212.

Person. Authorized by Speciall Command. London: John Benson, 1647. STC J1125.

Quarles, Francis. *Hosanna, or, Divine Poems on the Passion of Christ.* London: John Benson, 1647. STC Q97A. SR 29 May 1647.²⁵

A Second Letter from the Agitators of the Army, under the Command of his Excellency, Sir Thomas Fairfax, Sent unto All the Sea-men. / Published by the Order and Speciall Desire of the Said Agitators. London: Ion Benson, 1647. STC S2284.

Strong, William. *The Trust and the Account of a Steward, Laid Open in a Sermon Preached before the Honourable House of Commons, at Margarets Westminster; upon Wednesday the the [sic] 28. of April 1647. Being the Day of their Publique Humiliation.* London: Tho. Harper for John Benson and John Saywell, 1647. STC S6009. SR for Benson and Saywell 25 May 1647²⁶ and again 5 August 1647.²⁷

Strong, William. *The Way to the Highest Honor [a Sermon Preached before the Lords House of Parliament on the 24 of February, 1646 (1647)].* SR for John Benson and John Saywell 29 May 1647.²⁸

A True Narrative Concerning the Armies Preservation of the Kings Majesties Person by which it doth Appeare that the Army doth Intend the Good, Life, Property, and Liberty of All the Commons of England, and not the Destruction of Them. London: John Benson, 1647. STC T2768.

1648

Strong, William. *The Vengeance of the Temple: Discovered in a Sermon Preached before the Right Honourable the Lord Major and Court of Aldermen of the City of London, in Pauls Church, May 17. 1648. Being the Day of Publique Thanksgiving for a Victory Obtayned by the Forces under the Command of Colonell Horton, at St. Faggons, Neere Cardiffe in Wales.* London: John Benson, 1648. STC S6011.

1651

Musick and Mirth Presented in a Choice Collection of Rounds or Catches for Three Voyces / Composed by Severall Excellent Authours, and Published for the Civill Recreation of All Lovers of Musick. London: T. H. for John Benson and John Playford, 1651. STC M3158.

Noy, William. *The Compleat Lawyer. Or A Treatise Concerning Tenures and Estates in Lands of Inheritance for Life, and for Yeares of Chattels Reall and Personall, and how Any of them may be Conveyed in a Legall Forme, by Fine, Recovery, Deed, or Word, as the Case Shall Require.* London: John

²⁵ Plomer Transcript I.271.

²⁶ Plomer Transcript I.271.

²⁷ Plomer Transcript I.275.

²⁸ Plomer Transcript I.271.

Benson, 1651. STC N1441. SR 28 September 1650.²⁹ Wing lists two other editions, from, the same year, printed for D. Pakeman and by W. W. for W. Lee.³⁰

Playford, John. *A Musickall Banquet Set Forth in Three Choice Varieties of Musick. the First Part Presents You with Excellent New Lessons for the Lira Viol, Set to Severall New Tunings: the Second, a Collection of New and Choyce Allmans, Corants, and Sarabands for One Treble and Basse Viol, Composed by Mr. William Lawes, and Other Excellent Authours: the Third Part Containes New and Choyce Catches or Rounds for Three or Foure Voyces : to which is Added Some Few Rules and Directions for such as Learne to Sing, or to Play on the Viol.* London: T. H. for John Benson and John Playford, 1651. STC P2489.

A True and Historical Relation of the Poisoning of Sir Thomas Overbury. With the Severall Arraignments and Speeches of Those that were Executed Thereupon: also, All the Passages Concerning the Divorce between Robert, late Earle of Essex, and the Lady Frances Howard: with King James's and Other Large Speeches. London: T. M. and A. C. for John Benson and John Playford, 1651. STC T2487.

1652

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Playford, John. *A Booke of New Lessons for the Cithern & Gittern. Containing Many New and Excellent Tunes, Both Easie and Delightfull to the Practitioner. With Plain and Easie Instructions, Teaching the Right Use of the Hand, and Perfect Tuning of Both Instruments, Never before Printed.* L[ondon]: T. H. for John Benson and John Playford, 1652. STC P2446A.

1656

Harrison, John. *A Vindication of the Holy Scriptures. Or the Manifestation of Jesus Christ the True Messiah Already Come. Being the Christians Antidote against the Poysons of Judaisme and Atheisme of this Present Age. Proved out of Sacred Scripture, Ancient Historians, and Jewish Rabbins.* London: J. M. for John Benson and John Playford, 1656. STC H896.

Noy, William. *Noyes Projectes, being a Declaration how the King of England may Support and Increase his Annuall Revenues, being Collected out of the*

²⁹ Plomer *Transcript* I.352.

³⁰ Wing *STC* II.634.

³¹ Plomer *Transcript* I.417.

Records of the Tower, the Parliament Rolles, and Close Petitions. SR for John Benson 23 July 1656.³²

1658

Hilton, John. *Catch that Catch Can, or, a Choice Collection of Catches, Rounds, & Canons being Three or Foure Parts in One.* London: W. G. for John Benson and John Playford, 1658. STC H2037.

1659

Hakewill, William. *Modus Tenendi Parliamentum: or, The Old Manner of Holding Parliaments in England Extracted out of our Ancient Records. With Certain Municipal Rights and Customes of this Commonwealth of England. Together with, the Priviledges of Parliament: and the Manner how Lawes are There Enacted by Passing of Bills. Collected Many Years Past out of the Journal of the House of Commons.* London: John Benson, 1659. Also printed in the same year by J. G. for Abel Roper. STC H215 and H215A.

1661

Noy, William. *The Compleat Lawyer. Or, a Treatise Concerning Tenures and Estates in Lands of Inheritance for Life, and Other Hereditaments, and Chattells Real and Personal. And How Any of them may be Conveyed in a Legal Form by Fine, Recovery, Deed or Word, as the Case shall Require.* London: John Benson, 1661. STC N1444.

³² Plomer *Transcript* II.74.

Appendix II embargoed at author's request.

APPENDIX THREE

Shakespeare's Sonnets in Excisions and Excerpts, c.1658-1783

Joshua Phillips. *Mysteries of Love and Eloquence*. London: Brooks, 1658.
'A Perswasive Letter to his Mistress,' pages 138-139.

Sweetest, but read what silent Love hath writ
With thy fair eyes, tast but of Loves fine wit,³³
Be not self will'd; for thou art much too fair,
For death to triumph o're without a heir,³⁴
Thy unus'd beauty, must be tomb'd with thee,
Which us'd, lives thy Executour to be,³⁵
The Flowers distill'd, though they with Winter meet
Lose but their show, their substance still is sweet.³⁶
Nature made thee her seal, she meant thereby:
Thou shouldst Print more, not let the Copie die;³⁷
What, hast thou vow'd an aged Maid to die?
Be not a fool; Lovers may swear and lie.³⁸
Forswear thy self, thou wilt be far more wise
To break an oath then lose a Paradise.³⁹
For in the midst of all Loves pure protesting,
All Faith, all Oaths, all Vows should be but jesting:⁴⁰
What is so fair that hath no little spot;
Come, come thou mayest be false yet know'st it not.⁴¹
I wish to you, what hath been wish'd by others,
For some fair Maids by me would have been Mothers,⁴²
Pardon me not, for I confess no error;
Cast not upon these Lines a look of terror,⁴³
Nor vainly Lady think your beauty sought
For these instructions are by Loves self wrought;⁴⁴

³³ 'A bashfull Lover' (23.13-14).

³⁴ 'Magazine of beautie' (6.13-14).

³⁵ *Ibid* (4.13-14).

³⁶ *Ibid* (5.13-14).

³⁷ 'An invitation to Marriage' (11.13-14).

³⁸ Difficult to attribute to one specific sonnet, but conveys ideas common in the first seventeen sonnets printed in the 1609 edition.

³⁹ 'Fast and loose' in Benson; also in *The Passionate Pilgrim* and *Love's Labours Lost*.

⁴⁰ 'The unconstant Lover' in Benson; also *The Passionate Pilgrim*.

⁴¹ 'A Lovers affection though his love prove unconstant' (92.13-14).

⁴² 'Paris to Hellen' lines 163-4.

⁴³ *Ibid*, lines 19-20

Venus her self my Pen to this theam led,
 And gives thee freely to my longing bed.⁴⁵
 I saw thee in my thoughts fair beauteous Dame
 When I beheld the eyes of fame⁴⁶
 I lov'd thee, ere I saw thee long ago,
 Before my eyes did view that glorious Shew.⁴⁷
 Imagin not your face doth now delight me,
 Since seen, that unseen did invite me.⁴⁸
 Believe me, for I speak but what's most true,
 Too sparingly the world hath spoke of you;⁴⁹
 Fame that hath undertook your worth to blaze,
 Plai'd but the envious Huswife in your praise;⁵⁰
 'Tis I will raise thy name, and set thee forth,
 Enjoy thy riches, glorifie thy worth;⁵¹
 Nor with vain scribbling longer vex my head
 To fancy love, but leap into thy bed.⁵²

Folger MS. V.a.148. Manuscript miscellany, c. 1660.
 'Shakespeare,' pages 22r-23v.

Nature herself was proud of his designes
 And joy'd to wear the dressings of his lines⁵³
 Nativity once in the maine of light
 Crawles to maturity, wherewith being Crownd
 Crooked Elipses gainst his glory fight
 And time that gane doth now this gift confound
 Time doth transfix, the flourish soe on youth
 And Delves the Parabels in Beautys Brow
 Feede on the carilys of Natures truth
 And nothing stands but for his sith to new⁵⁴
 O how shall beauty with this rage hold plea
 Whose action is no stronger then a flower

⁴⁴ *Ibid*, lines 31-32.

⁴⁵ *Ibid*, lines 37-38.

⁴⁶ *Ibid*, lines 69-70.

⁴⁷ *Ibid*, lines 67-68.

⁴⁸ *Ibid*, lines 177-178.

⁴⁹ *Ibid*, lines 251-252.

⁵⁰ *Ibid*, lines 253-254.

⁵¹ Uncertain.

⁵² 'Paris to Helen,' lines 495-6.

⁵³ These two lines Jonson's on Shakespeare, printed in *Poems*.

⁵⁴ 'Injurious Time' (60.5-12).

O how shall summers haughty breath hold out
 Against the wrackfull surge of battring days
 Nor gates of shole so strong but time decays.⁵⁵

A Monument.

Not mine owne fears nor the prophetick soule
 Of the olde world dreaming on things to Come
 Can yet the lease of my time love Crutiole
 Supposd as forfeit he a confin'd doome
 The Mortall moone hath her eclips endurd
 And the sad Angers mark their owne presage
 Incertaintys new crowne themselves assurd
 And Peace proclaimes Olives of Endlesse Age
 Now with the drops of this most Bating time
 My love loks fresh & deare to me Subserives
 fierce spight of him the losse in this poore Rhime
 Whilst he Insults ore dul & sencelesse vibes
 And thou in this shalt find thy monument
 When tombes of brasse & Tyrants crests are spent.⁵⁶
 Cruel.

Thou contracted to thine owne bright eyes
 Feest thy light flame with selfe substantial fewell
 Making a famine where aboundance lies
 Thy selfe thy foe to thy sweet selfe too cruell
 Thou that art now the worlds fresh ornament
 And onely herald to the Gaudy Spring
 Within thine owne Bud Buriest thy Content
 And tender Chorle makes wast in niggarding
 Plitty the world or els thus Glutton bee
 To eat the worlds due by the world & thee⁵⁷
 When forty winters shall besiege thy brow
 And dig deep trenches in thy beautyes field
 Thy youths proud livery so gazd on now
 Wil be a totterd weed of small worth held⁵⁸
 The Canker bloomes seeme ful as deepe a dy
 As the Perfumed tincture of the roses.⁵⁹
 Thus is my Crooke the map of Days outworne
 When beauty kind & dy'd as flowrs do now
 Before these bastard signe of fair were borne

⁵⁵ *Ibid* (65.3-8).

⁵⁶ 'A monument to Fame' (Sonnet 107).

⁵⁷ 'Loves cruelty' (1.5-14).

⁵⁸ *Ibid* (2.1-4).

⁵⁹ 'True Admiration' (54.5-6).

Or Durst inhabit as a living brew
 Before the Golden tresses of the Dead
 The right of sepulchers was shorne away
 to live a sound life on second head
 Ere beautys dead flies made another gaiy
 In thee shelve holy antick Howrs are seene
 Without all ornament it selfe & true
 Making no summer of anothers greene
 Robbing no Old so dresst thy beauty own
 And she as for a map doth nature store
 To shew fals art what bewty was affore⁶⁰
 The stormy Gusts of winters day
 And Barren rags of deaths eternall Cold⁶¹
 Men as plants increase
 When Cheard & Chukt even by the selfe same sky
 Burnt in their youthfull sap as height decrease
 And weare thine brave state out of memory⁶²
 Never wasting time bads summer on
 to studeres winter & Confound him there
 Sap cheeks with fryst & lusty leaves quite Gow
 Beautyes *ownson[blt]* & Barenesse every where
 Then were not summers distillations left
 A liquid prasoner pent in walls of glasse
 Beautyes effect with Beauty were bereft
 Nor it were Remembrance what it was
 But flours distild though they *wal wander* most
 Loose but their show their substance still *lives sweet*⁶³
 If ye have Conural of wel turned souls
 By unions married do offend thy sage
 They Do but sweetly chide ye who Confounds
 In singlense the parts that thou shouldst Bare
 Markt from each string sweet husband to another
 Strikes each in other by mutuall ordering⁶⁴
 The Heavenly Rhetorick of thine ey
 Gainst which the world Cannot Hold Argument⁶⁵
 What foole is not so wise
 To breake an oath to win a Paradise⁶⁶

⁶⁰ 'The glory of beautie' (Sonnet 68).

⁶¹ 'Youthfull glorie' (13.11-12).

⁶² *Ibid* (15.5-8).

⁶³ 'Magazine of beautie' (5.5-14).

⁶⁴ 'An invitation to Marriage' (8.5-9).

⁶⁵ From *Love's Labours Lost*.

Thine ey *Joves* lightening seames thy voyce his ^{thunder} dreadful
 Which not to anger Bond is musick & sweet fire⁶⁷
 Gild my the object whereupon it groweth⁶⁸
 Poleshall as thou art⁶⁹
 Cloud, blot the heaven & make me flatter
 The sweat Complexione night when sparkling stars twire⁷⁰
 To sing from sullen earth hyim sues at heaven's gate⁷¹
 To the sessions of sweet silent thought
 I summon up remembrance of things past⁷²
 Ful many A Gloreus morning have I seene
 Flatter the mountaine tops with sovraigne ey
 Kissing with Golden face the midows greene
 Gilding ~~streame~~ Pale streames with hyeamenly *alcuinqq*
 Anon *p*mit the basest clouds to ride
 With ugly rack on his Celestiall face
 And firm the forlorne world his visage hale
 Stealing unseene to rest with this disgrace
 Even so my sun one early morne did shine
 With all Triumphant splendor on my brow
 But out alas he was but one hour mine
 The Region Cloud hath maskd him from me now
 Yet him for this my love no whit dysdaine
 Suns of the world may staine when heavens sun shines⁷³
 Beaten & Chopt with Tam'd Antiquity⁷⁴
 Love alters not with his breife hours & weeks
 But bears It out even to the Edge of Doome⁷⁵
 Devise what strained touches rhetorick can lend⁷⁶
 There lives all life in one of you fair eye⁷⁷
 How sweet and lovely dost thou make the shame
 Which like a Canker in the fragrant rose
 Doth spot the Beauty of thy budding name⁷⁸

⁶⁶ 'Fast and loose' in Benson; also in *The Passionate Pilgrim* and *Love's Labours Lost*.

⁶⁷ 'If love make me forsworn' from *Love's Labours Lost*.

⁶⁸ 'The Exchange' (20.6)

⁶⁹ From *The Passionate Pilgrim*.

⁷⁰ 'A disconsolation' (28.10-12).

⁷¹ *Ibid* (29.14).

⁷² 'The benefit of Friendship' (30.1-2).

⁷³ 'Loves Releeve' (Sonnet 33).

⁷⁴ 'Sat fuisse' (62.10).

⁷⁵ 'The Picture of true love' (116.11-12).

⁷⁶ 'In prayse of his Love' (82.10).

⁷⁷ *Ibid* (83.13).

Then art ye Pleasure of the fleeting yeare.⁷⁹
 Summers front
 Your love & Pity doth th'Impression fil
 Which vulgar scandal all stampd upon my brow
 For what care I who calls me wel or Ill
 so you oer Greene my bad my good Allow⁸⁰
 Reckoning time whose mutual Accidents
 Creep in twixt vowes & Chang decrees of kings
 Tame sacred beauty blunts the sharp Intents
 Diverts strong words with Course of altering things⁸¹
 Why should Others fals adulterate eys
 Give salutation to my sportive blood⁸²
 Love suffers not in *smiling* Pompe nor falls
 under the blow of stealing discontent⁸³
 Nor fears that Heretick Policy⁸⁴
 Not the Morning sun of Heaven
 Better becomes the gray cheeks of the East⁸⁵
 As those two mourning eyes become thy face.⁸⁶
 Thy his Profand their scarheld ornaments
 and seald fals Bonds of love⁸⁷
 A Moore confusion of sweet souels⁸⁸
 Phebus the lofty Easterne hil hath scald,⁸⁹
 Ift from the high clouds looks downe
 through lower heavens whose Curled waves frowne
 At his Ambitious height⁹⁰
 The Heaven heard Saphir & the Opal blend
 With objects colours manifold⁹¹
 My flame appears Plaine without Index⁹²
 from my shoulders pare my head⁹³

⁷⁸ 'A Lovers affection though his Love prove unconstant' (95.1-3).

⁷⁹ 'Complaint for his Loves absence' (97.2).

⁸⁰ 'A complaint' (112.1-4).

⁸¹ 'Selfe flattery of her beautie' (115.5-8).

⁸² 'Errour in opinion' (121.4-5).

⁸³ 'Loves safetie' (124.6-7).

⁸⁴ *Ibid* (124.9).

⁸⁵ 'In prayse of her beautie though black' (132.5-6).

⁸⁶ *Ibid* (132.9).

⁸⁷ 'A Protestation' (142.6-7).

⁸⁸ From 'The Tale of Cephalis and Procris.'

⁸⁹ From 'The Tale of Cephalis and Procris.'

⁹⁰ From 'This Minotaure.'

⁹¹ From 'A Lover's Complaint.'

⁹² 'Paris to Helen' lines 5-6.

⁹³ *Ibid*, line 270.

The stretchig of a Spann
 Buckles in his sum of age⁹⁴
 Mind nor Pareile.
 The mind so pure so perfect fine
 As tis not radiant but divine
 and so disdainig any syere
 Tis Got where it can try the fire
 There (High exalted in the spheare
 As if another nature were)
 It moveth all, & makes a flight
 as Circular as Infinite
 Whose notions when it would expresse
 In speech It is with that excesse
 Of grace & musick to the eare
 As what It speake It planted there
 The voice so sweet the words so fair
 As some soft Chime had stroakt the aire
 And though the sound were parted thence
 Still left an Echo in the sence⁹⁵
 So Polisht perfect and so even
 As It slid moulded out of heaven
 Not swelling like the ocean proud
 But slooping gently as a Cloud.⁹⁶

Edward Capell. *Notes and Various Readings to Shakespeare. Volume the Third. The School of Shakespeare, or, Authentic Extracts from Divers English books, That Were in Print in That Author's Time; Evidently Shewing from Whence His Several Fables Were Taken, and Some Parcel of his Dialogue: Also, Further Extracts from the Same or Like Books, which [so] Contribute to a Due Understanding of his Writings, or Give Light to the History of His Life, as to the Dramatic History of His Time.* London: Hughes, 1783.

'Sonnets, by D* [Shakespeare]. 1609. 4*. G. Eld for T. T.

[Attributions and bracketed additions Capell's; all attributions are correct.]

Thou that art now the worlds fresh ornament,
 And only herauld to the gaudy spring,
 Within thine owne bud buriest thy content,
 And tender chorle makst wast in "niggarding:" *Son.* 1.
 When fortie Winters shall beseige {sic} thy brow,

⁹⁴ From *As You Like It*.

⁹⁵ From 'Her minde,' by Jonson, printed in *Poems*.

⁹⁶ From 'Her minde,' by Jonson, printed in *Poems*.

And digge deep trenches in thy beauties field,
 Thy youths proud livery so gaz'd on now,
 Wil be a "totter'd" weed of smal {sic} worth held: *Son. 2.*
 Thy unus'd beauty must be "tomb'd" with thee,
 Which used lives th' [thy] executor to be. *Son 4.*
 Those howers that withgentle worke did frame,
 The lovely "gaze" where every eye doth dwell
 Will play the tirants {sic} to the very same,
 And that "unfaire" which fairely doth excell {sic}: *Son. 5.*
 That use is not forbidden usery,
 Which "happies" those that pay the willing lone; *Son. 6.*
 Ah; if thou issulesse shalt "hap" to die,
 The world will waile thee like a "makelesse" wife, *Son. 9.*
 Looke what an "unthrift" in the world doth spend
 Shifts but his place, &c. *D*.*
 For thou art so possest with murderous hate,
 That gainst thy selfe thou stickst not to conspire,
 Seeking that beautious {sic} roofe "to ruinate"
 Which to repaire should be thy chiefe desire: *Son. 10.*
 When lofty trees I see barren of leaves,
 Which erst from heat did "canopie" the herd *Son. 12.*
 Nor can I fortune to breefe mynuits tell;
 "Pointing" to each his thunder, raine and winde,
 Or say with Princes if it shal go wel
 By "oft predict" that I in heaven finde. *Son. 14.*
 Sometime too hot the eye of heaven shines,
 And often is his gold complexion dimm'd,
 And every faire from faire some-time declines,
 By chance, or natures changing course untrimm'd: *Son. 18.*
 Making a "coopelment" of proud "compare"
 With Sunne and Moone, with earth and seas rich gems:
 With Aprills first borne flowers and all things rare,
 That heavens ayre in this huge "rondure" hems, *Son. 21.*
 Let them say more that like of heare-say well,
 I will not prayse that purpose not to sell. *D*.*
 O let my books [looks] be then the eloquence,
 And dumbe presagers of my speaking brest,
 Who pleade for love, and look for recompence,
 More then that tonge that more hath more exprest. *Son. 23.*
 Mine eye hath play'd the painter and hath "steeld," [stell'd]
 Thy beauties forme in table of my heart,
 My body is the frame wherein tis held, &c. *Son. 24.*
 The painefull warrior "famosed" for worth, *Son. 25.*
 I tell the Day to please him thou art bright,

And do'st him grace when clouds doe blot the heaven:
 So flatter I the "swart complexiond" night,
 When sparkling stars "twire" not thou guil'st th'eaven. *Son.* 28.
 How many a holy and "obsequious" teare
 Hath deare religious love stolne from mine eye,
 As interest of the dead &c. *Son.* 31.
 Full many a glorious morning have I seene,
 Flatter the mountaine tops with soveraine eye,
 Kissing with golden face the meddowes greene;
 Guilding pale streames with heavenly alcumy:
 Anon permit the basest cloudes to ride,
 With ougly "rack" on his celestiall face, &c. *Son.* 33.
 All men make faults, and even I in this,
 "Authorizing" thy trespas {sic} with "compare,"
 My selfe corrupting salving thy "amisse," &c. *Son.* 35.
 Thee have I not lockt up in any chest,
 Save where thou art not though I feele thou art,
 Within the gentle "closure" of my brest, *Son.* 48.
 Against that time do I "insconce" me here
 Within the knowledge of mine own desart, *Son.* 49.
 The beast that beares me, tired with my woe,
 Plods dully [dully] on, to beare that waight in me,
 As if by some "instinct" the wretch did know
 His rider lov'd not speed being made from thee: *Son.* 50.
 Speake of the spring, and "foyzon" of the yeare,
 The one doth shadow of your beautie show,
 The other as your bountie doth appeare,
 And you in every blessed shape we know. *Son.* 53.
 Oh that record could with a back-ward looke,
 Even of five hundred courses of the Sunne,
 Show me your image in some antique booke,
 Since minde at first in carrecter was done. *Son.* 59.
 Sinne of self-love possesseth al mine eie,
 And all my soule, and al my every part;
 And for this sinne there is no remedie,
 It is so grounded inward in my heart. *Son.* 62.
 This thought is as a death which cannot choose
 But weepe to have, that which it feares to loose. *Son.* 64.
 The ornament of beauty is "suspect," *Son.* 70.
 If some "suspect" of ill makst not thy show,
 Then thou alone kingdoms of hearts shouldst owe. *D**.
 I grant thou wert not married to my Muse,
 And therefore maiest without "attaint" ore-looke
 The dedicated words which writers use

Of their faire subject, blessing every booke. *Son.* 82.
 Who is it that sayes most, which can say more,
 Then this rich praise, that you alone, are you,
 In whose "confine immured" is the store,
 Which should "example" where your equall grew, *Son.* 84.
 Let him but cobby what in you is writ,
 Not making worse what nature made so cleere,
 And such a counter-part shall "fame" his wit,
 Making his stile admired every where. *D**
 Was it the proud full saile of his great verse,
 Bound for the prize of (all to precious) you,
 That did my ripe thoughts in my braine "inhearse,"
 Making their tombe the wombe wherein they grew?
 Was it his spirit, by spirits taught to write,
 Above a mortall pitch, that struck me dead?
 No, neither he, nor his "compiers" by night
 Giving him ayde, my verse astonished. *Son.* 86.
 The Charter of thy worth gives thee releasing:
 My bonds in thee are all "determinate." *Son.* 87.
 The injuries that to my selfe I doe,
 Doing thee "vantage, duple vantage" me. *Son.* 88.
 For sweetest things turn sowrest by their deedes,
 Lillies that fester, smell far worse then weeds. *Son.* 94.
 From you have I beene absent in the spring,
 When proud "pide" Aprill (drest in all his trim)
 Hath put a spirit of youth in every thing:
 That heavie *Saturne* laught and leapt with him. *Son.* 98.
 Excuse not silence so, for't lies in thee,
 To make him much out-live "a gilded tombe:"
 And to be praisd of ages yet to be. *Son.* 101.
 That love is "marchandiz'd," whose ritch esteeming,
 The owners tongue doth publish every where. *Son.* 102.
 Then in the blazon of sweet beauties best,
 Of hand, of foote, of lip, of eye, of brow,
 I see their antique pen would have exprest,
 Even such a beauty as you maister now.
 So all their praises are but prophesies
 Of this our time, all you "prefiguring," *Son.* 106.
 Never believe though in my nature raign'd,
 All frailties that besiege all kindes of blood,
 That it could so preposterouslie be stain'd,
 To leave for nothing all thy summe of good: *Son.* 109.
 Most true it is, that I have lookt on truth
 Asconce [Ascance] and strangely: But by all above,

These “blenches” gave my heart an other youth,
 And worse essaies prov’d thee my best of love, *Son.* 110.
 Whilst like a willing patient I will drinke,
 Potions of “Eyefell” gainst my strong infection,
 No bitternesse that I will bitter thinke, &c. *Son.* 111.
 To make of monsters, and things “indigest,”
 Such cherubines as your sweet selfe resemble, *Son.* 114.
 Mine eie well knows what with his gust is “greeing”
 And to his pallat doth prepare the cup. *D**.
 Let me not to the marriage of true mindes
 Admit impediment, love is not love
 Which alters when it alteration findes,
 Or bendes with the remover to remove. *Son.* 116.
 Thy guift, thy tables, are within my braine
 Full characters with lasting memory, *Son.* 122.
 It suffers not in smilinge pomp, nor falls
 Under the blow of “thrall’d” {sic} discontent, *Son.* 124.
 Which is not mixt with seconds, knows no art,
 But mutuall “render,” onely me for thee. *Son.* 125.
 For since each hand hath put on Natures power,
 “Fairing” the foule with Arts faulse borrow’d face, *Son.* 127.
 How oft when thou my musike musike playst,
 Upon that blessed wood whose motion sounds
 With thy sweet fingers when thou gently swayst,
 The wiry concord that mine eare confounds,
 Do I “envie” those Jackes that nimble leape
 To kisse the tender inward of thy hand, &c. *Son.* 128.
 And yet by heaven I thinke my love as rare,
 As any she beli’d with false “compare.” *Son.* 130.
 Then will I sweare beauty herselfe is blacke,
 And all they foule that thy complexion lacke. *Son.* 132.
 The statue of thy beauty thou wilt take,
 Thou usurer that put’st forth all to use
 And sue a friend, “came” debter for my sake, *Son.* 134.
 O but with mine, compare thou thine owne state,
 And thou shalt fine it merrits {sic} not reprooving {sic},
 Or if it do, not from those lips of thine,
 That have prophan’d their scarlet ornaments,
 And seal’d false bonds of love as oft as mine, *Son.* 142.
 Past cure I am, now reason is past care,
 And frantick madde with ever-more “unrest,” *Son.* 147.
 Canst thou O cruell, say I love thee not,
 When I against my selfe with thee “pertake:”
 Doe I not thinke on thee when I forgot

Am of my selfe, all tirant {sic} for thy sake?
 Who hateth thee that I doe call my friend,
 On whom froun'st thou that I doe faune upon, *Son.* 149.
 Whence hast thou this becoming of things il,
 That in the very refuse of thy deeds,
 There us such strength and "warrantie" of skill,
 That in my minde thy worst all best exceeds? *Son.* 150.
 Love is too young to know what conscience is,
 Yet who knows not conscience is borne of love,
 Then gentle cheater urge not my "amisse,"
 Least guilty of my faults thy sweet selfe prove. *Son.* 151.

A Lover's Complaint. /

From off a hill whose concave wombe "reworded,"
 A "plaintfull" story from a "sistring" vale
 My spirits t'attend this doble voice accorded,
 And downe I laid to "lift" the sad-tun'd tale, K.1.^b
 Oft did she heave her Napkin to her eyne,
 Which on it had conceited charecters {sic}:
 "Laundryng" the silken figures in the brine,
 That seasoned woe had "pelleted" in teares, *D**.
 These often bath'd she in her "fluxive" eies,
 And often kist, and often gave to teare,
 Cried o false blood &c. K.2.
 This said in top of rage the lines she "rents,"
 But discontent, so breaking their contents. *D**.
 His "browny" locks did hang in crooked curles,
 And every light occasion of the wind
 Upon his lippes their silken parcels hurles, K.2.b.
 His rudenesse so with his "authoriz'd" youth,
 Did "livery" falsenesse in a pride of truth. K.3.
 Consent's bewicht, ere he desire have granted,
 And "dialogu'd" for him what he would say,
 Askt their owne wils and made their wils obey. K.3.b
 -----aptly understood
 In bloodlesse white, and the "encrimson'd" mood, K.4.b
 And Lo beheld these talents of their heir, [hair]
 With twisted mettle amorously "empleacht" *D**.
 For loe his passion but an art of craft,
 Even there "resolv'd" my reason into teares,
 There my white stole of chastity I "daft," L.2.
 Who young and simple would not be so "loverd." L.2.b'⁹⁷

⁹⁷ Capell *School* 263-9.

APPENDIX FOUR
Emendations to the Sonnets

Key to emendations:

Text in **bold** indicates the first appearance of the indicated spelling, capital letters, punctuation marks, or other textual emendation.

Underlined text indicates that the spelling, capital or lower case letters, new or absent punctuation mark, or other textual form has reverted to that of a previous version.

Where a new textual form has been followed in the subsequent eight editions with no variation, it is not annotated.

The Glory of Beautie [1]

1609

AH wherefore with infection should he liue,
 And with his presence grace impietie,
 That sinne by him aduantage should atchiue,
 And lace it selfe with his societie?
 Why should false painting immitate his cheeke,
 And steale dead seeing of his liuing hew?
 Why should poore beautie indirectly seeke,
 Roses of shaddow, since his Rose is true?
 Why should he liue, now nature banckrout is,
 Beggerd of blood to blush through liuely vaines,
 For she hath no exchecker now but his,
 And proud of many, liues upon his gaines?
 O him she stores, to show what welth she had,
 In daies long since, before these last so bad.

AH –retained until 1760
 should –1714, 1728-1780
 [live], –1725, 1726, 1774, 1780

should –1714, 1728-1780

should – 1714, 1728-1780

1640

AH wherefore with infection should he **live**,
 And with his presence grace impietie,
 That sinne by him **advantage** should **achieve**,
 And lace it selfe with his societie?
 Why should false painting **imitate** his cheeke,
 And steale dead seeing of his **living** hew?
 Why should poore beautie indirectly seeke,
 Roses of shaddow, since his Rose is true ?
 Why should he **live**, now nature banckrout is,
 Beggerd of blood to blush through **lively veines**,
 For thee hath no exchecker now but his,
 And proud of many, lives upon his gaines?
On him she stores, to show what **wealth** she had,
 In **days** long since, before these last so bad.

achieve, –1774

1709

AH wherefore with **Infection shou'd** he live?

shou'd: 1725, 1726

And with his **Presence** grace **Impiety**?

[Impiety]? -1714-1771, 1775

That **Sin** by him advantage **shou'd** achieve,

shou'd -1725, 1726

And lace it **self** with his **Society**?Why should false **Painting** imitate his **Cheek**,And **steal** dead seeing of his living hew?Why should **poor Beauty** indirectly **seek**seek [no comma] *ever after*Roses of **Shadow**, since his Rose is true?

[all new capitals] -1714-1728

Why **shou'd** he live, now Nature **Bankrupt** is,*except* Bankrupt (9) -1725, 1726
Nature -1714-1728, 1780**Beggar'd** of **Blood** to blush through lively **Veins**?For she hath no **Exchequer** now but his,And proud of many, lives upon his **Gains**.**O!** him she stores, to show what **Wealth** she had,In **Days** long since, before these last so bad.**1714-1780**

1: Ah -1760, 1775

AH! -1771

AH, -1774

Ah! -1780

3: atchieve -1726 *and ensuing*4: itself -1760 *and ensuing*

5: shou'd -1726

6: hiew -1714

hue -1760 *and ensuing*

7: shou'd -1625, 1726

8: Blood, -1714, 1728-1775

thro -1714

thro' -1728-1775

veins; 1774

11: O, -1780

shew -1771, 1774

The Glory of Beautie [2]

1609

THus is his cheeke the map of daies out-worne,
 When beauty liu'd and dy'ed as flowers do now,
 Before these bastard signes of faire were borne,
 Or durst inhabit on a liuing brow:
 Before the goulden tresses of the dead,
 The right of sepulchers, were shorne away,
 To liue a second life on second head,
 Ere beauties dead fleece made another gay:
 In him those holy antique howers are seene,
 Without all ornament, it selfe and true,
 Making no summer of an others greene,
 Robbing no ould to dresse his beauty new,
 And him as for a map doth Nature store,
 To shew faulse Art what beauty was of yore.

borne: -1780

[brow]: -1640, 1714, 1728-1775

ornament, -1640-1709, 1725, 1726, 1780

1640

Thus is his cheeke the map of daies out-worne,
 When beauty **liv**'d and **dy**'d as flowers do now,
 Before these bastard signes of faire were borne,
 Or durst inhabit on a **living** brow:
 Before the goulden tresses of the dead,
 The right of sepulchers were shorne away,
 To **live** a second life on second head,
 Ere beauties dead fleece made another gay:
 In him those holy antique howers are seene,
 Without all ornament, it selfe and true,
 Making no summer of an others greene,
 Robbing no **old** to dresse his beautie new,
 And him as for a map doth Nature store,
 To **show false** Art what **beautie** was of yore.

show: 1714-1760, 1774-1780

1709

Thus is his **Cheek** the **Map** of **Days** out-**worn**,
 When **Beauty** liv'd and dy'd as **Flowers** do now;
 Before these bastard **Signs** of **Fair** were **born**,
 Or durst inhabit on a living **Brow**.
 Before the **Golden** **Tresses** of the **Dead**,
 The **Right** of **Sepulchers** were **shorn** away,
 To live a second **Life** on second **Head**,
E'er **Beauties** dead **Fleece** made another gay:
 In him those holy antique **Hours** are **seen**,
 Without all **Ornament**, it **self** and true,
 Making no **Summer** of an others **Green**,
 Robbing no old to **dress** his **Beauty** new,
 And him as for a **Map** doth Nature store,
 To show false Art what **Beauty** was of yore.

[all new capitals] 1714-1728
except Days (1) –1714, 1725, 1728
 Golden –1725, 1726

[Brow]. –1725, 1726

sepulchres –1714-1728, 1775

1714-1780

1: This –1760, 1775

2: died –1780

4: ; –1780

6: sepulchres –1760, 1771, 1780
 sepulcher –1774

7: . –1774

8: . –1714, 1728-1771, 1775
 , –1774

10: ornament [no comma] –1714,
 1728-1775
 itself –1760-1775

12: old, –1714, 1728-1775

14: art [lower case] 1760 *and ensuing*

The Glory of Beautie [3]

1609

Those parts of thee that the worlds eye doth view,
 Want nothing that the thought of hearts can mende
 All tongs (the voice of soules) giue thee that end,
 Vttring bare truth, euen so as foes Commend.
 Their outward thus with outward praise is crownd,
 But those same tongs that giue thee so thine owne,
 In other accents doe this praise confound
 By seeing farther then the eye hath showne.
 They looke into the beauty of thy mind,
 And in that guesse they measure by thy deeds,
 Then churls their thoughts (although their eies were kind)
 To thy faire flower ad the rancke smell of weeds,
 But why thy odor matcheth not thy show,
 The folye is this, that thou doest common grow.

although –maintained until 1726;
 restored in 1780

1640

Those parts of thee that the worlds eye doth view,
 Want nothing that the thought of hearts can **mend**:
 All **tongues** (the voice of soules) **give** thee that end,
 Vttring bare truth, **even** so as foes Commend.
 Their outward thus with outward praise is crownd,
 But those same **tongues** that **give** thee so thine owne,
 In other accents doe this praise confound
 By seeing farther then the eye hath showne.
 They looke into the **beautie** of thy mind,
 And that in guesse they measure by thy deeds,
 Then churls their thoughts (although their **eyes** were kind)
 To thy faire flower **adde** the **ranke** smell of weeds,
 But why thy odor matcheth not thy show,
 The foyle is this, that thou doest common grow.

1709

Those Parts of thee, that the **Worlds Eye** doth view, [thee], -1714
 Want nothing, that the thought of **Hearts** can mend: [all new capitals] -1714-1728
 All **Tongues** (the **Voice of Souls**) give thee that **End**, *except* End (3), 1725-1726
Uttering bare **Truth**, even so as **Foes** commend.
 Their outward thus with outward **Praise** is **crown'd**, crown'd, 1714, 1728-1775
 But those same **Tongues**, that **Give** thee so thine **own**, [Tongues], -1725, 1726
 In other **Accents** do this **Praise** confound
 By seeing farther, **than** the **Eye** hath **shown**.
 They look into the **Beauty** of thy **Mind**,
 And that in **ghess** they measure by thy **Deeds**, gness -1725-1728
 Then churls their **Thoughts** (although their **Eyes** were kind)
 To thy fair **Flower** **add** the **rank** **Smell** of **Weeds**.
 But why thy **Odor** matcheth not thy show,
 The **Toil** is this, that thou **dost** common grow.

1714-1780

- 2: Thought [capital] -1714, 1728
 3: thy due, -1714, 1728-1780
 4: [commend], -1725, 1726
 5: Outward -1714, 1728
 [crown'd]: -1725, 1726
 [crown'd]: -1780
 6: Give -1725
 7: [confound], -1714, 1728-1780
 10: [deeds]; -1714, 1726-1780
 guess -1714, 1760, *and ensuing*
 11: altho -1725, 1728
 altho' -1760-1771
 [commas for parentheses] -1780
 13: why? thy -1725-1774
 why? Thy -1775
 Show [capital] -1714, 1728
 14: solve [*for* toil] -1780

Loves cruelty [1]

1609

FRom fairest creatures we desire increase,

That thereby beauties *Rose* might neuer die,*Rose* [italics] –1640, 1709, 1725, 1726
[die], –1640, 1775, 1780

But as the riper should by time decease,

His tender heire might beare his memory:

might –1640, 1774, 1780

But thou contracted to thine owne bright eyes,

Feed'st thy lights flame with selfe substantiall fewell,

Making a famine where abundance lies,

Thy selfe thy foe, to thy sweet selfe too cruell:

Thou that art now the worlds fresh ornament,

And only herauld to the gaudy spring,

Within thine owne bud buriest thy content,

And tender chorle makst wast in niggarding:

Pitty the world, or else this glutton be,

[be], 1780

To eat the worlds due, by the graue and thee.

1640

From fairest creatures we desire increase,

From –1760, 1774-1780

That thereby beauties *Rose* might **never** die,

But as the riper should by time decease,

His tender heire might beare his memory:

But thou contracted to thine owne bright eyes,

Feedst thy lights flame with selfe substantiall fewell,

Making a famine where abundance lies,

Thy selfe thy foe, to thy sweet selfe too cruell:

Thou that art now the worlds fresh ornament,

And only herauld to the gaudy spring,

Within thine owne bud buriest thy content,

And tender chorle makst wast in niggarding:

Pitty the world, or else this glutton be,

To eat the worlds due, by the **grave** and thee.

1709

FROM fairest Creatures we desire Increase,

FROM –1714-1728

That thereby Beauties *Rose* **may** never die;may –1714-1771, 1775
[die]; –1714-1774

But as the riper should by time decease,

His tender **Heir** might **bear** his **Memory**.

[all new capitals] –1714-1728

But thou contracted to thine **own** bright Eyes,Feed'st thy **Light's** Flame with **self-substantial Fuel**,Making a **Famine** where **Abundance** lies,Thy self thy **Foe**, to thy sweet **self** too **cruel**:Thou that art now the **World's** fresh **Ornament**,And only **Herald** to the gaudy **Spring**,Within thine own **Bud** buriest thy **Content**,And tender **Churle** mak'st **waste** in niggarding.Churle –1725, 1726
[niggarding]. –1725, 1726
be [no comma] 1714-1775**Pity** the **World**, or else this **Glutton** beTo **eat** the **World's** due, by the **Grave** and thee.**1714-1780**

3: Riper –1714, 1728

4: air –1774

8: Thyself –1760 *and ensuing*12: [And], [churl], –1774, 1780
Churl –1714, 1728
churl –1771-1780

Loves cruelty [2]

1609

WHen fortie Winters shall beseige thy brow,
 And digge deep trenches in thy beauties field,
 Thy youthes proud liuery so gaz'd on now,
 Will be a totter'd weed of smal worth held:
 Then being askt, where all thy beautie lies,
 Where all the treasure of thy lusty daies;
 To say within thine owne deepe sunken eyes,
 Were an all-eating shame, and thriftlesse praise.
 How much more praise deseru'd thy beauties vse,
 If thou couldst answere this faire child of mine
 Shall sum my count, and make my old excuse
 Proouing his beautie by succession thine.
 This were to be new made when thou art ould,
 And see thy blood warme when thou feel'st it could,

[shame], –maintained until 1726, restored in 1780

[thine]. –1640, 1709, 1725, 1726, 1780

1640

When fortie Winters shall beseige thy brow,
 And digge deep trenches in thy beauties field,
 Thy youthes proud **livery** so gaz'd on now,
 Will be a totter'd weed of **small** worth held:
 Then being askt, where all thy beautie lies,
 Where all the treasure of thy lusty **dayes**;
 To say within thine owne deepe sunken eyes,
 Were an all-eating shame, and thriftlesse praise.
 How much more praise **deserv'd** thy beauties **use**,
 If thou couldst answere this faire child of mine
 Shall sum my count, and make my old excuse.
 Proouing his beautie by succession thine.
 This were to be new made when thou art **old**,
 And see thy blood warme when thou **feelst** it **cold**.

1709

When **forty** Winters shall **besiege** thy **Brow**,And **dig** deep Trenches in thy **Beauties** **Field**,Thy **Youth's** proud **Livery** so gaz'd on now,Will be a **tatter'd** **Weed** of small **Worth** held:Then being **ask'd** where all thy **Beauty** lies,Where all the treasure of thy lusty **Days**?To say within thine own **deep** sunken **Eyes**,

deep sunken [no hyphen] -1760

Were an all-eating **Shame**, and **thrifless** **Praise**.How much more **Praise** deserv'd thy **Beauty's** **Use**,If thou couldst **answer** this **fair** **Child** of mine

[all new capitals] 1714-1728

except Worth -1725

Weed -1714-1726

Treasure -1725, 1728

Succession -1714, 1725, 1728

Shall sum my **Count**, and make my old **Excuse**,**Proving** his **Beauty** by **Succession** thine.

This were to be new made when thou art old,

And see thy **Blood** **warm** when thou feel'st it cold.**1714-1780**3: porud [typo] -1760
[livery], 1714, 1728 *and ensuing*7: [say], -1780
deep-sunken -1714-1728,
1771-1780

8: shame [no comma] 1728-1775

10: [answer], 1714-1775
[answer]— -1780
“*This fair child of mine* -178011: *Shall sum my count, and make my
old excuse—* -1780

12: [thine]? -1714, 1728-1775

14: [warm], -1714-1775

Loves cruelty [3]

1609

LOoke in thy glasse and tell the face thou vewest,
 Now is the time that face should forme an other.
 Whose fresh repaire if now thou not renewest,
 Thou doo'st beguile the world, vnblesse some mother.
 For where is she so faire whose vn-ear'd wombe
 Disdaines the tillage of thy husbandry?
 Or who is he so fond will be the tombe,
 Of his selfe loue to stop posterity?
 Thou art thy mothers glasse and she in thee
 Calls backe the louely Aprill of her prime,
 So thou through windowes of thine age shalt see,
 Dispight of wrinkles this thy goulden time.
 But if thou liue remembred not to be,
 Die single and thine Image dies with thee.

[be], -1640, 1709, 1725, 1726, 1780

1640

Looke in thy glasse, and tell the face thou vewest,
 Now is the time that face should forme an other,
 Whose fresh repaine if now thou not renewest,
 Thou doo'st beguile the world, unblesse some mother.
 For where is she so faire whose **un-ear'd** wombe
 Disdaines the tillage of thy husbandry?
 Or who is he so fond will be the tombe,
 Of his selfe **love** to stop **posteritie**?
 Thou art thy mothers glasse and she in thee
 Calls backe the **lovely** Aprill of her prime,
 So thou through windowes of thine age shalt see,
 Dispight of wrinkles this thy goulded time.
 But if thou **live remember** not to be,
 Die single and thine Image dies with thee.

[glass], -1714 *and ensuing*

1709

Look in thy **Glass** and tell the Face thou **viewest**,Now is the time that **Face** should **form another**,Whose fresh **repair** if now thou not renewest,Thou **do'st** beguile the **World**, **unbless** some **Mother**.For where is she so **fair** whose un-eard **Womb**Disdains the tillage of thy **Husbandry**?Or who is he so fond will be the **Tomb**Of his self **Love** to stop **Posterity**?Thou art thy **Mother's Glass** and she in theeCalls back the lovely *April* of her **Prime**.So thou **thro' Windows** of thine **Age** shalt see,**Despight** of **Wrinkles** this thy **golden Time**.

But if thou live, remember not to be,

Die single and thine Image dies with thee.

[all new capitals] 1714-1728

except Face [line 2] -1725-1728

self Love -1714, 1728

April [italics] -1714-1728, 1774, 1775

Despight -1725, 1728

1714-1780

3: Repair -1714, 1728

8: Self-Love -1714, 1728
self-love -1760 *and ensuing*12: Despite -1714, 1728 *and ensuing*

13: [be]; -1714, 1728-1775

14: thy -1780

APPENDIX FIVE

Eighteenth-Century Editions of Shakespeare's Sonnets Printed in the British Isles

- 1710 Benson. *The Works of Mr. William Shakespear. Volume the Seventh. Containing, Venus & Adonis. Tarquin & Lucrece and His Miscellany Poems. With Critical Remarks on his Plays, &c. to which is Prefix'd an Essay on the Art, Rise, and Progress of the Stage in Greece, Rome, and England.* London: Printed for E. Curll at the Dial and Bible against St. Dunstan's Church, and E. Sanger at the Post-House at the Middle-Temple Gate. MDCCX.
- 1709-10 Thorpe. *A Collection of Poems in Two Volumes; Being all the Miscellanies of Mr. William Shakespeare, which were Publish'd by himself in the year 1609, and now correctly Printed from those Editions. The First Volume contains, I. Venus and Adonis. II. The Rape of Lucrece. III. The Passionate Pilgrim. IV. Some Sonnets set to sundry Notes of Musick. The Second Volume contains One Hundred and Fifty Four Sonnets, all of them in Praise of his Mistress. II. A Lover's Complaint of his Angry Mistress.* London: Printed for Bernard Lintott, at the Cross-Keys, between the Two Temple-Gates in Fleet-Street. [Previously published in 1609, without the second volume].
- [1712] Thorpe. Third edition of the 1709-10 Lintott text (second complete edition).
- 1714 Benson. Second edition of the 1710 Gildon text.
- 1725 Benson. *The Works of Mr. William Shakespear. The Seventh Volume. Containing Venus and Adonis. Tarquin and Lucrece. And Mr. Shakespear's Miscellany Poems. To which is Prefix'd, An Essay on the Art, Rise, and Progress of the Stage, in Greece, Rome, and England. And a Glossary of the Old Words us'd in these Works. The whole Revis'd and Corrected, with a Preface by Dr. Sewell.* London: Printed by J. Darby, for A. Bettesworth, F. Fayram, W. Mears, J. Pemberton, J. Hooke, C. Rivington, F. Clay, J. Batley, E. Symon. M.DCC.XXV.
- 1726 Benson. *The Works of Shakespear. Volume the Eighth. Containing Venus and Adonis. Tarquin and Lucrece. And Mr. Shakespear's miscellany poems. To which is prefix'd An essay on the art, rise and progress of the stage, in Greece, Rome, and England. And a Glossary of the Old Words us'd in these Works. The whole Revis'd and Corrected, with a preface, by Dr. Sewell.* Dublin: printed by and for George Grierson, in Essex-Street, and for George Ewing, in Dames-Street, MDCCXXVI.¹
- 1728 Benson. *The works of Mr. William Shakespear. Volume the Ninth.* London: Printed for J. Tonson in the Strand; and for J. Darby, A. Bettesworth, and F. Clay, in trust for Richard, James, and Bethel Wellington. MDCCXXVIII.
- [1760] Benson. *Poems on Several Occasions by Shakespeare.* London: Sold by A. Murden, R. Newton, T. Davidson, C. Anderson, W. Nelson, and S. Paterson.²

¹ Also exists with a modified title page reading *The Poems of Shakespear* upon which the volume number is hidden. In this version the modifications are made by gluing words and decorative borders over the relevant portions of the original title page.

² Murphy *Print* and the ESTC suggest that this edition was printed in Edinburgh with a spurious imprint.

- 1766 Thorpe. *Twenty of the Plays of Shakespeare, being the whole number printed in quarto during his life-time, or before the restoration, collated where there were different copies, and publish'd from the originals, by George Steevens, Esq, in four volumes.* London: J. and R. Tonson in the Strand; T. Payne, at the Mews-gate, Castle-street; and W. Richardson, in Fleet Street. [The Sonnets are in the fourth volume].
- 1771 Benson. *Shakespeare's Poems: Containing, I. Venus and Adonis. II. The Rape of Lucrece. III. The Passionate Pilgrim. IV. Sonnets.* Dublin: Printed by S. Powell for Thomas Ewing. M,DCC,LXXI.
- 1774 Benson. *Poems written by Shakespear.* London: Publish'd Sept. 1. 1774 for J. Bell and C. Etherington.
- [1775] Benson. *Poems written by Mr William Shakespeare.* [London]: Reprinted for Thomas Evans, No. 50, Strand, near York Buildings.
- 1780 Thorpe. *Supplement to the Edition of Shakespeare's Plays Published in 1778 by Samuel Johnson and George Steevens. In Two Volumes. Containing Additional Observations by Several of the Former Commentators: to which are subjoined the Genuine Poems of the Same Author, and Seven Plays that have been Ascribed to Him; with Notes by the Editor and Others.* Volume I. London: Printed for C. Bathurst, W. Strahan, J. F. and C. Rivington, J. Hinton, L. Davis, R. Horsfield, W. Owen, E. Johnson, S. Crowder, B. White, T. Longman, C. Dilly, T. Cadell, J. and T. Bowles, T. Lowndes, J. Robson, T. Payne, H. L. Gardner, J. Nichols, J. Bow, W. Cater, W. Stuart, F. Newberry, G. Robinson, R. Baldwin, T. Beecroft, J. Ridley, T. Evans, S. Hayes, and E. Johnson. MDCCLXXX.
- 1790 Thorpe. *The Plays and Poems of William Shakspeare, in ten volumes; collated verbatim with the most authentic 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 Shakspeare and Jonson; a Dissertation on the Three Parts of King Henry VI; an Historical Account of the English Stage; and Notes; by Edmond Malone.* Volume 10. London: Printed by H. Baldwin for J. Rivington and Sons, L. Davis, B. White and Son, T. Longman, B. Law, H. S. Woodfall, C. Dilly, J. Robson, J. Johnson, T. Vernor, C. G. J. and J. Robinson, T. Cadell, J. Murray, R. Baldwin, H. L. Gardner, J. Sewell, J. Nichols, J. Bew, T. Payne, jun. S. Hayes, R. Faulder, W. Lowndes, G. and T. Wilkie, Scatcherd and Whitaker, T. and J. Egerton, C. Stalker, J. Barker, J. Edwards, Ogilvie and Speare, J. Cuthell, J. Lackington, and E. Newbery. M DCC XC.
- 1791 Thorpe. *The Poems of Shakespeare. To Accompany Jones's Edition of Shakespeare's Drama.* Dublin: for William Jones, 1791.

APPENDIX SIX

Chronological List of Editions of Shakespeare's Collected Works from Rowe to Malone, Denoting the Role of His Poems in Each Instance

1709, ed. Nicholas Rowe [1]. *The Works of Mr. William Shakespear, in Six Volumes. Adorn'd with Cuts. Revis'd and Corrected. with an Account of the Life and Writings of the Author.* London: Tonson.

Contemporaneous supplements based on Thorpe and Benson available; Folger Library lists supplements separately.

1709, ed. Nicholas Rowe [1b]. *The Works of Mr. William Shakespear; in Nine Volumes. Adorn'd with Cuts. Revis'd and Corrected, with an Account of the Life and Writings of the Author.*³ London: Tonson.

Contemporaneous supplements based on Thorpe and Benson available; copies in the Folger Library are not supplemented.

1709, ed. Nicholas Rowe [2]. *The Works of Mr. William Shakespear, in Six Volumes. Adorn'd with Cuts. Revis'd and Corrected. with an Account of the Life and Writings of the Author.* London: Tonson.

Contemporaneous supplements based on Thorpe and Benson available; copy in the British Library is not supplemented.

1714, ed. Nicholas Rowe [3a]. *The Works of Mr. William Shakespear; in Eight Volumes. Adorn'd with Cutts. Revis'd and Corrected, with an Account of the Life and Writings of the Author.* London: Tonson.

Contemporaneous Bensonian supplement available; copies in Birmingham Central library appear with and without the supplement.

1714, ed. Nicholas Rowe [3b]. *The Works of Mr. William Shakespear; in Eight Volumes. Adorn'd with Cutts. Revis'd and Corrected, with an Account of the Life and Writings of the Author, by N. Rowe, Esq; To this Edition is Added, a Table of the Most Sublime Passages in this Author.* London: Tonson [and Knapton, Midwinter, Betsworth, Taylor, Varam, Osborn, and Browne].

Contemporaneous Bensonian supplement available; copy in the National Library of Scotland is supplemented.

1714, ed. Nicholas Rowe [3c]. *The Works of Mr. William Shakespear, in Nine Volumes: with his Life, by N. Rowe Esq; Adorn'd with Cuts. To the Last Volume is Prefix'd, I. An Essay on the Art, Rise, and Progress of the Stage, in Greece, Rome, and England. II. Observations upon the most Sublime Passages in this Author. III. A Glossary, explaining the Antiquated Words*

³ This edition is, in fact, identical to the previous one listed; the pagination and signatures are inconsistent with the volume breaks and the title page of each volume has been revised to reflect the revised arrangement.

made Use of Throughout his Works. London: Tonson, Curll, Pemberton, and Sanger.

Contemporaneous Bensonian supplement available; copy in the British Library is supplemented.

1725, ed. Alexander Pope [1]. Pope, Alexander. *The Works of Shakespear in Six Volumes*. London: Tonson.

Contemporaneous Bensonian supplement available; copy at the University of St Andrews is not supplemented.

1725-6, ed. Alexander Pope [pirated reprint]. *The Works of Shakespear. In Eight Volumes. Collated and Corrected by the Former Editions*. Dublin: Grierson and Ewing.

Benson version of poems included as volume eight.

1728, ed. Alexander Pope [2]. *The Works of Shakespear. In Eight Volumes. Collated and Corrected by the Former Editions*. London: Tonson.

Contemporaneous Bensonian supplement available; copy in the British Library is supplemented.

1733, ed. Lewis Theobald [1]. *The Works of Shakespeare in Seven Volumes*. London: Bettesworth and Hitch.

No poems or contemporaneous supplement.

[1734-5. The individual play texts printed by Walker and Tonson did not, if extant texts serve as any indication, include the sonnets or dramatic poems].

1739, ed. Lewis Theobald [pirated reprint]. *The Works of Shakespeare: in Seven Volumes. Collated with the Oldest Copies, and Corrected; with Notes Explanatory, and Critical*. Dublin: Smith and Bradley.

No poems or contemporaneous supplement.

1740, ed. Lewis Theobald [2]. *The Works of Shakespeare: in Eight Volumes. Collated with the Oldest Copies, and Corrected: with Notes, Explanatory, and Critical: by Mr. Throbal. The Second Edition*. London: Lintott, Hitch, Tonson, Corbet, R. and B. Wellington, Brindley, and New.

No poems or contemporaneous supplement.

1743-4, ed. Thomas Hanmer [1]. *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*. Oxford.

No poems or contemporaneous supplement.

1745, ed. 'Thomas Hanmer' [2].⁴ *The Works of Shakespear. In Six Volumes. Carefully Revised and Corrected, by the Former Editions.* London: Kanpton, Birt, Longman, Lintot, Hitch, Brondley, J. and R. Tonson, Draper, Wellington, New, and Dod.

No poems or contemporaneous supplement.

1747, ed. 'Thomas Hanmer' [3a]. *The Works of Shakespear in Nine Volumes. With a Glossary. Carefully Printed from the Oxford Edition in Quarto, 1644.* London: J. and P. Knapton, Birt, Longma [sic], Shewell, Lintott, Hitch, Brindley, J. and R. Tonson, Draper, Wellington, New, and Dod.

No poems or contemporaneous supplement.

1747, ed. 'Thomas Hanmer' [3b]. *The Works of Shakespear in Nine Volumes. With a Glossary. Carefully Printed from the Oxford Edition in Quarto.* London: Osborn.⁵

1747, ed. William Warburton [1]. *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.* London: J. and P. Knapton, Birt, Longman, Shewell, Lintott, Hitch, Brindley, J. and R. Tonson, Draper, Wellington, New, and Dod.

No poems or contemporaneous supplement.

1747, [Dublin]. *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. By Mr. Pope and Mr. Warburton.* Dublin: Owen, Leathley, G. and A. Ewing, W. and J. Smith, Faulkner, Crampton, Bradley, Moore, and E. and J. Exshaw.

No poems or contemporaneous supplement.

1748, ed. 'Thomas Hanmer' [4a]. *The Works of Shakespear in Nine Volumes. With a Glossary. Carefully Printed from the Oxford Edition in Quarto, 1744.* London: J. and P. Knapton, Birt, Longman, Shewell, Lintott, Hitch, Brindley, J. and R. Tonson, Draper, Wellington, New, and Dod.

No poems or contemporaneous supplement.

⁴ Murphy *Print* notes that this edition 'was issued in response to Hanmer's Oxford text of the previous year. It reproduced Hanmer's edition, with indications of his indebtedness to Tonson editors' (318).

⁵ Copy at Birmingham Central Library is missing the ninth and final volume; the contents of volume eight suggest that the absent codex would have contained only dramatic works.

1750-1, ed. 'Thomas Hanmer' [5]. *The Works of Shakespear in Nine Volumes. With a Glossary. Carefully Printed from the Oxford Edition in Quarto, 1744.* London: J. and P. Knapton, Birt, Longman, Lintott, Hitch, Hodges, Brindley, J. and R. Tonson, Draper, Dod, and Corbet.

No poems or contemporaneous supplement.

1752, ed. Lewis Theobald [3]. *The Works of Shakespeare: In Eight Volumes. Collated with the Oldest Copies, and Corrected: With Notes, Explanatory and Critical: By Mr. Theobald. The Third Edition.* London: J. and P. Knapton, Birt, Longman, Lintot, Hitch, Hodges, Brindley, J. and R. Tonson, Draper, Dod, and Corbet.

No poems or contemporaneous supplement.

1753, Edinburgh. *The Works of Shakespear. In which the Beatuties Observed by Pope, Warburton, and Dodd, are Pointed Out. Together with the Author's Life; A Glossary; Copious Indexes; and, A List of the Various Readings. In Eight Volumes.* Edinburgh: Sands, Hamilton and Balfour, Kincaid and Donaldson, Hunter, Yair, Gordon, and Brown.

No poems or contemporaneous supplement.

1753, Edinburgh [false London imprint]. *The Works of Shakespear. In which the Beatuties Observed by Pope, Warburton, and Dodd, are Pointed Out. Together with the Author's Life; A Glossary; Copious Indexes; and, A List of the Various Readings.* 8 vols. London: Manson, Dilton, Thomson, Alnwick, Nalson, Darnton, and Gray.

No poems or contemporaneous supplement.

1757, ed. Lewis Theobald [4]. *The Works of Shakespeare: In Eight Volumes. Collated with the Oldest Copies, and Corrected: With Notes, Explanatory, and Critical: By Mr. Theobald. The Second Edition.* London: Hitch, Hawes, Lintot, J. and R. Tonson, Hodges, Dod, Rivington, M. and T. Longman, Brindley, Corbet, and Caston.

No poems or contemporaneous supplement.

1760, ed. 'Thomas Hanmer' [6]. *The Works of Shakespear: In Nine Volumes. With a Glossary. Carefully Printed rom the Oxford Edition in Quarto, 1744.* London: Hitch, Hawes, J. and R. Tonson, Dod, Rivington, Baldwin, Longman, Crowder, Corbet, and Caslon.

No poems or contemporaneous supplement.

1761, Blair and Reid [2]. *The Works of Shakespear. With the Author's Life; a Glossary; and Copious Indexes. In Eight Volumes.* Edinburgh: Kincaid and Bell, Gordon, Wright, and Fleming.

No poems or contemporaneous supplement.

1762, ed. Lewis Theobald [5]. *The Works of Shakespeare: In Eight Volumes. Collated with the Oldest Copies, and Corrected: with Notes, Explanatory, and Critical: by Mr. Theobald.* London: Hitch, Hawes, J. and R. Tonson, Dod, Woodfall, Rivington, Baldwin, Longman, Crowder and Co., Johnston, Corbet, Lownds, and Caslon.

No poems or contemporaneous supplement.

1765, ed. Samuel Johnson [1]. *The Plays of William Shakespeare, In Eight Volumes, with the Corrections and Illustrations of Various Commentators; to which are Added Notes by Sam. Johnson.* London: J. and R. Tonson, Corbet, Woodfall, Rivington, Baldwin, Hawes, Clark and Collins, Johnston, Caslon, Lownds, and executors of Dodd.

No poems or contemporaneous supplement.

1765, ed. Samuel Johnson [2]. *The Plays of William Shakespeare, In Eight Volumes, with the Corrections and Illustrations of Various Commentators; to which are Added Notes by Sam. Johnson.* London: J. and R. Tonson, Woodfall, Rivington, Baldwin, Hawes, Clark and Collins, Longman, Johnston, Caslon, Corbet, Lownds, and executors of Dodd.

No poems or contemporaneous supplement.

1766, [Dublin 4]. *The Plays of William Shakespeare, in Ten Volumes. With the Corrections and Illustrations of Various Commentators. To which are Added, Notes by Samuel Johnson, LL.D.* Dublin: Leathley, Wynne, Wilson, EXshaw, Saulders, Bradley, Potts, Watson, Mitchell, and Williams.

No poems or contemporaneous supplement.

1766, ed. Alexander Pope [pirated reprint]. *The Works of Shakespear. In Eight Volumes. Collated and Corrected by the Former Editions, by Mr. Pope. Printed from his Second Edition.* Glasgow: Robert and Andrew Foulis.

No poems or contemporaneous supplement.

1766, ed. George Steevens [1]. *Twenty of the Plays of Shakespeare, Being the Whole Number Printed in Quarto During his Life-time, or before the Restoration, Collated where there were Different Copies, and Publish'd from the Originals, by George Steevens, Esq; in Four Volumes.* London: Tonson, Payne, and Richardson.

Thorpe version of poems included in volume four.

1766, ed. George Steevens [2]. *Twenty of the Plays of Shakespeare, Being the Whole Number Printed in Quarto During his Life-time, or before the Restoration, Collated where there were Different Copies, and Publish'd from the Originals, by George Steevens, Esq.* 6 vols. London: J. and R. Tonson, Payne, and Richardson.

Thorpe version of poems included in volume six.

1767, Edinburgh. *The Works of Shakespeare. In Ten Volumes. With Corrections and Illustrations from Various Commentators.* Edinburgh: Martin and Wotherspoon.

No poems or contemporaneous supplement.

1767, ed. Lewis Theobald [6]. *The Works of Shakespeare: in Eight Volumes. Collated with the Oldest Copies, and Corrected: with Notes, Explanatory and Critical: by Mr. Theobald.* London: Woodfall, Bathurst, Beecroft, Strahan, J. and F. Rivington, Hinton, Davis and Rymers, Baldwin, Hawes, Carke and Collins, Horsfield, Johnston, Owen, Caslon, Longman, E. and C. Dilly, Corbett, Cadell, Johnson, White, Keith, Hardy, Lowndes, Davies, Robson, Beckett, Newbery, and Robinson and Roberts.

No poems or contemporaneous supplement.

1768, Birmingham [1]. *The Works of Shakespear, from Mr. Pope's Edition.* 9 vols. Birmingham: Martin, Sherborne: Goadby, Lochfield: Morgan, Wolverhamptin: Smith, London: Donaldson, and Gloucester: Bond.

No poems or contemporaneous supplement.

1768, ed. Edward Capell. *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, in some other Volumes, Notes, Critical and Explanatory, and a Body of Various Readings Entire.* 9 vols. London: Tonson.

No poems or contemporaneous supplement.

1768, ed. Samuel Johnson [3]. *The Plays of William Shakespeare, in Eight Volumes, with the Corrections and Illustrations of Various Commentators; to which are Added, Notes by Samuel Johnson.* London: Woodfall, Bathurst, Beecroft, Strahan, J. and F. Rivington, Hinton, Davis and Reymers, Baldwin, Hawes, Clarke and Collins, Horsfield, Johnston, Owen, Caston, Longman, E. and C. Dilly, Corbett, Cadell, Johnson, White, Keith, Hardy, Lowndes, Davies, Robson, Becket, Newbery, Robinson, and Roberts.

No poems or contemporaneous supplement.

1768-70. Birmingham [2]. *The Works of Shakespeare, with Illustrations.* Birmingham: Williams, Taylor, Smith, Morgan, Shelton, Smart, Sharp, Keating, Luckman, Boden, Hodson, Clare, Barrow, Sellick, Sibbald, Broster, and Houldgate.

No poems or contemporaneous supplement.

1769, ed. Blair and Reid [3a-d]. *The Works of Shakespear in which the Beauties Observed by Pope, Warburton, and Dodd, are Pointed out. Together with the Author's Life; a Glossary; Copious Indexes; and, a List of the Various*

Readings. In Eight Volumes. Edinburgh: Balfour, Donaldson, Manson, and Ruddiman [each with their own individual imprint].

No poems or contemporaneous supplement.

1770-1, ed. Thomas Hanmer [7]. *The Works of Mr. William Shakespear.* Oxford: Clarendon.

No poems or contemporaneous supplement.

1771, Blair and Reid [4]. *The Works of Shakespear. In which the Beauties Observed by Pope, Warburton, and Dodd, are Pointed out. Together with the Author's Life; a Glossary; Copious Indexes; and, a List of the Various Readings. In Eight Volumes.* Edinburgh: Donaldson.

No poems or contemporaneous supplement.

1771, Dublin [5]. *The Plays of Shakespeare, from the Text of Dr. S. Johnson. With the Prefaces, Notes, &c. of Rowe, Pope, Theobald, Hanmer, Warburton, Johnson, and Select Notes from Many Other Critics. Also, the Introduction of the Last Editor, Mr. Capell; and a Table Shewing His Various Readings.* 19 vols. Dublin: Ewing.

No poems or contemporaneous supplement.

1772, ed. Lewis Theobald [7]. *The Works of Shakespeare. In Twelve Volumes Collated with the Oldest Copies, and Corrected: with Notes, Explanatory and Critical: by Mr Theobald.* London: Crowder, Ware, and Payne.

No poems or contemporaneous supplement.

1773, ed. John Bell [1]. *Bell's Edition of Shakespeare's Plays, as they are Now Performed at the Theatres Royal in London; Regulated from the Prompt Books of Each House by Permission; with Notes Critical and Illustrative; by the Authors of the Dramatic Censor.* London: Bell and Etherington.⁶

1773, ed. Samuel Johnson and George Steevens [1]. *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.* London: Bathurst, Beecroft, Strahan, J. and F. Rivington, Hinton, Davis, Hawes, Clarke and Collins, Horsfield, Johnston, Owen, Caslon, Johnson, Crowder, White, Longman, Law, E. and C. Dilly, Corbett, Griffin, Cadell, Woodfall, Keith, Lowndes, Davies, Robson, Becket, Newbery, Robinson, Payne, Williams, Hingeston, and Ridley.

No poems or contemporaneous supplement.

⁶ Physical copy not consulted; Murphy *Print* lists this as an edition of five volumes, later supplemented by an additional four to create 'Bell 3,' numbered 336-338 in his chronological appendix (331); every library copy I have consulted includes the supplemental volumes and must thus be considered some version of Bell [3].

1773, ed. Lewis Theobald [8]. *The Works of Shakespeare: in Eight Volumes. Collated with the Oldest Copies, and Corrected: with Notes, Explanatory and Critical: By Mr. Theobald. Printed Verbatim from the Octavo Edition.* London: Bathurst, Beecroft, Strahan, J. and F. Rivington, Hinton, Davis, Hawes, Clarke and Collins, Horsfield, W. Johnston, Owen, Caston, E. Johnson, Crowder, Whitel, Longman, Law, E. and C. Dilly, Corbett, Griffin, Cadell, Woodfall, Keith, Lowndes, Davies, Robson, Becket, Newbery, Robinson, Payne, Williams, Hingeston, and Ridley.

No poems or contemporaneous supplement.

1774, ed. John Bell [2]. *Bell's Edition of Shakespeare's Plays, as they are Now Performed at the Theatres Royal in London; Regulated from the Prompt Books of Each House by Permission; with Notes Critical and Illustrative; by the Authors of the Dramatic Censor.* 5 vols. London: Bell and Etherington.⁷

1774, ed. John Bell [3a]. *Bell's Edition of Shakespeare's Plays, as they are Now Performed at the Theatres Royal in London; Regulated from the Prompt Books of Each House by Permission; with Notes Critical and Illustrative; by the Authors of the Dramatic Censor.* London: Bell and York: Etherington.

Contemporaneous supplement available; copy at the British Library is shelved with supplement.

1773-4, ed. John Bell [3b]. *Bell's Edition of Shakespeare's Plays, as they are Now Performed at the Theatres Royal in London; Regulated from the Prompt Books of Each House by Permission; with Notes Critical and Illustrative; by the Authors of the Dramatic Censor.* London: Bell and Etherington.

Contemporaneous Bensonian supplement available; copy in the National Library of Scotland is shelved with supplement. [See Bell 1].

1778, ed. Samuel Johnson and George Steevens [2].⁸ *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. The Second Edition, Revised and Augmented.* London: Bathurst, Strahan, J. F. and C. Rivington, Hinton, Davus, Owen, Cston, Johnson, Crowder, White, Longman, Law, E. and C. Dilly, Corbett, Cadell, Gardener, Nichols, Bew, Beecroft, Stuart, Lowndes, Robson, Payne, Becket, Newbery, Robinson, Baldwin, Williams, Ridley, Evans, Davies, Fox, and Murray.

⁷ Physical copy not consulted; Murphy *Print* notes that this edition consists of five volumes, later supplemented by an additional four to create 'Bell 3,' numbered 336-338 in his chronological appendix (331); every library copy I have consulted includes the supplemental volumes and must thus be considered some version of Bell [3].

⁸ Murphy breaks this edition down into two variants, depending on the presence of the supplementary volumes prepared by Malone. Textually, however, the volumes containing the canonical plays are identical.

Thorpe supplement printed in 1780; National Library of Scotland has a copy of this supplement but the two are not explicitly linked in the catalogue or by shelfmarks.

1784, ed. Samuel Ayscough [1]. *Stockdale's Edition of Shakespeare: Including, in One Volume, the Whole of his Dramatic Works; with Explanatory Notes Compiled from Various Commentators. Embellished with a Striking Likeness of the Author.* London: Stockdale.

No poems or contemporaneous supplement.

1785, ed. Samuel Johnson and George Steevens [3]. *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. The Third Edition. Revised and Augmented by the Editor of Dodsley's Collection of Old Plays.* London: Bathurst, Rivington and Sons, Payne and Son, Davis, Owen, White and Son, Longman, Law, Bowles, Johnson, Dilly, Robson, G. G. J. and J. Robinson, Cadell, Gardner, Nichols, Bew, Stuart, Baldwin, Murray, Strahan, Vernor, Barker, Lowndes, Hayes, G. and T. Wilkie, Scatcherd and Whitaker, T. and J. Egerton, Fox, and Newbery.

No poems or contemporaneous supplement.

1785-8, ed. John Bell [7]. *Bell's Edition of Shakspeare. [The Dramatick Writings of Will. Shakspeare. With the Notes of All the Various Commentators; Printed Complete from the Vest Editions of Sam. Johnson and Geo. Steevens].* 20 Vols. London: Bell.

No poems or contemporaneous supplement.

1786-94, ed. Joseph Rann. *The Dramatic Works of Shakspeare, in Six Volumes; with Notes by Joseph Rann, A. M. Vicar of St. Trinity, in Coventry.* Oxford: Clarendon and Rann; London: Rivington, Prince and Cooke; and Birmingham: Pearson and Rollason.

No poems or contemporaneous supplement.

1790, ed. Samuel Ayscough [2]. *Shakespeare's Dramatic Works; with Explanatory Notes. A New Edition. To which is now Added, a Copious Index to the Remarkable Passages and Words. By the Rev. Samuel Ayscough, F. S. A. and Assistant Librarian of the British Museum. Embellished with a Striking Likeness of Shakespeare, from the Original Folio Edition.* London: Stockdale.

No poems or contemporaneous supplement.

1790, ed. Edmond Malone [1]. *The Plays and Poems of William Shakespeare, in Ten Volumes; Collated Verbatim with the Most Authentic 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.* London: Rivington and Sons, Davis, White and Son, Longman, Law,

Woodfall, Dilly, Robson, Johnson, Vernor, G. G. J. and J. Robinson, Cadell, Murray, Baldwin, Gardner, Sewell, Nichols, Bew, Payne, Hayes, Faulder, Lowndes, G. and T. Wilkie, Scatcherd and Whitaker, T. and J. Egerton, Stalker, Barker, Edwards, Ogilvie and Speare, Cuthell, Lackington, and Newbery.

Thorpe-based sonnets included as tenth volume, which is present in the copies of this text owned by the National Library of Scotland and the University of Edinburgh Library.

1790-86, ed. Edmond Malone [pirated Dublin]. *The Plays of William Shakespeare. Accurately Printed from the Text of Mr. Malone's Edition; with Select Explanatory Notes. In Seven Volumes.* London: Rivington and Sons, Davis, White and Son, Longman, Law, Woodfall, Dilly, Robson, Johnson, Vernor, G. G. J. and J. Robinson, Cadell, Murray, Baldwin, Gardner, Lowndes, G. and T. Wilkie, Scatcherd and Whitaker, T. and J. Egerton, Stalker, Barker, Edwards, Ogilvie and Speare, Cuthell, Lackington, and Newbery.

No contemporaneous poems or supplement.

APPENDIX SEVEN

Selected list of Book Catalogues containing Shakespeare's Editions, 1709-1739

1710. *A Catalogue of Books in Several Faculties and Languages, Consisting of a Choice Collection in Divinity, Philosophy, Philology, Phisick, Cosmography, History, Mathematicks and Chronology. Together with a Great Number of Civil, Canon & Common Law Books. As also, of Divers Volumes of Curious Pamphlets and Sermons, Bound and Sticht, to be Sold by Way of Auction at Dicks Coffee-House in Skinner-Row, by John Ware, Book-Seller. The Sale will Begin on the Seventh Day of November, 1710. at Three of the Clock in the Afternoon. Catalogues may be had at the Auction-House, and the said John Ware's Shop in High-Street, over against St. Mickael's-Church.* London: Ware.

[Libri in Folio. N. X.]

12. *Shakespear's Works.* [11]¹

1712. *A Catalogue of Books and Pamphlets, Printed For, and Sold by Edmund Curll, at His Shop on the Walk at Tunbridge-Wells; and at the Dial and Bible, against St. Dunstan's Church, in Fleet Street, London, 1712.*

[Octavo Miscellanies].

III. The Works of Mr. *William Shakespear*, Vol. VII. containing *Venus and Adonis, Tarquin and Lucrece*, and all his Miscellany Poems. to which is prefix'd an Essay on the Art, Rise, and Progress of the *Stage in Greece, Rome, and England.* with critical Remarks on all Mr. *Shakespear's* Plays. 8vo. Price 5. [missing]. *N.B.* This Volume completas the *Author's* Works, either in *Folio* or *Octavo*, and there's a small number left of the large Paper, to perfect those Gentlemen's Sets who subscrib'd for the six Volumes. Price 7 [s?] 6 d. in Quires. [2]²

1715. *A Catalogue of the Library of Tho. Brady, Esq; Containing a Choice Collection of Many Valuable and Uncommon Books in Most Faculties, in Greek, Latin, French, and English, of the Best Editions (several Large Paper) which will begin to be Sold at very Reasonable Rates, the Price being put in each Book, at the Black Swan without Tenmple-Bar on Thursday nest, being the 19th of August, 1715.*

212. *Shakespear's Works, 9 Vols.* [14]³

1716. *A Catalogue of the Library of the Reverend and Learned Dr. Francis Thompson, Late Rector of St. Matthew's, London. Being a Collection of Very Curious Books of the Best Editions, many of them Gilt or Letter'd on the Back, and Many Large Oaoer, in Most Faculties, viz. Divinity, History, Philological Learning, Classicks cum Not. Var. & in Usum Delph. &c. which will begin to*

¹<http://find.galegroup.com/ecco/infomark.do?&source=gale&prodId=ECCO&userGroupName=nlibscot&tabID=T001&docId=CB3327780290&type=multipage&contentSet=ECCOArticles&version=1.0&docLevel=FASCIMILE>. Accessed June 6, 2012.

²<http://www.jischistoricbooks.ac.uk/Search/?bibnumber=T030073&spage=1>. Accessed June 2, 2012.

³<http://www.jischistoricbooks.ac.uk/Search/?bibnumber=T028753&spage=1>. Accessed June 2, 2012.

- be Sold at Reasonable rates (the Price being put in Each Book) at the Black-Swan without Temple-Bar, on Wednesday the 7th Day of March 1715-16.*
274. Shakespear's Works. [17]⁴
1716. *A Catalogue of Books Printed For, and Sold by E. Curll, at the Dial and Bible Against St. Dunstan's Church in Fleet-Street.*
11. *Shakespear's Poems; with Remarks upon his Plays.* Price 5s. [3]⁵
1717. *A Catalogue of the Library of Thomas Selden, Esq; Deceas'd, Consisting of Many Very Valuable and Uncommon Books of the Best Editions, in Greek, Latin, Italian, French, and English; also a Choice Collection of Common and Statute Law; which will begin to be Sold Very Cheap at the Black Swan without Temple-Bar on Tuesday the 22d of This Instant June, the Fair Way (the Price being put on the First Leaf of Each Book).*
170. Shakespear's Works, 9 Vol. [14]⁶
1717. *A Catalogue of Very Valuable and Curious Books in Greek, Latin, Italian, French And, English, in Most Faculties Divinity, History, Law, Travels, Poetry, Mathematicks, Physick, Surgery, &c. of the Best Editions, Many large Paper, Turkey-Leather, Chiefly Gilt Backs, and Bound in Curious and Uncommon Bindings; Which will Begin to be Sold Very Cheap, (the Price Being Put in each Book) at Montague's Coffee-House in Shear-Lane, Next Temple-Bar, on Thursday the 5th of December 1717.*
- "English Octavo."
204. Shakespear's Plays, 9 Vol. [13]
346. Shakespear's Works, 7 Vols. [16]⁷
1717. *A Catalogue of Valuable Books in Several Faculties and Languages, viz. Divinity, History, Voyages, Architecture, Law, Physick, Mathematicks, Poetry, and Philology, in English, Latin, Greek, Italian, Spanish, French, &c. of a Clergy-Man, and another Gentleman Deceased. With Plays, and many Volumes of Curious Tracts, which will begin to be Sold Very Cheap (the Price put in each Book) on Tuesday the 7th Day of May 1717. at Eight in the Morning, and Continue Every Day that Week, at W. Mears at the Lamb without Temple-Bar.*
681. Shakespear's Plays, 9 Vol. [22]⁸

⁴ <http://www.jisichistoricbooks.ac.uk/Search/?bibnumber=T010287&spage=1>. Accessed June 2, 2012.

⁵ <http://find.galegroup.com/ecco/infomark.do?&source=gale&prodId=ECCO&userGroupName=nlibscot&tabID=T001&docId=CB3327964633&type=multipage&contentSet=ECCOArticles&version=1.0&docLevel=FASCIMILE>. Accessed June 6, 2012.

⁶ <http://www.jisichistoricbooks.ac.uk/Search/?bibnumber=N015400&spage=1>. Accessed June 2, 2012.

⁷ <http://www.jisichistoricbooks.ac.uk/Search/?bibnumber=N015009&spage=1>. Accessed June 2, 2012.

⁸ <http://www.jisichistoricbooks.ac.uk/Search/?bibnumber=T028855&spage=1>. Accessed June 2, 2012.

1720. *Catalogue of the Libraries of the Reverend Mr. William Foster, Late Rector of St. Clement's Danes; of a Learned Gentleman; and a Student in Physick: All Deceased. Consisting of a Collection of Valuable Books in Most Faculties, Sciences, and Languages; Most of Them of the Best Editions: Several Large Paper, Well Bound, Gilt, or Lettered. Which will Begin to be Sold Cheap, (the Price Mark'd in Each Book) at D. Browne's Warehouse in Exeter-Exchange in the Strand, on Thursday the 12th of May, 1720, at Eight in the Morning. Catalogues may be had at Mr. Graves's in St. James's-Street; Mr. Stokoe's Against the Meuse-Gate; Mr. King's in Westminster-Hall; Mr. Chetwood's in Russel-Street, Covent-Garden; Mr. Strahan's in Cornhill; Booksellers: at the Chapter Coffee-House, Near St. Paul's, and at the Place of Sale.*

“English Poetry, Folio”

239. Shakespear's Plays (Wants Title) [8]

“English Poetry, Octavo”

353. Shakespear's Works, 9 vol. with Cuts⁹

1721. *A Catalogue of the Libraries of the Honourable William Carr, of Lincoln's-Inn, Esq.; Late one of the Commissioners of the Excise; of an Eminent Counsellor at law, and of the Reverend Mr. John Herbert, Late Vicar of Ridge, in the County of Hertford: All Deceased. Consisting of a Collection of Very Valuable Books, in Most faculties and Languages; Particularly Law, Statute, Civil, and Common, English and other Historians; Parliamentary Affairs, Trade, Husbandry, and Divinity, &c. Also a Large Collection of the Classicks, many of them in Usum Delphini, of the Paris Edition, and Several cum Notis Variorum, of the Best Editions, Several Large Paper, most Well Bound, Gilt, or Lettered. Likewise Several Curious MSS. Chiefly Law, and also MSS. Sermons Fairly Written, and a Collection of Volumes of Pamphlets, plays, and Sermons. Which will begin to be Sold Very Cheap (the Price Mark'd in Each Book) at D. Browne's, at the Black-Swan without Temple-Bar, on Monday the 6th of March, 1720-21.*

733. Shakespear's Works, vol. 7. [34]¹⁰

1721. *A Catalogue of Modern English Books, in Divinity, History, Law, Philosophy, Mathematics, Poetry, &c. [John Walthoe].*

Shakespear's Works, 9 vols. 12mo [12]¹¹

1722. *A Catalogue of Choice and Valuable Books in Most Faculties and Languages; Being the Third Part of the Collection Made by Thomas Rawlinson Esq; Which will Begin to be Sold by Auction, at Paul's Coffee-House the West-End of St. Paul's, on Wednesday the 17th of October, 1722; Beginning Every*

⁹ <http://find.galegroup.com/ecco/infomark.do?&source=gale&prodId=ECCO&userGroupName=nlibscot&tabID=T001&docId=CB3329706351&type=multipage&contentSet=ECCOArticles&version=1.0&docLevel=FASCIMILE>. Accessed June 6, 2012.

¹⁰ <http://www.jishistoricbooks.ac.uk/Search/?bibnumber=T010293&spage=1>. Accessed June 2, 2012.

¹¹ <http://www.jishistoricbooks.ac.uk/Search/?bibnumber=T057318&spage=1>. Accessed June 2, 2012.

Evening at Five O-Clock; by Thomas Ballard, Bookseller, at the Rising Sun in Little-Britain, Where Catalogues may be had: also, at Mr. King's in Westminster-Hall, Mr. Graves at St. James's, Mr. Vaillant and Mr. Groenwegen in the Strand, Mr. Lewis in Covent-Garden, Mr. Brown at Temple-Bar, Mr. Stokoe Near Charing-Cross, Mr. Strahan in Cornhill, Mr. Bateman in Pater-Noster-Row, Booksellers; at the Chapter House Coffee-House; and at the Place of Sale. (Price 1 S.) N. B. The Books may be Viewed Three Days Before the Sale, at the Place of Sale.

96. 8vo. *The Rape of Lucrece*, by Mr. William Shakespeare, newly revised. Lond. Printed for J. Harrison, 1632. [151]¹²

1723. *Catalogus Librorum in Omni Ferè Arte & Scientia Præstantium; or, a Catalogue of the Library of a Very Eminent Gentleman Lately Deceas'd; Consistng of a Very Large and Beautiful Collection of Books in Most Arts and Sciences: Such as the Antiquities of the Several Counties in England; Most of the Travels and Voyages Which have been Printed; the Most Noted Authors in Divinity, History, Poetry, &c. The Classics Cum Notis Variorum, and by Old Elziver; Many of the Fathers of the Paris Editions, Greek and Latin; and Near Eleven Hundred Volumes of Miscellaneous Tracts. Which will be Sold Cheap (the Price Mark'd in Each Book) at Edward Symon's Shop, over against the Royal-Exchange in Cornhill, on Tuesday the 25th of This Instant February, at Nine of the Clock in the Morning. Catalogues may be had Gratis at Oliver's Coffee-House, at Westminster-Hall Gate; Old-Man's at Charing-Cross; the Mount in Grosvenor-Street Near Grosvenor-Square; Davys's in Covent-Garden; Richard's at Temple Bar; Farnival's in Holborn; the Chapter in Pater Noster Row; and at the Place of Sale.*

1168. Shakespear's }Poems [35]¹³

1723. *A Catalogue of Part of the Library of the Reverend Dr. Wood, Author of the Institute of the Laws of England; and of Another Gentleman: Both Deceased. Being a Collection of Curious and Uncommon Books in Most Faculties, but Chiefly English History, Statute, Common, and Civil Law, Classicks Cum Notis Variorum, Husbandry, Voyages, Travels, Poetry, &c. Which will Begin to be Sold Very Cheap, the Price Being Marked in Each Book, at F. Clay's, at the Bible without Temple-Bar, on Thursday the 23d of May, 1723. at Nine in the Morning. Catalogues may be had Gratis at Mr. Stagg's, in Westminster-Hall; Mr. Graves's, in St. James's-Street; Mr. Stokoe's, at Charing-Cross; Mr. Lewis's, in Covent-Garden; Mr. Meighan's, under Grays-Inn-Gate in Hollborn; at the Chapter Coffee-House in St. Paul's Church-Yard; Mr. Strahan's, in Cornhill; and at the Place of Sale. [Francis Clay]*

1693. Shakespear's Plays and Works, 9 vol.¹⁴

¹² <http://www.jishistoricbooks.ac.uk/Search/?bibnumber=T030108&spage=1>. Accessed June 2, 2012.

¹³ <http://www.jishistoricbooks.ac.uk/Search/?bibnumber=T187796&spage=1>. Accessed June 2, 2012.

¹⁴ <http://find.galegroup.com/ecco/infomark.do?&source=gale&prodId=ECCO&userGroupName=nlibscot&tabID=T001&docId=CB3330619306&type=multipage&co>

1723. *A Catalogue of the Library of a Gentleman Late of the Charter-House: and of Other Parcels, bought at Several Times. Consisting of Most Parts of Polite Learning, in Most Faculties and Languages; many of them Bound in Morocco Leather, and other Neat Bindings, and all in a Handsome Condition. Which will Begin to be Sold Very Cheap, (the Lowest Price Being Mark's in each Book) at Tho. Corbett's Shop, Addison's Head, next the Rose-Tavern without Temple-Bar, on Thursday the 4th of April, 1723.* [Thomas Corbett]

“Plays, Poetry, Romances, &c. Folio.”

91. Shakespear's Plays. – 166[8]. [4].

“English Miscellanies, in Octavo.”

686. Shakespear's Plays. Several odd volumes to be sold separate. [18].¹⁵

1723. *Bibliotheca Literaria; Seu Librorum Maximé Insignium Catalogus: Containing a Very Curious and Uncommon Collection of Books in Most Languages, Relating to the History of Great Britain and Ireland, of Foreign Countries, the Fathers, Common, Civil and Canon Law, Divinity, Sculpture, Architecture, Painting, Mathematicks, Voyages, Romances, Poetry, Physick, Anatomy, Natural History, Trade, &c. Classicks in Usum Delph. Par. Edit. Cum Notis Variorum, and Printed by Vascosan, Colinaeus, R. Stevens, and Elzevir Senr. amongst Which are Spelman's Councils, 2 Vol. Dugdale's Monasticon Anglicanum, 3 Vol. Pere Montfaucon, Grand Papier; Mezeray, 3 Vol. Edit. Non Chastree; Leoni's Palladio, 5 Vol. 1st Edit. Statutes at Large, 3 Vol. Most of the Reports; Field's Bible, 2 Vol. with Fine Dutch Cuts, Bound in Russia: Likewise Several Manuscripts on Vellum, Relating to the Laws of England, &c. Which Formerly Belonged to the Famous Mr. Lambard. Which will Begin to be Sold Very Cheap (the Price Mark'd in Each Book) by Charles Davis, at Dick's Coffee-House in the Little-Piazza, Covent-Garden, on Tuesday the Third of December, 1723. at Nine of the Clock in the Morning. Catalogues may be had Gratis at Mr. King's, in Westminster-Hall; Mr. Stokoe's, at Charing-Cross; Mr. Franklyn's, under Tom's Coffee-House, Mr. Woodman's, under Will's, Covent-Garden; Mr. Lintott's, in Fleetstreet; Mr. Osborn's, by Grays-Inn-Walks; Mr. Strahan's, in Cornhil; Booksellers: at the Chapter Coffee-House in Pater-Noster-Row; and at the Place of Sale.* [Charles Davis].

429. Shakespear's Plays, 2d. Edit. very fair. – 1632. [12]¹⁶

1723. *A Catalogue of the Libraries of the Right Reverend and Honourable Sir Jonathan Trelawney, Bart. Late Lord Bishop of Winchester; and of the Honourable Charles Hatton, Esq; Lately Deceased. ... Which will be Sold ... at Fletcher Gyles's over-against Gray's-Inn in Holborn, on Tuesday the 26th of This Instant November 1723.* [Gyles Fletcher].

“Poetry and Plays, &c. Octavo.”

ntentSet=ECCOArticles&version=1.0&docLevel=FASCIMILE. Accessed June 6, 2012.

¹⁵ <http://www.jishistoricbooks.ac.uk/Search/?bibnumber=T002377&spage=1>. Accessed June 2, 2012.

¹⁶ <http://www.jishistoricbooks.ac.uk/Search/?bibnumber=T002371&spage=1>. Accessed June 2, 2012.

423. Shakespeare's Plays, 7 vol. *large Paper*. – 1711. [68]¹⁷

1723. *Catalogus Librorum, Tam Antiquorum, Quam Recentium in Omni & Facultate Praestantissimorum. Being the Library of an Eminent Minister of State, Deceas'd: Consisting of Several Very Curious Books, in Greek, Latin, Italian, Spanish, French, and English; amongst Which are the Prints of the King of France's Cabinet, and Others, Which were Presented to Him, During His Embassy at That Court. Which will be Sold (the Price Mark'd at the Beginning of Each Book, at S. Harding's the Post-House on the Pavement in St. Martin's-Lane Near Leicester-Fields, on Monday the 20th of This Instant April. The Books may be View'd Three Days Before the Sale. Catalogues may be had of W. Meadows in Cornhill; A. Bettesworth in Pater-Noster Row; T. Worrall Against St. Dunstan's Church in Fleetstreet; R. Francklin Next Tom's Coffee-House in Covent-Garden; Mr. Stokoe at Charing-Cross; Mr. King in Westminster-Hall; Mr. Graves in St. James's Street, and at the Place of Sale.*
[Samuel Harding]

“English Books, Folio.”

239. Shakespear's Works, according to the true original Copies, 2d impression (very fair) – 1632. [8]¹⁸

1725. *Librorum in Omni Scientia & Facultate Insignium Catalogus. A Catalogue of Very Scarce and Valuable Books, in Most Faculties, Sciences, and Languages. viz. History of Several Nations, Particularly Great Britain and Ireland. Voyages and Travels. Husbandry and Trade. Prints and Architecture. Divinity. Physic and Mathematics. Law, Common, Civil, and Canon. Lives and Memoirs. Poetry and Romances. Classics, Cum Not. Uar. &c. Dictionaries and Grammars. in Greek, Latin, English, French, Italian and Spanish. with Several Choice Law, and Other Manuscripts; Tracts, and Plays; and Many of the Old Elzevir Classics, Most of Them Neatly Bound, Several in Turkey-Leather, and Many Large Paper. Which will Begin to be Sold Cheap, (the Price Mark'd in Each Book) at Dan. Browne's, at the Black Swan without Temple-Bar, on Wednesday the 3d of March, 1724/5. Catalogues may be had at Mr. King's and Mr. Stagg's, in Westminster-Hall; Mr. Chapman's, in Pall-Mall; Mr. Graves's, in St. James's-Street Mr. Lewis's and Mr. Franklyn's, in Russel-Street, Covent-Garden; Mr. Osborne's in Grays-Inn; Mr. Strahan's, in Cornhill, Booksellers: at the Chapter Coffee-House in Pater-Noster-Row; and at the Place of Sale.*
[Daniel Browne].

“Poetry, Plays, and Novels. Octavo.”

511. Shakespear's Works, compleat, 9 vol. with Cuts. [49]

544. Shakespear's Poems. [50]¹⁹

¹⁷ <http://www.jishistoricbooks.ac.uk/Search/?bibnumber=N027127&spage=1>. Accessed June 2, 2012.

¹⁸ <http://www.jishistoricbooks.ac.uk/Search/?bibnumber=T002375&spage=1>. Accessed June 2, 2012.

¹⁹ <http://www.jishistoricbooks.ac.uk/Search/?bibnumber=T014509&spage=1>. Accessed June 2, 2012.

1725. *A Catalogue of Books, of Antiquity, History, Divinity, Law, Physick, Mathematicks, Voyages, Travels, Heraldry, Musick, Romances, Novels, Architecture, Trade, Husbandry, Lives, Memoirs, Books of Cuts and Maps, Mss. &c. in English, Latin, Greek, French, Spanish, and Italian. with Several Classicks Cum Notis Variorum, and a Collection of Bibles: All of Them in a Neat Condition, Several Gilt Back and Letter'd. Which will Begin to be Sold Cheap (the Price Mark'd in Each Book) on Thursday the Eighteenth of This Instant March, 1724-5. at Nine in the Morning, at Tho. Corbett's Shop (Addison's-Head) without Temple-Bar. Catalogues may be had Gratis at the Following Coffee-Houses: viz. Exchequer, Westminster-Hall-Gate; Will's, Scotland-Yard; Williams's, St. James's; Behn's, Hanover-Square; Squire's, Fullers-Rents; Chapter, Pater-Noster-Row; Batson's, Royal-Exchange; and at the Place of Sale.* [Thomas Corbett].
801. Shakespear's Plays, 9 vol. – 1714. [20]²⁰
1726. *Catalogus Librorum in Omni Genere Literaturæ Præstantium: Being a Catalogue of the Library of the Late Learned Samuel Gibbes Esq; of Horsley in Essex. Containing a Large and Curious Collection of Books in Most Languages, Relating to the History of Great Britain, France, &c. Parliamentary-Affairs, Law Common and Civil, Divinity, Husbandry, Trade, &c. Classicks in Usus Delphini, & Cum Notis Variorum. A Collection of Old Musick in Spanish, Italian, and English, in 380 Volumes. Which will Begin to be Sold Cheap (the Price Mark'd in Each Book) by Tho. Green, at His Shop, Charing-Cross, on Thursday the Third of March 1725-6. at Nine a Clock in the Morning.* [Thomas Green].
- “History, Miscellanies, &c. Folio.”
406. Shakespear's Plays, 2d and best Edition – 1632. [14]
- “History, Plays, Miscellanies, &c. Duodecimo.”
1011. Shakespear's Tragedies, 2 vol. – 1714. [50]²¹
1726. *Librorum Ex Bibliothecis Aaronis Testas, D.D. & Tho. Thorowgood Armigeri, Catalogus: or, a Catalogue of the Libraries of the Reverend and Learned Dr. Aaron Testas, Minister of the French-Church in Spittle-Fields, and Tho. Thorowgood Esq; Consisting of a Very Large and Valuable Collection of Books in Most Languages, viz. Greek, Latin, Hebrew, French, Italian, and Antiquities of Most Nations; but More Particularly of England, Scotland, and Ireland: the Fathers, Divinity, Law Civil, Canon, and Common; Architecture, Sculpture, Husbandry, Trade, Medals, Mathematicks, Voyages, &c. Classicks of the Best Editions, in Usus Delphini, Paris Edition, & Cum Notis Variorum. N.B. There is a Complete Set of the Old Elzevirs, Bound in Morocco, Small Tools, in 39 Volumes. Which will Begin to be Sold Very Cheap (the Price Marked in Each Book) by Tho. Green, at His Shop Next Door to Rochford's*

²⁰ <http://find.galegroup.com/ecco/infomark.do?&source=gale&prodId=ECCO&userGroup=nlscot&tabID=T001&docId=CW3316633932&type=multipage&contentSet=ECCOArticles&version=1.0&docLevel=FASCIMILE>. Accessed June 6, 2012.

²¹ <http://www.jishistoricbooks.ac.uk/Search/?bibnumber=T065040&spage=1>. Accessed June 2, 2012.

Coffee-House, Charing-Cross, on Monday the 14th of November 1726, at Nine in the Morning. Catalogues may be had at Mr. Strahan's, in Cornhill; Mr. Lintot's, in Fleet-Street; Mr. Osborn's, and Mr. Meighan's, in Gray's-Inn; Mr. Lewis's, in Russel-Street, Covent-Garden; Mr. Stagg's, in Westminster-Hall; Mr. Harding's, in St. Martin's-Lane; Mr. Jackson's, in Pall-Mall; Booksellers: and at the Place of Sale. [Thomas Green]

“Miscellanies, Voyages, &c. Octavo & Infra.”

1764 Shakespear's Works, 6 Vol. with Cuts. – 1709. [55]²²

1725. *The Monthly Catalogue being an Exact Register of all Books, Sermons, Plays, Poetry, and Miscellaneous Pamphlets, Printed and Published in London, or the Universities, during the Month of March. 1725.*

“Miscellaneous BOOKS Reprinted.”

III. The Works of *Shakespear*, containing his Plays and Poems, with Remarks on his Plays. Publish'd by Mr. *Pope* and Dr. *Sewel* [sic], compleat in seven Volumes, Royal-paper 4to, are deliver'd to Subscribers by *J. Tonson, A. Bettesworth, F. Fayram, W. Mears, J. Hooke, C. Rivington, F. Clay, J. Batley, and E. Symon.* [35] *Img.* 297 has a listing for *Shakespear Restored*.²³

1728. *Bibliotheca Keelingiana: Being a Catalogue of the Libraries of the Reverend Mr. Keeling, of Cirencester in Gloucestershire, and a Gentleman of Gray's-Inn; Both Deceased. Consisting of Very Curious and Uncommon Books in History, Antiquity, Divinity, Law, Poetry, Romances, Novels, Philosophy, Chymitry, Husbandry, Trade, Architecture, &c. In English, Latin, Greek, French, &c. Which will Begin to be Sold Cheap (the Price Fixed in Each Book) at Thomas Corbett's Shop (Addison's Head) next the Rose-Tavern without Temple-Bar, on Tuesday the 9th of July, 1728.* [Thomas Corbett]

943 the Works of Mr. Wm Shakespear, 9 vol. by Mr. N. Rowe. – 1716. [26]²⁴

1728. *Catalogus Librorum Ex Bibliothecis Virorum Reverendi Eruditissimique Jo. Lowthorp, M.A. & F.R.S. Et Honoratissimi Tho. Carew Armigeri, Nuper Defunctorum: or, a Catalogue of the Libraries of the Late Reverend and Learned John Lowthorp, M. A. and F. R. S. (Author of the Philosophical Transactions Abridg'd;) and the Honourable Tho. Carew Esq; Both Deceas'd. Consisting of Several Thousand Volumes, Relating to the History, Antiquities, and Constitution of Great-Britain, France, Ireland, and Most Other Countries. Books of Sculpture, Medals, Painting, Voyages, Trade, Husbandry, Physick, Mathematicks, Natural History; Law Common, Civil and Canon; Best Editions*

²² <http://www.jisshistoricbooks.ac.uk/Search/?bibnumber=T073283&spage=1>. Accessed June 2, 2012.

²³ <http://find.galegroup.com/ecco/infomark.do?&source=gale&prodId=ECCO&userGroupName=nlibscot&tabID=T001&docId=CW3325753883&type=multipage&contentSet=ECCOArticles&version=1.0&docLevel=FASCIMILE>. Accessed June 6, 2012.

²⁴ <http://find.galegroup.com/ecco/infomark.do?&source=gale&prodId=ECCO&userGroupName=nlibscot&tabID=T001&docId=CW3325301082&type=multipage&contentSet=ECCOArticles&version=1.0&docLevel=FASCIMILE>. Accessed June 6, 2012.

of the Fathers. Lexicographers, Classicks in Usum Delphini, Paris Editions, Cum Notis Variorum, and by the Most Celebrated Printers. N.B. There is a Large and Curious Collection of Spanish, French, and Italian Books. Which will Begin to be Sold Cheap, (the Price Mark'd in Each Book) by Charles Davis, at His Shop (Lately Mr. Bateman's) in Pater-Noster-Row, Next to Warwick-Lane, on Tuesday the 27th of February 1727-8. Catalogues may be had Gratis at Mr. King's, Westminster-Hall; Mr. Green's, Charing-Cross; M. Jackson's, in Pall-Mall; Mr. Lewis's Covent-Garden; Mr. Meighan's, Gray's-Inn-Gate, Holborn; Mr. Lintot's, in Fleet-Street; Mr. Strahan's, and Mr. Brotherton's, Royal-Exchange; Mr. Clement's, at Oxford; Mr. Crownfield's, at Cambridge, and Mr. Corsley's, in Bristol, Booksellers; and at the Place of Sale. Where Money may be had for Any Library or Parcel of Books. [Charles Davis] 1107. A Collection of Shakespear's Tragedies, 2 vol. 1714 [95]²⁵

1729. *A Young Student's Library or, a Catalogue of Books Belonging to the Late Mr. Lusher, of Pembroke Coll. Oxon. Consisting of 500 Articles, in Greek, Latin, Italian, Spanish, French, and English. Being a Collection of the Most Approv'd Modern Authors, in Divinity, History, Poetry, Physick, Voyages, Travels, and Other Polite Literature. with Some Very Good Editions of the Classicks, and Several Very Curious Manuscripts. The Whole to be Sold by Auction, in Five Nights, by Edmund Curll, Bookseller, at His Literary, the Two Green Spires, Next Door to Will's-Coffee-House, in Bow-Street, Covent-Garden. The Sale From 5 to 8 in the Evening; to Being on Thursday Next the 18th Instant. Those Ladies and Gentlemen Who Cannot be Present, Shall have Their Commissions Faithfully Executed. Catalogues are Deliver'd Gratis, and the Books and Manuscripts may be View'd Till the Time of Sale. [Edmund Curll].*

“The Third Night’s Sale. / OCTAVO.”

235 Shakespear’s Play’s, the very best Edition, publish’d by Mr. Rowe. with Critical Remarks on his Plays and Poems, 7 vol. –1709. [9]²⁶

1728. *The Monthly Catalogue or, a General Register of All Books, Sermons, Plays, and Pamphlets; Printed or Reprinted, Either at London, or the Universities, During the Month of November, 1728.*

“Books Reprinted.”

VI. The works of *Shakespear*. Collated and compar’d y the former Editions. by Mr. Pope. A new [pb] Edition in 12mo. Printed for J. Tonson in the Strand. Ten Vols. Price 1 l. 12 s. 6 d.²⁷

²⁵ <http://www.jisichistoricbooks.ac.uk/Search/?bibnumber=T026223&spage=1>. Accessed June 2, 2012.

²⁶ <http://find.galegroup.com/ecco/infomark.do?&source=gale&prodId=ECCO&userGroupName=nlibscot&tabID=T001&docId=CB3331087134&type=multipage&contentSet=ECCOArticles&version=1.0&docLevel=FASCIMILE>. Accessed June 6, 2012.

²⁷ <http://find.galegroup.com/ecco/infomark.do?&source=gale&prodId=ECCO&userGroupName=nlibscot&tabID=T001&docId=CW3325754428&type=multipage&contentSet=ECCOArticles&version=1.0&docLevel=FASCIMILE>. Accessed June 6, 2012.

1730. *A Catalogue of Books Printed for and Sold by Samuel Birt, at the Bible and Ball in Ave-Mary-Lane.*

“S”

Shakespear's Plays, 9 Vol. 12ves. [7]²⁸

1730. *Catalogus Librorum in Quavis Facultate Insigniorum: Being a Catalogue of the Library of Richard Powell Esq; Deceased. Consisting of a Collection of Very Valuable Books in Most Faculties and Sciences, viz. Law, History, Divinity, Architecture, Husbandry, Voyages, and Travels, Books of Prints, 35 Volumes of Votes and Proceedings in Parliament, Classicks, Poetry, Lives, and a Very Large Collection of Books Relating to the History of Great Britain and Ireland. Which will be Sold Cheap, (the Price Mark'd in Each Book) at F. Clay's, without Temple-Bar; on Wednesday the 14th of This Instant January. Catalogues of Which may be had at Mrs. Grave's, in St. James's-Street; Mr. Jackson's, in Pall-Mall; Mr. Stagg's, in Westminster-Hall; Mr. Lewis's, in Covent-Garden; Mr. Osborn's, in Gray's-Inn; Mr. Strahan's, in Cornhill; Mr. Parker's, in St. Paul's Church-Yard; Mr. Brindley's, in New Bond-Street; and at the Place of Sale. [Francis Clay]*

“English Books in Quarto.”

238 Shakespear's Works, 7 vol – 1725 [8]

“Poetry, &c. Octavo”

966 Shakespear's Poems [n.d.] [27]

“Miscellanies, in Duodecimo”

1156 Shakespear's Works, 10 vol. – 1728 [31]

“Odd Volumes”

1473 Shakespear's Works, 5th, 7th, and 8th [n.d.] [40]²⁹

1730. *Librorum Græcorum, Latinorum, Gallicorum, Italicorum, Hispanicorum, & Anglicorum, Ex Musæo Viri Illustris Ricardi Hutton Armig. Et Thomae Kimpson A. M. Catalogus: or, a Catalogue of the Libraries of Richard Hutton Esq; and of the Revd. Tho. Kimpson, (Both Lately Deceased.) Consisting of a Large Collection of Books, Relating to the History, Antiquities, and Constitution of Great-Britain and Ireland; of the History of Most Foreign Nations, and the Antiquities of Several of Their Principalities and Counties: of Architecture, Sculpture, Law, Divinity, Trade, Husbandry, and Classicks, in Usum Delphini, of the Paris Editions, with Several Printed by Aldus, Rob. Stephens, and Other Curious Printers: with a Great Many Italian Books Printed by Giolilo, Juntae, &c. N. B. There are an Hundred Volumes of Vellum Mss. on Various Subjects. Which will Begin to be Sold Cheap (the Price Mark'd in Each Book) at Tho Green's Shop, Against Sir John Falstaffe's-Head, Charing-Cross; on Wednesday the 7th of January 1729-30. at Nine in the*

²⁸ <http://find.galegroup.com/ecco/infomark.do?&source=gale&prodId=ECCO&userGroupName=nlibscot&tabID=T001&docId=CB3331106812&type=multipage&contentSet=ECCOArticles&version=1.0&docLevel=FASCIMILE>. Accessed June 6, 2012.

²⁹ <http://www.jisichistoricbooks.ac.uk/Search/?bibnumber=T060436&spage=1>. Accessed June 2, 2012.

Morning. Catalogues may be had at Mrs. Greaves's, Next White's Chocolate-House, in St. James's-Street; Mr. Jackson's, in Pall-Mall, Booksellers: the British Coffee-House, Charing-Cross; Will's, Tom's, and Button's Coffee-Houses, in Covent-Garden; the Chapter Coffee-House, in St. Paul's Church-Yard: also at Mr. King's, in Westminster-Hall; Mr. Lintot's, in Fleet-Street; Mr. Meighan's, at Gray's-Inn-Gate; Mr. Strahan's, in Cornhill, Booksellers: and at the Place of Sale.

1817 Shakespear's Works, 10 vol. – 1728 [59]³⁰

1730. *Bibliotheca Burnetiana: Being a Catalogue of the Intire Library of His Excellency William Burnet Esq; Deceased; Late Governor of New-England. Consisting of Many Scarce and Valuable Books in Several Languages and Faculties, Most of them Curiously Bound, and in Good Condition. Amongst Which is a Fine Collection of Mathematical and Common Law Books, &c. Which will be Sold by Auction, at the Bedford Coffee-House, in the Great Piazza, Covent-Garden; on Thursday, January 7. 17[30]. Beginning Every Evening at Five a-Clock Exactly. By John Wilcox, Bookseller in Little Britain.*

“Eighth Day's Sale, Saturday, January 16. / Voyages, Poetry, &c. Twelves.”

582 Shakespear's Plays and Poems, by Rowe, 9 vol. 1714 [34]³¹

1731. *Librorum, in Omnibus Linguis & Literaturæpartibus Insignium, Catalogus. A Catalogue of the Libraries of the Rev. Mr. Thomas Creech, A.M. Formerly Fellow of Wadham College in Oxford, and of John Eyre Esq; Lately Deceas'd. Consisting of a Very Large and Choice Collection of Valuable and Useful Books, in All Parts of Learning. Particularly Great Numbers of the Classics, Publish'd in Usum Delphini and Cum Notis Variorum, with Many Other Curious and Scarce Editions. Which will be Sold Very Cheap, (the Lowest Price Fix'd in Each Book) on Tuesday the 25th Day of May 1731. Beginning at Eight in the Morning. by Fletcher Gyles, Bookseller, over-against Gray's-Inn in Holborn. Catalogues may be had Gratis, of Mr. Strahan in Cornhill; Mr. Innys in St. Paul's Church Yard; Mr. Woodward in Fleetstreet; Mr. Lewis in Russel-Street Covent-Garden; Mr. King in Westminster-Hall; Mr. Parker in Pall-Mall, London: Mr. Thurlbourn in Cambridge; Mrs. Fletcher in Oxford; Mr. Leake at Bath; Booksellers: and at the Place of Sale. [Gyles Fletcher]*

1036 the Works of Mr. William Shakespear, with his Life by Mr. Rowe, 7 vol. *compleat.* – 1709

1037 the same. 8 vol. 12mo. – 1714

1038 a Collection of Mr. William Shakespear's Poems [118]³²

³⁰ <http://www.jishistoricbooks.ac.uk/Search/?bibnumber=T060435&spage=1>. Accessed June 2, 2012.

³¹ <http://www.jishistoricbooks.ac.uk/Search/?bibnumber=N032167&spage=1>. Accessed June 2, 2012.

³² <http://find.galegroup.com/ecco/infomark.do?&source=gale&prodId=ECCO&userGroupName=nlibscot&tabID=T001&docId=CB3327698508&type=multipage&contentSet=ECCOArticles&version=1.0&docLevel=FASCIMILE>. Accessed June 6, 2012.

1731. *Librorum Ex Bibliothecis Philippi Farewell, D.D. Et Danielis De Foe, Gen. Catalogus: or a Catalogue of the Libraries of the Reverend and Learned Philips Farewell, D. D. Late Fellow of Trinity-College, Cambridge; and of the Ingenious Danie De Foe, Gent. Lately Deceas'd. Containing A Curious Collection of Books Relating to the History and Antiquities of Divers Nations, Particularly England, Scotland, and Ireland. Likewise a Greta Variety of Books in Divinity, History, Mathematicks, Civil, Canon, and Common-Law, Medals, Architecture, Coins, Inscriptions, Perspective, Voyages, Natural History, Physick and Lexicographers, viz. Stephani Thesaurus, &c. Several of the Classicks in usum Delphini, Printed at Paris, &c. cum Notis Variorum; Many Printed by the Most Famous Printers, in Greek, Hebrew, Latin, Italian, Spanish, French, German, and English. N. B. Manuscripts. Also Several Hundred Curious Spare Tracts on Parliamentary Affairs, Politicks, Husbandry, trade, Voyages, Natural History, Mines, Minerals, &c. Several Curious Prints, Medals, &c. Which will begin to be Sold Vert Cheap (the Lowest Price Mark's in Each Book) on Monday the 15th of November, 1731. by Olive Payne.*

“Libri Omissi. Octavo & Duodecimo.”

243. Pope's Shakespear. 9 vol. ditto [neatly gilt]. – 1728³³

1732. *A Catalogue of Books Printed For, and Sold By, William Innys and Richard Manby, at the West End of St. Paul's. MDCCXXXII.*

“S”

Shakespear's Plays, 10 Vols. 12mo. [Img. 15]³⁴

1732. *Bibliotheca Curiosa: or, a Catalogue of Very Curious, Scarce, and Uncommon Books and Tracts, Relating to the History and Antiquities of Great-Britain and Ireland, and Divers Other Nations. with a Large Collection Of, Parliamentary Affairs, Travels, Uoyages, Trade, Coin, Husbandry, Heraldry, Battles, Sieges, Physick, Alchemy, Mathematicks, Mines, Minerals, Lives, &c. with a Collection of Manuscripts, of History, Heraldry, and Parliamentary Affairs, and a Great Number of Trials, Speeches, Proclamations, and Declarations, &c. Which will be Sold Very Cheap, (the Lowest Price Fixed in Each Book) on Thursday the 30th of This Instant March 1732, by L. Lawlor, Bookseller, in St. Martin's Church-Yard, Near the Strand, Beginning at Eight in the Morning. Catalogues may be had at Mr. Strahan's in Cornhill; Mr. Wotton's over-against St. Dunstan's Church in Fleet-Street; Mr. Brindley's in New-Bond-Street; Mr. Jackson's, Pall-Mall, Booksellers; at Forest's Coffee-House Against the Mews-Gate, Charing-Cross; the British Coffee-House in the Court of Requests; and at the Place of Sale.*

1762 Shakespear's Plays, Vol. II [n.d.] [49]³⁵

³³ <http://www.jishistoricbooks.ac.uk/Search/?bibnumber=T076875&spage=1>. Accessed June 2, 2012.

³⁴ <http://www.jishistoricbooks.ac.uk/Search/?bibnumber=T130355&spage=1>. Accessed June 2, 2012.

³⁵ <http://www.jishistoricbooks.ac.uk/Search/?bibnumber=T054233&spage=1>. Accessed June 2, 2012.

1732. *A Catalogue of the Libraries of Mr. Bishop, of Drayton; Mr. Hitch, of the Six Clerks Office; and Dr. Castle; All Lately Deceased: Consisting of About Six Thousand Volumes in Divinity, History, Antiquity, Voyages, Travels, Common and Civil Law, Mathematicks, Architecture, Sculpture, Painting, Medals, Poetry, &c. Among Many Valuable Books are the Following: Ld Clarendon's Hist. 3 Vol. L. Pap. Harris's History of Kent. Dart's Canterbury, L. and S. Pap. Scot's History of Scotland. Mercator's Atlas, 2 Vol. Finely Col. Guillim's Heraldry. Romanae Magnitudinis Monument. Roma Subterranea. Le Bruyn's Travels, Fine Cuts. Historiae Anglicanae Scrip. 2 Vol. Antiquit. Rom. Explicatae. Royal Bible, Finest Paper, by Basket, at Oxon. 1717. Hammond's Works, 4 Vol. Tillotson's Works, 3 Vol. Leslie's Works, 2 Vol. L. Pap. Beveridge's Works, 2 Vol. Hist. Scrip. Iconibus Repraesent. N. Testamentum, Millii. Cotelerii Patres Apostolici, 2 Tom. Which will Begin to be Sold Very Cheap, (the Lowest Price Mark'd in Each Book) on Monday the 11th of December 1732, at R. Montagu's Great Book-Warehouse, at the General Post-Office, the Corner of Great Queen-Street, Near Drury-Lane: Where Any Gentlemen That have Libraries to Dispose Of, may be Certain of Ready Money on the Most Advantageous Terms, Several Booksellers Having United, and Provided Large Warehouses for That Purpose. N. B. Such Gentleman as Desire it, May, at the said Place, have Catalogues Taken, and Books Appraised, and Sold by Publick Auction, or in What Manner They Please, on Very Reasonable Conditions. Catalogues to be had at the Place of Sale, and at the Following Coffee-Houses; (viz.) Mount's Coffee-House, in Grosvenor-Street, Near Hannover-Square; St. James's, in St. James's-Street; Tom's, in Scotland Yard; Oliver's, at Westminster-Hall Gate; Slaughter's, in St. Martin's Lane; Squire's, in Fuller's-Rents, Near Grays-Inn; Serle's, in Lincolns-Inn; Richards's, by Temple-Bar; and John's, in Birch-Lane. for the Curious, There are a Few Printed with the Prices, and Sold at 1 S. Each, at the Place of Sale; Mrs. Nut's, at the Royal-Exchange; and Mrs. Dodd's, without Temple-Bar. [Montagu]*
 “Miscellanea, Octav. & Duodec. &c. Eng. Lat. French, &c.”
 1866 Rowe's Shakespear, 7 vol. Cuts. – 1709 1 18 0 [45]
 “Odd Volumes. Octav. Duodec. &c.”
 3004 Rowe's Shakespear, large Paper, Cuts, 1st, 2d, 4th, and 7th. – 1709 [72]³⁶

1732. *Trium Bibliothecarum Insigni Copiâ Omnigenæ Literaturæ Libror. Instructissimar. Catalogus. or, a Catalogue of the Libraries of the Reverend Robert Kilborn, LL. D. Prebendary of St. Paul's, and Rector of St. Mary Aldermary; and of the Revd John Marshall, LL. D. Rector of Finchley, and Morning-Preacher at St. John's Chapel Near Bedford-Row; And, Lastly, of Stephen Hall, M. D. Physician to the Royal Hospital at Greenwich; All Lately Deceas'd. Containing Near Ten Thousand Volumes of Curious and Valuable Books in Almost All Languages and Faculties; Particularly Great Numbers Relating to the History and Antiquities of Most Foreign Nations, but Especially the History, Antiquities, and Parliamentary Affairs of Great Britain and Ireland; as, Rymer, Rushworth, Prynne, Dugdale, Hearne, &c. also Several Books of Medals, Coins, Architecture, Perspective, Sculpture, Painting,*

³⁶ <http://www.jishistoricbooks.ac.uk/Search/?bibnumber=T163793&spage=1>. Accessed June 2, 2012.

Heraldry, Mathematicks, Physick, Natural History, Mines, Minerals, Alchymy, Husbandry, Travels, Voyages, Trade, Civil, Canon, and Common-Law, Divinity, &c. and Likewise Many of the Best Lexicographers and Dictionary-Writers: Together with Most of the Greek and Roman Historians, Classicks, &c. Printed by Aldus, Colinaeus, Vascosan, Morel, Stephens, Elzevir, &c. and Several in Usum Delphini, Cum Notis Variorum, of the Oxford and Other the Neatest and Scarcest Editions. Which will Begin to be Sold Very Cheap (the Lowest Price Fix'd in Each Book) on Tuesday the Eighteenth Day of This Instant April, 1732, at Nine A-Clock in the Morning, at Tho. Osborne's Shop in Grays-Inn. Catalogues may be had at the Place of Sale, and Money for Any Library of Books. [Osborne]

554 Shakespear's Plays – 1685 [17]³⁷

1732. *A Catalogue of the Library of the Revd John Bell, M.A. Late Fellow of Queens College, Oxon, and Vicar of Sparsholt in Berks. Consisting of Some Hundreds of Volumes, in Most Parts of Literature. The Books in General are in Good Condition, Mostly Gilt or Letter'd. and will Begin to be Sold by Auction on Wednesday, Octob. 25. 1732. at the Auction-Room Adjoyning to St. Mary's Church, Oxon. by Thomas Tebb, Bookseller. The Books to be View'd Two Days Before the Sale, as Monday and Tuesday. Catalogues to be had Gratis of the Widow Fletcher Bookseller in High-Street, and of James Fletcher Bookseller in the Turl, Both in Oxon. [Thomas Tebb]*

199 Shakespear's Plays, 2d volume – 1714 [4]³⁸

1733. *A Catalogue of the Books of the Right Honourable Charles Viscount Bruce of Amphill (Son and Heir Apparent of Thomas Earl of Ailesbury) and Baron Bruce of Whorleton, in His Library at Totenham in the County of Wiltes [Allesbury]*

“Poets and orators / Small Folio”

9 Shakespeare's (Wm) Works (a little imperfect) Old Edit – [n.d.] [120]

[some single eds. in quarto]

“Octavo”

21 Shakespear's (Wm) Plays. with an Account of his Life and Writings by N. Rower, Esq; Adorn'd with Cuts 7 Vol. – Lond. 1709 [126]³⁹

1733. *A Catalogue of the Libraries of the Eminent Major-General Kelham, and the Revd. Mr. Benjamin Young, (Both Lately Deceased.) Containing a Large and Curious Collection of Books in Almost All Languages and Faculties, Which will Begin to be Sold Very Cheap (the Lowest Price Mark's in Each Book) on Tuesday the 19th of This Instant June, 1733, at R. Montagu's Book Warehouse, at the General Post-Office, the Corner of Great Queen-Street, near Drury-Lane. [Montagu]*

³⁷ <http://www.jishistoricbooks.ac.uk/Search/?bibnumber=T054231&spage=3>. Accessed June 2, 2012.

³⁸ <http://www.jishistoricbooks.ac.uk/Search/?bibnumber=T187679&spage=1>. Accessed June 2, 2012.

³⁹ <http://www.jishistoricbooks.ac.uk/Search/?bibnumber=T128143&spage=1>. Accessed June 2, 2012.

1923 Shakespeare's Poems [22]⁴⁰

1733. *Librorum in Omni Facultate & Scientiæ Præstantissimorum, Catalogus. or, a Catalogue of the Libraries of Henry Smith, Esq; Late One of the Benchers of the Inner-Temple; and the Reverend Mr. Ilive, M.A. (Both Deceased;) Among Which are Very Near a Compleat Set of the King of France's Cabinet of Prints, Bound in Morocco, with the King's-Arms. Græ Vius and Gronovius, 28 Vol, Large Paper. Grævius's Antiquities of Italy, 27 Vol. Large Paper. Grævius's Antiquities of Sicily, 15 Vol. Large Paper. Tractatus Tractatum, 28 Vol. Best Edition. Rymer's Fodera, 19 Vol. Montfaucon's Antiquities, 15 Vol. Large Paper. Ciceronis Opera, 4 Vol. Apud Juntas. Biblia Sacra, 8 Vol. Parisiis È Typographia Regia. Philosophical Transactions, 30 Vol. Compleat. as also a Compleat Set of the Best Editions of the Classicks, with a Very Large Number of Books of Prints, Architecture, Painting, &c. Together with a Compleat Set of the Common Law. Which will Begin to be Sold Very Cheap, the Lowest Price Fixed in Each Book, on Wednesday the 2d of May, at Nine of the Clock in the Morning; at Thomas Osborne's Shop in Gray's-Inn. 1733. Catalogues to be had at the Place of Sale, and Money for Any Library of Books [Osborne]*

“English Miscellanies. Folio.”

810 Shakespear's Plays, 2d edition [25]

“English Miscellanies. Quarto.”

1864 Pope's Shakespear, 6 Vol. 1723 [53]⁴¹

1734. *A Catalogue of Books in Quires, Being Part of the Stocks of Mr. Charles King, Late of Westminster-Hall; and Mr. John Darby, Deceas'd: Which will be Sold by Auction, to the Booksellers of London and Westminster Only, at the Queen's-Head Tavern in Pater-Noster Row; on Tuesday, the 25th of June, 1734.*

“Lot 15”

214 Pope's Shakespear, 9 vol. [3]

264 Theobald's Shakespear, 7 vol. [4]⁴²

1733. *A Catalogue of Maps, Prints, Books, and Books of Maps, Which are Printed For, and Sold by John Bowels, at Mercer's-Hall in Cheapside, London. Where Merchants, Gentlemen, City Shopkeepers, and Country Chapmen may be Furnished with Them at the Best Hand, and Lowest Prices. [by John Bowles].*

“Poets and orators”

Shakespear's (Wm) Plays. with an Account of his Life and Writings by N. Rowe, Esq; Adorn'd with Cuts 7 Vol. – Lond. 1709 [126]⁴³

⁴⁰ <http://www.jishistoricbooks.ac.uk/Search/?bibnumber=T184784&spage=1>. Accessed June 2, 2012.

⁴¹ <http://find.galegroup.com/ecco/infomark.do?&source=gale&prodId=ECCO&userGroupName=nlibscot&tabID=T001&docId=CB3326880067&type=multipage&contentSet=ECCOArticles&version=1.0&docLevel=FASCIMILE>. Accessed June 6, 2012.

⁴² <http://www.jishistoricbooks.ac.uk/Search/?bibnumber=T209492&spage=1>. Accessed June 2, 2012.

1734. *Bibliotheca Wincupiana & Martyniana: or, a Catalogue of the Libraries of the Revd Dr. Wincup, and of Robert Martyn, of the Inner-Temple, Esq; Consisting of a Large and Curious Collection of Books Relating to the History, Antiquities, and Constitution of Great Britain and Ireland, France, Italy, Spain, Germany, &c. Among Which are Most of the Scarce Volumes of the King of France's Cabinet, Bound in Morocco, the Byzantine Historians, 33 Vol. Rymer's Foedera, 17 Vol. Tractatus Tractatum, 28 Vol. Several of the Louvre Editions of the Greek and Latin Classics, All the Pocket-Classicks by Colinaeus, Seb. Gryphius, Sedan, Aldus, Stephens, Elzevir, &c. A Large Collection of Books of Sculpture, and Single Prints, Architecture, Medals, Painting, Law, Civil and Canon, Benedictine, and Best Editions of the Fathers. A Great Number of Books of Voyages, and Natural History, Most of the Ancient and Modern Physicians, Books of Anatomy, Surgery, &c. Several of the Scarce Dictionaries, as Doletus's, Stephens's, &c. and a Complete Collection of the Common Law-Books. Which will Begin to be Sold Very Cheap (the Lowest Price Fixed in Each Book) at T. Osborne's Shop in Gray's-Inn, on Tuesday the 19th of This Instant February, 1733-4 [Osbourne]*

“English History, Divinity, Voyages & Travels, Philosophy, Mathematicks, Gardening, and Poetry. Quarto.”

2425 Shakespear's Works, published by Pope, 6 vol. – 1725 [76]

“English Poetry, Plays, and Novels. Octavo, &c.”

3158 Shakespear's Plays, 7 vol. with Theobald's Notes. – 1734 [97]⁴⁴

1735. *Catalogus Librorum Domi Forisque Impressorum Quibus Bibliopolium Suum Adauxère Gul. Innys & Ric. Manby Illustrissimæ Regiæ Societatis Typographi.* [Innys and Manby]

“Libri Miscellanei. Octavo.”

Shakespear's Works, 6. vols. *Lond.* 1609 [80]

Shakespear's Works, published by Theobald, 7 vol. *Lond.* 1733 [83]⁴⁵

1735. *At R. Montagu's Book-Ware-House, the General-Post-Office, That End of Great Queen-Street, Next Drury-Lane, is a Choice Collection of Books, Being the Libraries of Sir Thomas More, and the Rev. Mr. Thornburgh's, Both Lately Deceased: Consisting of History, Divinity, Antiquities, Mathematicks, Law, astrology, Atlas's, Sculpture, Heraldry, Lives, Poetry, Plays, Novels, Manuscripts, &c. &c. in Most Languages, Chiefly Bound in a Beautiful Manner, Gilt, Marbled Leaves and Covers; with All Mr. Thornburgh's Manuscript Sermons, &c. and a Number of Scarce Pamphlets, and Books of Antiquity. Which will Begin to be Sold Very Cheap, for Ready Money on Monday the 24th of This Instant November. The Price Being Mark'd on the First Leaf of Each Book. N.B. Such Gentlemen Who have Books to Bind, Gild, or Letter, May Depend on Having Them Done in the Best Manner; Likewise*

⁴³ <http://www.jishistoricbooks.ac.uk/Search/?bibnumber=T013034&spage=1>. Accessed June 2, 2012.

⁴⁴ <http://www.jishistoricbooks.ac.uk/Search/?bibnumber=T056719&spage=1>. Accessed June 2, 2012.

⁴⁵ <http://www.jishistoricbooks.ac.uk/Search/?bibnumber=T053909&spage=1>

Libraries Methodized, Gilt and Letter'd at Their Own Houses, Whether in Town or Country, on Very Reasonable Terms. There Likewise may be had the Best of Ink. Catalogues to be had at the Place of Sale, and at Kensington of the Clerk of the Parish, and of Mr. Palmer, Grocer, at Chelsea. Ready-Money for Any Library or Parcel of Books. Horse or Chaise be Wanted, it may be Hired at a Very Reasonable Rate at the Above-Mentioned Place [Montagu]

“Miscellanies and Poetry in Folio”

0 18 0 *215 Shakespear's Works, 2d and best Edit. – 1632 [6]

“Poetry, Plays, Novels and Tales, &c. / Octavo.”

0 5 0 1274 Shakespear's Poems, large Paper – 1710 [30]

“Octavos and Twelves at 1s. 6d. each Volume”

733 Shakespear's Poems [51]⁴⁶

1735. *At R. Montagu's Book-Warehouse, the General-Post-Officer, That End of Great Queen-Street, Next Drury-Lane, is a Choice Collection of Books, Being Several Libraries Lately Purchased: Consisting of History, Divinity, Antiquities, Mathematicks, Law, astrology, Atlas's, Sculpture, Heraldry, Poetry, Plays, Novels, Manuscripts, &c. &c. in Most Languages, Chiefly Bound in a Beautiful Manner, Gilt, Marbled Leaves and Covers. Which will Begin to be Sold Very Cheap, for Ready-Money, on Monday the 28st of April, 1735, the Price Being Mark'd on the First Leaf of Each Book. N. B. Such Gentlemen Who have Books to Bind, Gild, or Letter, May Depend on Having Them Done in the Best Manner; Likewise Libraries Vnethodiz'd, Gilt and Letter'd at Their Own Houses, Whether in Town or Country, on Very Reasonable Terms. There Likewise may be had the Best of Ink. Catalogues to be had at the Place of Sale, Where may be had, at 1s. Each, Catalogues, with the Prices Fixed to Each; Likewise Ready Money for Any Library or Parcel of Books. it a Very Good Horse or Chaise be Wanted, it may be Hired at a Very Reasonable Rate at the Above-Mentioned Place.*

“Poetry, Plays, Novels and Tales, &c. / Octavo.”

1062 –[Poems]—by Shakespear, large pap. cuts – 1710 0 7 6 [27]

0 12 0 1071 Plays, by Shakespear, 1 st and 2d, large pap. –1709 [28]

“Poetry, Plays, Novels, &c. Duodecimo”

1549 Shakespear's Select Plays. – 1712 0 3 0 [39]⁴⁷

1735. *Bibliotheca Splendidissima: or, a Catalogue of the Valuable Libraries of John Owen, Esq; Late Recorder of Windsor; Mr. John Ecton, Late Receiver of the Tenths of the Clergy: and That Ingenious Architect Capt. Edward Stanton. to Which are Added, a Very Fine Collection, Lately Imported From Abroad, Chiefly Collected by the Celebrated Mr. Colbert, First Minister of State to the Late King of France: as Likewise, by the Learned Abbot Bignon, Librarian to the Present King of France. The Whole Consisting of a Large and Numerous*

⁴⁶ <http://find.galegroup.com/ecco/infomark.do?&source=gale&prodId=ECCO&userGroupName=nlibscot&tabID=T001&docId=CB3327671508&type=multipage&contentSet=ECCOArticles&version=1.0&docLevel=FASCIMILE>. Accessed June 6, 2012.

⁴⁷ <http://www.jishistoricbooks.ac.uk/Search/?bibnumber=T163467&spage=1>. Accessed June 2, 2012.

Collection of Books, Relating to the History, Antiquities, and Constitution of Great-Britain, Ireland, France, Italy, Spain, Germany, Muscovy, Poland, Sweden, Denmark, Asia, Africa and America. The Best Editions of the Classicks, by Vascosan, Colinaeus, Seb. Gryphius, Stephens, Aldus, Sedan, the Louvre, the Royal Classicks, in Usus Delphini, Cum Notis Variorum, & Elzevir. Curiously Bound in Morocco, and Several with the Colbert and Bignon Arms on the Sides. Some Curious Manuscripts Upon Vellum. A Compleat Set of the Histories of the Several Counties in England. All the Old Chronicles. A Fine Collection of Large and Curious Bibles, Printed by Field and Others, with Curious Cuts by Silvester, &c. Sir William Dugdale's Works. All the Best and Scarcest Dictionaries and Lexicons. A Fine Collection of Books of Sculpture, Architecture, Medals, Painting, Mathematicks, the Benedictine Editions of the Fathers, a Compleat Set of the Common Law, Civil and Canon; a Large Number of Voyages and Natural History; Most of the Antient and Modern Books of Physick, Anatomy, Surgery, &c. Great Numbers on Large Paper, and Several Hundred Volumes Bound in Morocco. Which will Begin to be Sold Very Cheap (the Lowest Price Fixed in Each Book) at T. Osborne's Shop in Gray's-Inn, on Monday the 17th Day of November 1735. Catalogues may be had at the Place of Sale, and Money for Any Library or Parcel of Books. [Osborne]

“English Miscellanies. Folio.”

892 Shakespear's Works – 1623 [29]

“English Miscellanies. Quarto.”

3392 Shakespear's Works publish'd by Pope, 6 vol. – 1725 [107]

“Poetry, Novels, and Translations. Octavo and Twelves.”

5243 Shakespear's Plays, by Rowe, 6 vol. *cuts*. 1709 [154]

5367 Shakespear's Works by Theobalds, 7 vol. 1733 [157]⁴⁸

1735. *A Catalogue of a Small but Curious Collection of Books and Manuscripts in Several Languages, Being the Library of That Eminent Historian James Tyrrell, ... will be Sold ... on Monday the 23d Instant, 1735. by Olive Payne.*

“History, Poetry, Plays, Novels, Mathematicks, and Physick. / English. Twelves.”

942. Shakespear's Works, in 8 vol. new, bound. – 1735 0 15 0

945. [Shakespear's] Plays, vol. II – 1714 0 2 0 [29]⁴⁹

1735. *A Catalogue of Several Thousand Volumes, in Most Languages and Faculties, to Which are Added, a Large and Curious Parcel of Manuscripts. Being the Libraries of Thomas Bennet, Esq; and a Rev Divine, Both Deceased; Likewise a Curious Parcel of the Famous Mr. John Toland, Among Which are the Following in Folio. [specific list here] . . . With Many Hundreds now Equally Good, in Excellent Condition; for the Generality Very handsomely Bound, and all Gilt on the Back or Letter'd. To be Sold Very Cheap, on Wednesday the 29th, and to Continue Daily till All are Sold by Olive Payne, Bookseller, at Horace's Head in Round-Court, in the Strand, over against York-Building.*

⁴⁸ <http://www.jishistoricbooks.ac.uk/Search/?bibnumber=T053896&spage=1>. Accessed June 2, 2012.

⁴⁹ <http://www.jishistoricbooks.ac.uk/Search/?bibnumber=T054217&spage=1>. Accessed June 2, 2012.

“English Octavo’s and Twelves”

0 15 0 1901 Shakespear’s Works, 8 vol. – 1735 [54]

0 17 0 1967 Shakespear’s Plays, 8 vol. neatly bound – 1735 [56]⁵⁰

1735. *A Catalogue of the Libraries of Peter Baudoin, Esq; and the Reverend Mr. Brown, (Both Lately Deceased) Containing Near Ten Thousand Volumes in All Languages, Arts and Sciences; and will be Sold Very Cheap on Wednesday the 7th of This Instant May 1735; and Continue Selling Daily Till All are Sold, by Olive Payne, Bookseller, at Horace's Head in Round-Court, Opposite York-Buildings in the Strand. Catalogues to be Had, with the Prices Printed, at One Shilling Each, of Mrs. Nutt at the Royal-Exchange; Mrs. Dodd at the Peacock without Temple-Bar; Mr. Chrichley's, Charing-Cross; and at the Place of Sale: Where may be had the Full Value for Any Library or Parcel of Books in Any Language or Faculty. N. B. The Books in General are in Good Condition, Many Bound in the Best Manner, and Several Printed by the Most Famous, Eminent Printers.*

“English Miscellanies Octavo”

4 the seventh Vol. of Shakespear’s Works, large Paper. – 1710 0 5 0 [97]

585 a Vol. of Shakespear’s Poems, viz. Venus and Adonia [sic], & c. [n.d]. 0 1 6 [119]⁵¹

1735. *A Catalogue of Books Printed for and Sold by Richard Ware, Bookseller, at the Bible and Sun in Warwick-Lane, Amen Corner, London.* [Richard Ware]

“T”

Theobald’s Shakespear. 7 Vols. 8vo. [17]⁵²

1735. *A Catalogue of Books, Being the Libraries of a Right Reverend Prelate. Thomas Wickham, M. D. and J. Shaw, Attorney, Deceas'd. Consisting of Many Thousand Valuable Books in Almost All Languages and Faculties, Which will be Sold Extraordinary Cheap (the Price Being Fix'd in Each Book) at John Wilcox's at Virgil's Head, Opposite the New Church in the Strand, the Shop Which Was Mr. Abraham Vandenhoeck's Who is Gone to Live at Hamburgh. on Monday March the 3d, 1734-5. Catalogues to be had at Mr. John Clarke's under the Royal-Exchange, Mr. Rivington's in St. Paul's Church-Yard, Mr. Motte at Temple-Bar, Mr. Parker in Pall Mall, Booksellers, and at the Place of Sale: Where Any Gentlemen May have Ready Money for Any Library or Parcel of Books, to the Full Value.* [John Wilcox]

“Poetry”

1485 Theobald’s Shakespear 7 vol. 1733 [poss. p. 79]⁵³

⁵⁰ <http://www.jishistoricbooks.ac.uk/Search/?bibnumber=T081782&spage=1>. Accessed June 2, 2012.

⁵¹ <http://www.jishistoricbooks.ac.uk/Search/?bibnumber=T055000&spage=1>. Accessed June 2, 2012.

⁵² <http://find.galegroup.com/ecco/infomark.do?&source=gale&prodId=ECCO&userGroupName=nlibscot&tabID=T001&docId=CB3326545510&type=multipage&contentSet=ECCOArticles&version=1.0&docLevel=FASCIMILE>. Accessed June 6, 2012.

1736. *A Catalogue of the Choice Library of Capt. William Long, Lately Deceas'd: and of Several Curious Libraries Lately Purchas'd. Containing a Large and Choice Collection of Books in English, Greek, Latin, Italian, French, Spanish, &c. Among Which are the Following in Folio. Mariana's Hist. of Spain. Chaucer's Works, by Urry. Dugdale's Monasticon, L. Pap. Burton's itinerary. Torriano's ital. Dictionary. Stevens's Spanish Dictionary. Inigo Jones's Designs. Bayle's Dictionary, 4 Vol. Ditto, French. Wood's Athen. Oxon, 2 Vol. L. P. Tillotson's Works, 3 Vol. Echard's Hist. of England, 3 Vol. Dryden's Virgil, Cuts. Prideaux's Connection, 2 Vol. Jones's Stone-Heng, L. Pap. Dugdale's St. Paul's, Cuts. Collier's Eccles. Hist. 2 Vol. Montfaucon's Antiquit. & Supplement, 7 Vol. L. Pap. Ditto, Small. Coker's Hist. of Dorsetshire. Wesley's Life of Christ. Boyer's Life of Queen Anne. Brent's History of Council of Trent. Best. Thucydides a Hudsono. Thes. Graecae Linguae, 4 Tom. A Stephano. Thuani Historia, 4 Tom. Ashmole's order of the Garter. Wood's Institutes. Calmet's Dictionary, 3 Vol. Pope's Homer's Iliad and Odyssey, 9 Vol. Garth's Ovid, Lar. and Sm. Pap. Which will Begin to be Sold Cheap, the Lowest Price Being Mark'd on the First Leaf of Each Book, and in the Catalogue, on Tuesday the 11th Day of May 1736, by Samuel Baker, Bookseller, at the Angel and Crown in Russel-Street, Covent-Garden. Catalogues, with the Prices, to be had Gratis, at Mr. Osborn's, at the Golden-Ball in Paternoster-Row, at Mr. Strahan's in Cornhill, and at the Place of Sale. N. B. Capt. Will. Long's Models and Designs, with Several Mss. of Shipping, are to be Sold, and may be Seen at Mr. Peter Thompson's Merchant, at His House Near St. Saviour's Dock, Southwark.*

“English Miscellanies. Quarto.”

3 3 0 219 Pope's Shakespear's Works, 7 vol. – 1725 [8]

“English Miscellanies, Octavo.”

5 11 Shakespear's Works, by Rowe, 7 vol. *fine cuts*. 1710 1 7 6 [17]

1 11 6 801 Theobald's Shakespear's Works, 7 vol. – 1733 [24]⁵⁴

1736. *A Catalogue of Books Printed for and Sold by Samuel Birt, Bookseller, at the Bible and Ball in Ave-Mary-Lane, London.* [Samuel Birt]

“P”

Plays in Pocket Volumes, written by Shakespear, Addison, Otway, Congreve, Southern, Farquhar, Steele, Etheridge, Cibber, Vanbrugh, Rowe, Dryden, Shadwell, Mountfort, 12mo. [24]

“S”

Shakespear's Plays, 10 Vols. [28]

“T”

Theobald's Shakespear, 7 Vols. 8vo [30]⁵⁵

⁵³ <http://www.jishistoricbooks.ac.uk/Search/?bibnumber=T054076&spage=1>. Accessed June 2, 2012.

⁵⁴ <http://www.jishistoricbooks.ac.uk/Search/?bibnumber=T216164&spage=1>. Accessed June 2, 2012.

⁵⁵ <http://www.jishistoricbooks.ac.uk/Search/?bibnumber=T061455&spage=1>. Accessed June 2, 2012.

1736. *A Catalogue of the Valuable Libraries of Sir Peter Killebrew, Bart. and William Arnall, Esq; Deceas'd: Also Several Other Curious Collections, Collected Abroad, at a Very Great Expence. Among the rest, there is [specific list here] . . . Which will Begin to be Sold Very Cheap, the Lowest Price Marked in Each Book, on Monday the 22d Day of November, at T. Osborne's Shop in Gray's-Inn.* [Osborn]

1982 Shakespear's Works, published by Pope, 6 vol. – 1725 [64]

2960 Shakespear's Plays and Poems, published by Rowe, 10 vol. 1728 [89]⁵⁶

1736. *A Catalogue of the Valuable Library of That Great Antiquarian Mr. Tho. Hearne to be Sold at T. Osborne's Shop in Gray's-Inn, on Monday the 16th Day of February 1735-6.*

3009 Shakespear's Works, by Pope, 7 vol. – 1725 [99]⁵⁷

1736. *A Catalogue of a Small Parcel of Books, in Very Good Condition. Many of Them Curiously Bound, and All the Rest Gilt on the Back or Letter'd, to be Sold Very Cheap, on Tuesday the 13th of This Instant July, and to Continue Till All are Sold, by Olive Payne, Bookseller, at Horace's Head, in Round-Court, in the Strand, Opposite York-Buildings. Among Which are [specific list here] . . . Catalogues to be had Gratis, with the Prices Printed, at the Place of Sal Where may be had Most Money for Any Library or Parcel of Book: Particularly Foreign, in Any Language. N. B. at the Same Place Continues the Sale of the Library of W. Grainger, Es Deceased, Late Envoy at Stockholm, Consisting of Several Thousand Volumes.* [Olive Payne]

“Quarto”

Pope's Shakespear, 6 vol. [1]⁵⁸

1736. *A Catalogue of Several Thousand Volumes, Wherein are Many Useful and Curious Books in All Parts of Learning, in Greek, Latin, Italian, French, Spanish, and English: for the Generality in Very Good Condition, Many Curiously Bound, and Almost All Gilt on the Back, or Letter'd: Which will be Sold Very Cheap, on Wednesday the 7th of This Instant January, 1735, and to Continue Daily Till All are Sold, by Olive Payne, Bookseller, at Horace's Head in Round Court, over against York-Buildings in the Strand. Catalogues may be had Gratis, of Mr. Strahan, in Cornhill; Mr. Mears, on Ludgate-Hill; Mr. Stone, Near Bedford Row, Mr. Bickerton, Temple-Bar; Mr. Lewis, Covent-Garden; Mr. Brindley, New Bond-Street; Mr. Jolliffe, St. James's; Mr. Stagg, and Mr. Fox, Westminster-Hall; and at the Place of Sale. Where may be had the Full Value for Any Library or Parcel of Books in Any Language or Faculty.* [Olive Payne]

⁵⁶ <http://www.jishistoricbooks.ac.uk/Search/?bibnumber=T209616&spage=1>. Accessed June 2, 2012.

⁵⁷ Title page absent online.

<http://www.jishistoricbooks.ac.uk/Search/?bibnumber=T083804&spage=1>. Accessed June 2, 2012.

⁵⁸ <http://www.jishistoricbooks.ac.uk/Search/?bibnumber=T054219&spage=1>. Accessed June 2, 2012.

“FOLIO’S in several Languages”

397. Shakespear’s Works, best Edit. imp.—1685 [12]

“QUARTO’S in several Languages”

1677 Shakespear’s Poems—1680 [47]⁵⁹

1736. *A Catalogue of the Libraries of John Milborne, Esq; and the Reverend Mr. Clarke, (Both Deceas’d.) and of a Young Gentlemen Gone to France. Containing Upwards of 6000 Volumes in Divinity, History, Voyages, Travels, Mathematicks, Physick, Natural History, Philosophy, Poetry, Romances, Husbandry, Trade, Law, Parliamentary Affairs, Politicks, Lives, Memoirs, Antiquity, Metals, Minerals, Manuscripts, Books of Prints, Medals, &c. with Some Curious Single Prints, and Mss. Sermons, Among Which are, in Folio, Merian De Insects, Cum Fig. Hudson’s Josephus, 2 Vol. Large Paper. Wood’s Hist. Antiq. of Oxon. 2 Vol. with Fine Cuts, Bound in Red Turkey, Gilt Leaves. Ovid in Fr. and Lat. Fine Cuts. Tillotson, Barrow, Leslie, Binham, Fiddes, &c. Works. Etat De La France, Par Boullain-Villiers, 3 Tom. Ventris’s Reports, Best. Lilly’s Conveyancer, Best. Wood’s Institutes, Best. Fuller’s Worthies, with the Index. Gentlemens Recreation, Best. Sea Atlas, with Charts. with Several Hundreds in Folio, Quarto, Octavo, &c. Equally Good, and in Excellent Condition, Many Curiously Bound, and All Gilt on the Back or Letter’d. Which will Begin to be Sold, Very Cheap, on Monday the 22d of This Instant March, 1735-6. and to Continue Daily Till All are Sold. by Olive Payne, Bookseller, at Horace’s Head, in Round Court, in the Strand, Opposite York-Buildings. Catalogues to be had Gratis, at the Place of Sale. Where may be had Money for Any Library or Parcel of Books. [Olive Payne]*

“English Books in Folio, on various Subjects”

413 Shakespeare’s Works, best Edit.—1685 [13]⁶⁰

1737. *A Catalogue of the Libraries of Several Eminent Persons Lately Deceased, viz. an Architect’s, a Physician’s, a Divine’s, and a Musician’s. Containing a Large and Curious Collection of Books in Most Branches of Polite Literature, Many Curiously Bouns, Gilt, and Letter’d. Among Many Others Equally Good are the Following; [specific list here] . . . to be Sold Cheap (the Lowest Price of Each Book Mark’s in the Catalogue) on Thursday the 14th of April, 1737. [John Milan]*

“FOLIO”

Shakespear. [TP]

“Quarto”

3129 Shakespear’s Poems, in 8vo, 3 s.—1701 [90]⁶¹

1737. *A Choice Collection of Books, the Library of John Huson, Esq; Counsellor at Law, Deceased. to be Sold by Auction at the Parliament House. The Sale to*

⁵⁹ <http://www.jishistoricbooks.ac.uk/Search/?bibnumber=T055001&spage=1>. Accessed June 2, 2012.

⁶⁰ <http://www.jishistoricbooks.ac.uk/Search/?bibnumber=T054218&spage=1>. Accessed June 2, 2012.

⁶¹ <http://www.jishistoricbooks.ac.uk/Search/?bibnumber=T113835&spage=1>. Accessed June 2, 2012.

Begin on Thursday the 24th of This Instant November, 1737. The Books are Neatly Bound, and of the Best Editions. Catalogues may be had at the Place of Sale, and Thomas Thornton's, Bookseller, on College-Green. [Thomas Thornton]

“Libri Octavo & Infra.”

84 Shakespear's Plays in 9 Volumes / Dub. 1726 [8]⁶²

1738. *A Catalogue of the Choice and Valuable Libraries William Norton, Gent. and Benjamin Wright; Both Lately Deceased. in Greek, Latin, French, Italian, Hebrew, English, &c. Containing a Great Variety of History, Voyages, Travels, Trade, Law, Physick, Mathematicks, Divinity, Geography, Plays, Novels, and Romances. Among Which are the Following, with Many Others Equally Good, the Whole Being in Good Condition and Most of Them Gilt or Letter'd. Folio's Stanley's Lives of the Philosophers. Hammond on the N. Testament, Best Fisher's Architecture. Lives of the Painters. Rapin's Hist. of England, 2 Vols. Ogilby's Esop. Marott's Designs. Henry on the Old Testament. Chaucer's Works. Spencer's Fairy Queen. Acta Regia. Taylor's Life of Christ. Stebbing's Genealogical Hist. Salmon's State Trials. Burchett's Naval History. Hawkin's Pleas of the Crown. Modern Cases in Equity. Sidney on Government. Spotswood's Hist. of Scotland. Nicholls on the Common Prayer. Nicholson's Historical Libraries. Quarto's. Isbrant's Travels. James of Gardening, Greenhills Art of Embalming. Littleton's Dictionary. Agrippa's Occult Philosophy. Hoppu's Architecture. Octavo's and Duedecimo's. South's Sermons, 6 Vols. Scott's Christian Life, 5 Vols. Clatendon Hist. of France, 5 Vols. Beaumont and Fletcher, 7 Vols. Rowe's Shakespear, 7 Vols. Ben. Johnson's Works, 6 Vols. Vertot's Roman Revolutions, 2 Vols. Spencer's Works, 6 Vols. Moliere's Plays Fr. and Eng. 8 Vols. Spectator's, 8 Vols. Tatler's, 4 Vols. British Theatre, 10 Vols. Which will be Sold Very Cheap (the Lowest Price Being Printed to Each Book in the Catalogue) This Day, and the Following; and to Continue Till All are Sold at J. Boydell's Shop, over-against the Chappel in Russell Court, Near Bridge's-Street: Where may be had Money for Any Library or Parcel of Books, in Any Language or Faculty, to the Utmost of Their Value. Catalogues are Given Gratis at the Place of Sale. [John Boydell]*

“Miscellanies in Octavo”

780 Shakspear's Works by N. Rowe, cuts, 7 vol. 11 11s 6d / 1709 [21]

“Odd Volumes”

Sewell's Ovid. vol. 1. Wearton's Poems, vol. 1. Shakespear's, vol. 2. 5 Tatler vol. 2. Collection of Novels, vol. 5. [51]⁶³

⁶² <http://find.galegroup.com/ecco/infomark.do?&source=gale&prodId=ECCO&userGroupName=nlibscot&tabID=T001&docId=CB3326341320&type=multipage&contentSet=ECCOArticles&version=1.0&docLevel=FASCIMILE>. Accessed June 6, 2012.

⁶³ <http://find.galegroup.com/ecco/infomark.do?&source=gale&prodId=ECCO&userGroupName=nlibscot&tabID=T001&docId=CB3330890488&type=multipage&contentSet=ECCOArticles&version=1.0&docLevel=FASCIMILE>. Accessed June 6, 2012.

1738. *A Catalogue of Books Printed For, and Sold by Cæsar Ward and Richard Chandler, Booksellers. at the Ship Just without Temple-Bar, London, and at Their Shops in Coney-Street, York, and at the Corner of the Long-Room-Street, at Scarborough-Spaw* [Caesar Ward and Richard Chandler]

Pope's Works, 4 Vols.

Letters, 2 Vols.

Works in folio.

Miscellany poems, 2 vols. 12mo.

Homer's Iliad, 6 Vols.

Odyssey, 5 Vols. 12mo.

Shakespear, 9 vols. 12mo. [21]⁶⁴

1738. *A Catalogue of Books Printed For, and Sold By, William Innys and Richard Manby, Printers to the Royal Society, at the West End of St. Paul's, London, MDCCXXXVIII.* [Innys and Manby]

“S”

Shakespear's Plays, 10 Vols. 12mo. [12]⁶⁵

1738. *A Catalogue of the Libraries of the Rev. Mr. Batty, Rector of St. John's Clerkenwell. and of a Person of Quality, Both Lately Deceas'd. Consisting of the Most Curious and Valuable Books Extant, in Almost All Languages and Faculties, Relating to the History and Antiquities of Divers Nations, More Especially of Great Britain and Ireland. Among Which are, a Great Number of Scarce and Valuable Tracts, Collected by a Late Eminent Prelate. The Byzantine Historians, 30 Vols. Folio of the Louvre Edition. A Sett of the Royal Classicks in Usus Delphini, of the Paris Edition, in 60 Vols. Quarto, Compleat. The Best Editions of the Classicks, Cum Notis Variorum. and the Pocket Editions by Vascosan, Colinaeus, Gryphius, Juntas, Turnebus, Aldus, Elzevir, Bleau, &c. Likewise Several Books of Sculpture, Architecture, Medals, Mathematicks, Civil and Canon Law, Voyages, Natural History, Physick and Surgery. Together with a Large Collection of the Best and Scarcest Editions of the Greek and Roman Poets, orators, Historians and Philosophers, Selected Out of the Most Valuable Libraries in France. Also the Benedictine and Other Editions of the Fathers, and Most of the Best Lexicons and Dictionaries, with a Small but Choice Parcel of French and Italian Books. Which will be Sold Cheap (the Lowest Price Fixed in Each Book) on Tuesday November 21, 1738. by Fletcher Gyles, Bookseller, Against Gray's-Inn, in Holborn. Catalogues may be had of Mr. and Mrs. Fletcher, and Mr. Clements in Oxon; Mr. Thurlbourne in Cambridge; Mr. Leake in Bath, Booksellers; and at the Place of Sale. Where may be had Money for Any Library or Parcel of Books.* [Gyles Fletcher]

“English Classicks, Poetry, Plays, &c. Quarto.”

792. Shakespear's Works collated, &c. by Mr. Pope, 5 vol. 1725 [87]

“English Classicks, Poetry, Plays, &c. Octavo.”

⁶⁴ <http://www.jishistoricbooks.ac.uk/Search/?bibnumber=T030095&spage=1>. Accessed June 2, 2012.

⁶⁵ <http://www.jishistoricbooks.ac.uk/Search/?bibnumber=T114201&spage=1>. Accessed June 2, 2012.

1426 --- [The Works] of Mr. William Shakespear, by Rowe, Large Paper, 7 vol.—1709

1427 --- of Shakespear in 12mo, 9 vol.—1735 [89]

1745 [typo—supposed to be 1475] --- [Poems] by Mr. William Shakespear, 12* [n.d.—90]⁶⁶

1738. *At R. Montagu's Book-Warehouse, the General Post-Office, That End of Great Queen-Street, Next Drury-Lane. is a Choice Collection of Valuable Books in All Faculties and Parts of Learning. in English, Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Frech, &c. Together with Several Rare Manuscripts. Being Two Curious Libraries Lately Purchased, the Whole Consisting of Above Five Thousand Volumes. Which will Begin to be Sold Cheap for Ready Money Only, on Thursday the 27th of This Instant April, 1738. The Price Being Affixed to the First Leaf of Each Book. There Will Likewise be Exposed to Sale a Large Number of Fairly Wrote Manuscript Sermons. Catalogues to be had Gratis at the Place of Sale. Ready Money for Any Library [Of Books], Pictures, or Any Household [Furniture]. Libraries Sold for Gentlemen, at [R]Easonable Rates, Either by Auction or Ma[Ns] Catalogue. Such Gentlemen, &c. Who have Books to Bind, Gild, or Letter, May have Them Done in the Best Manner, on Very Reasonable Terms, There Being a Number of Good Hands Constantly Employ'd, also Marbled on Leaves. Which Art, Long Since Lost, is Now Again Retrieved, and Far Exceeds Any Done Heretofore. Likewise Books, or Paper, Stained by Wet, or Writing in the Margin, or Ever-So-Much Daub'd with Ink, may be Made Perfectly Clean, without Damaging Print or Paper.*

“Law, Poetry, Plays, Romances, & c. Folio.”

199 Shakespear's Works, 18s—1632 [5]

“Poetry, Plays. &c. 8vo. and 12ves.”

1553 Pope's Shakespear, 8th vol. 1s 6d—1728 [34]⁶⁷

1738. *A Catalogue of Several Valuable Libraries of Books and Manuscripts: Among Which are the Intire Libraries of a Noble Lord Deceased, and of William Stuart, Consisting, of the Journals in the House of Lords, 113 Vols. Fol. The Rolls in Parliament, in 33 Vols. Fol. The Appeals of the House of Commons, Prynne's Records, Dugdale's Works, Graevius and Gronovius compleat. the Classics in Usus Delph. cum Notis Variorum, and by Elzivir, in Morocco. Histories of several Counties in England; with the Choicest Books of Sculpture, Architecture, Painting, Mathematicks, Voyages, Natural History, &c. Also a Large Collection of French, Spanish, and Italian Books. A Small, but Curious Collection of Manuscript Sermons of an Eminent Divine, with his Library; consisting of the best Greek and Latin Fathers, and Most Other Useful Books in Divinity. A Very Curious and Rare Collection of French, Italian, and Flemish Prints of the Greatest Masters, Collected from the Best Libraries Abroad, by a Skilful Painter, lately Deceased. And a Large Parcel of Law Manuscripts, Reports, &c. The Collection of a Late Eminent Counsellor.*

⁶⁶ <http://www.jishistoricbooks.ac.uk/Search/?bibnumber=T060395&spage=1>. Accessed June 2, 2012.

⁶⁷ <http://www.jishistoricbooks.ac.uk/Search/?bibnumber=T184837&spage=1>. Accessed June 2, 2012.

Together, with His Entire Library of Law Books. To which is Prefix'd, A Genealogical Library [specific contents enumerated] . . . to be Seen at Thomas Osborne's Shop ... Where the Whole will Begin to be Sold at the Lowest Prices Marked, on Monday the 27th of November 1738. [Thomas Osborne]

“Poetry, Novels, Romances, and Translations. Folio.”

736 Shakespear's Plays—1685 [44]

“Poetry and translations. Quarto.”

1482 Shakespear's Works, publish'd by Pope, 6 vol. large Paper—1725 [72]

“Poetry, Plays, Novels, Romances, and Translations. Octavo and Twelves”

2999 Shakespear's Works, published by Theobald, large Paper / 1733. [120]⁶⁸

1739. *A Catalogue of Several Thousand Volumes of Books, Collected Together From Several Libraries and Parcels Lately Purchas'd, Containing Great Numbers of Scarce and Useful Books, in History, Divinity, Philology, Mathematicks, Physick, Anatomy, Chymistry, Classical Learning, and All Branches of Polite Literature in Greek, Latin, English, &c. [list of specific books included] . . . Which will begin to be Sold Cheap, (the Lowest Prices being Fix'd to Each Book in the Catalogue) on Tuesday April 3, 1739, at Samuel Baker's, Bookseller, at Chaucer's-Head in Russel-Street, Covent-Garden.*

“English Miscellanies. Folio.”

Shakespear's Plays, *best. Edit. and a fine copy.* 1 l. 7 s. 6 d. – 1685.

The same Book, 2d Edit. 12s. – 1632. [1]⁶⁹

1739. *A Catalogue of Choice and Valuable Books, in Most Languages and Faculties. with the Entire Library of Francis Calliault, Esq; Deceased, (Secretary to the Earl of Chesterfield, When Ambassador at the Hague.) Consisting Chieftly of Greek, Latin, English and French, Most of Them in Very Good Case; Which will Begin to be Sold (the Lowest Price Six'd to Each Book in the Catalogue) on Wednesday the 13th of This Instant December, by Tho. Davies, Bookseller, in Duke's Court, over-against St. Martin's Church, St. Martin's-Lane. Catalogues to be Given Gratis, at the Smyrna Coffee-House, Pall-Mall; Daniel's Coffee-House, over-against the Temple-Gate; the Union Coffee-House in Cornhill; and at the Place of Sale. [Thomas Davies]*

“Folio”

20 Shakespear's Works, 4th Edit. 15s—1685 [1]

“Poetry, Plays, Novels, Romances, &c. Twelves.

654 ---[Pope's] Shakespear, 9 vol. gilt, 1 l. 1 s—1728

656 Shakespear's Plays, 8 vol. 16s—1735 [18]⁷⁰

⁶⁸ <http://www.jishistoricbooks.ac.uk/Search/?bibnumber=T060442&spage=1>.

Accessed June 2, 2012.

⁶⁹ <http://www.jishistoricbooks.ac.uk/Search/?bibnumber=T064474&spage=1>.

Accessed June 2, 2012.

⁷⁰ <http://find.galegroup.com/ecco/infomark.do?&source=gale&prodId=ECCO&userGroupName=nliscot&tabID=T001&docId=CB3327365084&type=multipage&contentSet=ECCOArticles&version=1.0&docLevel=FASCIMILE>. Accessed June 6, 2012.

1739. *The Divines Physicians, Lawyers, and Gentlemen's Library: or a Catalogue of Valuable Books in Several Languages, and Most Arts and Sciences. Being Chiefly the Collections of John Kendall, Esq; Late of Bassing Bourne; and Mr. Samuel Dale, Deceas'd; Author of the Pharmacologia, and Antiquities of Harwich and Dover Court. Which will Begin to be Sold Very Cheap, on Thursday, August of the Lowest Price Being Set on Each Book, at Mr. Green's, at Chelmsford; Where Ready Money may be had for Any Library or Parcel of Books. Catalogues to be had at the Place of Sale.* [Thomas Green]

1706 Shakespear's Works, vol. 1.—1709 [38]⁷¹

1739. *A Catalogue of the Entire Library of Dr. Thomas Goodman, Containing above Ten Thousand Volumes of the Most Curious and Valuable Books Extant, in Greek, Latin, English, French, Italian and Spanish, in Most Parts of Polite Literature, viz. Antiquities, Medals, Poetry, Oratory, History, Critic Learning and Philology, of the Best and Scarcest Editions. Likewise all the Classica in Usus Delphini, cum Notis Variorum, and EX Officina Elzeviriana, also a Great Number printed by Juntas, Colinaeus, Turnebus, Vasosan, Morel, R. and H. Stephens, and Others, the Most Celebrated Ancient Printers. Which will begin to be Sold by Auction, on Monday March 26, 1739. at Five in the Evening at Fletcher Gyles's, against Grays-Inn in Holborn, Bookseller.*

1453 { the Merchant of Venice, by SHakespear 1600. King Lear 1600. Midsummer Night's Dream. Merry Wives of Windsor. Sir John Oldcastle, and Lord Cobham.

The Yorkshire Tragedy 1619. Pericles Prince of Tyre, by Shakespear. [166]

3571 Theobald's Shakespear, 7 vol. large paper.—1733 [ms. note in margin: 2.0.0] [197]

“Folio”

[ms. in margin: 16.0] Shakespear's Works, best Edition.—1685 [200]⁷²

1739. *A Catalogue of Several Thousand Volumes of Books, Collected Together From Several Libraries and Parcels Lately Purchas'd. Containing, Great Numbers of Scarce and Useful Books, in History, Divinity, Philology, Mathematicks, Physick, Anatomy, Chymistry, Classical Learning, and All Branches of Polite Literature in Greek, Latin, English, &c.* [Samuel Baker].

Shakespear's Plays, best. [1]⁷³

⁷¹ <http://find.galegroup.com/ecco/infomark.do?&source=gale&prodId=ECCO&userGroupName=nlibscot&tabID=T001&docId=CB3329882956&type=multipage&contentSet=ECCOArticles&version=1.0&docLevel=FASCIMILE>. Accessed 6 June 2012.

⁷² <http://www.jishistoricbooks.ac.uk/Search/?bibnumber=T077174&spage=1>. Accessed June 2, 2012.

⁷³ <http://www.jishistoricbooks.ac.uk/Search/?bibnumber=T064474&spage=1>. Accessed June 2, 2012.

WORKS CONSULTED
Works Consulted

Archival and Variable Texts

Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library

Osborn MS b.205 [Seventeenth-century poetical miscellany]

Osborn MS c.81, vol. 1 [Seventeenth-century poetical miscellany]

Birmingham Central Library

174.D [Osborn] [*also* 16194; copy of 1744 *Works* ed. Hanmer]

666355 [copy of 1714 *Works* ed. Rowe, select poems from vol. 3]

9429466 [*also* 32319; copy of 1714 *Works* ed. Rowe]

9429472 [*also* 32327; copy of 1714 *Poems* ed. Gildon]

x9429489 [*also* 173888; copy of 1726 *Works*, Dublin ed.]

x9429615 [*also* S 174.7 D; copy of 1747 *Works* ed. Pope and Warburton]

x9431003 [*also* 62829; copy of 1761 *Works*, Edinburgh ed.]

x9431500 [*also* 32621; copy of 1769 *Works*, Edinburgh ed.]

x9431523 [*also* 413676-80; copy of 1770 *Works*, Birmingham ed.]

x943153x [*also* S.177.1 / 16134; copy of 1771 *Poems*, published by Ewing]

x9431552 [*also* 16082; copy of 1771 *Works*, Edinburgh ed.]

x9431569 [*also* 177.2; copy of 1772 *Works*, ed. Theobald]

x9432149 [*also* 16304 / 178.6; copy of 1786-94 *Works*, ed. Rand]

z1163804 [*also* S.382.176 / 16330; copy of 1760 *Poems*]

z1163810 [*also* S382.1774 / 2765; copy of 1774 *Poems*, published by Bell]

Bodleian Library

Arch G.d.41 [microfilm copy of 1609 *Sonnets* by Shakespeare]

Arch. G E.32 (3) [Copy of 1609 *Sonnets* by Shakespeare]

Malone 348 [copy of Davison's *Poetical Rhapsody*]

MS Douce 21 [Poetical miscellany]

MS Eng. letters d. 215 [Collection of correspondence]

MS Rawl. Poet. 60 [Seventeenth century poetical collection, primarily Herbert]

MS Rawl. Poet. 85 [Sixteenth century poetical miscellany]

MS Rawl. Poet. 117 [Seventeenth century poetical miscellany]

MS Rawl. Poet. 152 [Collection of miscellaneous leaves, mostly poetry]

MS Rawl. Poet. 160 [facsimile] [Poetical miscellany]

MS Rawl. Poet. 169 [Poetical miscellany]

MS Rawl. Poet. 212 [Poetical miscellany]

Woo 80 [Copy of Benson's 1640 *Poems*]

British Library

011765.de.20 [Copy of 1767 *Works*, Edinburgh ed.]

011768.ff.3 [Copy of 1766 *Works*, Dublin ed.]

11183 [Copy of Benson's 1640 *Poems*]

116.i.41 [Appendix to Malone's *Supplement*]

1162.e.42 [Copy of Lintott 1709 edition of the sonnets]

1163.b.42 [Copy of 1709 *Works*, ed. Rowe]

11713.a.2 [Copy of 1753 *Works*, pirate Blair and Reid]

11761.a.2 [Copy of 1748 *Works*, ed. Hanmer]

11761.b [Copy of 1728 *Works*, ed. Pope]

11762.b [Copy of 1740 *Works*, ed. Theobald]

11762.cc8 [Copy of 1791 *Works*, ed. Ayscough]

11763.g.12 [Copy of 1786-91 *Works*, ed. Rann]

11764.a.13 [Copy of 1747 *Works*, ed. Hanmer]

11764.c [Copy of 1768 *Works*, Birmingham ed.]

11766.f.32 [Copy of 1745 *Works*, ed. Hanmer]

11768.aa.5 [Copy of 1767 *Works*, ed. Theobald]

1500/164 [Copy of 1791 *Poems*, Dublin ed.]

1568/4642 [Plates from 1773 *Works*, publ. Bell]

1609/1249 [Copy of 1774 *Works*, publ. Bell]

18557 [Copy of Lintott *Poems*]

18614-19 [Copy of 1766 *Twenty Plays*, ed. Steevens]

20098.a.4 [Copy of 1760 *Works*, ed. Hanmer]

20098.b.15 [Copy of 1752 *Works*, ed. Theobald]

2302.b.14 [Copy of 1709 *Poems*, ed. Gildon]

78.1.13 [Copy of 1725 *Poems*, publ. Bettesworth]

81.c.20-27 [Copy of 1768 *Works*, ed. Johnson]

82.c.1-9 [Copy of 1774 *Poems*, publ. Bell]

8404.a.28 [Copy of *The Golden Meane*]

8404.a.38 [Copy of *The Golden Meane*]

Add. MS 10309 [Seventeenth century poetical miscellany]

Add. MS 15223 [Seventeenth century poetical miscellany]

Add. MS 15226 [Seventeenth century poetical miscellany]

Add. MS 25303 [Seventeenth century poetical miscellany]

Add. MS 25707 [Seventeenth century poetical miscellany]

Add. MS 30982 [Poetical miscellany of Daniel Leare]

C.28e.9 [Copy of Randolph's *Poems*]

C.39.a.40. [Copy of Benson's 1640 *Poems*]

C.39.e.48 [Copy of *England's Helicon*]

C.45.a.21 [Copy of 1773 *Works*, ed. Theobald]

C.53.c.19 [Copy of *Quaternio*]

C.57a.32 [Copy of Randolph's *Poems*]

C.117.b.15 [Copy of Jonson's *Execration*]

C.123.FFF.2 [Copy of 1709 *Works*, ed. Rowe]

C.175.m.1 [Proof sheet of Rowe's 1709 *Works*]

Cup.403.1.18. [Copy of 1739 *Works*, Dublin ed.]

G.11446 [Copy of Pembroke and Ruddier, *Poems*]

G.18614-19 [Copy of 1766 *Twenty Plays*, ed. Steevens]

MS Harley 4955 [Seventeenth century poetical miscellany]

MS Harley 6910 [Seventeenth century poetical miscellany]

MS Harley 6917 [Seventeenth century poetical miscellany]

MS Harley 6918 [Seventeenth century poetical miscellany]

MS Lansdowne 740 [Seventeenth century poetical miscellany]

MS Sloane 1792 [Seventeenth century poetical miscellany]

RB.23.a.10328 [Copy of 1769 *Works*, publ. Balfour]

RB.23.a.18737 [Copy of 1757 *Works*, ed. Theobald]

RB.23.a.19460 [Copy of 1750-1 *Works*, ed. Hanmer]

RB.23.a.29102 [Copy of 1769 *Works*, publ. Donaldson]

VX29/0109 [Copy of 1786-91 *Works*, ed. Rann]

Cambridge University Library

SSS.45.16 [Copy of Benson's 1640 *Poems*]

Cushing Memorial Library

PR 2245.A1 1633 [Chew, Clawson, Benz, Dull; copy of 1633 *Donne*]

PR 2245.A1 1633 [Shapiro; copy of 1633 *Donne*]

PR 2245.A1 1633 [White; copy of 1633 *Donne*]

Folger Library

MS M.b.4 [Eighteenth century poetical manuscript]

MS S.b.112 [Annotated copy of Capell's *Notes and Various Readings*]

- MS V.a.89 [microfilm]
 MS V.a.97 [Seventeenth century poetical miscellany]
 MS V.a.103 [Seventeenth century poetical miscellany]
 MS V.a.125 [Seventeenth century poetical miscellany]
 MS V.a.147 [Seventeenth century poetical miscellany]
 MS V.a.148 [Seventeenth century poetical miscellany]
 MS V.a.162 [Seventeenth century poetical miscellany]
 MS V.a.170 [Seventeenth century poetical miscellany]
 MS V.a.245 [Seventeenth century poetical miscellany]
 MS V.a.262 [Seventeenth century poetical miscellany]
 MS V.a.308 [Seventeenth century poetical miscellany]
 MS V.a.339 [Seventeenth century poetical miscellany]
 MS V.a.345 [Seventeenth century poetical miscellany]
 MS V.b.43 [Seventeenth century poetical miscellany]
 MS W.b.455 [Eighteenth century poetical miscellany]
 MS Y.d.188 [Eighteenth century poetical miscellany]
 PR 2749 Y1 1640 Copy 1 [facsimile, negative, loose]
 PR 2749 Y1 1640 copy 2 [facsimile, negative]
 PR 2749 Y1 1640 Copy 10 [facsimile, positive, bound]
 PR 2749 Y2 1599a [facsimile]
 PR 2749 Y5 1609-1 [facsimile]
 PR 2749 Y5 1609-2 [facsimile]
 PR 2752 1709b Copy 1 [Copy of Rowe's edition]
 PR 2752 1709b Copy 2
 PR 2841 A12d Sh. Col [Copy of Lintott *Poems*]
 PR 2842 1709 Copy 1 Sh. Col [Copy of Gildon *Poems*]
 STC 17220 [Copy of *Romulus and Tarquin*]
 STC 17759 Copy 2 [Copy of *The Golden Meane*]
 STC 21056.5 [Copy of Ridley's *Trial*]
 STC 21470 [Copy of Rutter's *Shepherd*]
 STC 22344 Copy 3
 STC 22344 Copy 6
 STC 22344 Copy 8
 STC 22968 [Copy of Southwell's *Complainte*, publ. Benson]

MS 79 [Seventeenth century poetical miscellany of Herrick]

MS (Killigrew, T)/Works/B [*also* 'Little Alphabet'/Killigrew] [Early eighteenth century verse miscellany]

Huntington Library

69379 [Copy of Benson's 1640 *Poems*]

C 19464.5 X FOLIO / 497626 [Copy of *The Pathway to Musick*]

C 25177a X / 79603 [Copy of *The Dutchess of Malfy*]

D / B 5350 / 138361-2 [Copy of Quarles *Meditations*]

D / C 6329 / 120828 [Copy of the *Discourse*, publ. Benson]

D / T 2768 / 235429 [Copy of the *True Narrative*, publ. Benson]

Dev 8vo. 25 [Seventeenth century plays, bound together]

MS EL 6893 [Seventeenth century poetical miscellany]

MS EL 8908 [*formerly* 6897] [Single sheet of poems]

MS EL 8909 [Single sheet of poems]

MS EL 8910 [Single sheet of poems]

MS HM 116 [Seventeenth century poetical miscellany]

MS HM 172 [Seventeenth century poetical miscellany]

MS HM 198 [Seventeenth century poetical miscellany]

MS HM 1338 [Seventeenth century commonplace book]

MS HM 16522 [Seventeenth century 'Rump Songs']

MS HM 20815 [Letter from Steevens to Malone]

MS HM 41536 [Seventeenth century miscellany]

MS STO 816 [Letter from Malone to Charles O'Conor]

MS STO 817 [Letter from Malone to Charles O'Conor]

John Rylands University Library

2851 / NL 822.33 [Copy of 1788 *Works*, ed. Bell]

G 895 [Emended copy of *Poems*, 1726 Dublin ed.]

R L515 / 822.33 [Copy of Benson's 1640 *Poems*]

London Metropolitan Archives

Acc / 1360 / 528 [Seventeenth century poetical miscellany]

National Library of Scotland

ABS 1.76.161 [Copy of 1766 *Works*, publ. Foulis]

ABS 1.202.109 [Copy of 1769 *Works*, publ. Ruddiman]

[Am].4/1-4/2 [Copy of 1785 *Works*, ed. Johnson and Steevens]

[Am].4/2 [Copy of 1788 *Works*, ed. Johnson and Steevens]

[Am].4/2 c.0 [Copy of Malone's *Supplement*, 1780]
 F.7.b.11 [Copy of 1771 *Works*. publ. Blair and Reid]
 Grindlay.32 [Copy of 1714 *Poems*, ed. Gildon]
 K.372.d [Copy of 1770-1 *Poems*, Dublin ed.]
 Newb 1040-1058 [Copy of 1771 *Works*, Dublin ed.]
 Nha.R97 [Copy of 1790 *Works*, ed. Ayscough]
 Pat. 126 [Copy of 1775 *Poems*, publ. Evans]
 RB.s.1962 [Copy of 1753 *Works*, publ. Blair and Reid]
 SBA.248-255 [Copy of 1762 *Works*, ed. Theobald]
 X.145.g [Copy of 1774 *Works*, publ. Bell]
 X.146.c [Copy of 1766 *Twenty Plays*, ed. Steevens]
 X.172.g [Copy of 1760 *Poems*, Edinburgh ed.]
 X.174.1 [Copy of 1714 *Works*, ed. Rowe]

New York Public Library for the Performing Arts, Dorothy and Lewis B. Cullman
 Center, Music Division

Drexel MS 4257 [Seventeenth century musical manuscript]

Pierpont Morgan Library

MA 1057 [Seventeenth century poetical miscellany]

Queen's University Library, Belfast

Percy 505 and 506 [Copy of Chetwood's *British Theatre*]

Percy 626 [Copy of 1790 *Works*, ed. Malone]

Percy 632 [Emended copy of Capell's *Notes*]

Percy 633 [Annotated Beaumont and Fletcher]

Percy 634 [Criticism by John Monck Mason]

Percy 635a [Four short texts on Shakespeare]

Percy Pamphlets 54 [Collection of pamphlets]

Rosenbach Foundation

MS 239/27 [Seventeenth century poetical miscellany]

MS 1083/15 [Seventeenth century poetical miscellany]

MS 1083/16 [Seventeenth century poetical miscellany]

MS 1083/17 [Seventeenth century poetical miscellany]

Shakespeare Birthplace Trust

S.R.50.40 (25,300) [Copy of Benson's 1640 *Poems*]

Shakespeare Institute

Chambers DSH8/1/13

Chambers DSH8/1/17

Race DSH6/1/10

St. John's College Library, Cambridge

MS S.23 (James 416) [Seventeenth century poetical miscellany]

University of Birmingham Library

MS 329 [Seventeenth century poetical miscellany]

MS 421 [Seventeenth century poetical miscellany]

MS 461 [Seventeenth century commonplace book]

MS 478 [Manuscript collection of Symon Degge]

MS 555 [Commonplace book of Elizabeth Trumbull]

University of Edinburgh Library

H.c.7.1-9 [Copy of 1768 *Works*, ed. Capell]

H.d.1.7-14 [Copy of 1747 *Works*, ed. Warburton]

Halliwell-Phillips Collection 401 [Seventeenth century poetical miscellany]

S* 23.33-43 [Copy of Malone's 1790 *Plays and Poems*]

*T.21.24-26 [Copy of Capell's *Notes and Various Readings*]

University of Nottingham Library

Portland MS Pw V 37 [Seventeenth century poetical miscellany]

University of Pennsylvania

90/1784A Horace Howard Furness [Copy of 1784 *Works*, printed by Stockdale]

University of St Andrews

r PR2351.H9 [Copy of 1715 Spenser]

s PR2340.A1D25 [Copy of 1725 Sidney]

s PR3070.C21 [Copy of Capell's *Notes and Various Readings*]

sf PR2255.D48 [Copy of 1748 Drayton]

Westminster Abbey

MS WA 41 [Seventeenth century poetical miscellany]

Wren Library, Trinity College, Cambridge

Capell*10 [Copy of Benson's 1640 *Poems*]

Capell MS 1 Vol. V [Manuscript of Shakespeare's *Works*, ed. Capell]

Capell MS 2 [Vol. III] [Manuscript of the *School of Shakespeare*]

Capell MS 5 [Annotated copy of 1709 sonnets, published by Lintott]

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Historians; Parliamentary Affairs, Trade, Husbandry, and Divinity, &c. Also a Large Collection of the Classicks, many of them in Usus Delphini, of the Paris Edition, and Several cum Notis Variorum, of the Best Editions, Several Large Paper, most Well Bound, Gilt, or Lettered. Likewise Several Curious MSS. Chiefly Law, and also MSS. Sermons Fairly Written, and a Collection of Volumes of Pamphlets, plays, and Sermons. Which will begin to be Sold Very Cheap (the Price Mark'd in Each Book) at D. Browne's, at the Black-Swan without Temple-Bar, on Monday the 6th of March, 1720-21. London: [Browne], 1721.

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- Manner, Gilt, Marbled Leaves and Covers; with all Mr. Thornburgh's Manuscript Sermons, &c. And a Number of Scarce Pamphlets, and Books of Antiquity. Which will Begin to be Sold Very Cheap, for Ready Money on Monday the 24th of this Instant November. The Price being Mark'd on the First Leaf of Each Book.* London: [Montagu], 1735.
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England; Most of the Travels and Voyages which have been Printed; the Most Noted Authors in Divinity, History, Poetry, &c. The Classics cum Notis Variorum, and by Old Elziver; Many of the Fathers of the Paris Editions, Greek and Latin; and Near Eleven Hundred Volumes of Miscellaneous Tracts. Which will be Sold Cheap (the Price Mark'd in Each Book) at Edward Symon's Shop, over against the Royal-Exchange in Cornhill, on Tuesday the 25th of this Instant February, at Nine of the Clock in the Morning. London: [Symon], 1723.

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