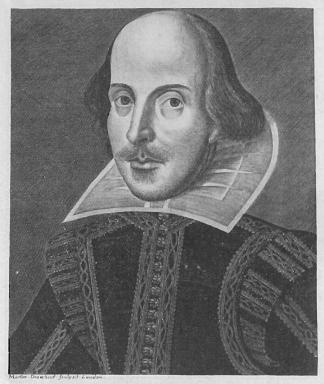
SHAKESPEARES

COMEDIES, & HISTORIES, & TRAGEDIES.

Published according to the True Originall Copies.



 $L~O~\mathcal{N}~D~O~\mathcal{N}$ Printed by Isaac Iaggard, and Ed. Blount. 1623

1. TILLY-PAGE OF "FIRST-FOLIO" WITH THE DROESHOUT PORTRAIT, 1623

A BRIEF SUMMARY OF THE HISTORY OF THE "FIRST-FOLIO" EDITION OF SHAKESPEARE'S DRAMAS (1623–1923).

BY THE EDITOR.

THE first successful attempt to give to the world a complete collected edition of Shakespeare's plays was made towards the end of 1623, seven years after the poet's death.

The resulting volume, now commonly described as the "First-Folio," constitutes the greatest contribution yet made to English literature, and next to the Bible it has exercised a greater influence on the language, the literature and the life of the nation, than any other book.

The intrinsic value of the "First-Folio" lies not in its external beauty, for it is but a poor specimen of printing, with many inaccuracies in paging and in the running titles, decorated with worn blocks which had been used already elsewhere, and generally wanting in uniformity; nor upon its rarity, since no fewer than 180 copies have survived in varying states of completeness; but that it contains the only extant text of eighteen of Shakespeare's plays never before printed. Indeed, there is little doubt that every play which Shakespeare wrote, or in which he had any considerable share has come down to us in the pages of this volume, with the exception of *Pericles* which was apparently considered at that time to be outside the Shakespearean canon, and did not appear in this format until the "Third-Folio" of 1663.

In the "Register of the Stationers' Company," under date of the 8th of November, 1623, the following entry is to be found:—

457

M Blounte. Isaak Jaggard.

Entred for their Copie under the hands of M^e Do^e Worrall and M^e Cole warden Master William Shakspeers Comedyes Histories, and vijs Tragedyes soe manie of the said Copies as are not formerly entred to other men.

30

vizt.

The Tempest.

The two gentlemen of Verona.

Measure for Measure.

The Comedy of Errors.

Comedyes.

As you like it.

All's well that ends well.

Twelfe night.
The winter's tale.

The winter's tate.

Histories.

The thirde parte of Henry ye Sixt.

Henry the Eight.

Coriolanus.

Timon of Athens.

Tragedies.

Julius Cæsar. Mackbeth.

Anthonie and Cleopatra.

Cymbeline.

The twenty other plays contained in the volume, which are not referred to in the entry, were already on the Register in one form or another, and therefore it was unnecessary to enter them afresh. Anthony and Cleopatra had previously been entered by Blount, and was probably re-entered in view of partnership arrangements between him and Isaac Jaggard.

In nine of the introductory pages which precede and follow the title-page of the volume, we have an impressive series of testimonies to the character and contemporary reputation of our poet.

If we may place any reliance in the dedicatory letter, with which the volume opens, addressed: "To the Most Noble PROMO. and Incomparable Paire of Brethren, William, Earle of THE THE Pembroke, &c., Lord Chamberlaine to the King's Most SCHEME. Excellent Maiesty, and Philip, Earle of Montgomery, &c., Gentlemen of His Maiestie's Bed Chamber . . . "which is signed Iohn Heminge and Henry Condell; and in the following address: "To the Great Variety of Readers" also signed Iohn Heminge and Henrie Condell, these two intimate friends and fellow-actors of the dramatist were nominally responsible for the venture.



TO THE MOST NOBLE

INCOMPARABLE PAIRE OF BRETHREN.

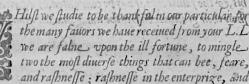
Earle of Pembroke, &c. Lord Chamberlaine to the Kings most Excellent Masely.

AND

Рильтр

Earle of Montgomery, &c. Gentleman of his Maieflies,
Bed-Chamber. Both Knights of the most Noble Order,
of the Gatter, and our singular good
LORDS.

Right Honourable,



Jeare of the successe. For, when we valew the places your H.H. sustaine, we cannot but know their the bity greater, then to descend to the reading of these trifles: and, while we name them trifles, we have deprived our selves of the desence of our Dedication. But since your L.L. have been pleased to thinke these trifles some-thing, heeretofore; and have prosequited both them, and their Authour living, with so much saving the fate, common with some, to be exequitor to his owne writings) you will ose the like induspence toward them., you have done

The Epiftle Dedicatorie.

unto their parent. There is a great difference, whether any Booke choose his Patrones, or finde then : I his bath done both. For. To much were your L. L. likings of the fenerall parts, when they were alled as before they overe published, the Volume ask d to be yours. We have but collected them, and done an office to the dead, to procure his Orphanes, Guardians; without ambition either of selfe-profit, or same: onely to keepe the memory of so worthy a Friend of Fellow alnue, as was our SHAKESPEABE, by humble offer of his playes, to your most noble patronage. Wherein, as we have justly observed, no man to come neere your L.L. but with a kind of religious addresse it bath bin the height of our care, who are the Presenters to make the present worthy of your H.H. by the perfection. But there we must also crave our abilities to be considered. my Lords. We cannot go beyond our owne powers. Country bands reach foorth milke, creame, fruites, or what they have : and many Nations (we have heard) that had not gummes & incense obtained their requests with a leauened Cake. It was no fault to approch. their Gods, by what meanes they could: And the most, though meaneft, of things are made more precious, when they are dedicated to Temples. In that name therefore, we most humbly consecrate to your H. H. thefe remaines of your feruant Shakespeare; that what delight is in them, may be ever your L.L. the reputation bis, o the faults ours, if any be committed, by a payre focarefull to Then their gratitude both to the living, and the dead, as is

Your Lordshippes most bounden,

IOHN HEMINGE. HENRY CONDELL.

It seems, however, to have been suggested by a small syndicate of printers and publishers, who undertook all financial responsibility, for although the licence of the Stationers' Company was granted only to Edward Blount and Isaac Jaggard we find in the colophon of the volume that the work was actually "Printed at the Charges of W. Jaggard, Ed. Blount, I. Smithweeke, and W. Aspley, 1623."

Chief of the syndicate was evidently William Jaggard, printer to the City of London since 1611, who was established in business in Fleet Street, at the East end of St. Dunstan's Church. As the publisher of The Passionate Pilgrim, which appeared in 1599, and upon the titlepage of which Shakespeare's name is given as the author, although only five of the poems of which the work is composed were written by him, it is obvious that Jaggard had long known the value of Shakespeare's work. According to Heywood Shakespeare greatly resented the attachment of his name to this volume.

In 1613 Jaggard had extended his business by purchasing the stock and rights of another printer named James Roberts, who had printed in 1600 the quarto editions of The Merchant of Venice and of The Midsummer Night's Dream, and in 1604 the complete quarto Hamlet.

In 1619 Jaggard, probably in association with Thomas Pavier, Arthur Johnson, and Nathaniel Butler, had been engaged in printing the quartos of that year, which included: Pericles, Sir John Oldcastle, The Yorkshire Tragedy, The Merry Wives of Windsor, The Midsummer Night's Dream, The Merchant of Venice, Henry V, King Lear, and The Whole Contention between the two Famous Houses, Lancaster and Yorke, with the Tragedy of Richard Duke of York. Five of these plays were issued with fictitious dates, the dates of the earlier editions which were being reprinted; and on the title-pages of all except one, the name of Shakespeare is printed as that of the author, although there are grave doubts as to whether he had anything to do with at least two of them. must be said, however, that in doing this the publishers demonstrated their faith in the popularity of Shakespeare's work.

Professor A. W. Pollard in that incomparable bibliographical study of his, entitled: Shakespeare Folios and Quartos, 1909, to which we have been greatly indebted in the preparation of this article, has put forward a theory as ingenious as it is interesting with regard

to these nine quarto plays of 1619, and he has with the greatest ingenuity made out a very strong case in its favour.

We cannot do more than briefly refer to his conclusions, without following him through all the intricacies of his investigations of signatures, watermarks, and other features, but COLLECTION OF in bibliographical problems of this nature, a careful perusal of Dr. Pollard's volume, especially of the chapter dealing with "The Quartos of 1619," for it is, as it has been well described, "a lovely bit of literary and bibliographical detective work."

The suggestion which Dr. Pollard in collaboration with Dr. W. W. Greg makes is that this particular group of nine quartos formed part of a plan to publish a miscellany of all the plays either by, or attributed to Shakespeare, which could be collected together. They were put upon the market at the same time, either in a publisher's binding, or as an unbound set which, to quote Dr. Pollard's actual words, "cried aloud to buyers to bind it up speedily into a volume."

One such collection survives in what is believed to be its original calf binding, which, after passing through the hands of Mr. Quaritch, Mr. Perry of Providence, and Dr. Rosenbach (by whom it was catalogued at \$100,000), is now in the collection of Mr. Folger of New York. All other copies seem to have been broken up. The British Museum, and Trinity College, Cambridge, both possess copies of the nine plays, which from their uniform measurement, and appearance almost certainly were bound together like those belonging to Mr. Folger. Indeed, Dr. Pollard has evidence of five such sets which are still, or were quite recently, in existence.

It has been suggested also that the publication of this partial collection of Shakespeare's plays was an incentive to the players at the Globe to get to work to do justice to the name and memory of their friend and colleague, and it may well have been that the publication, in 1616, of a collected edition of Ben Jonson's works, put the idea of a Shakespeare volume into the heads of Jaggard and his coadjutors.

Whatever may have been the case, Jaggard, by reason of his association with this venture, would be in a good position THE PUB. to negotiate with the copy-holders of all the plays in the DF THE printing of which he had been associated, and it is not "FOLIO." improbable that he was a prime mover in making the arrangements for

the publication of the "First-Folio," the contract for the printing of which was given to his son Isaac, who had recently succeeded to that side of the business.

James Roberts had enjoyed for nearly twenty years the right to print the players' bills and programmes, which he made over to Jaggard with his other literary property, and it is to the close personal relations with the playhouse managers, into which the acquisition of this right to print the players' bills brought Jaggard after 1613, that the inception of the scheme of the "First-Folio" may be not unreasonably attributed in the opinion of Sir Sidney Lee. Young Jaggard (Isaac) was associated with his father in the enterprise.

The other three members of the syndicate were publishers and booksellers, or stationers, and not printers. Two of them, Aspley and Smethwick, had already speculated in Shakespeare's plays. In 1600 Aspley, in partnership with Andrew Wise, had published The Second Part of Henry IV, and in 1609 he took half share in Thorpe's impression of Shakespeare's Sonnets; whilst Smethwicke, whose shop was in St. Dunstan's Churchyard, near Jaggard's printing office, had published in 1611 two editions of Romeo and Juliet, and one of Hamlet.

Edward Blount, whose name occurs in the imprint as well as in the colophon, was something more than merely a publisher for he had a true taste in literature. He began publishing in 1594. He had been a friend and admirer of Christopher Marlowe and had taken an active part in the publication of several of his works. He had issued, in 1603, the first edition of Florio's translation of Montaigne's Essays, and in 1620 Shelton's first English translation of Don Quixote. had served apprenticeship with William Ponsonby, the authorised publisher of the works of Sir Philip Sidney and Edmund Spenser, had been recognized as a patron of letters, and had himself written dedications and prefaces, which go to prove that he had a personal interest in the books he published. He had published a collection of mystical verse entitled Love's Martyr, one poem in which, a poetical essay of The Phanix and the Turtle, was signed William Shakespeare; but he had never actually published any play of Shakespeare, although in 1608 Anthony and Cleopatra and Pericles were entered at Stationers' Hall by him. The former to be printed for the first time in 1623 and the latter by another printer in 1609.

The presumption is that he must have taken a large share in the risk of the book, since in 1632 he was able to transfer to Robert Allott, for whom the "Second-Folio" was printed by Thomas Coates, the sixteen plays of Shakespeare copyrighted in 1623, as if they had been his sole property. We must not, however, argue from this that his importance in the partnership was greater than that of the Jaggards, for it is certain that behind the entries of the Stationers' Register there were often supplementary agreements between the venturers. When a printer appears in association with a group of publishers, his main object usually was, as it still is, to obtain the contract for printing.

There is little doubt that the "First-Folio" was printed in Jaggard's printing office, near St. Dunstan's Church, and it is thought that Blount was responsible for seeing the work through the press, since he possessed more literary feeling than the other partners, and was consequently not improbably the editor of the volume, although it has been conjectured that he had Ben Jonson behind him.

Before proceeding further it would be as well to enquire to what extent and in what manner Shakespeare's two fellowactors were editorially responsible for the volume, and AND CONDELL.

To ascertain what is known of these two players, whose names have been immortalized by reason of their friendly association with our dramatist, and with the "First-Folio."

John Heming and Henry Condell, with Richard Burbage and William Shakespeare were four of the chief members of one of the most influential companies of players of the time, the one originally organized by the Earl of Leicester.

By an Act of Parliament of 1571-2, which was re-enacted in 1596, players were under the necessity of procuring a licence from a peer of the realm or person of higher degree, to pursue their calling, otherwise they were adjudged to be of the status of rogues and vagabonds. The Queen herself, and many Elizabethan peers were liberal in the exercise of their licences of power, and few actors failed to secure a statutory licence, which gave them a rank of respectability, and relieved them of the risk of identification with vagrants or "sturdy beggars."

From an early period in Queen Elizabeth's reign licensed actors were organized into permanent companies which were known as "The

Queen's players," or were called after the nobleman to whom the members respectively owed their licences. The company to which Shakespeare and his "fellows" belonged was organized by the Earl of Leicester, and became known as "Lord Leicester's servants." At his death in 1588 the patronage passed to Ferdinando Stanley, Lord Strange, who, in 1592, became Earl of Derby and they were known as "Lord Strange's men." At Lord Derby's death in 1594 his place as patron was taken by Henry Cary, first Lord Hudson, who was Lord Chamberlain, when the company was styled "The Lord Chamberlain's servants;" and at his death in 1596 he was succeeded by his son, George Cary, second Lord Hudson, who became Lord Chamberlain in 1597. After King James's accession in 1603 the company was promoted to the dignity of "The King's servants."

There is little doubt that under the auspices of this company Shakespeare's plays first saw the light, probably at "The Theatre" in Shoreditch, which was just outside the boundaries of the city of London, since at that time no plays were allowed to be acted within the boundaries of the city.

When Shakespeare settled in London, about 1587, there was actually no licensed theatre within the precincts of the city, notwithstanding that the interest of the drama was advancing like the rising tide with a force which was irresistible.

It is true that in the early days of the Elizabethan age plays had been acted in the dining halls of the wealthy citizens, in the halls belonging to the inns of court and the various trade guilds, as well as in the inn yards, but the Mayor and Aldermen of the City of London looked upon these performances with eyes of disfavour, because they considered the actor to be a masterless man, who had no trade—a sort of strolling vagabond who lived upon the largesse of those who looked on at his performances—and also because of the danger of the spread of infection from the plague which had devastated London and England in 1563, a thousand dying weekly in London alone, for, as one of the pulpit logicians argued; "the cause of plagues is sin, and the cause of sin are plays; therefore the cause of plagues are plays." Consequently the city authorities did everything in their power to drive out plays and players from their boundaries. Preachers at St. Paul's Cross and elsewhere denounced the stage, and pamphlets were written

against what the writers were pleased to term "these pomps of Belial," but these steps did little to stem the rising tide of popular fancy for such entertainments. The people had tasted this new joy, and any attempt to suppress these entertainments was just as futile as would be an attempt to suppress newspapers to-day. Indeed, they flourished more than ever, with the result that in 1594 steps were taken towards the regulation of players and plays. This may have been thought necessary on account of the fresh outbreak of plague which occurred in London in 1592, known as the Great Plague and which was hardly extinguished before the end of the century. The best proof of this vitality of interest in dramatic performances is the crowd of writers which suddenly broke into this field, such as Kyd, Marlowe, Greene, Jonson, Chapman, Dekker, Webster, Heywood, Middleton, Peele, Ford, Massinger, Beaumont, and Fletcher.

When the players found they could no longer act in the city, they decided to establish themselves just beyond the limits of the city's jurisdiction, and so at Shoreditch, in 1576. James Burbage built the first playhouse in England, already referred to as "The Theatre," but not until he and his fellow-actors of Lord Leicester's company had obtained a licence from the Oueen to act plays in any part of England. At this very time, however, a private theatre was warily started within the precincts of the city. It was a room in the old Blackfriars Priory. leased by the master of the "Children of the Chapel," where under the pretext of training the choir-boys performances were given between 1576 and 1584, when this first Blackfriars theatre was closed. teen years later Burbage formed in the refectory of the same building the second Blackfriars theatre, which, apart from Shakespeare's connection with it, for it was owned by Shakespeare's company, although it was not until 1608, at a time when Shakespeare's acting days were coming to an end, that the Company acted there, it became the most important private theatre in London. Its name appears on the titlepages of over filty quarto plays, whereas less than half that number can be assigned to the Globe.

Under the authority obtained by Lord Leicester's servants they were empowered to produce such plays as seemed good to them, "as well," said the Queen, "for the recreation of our loving subjects as for our solace and pleasure, when we shall think good to see them." The Court under Elizabeth was a large and exacting consumer of plays,

which were produced in the great halls of the Royal Palaces of Whitehall, Richmond, Hampton Court, Greenwich, and Windsor.

This royal patent sanctioned the acting of plays within the liberties of the city, but against this the city magistrates set their faces, and carried on the active agitation already referred to.

It was in Shoreditch, it is thought, that Shakespeare gained his first experience of the stage, and probably tried his prentice hand as dramatist or playwright, but nobody then suspected he was the poet of the human race, and was to become the most famous of Englishmen. Here, no doubt, he found a great many stage plays by all sorts of hands in manuscript, which were in turn produced on the boards. It was no longer possible to say by whom some of these plays were written, they had been the property of the theatre so long, and so many rising playwrights had enlarged or altered them by inserting a speech and at times a whole scene, that no one could any longer claim copyright in them. They were regarded as so much waste stock, or theatre property, on which any experiment could be tried.

Shakespeare himself owed debts in many directions, and was able to use whatever he found, and the amount of his indebtedness may be gauged from Malone's laborious computations in regard to the three parts of *Henry VI*, in which out of 6043 lines, 1771 were written by some preceding author, 2373 by Shakespeare on the foundation laid by his predecessors, whilst 1899 lines were entirely his own. "He borrowed what was available; he knew the sparkle of the true stone, and set it in the highest place whenever he found it."

In 1593 the company to which Shakespeare and Heming and Condell belonged, opened at the Rose Theatre, which Philip Henslow had erected on Bankside, Southwark, and which became the earliest scene of Shakespeare's pronounced successes. In 1599 the Globe was built by Richard Burbage and his brother, also on Bankside, mainly from the materials of the dismantled "Theatre" in Shoreditch, and thenceforward was occupied mainly by Shakespeare's company, quickly winning a foremost place amongst the theatres of London.

From the date of its inauguration until his retirement, the Globe seems to have been the principal playhouse with which Shakespeare was professionally associated, and its success meant to him a greatly increased income, with the result that within a few years he was able to retire to Stratford with a handsome competency. Shakespeare's

two friends and fellow-actors, Heming and Condell, were without doubt part-proprietors of the Globe, and they would share, with him, in its success.

In those days the remuneration of an actor or dramatist was by no means so contemptible as is sometimes supposed. In proof of that statement we need only cite the case of Edward Alleyn, the contemporary actor and theatre proprietor, and founder of Dulwich College, who was able to purchase the Manor of Dulwich for £10,000 in money of his own day, and after devoting much of the property to public uses he was still able to make ample provision for his family out of the residue of his estate.

That Shakespeare was on terms of the closest friendship with his fellow-actors to the end of his life is borne out by the terms of his will, in which he left to each of three theatrical companions: Heming, Burbage, and Condell, the sum of 26s. 8d., with which to buy a memorial ring.

When we remember that Heming and Condell had probably been closely associated with Shakespeare throughout his professional career, not only in the years of prosperity, but also in the years of struggle, and that they would be not unmindful of the fact that they owed much of their success to the gifts of their more brilliant colleague, we can the better appreciate their pious wish to do honour to his memory, and understand the readiness with which they would welcome the opportunity of assisting in the projected publication of his collected works.

In their dedication to the patrons, the Earls of Pembroke and Montgomery, they proudly assert: "We have but collected them (the plays), and done an office to the dead, to procure his Orphanes, Guardians; without ambition either of self-profit or fame: onely to keepe the memory of so worthy a Friend and Fellow alive, as was our SHAKESPEARE, by humble offer of his playes, to your most noble patronage. . . ."

In their address "To the Great Variety of Readers" the following note of lament is struck. "It had bene a thing, we confesse, worthie to have bene wished; that the Author himselfe had liv'd to have set forth, and overseen his owne writings; but since it hath bin ordain'd otherwise, and he by death departed from that right, we pray you do not envie his Friends, the office of their care, and paine, to have collected



Tathe great Variety of Readers.



Rom the most able, to him that can but spell: There you are number'd. We had rather you were weighd. Especially, when the fate of all Bookes depends upon your capacities: and not of your heads alone, but of your purses. Well! It is now publique, & you wil stand for your priviledges weeknow: to read, and censure. Do so, but buy it first. That doth best

commend a Booke, the Stationer faies. Then, how odde foeuer your braines be, or your wifedomes, make your licence the fame, and spare not. Iudge your fixe-pen orth, your shillings worth, your five shillings worth at a time, or higher, so you rise to the just rates, and welcome. But, what ever you do, Buy. Censure will not drive a Trade, or make the lacke go. And though you be a Magistrate of wit, and sit on the Stage at Black-Friers, or the Cock-pit, to arraigne Playes dailie, know, these Playes have had their triall alreadie, and stood out all Appeales; and do now come forth quitted rather by a Decree of Court,

then any purchas'd Letters of commendation.

It had bene a thing, we confesse, worthie to have bene wished, that the Author himselfe had liu'd to have set forth, and overseen his owne writings; But since it hath bin ordain'd otherwise, and he by death de. parted from that right, we pray you do not envie his Friends, the office of their care, and paine, to have collected & publish'd them; and so to haue publish'd them, as where (before) you were abus'd with diverse ftolne, and furreptitious copies, maimed, and deformed by the frauds and stealthes of injurious impostors, that expos'd them: even those, are now offer'd to your view cur'd, and perfect of their limbes; and all the rest, absolute in their numbers, as he conceived the. Who, as he was a happie imitator of Nature, was a most gende expresser of it. His mind and hand went together: And what he thought, he vitered with that eafinesse, that wee have searse received from him a blot in his papers, But it is not our prouince, who onely gather his works, and give them you, to praise him. It is yours that reade him. And there we hope, to your divers capacities, you will finde enough, both to draw, and hold you: for his wit can no more lie hid, then it could be loft. Reade him, therefore; and againe, and againe: And if then you doe not like him, furely you are in some manifest danger, not to understand him. And so we leave you to other of his Friends, whom if you need, can bee your guides: if you neede them not, you can leade your felues, and others. And fuch Readers we wish him.

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Tathe great Variety of Readers.



Rom the most able, to him that can but spell: There you are number'd. We had rather you were weighd. Especially, when the sare of all Bookes depends upon your capacities: and not of your heads alone, but of your purses. Well! It is now publique, & you wil stand for your priviledges weeknow: to read, and censure. Do so, but buy it first. That doth best

commend a Booke, the Stationer faies. Then, how odde foeuer your braines be, or your wifedomes, make your licence the fame, and spare not. Iudge your fixe-pen'orth, your shillings worth, your five shillings worth at a time, or higher, so you rise to the just rates, and welcome. But, what ever you do, Buy. Censure will not drive a Trade, or make the Jacke go. And though you be a Magistrate of wit, and sit on the Stage at Black-Friers, or the Cock-pit, to arraigne Playes dailie, know, these Playes have had their triall alreadie, and stood out all Appeales; and do now come forth quitted rather by a Decree of Court,

then any purchas'd Letters of commendation.

It had bene a thing, we confesse, worthie to have bene wished, that the Author himselfe had liu'd to have set forth, and overfeen his owne writings; But fince it hath bin ordain'd otherwife, and he by death de. parted from that right, we pray you do not envie his Friends, the office of their care, and paine, to have collected & publish'd them; and so to haue publish'd them, as where (before) you were abus'd with diverse stolne, and surreptitious copies, maimed, and deformed by the frauds and stealthes of iniurious impostors, that expos'd them: even those, are now offer'd to your view cur'd, and perfect of their limbes; and all the rest, absolute in their numbers, as he conceived the. Who, as he was a happie imitator of Nature, was a most gentle expresser of it. His mind and hand went together: And what he thought, he vittered with that eafinesse, that wee have searse received from him a blot in his papers, But it is not our province, who onely gather his works, and give them you, to praise him. It is yours that reade him. And there we hope, to your divers capacities, you will finde enough, both to draw, and hold you: for his wit can no more lie hid, then it could be loft. Reade him, therefore; and againe, and againe: And if then you doe not like him, furely you are in some manifest danger, not to understand him. And so we leave you to other of his Friends, whom if you need, can bee your guides: if you neede them not, you can leade your felues, and others. And fuch Readers we wish him.

John Henringe. Henrie Condell. and publish'd them; and so to have publish'd them, as where (before) you were abus'd with diverse stolne, and surreptitious copies, maim'd, and deformed by the fraudes and stealthes of injurious impostors, that expos'd them: even those are now offer'd to your view cur'd, and perfect of their limbes; and all the rest, absolute in their numbers, as he conceived them. . . . But it is not our province, who onely gather his works, and give them to you, to praise him. It is yours that reade him."

In another paragraph it is asserted that: "What he thought he uttered with that easinesse, that wee have scarce received from him a blot in his papers," and it would seem to suggest that they had access if not to Shakespeare's autographs, at any rate to what are described on the title-page as "the True Originall Copies."

Beyond their connection with Shakespeare as fellow-actors, and as part proprietors of the Globe; and that they were vestrymen of St. Mary Aldermanbury, little is known of the two nominal editors. It is, therefore, impossible to say whether they were endowed with the requisite gifts of editorship or not, and it has been suggested by Dr. Pollard that they did nothing but hand over the "copy" they could collect, and sign their names to the dedication and address.

The tradesmanlike proem, in the opinion of Dr. Pollard, suggests the hand of Blount, and the following passage would seem to support the suggestion: "From the most able, to him that can but spell. There you are number'd. We had rather you were weigh'd. Especially, when the fate of all Bookes depends upon your capacities: and not of your heads alone, but of your purses. Well! It is now publique, and you will stand for your priviledges, wee know: to read and censure. Do so, but buy it first. That doth best commend a Booke, the Stationer saies. . . . But, whatever you do, Buy. Censure will not drive a Trade, or make the Jacke to go."

Of all the men connected with the "First-Folio" whose names we know, Blount seems by far the most likely to have taken an active share in the editorial work, though, as Dr. Pollard suggests, some anonymous press corrector in Jaggard's office may have been still more influential.

By enlisting the help of Heming and Condell the publishers secured the use of whatever manuscripts, or printed editions with manuscript additions and corrections, were in the possession of the King's servants, and we may well wonder how many plays would have passed into oblivion but for them. Whatever their share in the venture we may reasonably credit them with the piety towards their dead friend which in the dedications they endeavoured to express.

Turning now to the contents of the "First-Folio" we find that of the thirty-six plays of which it is composed, sixteen were contents in print in earlier quartos, of which forty-four editions of the good, bad, and indifferent were printed between 1594 and 1622. And yet of half of these, namely: The Merry Wives of Windsor, Henry V, 2 Henry IV, Richard III, Troilus and Cressida, Hamlet, King Lear, and Othello, no use was made, for the editors preferred to print from manuscripts.

In five other instances: Much Ado about Nothing, Midsummer Night's Dream, Richard II, Henry IV, and Titus Andronicus, the quarto texts, with additions, corrections, and alterations were used.

Only in three cases out of the possible sixteen was the printed text of a quarto taken without amendment, or at least authentication by later use in the theatre. These three plays were: Love's Labour Lost, 1598; The Merchant of Venice, 1600; and Romeo and Juliet, 1599.

Coming now to the twenty plays for which no printed copy was available, sixteen only were entered at Stationers' Hall, namely: The Tempest, The Two Gentlemen of Verona, Measure for Measure, The Comedy of Errors, As You Like It, All's Well that Ends Well, Twelfth Night, Winter's Tale, 3 Henry VI, Henry VIII, Coriolanus, Timon of Athens, Julius Cæsar, Macbeth, Anthony and Cleopatra, and Cymbeline.

Four others, hitherto unpublished dramas for which no licence was sought, figure in the volume: King John, 1 and 2 Henry VI, and The Taming of the Shrew; but each of these plays was based upon a play of like title, which had been published at an earlier date, and the absence of a licence was doubtless due to the fact that the officers of the Stationers' Company, and perhaps the editors, were ignorant of the true relationship existing between the old pieces and the new. The editors were most likely dependent on play house or prompt copies, which may have included some in Shakespeare's autograph, or with authorized transcripts from them, and in this respect Heming and Condell would be very helpful.

Thus the whole of the "First-Folio" was derived either directly or ultimately from the players, but while some of it had already appeared in print, the greater part of it was printed from manuscripts, of which to our infinite loss no single copy has come down to us, nor, indeed, any authorized edition of any play such as we have of the poems *Venus and Adonis* and *Lucrece*.

The question is sometimes asked, why did not Shakespeare himself collect his own plays and prepare them for the press? The answer is not far to seek, since Shakespeare, like his fellow-dramatists, wrote for the stage and not for publication. The playwright's ambition was to see his play on the stage, and if he did publish it, it was seldom without some apology for doing so. The well-attested custom of the time was for the dramatist to sell his rights in his plays to one of the companies of players. Having obtained the manuscript the company did what they liked with it, they abridged it, they augmented it, or caused it to be re-written, either wholly or in part as they pleased. But they refrained from publishing it, especially if the play was a successful one on the stage, for fear of curtailing the profit from their performances if they did so. This policy did not prevent others from supplying any demand for printed copies which might arise. In the absence of any strict laws of copyright it is not surprising that publishers were found ready to snatch a profit by surreptitious publication of the more popular plays of so favourite a writer as Shakespeare. When they could not secure a copy of a play by any other means they would employ a shorthand writer, or to be more correct a note-taker in the rudimentary shorthand known in those days to report it while it was being acted. This report would probably be very imperfect, so it would be patched up by some other hand, and in this way the piratical versions would find their way into print.

"Shakespeare himself profited by this custom in his early days," as we have already hinted. "He took other men's plots, other men's drafts, other men's completed plays, and did to them what he was told, transmuting copper and silver to gold with an alchemy all his own."

Sir Sidney Lee considers the arrangement of the plays to be merely haphazard. On the other hand Dr. Pollard is of opinion that the editors deliberately placed the unpublished plays in the most important positions, and hid away in the middle of them those that had already appeared in print.

This evidence furnishes a clue to the editorial ideals of the promoters of the "First-Folio."

For example, of the five Comedies with which the volume opens, four had never before been printed, and The Merry Wives of Windsor, which is placed between the two pairs of unprinted pieces, had only appeared in a piractical version, so bad that no use was made of it in the setting up of the "Folio." At the other end of this section four new and one nearly new comedies, The Taming of the Shrew, are found to balance the beginning, whilst hidden away in the middle of the two groups are four plays which had already been printed.

In the case of the Histories, which form the second section of the volume, the chronological order of the Kings offered such an obvious principle of arrangement that there was no excuse for manipulating it. It is merely by chance that the first play, $King\ John$, had never previously been printed in Shakespeare's version, and that the last $King\ Henry\ VIII$, had never been printed at all.

In the Tragedies the same method of arrangement has been followed. It is true that this section opens with *Troilus and Cressida*, but this play was only inserted in that position at the last moment, after the "Catalogue" or table of contents had been printed off, and from which it is omitted. Hence the "Catalogue" contains the titles of only thirty-five of the thirty-six plays.

It would appear from the pagination that Troilus and Cressida was at first placed immediately after Romeo and Juliet, later it was withdrawn for some reason, then at the last moment it was inserted in front of Coriolanus, with which the section properly begins. It may be that it is intended to form the conclusion of the second section, which consists of the Histories, for after the first three pages the running title has been changed from "The Tragedy of Troylus and Cressida," to "Troylus and Cressida," which is most significant when we remember that the quarto edition of the play, published in 1609, is styled The Famous Historie of Troilus and Cressida.

It is evident therefore that the editors were very deliberate in emphasising the importance of the unprinted plays as compared with the printed ones.

Another service, in the opinion of some authorities a disservice, which the editors rendered was in the matter of the division of the



ACATALOGVE

of the seuerall Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies contained in this Volume.

COMEDIES.

He Tempest.	Folio 1.	
The two Gentlemen of Veron	1. 20	
The Merry Wines of Windsor.	38	
Measure for Measure.	61	
The Comedy of Errours.	85	
Much adoo about Nothing.	101	
Loues Labour lost.	122	
Midsommer Nights Dreame.	145	
The Merchant of Venice.	163	
As you Like it.	185	
The Taming of the Shrew.	208	
All is well, that Ends well.	230	
Twelfe-Night, or what you will.	255	
The Winters Tale.	304	

HISTORIES.

The Life and Death of King John.	Fol. 1.
The Life & death of Richard the secon	d. 23

The First part of King Henry the fourth.	46
The Second part of K. Henry the fourth.	74

-	The	Life	f King He	mry the	Fift.	6	5
i	-	-	***	93459	1 0.	15120	

The First part of King Henry the Sixt. 96
The Second part of King Hen. the Sixt. 120

The Third part of King Henry the Sixt. 147

The Life & Death of Richard the Third. 173 The Life of King Henry the Eight. 205

TRAGEDIES.

The Tragedy of Coriolanus.	Fol.
Titus Andronicus.	31
Romeo and Julier.	53
Timon of Athens.	80
The Life and death of Julius Cafar.	109
The Tragedy of Macheth.	131
The Tragedy of Hamlet.	152
King Lear.	283
Othello, the Moore of Venice.	310
Anthony and Cleopater.	346
Cymbeline King of Britaine.	369

plays into acts and scenes. With one or two partial exceptions the quartos printed before 1623 were wholly undivided, and these were included in the "Folio" very much as they had been printed originally, whilst the previously unprinted plays were fully or partially divided. Another editorial service was the substitution in a number of instances of literary for stage directions. In other words the notes or rubrics reminding the promoter or actor of what had to be done were replaced by notes to help the reader to understand the play.

Although the editors exercised their prerogative in such matters as divisions into scenes and acts, it is highly improbable that THE TEXT there was any editorial meddling with the text. There OF THE "FOLIO." seems to be every probability that when the "copy," whether in manuscript or printed form, was once obtained, it was sent to the printer untouched as far as the text was concerned, and the printer was left to reproduce it as accurately as he could.

Dr. Howard Furness in his monumental "New Variorum edition of Shakespeare," which after fifty years of patient and scholarly examination of the plays, is still in course of publication, has submitted the text to the most thorough critical test, and does not hesitate to give it as his opinion that when a quarto was thought good enough to print from, though it was a clear gain to have the folio text as well as the quarto, it is almost always the latter, the quarto, that wins support. Indeed, it is an editorial consensus of opinion that quarto readings are mostly to be preferred to those in the "First-Folio."

These differences were not necessarily the result of editorial meddling with the text, but should be debited to the printers. There is no reason, however, to take any gloomy view of the result. To omit one line of text, and to turn another into a stage direction are, as Dr. Pollard remarks, high crimes when the author whose work is thus maltreated is Shakespeare, but when these are the most serious of the defects that can be found, it is nonsense to pile up epithets in depreciation of the poor journeyman printer.

We may take comfort from the fact that it is more difficult to print from manuscript than from type matter. The difficulty in our own day is met by giving the work to experienced compositors instead

¹ The work is being continued by Dr. Horace Howard Furness, Junior, who was co-editor with his father between 1901 and 1912, the year of the latter's death.

of to prentice hands, so that it is a commonplace amongst authors and editors that the worst "copy" often yields the best proof. We are fairly safe, therefore, in assuming that the plays printed for the first time in 1623 were at least as correctly set up as those which were reprinted from earlier editions.

It is not generally realized to what extent the "First-Folio" survives in all our texts, and how little it varies, save in stage-directions, from the most popular texts of the present day. In appraising the value of the "First-Folio," Dr. Furness, in the prefaces to his edition of Love's Labour Lost and Anthony and Cleopatra, surveys the whole field, and bases his arguments upon the excellent conservative text of the "Globe edition," which is the offspring of the epoch-making "Cambridge edition," edited by the late Dr. Aldis Wright, the first volume of which appeared sixty years ago (in 1863), and which is still accepted the world over as the standard modern text. Dr. Furness remarks that the whole question of texts, with their varying degrees of excellence, which had endlessly vexed the Shakespearean world has gradually subsided, for which we are mainly indebted to the excellent text of the "Globe edition," and to the device of its editors, who have placed an obelus against every line "wherever the original text has been corrupted in such a way as to affect the sense, no admissible emendation having been proposed, or whenever a lacuna occurs too great to be filled up with any approach to certainty by conjecture." Here, then, says Dr. Furness, "we have ocular proof of the number of passages which, through the error of compositors, have been, in the past, subject of contention by our forbears."

"From the emphasis of the exclamations at defective passages uttered by critics of years gone by, and from their insistence on the corrupt state of Shakespeare's text, it would be naturally inferred that these obeli, or marked passages, were to be found freely scattered on every page." The actual state of the case is as follows: The number of lines in Shakespeare's "Dramas" and "Poems" as given in the "Globe edition," has been computed to be 114,402 (the "First-Folio" which consists of the "Dramas" only contains 66,000 lines). Now the editors of the "Globe edition" were prudent in their use of the obelus, and wisely prefixed too many rather than too few. Indeed, there are not wanting critics who maintain that in many instances lines that were thus condemned admit of satisfactory explanation. The

number of marked passages errs, therefore, if at all, on the side of fullness. And yet in all these 114,402 lines we find that those marked as hopelessly corrupt number only about 130, which means that there is only one obstinately refractory line or passage in every 880.

It is small wonder, therefore, that the denunciation of Shakespeare's defective text is becoming gradually of the faintest. We cannot be far astray if hereafter we assume that this text has descended to us in a condition which may be characterized as fairly good; and we may also say, on the authority of Dr. Furness, that it has come down to us with but slight modification exactly as printed in the "First-Folio."

Within the last two years a new Cambridge edition has been launched, under the editorship of Mr. Dover Wilson and Sir Quiller Couch, of which six plays have been issued, and it is interesting to note that four of the six rest wholly on the "First-Folio," one on the "First-Folio" and a surreptitious quarto, and one on the "First-Folio" and a good quarto.

On the whole Messrs. Jaggard, Blount, Smethwicke and Aspley, with Messrs. Heming and Condell, are entitled to our lasting gratitude for having, at considerable pains, formed the Shakespeare Canon, and selected the best material from which to print. They may not have exercised the care we could have wished in the reading of the proofs, and in seeing the plays through the press, but we must not forget that they had no conception of the importance of their project, no idea that Shakespeare was to become the most famous of Englishmen, that they were dealing with the greatest of all English books next to the Bible, yet they did preserve for us eighteen of Shakespeare's plays from total destruction, and printed greatly improved texts of several others.

It is impossible to say, with any degree of certainty, what number of copies of the "First-Folio" were printed. Sir Sidney NUMBER Lee suggests six hundred, but when we consider the wide OF COPIES. popularity of Shakespeare's works, coupled with the surprising fact that so many as 180 copies, of which fifteen are in their original state of completeness, have survived the vicissitudes of 300 years of usage, we are disposed to think that the edition must have consisted of at least a thousand copies.

The argument in favour of the larger number is strengthened when we discover that of the works of first-rate literary importance produced during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, few can be shown to have survived in so many copies of their original edition.

The volume was no doubt widely read, and no special precaution appears to have been taken to preserve copies of it within the first century of its publication. Indeed, it is recorded that when the "Third-Folio" made its appearance in 1663, and it was discovered to contain a larger number of plays than the "First-Folio," one learned institution discarded its copy of the original edition, and replaced it by the later one. George Steevens tells us that it was a customary possession of country houses during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and was ordinarily kept in the hall, where the household was wont to take its meals, so that it is not difficult to account for the discoloration that characterises many of the surviving copies of the volume.

The price at which the volume was originally published, if the information furnished by George Steevens is to be relied upon, was twenty shillings for a copy in sheets; and there seems to have been very little appreciation in the value of copies during the succeeding hundred years.

Within recent years the prices obtained for copies in the sale room have advanced by leaps and bounds, largely through the competition of American collectors, who have come to regard a copy of the "First-Folio" as the corner-stone of any library that is worthy of the name.

An interesting array of facts and figures relating to the copies which have come down to us, and the gradual appreciation in their pecuniary value as it is revealed in the prices at which they have changed hands since the first recorded sale of a copy in 1756, has been brought together by Sir Sidney Lee in his invaluable "Census of Extant Copies," which forms the supplement to the "Oxford Facsimile of the Chatsworth copy of the First-Folio," which was issued in 1902 under his editorship; and we have ventured to glean from that interesting record a few notes relating to some of the more noteworthy of the surviving copies.

The earliest recorded price obtained for a copy at auction was 3 guineas, the price paid in 1756 for the copy which had belonged to Sir Martin Folkes, the then lately deceased President of the Royal Society. It was at one time in the possession of Lewis Theobald, the

Shakespearean editor, who is known to have been assisted in his work by Sir Martin Folkes. At the sale referred to the copy was acquired by George Steevens, by him it was later made over to Earl Spencer, and is now one of the two copies preserved in the John Rylands Library.

Some time later David Garrick is said to have purchased a copy from Thomas Payne, the bookseller, for 36s., but the standard of value was beginning to rise.

In 1770 a fine copy sold for 5 guineas. In 1792 13 guineas was paid for what is described as a superb copy. In 1787 a copy, bound in Russia, was sold for £10; and in 1801 14 guineas was given for the copy of Samuel Ireland, the father of the Shakespearean forger. In 1790 the Duke of Roxburghe paid £35 14s. for the Watson Reed copy, which at the sale of the Duke's Library in 1812, became the Chatsworth copy, and changed hands for £100.

In 1818 Thomas Grenville created a new standard by paying £121 16s. for a copy—"the highest price ever given, or likely to be given for this volume" wrote Thomas Frognall Dibdin in his "Library Companion."

In 1821 the Kemble copy was sold to James Boswell, Junior, for £112 0s. 7d., and five years later the same copy was purchased by Sir John Soane for £105. In 1827 Henry Perkins bought his copy for £110 5s.

In 1854 the American competition began, when James Lenox, the New York collector, acquired a copy for £163 13s.

But all these prices were eclipsed in 1864, when George Daniell's copy was acquired for Miss Burdett-Coutts at the price of £716 2s., the identical copy which was purchased last year by Dr. Rosenbach for £8,600. A writer in *The Times* of 28th July, 1864, refers to this sale in the following terms: "We are right glad to find that it (the greatest prize of the day) has fallen to a most bounteous and large-minded lady for no more than 682 guineas. The day will come . . . when our children's children will hear that it has been sold for ten times that sum."

In 1891 a new record was reached in New York, when the Sir William Tite copy, which had been purchased in 1874 for £440, by Mr. Brayton Ives, realised £840. A few years later another record was achieved by a British citizen, Mr. MacGeorge of Glasgow, who

paid £1700 for the Belleroche copy—to be again surpassed, in 1901, by Mr. Quaritch's purchase of the Dormer Hunter copy for £1720.

Very much depends, of course, upon the condition of the copy offered, but the average price for a good copy, which was regarded by Sir Sidney Lee in 1902 to be in the neighbourhood of a thousand pounds, has now been left far behind.

With the growth of American libraries, and wealthy collectors, who regard one or even more copies of the "First-Folio" as the essential part of the equipment of a library—one American collector has acquired the record number of eight copies—the volume has greatly increased in value.

The record in open market was reached last year when Dr. Rosenbach, as already stated, paid £8,600 for the Burdett-Coutts copy. But in the previous year £10,000 was paid for a copy containing the portrait-title in an unfinished state. It was acquired for the British Museum, thanks to the munificence of a benefactor who provided about five-sixths of the cost, and desires to remain anonymous.

The portrait of Shakespeare which appears on the title-page of the "First-Folio," was engraved by Martin Droeshout, who belonged to a family of Flemish painters and engravers who had long been settled in London, where he was born in 1601. It is thought that Martin's family were living on Bankside at the time that Shakespeare was resident there, and that therefore young Droeshout, although only fifteen years of age at the death of our poet, would probably be familiar with Shakespeare's features.

The engraved portrait is thought to have been based upon a panel painting now known as the "Flower portrait," which is preserved in the Memorial Picture Gallery at Stratford, and which may have been painted by an uncle of the engraver, of the same name.

This engraved portrait exists in two states. In the unfinished state there is no shading on the left side of the white collar, the moustache is unfinished, and there are a number of fine lines in the forehead, which quickly wore off the plate when later copies were printed.

The only known copies of the portrait in this unfinished state are four in number: in the copy of the "First-Folio" recently acquired by the British Museum, at a cost of £10,000; in the Malone copy in the Bodleian Library, at Oxford; in a copy in the collection of Mr. Folger, of New York, who also possesses the 1619 composite

volume of nine plays; and a copy of the portrait-title only, which formerly belonged to Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps, and is now at Stratford.

There have been several reproductions of the "First-Folio" published. The first was issued in 1807 by E. and J. REPRO. Wright, which was re-issued in 1808. William Upcott, OUCTIONS OF THE at the suggestion of Porson, read this through with the "FOLIO." original, and claimed to have found 368 typographical errors, but they are for the most part of little importance, and only forty are material, of which a list was printed in a communication to "Notes and Queries," 3rd Ser., vol. 7, p. 139, 18 February, 1865.

The second attempt was made in 1862-64 by Lionel Booth. It was carefully printed, and was published in three parts, but is said to have been financially a disastrous speculation.

In 1866 was issued a reproduction by photo-lithography executed by R. W. Preston, under the superintendence of Howard Staunton, and printed by Day & Son. A reduced edition of this reproduction, with an introduction by J. G. Halliwell-Phillipps, was issued by Chatto and Windus in 1876, and again at New York in 1887.

In 1893, D. C. Dallas commenced a reduced facsimile in Dallas type, but only three parts were published.

In 1902 the Oxford University Press issued a reproduction in collotype facsimile of the Chatsworth copy, in the possession of the Duke of Devonshire, with an introduction and a supplement containing a "Census of Extant Copies" with some account of their history and condition by Sir Sidney Lee. This is by far the most satisfactory reproduction from every point of view, and its value is greatly enhanced by the editorial appendices.

In 1910 Messrs. Methuen & Company published a facsimile edition, as one of their set of facsimile reproductions of the four folios.

The John Rylands Library is in possession of two copies of the coveted volume. The first which is registered in Sir THE J.R.L. Sidney Lee's "Census" as No. 48, is in excellent con-COPIES. dition but for the absence of two of the preliminary leaves: "To the memorie of the deceased Author," and "The Workes." It was owned by Lewis Theobald, the Shakespearean editor, and was later acquired by Sir Martin Folkes, sometime President of the Royal Society; in 1756, at the sale of the library of Sir Martin Folkes, the copy was acquired for 3 guineas by George Steevens, another

Shakespearean editor, who appears to have made it over to Earl Spencer about 1790, and it remained at Althorp until 1892, when it was purchased as part of the Althorp Library by Mrs. Rylands, the founder of this Library.

The second copy was bequeathed to the Library with a set of the other folios, by Mrs. Rylands; and does not figure in the "Census." Unfortunately the history of the copy is not known. It is quite complete, although two or three of the preliminary leaves have been mounted and repaired, but it is otherwise in excellent condition and genuine throughout.

SOME RECENT AUTHORITIES.

In compiling this brief summary of the history of the "First-Folio," it has been impossible to escape incurring indebtedness to the work of such recent authorities in Shakespearean research as Professor A. W. Pollard and Sir Sidney Lee. Indeed, we have made no attempt to do so, and we take this opportunity of making our acknowledgments to them, at the same time offering to those of our readers who may wish to follow up the subject, a list of a few of the most helpful of the works which have been published during the last few years.

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