

**‘WE HAVE A CONSTANT WILL TO PUBLISH’:
THE PUBLISHERS OF SHAKESPEARE’S FIRST FOLIO**

by

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is a cultural history of the publishing businesses that financed Shakespeare's First Folio. The thesis argues that by 1623 each of the four businesses that formed the Folio syndicate had developed an influential reputation in the book trade, and that these reputations were crucial to the cultural positioning of the Folio on publication. Taking its lead from a dynamic new field of study that has been called 'cultural bibliography', the thesis investigates the histories and publishing strategies of the business owned by the stationers William and Isaac Jaggard, who are usually thought of as the leading members of the Folio project, as well as those owned by William Aspley, John Smethwick, and Edward Blount. Through detailed analysis of the publishing strategies of each stationer, the thesis puts forward new theories about how these men influenced the reception of the Folio by transferring onto it their brands, and the expectations of their readerships. The business of each Folio stationer was like a stage with an audience assembled around it, waiting for the next production to emerge. This thesis identifies the publishing activities that attracted the audiences of the Jaggards, Blount, Smethwick, and Aspley, and ultimately suggests the Folio was granted significant legitimacy through the collaboration of these men. After an introductory chapter that locates the thesis in its scholarly field, the first chapter tells the history of syndicated book publishing in England, and reviews what we know of the pre-production process of the First Folio, taking a particular interest in how the publishing syndicate formed. The following chapters then form a series of case studies of the four publishing businesses, reviewing the apprenticeships and careers of each stationer before suggesting how those careers created a context of meaning for the Folio. These case studies focus on the authoritative reference publishing of the Jaggards, the religious publishing of William Aspley, the geographical location of John Smethwick's publishing business beside the Inns of Court, and the cultural achievements of Edward Blount. In conclusion the thesis explores the idea that it was the unique partnership of these businesses that consecrated the Folio as an emblem of literary taste.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND CONVENTIONS

- Arber Edward Arber. *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London, 1554-1640*. 5 vols. London: The Stationers' Company, 1875-7.
- EEBO *Early English Books Online*. Chadwyck-Healey, ProQuest LLC. 2003. Web.
<<http://eebo.chadwyck.com/home>>.
- ODNB *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford University Press. 2004. Web.
<<http://www.oxforddnb.com/>>.
- PLRE *Private Libraries in Renaissance England*. Folger Shakespeare Library. Web.
<<http://plre.folger.edu/>>.
- STC Alfred Pollard and G. R. Redgrave eds. *Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, & Ireland and of English books Printed Abroad, 1475-1640*. 2nd ed., revised by W. A. Jackson, F. S. Ferguson, and Katharine F. Pantzer. 3 vols. London: Bibliographical Society, 1976-1991.
- USTC *Universal Short Title Catalogue*. University of St Andrews. Web.
<<http://ustc.ac.uk/>>.

Quotations from early printed documents keep the original use of 'u' / 'v' and 'i' / 'j', but the long 's' has been silently updated. Manuscript contractions have been expanded and italicised throughout. Dates have been converted to the new-style calendar.

INTRODUCTION

Publishers and Meaning in the Book Trade

In January 2009, boosted by profits from the bestselling Harry Potter series, the Bloomsbury publishing group bought the Arden Shakespeare imprint from Cengage Learning. This was the fourth time that Arden had changed hands since its Third Series of plays by William Shakespeare had launched in 1995: some of the editors who were originally commissioned by Routledge had by 2009 moved to Thomson Learning, then on to Cengage then to Bloomsbury and finally to Methuen, an imprint of Bloomsbury. Commenting on Bloomsbury's purchase, an industry analyst said Arden was an attractive business prospect despite the several resales because of 'the reputation of the series'.¹ And in fact the same reasoning is given in the press release that was sent out by Bloomsbury's managing director to announce the purchase, in which Arden is described as the 'most academically rigorous Shakespeare series in print, and the best-known English literature brand worldwide.' The director added that she personally considered the brand to be a 'highly prestigious' addition.²

The press release acknowledged Arden's status within the market of printed books in general, and within the smaller field of academic editions of Shakespeare in particular. Though of course the press release was also promoting and creating that status in a way that helped Bloomsbury:

¹ Rowen Mason, "Bloomsbury [sic] buys Arden Shakespeare." *The Telegraph*, 6 January 2009. Web. <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/finance/newsbysector/mediatechnologyandtelecoms/media/4142010/Bloomsbury-buys-Arden-Shakespeare>.

² Bloomsbury Publishing. *Bloomsbury Acquires Arden Shakespeare*. London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 6 Jan 2009. Web. http://www.bloomsbury-ir.co.uk/html/media/press_releases/060109. See also: Richard Wray, "Bloomsbury buys Arden Shakespeare." *The Guardian*, 6 Jan 2009. Web. <http://www.theguardian.com/business/2009/jan/06/bloomsbury-buys-arden-shakespeare>.

several national newspapers in the United Kingdom picked up the story and all used the wording of the press release to describe Arden. Google ‘Arden Shakespeare,’ and the first page of results includes links to stories that recycle the release. Each story contributes to a cultural perception of Arden’s reputation, or its ‘brand’, as ‘the best known English Literature brand worldwide.’

So Arden’s reputation makes it an attractive prospect to a publishing business. If this reputation can be located anywhere, from a reader’s perspective, then it is in the Arden Shakespeare imprint itself – the words and the way they are marketed (their typography, the particular font used, their position on a cover or a spine, the decorative initials AS that line up in order along a bookshelf) – which is why, with one eye on the financial markets, Bloomsbury specifically added in their press release that they would keep the name of the series: ‘Arden Shakespeare will retain its internationally recognised name and become part of the Methuen Drama imprint.’³ Bloomsbury have also created twelve new series of books since 2009, each marketed with the Arden Shakespeare imprint. These new series started with the Arden *Early Modern Drama*, launched in September 2009 to publish non-Shakespearean renaissance and restoration drama, and by now also include the *Shakespeare State of Play*, the *Great Shakespeareans* and the *Springboard Shakespeare* series. Most of the series are concerned with Shakespeare, though some, like the *Early Modern Drama* series, are specifically non-Shakespearean. Each is branded with the Arden identity, which is communicated through visual details like the black band across the top of the front cover that reads ‘THE ARDEN SHAKESPEARE’. Each series has pushed the original boundaries of the imprint a little further.

Bloomsbury’s motivation for broadening the Arden imprint is obvious: there is symbolic power and commercial value in Arden’s reputation, and it makes commercial sense for a publishing business to wield that power and increase its profits. But extending the Arden imprint to new kinds of text has sometimes conflicted with what readers understand the Arden imprint to

³ Bloomsbury Publishing, *Bloomsbury Acquires Arden Shakespeare*.

mean, and the way Bloomsbury has used that imprint. Arden's reputation has been created over generations by scholars working to high standards in a field with narrow criteria: canonical Shakespeare plays, rigorously edited. The strength of Arden's reputation relates to this specificity. When, in March 2010, the eighteenth-century play *Double Falsehood*, conventionally believed to have been written by Lewis Theobald, was published as part of the Arden Third Series of Shakespeare's plays, the edition generated global media interest. Arden's imprint sanctioned *Double Falsehood* as canonically Shakespearean. This apocryphal play is now part of the same series as *King Lear* and *Hamlet*. At the time, one of Arden's general editors, Richard Proudfoot, described the decision to publish *Double Falsehood* as the 'most controversial' that Arden had yet taken.⁴

One way of seeing the controversy created by Arden's edition of *Double Falsehood* is that a reputation is like a contract between publishers and their readers. Both sides agree that the publisher's imprint stands for certain ideas; when those ideas are changed the contract is altered and readers must absorb the new terms and reposition the publisher. Vast changes have altered the book trade since the early modern period, but recent work by Shakespearean scholars has confirmed the basic tenet that the reputation of a publisher was a powerful force that meaningfully affected the way a book was received in crucial ways. The examples discussed here show Bloomsbury made a significant intervention into modern culture by extending the Arden imprint to new series of books and new individual titles. These examples are modern versions of a power that also existed in Shakespeare's time. If anything, the power of a publisher to shape a text was more relevant in the small world of seventeenth century book production than it is today: the stationers of London who were involved with the contemporary production of printed editions of Shakespeare form a relatively small cast of names, and as such the reputations of

⁴ Hilary Whiteman, "Experts: 'Hoax' Shakespeare Play Authentic." *CNN Media*, 16 March 2010. Web. <http://edition.cnn.com/2010/WORLD/europe/03/16/uk.shakespeare.theobald>.

those stationers – the early modern versions of Arden and other publishing imprints today – were all the more important.

This thesis looks at one group of Shakespearean stationers: the syndicate who published Shakespeare's First Folio in 1623. It argues the reputations and publishing strategies of this group were utterly vital to the Folio's early success; not only in the sense that these stationers took a tremendous gamble by financing an unprecedented folio edition of popular stage plays, choosing to fund an edition that involved 223 sheets of paper per copy and more than 4.5million ens of metal type; but also because their reputations played a major part in establishing the book's audience and reception, and set Shakespeare on an astonishing trajectory to the heart of the Western canon.⁵

In recent years Shakespeare studies and the history of the book have crossed paths to create a new kind of Shakespearean bibliographer. Led by scholars like Lukas Erne, Zachary Lesser, and Marta Straznicky, academics are researching the ways that agents of the book trade contributed to Shakespeare's work by producing editions that are imbued with their own 'social formations, ideologies, personal and intellectual disposition, and sheer creative energy.'⁶ This area of study has been called cultural bibliography because it investigates the way a book's material and symbolic meanings relate to and embody the cultural interests of its producer. This introduction analyses the development of cultural bibliography, and positions the thesis in relation to the field's main ideas.

⁵ Shakespeare's First Folio (William Shakespeare, *Mr. William Shakespeares Comedies, Histories, & Tragedies* [1623, STC 22273]) is referred to through this thesis as the 'Folio' or the 'First Folio'. In footnotes the Folio is abbreviated to: Shakespeare, *Comedies, Histories, & Tragedies* 1623.

⁶ Marta Straznicky, *Shakespeare's Stationers: Studies in Cultural Bibliography* (Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania P, 2012) 2.

Thesis Aims and Contribution

This thesis analyses the way that the publishing reputations and strategies of the First Folio syndicate shaped the first collected edition of Shakespeare's works. After an initial chapter that describes the history of syndicated publishing in the English book trade, and the particular circumstances of planning and negotiation for Shakespeare's Folio, there follow chapters on each of the four publishing businesses that comprise the Folio syndicate. There are five stationers named in the Folio's imprint and colophon – William and Isaac Jaggard, Edward Blount, John Smethwicke, and William Aspley – but as William and Isaac were father and son in the same printing and publishing business, their work is treated as part of the same overall publishing programme.

No-one has yet examined how and why these four publishing businesses came together in, as far as we know, about 1621 to plan and produce the Folio, and no scholar has yet studied the history of each of these stationers: how well they knew one another, if they competed, and how they eventually collaborated for this world-changing publication, after which they never worked together again as a group. This thesis provides that narrative, offering theories about why and how the syndicate formed, why they decided to produce the Folio, where they sought to position it within the book trade, and the way their particular involvement shaped the Folio's reception. Archival research has revealed that social and professional links joined the Folio syndicate, and help explain why this particular group came together. These links extend back to the apprenticeship of each syndicate member in the Stationers' Company. The personalities of each of the five stationers, as expressed through their publishing investments but also their family lives, movements within their civic communities, and relationships outside of the book trade, are shown to be vital components of the construction of Shakespeare's collected works, and to have affected the audiences to which the book was eventually directed.

Over the past fifteen years, two important groups of Shakespearean scholars have continued to develop our understanding of the Folio on trajectories that are gradually coming together. On the one hand, Anthony West and Eric Rasmussen have continued a long tradition of Anglo-American bibliographic study by furthering the analytical and enumerative approach to the Folio that guided W. W. Greg, Charlton Hinman, and Peter W. M. Blayney.⁷ On the other, new research has placed increasing importance on the significance of early modern publishers in shaping Shakespeare at the level of publishing ideas, marketing strategies, and intended audiences. A growing number of scholars, mostly focused on early modern drama, have argued that publishers added meaning to their books by developing bibliographic characters or brands that transferred onto the books they produced, and by positioning the text of a book within an existing set of publishing practices. Journal articles and book chapters have examined the way these bibliographic brands shaped Shakespeare's quarto playbooks, and the forthcoming *Cambridge Companion to Shakespeare's First Folio* acknowledges this new interest in publishers with a chapter on the Folio syndicate.⁸ The goal of these bibliographers who study publishers is not to relocate a singular agency for the creation of meaning from the author to the publisher, but to recognise new influences on the meaning of Shakespeare's texts. So far the articles that have appeared on this topic usually have a corrective focus, and assert the importance of stationers on

⁷ Eric Rasmussen and Anthony James West eds., *The Shakespeare First Folios: A Descriptive Catalogue* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2012); Anthony James West, *The Shakespeare First Folio: The History of the Book*. 2 vols. (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2001 and 2003); "Ownership of Shakespeare First Folios Over Four Centuries," *The Library* 10.4 (2009): 405-8. West, *History of the Book* I.41-3 summarises the 'central path of Anglo-American bibliographical development in this century' by reviewing major scholarship on the Folio.

⁸ Specifically Shakespearean work includes: Lukas Erne, *Shakespeare and the Book Trade* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2013); the essays in Straznicki, *Stationers*; Adam G. Hooks, "Shakespeare at the White Greyhound," *Shakespeare Survey* 64 (2011): 260-75; James Bednarz, "Contextualising 'The Phoenix and the Turtle': Shakespeare, Edward Blount and the Poetical Essays Group of *Love's Martyr*," *Shakespeare Survey* 67 (2014): 131-49; "Canonizing Shakespeare: *The Passionate Pilgrim*, *England's Helicon*, and the Question of Authenticity," *Shakespeare Survey* 60 (2007): 252-67; Gary Taylor, "Making Meaning Marketing Shakespeare 1623," in Peter Holland and Stephen Orgel eds., *From Performance to Print in Shakespeare's England* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2006) 55-7; Zachary Lesser, *Renaissance Drama and the Politics of Publication* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2004) 157-225. *The Cambridge Companion to the First Folio*, edited by Emma Smith and published by Cambridge UP, is expected in 2016.

their own terms into an existing paradigm within scholarship that prioritises authors. By publishing articles like this, a group of scholars has established a new conceptual area that legitimises discussion of the book trade within literary studies, and the application of bibliographical evidence to the interpretation of texts. An example of this is Adam G. Hooks' study of the stationer Richard Field, the printer who produced the first editions of Shakespeare's *Venus and Adonis*, and his *Lucrece*.⁹ Hooks showed that speculative biographical links between Shakespeare and Field, together with an unclear understanding within the critical community of Field as a 'literary' printer, have historically been used to support a critical investment in Shakespeare as an intellectual deeply immersed in print. By approaching Field on his own terms, Hooks showed that we lose part of the traditional and romantic narrative about the 'literariness' of Shakespeare the author, who may or may not have chosen Field to print his early poetry because he intended to position his work with a 'literary' printer; but we gain a fairer and more nuanced understanding of the circumstances of the production of Shakespeare's books. Lukas Erne, whose monograph *Shakespeare as Literary Dramatist* (2003) began the recent reassessment of Shakespeare's own interest in his printed texts, has since published another important study, *Shakespeare and the Book Trade*, in which he takes the importance of publishers in adding meaning to texts as axiomatic, and devotes a chapter to surveying the chief publishers of Shakespeare's plays and poems.¹⁰ However because none of the First Folio consortium invested heavily in Shakespeare's quartos or octavos (one indication of the fundamental difference between the Folio and the quarto or octavo editions of the plays), the four publishing businesses studied in this thesis are not discussed in detail in Erne's study.¹¹

⁹ Hooks, "White Greyhound."

¹⁰ Erne, *Book Trade* 19, 130-85. Erne argued printers are important only in being 'instructed by the publishers' (20), and implicitly prioritised publishers in his quantitative data, by counting *playbooks* (ie, publishing investments that might contain several titles) rather than *playtexts* (individual titles) (37-8).

¹¹ Erne's most detailed engagement with a member of the Folio syndicate is his study of William Jaggard's production of *The Passionate Pilgrim*: *Book Trade* 84-9.

In one sense the importance of the Folio syndicate is clear: these stationers are ultimately responsible for the sixteen of Shakespeare's plays, mostly mature works, that had never previously appeared in print. The Folio also includes a revised and authoritative version of a number of plays that had previously been published in quarto. But beyond the fact of the Folio's existence, this thesis shows that it was part of the unique textual and bibliographic histories of four businesses. The Folio syndicate did not 'make' Shakespeare, because significant research over the past ten years has charted the involvement of many agents, including Shakespeare himself, in the gradual elevation of his work in the early modern public consciousness. There are also different ways that an author can be 'made': success in the early modern book trade has conventionally been charted by modern scholars in terms of the numbers of editions of a particular author or title, and the pace at which these editions were produced.¹² Yet for some kinds of culture – often including 'elite' or 'literary' subcultures – the mass popularity implied by rapid reprinting is the hallmark of failure. Nevertheless, the argument of this thesis is that the particular histories and circumstances of the Jaggards, Blount, Smethwick and Aspley were critical to the success of the Folio, both in its initial reception and its enduring legacy. The following chapters seek to recover the specific reputations of the Folio syndicate within contemporary cultures of book production and reception – their particular bibliographic auras and strategies, embodied in their imprints, but adumbrated by their social relationships with colleagues and patrons, their civic and trade status, and their legal and economic operations. Put simply, the thesis asks: what meanings were transferred onto Shakespeare's written work by the four businesses who published it?

This question contains several implicit assumptions about the way stationers related to the books they published. These assumptions are examined below in the section describing what

¹² Andy Kesson and Emma Smith eds., *The Elizabethan Top Ten: Defining Print Popularity in Early Modern England* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013) 1-54.

cultural bibliography is and the way it has emerged. The most important assumption is that it mattered *at all* which stationer published a book. Modern parallels, such as the relationship between Arden and the other main scholarly publishers of Shakespeare, can enliven the idea that publishers meaningfully affect the texts they produce, but it is not necessarily clear to early modern scholars that they should care why a particular stationer published a particular edition. That hermeneutic is changing (as shown by the habit of some recent monographs to use a referencing style that incorporates details of the printer and publisher of an early modern edition, not just the date and *STC* number), but publishers are still often seen as marginal. Blount, Aspley, Smethwicke, and the Jaggards were far from incidental to the Folio's success, and this thesis argues that their names carried a set of associated meanings that the book historian Peter McDonald has described as 'the symbolic economy of the signature':

The publisher's details—including the date, place of publication, and imprint, which are usually considered to be of legal or commercial interest only—also mark the edition as a particular kind of spatiotemporal event. They point, usually only after careful research, to the literary field to which it owes its existence... Indeed, given the shifting hierarchical structure of the field, each edition tends, through the symbolic economy of the signature, also to identify the text as *Literature* in a strongly normative sense. It does so by associating the text with the publisher's reputation, project, and promotional strategies; by inserting it in a particular series or backlist, which functions as a cotextual (as opposed to a paratextual) frame; and, of course, by locating it in the field at a particular historical juncture.¹³

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¹³ Peter McDonald, "Ideas of the Book and Histories of Literature: After Theory?" *PMLA* 121.1 (2006): 224-5.

Thesis Contribution

Research Component

This thesis contributes both new research and a new methodological approach. The research component applies the methods of cultural bibliography to a new subject in the First Folio and its publishers. To date researchers interested in publishers and Shakespeare have concentrated on the quarto playbooks – probably because the Folio is a syndicated publication, which complicates the way cultural bibliography understands agency. Of the work that concentrates on Shakespeare’s quartos, the most comprehensive recent study is Erne’s *Shakespeare and the Book Trade*, which has incorporated the earlier research. Erne did not engage with the Folio because, as he wrote, ‘the making of the First Folio and the history of its dissemination and reception have been examined in exhaustive detail elsewhere.’¹⁴ That is true, but the earlier studies were driven by the aims and values of a previous generation of textual bibliographers; one interested in typographical variation, compositorial spelling habits, and Shakespearean foul papers. The issues Erne himself is interested in – ‘the reasons why that play was published then’ – have still not been directed as research questions to the First Folio.¹⁵ While no Shakespearean publisher has received the level of scrutiny shown to some of Shakespeare’s printers – Peter W. M. Blayney’s two-volume study of Nicholas Okes and the printing of *King Lear* is the high point of detailed printer-study – substantial research has been carried out on the publishers John Norton, Andrew Wise, Nicholas Ling, and Thomas Pavier, among others.¹⁶ Here, four new case

¹⁴ Erne, *Book Trade* 6.

¹⁵ *Ibid*, 136. Erne quoted from: Peter W. M. Blayney “The Publication of Playbooks”, in John Cox and David Scott Kastan eds., *A New History of Early English Drama* (New York: Columbia UP, 1997) 391.

¹⁶ For example: the essays in Straznicky, *Stationers*. See also: Graham Rees and Maria Wakely, *Publishing Politics and Culture: The King’s Printers in the Reign of James I and VI* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2009), esp. chapters 9 and 10; Gerald Johnson, “Nicholas Ling, Publisher 1580-1607,” *Studies in Bibliography* 38 (1985): 203-14; “Thomas Pavier, Publisher 1600-25,” *The Library* S6.14 (1992): 12-50; Bednarz, “Canonizing Shakespeare”; Zachary Lesser and Peter Sallibrass, “The First Literary *Hamlet* and the Commonplacing of Professional Plays”, *Shakespeare Quarterly* 59.4 (2008): 371-420.

studies of important Shakespearean publishers are presented. Each study adds substantially to existing knowledge of its subject.¹⁷

Methodological Component

This thesis offers a new methodological approach to early modern stationers by focusing on a syndicated book. This approach develops the single-agent study that has defined cultural bibliography so far, and complicates some of the ways scholars attribute meaning to stationers. To date, studies that investigate some detail of the act of publication as a meaningful act of creative interpretation – whether those studies are interested in an aspect of the bibliographical apparatus such as the presence of a dedication, or the kind of stitching used to gather the quires together, or in one stationer’s promotion of certain ideological themes – have concentrated on individual members of the book trade.¹⁸ The clearest reason for this is a structural feature of the way such studies work. Most use the idea of a single authorising agency – the publisher – to extrapolate a context against which a particular work or author can be read. Cultural bibliographers try to understand ‘what it is that a publisher is doing’, before reappraising an individual book as part of that strategy. There are exceptions to this of course, but generally

¹⁷ The Folio publishing syndicate is briefly discussed as a group by most major New Bibliographical works on the First Folio, which include: Charlton Hinman, *The Printing and Proof-Reading of the First Folio of Shakespeare* (Oxford: Clarendon P, 1963) I.24-9; W. W. Greg, *The Shakespeare First Folio: Its Bibliographical and Textual History* (Oxford: Clarendon P, 1955) 2-8; E. E. Willoughby, *The Printing of the First Folio of Shakespeare* (Oxford: The Bibliographical Society, 1932) 8-12. See also: Andrew Murphy, *Shakespeare in Print: A History and Chronology of Shakespeare Publishing* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2003). These sources all treat the Folio publishers in a brief and factual way. Blayney’s introduction to the second edition of the Norton facsimile points out the Folio’s publishers have been neglected partly because most twentieth century scholarship did not separate the functions of printing and publishing, and partly because, within these two functions, New Bibliography was primarily interested in the printing house: *The Norton Facsimile of the First Folio of Shakespeare*, 2nd ed. (New York: Norton & Co, 1996) xxvii-xxviii.

¹⁸ Aaron T. Pratt has investigated the ‘literariness’ of stab-stitching in quarto playbook bindings. Pratt has found that the way a playbook was bound was not related to its ‘literary’ value, but to the length of the book, immaterial of its contents: “Stab Stitching and the Status of Early English Playbooks as Literature,” *The Library* 16.3 (2015): 304-28.

scholars establish a corpus of material that is clearly the responsibility of a single publisher, scour it to find a pattern, then apply that pattern to a text.

There are difficulties with such an approach of course, mostly to do with questions of agency. At times simply assembling a list of titles that were published by a particular stationer can be challenging; information from imprints and the Stationers' Register sometimes points in different directions. In relation to the Folio, the difficulty is that publishing syndicates present multiple agencies in one work. The Folio's colophon unites the agendas and interests of four different publishing businesses. Very few early modern publishing syndicates left evidence that explains what the roles of the members were within the syndicate. For the Folio, this lack of evidence has created unanswerable questions, such as: who came up with the initial idea for the Folio? What were the financial arrangements? Who designed the title page and organised the contents? Who decided the Folio would contain no poems? Very occasionally the Stationers' Register describes the way shares in a major syndicated book were divided, which gives some sense of the way economic responsibility for such a book was divided. But there is no such entry for the First Folio, and the few clues that do survive concerning the agency of the project, which are discussed in chapter one, can be interpreted in different ways. To take the example of who controlled the Folio project – it is easy to find different theories. Gary Taylor has argued that Edward Blount led the scheme, but Sonia Massai is equally convinced that Isaac Jaggard was responsible, while some editors since Edmund Malone have unquestioningly accepted that John Heminges and Henry Condell, as the lead representatives of Shakespeare's theatre company, the King's Men, were in charge.¹⁹

¹⁹ Gary Taylor, "Making Meaning"; Sonia Massai, *Shakespeare and the Rise of the Editor* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2007) 136-79. At pages 150-2, Massai discusses another recurrent question: who edited the plays for the First Folio? Massai notes several attempts to attribute this task to historical individuals, but argues that we should think of the Folio's editing as a 'function-specific' job that cannot be pinned down to any one particular agent.

This study does not, on the whole, approach the Folio syndicate by finding particular parts of the Folio for which each stationer was responsible. The chapter on William Jaggard argues that he controlled the wording and layout of the Folio's contents leaf, and may also have decided on the book's title, but in general this study is interested in symbolic meanings transferred through reputation, rather than typographical realities. The Folio was produced 'at the charges of' its syndicate of stationers, so each stationer had a financial stake in its production. The following chapters work from the principle that this shared financial stake, and the corresponding shared bibliographic presence, translated into four different and equally valid contexts of meaning for the First Folio. Co-published books developed the idea of the 'symbolic economy' of the imprint into multiple economies, which combined to create a powerful symbolic emblem of relations between stationers. Co-published books, rather than existing in one context, emerged from the several structures of authority of each agent, drawing on multiple reputations and audiences, multiple strategies, projects, and co-textualities to enable their status.

The key principle behind this idea is that it mattered which stationer published a particular book. A material expression of the importance of a stationer's name in adding meaning to a book is the way that name was presented on a text. The following chapter shows that stationers seem to have been unaware of the symbolic power of a name on a title page before the mid-sixteenth century, but that by the early seventeenth century stationers had developed various ways to capture this power by presenting their agency on a book. One of their tactics, often used for co-published books, was the printing of variant title pages. Such pages were printed from the same setting of type, but featured a different name and address in the imprint of the book. This practice created two or more different books from the same text. The difference between two books with a variant title page is usually only a few sorts of metal type, which can seem insignificant. Yet the publishers would not have taken the trouble to arrange multiple title pages if there were not some benefit in doing so. There were practical advantages: multiple title pages

alerted other members of the book trade to the different wholesale outlets of an edition, but such title pages also concealed the fact that multiple publishers had financed the text. Multiple title pages presented one edition as uniquely the product of one stationer's energy and resources, and so enhanced the reputations of multiple stationers. Changing the publisher's name on a title page could also affect the way a text was marketed within early cultures of book organisation. There is a relevant example in William Jaggard's *Catalogue of Such English Bookes*, published in 1618. Jaggard's *Catalogue* was a short quarto text that advertised a list of newly printed 'serious books' by 'certain rather active publishers'.²⁰ The *Catalogue* included two listings for an edition of Lucan's *Pharsalia*, a folio of thirty-nine edition sheets that was co-published by Edward Blount and another publisher, the stationer Walter Burre. The edition of *Pharsalia* exists in variant states, with some copies naming Blount as the publisher in the imprint, and some naming Burre. In Jaggard's *Catalogue* the *Pharsalia* is listed in two different sections under different genre headings. Blount's copies are catalogued under History, alongside the chronicles of Stow and Howes, while those copies with Burre's name on the title page are found under Poetry, beside *The Mirror for Magistrates* and a playbook by Barton Holliday.²¹ Here the name of the publisher is an example of what Jeffrey Todd-Knight has described as a 'powerful organising category', that once informed a text's status and range of meanings in a way that has since been lost.²² Blount, who published very little poetry in his career but several important continental historical works by authors including Francesco Guicciardini, Gerolamo Constagio, and Jose de Acosta, chose to brand his copies of *Pharsalia* as history; for Burre, who had financed several editions of plays and poetry in

²⁰ William Jaggard, *A Catalogue of Such English Bookes* (1618, STC 14341). Quotations from: Oliver Williard, "Jaggard's *Catalogue of English Books*," *Stanford Studies in Language and Literature* (1941): 152-72, at 159.

²¹ Jaggard, *Catalogue* B1v, B2r. See also: Lucan, *Lucans Pharsalia* (1614, STC 16884-5).

²² Jeffrey Todd-Knight, *Bound to Read: Compilations, Collections, and the Making of Renaissance Literature* (Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania P, 2013) 11.

the years leading up to Jaggard's *Catalogue*, it was more advantageous to advertise the *Pharsalia* as a poem.

Poetry.
Lucans Pharsalia, by *Arthur Gorges Knight*, printed for *W. Bur*
Discourse against flattery, by *William Cavendish Knight*, *Ibid.*
The Trades encrease. *Ibid.*
The Surueigher, by *Aaron Rathborne*, fol. *ibidem*
An aduice how to plant Tobacco in England, by *W.R.4.* *ibid.*
B 2 *The*

Fig. 0.1. The listing for Walter Burre's copies of Lucan's *Pharsalia*, in the poetry section of William Jaggard's *Catalogue of Such English Bookes* (Jaggard, *Catalogue* B2r). Image: EEBO reel 1209:11.

Comparable organising categories, which were once powerful and can now seem insignificant, are found in other forms of book marketing from the early modern period. Book advertisements, for example, display these categories particularly clearly through the way they both appeal to, and help to shape, consumer engagement with the product. One example of this is the advertisement below, printed by William Jaggard in late 1623. The advertisement features at the bottom of a broadside bill of royal proclamation concerning the sale of church hymns, and it shows the format and typeface of a hymn book were seen as important enough features to differentiate the same text into twelve different books. Seven different formats are offered, ranging from the tiny 32-mo up to folio, and these formats are available in eight different founts. The smallest of these founts is nonpareil, a tiny fount that equates to a modern measure of about 6-point. Brevier is an 8-point type, while the largest on offer was the standard pica, which is the most common size of type found in quarto publications.

The *Hymnes* aforenamed, are to be sold at the Signe of the *Blew Anchor* in Saint *Pauls* Churchyard,
ouer againſt Saint *Gregories* Church, and in theſe ſeueral Volumes following ;

In folio Roman.	In octauo common.
In quarto Pica.	In twelues for Bibles.
In quarto Breuier common.	In ſixteene Middleborough.
In quarto Breuier Engliſh.	In ſixteene common.
In octauo Middleborough.	In 24.
In octauo Nonparel.	In 32.

Fig. 0.2. Advertisement appended to the bottom of a royal proclamation printed by William Jaggard in 1623: *An Abstract of His Majesties Royall Priviledge* (1623, STC 8704.5). Image: EEBO reel 1875:142.

The library catalogues of the notary and book collector Humfrey Dyson (1582-1633) show that the book trade's understanding of the difference between a text and a book could shape consumer practice. Dyson's manuscripts record that he sometimes bought the same text in quarto, octavo, and duodecimo formats.²³ To contemporary collectors, a change of format added enough meaning to a book that it was worth re-buying. The name of the publisher was a feature that, like format, typeface, or language, had the power to differentiate a book from a text by adding a new set of meanings. Modern cataloguing procedures sustain this division by creating separate records for texts with variant imprints or colophons: the second edition of Shakespeare's *Folio*, published in 1632, has eight different record numbers in the *STC*, which identify the various states of its imprint.²⁴ The meanings created through the addition of an early modern publisher's name to a book need to be investigated by scholars, as well as recognised by catalogues and bibliographies.

²³ *Library Notebooks of Humfrey Dyson*: All Souls MS 117. Unfoliated ms, but see entries for 1596 'A Declaration of the Causes moving Q Eliz:,' bought in English, Latin, French, Spanish and Italian; or 1615, entry for 'God and the King', bought in English in quarto and octavo, and Latin, also in quarto and octavo.

²⁴ William Shakespeare, *Mr. William Shakespeares Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies* (1632, STC 22274-22274e.5).

This thesis also discusses what a publisher actually was. The definition is important for early modern bibliography, and made complicated because the word is anachronistic to the early seventeenth century, when ‘publishing’ simply meant ‘to make it public’. Modern scholars of the early modern book trade use ‘publisher’ to mean a stationer who paid for a book to be produced. Below, the thesis argues that: (i.) this definition is inadequate because financing books was an activity that was not restricted to stationers; (ii.) at the same time, those stationers we now refer to as ‘publishers’ usually only financed books as one part of a larger set of activities, such as selling books, but often also other non-book trade activities; (iii.) that this gave some stationers a composite identity, formed partly of being people who financed books, and partly of activities that were not to do with financing books, leading to a reputation that was not only dependent on book financing; (iv.) which means that bibliographers should look beyond imprints and the *STC* when seeking to understand the reputations of stationers who financed books.

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Cultural Bibliography

- ‘the reasons why *that* play was published *then*’²⁵ –

The most important critical context for this thesis is cultural bibliography. Most of the ideas that underpin cultural bibliography have been around in some form since Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin’s famous *L’apparition du Livre* of 1958 popularised an interest in the history of the book, but over the last fifteen years these ideas have been applied to English stationers of

²⁵ Peter W. M. Blayney, “The Publication of Playbooks”, in John Cox and David Scott Kastan eds, *A New History of Early English Drama* (New York: Columbia UP, 1997) 391. Quoted in: Lesser, *Renaissance Drama* 10; Erne, *Book Trade* 136.

the Elizabethan and Jacobean periods in new ways.²⁶ The new interest in stationers has its roots in Peter W. M. Blayney's seminal essay on the publication of playbooks, from which the quotation at the start of this section is taken. In this essay, published in 1997, Blayney pointed out the different kinds of textual meanings associated with different professions in the book trade. Printers, Blayney wrote, could shed light on the way a manuscript had been transformed into a page of type metal. Studying printers' working habits and environments could help an editor to minimise the kinds of errors that the Italian lexicographer John Florio described in an errata note of 1578 as, 'such faultes which haue escaped... the Compositors wauering hande, the Correctors daseling eye, and the Printers presse.'²⁷ In other words, the mistakes that occurred during the printing process. However, Blayney argued, studying the publisher of a book can help scholars to understand how and why an edition had been published at all. As he put it, if we want to think more deeply about 'the reasons why *that* play was published *then*, or the supposed attitude of the players or the playwright to the fact of publication, we must focus not on the printer but on the publisher.'²⁸ In appealing for more attention to be given to publishers Blayney repeated what Edward Arber had said more than a century earlier. Calling for a detailed study into all early English printers and publishers, Arber had added that such a study should start with an effort, 'to mark the class of books produced by each publisher, whether he were his own printer or not.'²⁹ This would make clear, Arber thought, why some books were published at certain times, and the way books affected the spread of ideas. Publishers are important for any book, not just quarto playbooks of early modern drama, but because of the publication context of Blayney's essay (it

²⁶ Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin, *L'apparition du Livre* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1958). This work, seen as seminal to the study of book history, was translated by David Gerard as *The Coming of the Book: the Impact of Printing, 1450-1800* (London: New Left Books, 1976). The most recent English edition was published in 2010 by Verso, in London.

²⁷ John Florio, *Florio His First Fruites* (1578, STC 11096) 3*4v.

²⁸ Blayney, *Publication* 391.

²⁹ Arber I.xv.

appeared in a collection devoted to the history of English drama, and became an important reference in an extended debate about the popularity of playbooks), and because of the importance of early modern drama to university-level study of English literature, most research into early publishers has focused on playbooks.³⁰

When Blayney wrote his essay on the popularity of playbooks, two other scholars had begun to research similar questions. In 1998 Peter McCullough was researching the 1629 edition of Lancelot Andrewes' sermons, and he published an article that explored the significance of the book's publisher, Richard Badger.³¹ Placing emphasis on the presentation of the edition as a meaningful part of the book's reception, McCullough also saw Badger's contemporary reputation 'as printer-publisher to Laud and his apologists' as an important part of the edition's significance.³² The following year Zachary Lesser, who engaged with both Blayney and McCullough in his doctoral work, published a journal article while finishing his PhD at Columbia University. Lesser's article was a study of the publisher Walter Burre, the stationer who together with Edward Blount advertised copies of Lucan's *Pharsalia* in 1618. Lesser's article outlined a similar understanding of the power of Burre's personal bibliographical brand to shape a book. In particular, Lesser studied Burre's 1613 edition of Francis Beaumont's *The Knight of the Burning Pestle* and found examples of Burre coding, or styling (Lesser used various verbs to describe this coding, including 'fashioned', 'tailored' and 'marketed') the playbook as a literary text that

³⁰ The debate over the popularity of playbooks originally took place in *Shakespeare Quarterly* in 2005. The last work was: Alan B. Farmer and Zachary Lesser, "The Popularity of Playbooks Revisited," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 56 (2005): 1-32. Since then Lukas Erne has published more research: "Shakespeare's Popularity in Print," *Shakespeare Survey* 62 (2009): 12-29, and (co-authored with Tamsin Badcoe) "Shakespeare and the Popularity of Poetry Books in Print, 1583-1622," *Review of English Studies* 65 (2014): 33-57. See also chapter one of Erne, *Book Trade*, 22-55: "Quantifying Shakespeare's Presence in Print," and: Kesson, *Elizabethan Top Ten*. Lesser and Farmer are working on a monograph provisionally entitled *Print, Plays, and Popularity in Shakespeare's England*.

³¹ Peter McCullough, "Making Dead Men Speak: Laudianism, Print, and the Works of Lancelot Andrewes, 1626-1642," *The Historical Journal* 41.2 (1998): 401-24.

³² *Ibid.* 408.

targeted a readership interested by high culture rather than popular drama.³³ This coding included Burre's addition of a Latin motto to the title page, and the typographic practice of 'continuous printing', which altered the layout of verse lines on the page to make sure they retained their full pentameter, which visibly prioritised 'the literary and poetic in the playwright's lines – their meter and form.'³⁴

Both McCullough and Lesser took an interest in the layers of meaning that were added to an edition by virtue of its being published by a particular stationer at a particular historical moment. Both scholars researched the habits of a stationer, and pointed out that these habits were vital to understanding an early edition.³⁵ An important difference between the two scholars was that, despite working in an English faculty, Peter McCullough published his article on Richard Badger in *The Historical Journal*, while Zachary Lesser's article was published in *English Literary Renaissance*. The relative canonicity of Andrewes compared with Beaumont, and of the two genres of writing in question, explains why the articles appeared in journals from two different disciplines, but the different publications are also testament to an innovative methodological move by Lesser, who emphasised the literary-critical implications of his research and so gave book historians and literary critics a new reason to pay attention to one another. In

³³ Zachary Lesser, "Walter Burre's *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*," *English Literary Renaissance* 29 (1999): 21-43.

³⁴ Lesser, "Walter Burre" 30.

³⁵ The turn of the century saw several other scholars turn to researching stationers. Work produced by these scholars includes: Mark Bland, "William Stansby and the Production of *The Workes of Beniamin Jonson*, 1615-16", *The Library* S6.20 (1998): 1-33. The following year Charles Cathcart published an article exploring 'the political intention of the publishing venture' of the 1657 edition of *Lust's Dominion*, which examined the publisher Francis Kirkman's motives in financing the playbook: "You Will Crown Him King That Slew Your King": *Lust's Dominion* and Oliver Cromwell," *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England* 11 (1999): 264-74, at 264. Beyond the early modern period, it is also worth mentioning Leslie Howsam's study: *Kegan Paul: A Victorian Imprint: Publishers, Books, and Cultural History* (London: Kegan Paul Int., 1998), which is a bio-bibliographical study of the reputation behind one particular publishing imprint. Related work from this time that studies the agency of stationers includes: Douglas Brooks, *From Playhouse to Printing House: Drama and Authorship in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2000); Alan Farmer and Zachary Lesser, "Vile Arts: The Marketing of English Printed Drama, 1512-1660," *Research Opportunities in Renaissance Drama* 39 (2000): 77-165; David Scott Kastan, *Shakespeare and the Book* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2001).

particular Lesser argued that Burre's handling of Beaumont's play revealed the existence of a cultural hierarchy for playbooks. By coding and fashioning texts in ways that affected this hierarchy, publishers like Burre were involved in the creation and maintenance of a 'literary' realm at the apex of contemporary written culture. Lesser's article on Burre became the first case study in his monograph, *Renaissance Drama and the Politics of Publication*, published in 2004.³⁶ Though relatively short, Lesser's article contains most of the ideas that are central to cultural bibliography, and studying the article's argument explains what those ideas are.

Lesser began with the stated aim of recovering Burre's intention in publishing Beaumont's *The Knight of the Burning Pestle* in 1613. With phrasing that echoed Blayney's reminder of the centrality of publishers, Lesser asked, 'How can we account for Burre's eventual decision to take the financial risk of publishing the failed stage play?'³⁷ By acknowledging Burre's responsibility for the existence of this edition of *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*, Lesser removed the author as the privileged creator of meaning, and instead prioritised the publisher. The act of production was seen to be a re-authoring of that text. Immediately the difficulty of recovering 'intentional' meanings through the prism of history applies to Burre just as much as it does to authors, though bibliographers do not often discuss theories of intention.³⁸ Lesser's vocabulary supported his repositioning of the publisher as an author: he described Burre's list of books as a 'corpus' of material. The article itself was provocatively titled, "Walter Burre's *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*." As Lesser noted, "The plays Burre published form a corpus as much as any

³⁶ Lesser, *Renaissance Drama*. The book won the 2006 Elizabeth Dietz Memorial Award for the best book in early modern studies. The *World Shakespeare Bibliography* lists 14 reviews as of August 2015, almost all positive.

³⁷ Lesser, "Walter Burre" 25. For similar examples of a critic pursuing a stationer's intentions, see: James Bednarz, who provides 'a critical re-estimation of William Jaggard's motives in publishing *The Passionate Pilgrim*': "Canonizing Shakespeare" 252. See also Erne, *Book Trade*, 130, 132.

³⁸ For a summary of debate around the validity of intention see: Annabel Patterson, "Intention," in Frank Lentricchia and Thomas McLaughlin eds., *Critical Terms for Literary Study*, 2nd ed. (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1995) 135-46.

author's work does.'³⁹ This was a radical move by Lesser, but there is contemporary evidence showing stationers were sometimes regarded as author-figures, or at least, as *causers* of books who belonged in the same cognitive and lexical realm as authors. A culture where manuscripts circulated independently of their authors, and that lacked an established intellectual property framework, meant that for readers in the early modern period there was often only a weak conceptual link between authors and their writings. In some cases the lack of an authorial attribution created a void of creative agency that was filled by the publisher of a book. One of Edward Blount's books, *The Christian Policie*, was published in 1632 without an author attribution on its title page.⁴⁰ A copy owned by the diarist John Evelyn (1620-1706), which survives in what looks like its original vellum binding, is labelled on the spine 'Blounts Christian Policy'.

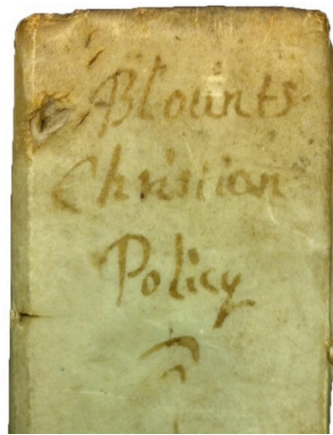


Fig. 0.3. John Evelyn's copy of *Christian Policie*. Image: author's own, of Huntington Library 475778.

This is not the only instance where Edward Blount's name replaced that of an author. Three contemporary manuscripts of a popular book of character sketches by John Earle, *Micro-Cosmographie*, which was first published by Blount in 1628, again without an author attribution,

³⁹ Lesser, "Walter Burre" 38.

⁴⁰ Juan de Santa Fray, *Christian Policie* (1632, STC 14830.7).

identify Blount as the author of the manuscript or the owner of its written content.⁴¹ This attribution is all the more understandable in the light of Blount's preface to the book, in which he described collecting the character sketches from 'so many sundry dispersed Transcripts, some very imperfect and surreptitious' and negotiating publication despite the fact that the author was reluctant.⁴² Though Blount's preface made clear he did not write the manuscript, the level of agency it described shows that he did in effect 'author' the book, by putting together the sequence of characters and removing obstructions to its publication. The idea of Blount as the 'author' of his books is also present in the 1627 inventory of the library of Frances Egerton, Countess of Bridgewater (1583-1636), which contains the following entry for another anonymous book published by Blount in 1602: 'Horae Subsecivae; Obseruacions and discourses by Edw. Blunt.'⁴³ In context it is unlikely this entry is just a mistake, where the scribe meant to write 'for Edw. Blount'. All the books in the inventory are listed in the same way, with a short title and author, but because *Horae Subsecivae* was published without an authorial attribution the scribe supplied the name of Blount, who again had written a signed dedication to this edition in which he foregrounded his own agency in publishing or 'authoring' the book:

The Author of this Booke I know not; but by chance hearing that a friend of mine had some such papers in his hand, and hauing heard them commended, I was curious to see and reade them ouer; and in my opinion (which was also confirmed by others, iudicious and learned) supposed if I could get the Copie, they would be welcome abroad. My friends courtesie bestowed it freely vpon me, and my endeouour to giue you contentment, caused mee to put it in print [...]
I will hold you no longer from that, to which this but introduceth:

⁴¹ *Microcosmographie*: Durham Cathedral Hunter MS 130 (dated 14 December 1627, the first page inscribed 'Edw. Blunt, Author'); *Verse Miscellany*: Edinburgh University Library, MS H.-P.Coll. 401, 103r-v (dated c. 1628-30s, headed 'Blounts characters'); *Verse Miscellany 2*: Rosenbach Museum and Library, MS 239/18, 8 and 23-6 (dated mid-seventeenth century and headed 'Blounts Characters').

⁴² John Earle, *Micro-cosmographie* (1628, STC 7439) A3r-v.

⁴³ The entry refers to: William Cavendish[?], *Horae Subsecivae* (1620, STC 3957). It has been argued some of the essays in this book were written by Thomas Hobbes: Noel Reynolds and Arlene Saxonhouse eds., *Three Discourses: A Critical Modern Edition of Newly Identified Work of the Young Hobbes* (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1995) 3-10. Frances Egerton's inventory is published in: Heidi Hackel, *Reading Material in Early Modern England: Print, Gender, and Literacy* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2005) 266.

But if the booke please you, come home to my Shop, you shall haue
it bound ready to your hand... ⁴⁴

One early reader of the second edition of the English translation of Montaigne's *Essayes*, published by Blount in 1613, labelled his copy of the book's spine 'FLORIO 1613', putting the translator John Florio in a position conventionally associated with the author.⁴⁵ Florio was not a stationer or a publisher, but his name on the spine of this copy shows that the author was not always considered to be the agent of primary responsibility in book production and reception.



Fig. 0.4. Label of the spine of a copy of the 1613 second edition of Montaigne's *Essayes*, which identifies the book by its translator, John Florio. Image: author's own of Magdalen College, Florio-J. (ESS).

Elsewhere among the First Folio syndicate William Jaggard actually did author two books: a picture book that chronicled the lord mayors of London and (arguably) a catalogue of 1617.⁴⁶

Jaggard also identified himself as the author of another book, titled *Sōmatographia Anthrōpinē*, a

⁴⁴ Cavendish[?], *Horae Subsecivae* A2r-3v.

⁴⁵ Michel de Montaigne, *Essayes* (1613, STC 18042), copy in the library of Magdalen College, Oxford: Florio-J. (ESS).

⁴⁶ William Jaggard, *A View of All the Right Honourable the Lord Mayors...* (1601, STC 14343); Jaggard, *Catalogue*.

book whose contents were actually written by Helkiah Crooke, but which Jaggard may have edited.

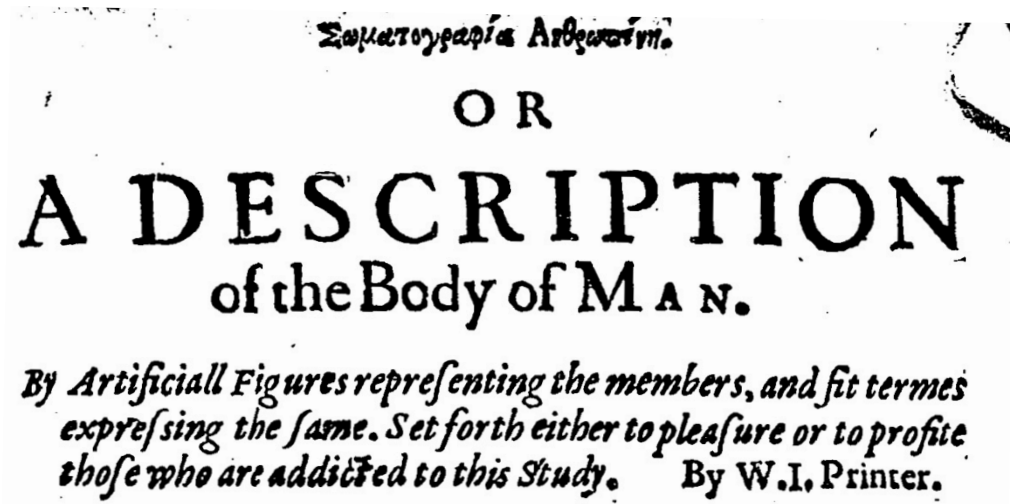


Fig. 0.5. Detail of the title page of Helkiah Crooke's *Sōmatographia Anthrōpinē* (1616, STC 20782), showing Jaggard's attribution of the text to himself. This attribution did not replace the imprint, which is in the normal place at the bottom of the title page.

The semiotics of authorship in the early modern period, at least within the book trade, could also designate other functions – printing, publishing, translating, and editing – indicating a socialised conception of textual agency.

Here is the first tenet of cultural bibliography: it foregrounds the actions of agents of the book trade, usually publishers, and explores the decision to publish as a meaningful act of creative interpretation. This echoes an established principle within book history, which is that specific editions of books represent a creative process involving a series of decisions (design, typesetting, format, binding and so on, but also the simple fact that the book existed at all) that effect and constrain meaning, and that are often in dialogue with the text itself. However, these ideas are given particular force in Shakespearean London because of the historical context of the book production industry and intellectual property conventions. The size of the book trade and

the way it was regulated means that a relatively small group of publishers had a great deal of responsibility over most of the books produced in Elizabethan and Jacobean England.

A second and more complicated idea explored by Lesser's original article is that early modern publishers were in a dialectical relationship with their readers – an idea originating in capitalist economics. Publishers were, as Blayney noted, the 'prime movers' of the book trade.⁴⁷ They decided whether or not books existed. One of the factors that drove their decision to publish was the need to sell a sufficient number of books to turn a profit, meaning that publishers were forced to predict the appetite of the reading public before they financed a publication. This action of 'reading' the market to predict the behaviour of groups of readers has several theoretical contexts, including within Art History the distinction between a 'real' and 'imaginary audience', or within modern marketing theory the notion of 'segmented markets'. The cultural theorist Pierre Bourdieu has discussed the same idea by pointing out the importance of locating the 'natural site' of a cultural product within the field of production – meaning that for a work to succeed it must emerge through 'the right place of publication, the right publisher, journal, gallery, or magazine' because each of these sites has a naturally receptive audience whose tastes are aligned to that publisher.⁴⁸

Lesser pointed out that publishers are positioned between authors and readers – they both respond to existing tastes and shape them by introducing new material. Bob Scribner has also written about the unusual situation of publishers. Scribner has described print culture as not simply 'an indicator or reflector of popular culture, since it is also part of a process of cultural modification.'⁴⁹ Lesser, who, in his monograph, spent several pages unpacking the nuances of the dialectic that Scribner wrote about, described this same dialectic in his original article as, 'the

⁴⁷ Blayney, "Publication" 301.

⁴⁸ Pierre Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1993, reprinted in 2012) 95.

⁴⁹ Bob Scribner, "Is a History of Popular Culture Possible?" *History of European Ideas* 10.2 (1989): 175-91.

interwoven relationship between publishers and purchasers... both a response to the desires of select readers and a means of creating a group.⁵⁰ Recent work on early modern stationers has recognised that ideological factors like religious belief or scholarly rigour, or a particular political or 'literary' agenda, influenced how and why books were published.⁵¹ However these non-economic motivations had to be supported in the long term either by alternative means of capital (such as a patron or outside investment), or by a parallel publishing programme that was reconciled to a standard capitalist model. Without capital, no publisher could occupy the structural position of 'publisher' and pay for labour and materials for any prolonged period of time: there were, and are, economic conditions to non-economic production. So longevity as a publisher in the book trade is one hallmark of the successful application of Lesser's work. The First Folio syndicate had all, with the exception of Isaac Jaggard, published books successfully for over twenty years by 1623.

The fundamentally capitalist relationship between successful publishers and their readers is the second important idea behind cultural bibliography, and it has two implications. First: the publisher's decision to publish was based on a reading of a text that was necessarily meaningful – in the sense of being not at random – because his business was at stake. And second, any decision to publish not only passively embodied contemporary cultures of reading (and so can be used to recover these cultures), but also actively engaged with and developed them. Shakespeare's Folio is a classic example of a publication developing the existing norms and expectations of readers: it broke with convention in a risky way by producing a set of popular stage plays in folio format, despite the mockery that had greeted Ben Jonson's collection of plays and poems in 1616.

Finally, Lesser's article identified *how* Burre bibliographically fashioned his plays. The larger question raised by Lesser's work that has since been taken up by many other scholars is

⁵⁰ Lesser, "Burre" 31.

⁵¹ See Straznicky, *Stationers 2*: 'The underlying premise of this collection is that the stationers who invested in Shakespeare's writings had motives that were not exclusively financial.'

how to find bibliographical evidence of a publisher's intention. Part of the difficulty is that what Jerome McGann has called the 'bibliographical codes' of a book are inherently unstable: once a cultural code changed from innovative to conventional it lost the power to attract a select audience.⁵² Lesser himself has discussed the change of meaning that occurred over time with respect to the use of black letter type in early modern printing.⁵³

To deal with the difficulty of working out what a particular bibliographic feature signified, scholars have turned to a wide range of material. As well as the Latin mottos and continuous verse printing that were cited by Lesser, scholars have discussed: (i.) the layout of title pages, (ii.) authorial attribution, (iii.) format, (iv.) paratexts, (v.) the general *mis-en-page* of an edition, including details like which fount has been chosen, margin size, and the presence of ornaments or illustrations, (vi.) the paper used, (vii.) the presence of any presentation copies or revealing bindings, (viii.) entries in the Stationers' Register, and finally (ix.) the existence of the book at all. This range of evidence incorporates most aspects of the production process. The main reason there is no formalised way of categorising and understanding the material cited above was defined by D. F. McKenzie as the 'normality of non-uniformity' in the book trade.⁵⁴ There is no consensus about what kinds of evidence constitute legitimate proof of a publisher's strategy because it is not always explicitly clear that a publisher was responsible in an intentional way for a book's typography or layout.⁵⁵ The confusion created by not knowing who was responsible for what returns to the problem of agency. The evidence often points to conflicting conclusions. A letter of 1629 from the Welsh scholar John Davies that concerned production of his Welsh-Latin

⁵² Jerome J. McGann, *The Textual Condition* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1991) 13.

⁵³ Zachary Lesser, "Typographic Nostalgia: Playreading, Popularity, and the Meanings of Black Letter," in Marta Straznicky ed., *The Book of the Play: Playwrights, stationers, and Readers in Early Modern England* (Amherst: U of Massachusetts P, 2006) 99-126.

⁵⁴ D. F. McKenzie, "Printers of the Mind: Some Notes on Bibliographical Theories and Printing-House Practices," *Studies in Bibliography* 22 (1969): 1-75, at 12.

⁵⁵ This was commented on by Henry Woudhuysen in his review of Erne, *Book Trade* and Straznicky, *Stationers: "Market Player"* *TLS*, 11 Oct 2013: 23-4 at 24.

dictionary, *Antiquae Linguae Britannicae*, indicates that Davies expected control over the fount, format, and paper of his edition:

The same P're [*letter*] will serve as Rider is printed in, by Adam Islip, 1617; and the same volume, but that this will not be so bigge. The P'res must be Romane and Italique, and now and then among some Hebrewe and Greeke P'res, and a few English P'res [...] I would have the paper to be good pott paper, and not the paper that Rider is in, of a^o 1617.⁵⁶

But Davis and his dictionary may not be a typical example, because when his book eventually appeared in 1632 Davies was named in the imprint as the publisher, as well as the author.⁵⁷ In many cases it is clear that a book was published without the stationer having any idea who the author was. To take one example from many, the anonymous medical book *The Englishmans Docter* (1607) featured an address from the printer to the reader in which the 'printer' (in fact William Jaggard, but the term more likely identifies one of the book's two publishers, the stationers John Helme and John Busby) wrote that the manuscript

came to me by chance as a Jewell that is found, whereof notwithstanding I am not couetous, but part the Treasure amongst my contrymen. The Author of the paines, is to me unknowne, and I put this child of his into the open world without his consent.⁵⁸

Modern bibliographers do not often acknowledge their uncertainty over agency because it has the potential to undermine their research, but there are two ways in which it can be accommodated. Firstly the publisher's investment guarantees that everything about the book's existence as a consumer product required the assent of the publisher, whether that assent was active or passive. Secondly, in specific cases it be must acknowledged that analysing bibliographical evidence is an interpretive act which ultimately stands or falls on its ability to present a convincing argument. Lesser used evidence from title pages, Latin mottos, and continuous printing to create a vision of

⁵⁶ *John Davies to Owen Wynn, 1 May 1629*. Published in *The Gentlemen's Magazine*, vol. 60.1 (London: 1790): 23-4.

⁵⁷ John Davies, *Antiquae Linguae Britannicae* (1632, STC 6347) *1r.

⁵⁸ *The Englishmans Docter* (1607, STC 21605) A3v.

Burre's larger publishing project before re-situating *The Knight of the Burning Pestle* in this larger project. That is more or less what many cultural bibliographers have done since with other Shakespearean publishers.⁵⁹ The same methodology has also been applied to other book trade personnel with agency over the existence of a book. For example, William Proctor Williams has analysed the habits of the press licenser Zachariah Pasfield in this way.⁶⁰ Williams defined a corpus of material that passed through Pasfield's hands and identified particular patterns, before concluding that publishers probably approached Pasfield to license particular texts that conformed to these patterns. Pasfield, Burre, and others are positioned as filters through which a text must pass; this passage changes the text, removing it from a neutral state and locating it within existing discursive modes and imbuing it with signals that advertise those modes. Another way of putting this is that the primary printed textual record of the renaissance is far from neutral: its existence is the result of the intentions and motivations of book trade agents.

Lesser's monograph added three more case studies to Burre and a detailed historical and theoretical framework for some of the ideas introduced above. The book's success inspired several other scholars to pursue this area of research, leading to more bibliographic case studies and larger collaborative projects such as the AHRC funded King's Printer investigation led by Graham Rees and Maria Wakely, and the *Writers and Publishers in Shakespeare's England* project led by John Pitcher at St John's College, Oxford.⁶¹

⁵⁹ Non-Shakespearean examples include: McCullough, "Dead Men", and "Print, Publication, and Religious Politics in Caroline England", *The Historical Journal* 51.2 (2008): 285-313; John-Mark Philo, "What Not to Wear: William Thomas's *Livy* and the English *Querelle des Femmes*", unpublished D.Phil thesis, Oxford University 2013.

⁶⁰ William Proctor Williams, "Vnder the Handes of...': Zachariah Pasfield and the Licensing of Playbooks," in Straznicky, *Stationers* 63-94.

⁶¹ For the King's Printer project (2002-9), see the website hosted by Queen Mary University of London: <http://www.english.qmul.ac.uk/kingsprinter/>. See also: Graham Rees and Maria Wakely, *Publishing, Politics, and Culture: the King's Printers in the Reign of James I and VI* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2009). *Publishers and Writers in Shakespeare's England* is currently underway, projected to finish in 2016.

What is a Publisher?

The question ‘what is a publisher?’ is slightly complicated because it was very rare for any early modern stationers to describe themselves as publishers at all, meaning that using the word today about stationers in the early seventeenth century creates an industrial identity that did not exist, or at least had no linguistic category.⁶² As noted above, to be a publisher in the sixteenth century, according to its contemporary definition, meant simply to be responsible for making something known, often orally, in a civic or public forum.⁶³ The difference between the early modern word ‘publisher’ and today’s usage is shown by the agricultural writer Hugh Plat’s *A Discoverie of Certaine English Wants*, which was ‘published’, in the sense of being paid for, by William Ponsonby in 1595. Yet Ponsonby himself added a note at the end of the book that described Plat as the book’s ‘publisher’: ‘All those that are desirous to haue any conference with the publisher hereof may bee aduertised of his abode by *William Ponsonby* stationer in Paules churchyard.’⁶⁴

When early modern scholars discuss publishers their meaning is framed by economics: whoever financed the book was the publisher of that book. The issue of who financed a book is usually worked out by modern scholars through imprints and colophons. Stationers used a general formula for imprints that usually indicated who had printed the edition, who had paid for it to be printed, and who was the trade bookseller. By this logic, however, being a publisher was a

⁶² The earliest print-specific usage of the word ‘publisher’ I have found is in a preface from 1582, where the literary compiler Thomas Bentley (c. 1543-1585) referred to a book being ‘published in print’: *The Monument of Matrones* (1582, STC 1892) B1r. Though Bentley had to include ‘in print’ to modify the primary meaning of publishing as more generally ‘making something public’. Through the 1580s and 90s, increasing use of the word ‘published’ within a context of ‘setting forth’ printed books appears to have generated a new meaning – one specific to the industry of book production. An unsigned preface from ‘The Publisher to the Reader’ appeared in 1609 (John Penry, *The Historie of Corah* [STC 19607] 2*r-v), and there were other prefaces signed by ‘the publisher’ in 1614 (Benjamin Carier, *A Treatise, Written by M. Doctor Carier...* [STC 4623.5] C3v), and 1629 (Edwin Sandys, *Europae Speculum* [STC 21718] ¶2r), but these prefaces are rare and because they are unsigned it is not clear they were written by a stationer.

⁶³ Thomas Eliot’s 1538 definition of *Praeco*, the Latin word for a herald or crier, was: ‘a cryar, a publysshar of thynges’: Thomas Eliot, *The Dictionary of Syr Thomas Eliot* (1538, STC 7659) S4r. This definition is also in the 1559 edition (STC 7663, 3K6r).

⁶⁴ Hugh Plat, *A Discoverie of Certaine English Wants* (1595, STC 19988) B2r.

function, not an *identity* – the function of paying for a book to be produced, which editors and patrons also sometimes did, not to mention authors like the Welsh scholar John Davies mentioned above, who considered paying for his dictionary. The *function* of publishing books was not restricted to stationers in Shakespeare’s time.

In Blayney’s influential definition of 1997 the publisher was ‘the person who acquired the text, paid for several hundred copies of it to be manufactured, and sold them wholesale’.⁶⁵ Lesser referred to Blayney’s definition and emphasised the risk involved by adding that a publisher is whichever individual ‘pays to have a book produced and reaps the rewards – or suffers the losses – of this investment’.⁶⁶ Both Lesser and Blayney are cited by Lukas Erne in his description of what a publisher actually did. Erne listed a series of functions performed by a publisher:

[Imprints and the Stationers’ Register] provide little help, though, in understanding exactly what the publisher’s role in the book trade was. The publisher has been described as ‘the person who acquired the text’ and who ‘paid for several hundred copies of it to be manufactured’. As part of this process he hired a printer, to whom he lent the copy text (in manuscript for a first edition, usually in print for a subsequent edition) and whom he furnished with the appropriate amount of paper.⁶⁷

Blayney expanded his original definition in the historical and lexical introduction to his recent history of London’s printing industry, but the core economic model he describes has not changed.⁶⁸ However, because publishing was not a restricted activity, those stationers who did publish books did not consider themselves to be *only* publishers. Many underwrote loans for churchmen, for example, which seems likely to have been an ideologically inflected act.⁶⁹ Others allowed their bookshops to be used as stable postal addresses for itinerant correspondents, or

⁶⁵ Blayney “Publication” 391.

⁶⁶ Lesser, *Renaissance Drama* 27.

⁶⁷ Erne, *Book Trade* 141, quoting: Blayney, “Publication” 391.

⁶⁸ Peter W. M. Blayney, *The Stationers’ Company and the Printers of London 1501-1557* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2013) I.30-1.

⁶⁹ From 1594-1613 around ten to twenty stationers are mentioned each year in the *Office of First Fruits* records that list the guarantors of clergy appointed to new benefices: TNA E 334/12 and E 334/14.

acted as trade hubs for the importing of dry goods or medicines; many stationers served civic offices in London wards and parishes.⁷⁰ William Jaggard was not unusual in that he owned real estate off Fleet Street and was the builder and landlord of, ‘so many good stronge and sufficient newe tenementes or dwelling houses as shall suffice to furnishe the said alley.’⁷¹ So when considering the reputations of stationer-publishers, it is important also to consider the other activities in which they were involved to get a holistic sense of their reputation. This thesis keeps the basic economic idea that the syndicate of stationers who funded Shakespeare’s Folio are its publishers because they financed its production, but the thesis also draws on the non-commercial activities and systems in which these publishers were involved, many of which contributed to systems of social and cultural capital that in turn added meanings to the bibliographic aura of the Folio.

Consider the role of Edward Blount and John Smethwick in the publishing of Thomas Coryate’s *Coryates Crudities*, and William Lisle’s *The Faire Æthiopian*. Both books were financed by their authors, which means that Coryate and Lisle technically published their work. We know Coryate funded his book (a quarto of 117 edition sheets) because he was praised for doing so by Ben Jonson in an acrostic poem that was printed in the preliminary material. Here is the relevant section of that acrostic, the first letters of which spelled Thomas Coryate’s name:

Marry he sets it out at his own charge;
 And therein (which is worth his valour too)
 Shewes he dares more then *Paules Church-yard* durst do.⁷²

Yet the manuscript of *Crudities* had been registered by Edward Blount at Stationers’ Hall in November 1610.⁷³ Coryate needed a member of the Stationers’ Company to register his

⁷⁰ On the early modern London bookshop as ‘a site which both attracts and structures reiterated social performances,’ and the way such bookshops were ‘not simply places where early modern Londoners bought books’, see: Taylor, “Making Meaning” 56, 57.

⁷¹ *Conveyance of Land to William Jaggard*: LMA CLA/023/DW/01/294, item 14.

⁷² Thomas Coryate, *Coryates Crudities* (1611, STC 5808) b4r.

manuscript to give him some measure of protection against piracy. Similarly, Lisle also paid for production of his book, which is explained in the imprint. Lisle's imprint looks like this:

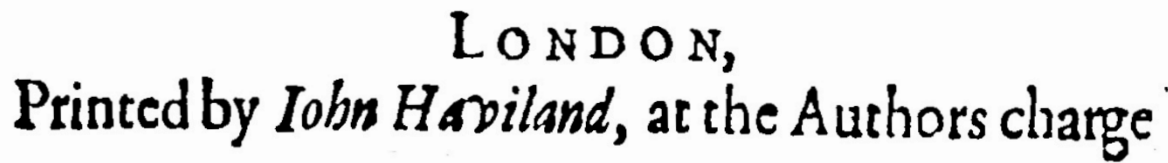


Fig. 0.6. The imprint of William Lisle's *The Faire Æthiopian* (1631, STC 13047.5). Image: EEBO reel position 961:17.

But Lisle still needed a reliable stationer to act as the wholesale distributor for his edition. His was an upmarket verse translation of a classical poem, and he chose John Smethwick's bookshop in St Dunstan's Churchyard, in the heart of the Inns of Court.⁷⁴ In these two examples Blount and Smethwick acted as conduits into the institutional, social, and professional networks and practices of book production: middle-men between the author and the book trade. Authors who financed the printing of their own work still had to find paper merchants, choose and employ printers, set up regional and wholesale distribution centres, and transform inert finance into productive capital by channelling it along the industrial arteries of book production. A strictly economic definition of a publisher allows little room for services that involved professional credit systems but did not involve directly financing a book. The range of non-economic services and activities offered by stationers' shops seems to have been surprisingly diverse. Records show stationers' shops were used as manuscript reading rooms, and that the stationers who ran those

⁷³ Arber III.449.

⁷⁴ William Lisle, *The Faire Æthiopian* (1631, STC 13047.5). For similar examples of authors arranging the sale of their work through chosen booksellers see: Richard Younge, *The State of a Christian* (1636, STC 26112.7) 'printed by Tho. Cotes for the Author; and are to be sold by Sarah Fairbeard, at the North doore of the Royal Exchange'; Giovanni Torriano, *The Italian Tutor* (1640, STC 24137.5) 'printed by Tho. Payne, and are to be sold by H. Robinson, at the signe of the Three Pidgeons in Paules Church-yard, for the author'.

shops also sourced rare or secondhand texts. Contemporary accounts described bookshops as social hubs for conversation, reading, smoking, news exchange, and criticism. These activities show the reputations of stationers were affected by social and cultural capital, and require scholars to pay careful attention to sources beyond imprints and the Stationers' Register. William Aspley acted as a guarantor for the press licenser Richard Mocket in October 1611, when Mocket was offered a religious living in St Michael's Crooked Lane, London.⁷⁵ Over the next five years, almost every manuscript Aspley registered with the Stationers' Company, including some that were considered 'dangerous', was licensed through Mocket.⁷⁶ Acting as Mocket's guarantor would have contributed to Aspley's personal standing, and may have helped to secure a license for some of these manuscripts. Evidence beyond imprints can shed light on the bibliographic strategies of early modern publishers. So the following chapters study the 'publishers' of the First Folio, meaning the men who financed its production, but also acknowledge the ability of those publishers to offer a range of non-economic services that contributed to alternative forms of capital, which in turn may have affected their bibliographic reputations and strategies, and ultimately how the First Folio was presented.

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⁷⁵ *Office of First Fruits 1604-1613*, 187r.

⁷⁶ An example of a contentious text that Mocket licensed for Aspley is: Sebastian Michaelis, *The Admirable Historie of the Possession and Conversion of a Penitent Woman* (1613, STC 17854-a). The *Admirable Historie* was licensed on 17 June 1613 (Arber III.527), and published later that year. It was swiftly re-issued with a new preface (¶2r-4v in STC 17854a) that condemned the Roman Catholic beliefs within the text. The new preface states that the first issue had received 'the approbation of some Doctors' and positioned the translation as an educatory example for English readers: 'that our people may see with what drasse their neighbours are fedde' (*Ibid.*, ¶4r).

The Literary Field

The ‘literary field’ is a term used by the late French cultural theorist Pierre Bourdieu, whose ideas provide a useful theoretical context for cultural bibliography.⁷⁷ Bourdieu himself described his key terms and ideas as ‘thinking tools’, and in this spirit his work has been applied to an increasingly broad variety of critical frameworks concerned with the relation between literature and its socio-historical context.⁷⁸ In 1982 Robert Darnton invited book historians to pursue questions about who read what, and the way they read it, by consulting Bourdieu, and more recently Peter McDonald has noted that Bourdieu’s field provides

the most effective link between book history and theoretical reflections on literature, [and] makes it possible to analyse these complex conditions of literary production, which are not merely linguistic, with a degree of subtlety and historical precision most other forms of sceptical anti-essentialism do not achieve.⁷⁹

For this thesis, the most relevant aspect of Bourdieu’s work is his discussion of alternative forms of capital, such as the social and professional credit that early modern publishers accumulated. Shakespearean bibliographers have occasionally drawn on Bourdieu to describe this alternative capital. Writing about pseudipgraphy – the practice of falsely attributing texts – on Shakespearean playbook title pages, Erne has used Bourdieu’s non-economic capital to discuss what was at stake in the wrongful use of Shakespeare’s name by printers and publishers.⁸⁰ Lesser’s original essay on

⁷⁷ Key essays on the literary field are collected in: Bourdieu, *Field*. For links between Bourdieu’s work and book history, see two lucid essays by Peter McDonald: “Implicit Structures and Explicit Interactions: Pierre Bourdieu and the History of the Book,” *The Library* 56.19 (1997): 105-121; and McDonald, “Ideas of the Book.” A recent critical introduction to Bourdieu is: Michael Grenfell, *Pierre Bourdieu: Key Concepts* (Durham: Acumen, 2012).

⁷⁸ Pierre Bourdieu, *Field* 18-20. On Bourdieu’s place in recent literary studies, see: John Speller, *Bourdieu and Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2011); Warwick University hosted a conference in 2009 on the same theme. See also: Jeremy Ahearne and John Speller eds., “Introduction: Bourdieu and the Literary Field,” *Paragraph* 35.1 (2012): 1-9; Claire Colebrook, *New Literary Histories: New Historicism and Contemporary Criticism* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1997), 90-111; Ulla Haselstein, “Stephen Greenblatt’s Concept of a Symbolic Economy,” in *The Historical and Political Turn in Literary Studies: Yearbook of Research into English and American Literature* 11 (1995): 347-70.

⁷⁹ Robert Darnton, *The Kiss of Lamourette* (London: Faber and Faber, 1990) 134. McDonald, “Ideas of the Book” 225.

⁸⁰ Erne, *Book Trade* 58-9.

Walter Burre referenced Bourdieu's work on cultural distinction.⁸¹ There is a growing appreciation among literary scholars and historians of the book the possibilities offered by Bourdieu for situating works historically within their fields of production and reception.

The literary field provides a sophisticated way to understand why publishers are important. Cultural bibliography argues that publishers affected and determined the meanings of texts, while Bourdieu has created a model that describes the way that power can be understood. The key points are: (i.) that the power to affect meanings in a text was generated relationally – *i.e.* that the importance of the publishers of Shakespeare was determined by their relationships to the other publishers who worked at that time, and (ii.) that this power should be understood diachronically – *i.e.*, that the status and reputation of a publisher (or of the 'agents in the field' to use Bourdieu's language) changed constantly. A publisher might, as John Smethwick did, begin his career by publishing cheap quarto pamphlets of comic verse by humorous writers like Nicholas Breton and Peter Woodhouse, but Smethwick eventually became a prestigious publisher whose work included expensive Latin folios by the scholar and historian John Selden. Edward Blount made an exceptional start to his career by publishing two huge folios, but by the end of his career he published only small sermons. Publishers rarely committed to a single agenda or strategy throughout their careers, meaning that what is important is the trajectory of their overall movement.⁸²

Book historians have argued since the 1960s that each edition of a book involves multiple stages of mediation between the author and the final product. In writing about the 'literary field', Bourdieu put forward the notion that the agents who control the stages through which a text

⁸¹ Lesser, "Walter Burre" 37-8. The reference was carried over into *Renaissance Drama* 71, 76.

⁸² The difficulty in finding a single agenda in a publisher's career is discussed in some of the reviews of Lesser's *Renaissance Drama*, e.g. Jason Scott-Warren, "To Read Again," *TLS* 5354 (18 Nov 2005): 32; Richard Preiss, "Review of *Renaissance Drama and the Politics of Publication*," *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England* 21 (2008) 256-7. See also: Alan B. Farmer, "John Norton and the Politics of Shakespeare's History Plays in Caroline England," in Straznicky, *Stationers* 147-76, in which Farmer describes the problem of flattening a stationer's output into one 'specialism' as one of coping with 'a plurality of interpretive possibilities' (175).

must travel to become a book occupy a shared social space that is given its coherency and boundaries by the shared values and objectives of its occupants. The now well-known ‘communications circuit’ diagram created by Robert Darnton in 1982 was an attempt to visualise the structure of this shared social space.⁸³ It is possible to create a simplified version of Darnton’s diagram specifically for the production of the First Folio. That diagram is shown here, but, like Darnton’s diagram, this only captures the functional parts of the processes of production, not the symbolic ones.

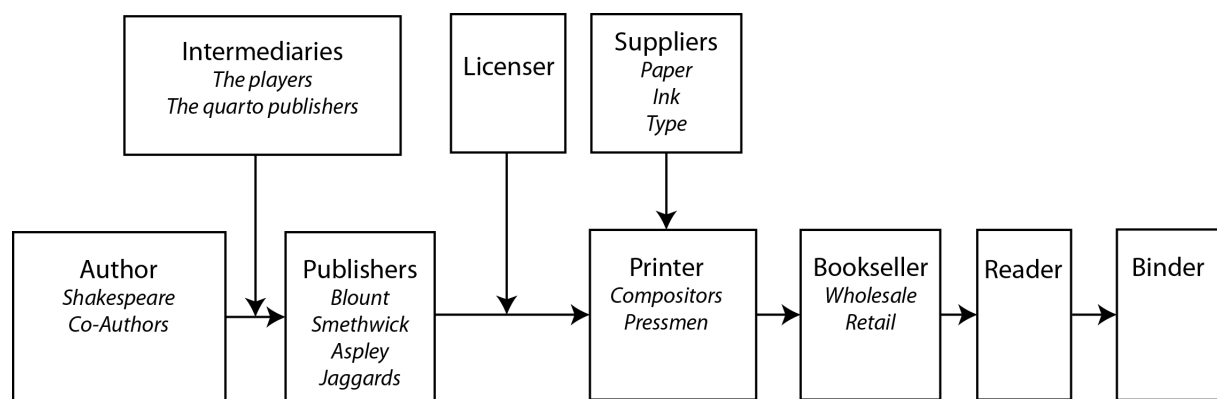


Fig. 0.7. Simple model showing the book trade agents who influenced production of Shakespeare’s First Folio.

This diagram shows the practical stages through which the Folio passed to become a book, but it does not show that each of these stages added a layer of symbolic meaning. At any one time, many ‘publishers’ could work on a book and it mattered which publisher was involved, because each publisher had a distinct audience. The way a publisher positioned himself in relation to other publishers created what Bourdieu called the, ‘quasi-magical potency of the signature [or

⁸³ The communications circuit diagram aimed to unify book historians by linking each of the agents involved in book production and showing the way they related to each other. The diagram can be found at: Darnton, *Kiss* 110.

imprint]... nothing other than the power, bestowed on certain individuals, to mobilise the symbolic energy produced by the functioning of the whole field.’⁸⁴ Bourdieu’s ideas about symbolic energy mean that a more accurate model of production must acknowledge that each agent has a different ability to ‘consecrate’ a text. So, another simple model for the publication of an early modern book like the Folio, which incorporates the symbolic power of a stationer to add meaning to a work, would look like this:

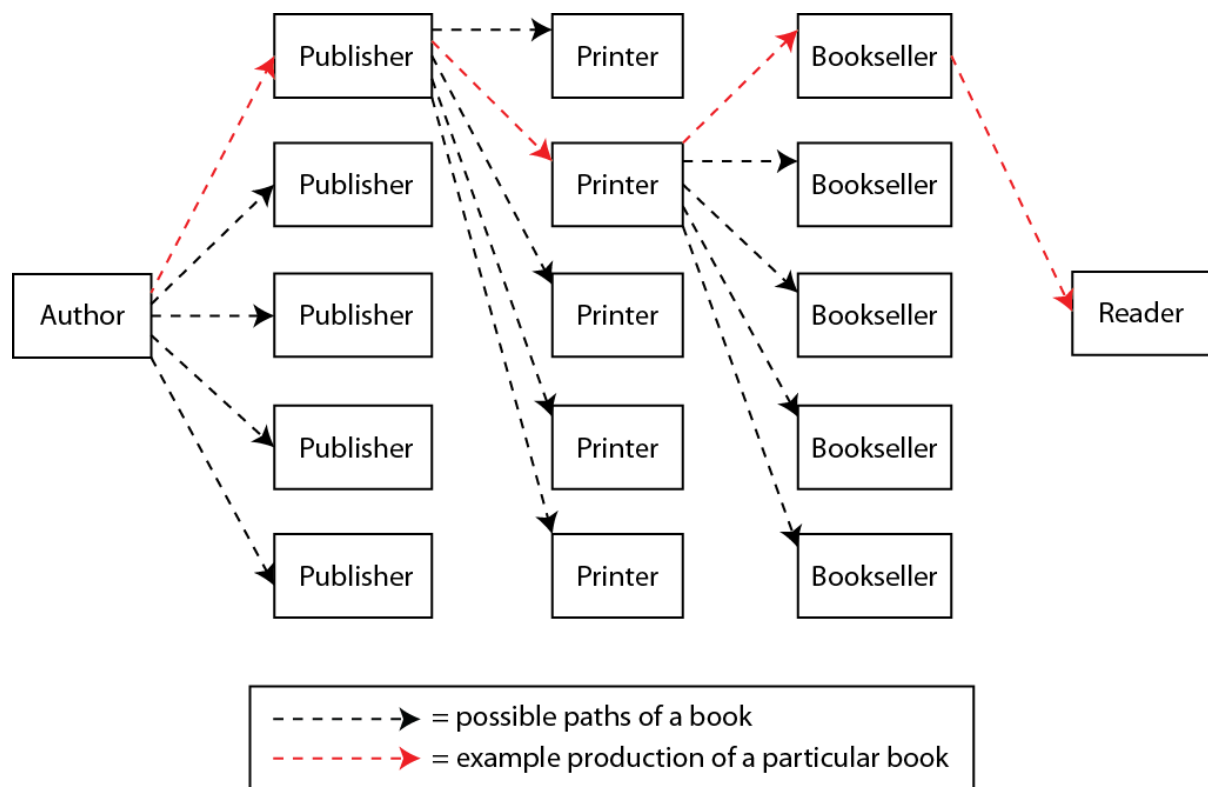


Fig. 0.8. Model to show the trajectory of an early modern book through the basic stages of production, showing both the functional and symbolic options.

Here the model is expanded to show that selecting one particular publisher or printer from the possible agents is a meaningful decision. The hierarchy that structures these agents is immaterial, because there are always different value systems at stake within any field of artistic production.

⁸⁴ Bourdieu, *Field* 81.

Bourdieu's main interest was in a cultural hierarchy. The passage of any text through this field of production generates the symbolic meanings that cultural bibliography recovers, and serves to locate the book within contemporary cultures of reception along axes of high and low culture. As the text moved through each functional stage of the field, it has a symbolic trajectory based on each agent's position in relation to his peers. This trajectory propels the text to the next series of cultural guardians and eventually to an audience. In Bourdieu's view, the movement of a text through the entirety of this space, and the corresponding symbolic aura or patina that accreted around the text before it was presented to a reader, had the effect of validating a work within culture.⁸⁵ This symbolic energy is heavily invested in the name of the publisher in an imprint. As an anonymous poet of the early seventeenth century noted, the reputation of a particular stationer could make or break a book:

To his Friend the Stationer,
Upon the
SHEPHEARD'S PARADISE.

IF names can credit Books or make them sell,
Believe (Friend Stationer) your cause goes well.
The greatest part of Readers will engage,
Upon perusall of your Title Page...⁸⁶

The historically specific role of early modern publishers was to select a printer and dictate bibliographic features such as format, typeface, paper quality, and size of press run. Just how actively involved a publisher was with all these details in any one particular book is ambiguous, as described above, but his assent was at least passive. The publisher was also responsible for

⁸⁵ Bourdieu was especially interested in publishers and printers as cultural guardians, seeing them as a key part of the jostling and dynamic field that texts must pass through to become literature. For a recent parallel, see Grayson Perry's first Reith Lecture on the way works of art become validated and accepted as worthwhile. Perry's description of a 'closed circle', or 'panel' of agents involved in 'validating' a painting ("artists, dealers, collectors, critics, curators, the media, even the public, maybe.") has strong links to Bourdieu's idea of the literary field: "Democracy Has Bad Taste," *The Reith Lectures* (15 October 2013). Web: <<http://downloads.bbc.co.uk/podcasts/radio4/reith/rss.xml>>. Accessed 23 September 2014.

⁸⁶ Walter Montagu, *The Shepherd's Paradise* (1629 [a misprint for 1659], STC 18040.5 and also Wing M2475) A4r.

arranging the sale of a book through both wholesale and retail outlets. As mentioned above, this overarching responsibility clarifies what evidence can be used to adduce a publisher's position in the cultural hierarchy, because most aspects of a book's bibliographic and symbolic status can be traced back to decisions the publisher has made; a level of agency that might be represented in this way:

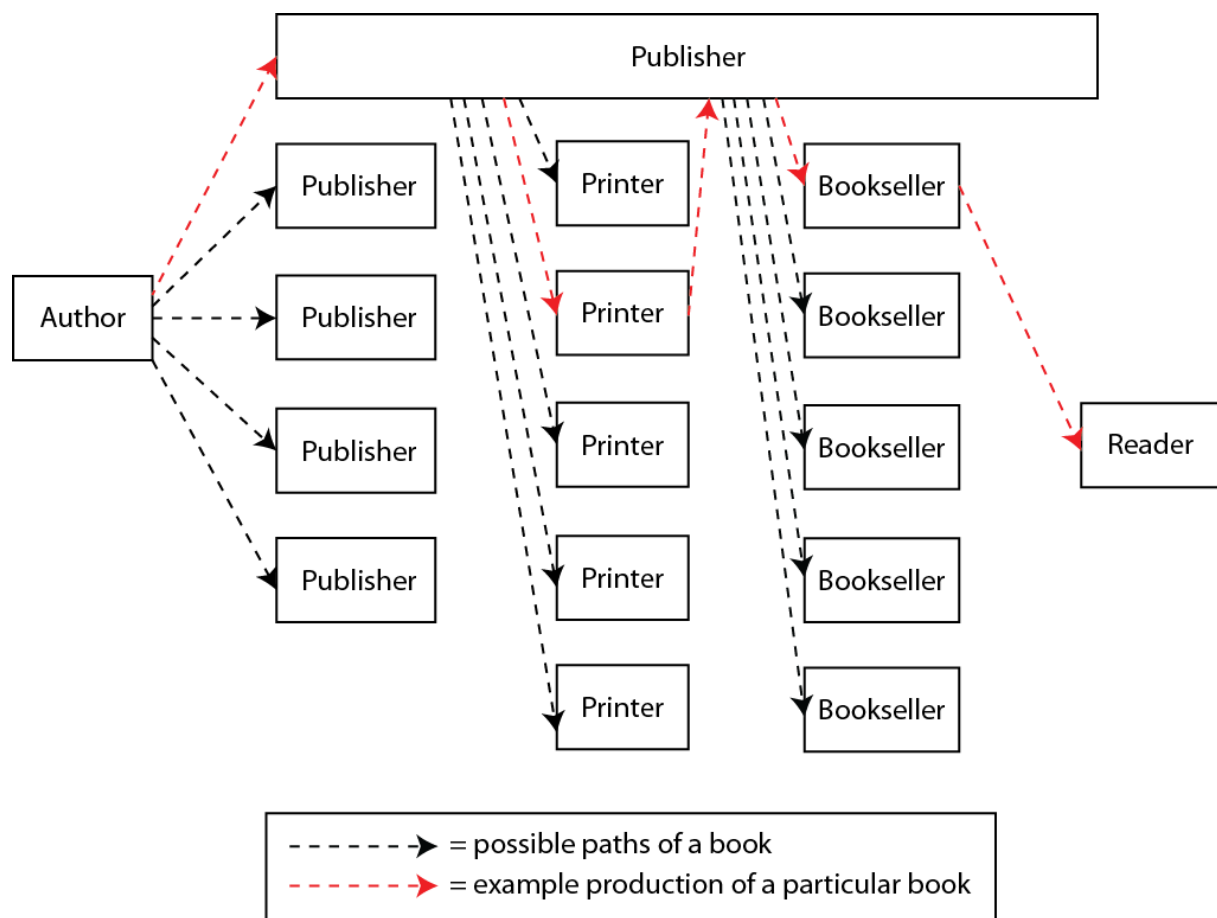


Fig. 0.9. Model showing an early modern publisher's agency over the production of a book.

Bourdieu's ideas explain that symbolic meanings could attach themselves to publishers and create a reputation. Cultural bibliography examines the way these symbolic meanings affected books, as publishers found ways of presenting texts that embodied their reputations and intentions. In what follows, the first chapter of this thesis describes the planning and preparation stages of the Folio, and the formation of the syndicate. The rest of the thesis uncovers the publishing

reputations of William Jaggard, William Aspley, John Smethwicke, and Edward Blount, and argues that these reputations were communicated to readers through the Folio's imprint and colophon in a way that not only made the Folio a commercially successful project but connected Shakespeare to four distinct audiences and secured his place in an early canon of English literature.

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CHAPTER ONE

Players, Publishers, and Planning a Syndicated Shakespeare Folio

‘gg3:4’ (± ‘gg3’) ¶-¶¶¶⁶ 3¶¹

This complicated sequence of characters and symbols describes the fifteen sheets of the Shakespeare Folio that contain the play *Troilus and Cressida*. The notation is dense because of the tension between the mathematical goal of a collation formula, which describes the ‘ideal copy’ of an edition, and the practical reality that early print was replete with error and contingency that means almost no two Shakespeare Folios are identical. *Troilus and Cressida* is the most contingent part of the Folio. The section of the collation formula shown here covers three different versions of the *Troilus* sheets, which is why the formula has parentheses, quotation marks, the non-alphabetic pilcrow, and the ‘±’ that indicates leaf gg3 is not always present. These three versions are:

- i. State one: probably on sale for just a few weeks immediately after the printing finished, and surviving today in only three known copies. Customers who bought this Folio acquired a book without *Troilus* at all. State one of the Folio contained thirty-five plays and an accurate contents leaf.
- ii. State two: which added *Troilus and Cressida* after negotiations had concluded and the play had been printed – again this state survives in three known copies.
- iii. State three: which added a prologue leaf to *Troilus*.¹

¹ Peter W. M. Blayney, *The First Folio of Shakespeare* (Washington, D. C.: Folger Shakespeare Library, 1991) 17–24. Particular copies of these states are catalogued in Anthony West, *The Shakespeare First Folio: The History of the Book, Vol II: A New Worldwide Census of First Folios* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2003).

The three states of the Folio were caused by the stationer Henry Walley, or to be more accurate they were caused by the relations between Walley, who owned the right to publish *Troilus and Cressida*, and the Folio syndicate. Walley halted production of the First Folio in about mid-1623 once he learned that his manuscript was being printed.² The Jaggards had printed three Folio pages of *Troilus and Cressida* before Walley forced them to stop and move on to the next play. The Jaggards returned to *Troilus and Cressida* at the end of 1623, after the Folio had been ‘finished’, including the contents leaf, which consequently does not include *Troilus and Cressida*. The Folio syndicate was probably only able to return to *Troilus and Cressida* because an earlier claim to its manuscript was unearthed.

Relations between the Folio syndicate and Walley significantly affected the way the Folio is read and understood today. The story of *Troilus* invites a detailed look at how the syndicate formed, because the negotiations over manuscripts determined which stationers would be associated with the project. The failure of negotiations with Walley changed the Folio’s bibliographical structure but also its textual authority: the first three pages of *Troilus* were printed from the 1609 quarto, but after an agreement was reached with Walley the rest of the play was printed from a manuscript that substantially updates the quarto. The most recent Arden edition reflects this: it uses the 1609 quarto as copy-text for the first three pages before turning to the Folio for the rest of the play.³

The history of the text of *Troilus and Cressida* shows that planning and negotiations for the Folio project shaped construction of the Folio. Those same stages also created less bibliographically tangible meanings: the negotiations divided the twelve stationers who owned or had some claim to Shakespeare’s dramatic manuscripts into shareholders, and those who chose

² Charlton Hinman, *The Printing and Proof-Reading of the First Folio of Shakespeare* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963) 2 vols: I.27-8, 34, 170; II.326-40.

³ David Bevington ed., *Troilus and Cressida* (London: Arden, 2006) 423. The current Oxford and Cambridge editions both take the 1609 quarto as their copy-text.

to sell or lease their copy to the shareholders. The negotiations decided the syndicate, and ultimately aligned the Folio with four different audiences related to the shareholding businesses. The following chapters of this thesis examine these four publishing businesses, while this chapter analyses how and why the syndicate that shaped Shakespeare's Folio formed. The chapter begins by exploring the history and purpose of syndicated publishing.

Syndicated Publishing in the English Book Trade

The Folio was a syndicated book. Here, that term is defined as a book that was financed by three or more investors working together. The essential component of a syndicate was that it featured multiple investors collaborating on the same product, and it could be argued that two stationers working together in partnership also formed a syndicate. However, publishing partnerships featuring two stationers were relatively common from the early sixteenth century in the English book trade, and including these partnerships would make a history of 'syndicates' unwieldy. In many cases it is also not clear when individual publishing partnerships became habitual, and so became effectively two stationers operating as one unit of business, which would mean they were no longer a syndicate. The key features of a syndicate that this history focuses on is the collaboration of three or more separate businesses to finance one publication. By this definition, syndication was a relatively unusual mode of book production in England. By Shakespeare's time there are several prominent examples. The most important and well-known of these, aside from Shakespeare's Folio, is John Minshew's polyglot dictionary of 1617, which was funded by a list of subscribers whose names were printed in a separate 'catalogue' that recorded their contributions.⁴ This catalogue was updated as the project gathered pace and now survives in

⁴ John Minshew, *Ductor in Linguas* (1617, STC 17944). Franklin Williams found the list of subscribers (STC 17944a) was printed in at least ten editions. The *STC* records twelve variants in four different settings: Franklin Williams, "Scholarly Publication in Shakespeare's Day: A Leading Case", in Giles Dawson, James McManaway, and Edwin Willoughby eds., *Joseph Quincy Adams Memorial Studies* (Washington, D. C.: Folger Shakespeare Library, 1948) 755.

twelve variants that were printed over a three-year period. The English edition of William Camden's *Britain*, published in 1610 by a group of six stationers, and the 1587 expanded edition of Holinshed's *Chronicles*, financed by five stationers, are also important, and by the 1650s it is possible to find London publishers giving out printed receipts to subscribers to facilitate the production of expensive editions; in the early seventeenth century, however, subscription publishing was still unusual.⁵ This section examines what economic and symbolic values, together with intellectual property concerns, shaped syndicated book production and led to the creation of new textual forms and ultimately the Folio.

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To judge from the evidence of imprints and colophons, the first syndicated book published by London booksellers was the 1504 Latin edition of the works of Terence, the title page of which is shown below. It was a folio of seventy-seven sheets.⁶ The title of that edition makes clear that four stationers were involved: in Paris, Badius Ascensius, who printed the text; and in London, Wynkyn de Worde, Michael Morin, and John Bray, who distributed and financed it.⁷ There is no way to know how or why this collaboration came about, but a combination of economic and social factors suggest themselves. De Worde had published far bigger books by himself in the past, so he may not have *required* financial support, but the edition of Terence was by some distance the largest work he was involved in during 1504.⁸ There is evidence of a

⁵ William Camden, *Britain* (1610, STC 4509) – consortium listed at Arber III.435; Raphael Holinshed, *The First and Second Volumes of Chronicles* (1587, STC 13569) – consortium listed at Arber II.436. Bodleian MS Tanner 52, f. 29-32, contains four printed receipts dated 1653-6 distributed by the stationer William Humble in exchange for payments towards the printing of Brian Walton's polyglot bible.

⁶ Terence, *P. Terentii Aphri...* (1504, STC 23885.3).

⁷ Blayney has challenged the *STC* identification of 'Johanis Brachii', mentioned in the title of this edition, with John Bray: *The Stationers' Company and the Printers of London* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2013) I.89-90. Morini had been part of an earlier syndicated publication in 1497, but that was in Paris, not London (USTC 760109).

⁸ An example of a larger de Worde book is STC 24875 – a folio of 1493 that used 218 edition sheets. De Worde's other known books from 1504 were: STC 16256 (12 edition sheets), 12945 (11.75 sheets), 17728.3 (50 sheets) and 7760.6 (1 sheet).

professional friendship between de Worde and Morin, in that each of the three books that the *STC* attributes to Morin was a shared publication with de Worde: a folio Sarum missal of 1497 (124.5 edition sheets), this edition of Terence, and a Catholic breviary of 1506 (15.5 sheets). Morin had also previously worked in Paris, and so may have been a contact between de Worde and Ascensius. Of John Bray, or 'Johannis Brachii', as the title refers to him, no other reference is known.

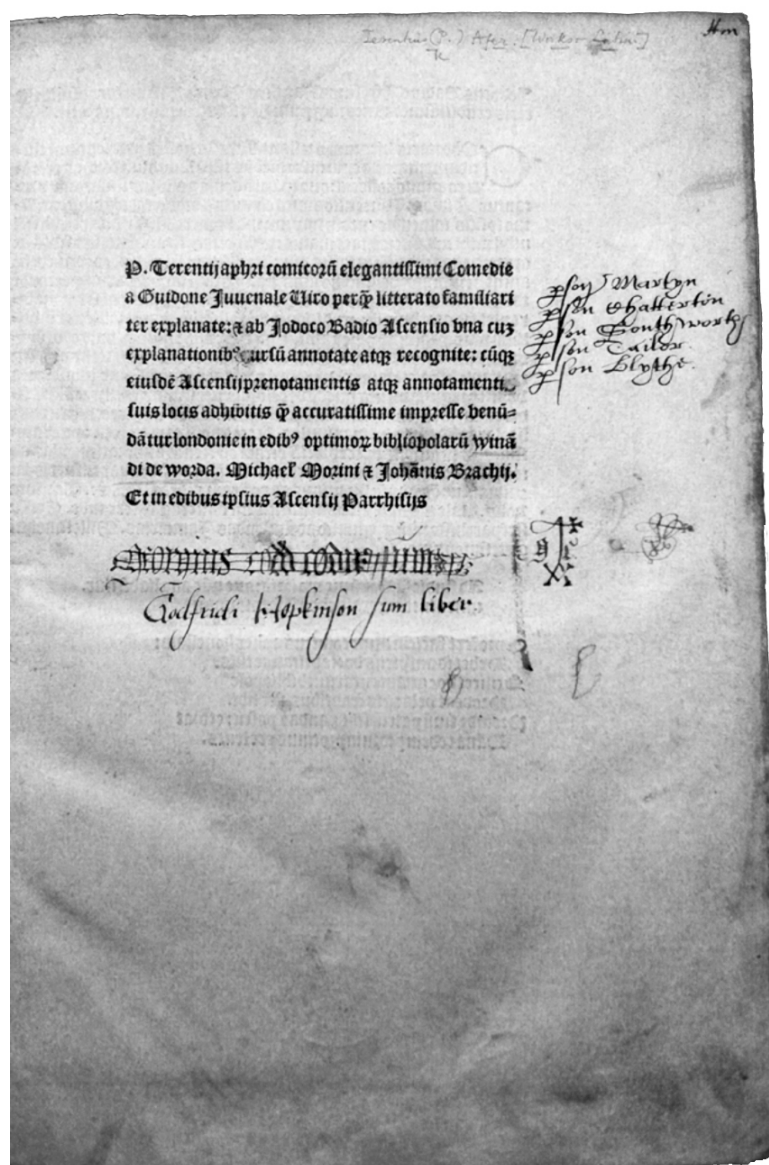


Fig. 1.1. The 1504 edition of Terence: perhaps the first syndicated book of the English book trade. Its publishers are named in the lengthy title. Image of British Library 833.h.33.

In 1506 three different Londoners joined forces to commission and import three editions from the Paris printer Wolfgang Hopyl.⁹ This short-lived consortium is noteworthy for two cautionary reasons. Firstly, its primary investor was not a stationer but a merchant named William Bretton, showing that those who financed books were not always members of the trade; and secondly, the presence of the second and third investors – the booksellers Henry Jacobi and Joyce Pelgrim – is inferred from a woodblock device printed at the end of each work, showing that imprints and colophons do not always reveal everything about the way a book was financed. Both these issues complicate any history of syndicated publishing because they indicate that evidence of the contractual arrangements behind how books were produced is missing – a situation that is also true of the First Folio. A rare instance where the contractual details of an early English book do survive to supplement the imprint and colophon is Richard Pynson's 1499 edition of the English statutes of Henry VII, the *Abbreviamentum Statutorum*, the imprint and colophon of which only state that the book was printed by Pynson. Court records relating to payment for the edition show it was commissioned and financed in a run of 409 copies by a group of three lawyers whose names appear nowhere in the book.¹⁰

There were probably many other hidden collaborations in the early 1500s, but after the 1504 Terence no book advertised syndicated publication through its imprint or colophon till the third edition of the collected works of Chaucer, which was published at some point between 1545 and 1550 by four London booksellers.¹¹ As with the edition of Terence there was not an overwhelming economic case for syndication, because the third edition of Chaucer's collected work was shorter and contained fewer illustrations than the second, which was published in 1542

⁹ *Prouinciale, Seu Co[n]stitutiones Anglie* (STC 17109); *Psalterium Cum Hymnis* (STC 16258); *Hore Beatissime V[ir]ginis Marie* (STC 15903).

¹⁰ [*Abbreviamentum Statu[orum]*] (1499, STC 9514); Blayney, *Printers* I.76, 80-1.

¹¹ *The Workes of Geffray Chaucer* (1545-50, STC 5071-4).

by just two stationers who had worked in partnership.¹² Presumably the third edition was therefore cheaper to produce. Possibly, as Andrew Higl has suggested, the print run of the third edition was significantly larger and so more expensive than that of the second edition, but the third collected works of Chaucer may also represent the first instance in which London stationers realise the commercial value of the author's reputation.¹³ These four stationers seem to have allowed Chaucer's reputation to shape their industrial practice. It was probably not financially necessary for four established stationers to collaborate to produce the third edition, but their joint involvement gave each man the opportunity to associate his business with a valuable 'literary' property. The four investors were identified on separately printed colophon leaves, each of which advertised the book as entirely the property of the bookseller named, rather than the product of a joint investment. That style of colophon created a proprietary link between each stationer and their copies of the text that did not acknowledge the agency of other stationers. Each stationer presented the work as solely his own, maximising his own agency and reputation as the publisher of Chaucer. Here are two of the colophons side by side:

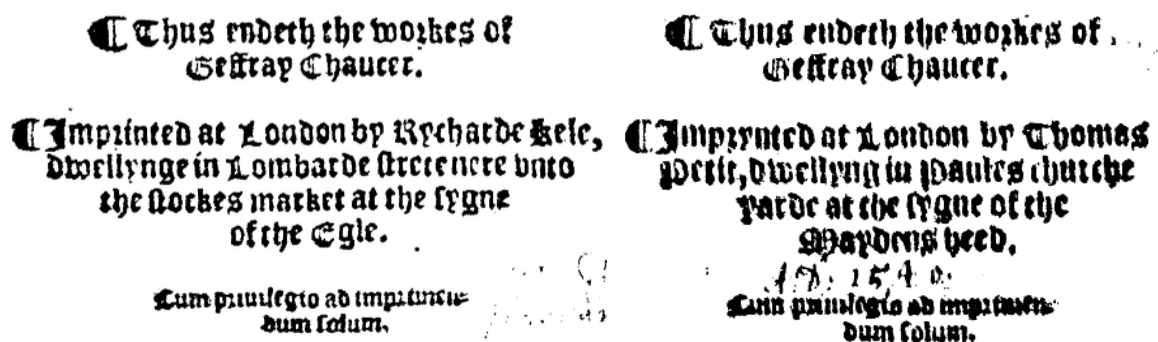


Fig. 1.2. The colophons of the stationers Richard Kele, left, and Thomas Petit, from their copies of the third edition of Chaucer's collected works. The images are from 3Q3v of STC 5072 and 5073, taken from *EEBO* reels I-2:04 and I-3:01. The other stationers involved were Robert Toye and William Bonham.

¹² The 1542 edition (STC 5069-70) contained 191 edition sheets, compared to 180 in the third edition.

¹³ Andrew Higl, *Playing the Canterbury Tales: The Continuations and Additions* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012) 136n64. On Chaucer's reputation in the sixteenth century see: Stephanie Trigg, *Congenial Souls: Reading Chaucer From Medieval to Postmodern* (Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 2002), 109-43.

This style of colophon was common in early publishing syndicates. A 1551 folio bible, known as the ‘Matthew’ bible and financed by a group of eight booksellers, was the first book to go a step further and introduce variant title pages as well as variant colophons for each stationer.¹⁴ A single state of the colophon explained that the book had been jointly produced, but that copies had been divided between investors, reading: ‘at the coste and charges of certayne honest menne of the occupacyon, whose names be vpon their bokes.’¹⁵ In their colophons and imprints, both the 1545-1550 third edition of Chaucer and the 1551 bible present responsibility for the text at the level of individual copies, rather than for the whole edition. In each case, a single syndicated edition was divided into different books, disassociating the reputations of its publishers from one another, but strongly associating each stationer with the text in question. By the mid-fifteenth century, it seems that stationers recognised a symbolic value in association with a particular author, but no value in advertising their collaboration with other stationers.

Syndicated publishing became more common in the 1550s after a particular set of stationers took up the practice. These stationers included the printer Nicholas Hill, backed by the booksellers Robert Toye, Abraham Vele, and John Walley. This group, together with a few other less frequent collaborators, published five editions that feature the variant colophon style of attribution between 1552-5.¹⁶ Four editions were religious books, some of them large enough to imply that risk-sharing was the main motivation for the collaboration. Also during the 1550s the economic benefits of syndicated publishing enabled stationers to plan large, author-centred collections such as the 1557 *Workes of Sir Thomas More*, which required 372.5 edition sheets.¹⁷

¹⁴ *The Byble* (1551, STC 2083-8).

¹⁵ *The Byble* (1551, STC 2086).

¹⁶ Heinrich Bullinger, *The Christen State of Matrymonye* (1552, STC 4049-52.5); Erasmus Sarcerius, *Common Places of Scripture* (1553, STC 21754 -5a.5); Renaut de Montauban, *The Right Pleasaunt and Goodly Historie of the Foure Sonnes of Aimon* (1554, STC 1010-11.5); Pietro Anghiera, *The Decades of the New World* (1555, STC 645-8); *Here Begynneth the Pystels and Gospels* (1555, STC 2978.5-80).

¹⁷ Thomas More, *The Workes of Sir Thomas More Knyght* (1557, STC 18076).

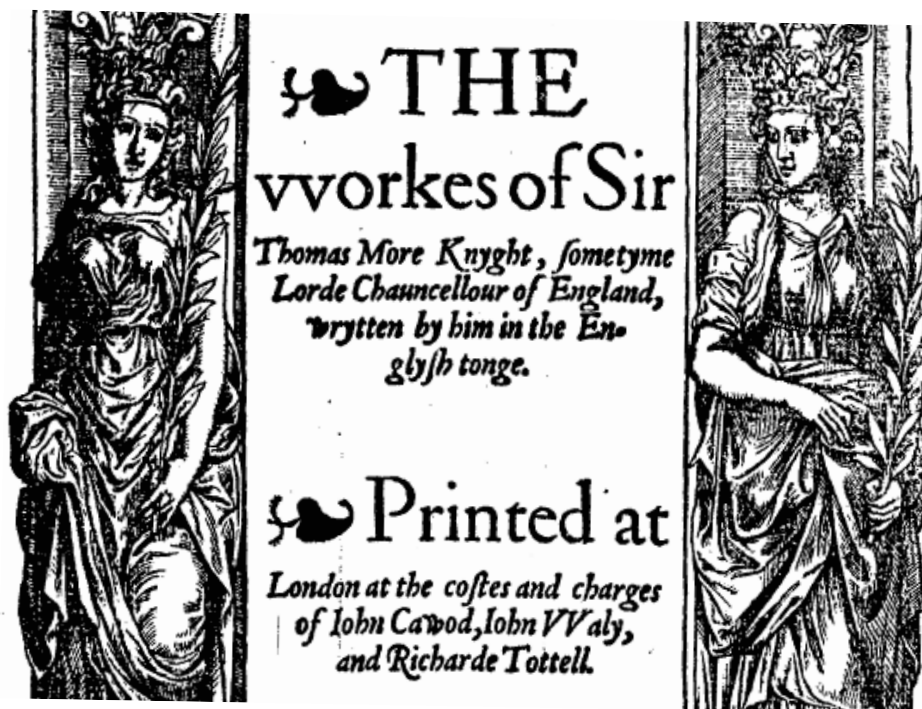


Fig. 1.3. Title page of the 1557 *Workes* of Thomas More (STC 18076), showing the joint imprint of John Cawood, John Walley, and Richard Tottell. Image from EEBO reel 438:04.

The 1557 edition of More appears to have been the first English book to name each member of its three-strong publishing syndicate in one imprint on its title page. That was a symbolic shift from the practice of hiding the name of each partner in separate colophons at the end of the work, or, less frequently, printing separate title pages. This new style of imprint presented agency for the text at the level of the edition: each copy of the entire print run was identified as the joint responsibility of all three stationers. Joint attribution may have had practical benefits by publicly linking the trade distribution network for the edition, but it also for the first time presented a book as authorised by a trio of high-profile stationers, endowing the edition of More with a substantial amount of professional credit. Each stationer named in the More imprint shown here was experienced and successful: John Cawood was the Royal Printer, and Master of the Stationers' Company in 1561, 1562, and 1566. Cawood was listed in second place on the company's charter of incorporation in 1557. John Walley had been given a valuable printing

privilege by the king in 1545 and was Renter Warden of the company from 1554-7; Richard Tottell had successfully operated the law-book patent since 1552, and all three were founder members of the incorporated Stationers' Company.¹⁸ It seems likely that the three stationers realised their joint authority was worth more to readers than the individual reputation of any one of these stationers.

The beginning of the Stationers' Register in 1557 introduced a new dimension to syndicated book production. The Stationers' Register provides more evidence of collaboration: the registrations of manuscript rights in the register occasionally include information about consortiums. The first example of such an entry was in 1558-9 when the printer John Tisdale paid four pence for the clerk to write the following:

John Tysdale lycensed **John Tysdayle** to prynte a[n] *a b c* in laten
for **Rycharde Jugge John Judson** and **Anthony**
smythe, iiiij^d.¹⁹

No copy of this *ABC* survives to show how long the book was, but similar books from this time (though written in English, not Latin) were small pamphlets of just a few sheets, and the likelihood is that Tisdale's *ABC* shows another purpose of collaborative publishing: to split the profits of a popular work. Used in this way syndication could create wealthy cabals within the book trade by distributing profit, which had the useful corollary of stopping one bookseller from becoming too powerful through repeatedly producing an especially popular text. In some cases this kind of syndication can be seen as a forerunner of the English Stock of the Stationers' Company: a mechanism for distributing capital among a close professional group, not motivated by risk-sharing but profit-sharing. In 1588 four stationers jointly registered a pamphlet of just one sheet that described the 'miraculous and monstrouse but moste true' story of a Welsh woman,

¹⁸ E. Gordon Duff, *A Century of the English Book Trade* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1905) 23, 157, 164.

¹⁹ Arber I.95. Quotations from Arber copy his transcription conventions.

Margaret Gryffith, who had a four-inch horn growing out of her forehead.²⁰ Clearly a one-sheet pamphlet did not require the investment of four stationers, but on the other hand several contemporary sources record that Gryffith's appearance in London caused a popular stir, and so probably the stationers anticipated their pamphlet would sell rapidly.²¹ The manuscript was published as *A Myraculous, and Monstrous... Discourse* in 1588, but the imprint of this quarto only named two stationers (*see below*), and there was no colophon. It is not clear why four stationers registered the copy and only two appeared in the imprint. One possibility is that an unrecorded transaction may have taken place; another is that the two unnamed stationers felt there was no symbolic currency to be gained by publicly associating themselves with this pamphlet. In Margaret Gryffith's case, the imprint may have been a purely functional part of the text.



*Imprinted at London by Thomas Orwin,
and are to be sold by Edward White,
dwelling at the little North dore
of Pauls Church, at the Signe
of the Gun. 1588.*

Fig. 1.4. Detail from the title page of *A Myraculous, and Monstrous, but Yet Most True, and Certayne Discourse...* (1588, STC 6910.7) A1r. Image from EEBO reel 419:06.

²⁰ Arber II.504.

²¹ Nashe, Marston and Dekker all mention 'the little Welshwoman... that had but one horne in her head': Jan Bondeson, *The Two-Headed Boy and Other Medical Marvels* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 2004) 122-3.

Fifteen years later, in 1603, James I's *Basilikon Doron*, published as an octavo of eight sheets, provides an example of a book that was syndicated because it was likely to be a commercial success. Initially registered in March to six stationers, the copy for *Basilikon Doron* was re-registered in April to a group of fourteen stationers.²² James Doelman suggests this syndicate was required to meet the 'intense demand' of readers for a copy.²³ Linda Peck agrees, citing Peter W. M. Blayney's findings that between 13,000 and 16,000 copies were printed in 1603. So as a valuable prospect, *Basilikon Doron* may have needed a syndicate to make sure there was enough labour and resources to meet demand. The creation of such a syndicate was not neutral: it created and consolidated working relationships, and so could be a useful tool of control. The book would have paid large dividends to those fortunate enough to be in the consortium. In fact such was the book's popularity that a second and illegal syndicate formed outside the legitimate group and produced two further editions.²⁴ The illegal *Basilikon Doron* syndicate shows one of the complications of syndication – as an essentially hierarchical mechanism of division and power, a syndicate could create tension between those who were in and those who were out.²⁵ The key aspect of this form of syndication is that it was used for books that were ensured strong sales – whether that popularity stemmed from sudden contemporary interest in a topical phenomenon like Margaret Gryffith's horn, or the slower but more stable interest in dictionaries or the work of classical authors. An entry of 1582 saw the Stationers' Company impose controls on the printer and bookseller Henry Bynneman, seemingly to stop him from profiting too much from his

²² Arber III.230, II.835.

²³ James Doelman, "A King of Thine Own Heart': The English Reception of King James VI and I's *Basilikon Doron*", *The Seventeenth Century* 9.1 (1994): 1-9, at p. 1. Jenny Wormald, "James VI and I, *Basilikon Doron* and *The Trew Law of Free Monarchies*: the Scottish Context and the English Translation," in Linda Peck ed., *The Mental World of the Jacobean Court* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2005) 36-54.

²⁴ Arber II.836-7.

²⁵ Another example of syndication as a hierarchical mechanism is the registration of *Rider's Dictionary* to eight booksellers in 1604 (Arber III.276). These eight stationers benefitted from the dictionary being printed in at least four editions before 1630, and it continued to be produced in new editions until 1659.

ownership of the works of Aristotle and Homer. Bynneman was granted those rights on condition that he, 'shall from tyme to tyme accordinge to his good discretion chose and accept any fyve of this cumpanie to be parteners with him in the Imprintinge of these bookes.'²⁶ Here, syndication was imposed upon Bynneman as a condition of his ownership of a right that the Stationers' Company recognised would be valuable: this shows that collaboration was sometimes enforced as a corporate control mechanism, as well as coming about organically through working relationships. The same entry concerning Bynneman's ownership of the works of Aristotle and Homer also contains a clue as to what the institutional understanding of a text was at this time: it stipulated that if Bynneman printed one part of Aristotle's *Opera Omnia* as a separate book, then he needed to pay the Stationers' Company another six pence to register that title. That important qualification seems to be the first example of a regulation within the Stationers' Company that allowed for an authorial corpus to be split apart and owned by different stationers.

Some syndicates clearly formed primarily to share the risk of a large project. In 1582 the stationers Thomas Chard, Henry Denham, William Brome, and Andrew Maunsell jointly registered *The Common Places of the Most Famous and Renowned Diuine Doctor Peter Martyr*, a work that appeared as a folio of 458 edition sheets: more than twice the paper needed for a copy of Shakespeare's Folio.²⁷ Books of this size only became possible when stationers pooled their resources through syndication. Similarly the enlarged 1587 edition of Holinshed's *Chronicles*, financed by five booksellers, required 692.5 edition sheets.²⁸ The need for more capital may have been the reason that William Ponsonby, who first registered the French manuscript of Plutarch's *Morals* by himself in April 1600, subsequently re-entered the manuscript, now translated into English, in a syndicate of five stationers in July 1602: the completed translation required 335

²⁶ Arber II.422. There is a similar example from 1594 at II.667.

²⁷ Pietro Vermigli, *The Common Places of the Most Famous and Renowned Diuine Doctor Peter Martyr* (1583, STC 24669).

²⁸ Holinshed, *Chronicles*.

edition sheets.²⁹ On two occasions entries in the Stationers' Register describe how shares in large-capital projects like the edition of Holinshed or Plutarch were divided. In 1598 Thomas Man, Richard Field, and Felix Kingston registered a book of sermons by the preacher George Gifford that was printed the following year. Their registration entry looks like this:

Master **Man** Entred for their copie. Master GIFFORDes *Sermons*.
Richard ffeild *uppon the Revelacon of Sainct JOHN*. Whereof master
ffeilix kingston **Man** to have the one moytie And master[s] **ffeild**
 and **ffelix Kingston** the other moytie thereof, vj^d.³⁰

So Thomas Man financed one half of the project, while Richard Field and Felix Kingston jointly owned another half share – perhaps one-quarter each, though the division is not clear. In 1610 six booksellers registered the manuscript of the English translation of William Camden's *Britain*. The relevant part of that entry reads as follows:

master **George Byshopp** is to enioy one Third parte and of that
 Third parte master **Banckworth** and **William Aspley** are to haue
 and enioy th[e]one moity or half parte, And master **John Norton** is
 to haue one other Third parte, And master **Adames** and master
Edward Byshopp are to haue th[e]other Third parte betweene
 them/.³¹

In this case John Norton was the chief investor with a one-third share, while George Bishop, Thomas Adams and Edward Bishop took one-sixth each, followed by William Aspley and Richard Bankworth with one-twelfth shares each. Both entries show that the cost of large books was not split equally between partners, however neither entry is an exact precedent for Shakespeare's Folio because both the books to which they relate – Camden's *Britain* and Gifford's sermons – were single complete works in themselves, whereas Shakespeare's Folio was a collection of many smaller books. So in both the Stationers' Register entries quoted here, share-divisions were imposed onto a single work, presumably along lines of experience or financial

²⁹ Arber III.160, 211. The manuscript was published as *The Philosophie, Commonlie Called, the Morals* (1603, STC 20063)

³⁰ Arber III.114.

³¹ Arber III.435.

power; while for the Shakespeare Folio the division of cost between members of the syndicate must have taken manuscript ownership into account. But it is significant that for both Gifford and Camden the shareholders can be socially and professionally linked to one another: this hints at the interpersonal component behind the way syndicates were formed, which was a vital part of the way the syndicate for Shakespeare's Folio was put together.³²

The final reason syndicates formed was to negotiate copyright regulations. There is no explicit evidence of syndicates forming in the book trade to circumvent issues raised by early forms of intellectual property before the end of the sixteenth century. From about 1590 a series of poetical miscellanies were published that featured quotations collected from sources that had often already been registered and published by other stationers. These miscellanies caused problems that involved issues of authorship, intellectual property, and industrial practice. More often than not the publishers of the miscellanies seem to have avoided negotiating with the previous copyright owners and instead relied on a defence of 'fair use'. One of the earliest Elizabethan miscellanies is a possible exception: in 1593, when John Jackson registered *The Phoenix Nest*, his entry in the Stationers' Register referred to Jackson and 'his parteners' – who were, possibly, the relevant copyright holders.³³ More common is the approach summed up by the 1600 miscellany *Englands Helicon*, a quarto of twenty-five sheets that contained hundreds of quotations and was registered by one stationer, John Flasket, in an entry that gives no hint of any copyright issues:

³² To take as an example the syndicate that produced Camden's *Britain*: George Bishop was the master of both William Aspley and Thomas Adams, and all three collaborated after the apprenticeships had ended (Arber II.119, 150); John Norton, Richard Bankworth, and Adams had all worked together before in the consortium that jointly owned *Rider's Dictionary* (Arber III.276); both Thomas Adams and Edward Bishop were described as kinsmen by George Bishop in his will, and are given legacies along with William Aspley (TNA Prob 11/117/70); John Norton and George Bishop regularly worked together; and a deed of bargain and sale from 1600 links Aspley, Adams, and George Bishop to a transaction relating to land in Shropshire (*Bargain and Sale*, Shropshire Archives 1037/21/120).

³³ Arber II.637. The book was published as: *The Phoenix Nest* (1593, STC 21516).

John fflaskett. Entred for his copie vnder the handes of master
Doctor BARLOWE and the Wardens a booke Called
Englandes Helicon, vj^d.³⁴

However when the book was published, a preface usually said to be written by the stationer Nicholas Ling (though it is signed with his initials reversed as “L. N.”) anticipated a danger in Flasket’s lack of discussion with other stationers:

if any Stationer shall finde faulte, that his Coppies are robd by any
thing in this Collection, let me aske him this question, Why more in
this, then in any Diuine or humaine Author: From whence a man
(writing of that argument) shal gather any saying, sentence, similie, or
example, his name put to it who is the Authour of the same.³⁵

Ling’s words, and the Elizabethan miscellanies in general, struggled with the question of what constituted a ‘text’ for the purposes of copyright. The miscellanies tested how much writing could be extracted and repeated from another source before stationers were legally required to negotiate with the owner of that source. Ling’s argument ignored the point that quotations in theological works were illustrative and basically incidental, whereas miscellanies extracted quotations specifically in order to sell them. This new commercial presentation of extracted quotations may be the reason that Ling’s preface describes some industrial uncertainty about how this new form of text should be regulated: ‘if any stationer shall finde fault’, clearly anticipates the possibility of an objection. Other vernacular miscellanies from this period, including *Palladis Tamia*, *Politenphuia*, *Wits Theater of the Little World*, and *Bel-vedere*, display no evidence of collaboration in their registration or their imprints and colophons, and for the most part the Elizabethan poetical miscellanies seem not to have required negotiation.³⁶

It may have been a new interest in authorship and ‘collected works’ projects that first forced stationers to negotiate with one another over manuscript rights. Books like Shakespeare’s Folio created new composite titles from previously published work. Composite works presented

³⁴ Arber III.168.

³⁵ *Englandes Helicon* (1600, STC 3191) A4r.

³⁶ These titles were each registered by a single stationer. Their entries are at: Arber III.125, 93, 168, 175.

stationers with the reverse of the situation that had been imposed upon Bynneman in 1582. Whereas Bynneman had been warned that if he broke apart a pre-existing ‘works’ then he would have to register each separate title he created, newly formed collections required stationers to assemble registered titles and make a single new entry. To begin with these collected works projects were led and controlled by individual stationers, usually those with enough professional longevity and capital to have accumulated a series of manuscripts by a well-known author. And, in fact, an institutional reluctance to negotiate seems to have played an important part in the construction of early ‘literary’ authorial canons. The quarto *Woorkes* of John Heywood, published in 1562 by the stationer Thomas Powell, contained five different titles: three of these titles were owned by Powell and two were new texts that had not previously been entered or published.³⁷ Several other Heywood texts had been published by other stationers before 1562, but these other titles were simply left out of Powell’s version of Heywood’s *Woorkes*.³⁸ Similarly the 1598 collected edition of Philip Sidney’s works required no negotiation as its publisher William Ponsonby owned each of the five works that were included.³⁹ The following year saw a quarto collection of Samuel Daniel’s work, but again the publisher Simon Waterson owned all the titles in this edition, and also all those collected in the 1601 folio of Daniel’s works.⁴⁰ Ownership by one stationer is true for Matthew Lownes’ 1611 collection of Spenser’s *Works*.⁴¹ The 1609 *Woorkes* of Bishop John Jewel must have required some form of negotiation, because more than half of the texts contained within it had been previously published or registered by other stationers, but

³⁷ John Heywood, *Iohn Heywoodes Woorkes* (1562, STC 13285).

³⁸ None of Heywood’s plays were published in this edition of his *Woorkes*. Missing plays include (most recent to the publication of the *Woorkes*) *The Playe Called the Foure P* (1560, STC 13301), and *The Play of the Wether* (1560, STC 13306). Powell’s collection also omitted much of Heywood’s poetry.

³⁹ Philip Sidney, *The Countesse of Pembrokes Arcadia* (1598, STC 22541).

⁴⁰ Samuel Daniel, *The Poeticall Essayes of Sam. Danyel* (1599, STC 6261); *The Works of Samuel Daniel Newly Augmented* (1601, STC 6236).

⁴¹ Edmund Spenser, *The Faerie Queene: The Shepheards Calendar: Together With the Other Works* (1611, STC 23083.3).

the only bibliographic presence of a stationer in the book is the name of John Norton, whose royal imprint ('Printer to the Kings most excellent Maiestie') appeared on each of the book's title pages.⁴²

The first book that contains visible evidence of a syndicate who negotiated with one another for reasons of copyright was the collected sermons of the preacher Samuel Hieron, published as *All the Sermons of Samuel Hieron* in 1614.⁴³ This folio contained twenty titles, seventeen of which had previously been published. Hieron's preliminary address to the reader shows that it was probably he, and not a stationer, who led the production of his collection: 'I haue taken heart by thy good acceptance of my poore endeauours, formerly sent forth at sundry times, and in smaller-bookes apart, now to present thee with all at once coupled together in one volume.'⁴⁴ The seventeen 'smaller-bookes apart' had been registered and published by four different stationers: Thomas Man (three titles), John Legat (five titles), Samuel Macham (seven titles), and Cantrell Legge (two titles). These four stationers were joined by Simon Waterson, who contributed a previously-unpublished sermon, making a syndicate of five. It seems that each stationer cooperated willingly for this collected edition, as each is named in the imprint to his work on individual title pages within the book. The general title page for the collection named only Legat, who printed the edition, which created the tension of one printer being named on the general title page, and five stationers having their names appear only on internal title pages. As the first example of a new work that was created by collecting previously registered works, the edition of Hieron's sermons was a test case for the way stationers would present their agency in author-focused collections. There was no separate entry in the Stationers' Register for this collection.

⁴² John Jewel, *The Works of the Very Learned and Reverend Father in God John Jewell* (1609, STC 14579).

⁴³ Samuel Hieron, *All the Sermons of Samuel Hieron* (1614, STC 13378).

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, ¶2r.

The next collection that required stationers to negotiate with one another was Ben Jonson's folio *Workes* of 1616.⁴⁵ By the mid 1610s Jonson's authorial reputation, and perhaps also his interest in his own print legacy, had reached a point where the printer and publisher William Stansby thought it worth uniting Jonson's manuscripts despite their dispersed ownership. Research on Jonson has uncovered some details of Stansby's negotiation process. The discussions over the rights to Jonson's works resulted in a syndicate of four: Stansby as primary publisher, the bookseller Richard Meighen as the main distributor, and two individual copyright owners, John Smethwicke and Matthew Lownes, who chose to join the project rather than simply sell their copy. Five other stationers sold or leased their Jonson copy without getting directly involved in production of his *Workes*.⁴⁶

An important consequence of Jonson's folio was the introduction of greater contingency into the creation of an authorial canon. With Jonson, and later Shakespeare, many stakeholders affected the outcome because they were connected by a system of intellectual property that gave them ownership of the way their work was used. This contingency had consequences that were both practical (stationers could withhold texts and slow a production) and symbolic (stationers now had more opportunities to associate themselves with prestigious projects, because if any one of the network of stationers who owned the manuscripts of a particular author decided the time was right for a collected works then all those stationers would have to be consulted. If a collected works project did not consult all the relevant copyright owners then it risked omitting a popular work). Jonson's folio is filled with material examples of this contingency: sheets in early sections survive in six variant states because Stansby struggled to align his timetable with Jonson's corrections and at the same time deal with a copyright dispute with the publisher Walter Burre; problems over the size of the print run, which perhaps related to extra orders from the

⁴⁵ Ben Jonson, *The Workes of Benjamin Iohnson* (1616, STC 14751).

⁴⁶ David Gants, "The 1616 Folio (F1): Textual Essay," *The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Ben Jonson Online*. www.universitypublishingonline.org/cambridge/benjonson/k/essays/F1_textual_essay.

bookseller Richard Meighen, saw production numbers increase by twenty-five per cent after thirteen formes of type had already been printed; shareholders seem to have supplied their own paper stocks so that different sections of the folio are printed on different kinds of paper.⁴⁷ The agency of different stationers affected Jonson's book in fascinating ways.

For stationers, the symbolic consequence of this contingency – that is, the effect on their reputations – hinged on the decision of whether to become shareholders, and so to associate themselves with the project in a visible way. Once the syndicate had formed, decisions had to be made about the way an edition would advertise ownership and agency to the trade and to readers (whether by printing separate colophons, as was the case in early syndicated books, or by a joint imprint). For Jonson's folio several factors seem to have influenced who became a shareholder. Owning the rights to a manuscript was not enough: Walter Burre held the majority of Jonson's copyrights – seven of the nine plays, and probably also the *Epigrams* – yet Burre chose not become involved and seriously hampered proceedings by withholding several of his works from Stansby. Shareholders Smethwick and Lownes did become involved despite owning only one text each. As a result Smethwick and Lownes were visibly associated with the project by having their names printed in the imprints to their plays. For these two stationers, their personal relationship with Stansby may have been the reason they chose to become shareholders: imprints show Smethwick and Stansby had collaborated consistently since the beginning of Stansby's business in 1610, and before then Smethwick had often worked with Stansby's master, the printer John Windet. Smethwick's will, dated 1641, also provides evidence of a relationship with Stansby, by leaving a bequest to Stansby's widow. The bequest reads: 'Item I give and bequeth unto m^{rs}

⁴⁷ *Ibid.* See also: Mark Bland, "William Stansby and the Production of *The Workes of Beniamin Jonson*, 1615-16," *The Library* S6.20 (1998): 1-33. Paper quality was a meaningful part of an edition for some early modern authors: in 1629 the Welsh scholar John Davies, who was quoted above in the introduction, tried to dictate paper quality for an edition of a dictionary he had prepared. The relevant section of Davies' letter states: 'I would have the paper to be good pott paper, and not the paper that Rider is in, of a° 1617': *The Gentlemen's Magazine*, 60.1 (London: 1790) 24.

Elizabeth Stnsby a Reynish wine Cupp.”⁴⁸ Walter Burre, on the other hand, the stationer who chose not to become a shareholder, started legal action against William Stansby in mid-1615, and the two were still in dispute in 1621.⁴⁹

The folios of both Hieron and Jonson seem to mark the point when a growing cultural interest in authors as marketable figures led to new forms of works. Collected works had been around for years, as the earlier editions of Chaucer, and before that of classical authors like Terence, show. But the publication of Hieron and Jonson’s collections were the first examples of composite works being created by stationers repackaging existing books as the collected works of a popular author. The regulations around copyright ensured that the contents, authority, and symbolic economy of these new composite collections were directly affected by the relationship between stationers.

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By 1623 syndicated book production served at least three purposes. Firstly, and most apparently, syndication made it easier for stationers to finance expensive books and long print runs, as was the case with books like Holinshed’s *Chronicles* or Ponsonby’s edition of Plutarch’s *Morals*. Secondly, syndication could be a structural mechanism to distribute the profits of popular texts among tribes of booksellers. When used in this way, syndication could be both a safety mechanism that was imposed by the Stationers’ Company to stop any one stationer becoming too powerful, and also a way of cementing relationships between collaborators. Both these uses structured the book trade along hierarchies of profit and power by creating privileged groups. Thirdly and finally, after the Stationers’ Company was incorporated with a royal charter and the company register began to be used to control manuscript rights, syndication became necessary to create new collected works. This last kind of syndication seems to have been primarily led by a

⁴⁸ *Will of John Smethwicke* [original]: TNA Prob 10/619. The bequest is the same in the proven copy: TNA Prob 11/186/520.

⁴⁹ Bland, *Production* 14–18.

market-driven interest in popular authors, and was easily affected by the interrelationships between stationers.

Every syndicated book also embodied decisions about the way to present the agencies that had produced that book. In the mid-sixteenth century stationers seem to have realised the benefits of presenting a book as the joint product of their collective agencies, but this did not become routine. Many syndicated books, like the folios of Hieron and Jonson, presented the text under a general title page that gave no clue about the multiple agencies represented by the titles within.

The syndicate who published Shakespeare's Folio was formed primarily for reasons of copyright. Those who owned a Shakespeare manuscript were probably aware of the value of their property and unlikely to take a relaxed attitude to its 'theft'. Yet as with Jonson's folio, ownership of manuscripts alone was not enough to decide who was to become a shareholder. Edward Blount, who owned just one Shakespeare manuscript, was a major shareholder in the group, while the stationer Thomas Pavier, who owned four manuscripts and was close friends with the Folio's printer William Jaggard, was not part of the project. Neither was money the overriding factor – the amount of capital raised by the syndicate must have been helpful, but by 1623 William Jaggard had published six books that contained more edition sheets than the Folio, showing that at least historically Jaggard was capable of financing larger projects without resorting to syndicates. Ultimately it is to the individual approach taken by each stationer to publishing Shakespeare, as well the social and professional links that join the copyright holders to one another, that we must turn to understand the way the Folio was shaped by its shareholders.

Planning the Collection

Serious scholarship on production of the Folio began at the beginning of the twentieth century, at a time when there was a new interest in textual criticism and issues of authority. Early landmark works of Folio scholarship that include aspects of the planning stages include the 1902 Oxford facsimile edition of the Folio by Sidney Lee, the critical review of Lee's edition by W. W. Greg, and Alfred Pollard's *Shakespeare Folios and Quartos*.⁵⁰ Over the twentieth century a series of books that examined aspects of the Folio's production superseded one another in labour and intensity, culminating in Charlton Hinman's two-volume study of 1963, and his Norton facsimile of 1968, both of which were importantly updated by Peter W. M. Blayney in 1991 and 1996.⁵¹ When they consider the planning stages of the Folio project, most of these studies begin with an impossible question: who first had the idea, and went on to start the project? There is no real consensus as to the response. Authoritative views include those of Greg, who cautiously argued that the players, represented by John Heminges and Henry Condell, first decided to collect Shakespeare's plays: 'It may not appear unduly credulous to believe that in the great folio collection of plays that issued from Jaggard's press in 1623 we indeed have a monument raised by the piety of his old stage-mates.'⁵² According to Greg, after the players had had the idea, it was Isaac Jaggard who led the project from within the book trade: "There can then be little doubt that, in its inception at any rate, the moving spirit of the scheme on the publishing side was Isaac

⁵⁰ Sidney Lee ed., *Shakespeares Comedies, Histories, & Tragedies: Being a Reproduction in Facsimile* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1902). Lee's edition was the sixth Folio facsimile (see: Anthony West, *The Shakespeare First Folio: The History of the Book*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2001), I.149-68). W. W. Greg, "The Bibliographical History of the First Folio," *The Library* S2.4 (1903): 258-85; Alfred Pollard, *Shakespeare Folios and Quartos: A Study in the Bibliography of Shakespeare's Plays* (London: Methuen, 1909).

⁵¹ Charlton Hinman, *The Printing and Proof-Reading of the First Folio of Shakespeare* 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963); *The Norton Facsimile: The First Folio of Shakespeare* (London: Hamlyn, 1968); Peter W. M. Blayney, *The First Folio of Shakespeare* (Washington, D. C.: Folger Shakespeare Library, 1991); *The Norton Facsimile: The First Folio of Shakespeare*, 2nd ed. (London: Norton, 1996).

⁵² W. W. Greg, *The Shakespeare First Folio: Its Bibliographical and Textual History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955) 2.

Jaggard.⁵³ That narrative was endorsed by Hinman (who also suggested that Isaac Jaggard handled the proof-reading) and subsequently by David Scott Kastan.⁵⁴ Blayney gave a slightly different view in 1994 by guessing that it was Isaac Jaggard who ‘first suggested the venture’ and then approached Edward Blount for financial backing.⁵⁵ Sonia Massai has also argued that Isaac Jaggard was the ringleader, while John Jowett has described an equal collaboration between players and stationers.⁵⁶ Taking a different stance, Gary Taylor has seen Blount as ‘the dominant figure’ in the early stages, echoing a view previously put forward by Sidney Lee.⁵⁷ The safest conclusion is that of Blayney, who in 1991 wrote that ‘We do not know whether the idea of publishing was first conceived by the players or the publishers, but the two groups had to cooperate before the idea became a reality.’⁵⁸

Agency for the Folio project is clearly contested, but most modern scholars believe Isaac Jaggard led the scheme from within the book trade. Equally most scholars agree that Blount was a major financial investor, and that both John Smethwick and William Aspley were marginal characters who did not play a major part in the planning and organisation of the Folio. This section challenges the first of these commonly held views concerning Isaac Jaggard, modifies the second, and reviews what we know about Smethwick and Aspley for the third.

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⁵³ *Ibid.*, 6.

⁵⁴ *Norton Facsimile* 1968, x; Hinman, *Printing* I.236-9; David Scott Kastan, *Shakespeare and the Book* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2001) 55, 60-1.

⁵⁵ *Norton Facsimile* 1996, xxviii.

⁵⁶ Sonia Massai, *Shakespeare and the Rise of the Editor* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2007) 106-35; John Jowett, *Shakespeare and Text* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2007) 73-4.

⁵⁷ Gary Taylor, “Making Meaning Marketing Shakespeare 1623,” in Peter Holland and Stephen Orgel eds., *From Performance to Print in Shakespeare’s England* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2006) 55-72 at 61. Sidney Lee, “An Elizabethan Bookseller,” *Bibliographica* 1.4 (1895): 474-98, at 491. Lee wrote: ‘It is reasonable to allow Blount the credit of first perceiving the advantage of collecting in a single folio Shakespeare’s scattered plays.’

⁵⁸ *First Folio* 1991, 2.

All stories about the planning of the Folio are constructed from just a few pieces of evidence. The first of these is an advertisement printed in about October 1622 for the Frankfurt book fair, in a catalogue that lists ‘Bookes As Have beene published, and (by authoritie) printed in English’ between April and October 1622. The advertisement reads: ‘Playes, written by M. *William Shakespeare*, all in one volume, printed by *Isaack Jaggard*, in fol.’⁵⁹ This is the first notice that the Folio was underway, and it shows that Isaac Jaggard was involved from the earliest stages. The advertisement also affects our understanding of the timetable of the Folio’s production. When discovered in 1925, the advertisement led scholars to believe the Folio was intended to have been finished and ready for sale by the time of the Frankfurt fair in October 1622, which, given that it was published in late 1623, implied there had been a major delay in its printing. Hinman later showed there was no such delay. He pointed out that several books in this catalogue were advertised in advance, and that the advertisement only shows there was a firm intention to produce the Folio, and that the printing had begun.⁶⁰ Fresh evidence of early modern marketing practices confirms that advance notice was considered to be a useful tactic at this time. Writing in 1618, Warren Townshend, nephew of the poet Aurelian Townshend, described the best way to generate interest in a new publication:

The first thing intended is to divulg abroad the title, & chapters or contents of the said booke [...] For this is growne of late a comon - practise in bookes of this nature, first to divulg the title & contents, to observe how the world tastes such a subject, & to give occasion unto others to bring in more intelligence. (but this I feare needs not, that) and after followes the worke it self.⁶¹

Townshend’s view was that advance notice of a work would ‘bring in more intelligence’ about ‘how the world tastes such a subject’. If this was the view taken by Isaac Jaggard, then the Folio

⁵⁹ *Catalogus Vniuersalis Pro Nundinis Francofurtensibus Autumnalibus* (1622, STC 11329.8). See F. P. Wilson, “The Jaggards and the First Folio of Shakespeare,” *TLS* 1242 (5 November 1925): 737; Blayney, *First Folio* 1991, 7-8.

⁶⁰ Hinman, *Printing* I.363.

⁶¹ *Warren Townshend to William Trumbull, 16 January 1618*: BL MS Additional 72352, 9r.

advertisement of October 1622 may have been intended to gauge early trade interest in the project. Conceivably the response to the advertisement may have influenced construction of the book, including its print run and pricing, as well as pursuit of the copyrights (negotiations for which continued throughout the entire printing process), and the distribution network. A positive response to the advertisement, perhaps communicated through links between the English book trade and the Frankfurt book fair (recipients of the catalogue may have passed word to or made enquiries of those English stationers who regularly attended the Frankfurt fair, such as John Bill, who was likely to be a close friend of Edward Blount) may have provided leverage during the negotiation process. A similar model of advance publicity was noted by Samuel Hartlib seventeen years after the Folio was published. Hartlib wrote:

To make bookes vendible in spight of the basenes of stationers no better strategem then to put out first a *Treatise* with the *Summaria Op̄is* with a most exact and attractive specimen. 2. To tell in it that the whole worke is likewise ready and shortly to follow [...] Then to fall to printing and publishing the worke itself⁶²

Hartlib's description does not exactly match the theory that Isaac Jaggard's advertisement was intended to gauge early interest, partly because Hartlib was considering how best to publish a learned book, not a folio of popular drama. But advance publicity was not confined to intellectual genres: William Jaggard's own *Catalogue of Such English Bookes*, published in 1618, advertised books that were not yet fully printed, including Jaggard's own large folio edition of *Archaio-Ploutos*, dated 1619.⁶³ What both Hartlib and Townshend described was a way to stimulate demand for a work using the minimum amount of initial capital.

The existence of the Frankfurt advertisement of 1622 is one reason that scholars generally think Isaac Jaggard, and not his father William, led the Folio project. There is not much other evidence to support this, and in fact it seems likely that William was in charge. Another

⁶² *Ephemerides 1641*: Hartlib Papers, 30/4/70b-71a.

⁶³ William Jaggard, *A Catalogue of Such English Bookes...* (1618, STC 14341), B1v. *Archaio-Ploutos*, edited by Thomas Milles, was published in 1619 (STC 17936.5).

piece of evidence that has strengthened Isaac's candidacy as leader is his name appearing in the Folio's imprint, but this is irrelevant: William was dead when the imprint was printed, making Isaac the sole owner of the Half Eagle and Key business.⁶⁴ It is William's name that appeared in the Folio's colophon, printed while he was alive, and 'Willi Jaggard Typographi' who is recorded as giving the only known presentation copy of the Folio, in a note added to the title page of that copy by its recipient, the herald and author Augustine Vincent.⁶⁵ Vincent seems to have added the recently deceased Jaggard's name to his book in recognition that William controlled the project.

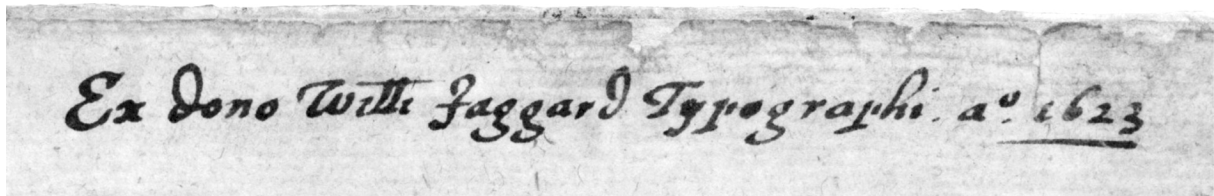


Fig. 1.5. Presentation inscription on the title page of Augustine Vincent's copy of Shakespeare's Folio, now Folger Library STC 22273 Fo.1 no.01. Image: Folger Digital Image Collection (luna.folger.edu), file 46754.

Another document that seems to support Isaac's leading role is his co-registration with Edward Blount of sixteen manuscript copies of Shakespeare's plays that were 'not formerly Entred to other men' in the Stationers' Register on 8 November 1623.⁶⁶ However, like the imprint, that document also dates from after William Jaggard's death, so the entry of 8 November (*shown below*) tells us nothing about which Jaggard controlled the project from its inception.

⁶⁴ William Jaggard's death was recorded by the Court of Aldermen, who transferred his office of City Printer: *Court of Aldermen Repertory Book 1623-4*: LMA COL/CA/01/01/042, 1v. A fair copy of this entry can be found in *Letter Book II*: LMA COL/AD/01/034.

⁶⁵ Arguably the Bodleian deposit copy was also a presentation copy: Blayney, *First Folio* 1991, 24-5.

⁶⁶ Arber IV.107.

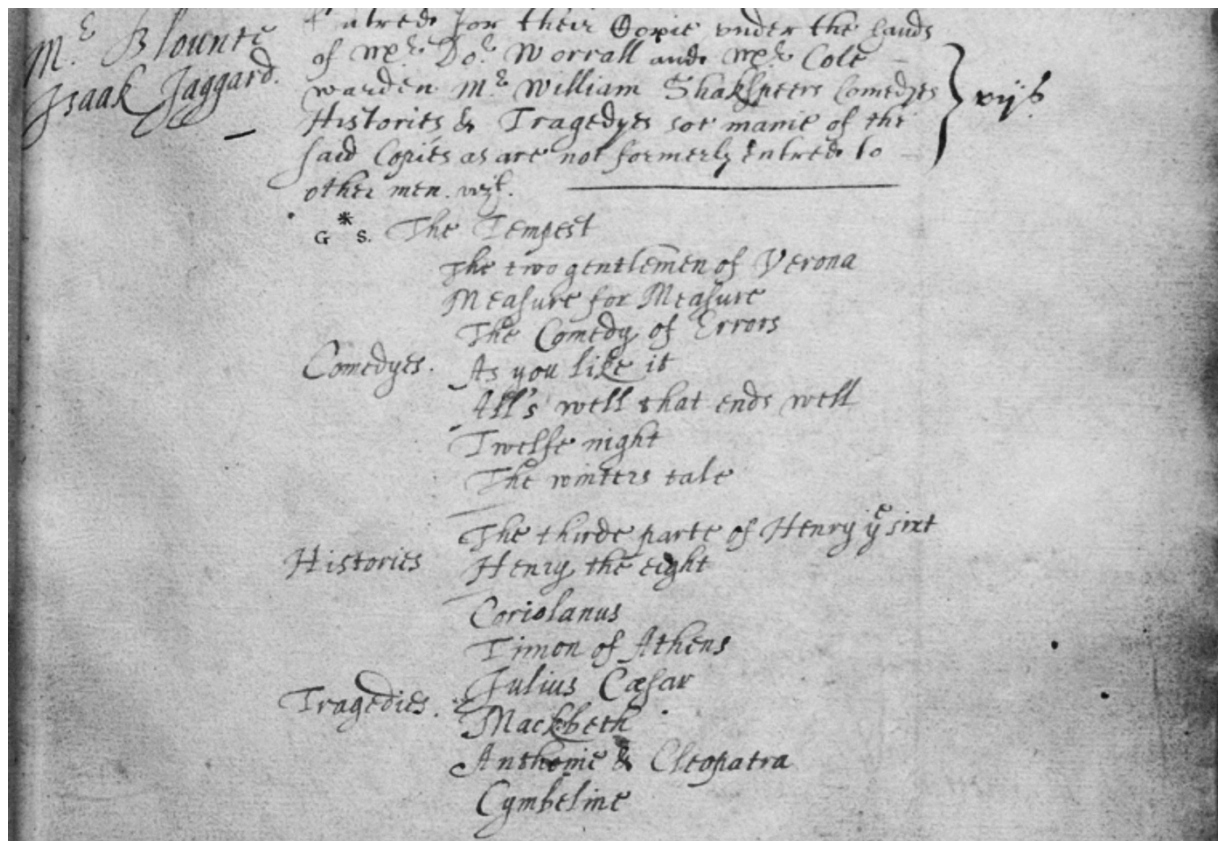


Fig. 1.6. The Stationers' Register entry of 8 November 1623, made by Edward Blount and Isaac Iaggard after the Folio printing had been finished. Image: the Worshipful Company of stationers and Newspaper Makers.

The remaining evidence that is traditionally used to suggest Isaac controlled the project is his work prior to 1623. Isaac's name appears on the imprint of four books before the Folio. Here are those books, with their imprints:

- i.) Musaeus, *The Divine Poem of Musaeus* (1616, STC 18304).
Printed by Isaac Iaggard. 1616.
- ii.) Thomas Heywood, *A Woman Kilde With Kindnesse* (1617, STC 13372).
Printed by Isaac Iaggard, 1617.
- iii.) Ambroise Pare, *The Method of Curing Wounds Made by Gun-Shot* (1617, STC 19191).
London printed by Isaac Iaggard, and are to be sold in Barbican. 1617.
- iv.) Giovanni Boccaccio, *The Decameron* (1620, STC 3172).
London, printed by Isaac Iaggard, 1620.

As three of these titles are 'literary' works, scholars see Isaac as more ready than William to fund a large literary folio like Shakespeare's. Isaac has often been described as a 'literary publisher' on

the basis of these titles.⁶⁷ However the four books do not necessarily suggest Isaac Jaggard developed a distinctively literary imprint of his own, given that he worked in the business that was owned by his father. Neither does Isaac's name on the imprint of those four works mean he had complete authority over their production. Despite what its imprint states, Ambrose Pare's *The Method of Curing Wounds Made by Gun-Shot* was advertised in Jaggard's *Catalogue* of 1618 as being 'printed by *William Jaggard*.'⁶⁸ And three of the four editions in question were registered in manuscript with the Stationers' Company by William, despite the fact that Isaac had been legally able to register manuscripts since he had been made free of the Stationers' Company in 1613.⁶⁹ That Isaac did not register them may imply William acquired the copy, or that William took overall responsibility for the administrative side of his business. Ultimately the most important point must be that all four of 'Isaac's' books were produced using the staff and printing equipment of William Jaggard's business. The imprints alone are only one part of a larger set of signals that indicate the books were joint productions, albeit ones that Isaac Jaggard presumably supervised.

A better understanding of Isaac's own publishing preferences can be found by looking at his career after William's death. From 1623 there is no doubt that Isaac had full responsibility of the Half Eagle and Key, and revealingly he proved to be a timid publisher. Though he is more commonly known as a trade printer, meaning he printed books for other stationers, William Jaggard was in fact primarily concerned with publishing books. That is, to judge from a count of edition sheets, William Jaggard published more than he printed for other stationers. Isaac, on the other hand, preferred trade printing: it was a safer form of employment, but one that lacked the vision, investing acumen, and financial capital required for the Shakespeare Folio.

⁶⁷ Sonia Massai, *Shakespeare and the Rise of the Editor* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2007) 162.

⁶⁸ Jaggard, *Catalogue* B2r.

⁶⁹ Arber III.594, 598, 667.

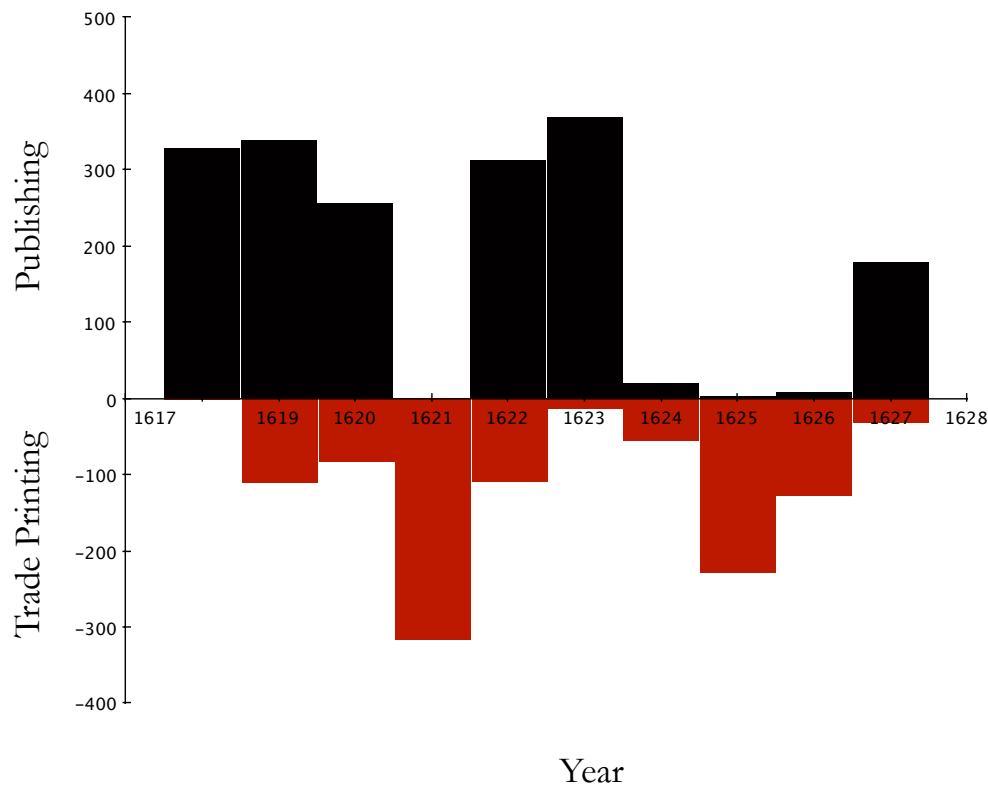


Fig. 1.7. The output of the Half Eagle and Key publishing and printing business in edition sheets from 1618-28. After William's death in late 1623 the business primarily dealt in trade printing.

The only major exception to the habit of trade printing in Isaac's career was the large folio edition of 167 sheets that he published in 1627, but this work (Thomas Wilson's *Commentary on the Most Divine Epistle of S. Paul*) had been published at least once and perhaps twice previously by William in 1614 and 1620[?].⁷⁰ Isaac also never registered a manuscript with the Stationers' Company, indicating he took no interest in sourcing new material.

⁷⁰ Thomas Wilson, *A Commentarie Upon the Most Divine Epistle of S. Paul* (1614, STC 25791). The 1614 edition is a quarto of 161 sheets. The *STC* records a second edition dated 1620 (STC 25792) that was published in folio, but it is one of an interesting group of four *STC* entries the only known examples of which are books that are now lost but were once owned by the twentieth-century bookseller and Shakespearean scholar Captain William Jaggard. These four entries (STCs 24057, 263, and 19443, in addition to Wilson's book) were copied straight into the second edition of the *STC* from Pollard and Redgrave's first edition. They were originally contributed to Pollard and Redgrave's project by Captain William Jaggard himself, and in each case the only source is a unique copy from Captain Jaggard's personal collection. Peter Blayney suspected that these four entries were mistakes: "The Numbers Game: Appraising the Revised STC," *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 88.3 (1994): 353-407, at 358n19. Blayney suggested they may have been damaged copies of other known editions that were misdated by Captain Jaggard, which seems convincing: when Captain Jaggard's library was sold at auction after his death the listings included many seventeenth-century works but none of these four (*A Catalogue of Books Both Old and Modern*, vol. 7, sale of 18-19 March 1948 [London: Hodgson & Co, 1948] 32-8). The descendants of Captain Jaggard tell me that none of his books remain in the family.

As far as it is possible to distinguish between the agencies of William and Isaac Jaggard, it seems likely that William led the Folio project from within the printing house and oversaw negotiations with copyright holders. William was old and blind by 1622-3, but that would have made no difference to his ability to supervise a book project: he had been blind since about 1613 without any adverse effect to his business and had a competent labour force of compositors and pressmen, as well as a valuable network of trade contacts. His spirited address of 1622, in which he rejected the herald Ralph Brooke's criticism of his printing practices, shows he was far from infirm or feeble.⁷¹ The address, which is quoted further in chapter two, defended Jaggard's public reputation, and shows he took a leading role in his business at a time when work on the Folio was underway. Here are two sections of the address that illustrate Jaggard's energetic tone:

I owe my selfe that iustice, and my poore credit so much right, as not to heare my name publikely proclaimed, and pasted on the fore-front of a book, for those faults, whereunto the Author can onely be Principall, howsoeuer hee hath made my Presse accessarie...

thus I hope I haue, in the opinion of Master *Yorke's Iudicious* Reader, washt my hands cleane of that aspersion which he casts vpon me, concerning the Errors of his Booke, the maine Error excepted, of defiling my fingers at all with his pitch, which cleaues so fast to my hands, as I shall neuer shake them off...⁷²

Another epistle printed in mid-1623 shows Jaggard maintained his public role:

This great and learned Labour, concerning the very soule of all that formerly hath bin said, or can be any way else enstructed; being yours by long since precedent promise, and more effectually yours by present performance: Adventureth it selfe into the wide Worlds view, craving no other Shield of safetie, then your Honourable protection [...] Accept it Noble Lord, as I make no doubt but you will: And all my best abilities, while this poore old body of mine hath an houre to breath, is
Your Honors in all dutie,

W. I.⁷³

⁷¹ Augustine Vincent, *A Discouerie of Errours* (1622, STC 24756) ¶5r-7r.

⁷² *Ibid.*, ¶5r-v, ¶6v-7r.

⁷³ Andre Favyn, *The Theater of Honour and Knight-hood* (1623, STC 10717) A2r-v. For the timing of this epistle in relation to the Folio see: Hinman, *Printing* I.365.

Blount was probably involved in negotiations for the Folio printing rights from an early stage.⁷⁴ He had a strong history of collaboration with William Aspley, whose copy of *Much Ado About Nothing*, the play that is printed on quires I-L in the Folio, was the sixth text to be printed. By Hinman's chronology *Much Ado About Nothing* was printed in about April 1622, and a few months before that date is perhaps the latest point at which Blount can have joined the scheme. The final evidence about the way the Folio was put together is the book itself. The colophon, printed at the end of *Cymbeline* in about October 1623, divided financial responsibility equally between the four principle shareholders. The imprint names Isaac Jaggard and Edward Blount as the 'printers', though that word in early modern imprints could also mean 'produced by', as was the case with the Folio's imprint. Some precedence is implied by the names of the stationers being divided between the imprint and the colophon, and also by the order in which the names are printed in the colophon: Aspley owned two manuscripts, and his name is printed last, while Smethwick's name precedes his, and Smethwick had four manuscripts. The colophon also contains an unusual variant of Smethwick's name (*see below*) that does not appear in any other printed book (though it does in some manuscript records), meaning Smethwick was probably not closely involved with the wording of the colophon.

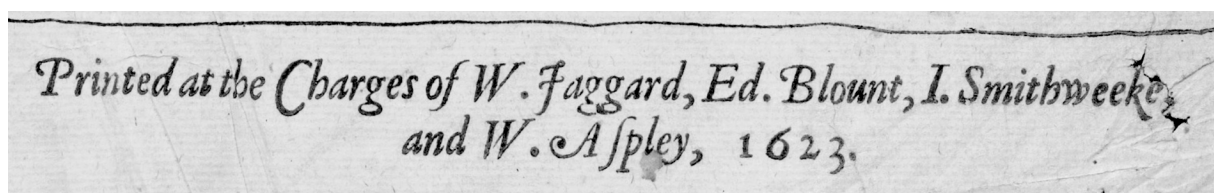


Fig. 1.8. The colophon of the First Folio, from leaf bbb6r of the Bodleian Library's copy, shelfmark Arch. G c.7. Image: The Bodleian First Folio, <http://firstfolio.bodleian.ox.ac.uk>.

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⁷⁴ In Greg's view (*First Folio* 1955, 4), Blount joined the syndicate at a late stage.

Negotiations

The negotiation process for the Folio saw thirteen stationers reach terms over twenty dramatic manuscripts, the rights to which had previously been claimed through registration or publication. A twenty-first manuscript, containing the text of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, was derelict, and so easily obtained by the Folio syndicate. This play had been registered by the stationer Thomas Fisher in October 1600, but after had Fisher died in about 1601 no stationer claimed the copy. The twenty plays that were owned by stationers in 1621-3 are listed here:⁷⁵

Arthur Johnson:	<i>The Merry Wives of Windsor</i>
William Aspley:	<i>Much Ado About Nothing</i> <i>2 Henry IV</i>
John Smethwick:	<i>Love's Labour's Lost</i> <i>The Taming of the Shrew</i> <i>Hamlet</i> <i>Romeo and Juliet</i>
Lawrence Hayes:	<i>The Merchant of Venice</i>
Matthew Law:	<i>Richard II</i> <i>Richard III</i> <i>1 Henry IV</i>
Thomas Pavier:	<i>Henry V</i> <i>2 Henry VI</i> <i>3 Henry VI</i> <i>Titus Andronicus</i>
Nathaniel Butter:	<i>King Lear</i>
Thomas Walkley:	<i>Othello</i>
Edward Blount:	<i>Anthony and Cleopatra</i>
Henry Walley:	<i>Troilus and Cressida</i>
Thomas Dewe:	<i>King John</i>

The difficulty with Henry Walley and the manuscript of *Troilus and Cressida* proves that the negotiations continued through the whole printing process, but there is no evidence that shows when the negotiations began. Hinman estimated that the printing of the Folio began in early

⁷⁵ The odd one out of this list is Thomas Dewe, who did not own *King John* but did affect its inclusion by owning a related play, *The Troublesome Raigne of Iohn King of England*, which he published as Q3 in 1622 with a full attribution to Shakespeare (the previous edition, Q2, had been published by a different stationer with a partial attribution to 'W. Sh.'). The claim that Q3 *Troublesome Raigne* gave Dewe to the authentically Shakespearean *King John* text is discussed below.

1622.⁷⁶ In the order of the Folio's printing, the first play to require negotiation was Arthur Johnson's *The Merry Wives of Windsor*. By Hinman's timeline, the printing of this play took place in about March 1622, so discussions with Johnson must have finished by February 1622, and probably before that date. Plays owned by William Aspley and John Smethwick were also printed early, in the sixth and seventh positions respectively, making it likely that most if not all of the syndicate was in place when printing began. In the absence of any positive evidence it is safe to suggest that negotiations began in mid to late 1621 and were mostly resolved by early spring in 1622, though some problems continued throughout. On the whole these negotiations were highly successful. The Folio contains every play that had already been printed with a full attribution to Shakespeare with only four exceptions, three of which are apocryphal. These exceptions are, with the editions they survive in:

The First Part of the True & Honourable History of the Life of Sir Iohn Oldcastle

1. 1600: Valentine Simmes for Thomas Pavier. No attribution.
2. 1619: William Jaggard for Thomas Pavier. "by William Shakespeare."

The London Prodigall

1. 1605: Thomas Creede for Nathaniel Butter. "By William Shakespeare."

A Yorkshire Tragedy

1. 1608: Richard Bradock for Thomas Pavier. "by W. Shakspeare."
2. 1619: William Jaggard for Thomas Pavier. "by W. Shakespeare."

Pericles

1. 1609: William White and Thomas Creede for Henry Gosson. "By William Shakespeare."
2. 1609: William White and Thomas Creede for Henry Gosson. "By William Shakespeare."
3. 1611: Printed by Simon Stafford. "By William Shakespeare."
4. 1619: William Jaggard for Thomas Pavier. "by W. Shakespeare."

The exclusion of these plays probably reflected judgments about their authenticity, rather than any difficulty in securing copyright. Three of them belonged to stationers who did contribute other copies to the syndicate, making it difficult to see why they would be withheld. Thomas

⁷⁶ Hinman, *Printing* I.363.

Pavier, who owned *A Yorkshire Tragedy* and *Sir Iohn Oldcastle*, granted the rights to four genuinely Shakespearean plays. Despite the attributions that are shown above, neither *A Yorkshire Tragedy* nor *Sir Iohn Oldcastle* is now considered to be part of the Shakespeare canon. *A Yorkshire Tragedy* is accepted to be by Thomas Middleton, while the diary of Philip Henslowe records that *Sir Iohn Oldcastle* was written by Anthony Munday, Michael Drayton, Robert Wilson and Richard Hathaway. Notably *Oldcastle* had no attribution on its first edition in 1600. Shakespeare's name only appeared on the 1619 edition, which was one of the ten 'Pavier Quartos' that may have been intended to form an early Shakespeare collection. Each of those ten titles featured the same Shakespeare attribution that is present on the 1619 edition of *Oldcastle*. *The London Prodigall* was owned by Nathaniel Butter, who sold or leased *King Lear* to the syndicate, and no modern scholar has accepted Butter's attribution on the title page of the 1605 edition.

Pericles is exceptional. It is accepted as part of the canon, though usually as a co-authored work written by Shakespeare and George Wilkins. There is no convincing explanation for its exclusion from the Folio. As Suzanne Gossett's edition of *Pericles* notes, the three main theories are: (i.) difficulties obtaining the copyright or a manuscript copy, (ii.) editorial objections to the condition of the text, and (iii.) knowledge that it was collaborative, and so seen as apocryphal.⁷⁷ The first suggestion, as Gossett notes, is not credible. Thomas Pavier owned the rights to *Pericles* from 1619, and there is no reason to think Pavier would have obstructed the Folio syndicate for this title but granted rights to the three, or possible four, other Shakespearean titles he owned. Similarly, the King's Men staged performances of *Pericles* in 1619 and 1631, and so probably had access to a manuscript copy in 1621-3. Both the second and third explanations listed by Gossett are possible, though neither is entirely satisfactory. If concerned about the condition of the text, the Folio syndicate could presumably have obtained a better manuscript from the King's Men. Equally, if they excluded *Pericles* because it was co-written, then why did the syndicate print *Henry*

⁷⁷ *Pericles*, ed. Suzanne Gossett (London: Arden, 2004) 34-6.

VIII, which is now believed to have been co-written by Shakespeare and John Fletcher?

Regardless of the unclear reason for the particular exclusion of *Pericles*, the decision of the Folio syndicate to leave out the four attributed plays discussed here was probably motivated by concern over the authenticity of the Folio's contents.

The twelve stationer stakeholders divided into two groups: shareholders and lessors. The hidden process that decided who ended up in which camp had dramatic implications for the way the Folio was received in contemporary culture, because the negotiations decided whose reputation would be associated with the book. What follows summarises the financial situation and relevant professional links between each stationer involved in the negotiations. This analysis assumes that the power of choice to become a shareholder was shared between the negotiators and the manuscript owners. The order in which the stationers are discussed here follows the chronology of the typesetting of the Folio.

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The Stationers and their Manuscripts

Arthur Johnson. Lessor. *The Merry Wives of Windsor*.

Manuscript Evidence

Johnson's play was the first to be printed in the Folio that required negotiation. The copy had legitimately belonged to Johnson since his registration of it in January 1602, and nothing about its printing in the Folio, which took place in about March 1622, suggests there was any difficulty in obtaining the copy.⁷⁸

⁷⁸ Arber III.199. Hinman, *Printing* II.366-75.

Financial Circumstances

Johnson's choice to sell or lease his copy was probably influenced by the state of his business. His output is difficult to gauge for certain because he often acted as the bookseller for an edition that was primarily published by another stationer, which involved an unclear level of financial partnership. In the chart below the edition sheets for those joint investments are divided equally between Johnson and his publishing partner. There was some volatility in Johnson's output between 1618 and 1621, but he produced no books at all after 1621: he had begun to withdraw from publishing when the Folio negotiations began. A possible reason for his withdrawal is that in 1624 Johnson moved to Dublin, where he acted as an agent for the Irish Stock of the Stationers' Company till 1628.⁷⁹

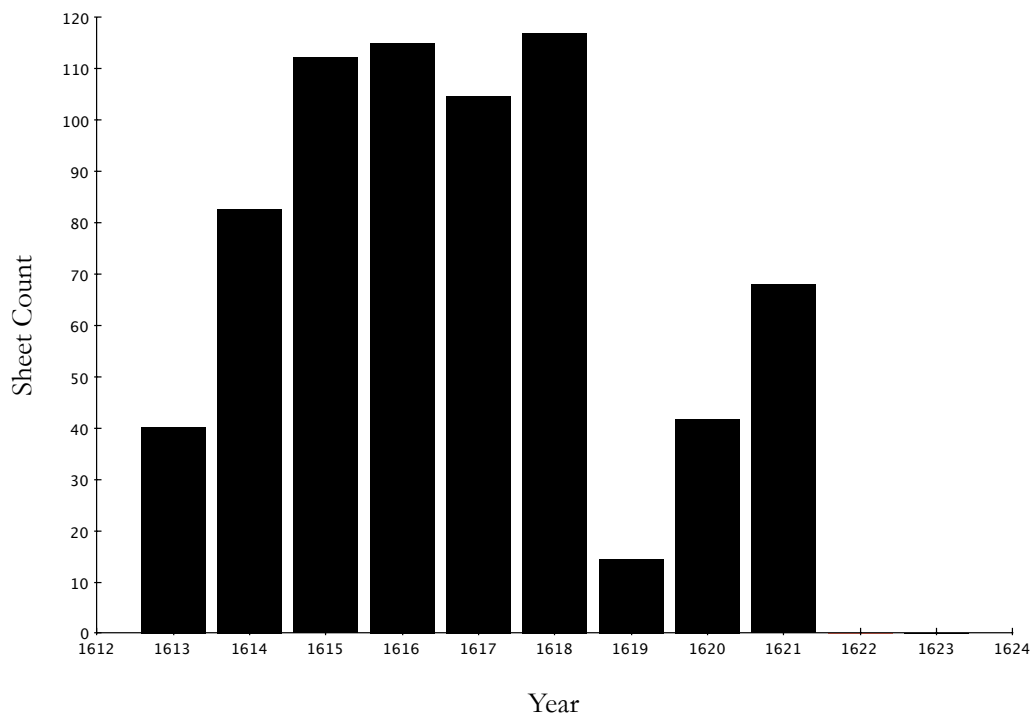


Fig. 1.9. Arthur Johnson's publishing investment in edition sheets in the decade leading up to the First Folio and the years immediately after.

⁷⁹ Mary Pollard ed., *A Dictionary of Members of the Dublin Book Trade 1550-1800* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2000) 542.

Social and Professional Links

One link between Johnson and the syndicate is that *Merry Wives* was printed by William Jaggard in the 1619 collection now known as the Pavier Quartos. In that collection, *Merry Wives* is one of three titles that has an accurate imprint on its title page, which gives the correct date and names Johnson as the publisher. The accurate imprint is usually taken to indicate that Johnson endorsed the 1619 edition of his text, or perhaps was involved with its production. If true, that collaboration with William Jaggard may have facilitated negotiations for the Folio. Other traces of evidence that associate Johnson with copyright owners before 1623 include:

- i.) In 1611, Johnson sold a quarto edition of *Du Bartas his Divine Weekes* for its publisher Humfrey Lownes. Around one-third of the copy for this edition (43.5 sheets from a total of 125) was owned by Edward Blount.⁸⁰
- ii.) Letters written by the poet Robert Herrick from Cambridge in early 1617 indicate that Herrick maintained accounts with both Johnson and Edward Blount, which may have led to communication between the two booksellers.⁸¹
- iii.) In 1617 Johnson collaborated with Blount's close friend and business partner William Barret. Johnson acted as the distributor for an edition of John Lyly's *Euphues the Anatomy of Wit*.⁸²

William Aspley. Shareholder. *Much Ado About Nothing*, *2 Henry IV*.

Manuscript Evidence

Aspley's two plays appear sixth in the Comedies and fourth in the Histories respectively. Aspley registered both jointly with the stationer Andrew Wise in 1600.⁸³ After 1603 Wise is not mentioned in any records, and he may have died, in which case the rights to *Much Ado* and *2 Henry IV* would have passed to his widow or family. By the time the Folio was planned, Aspley

⁸⁰ Guillaume du Bartas, *Du Bartas his Divine Weekes* (1611, STC 21651). See Blount's entries at: Arber II.650, III.280, 304, 335. Blount sold the manuscripts to Humphrey Lownes in 1614: Arber III.544.

⁸¹ *Robert Herrick to Sir William Herrick*: Bodleian MS Eng. c. 2278, 17r, 24r.

⁸² John Lyly, *Euphues the Anatomy of Wit* (1617, STC 17064). Blount and Barret collaborated on several editions (STC 1201, 13541, 15460, 17417, 20772, etc), and are associated in various manuscript sources, including: *Court of Orphans Recognizances*: LMA CLA/002/05/001, 21r, 135r; *Will of Richard Bankworth*: TNA Prob 11/138/543.

⁸³ Arber III.170.

was the only active stationer known to hold rights to these two plays. Nothing about the printing of either play suggests copyright difficulties.⁸⁴

Financial Circumstances

Up to 1618, Aspley tended to finance mid-length quartos and octavos. From 1619 on Aspley began to concentrate on occasional large folios. In 1621, for example, he financed no edition sheets but published the folio *Workes of Iohn Boys* the following year (discussed in chapter three), a book that was thirty-two sheets longer than the Folio.⁸⁵ By 1621 Aspley was interested in large book projects, and open to joining publishing syndicates. He was involved with other syndicated book projects in 1623, 1632, and 1637.⁸⁶

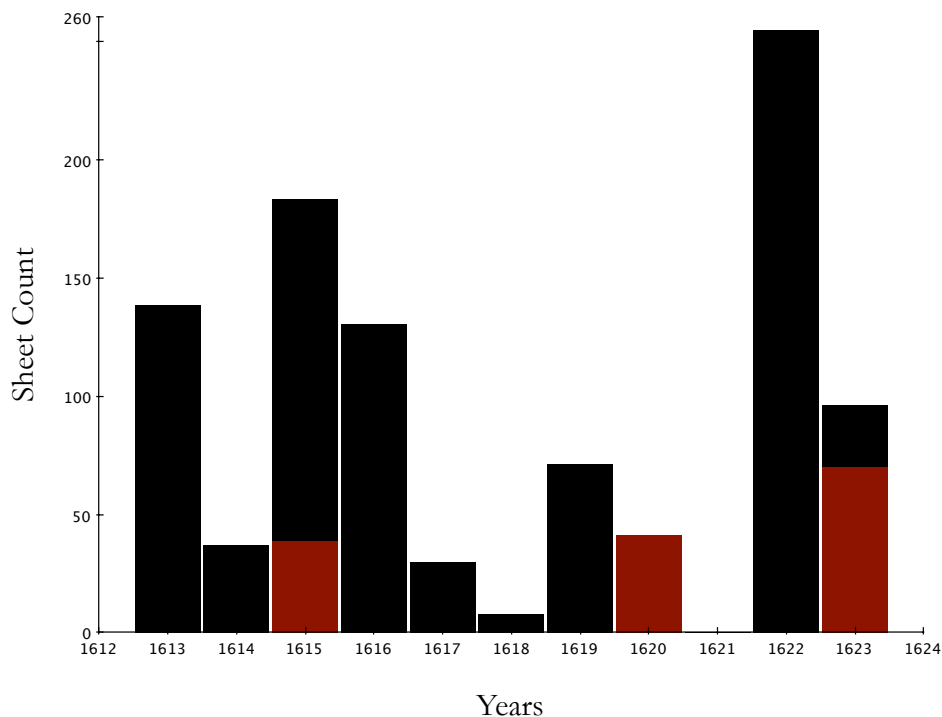


Fig. 1.10. Edition sheets financed by William Aspley 1613-23. Projects shared with Edward Blount are in red. The lack of output in 1621 may have been caused by Aspley conserving capital for the large folio of John Boys' *Workes* in 1622.

⁸⁴ Hinman, *Printing* II.98, 395-408, 509, 523.

⁸⁵ John Boys, *The Workes of Iohn Boys* (1622, STC 3452).

⁸⁶ Richard Perceval, *A Dictionary in Spanish and English* (1623, STC 1961: syndicate of four); William Shakespeare, *Mr. William Shakespeares Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies* (1632, STC 22274: syndicate of five); William Camden, *Britain* (1637, STC 4510.6: syndicate of six).

Aspley's strongest links within the Folio team are to Edward Blount, with whom he collaborated on several books from 1604-23 (some of these shared projects are shown on the chart above). In the early years this partnership focussed on travel works and books of moral philosophy, several of which met with critical success. Their 76.5 sheet quarto, *The Naturall and Morall Historie of the East and West Indies* (1604), can be found on a reading list for the young Princes Charles II and James II.⁸⁷ Blount and Aspley's biggest commercial success came in 1608, when they jointly registered a translation of Pierre Charron's *Of Wisdom* with the Stationers' Company.⁸⁸ A substantial quarto of seventy-four sheets, again of moral philosophy, Charron's text was republished nine times in the seventeenth century, and is discussed further at the start of chapter five. Aspley and Blount co-financed three editions of this text in 1608, 1615, and 1620, before Aspley alone financed two more in 1630 and 1640. Like the *Naturall and Morall Historie*, Charron's text was also highly-rated. A bookseller's bill from March 1621 shows the recently published third edition commanded an unusually high price.⁸⁹

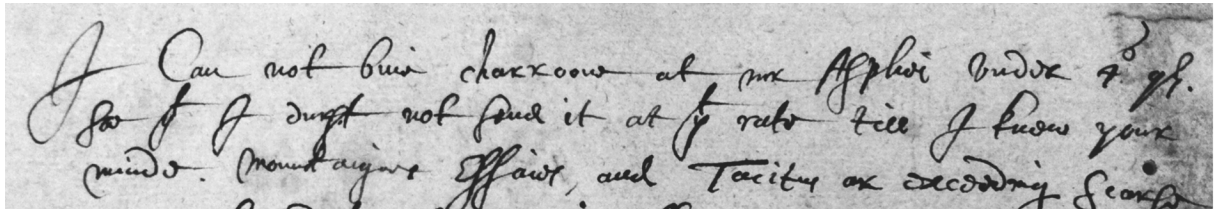


Fig. 1.11. Extract from a bill sent by the London publisher and bookseller John Piper (active 1615 to 1624) to the Oxford bookseller Thomas Huggins, dated 23 March 1621 (Image: author's own of endpaper of Huntington Library 28116). The text reads:

I Can not buie charroone at mr Aspleys under 4^s quires soe y^t I
durst not send it at y^t rate till I know your minde.

⁸⁷ Jose de Acosta, *The Naturall and Morall Historie of the East and West Indies* (1604, STC 94). *Bookseller's Bill to Prince Charles II and James II*, 1641: Folger MS X.d.95.

⁸⁸ Arber III.326, published five times during Aspley's lifetime as: Pierre Charron, *Of Wisdome* (1608-40, STC 5051-5).

⁸⁹ *John Piper to Thomas Huggins, 23 March 1621*: Huntington Library, 28116.

By the time that the third edition of Charron's book appeared, identified here in John Piper's bill, the text had grown to eighty-two sheets, which meant it *should* have cost about three shillings and five pence in quires at retail price, and about one-third less to a trade customer like Thomas Huggins, the Oxford bookseller to whom the bill was addressed. A bill from the following week also survives and it shows that Huggins eventually paid the high price of five shillings for a bound copy of Charron's text, which looks to have been one shilling less than the originally written price of six shillings.⁹⁰

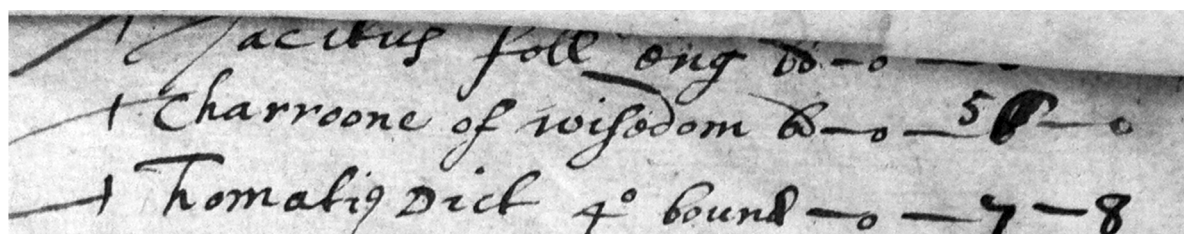


Fig. 1.12. Extract from another bill sent by John Piper to Thomas Huggins, dated 30 March 1621. Image: author's own of endpaper of Huntington Library 28116. The line reads:

4 Charroone of wisdom bound - 0 - ~~56~~ - 0

Both Aspley and Blount were also members of a syndicate of four stationers who financed Richard Perceval's *A Dictionary in Spanish and English* in 1623, a folio of 144 sheets.⁹¹ Other than his relationship with Blount, Aspley's career before 1623 contains two links to the Folio negotees:

- i.) In July 1613 Aspley jointly entered the manuscript of the Latinist John Bond's *Auli Persii Flacci Satyrae Sex* with Nathaniel Butter, the owner of the manuscript of *King Lear*. The two stationers co-published an edition of Bond's work in 1614.⁹²
- ii.) In 1618, Aspley was one of twenty publishers whose name headed a section in Jaggard's *Catalogue of Such English Bookes*, for which he must have communicated with Jaggard.⁹³

⁹⁰ John Piper to Thomas Huggins, 30 March 1621: Huntington Library, 28116.

⁹¹ Richard Perceval, *A Dictionary in Spanish and English* (1623, STC 19621).

⁹² Arber III.529; John Bond, *Auli Persii Flacci Satyrae Sex* (1614, STC 19777).

⁹³ Jaggard, *Catalogue* A2r.

John Smethwick. Shareholder. *Love's Labour's Lost*, *The Taming of the Shrew*, *Romeo and Juliet*, and *Hamlet*.

Manuscript Evidence

Smethwick acquired his Shakespeare manuscripts in a transfer from the stationer Nicholas Ling in November 1607.⁹⁴ Ling transferred three genuinely Shakespearean plays and the anonymously authored *The Taming of a Shrew*, a different play from Shakespeare's *The Taming of the Shrew*, but one that is related to *the Shrew* in complicated ways. Most scholars believe that, due to the way early copyright regulation worked within the Stationers' Company, ownership of *The Taming of a Shrew* also gave Smethwick the right to print Shakespeare's play. In support of this is the fact that Smethwick later published the only seventeenth-century quarto of Shakespeare's *the Shrew* in 1631, seemingly drawing on his earlier registration of *a Shrew*.⁹⁵ There were no difficulties in printing any of Smethwick's plays for the Folio.⁹⁶

Financial Circumstances

Smethwick's publishing business was prosperous during the time of the Folio negotiations. Like Aspley, Smethwick's output looks to have been uneven, but a longer view shows that his business was sound, and relied on a rhythm of conservation and investment. Unlike Aspley, whose focus shifted to large folio projects, Smethwick concentrated on recycling popular editions of a core set of small or mid-length quartos at regular intervals, though he made an exception in 1619 to finance a large folio of Michael Drayton's poetry. Smethwick had also been a shareholder before 1623: he was one of the stationers who chose to join the 1616 *Workes* of Ben Jonson project, rather than simply lease his manuscript of *Every Man Out of His Humour*. Mark Bland has described an arrangement whereby Smethwick was offered the opportunity of having his name

⁹⁴ Arber III.365.

⁹⁵ For discussion, see: Barbara Hodgdon ed., *The Taming of the Shrew* (London: Methuen, 2010) 10.

⁹⁶ Hinman, *Printing* II.404-13 (*Love's Labours' Lost*); I. 263, II.446-62 (*Taming of the Shrew*); I.223, II.281-5 (*Romeo and Juliet*); II.208-19, II.244-75 (*Hamlet*).

on the title page of *Every Man Out of His Humour* ‘and a proportionate part of the edition at wholesale rates’ to secure the deal.⁹⁷

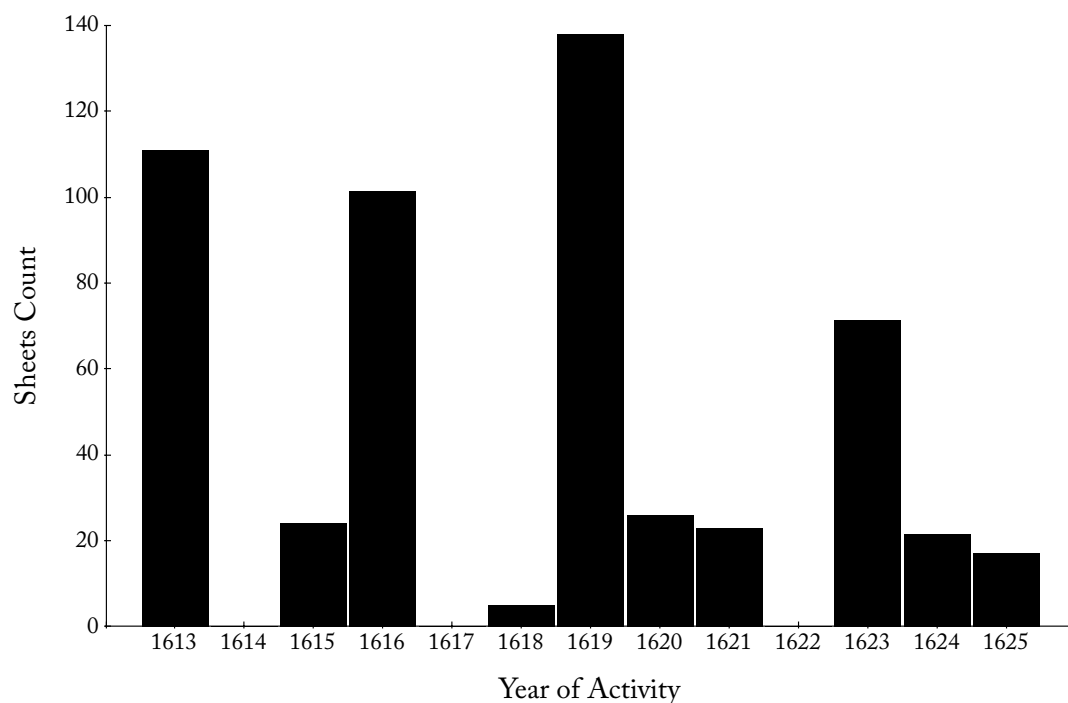


Fig. 1.13. John Smethwick’s published edition sheets from 1613 to 1625. Though the chart seems erratic, a long view shows Smethwick maintained a rhythm of conservation and investment.

Social and Professional Links

Smethwick’s strongest links to the syndicate are through the Jaggard family. This association probably began during Smethwick’s apprenticeship under the stationer Thomas Newman in the churchyard of St Dunstan in the West. This apprenticeship lasted from 1590 to 1597, during which time both William Jaggard and his brother, the stationer John Jaggard, were apprenticed to stationers working close by or in this churchyard, in a group of businesses with a history of collaboration. In 1605 Smethwick and John Jaggard jointly registered the manuscript of George

⁹⁷ Bland, *Stansby* 17.

Saltern's *Of the Antient Lawes of Great Britain*.⁹⁸ The manuscript was registered in Latin, and so presumably Jaggard and Smethwick collaborated to commission an English translation for the edition they subsequently produced. There is also a copy of the 1610 edition of Drayton's *Poems*, now in the Bodleian Library, that was published by Smethwick and survives in its original vellum binding complete with endpapers that are waste sheets of a book printed by William Jaggard for John Jaggard. The use of Jaggard's endpapers as binding waste may imply that John Jaggard and John Smethwick stocked one another's books.⁹⁹

Alongside their business connections Smethwick also shared his civic life with John Jaggard. In July of 1613 the two were chosen as 'parish scavengers', meaning they were responsible for keeping the streets of the parish clean and free of vagrants, for St Dunstan in the West. Jaggard was given control of Temple Bar precinct and Smethwick of the Middle Precinct.¹⁰⁰ The following year both men served on the parish's grand jury and in 1616 both served on the 'wardmote inquest', which was a regularly convened court with authority over Farringdon Without, the London ward in which St Dunstan in the West parish was situated.¹⁰¹ Around this time, too, both men had their children baptised in the church.¹⁰² In April 1617, Jaggard and Smethwick were jointly elected overseers of the parish poor.¹⁰³ Serving as two of the parish's three constables reunited the pair in 1619, and both repeated this role in 1620.¹⁰⁴ According to a note in the parish's Wardmote Inquest book John Jaggard died on 22 March 1622

⁹⁸ Arber III.290. Published as: George Saltern, *Of the Antient Lawes of Great Britain* (1605, STC 21635).

⁹⁹ Michael Drayton, *Poems* (1610, STC 7220), shelfmark: Bodleian Library, J-J Drayton f.12. The endpapers are sheet I of: John Davies, *A Discoverie of the State of Ireland* (1612/3, STC 6348-9).

¹⁰⁰ *Vestry Minute Book, St Dunstan in the West*: LMA P69/DUN2/B/001/MS03016/001, 74v. The appointment of Smethwick as a scavenger is also mentioned in: *Wardmote Inquest Book, St Dunstan in the West*: LMA CLC/W/JB/044/MS03018/001, 91r.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 94v, 96v.

¹⁰² *Parish Register of St Dunstan in the West 1558-1631*: LMA P69/DUN2/A/01/MS10342, 64v, 65v, 67v, 70r.

¹⁰³ *Vestry Minute Book*, 87.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.* 89, 92. *Wardmote Inquest Book*, 101r, 102v.

and it seems likely that had he lived he would have served more offices with Smethwick, who went on to be elected a vestryman, trustee of the parish lectureship, and churchwarden during John Donne's time as vicar.¹⁰⁵ It is striking how often Jaggard and Smethwick served office together. Of course it was William, not John, who led the Folio project, but Smethwick's relationship with John made him close to the Jaggard family. William's first bookshop was beside St Dunstan's Church, and though William took over the printing house of James Roberts in the Barbican area in 1606 he continued to collaborate with his brother John, who remained based at St Dunstan's, until 1613.¹⁰⁶ Two of John Jaggard's apprentices, George Sparks and Abraham Woodhall, were turned over to his nephew Isaac Jaggard in 1626, showing links between John's business and that of William and Isaac Jaggard.¹⁰⁷ Smethwick also acquired two of Isaac Jaggard's copyrights from his widow after Isaac's death.¹⁰⁸

The only other relevant association in Smethwick's career is with the stationer Edward Weaver, who was a mutual friend of both Smethwick and Edward Blount. Weaver left his 'loving freinde' Smethwick twenty-five shillings when he died in 1638, for Smethwick to buy a gold ring in his memory.¹⁰⁹ The pair had also co-published a book in 1631.¹¹⁰ Weaver also acted as a surety with Edward Blount for the orphans of the stationer Richard Bankworth in 1620, and had witnessed the will of Blount's son-in-law.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁵ *Vestry Minute Book*, 89 (elected vestryman in 1619), 95 (made an auditor), 114-5, 117-20 (junior churchwarden in 1627), 122-5 (senior churchwarden in 1628), 127, 130, 134-6 (auditor in 1630), 139 (executor of Katherine Tirrell in 1630), 142-4 (auditor in 1631), 146, 149 (feoffee of church lectureship in 1631), 151-2, 156, 158-61, 164-4.

¹⁰⁶ Examples of collaborations between William and John Jaggard include: STC 21625; STC 1139-.5, STC 1142; STC 15393, STC 3402.

¹⁰⁷ D.F. McKenzie, "A List of Printer's Apprentices, 1605-1640," *Studies in Bibliography* 13 (1960): 109-41, at 124.

¹⁰⁸ Arber IV.151.

¹⁰⁹ *Will of Edmund Weaver, stationer*: TNA Prob/11/177/292.

¹¹⁰ John Selden, *De Successionibus in Bona Defuncti* (1631, STC 22169).

¹¹¹ *Court of Orphans Recognizances*, 135r; *Will of Richard Bankworth*: TNA PROB 11/138/543.

Lawrence Hayes. Lessor. *The Merchant of Venice*.

Manuscript Evidence

Hayes inherited the right to *The Merchant of Venice* through his father, a short-lived stationer named Thomas Hayes. By choosing not to publish it, though, Lawrence Hayes let the manuscript of *Merchant* become derelict before he re-registered it in 1619. This late registration was probably connected to the edition of *Merchant* that appeared as part of the Pavier Quarto collection in 1619, though the nature of the connection is unclear. Thomas Hayes had originally registered the manuscript in October 1600, and published the first quarto edition that year.¹¹² Thomas then died before 1604, and the *Merchant* copy was unused until 1619, when the second quarto appeared as part of Pavier's collection. That edition has a false imprint, which may have been designed to avoid dealing with Lawrence Hayes, who in 1619 may or may not still have owned the copy through his father's entry. In July 1619, Lawrence Hayes, perhaps startled by the unexpected appearance of his play, re-registered *Merchant* in the Stationers' Register with an entry that acknowledges the familial inheritance.

Laurence Hayes Entred for his Copies by Consent of a full Court
theis two Copies following which were the Copies
of **Thomas Haies** his fathers
viz^d.

A play Called *The Marchant of Venice*,
And *the Ethiopian History*, xij^d ¹¹³

The mention of Thomas Hayes in this entry does not confirm an unbroken chain of ownership through inheritance, because the other book the entry identifies – *An Æthiopian Historie*, registered by Thomas Hayes in 1602 – passed to the bookseller William Cotton in 1604 before being acquired back by Lawrence Hayes in this entry.¹¹⁴ So Pavier may have considered *Merchant*

¹¹² Arber III.175.

¹¹³ Arber III.651.

¹¹⁴ Arber III.216; 262.

to be derelict; certainly that was Greg's view.¹¹⁵ However the entry quoted here shows there was no question that Hayes owned *Merchant* when the Folio negotiations began. The play appears ninth in the Comedies, and no disruptions during printing indicate problems over negotiations.¹¹⁶

Financial Circumstances

Hayes' entire publishing career consists of just two books: the first was a quarto of six sheets published in 1617 called *The Worming of a Mad Dogge*, and the second was a much later edition of *Merchant* in 1637.¹¹⁷ He may have been connected to the edition of *Merchant* published in 1619, but as described above the nature of his involvement is not clear. Hayes did not operate any real publishing business himself, which ruled him out of joining the Folio syndicate.

Social and Professional Links

No other evidence connects Hayes with any other copyright holder.

Matthew Law. Lessor. *Richard II*, *1 Henry IV*, *Richard III*.

Manuscript Evidence

Law owned three popular history plays, all of which he acquired from Andrew Wise in the same Stationers' Register entry of June 1603.¹¹⁸ As Erne has noted, the three manuscripts that Law owned 'formed the heart of the canon of [Shakespeare's] playbooks about English history'.¹¹⁹ These plays were hugely popular, and had collectively appeared in eighteen quarto editions before

¹¹⁵ Greg, *First Folio* 1955, 33.

¹¹⁶ Hinman II.422-38.

¹¹⁷ STC 18257, 22298.

¹¹⁸ Arber III.239.

¹¹⁹ Erne, *Book Trade* 168.

the Folio. That popularity may have led Law to drive a high price for his rights, because several problems during the Folio printing indicate negotiation difficulties. The order in which the history plays should have been printed in is shown on the left in the image below, while what actually happened because of negotiations with Law is shown on the right.¹²⁰

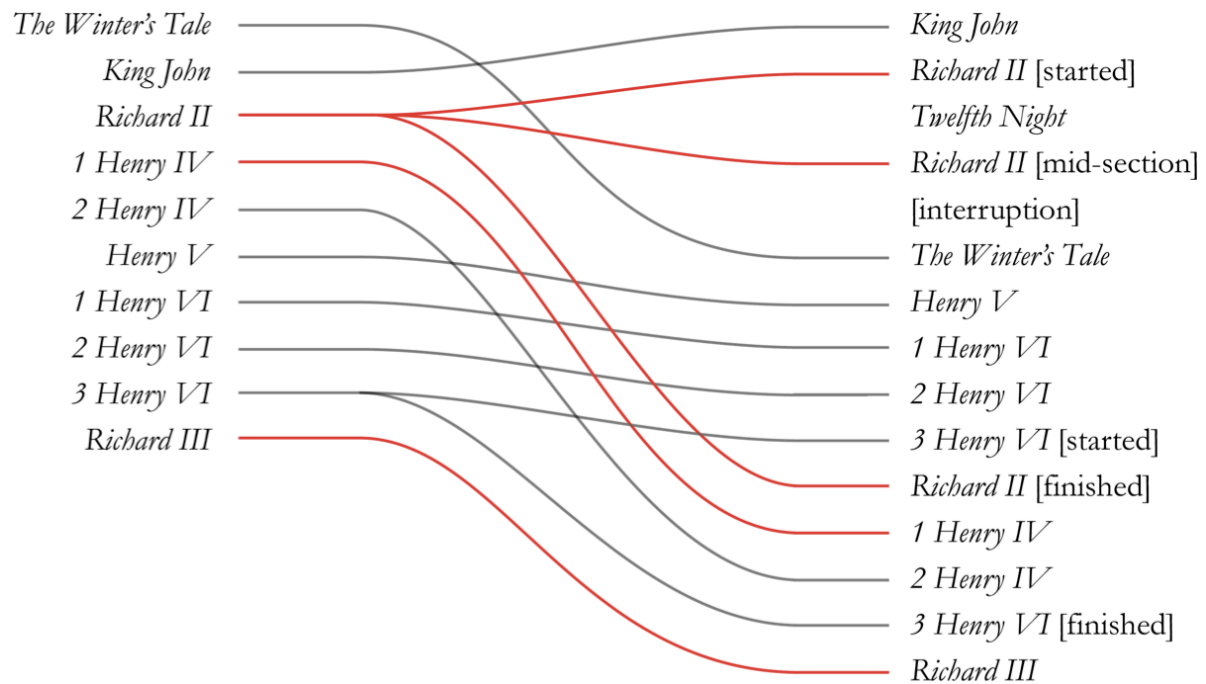


Fig. 1.14. The sequence in which Law's three manuscripts should have been printed in the First Folio (*left*) compared to the way they were printed. Though the problems look to have started with *Richard II*, in fact the delay was probably caused by negotiations over the rights to *1 Henry IV*, pages of which were printed on the same sheets as those that contained pages of *Richard II*. So the trouble over *1 Henry IV* affected the printing of *Richard II*, because Jaggard's workmen could not print the final sheets of *Richard II* without securing *1 Henry IV*.

According to Hinman, the interruptions to *Richard II* that are evident on the chart shown here were probably not connected to a problem with copyright for that play.¹²¹ After finishing *The Winter's Tale* the compositors did not move on, as they should have done, to printing *1* and *2 Henry IV*. Instead they left a space and printed four other history plays. Eventually the

¹²⁰ 'Normal order' for Folio printing, shown on the left of the image, should have followed the alphabetical sequence of its quires: Hinman, *Printing* I.84, 151.

¹²¹ Hinman, *Printing* II.521.

compositors returned to the gap they had left, and filled it with the end of *Richard II*, and all of *1* and *2 Henry IV*. The most likely explanation for this is that Law held out for the best deal possible for the manuscript of *1 Henry IV* (which was the most popular-selling Shakespearean quarto playbook, and so the most valuable commercial property) before agreeing to terms. This quirk of the negotiation process resulted in compositors having an extra leaf to fill, leaf *gg8, having poorly estimated the space they would have to leave for Law's manuscript of *1 Henry IV*. This leaf was filled with an epilogue and a list of characters for *2 Henry IV*: material that would not otherwise have been included in the Folio.

Financial Circumstances

Law's publishing business was smaller than any businesses owned by a Folio shareholder. As was the case with Arthur Johnson, Law's output was particularly low when the Folio negotiations began: he published nothing in either 1619 or 1620, and very little in 1621 (*see chart below*). This low output may indicate that Law was not in a position to invest in a new publishing venture.

Social and Professional Links

Law was involved in the 1603 edition of James I's *Basilikon Doron*, published by a group of fourteen stationers that also included Edward Blount, but he has no other strong links to copyright holders. One tenuous connection is that Law and Blount may have shared a mutual friend in the publisher John Bill. In October 1609 Law and Bill jointly acted as guarantors for the clergyman Ralph Barlow, while twelve years later in 1621 it was probably Bill whom Blount described as a close friend in a letter to William Trumbull.¹²² The relevant extract from Blount's letter reads: 'their meetings was att M^r Bills howse, wher, by y^e neernesse of friendship, I was

¹²² *Office of First Fruits 1604-13*: TNA E 334/14, 132v.

allowed to come my self and to bring .2. or 3. of my friends.¹²³ Finally, a workman of Law's, one William Garret, also moved to the business of John Bill at some point between 1621 and 1630.¹²⁴

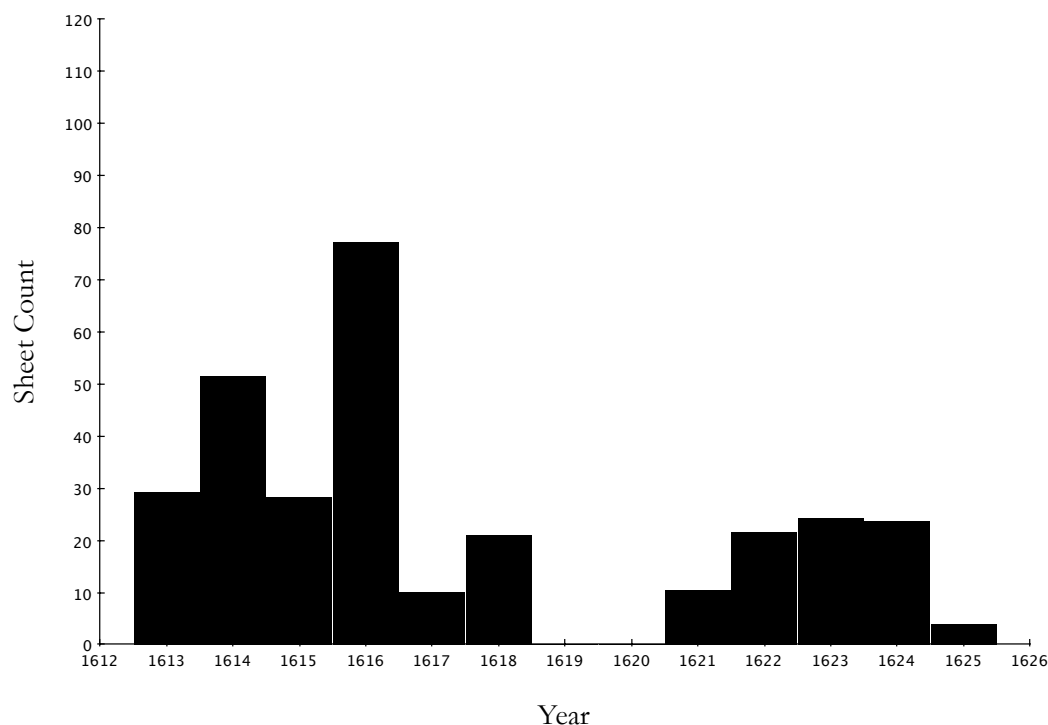


Fig. 1.15. The number of edition sheets published by Matthew Law between 1613 and 1625.

Thomas Pavier. Lessor. *Henry V*, 2 *Henry VI*, 3 *Henry VI*, [?] *Titus Andronicus*.

Manuscript Evidence

Pavier owned three history plays, and probably also *Titus Andronicus*. His ownership of the history plays is clear: *Henry V* was registered by Pavier in August 1600, while 2 and 3 *Henry VI* were both registered by him in April 1602.¹²⁵ Pavier also entered the manuscript of *Titus Andronicus* in April 1602, in an assignment from the stationer Thomas Millington. That entry looks like this:

¹²³ *Edward Blount to William Trumbull, 15 June 1621*: BL, MS Additional 72361, 69r.

¹²⁴ McKenzie, "Printer's Apprentices," 116.

¹²⁵ Arber III.169, 204.

Thomas pavier Entred for his copies by assignement from **Thomas millington** these bookes folowinge, *Salvo Jure cuiuscunque*

viz
A booke called *THOMAS of Reading*, vj^d
The first and Second parte of HENRY the VIJth ij bookes,
xij^d
A booke called *TITUS and ANDRONICUS*, vj^d ¹²⁶

W. W. Greg considered Millington's own claim 'very dubious', and believed that *Titus* was derelict by 1621.¹²⁷ Yet most scholars since Greg, including Jonathan Bate and more recently Lukas Erne, believe Millington's claim was perfectly valid, and so that Pavier's ownership was clear.¹²⁸ All four plays were printed without any problems that indicate difficulties over copyright.¹²⁹

Financial Context

Pavier's decision to sell or lease his manuscripts rather than join the syndicate was probably not related to the state of his business. The years from 1621 to 1625 were the most productive of his career, and roughly the same period saw him move rapidly through the ranks of the Stationers' Company. Pavier became a member of the Court of Assistants in 1619, Under-Warden in 1622 and a founder member of the ballad stock in 1624.¹³⁰ Looking at a chart of his output, it is clear that he was prosperous during the Folio negotiations. However, Pavier was involved with three other syndicates during the Folio negotiations. He was one of a consortium of six stationers who published *The Sermons of Master Samuel Hieron* in 1624/5 – a large folio of 150 sheets (this was a later edition of the collection of Samuel Hieron sermons that was discussed earlier in this

¹²⁶ Arber III.204.

¹²⁷ Greg, *First Folio* 1955, 62.

¹²⁸ Jonathan Bate ed., *Titus Andronicus* (London: Thomson Learning, 1995) 113n1. Erne, *Book Trade* 139–40. The two different views on the issue of Millington's claim are discussed by: Eugene Waith ed., *Titus Andronicus* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1984) 213–5.

¹²⁹ Hinman, *Printing* II.8, 14–41 (*Henry V*); II.52–72 (2 *Henry VI*); II.68–72, 108–17 (3 *Henry VI*); II.134–81, 188–207 (*Titus Andronicus*).

¹³⁰ Gerald Johnson, "Thomas Pavier, Publisher, 1600–25," *The Library* S6.14 (1992): 12–50, at 21–2, and 23–5.

chapter).¹³¹ At the same time he was one of six stationers who published *The Works of Ioseph Hall*, which again appeared in 1624/5, a folio of 360.5 sheets.¹³² Finally, by 1624 Pavier also led another syndicate of six stationers who collectively financed and distributed ballads.¹³³ If these projects overlapped with the Folio then Pavier may have chosen not to join the syndicate because he was simply too busy – though that theory presupposes knowledge of how much work Pavier could handle.

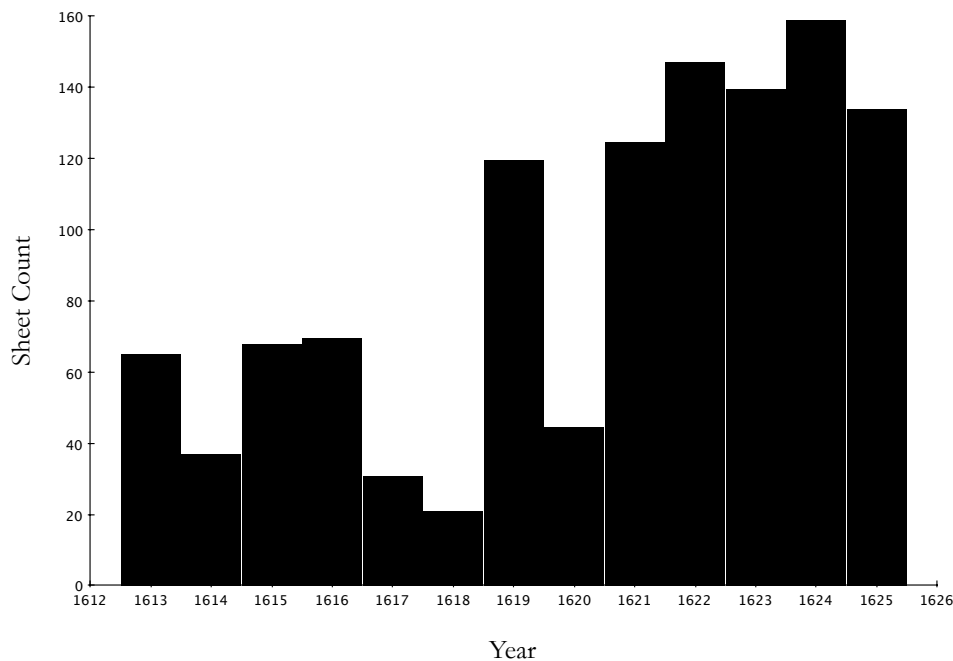


Fig. 1.16. The edition sheets published by Thomas Pavier between 1613 and 1625.

Social and Professional Links

Pavier's working relationships also fail to explain why he did not join the syndicate. Pavier had a particularly strong relationship with William Jaggard in both a professional and a personal context. The two collaborated on eighteen editions, twelve of them playbooks. These twelve included the

¹³¹ Samuel Hieron, *The Sermons of Master Samuel Hieron* (1624-5, STC 13381).

¹³² John Hall, *The Works of Ioseph Hall* (1624-5, STC 12635). On this edition see Johnson, *Pavier* 40-2, 48-9.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, 23-5.

collection of ten Pavier Quartos published in 1619 (among them plays owned by Folio stationers Nathaniel Butter, Arthur Johnson, and Lawrence Hayes). As described above, the imprint of Johnson's play is accurate, implying he may have been involved in the publication, but that of Hayes (*Merchant*) is completely false, while that of Butter (*King Lear*) is half correct in that it names Butter but gives a false date. William Jaggard left his 'very good freinde' Pavier twenty shillings in his will and made him an overseer of his estate.¹³⁴ New evidence that confirms a friendship between the two stationers is that Pavier was a guarantor for William's orphaned son after Jaggard's death: in March 1624 Pavier stood as surety in the Court of Orphans for Thomas Jaggard.¹³⁵ Pavier's career also shows the following links to Folio manuscript owners:

- i.) In 1620, Pavier collaborated with William Aspley to publish an edition of a popular religious manual by John Norden, *The Pensive Mans Practice*. Pavier financed the first part (twelve sheets), and Aspley financed the second and third parts (fourteen sheets).¹³⁶
- ii.) Pavier owned the rights to a popular sermon by the preacher Henry Smith – *Gods Arrow Against Atheists*. John Smethwick owned three more sermons by Smith, and a collected volume featuring sermons owned by both stationers was published five times during Pavier and Smethwick's lifetimes.¹³⁷
- iii.) In 1608 Pavier co-published an edition of Thomas Heywood's *If You Know Not Me You Know Nobody* with Nathaniel Butter, who owned the manuscript right to that play as well as that of *King Lear*. The two issues of the co-published 1608 edition of *If You Know* appeared with separate imprints. Pavier published a second edition of Butter's copy of *If You Know* in 1610.¹³⁸
- iv.) In 1612 Pavier published and sold a short biography of a Puritan woman, *The Christian Life and Death of Mistris Katherin Brettergh*. The text of that book was also included in a funeral sermon that was published in two editions in 1612 by Arthur Johnson, owner of the copy to *Merry Wives*.¹³⁹

¹³⁴ *Will of William Jaggard*: LMA DL/AL/C/003/MS09052/005.

¹³⁵ *Court of Orphans Recognizances*, 261v.

¹³⁶ John Norden, *A Pensive Mans Practise* (1620, STC 18623). Aspley's sheets were taken from an earlier edition he had published in 1616 (STC 18626a.6). These older sheets were combined with Pavier's new printing. The 1620 edition of Norden's work is confusing. The STC entry records an imprint with a date of 1640, yet indexes the book under Pavier's entries for 1620. The 1640 reading, which is also the date given by the ESTC for this edition, seems to be a mistake. The Bodleian Library's copy (shelfmark: (OC) 1 g.116(1)) is dated 1620.

¹³⁷ Henry Smith, *The Sermons of Master Henry Smith* (1609-22, STC 22727-31).

¹³⁸ Thomas Heywood, *If You Know Not Me, You Know No Bodie* (1608, STC 13330-a and 1610, STC 13331).

¹³⁹ *The Christian Life and Death of Mistris Katherin Brettergh* (1612, STC 12864); William Harrison, *Deaths Aduantage Little Regarded* (1612, STC 12868-a).

Pavier had many connections to the Folio project, and it is a mystery why he did not join the syndicate. A possible social factor has not previously been considered: perhaps Pavier's exclusion from the syndicate was necessary to win over the three stationers – Arthur Johnson, Lawrence Hayes, and Nathaniel Butter – whose manuscripts Pavier had printed, perhaps illegally, in 1619.

Nathaniel Butter. Lessor. *King Lear*.

Manuscript Evidence

Butter registered the manuscript of *King Lear* jointly with John Busby in November 1607.¹⁴⁰ His ownership of it is clear, and no problems in the printing of the Folio text indicate copyright difficulties. Busby was buried in April 1613, and there is no entry in the Stationers' Register recording the transfer of his share, so by the early 1620s Butter was the only active stationer with rights to the manuscript of *Lear*.¹⁴¹

Financial Situation

After a drastic fall in productivity in 1619, Butter's output increased steadily from 1620 to 1623. This increased output means that financial circumstances do not look a likely reason that Butter did not join the syndicate. A major part of his activity from 1621 was publishing newsbooks and corantos: from 1621 to 1624 Butter formed a consortium with three other stationers who financed weekly updates of European events.¹⁴² It may be that a demanding schedule of correspondence, translation, copywriting, editing and printing kept Butter from joining the Folio syndicate.

¹⁴⁰ Arber III.366.

¹⁴¹ Gerald Johnson, "John Busby and the Stationers' Trade, 1590-1621," *The Library* S6.7.1 (1985): 1-15, at 4.

¹⁴² Leona Rostenberg, "Nathaniel Butter and Nicholas Bourne, First 'Masters of the Staple'," *The Library* S5.12 (1957): 23-33.

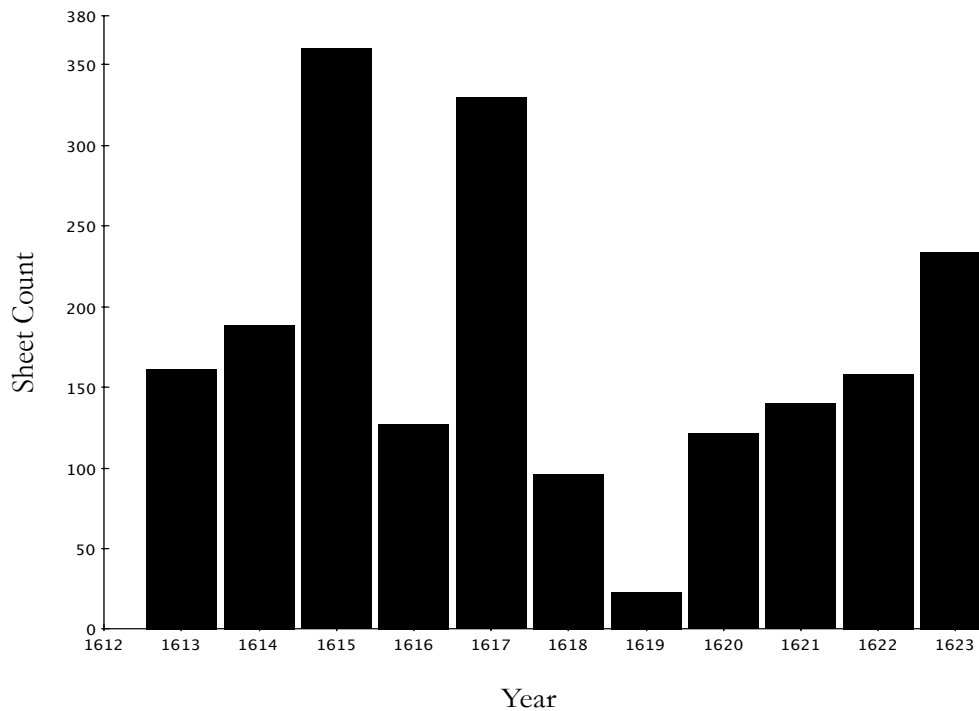


Fig. 1.17. The edition sheets published by Nathaniel Butter between 1613 and 1623.

Social and Professional Links

The Pavier Quartos included an edition of *King Lear* with an imprint that reads ‘Printed for Nathaniel Butter. 1608.’¹⁴³ This imprint, being half accurate in giving Butter’s name as the owner of the *Lear* manuscript, may indicate collaboration between Pavier, Jaggard, and Butter. Thomas Pavier had also collaborated with Nathaniel Butter on the editions of *If You Know Not Me* that have been mentioned above; Pavier and Butter were to collaborate again in 1624 to 1625, when both were part of the consortium that produced the *Works* of Bishop Joseph Hall. Other links in Butter’s career include:

- i.) Butter employed William Jaggard as a printer several times from 1605 to 1616. The largest of these projects was George Chapman’s translation of Homer – a ninety-seven sheet folio published in 1615, of which Jaggard printed forty-six sheets.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴³ William Shakespeare, *M. William Shake-speare, his True Chronicle History of the Life and Death of King Lear* (1619, STC 22293).

¹⁴⁴ Homer, *Homer’s Odysseus* (1615, STC 13637).

- ii.) Butter is one of the twenty stationers with his own named section in Jaggard's 1618 *Catalogue of Such English Bookes*, which would have entailed communication with Jaggard.¹⁴⁵
- iii.) Butter collaborated with Aspley in 1614 on the production of John Bond's *Auli Persii Flacci Satyrae Sex*, which has been mentioned above.

Thomas Walkley. Lessor. *Othello*.

Manuscript Evidence

Walkley entered *Othello* in the Stationers' Register in October 1621 and published the first quarto edition in 1622.¹⁴⁶ The entrance and publication of *Othello* seem likely to be connected to the Folio project. *Othello* was the only new Shakespeare play to be registered following a letter of 1619, which was written by William Herbert in his capacity as the Lord Chamberlain, that blocked any plays that 'his Ma^{ties} players do play' from publication.¹⁴⁷ Given the ban imposed by this letter, it seems strange that Walkley was allowed to print his manuscript of *Othello* – critics have suggested the King's Men theatre company allowed Walkley the right to print *Othello* on condition that it was also included in the Folio.¹⁴⁸ There is nothing about the printing of *Othello* for the Folio that indicates any problems with the copyright.

Financial Situation

Having taken up his freedom in 1618, Walkley was inexperienced and under-financed during the Folio negotiations: lack of investment experience is a likely reason Walkley was not part of the Folio syndicate. As Honigmann has shown, Walkley also owed debts to several printers during his early career: a series of lawsuits that related to these debts began in 1620, and in 1621 to 1622

¹⁴⁵ Jaggard, *Catalogue* A3r.

¹⁴⁶ Arber IV.59; William Shakespeare, *The Tragedy of Othello* (1622, STC 22305).

¹⁴⁷ William Jackson ed., *Records of the Court of the stationers Company: 1602-1640* (London: The Bibliographical Society, 1957) 110. For discussion see Greg, *First Folio* 1955, 15-16, 24-6.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 67, 69, 357; Michael Neill ed., *Othello* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2006) 407-8. Though cf E. A. J. Honigmann, *The Texts of Othello and Shakespearean Revision* (London: Routledge, 1996) 25-7, 30-1.

Walkley was ‘in serious trouble and was trying to survive by juggling with his commitments’.¹⁴⁹

His legal and financial difficulties, together with the impression that gives of his reputation within the book trade, seem likely reasons he did not join with the others as a shareholder.

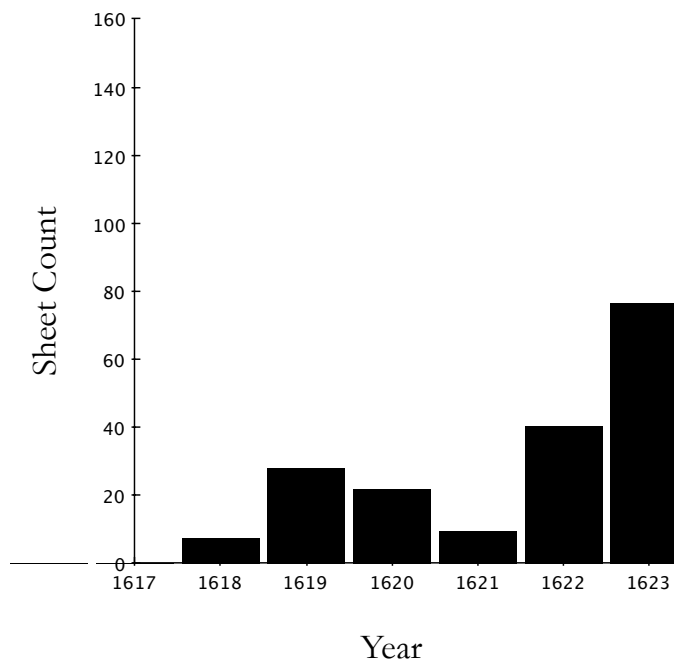


Fig. 1.18. Edition sheets produced by Thomas Walkley between 1618 and 1623.

Social and Professional Links

Walkley has just one link to a Folio copyright holder, and it is to Edward Blount. In 1619 Walkley published the first edition of Beaumont’s play *A King and No King*.¹⁵⁰ That manuscript was first registered with the Stationers’ Company by Edward Blount on 7 August 1618.¹⁵¹ No sale between Blount and Walkley is recorded in the Stationers’ Register and so presumably they came to a private arrangement. The 1619 edition of *A King and No King* seems perfectly legal: it has an accurate author attribution and a signed dedication from Walkley to Sir Henry Nevill in which

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 24.

¹⁵⁰ Francis Beaumont, *A King and No King* (1619, STC 1670).

¹⁵¹ Arber III.631.

Walkley refers to the provenance of his manuscript.¹⁵² Walkley also published a second edition in 1625.

Edward Blount. Shareholder. *Anthony and Cleopatra*.

Manuscript Evidence

Blount had the most marginal connection to the Shakespeare canon of all the shareholders. He owned *Anthony and Cleopatra*, having registered the manuscript with the Stationers' Company in 1608.¹⁵³ On the same day he registered *Pericles*, but seemingly sold that text through a private arrangement to the publisher Henry Gosson who financed two editions of it in 1609. A third quarto edition of *Pericles* appeared in 1611, printed and published by Simon Stafford, and a fourth in 1619, printed 'for T. P. 1619' as one of the Pavier Quartos. Who owned *Pericles* during the Folio negotiations is unclear: Blount's is the only official registration, but Pavier's was the most recent edition, and Gosson and Stafford may each have had some claim. It seems likely that during 1621-3 Blount owned only *Anthony and Cleopatra*, the printing of which indicates no problems over copyright.¹⁵⁴ Peter Blayney has noted that as the November 1623 entry in the Stationers' Register of Shakespeare's 'unregistered' plays includes 'Anthonie & Cleopatra' (*see illustration on p. 70*), Blount seems to have forgotten that he owned this manuscript at all.¹⁵⁵

Financial Situation

Blount's financial situation during the Folio negotiations is discussed further in chapter five. The chart below shows that his output was reduced between 1615 and 1619, began to recover in 1620 and 1622 to 1623, before collapsing again from 1624 to 1628. As chapter five explains, during

¹⁵² Beaumont, *King* A2v.

¹⁵³ Arber III.378.

¹⁵⁴ Hinman, *Printing* II.303-16.

¹⁵⁵ Blayney, *First Folio* 1991 20-1.

these years Blount was involved in a protracted and costly series of court cases in London and Shropshire, in which he sought to recover a large debt of £1,800 from his brother-in-law. These court cases combined with his erratic publishing output caution the conventional view that Blount was the major financier of the First Folio.

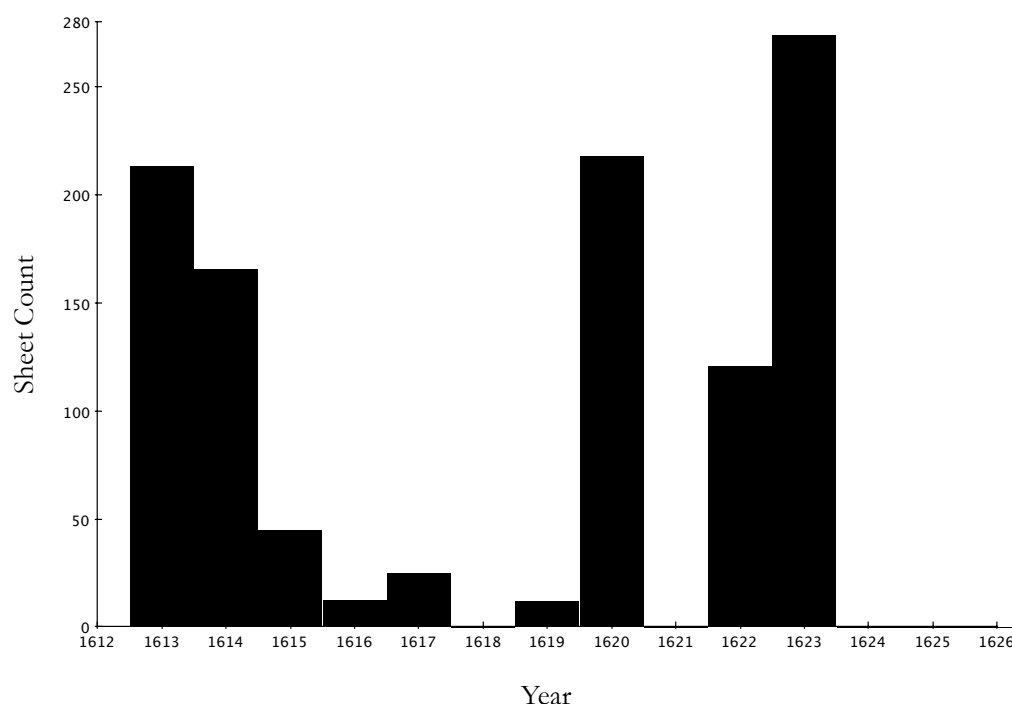


Fig. 1.19. Edition sheets published by Edward Blount between 1613 and 1626.

Social and Professional Links

Blount was a well-connected stationer who has featured several times already in this section through his links to William Aspley, Arthur Johnson, and Matthew Law. In addition to these links, Blount has a link to William Jaggard. In 1614 Blount collaborated with Jaggard to produce a collected edition of the Puritan Edward Dering's *Workes*.¹⁵⁶ Through the printer James Roberts,

¹⁵⁶ Edward Dering, *M. Derings Workes* (1614, STC 6678).

who had previously owned the Half Eagle and Key business, Jaggard owned the rights to two titles of Dering's that were included in this *Workes* collection, both of which titles Jaggard printed.

Henry Walley. Lessor. *Troilus and Cressida*.

Manuscript Evidence

Walley entered the manuscript of *Troilus and Cressida* in the Stationers' Register with his partner Richard Bonian in January 1609.¹⁵⁷ The first edition appeared in that year in quarto, in two different states.¹⁵⁸ When it came to the Folio, the text of *Troilus and Cressida* caused serious problems. It is assumed that Walley learned the Folio printing was underway and demanded his play be withheld, perhaps because the edition he and Bonian had financed in 1609 had not yet sold out. If this is true, then the Folio syndicate did not wait for permission from the copyright holders before starting to print, because, as discussed at the start of this chapter, the first three Folio pages of *Troilus* had been printed before Walley intervened. The most likely reason that Walley was eventually won over is an entry in the Stationers' Register which records that the printer James Roberts had provisionally registered *Troilus* before Walley in 1603. That entry, which may have been rediscovered by the Folio syndicate in the final stages of their project, reads:

master Robertes Entred for his copie in full Court holden this day
to print when he hath gotten sufficient authority
for yt, The booke of 'TROILUS and CRESSEDA' as yt
is acted by my lord Chamberlens Men, vj^d¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁷ Arber III.400.

¹⁵⁸ William Shakespeare, *The Historie of Troylus and Cresseida* (1609, STC 22331-2).

¹⁵⁹ Arber III.226.

As William Jaggard had succeeded to James Roberts' printing business, he may therefore have had some claim to the text of *Troilus and Cressida*, and scholars have suggested that Isaac Jaggard used Roberts' entry as leverage to strike a deal with Walley.¹⁶⁰

Financial Situation

Walley published ten editions between 1609 and 1610, all in partnership with Richard Bonian, but nothing after that.

Social and Professional Links

Walley's limited career contains no links to the other Folio copyright holders. One piece of information is relevant here: in January 1609 Walley registered Ben Jonson's play, *The Case is Altered* with his partner Richard Bonian. The pair re-registered the same play in July 1609 with a third partner, Bartholomew Sutton.¹⁶¹ The play was published in its first quarto edition in 1609, but was withheld from the Jonson folio of 1616. By that time both Bonian and Sutton were dead or inactive, meaning their shares would probably have passed to their descendants. So by 1616, Walley was the only active stationer with rights to *The Case is Altered*, making it likely that his was the decision to abstain from William Stansby's folio. There is thus a precedent for the difficulties Walley created for the Folio syndicate.

Thomas Dewe. *King John*.

Manuscript Evidence

The stationer Thomas Dewe had no direct claim to the manuscript of Shakespeare's *King John*, and in fact the play was never entered in the Stationers' Register. But in 1622 Dewe did publish

¹⁶⁰ Blayney, *First Folio* 1991, 21.

¹⁶¹ Arber III.400, 416.

the third edition of a related and anonymous play, *The Troublesome Raigne of Iohn King of England*.¹⁶² The previous edition of this play had been published by the stationer John Helme in 1611, and to the title page Helme added an ambiguous (and fraudulent) Shakespearean attribution: 'Written by W. Sh.' In 1622, Dewe made this attribution explicit. The title page of the third quarto reads: 'Written by W. SHAKESPEARE.' By adding an explicit attribution to his edition, Dewe clearly linked *The Troublesome Raigne* to the genuinely Shakespearean play *King John*. This meant Dewe could legitimately complain that the Folio might reduce sales of his own quarto. The two plays were already linked textually and thematically; Dewe's attribution linked them by author.¹⁶³ In the eyes of the Stationers' Company, these two texts were similar enough – in title, subject matter, and perhaps also because of the authorial attribution – that they were considered to be one 'work' within the company's early copyright regulation, which was set up to protect the investment of publishers. Probably therefore the syndicate did have to reach terms with Dewe, and probably this was a one-off payment. It is unlikely Dewe would ever have been considered for a shareholder's place.

The authentically Shakespearean *King John* manuscript was probably derelict in 1621 to 1623. Greg thought that *Troublesome Raigne* was treated as the same manuscript as *King John* by the Folio consortium, meaning that talks with Dewe gave the Folio group the rights to print a loose 'King John' textual entity, under which rubric the consortium included Shakespeare's play, which they then did not bother to register.¹⁶⁴ However the play's most recent editor takes issue with Greg, and argues that more evidence is needed to reach any reasonable conclusion.¹⁶⁵ During the

¹⁶² *The First and Second Part of the Troublesome Raigne of Iohn King of England* (1622, STC 14647).

¹⁶³ For the relationship between these plays, see: A. R. Braunmuller ed., *King John* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1989) 1-24.

¹⁶⁴ Greg, *First Folio* 1955, 50-1.

¹⁶⁵ Braunmuller, *King John* 19-20.

Folio printing there was a delay before work on *King John* started, but Hinman did not connect that delay to any copyright issues.¹⁶⁶

Financial Situation

Dewe was made free of the Stationers' Company in March 1621, and was only active until 1625. His production during this time, though regular, is irrelevant next to his lack of ownership of a Shakespeare manuscript.

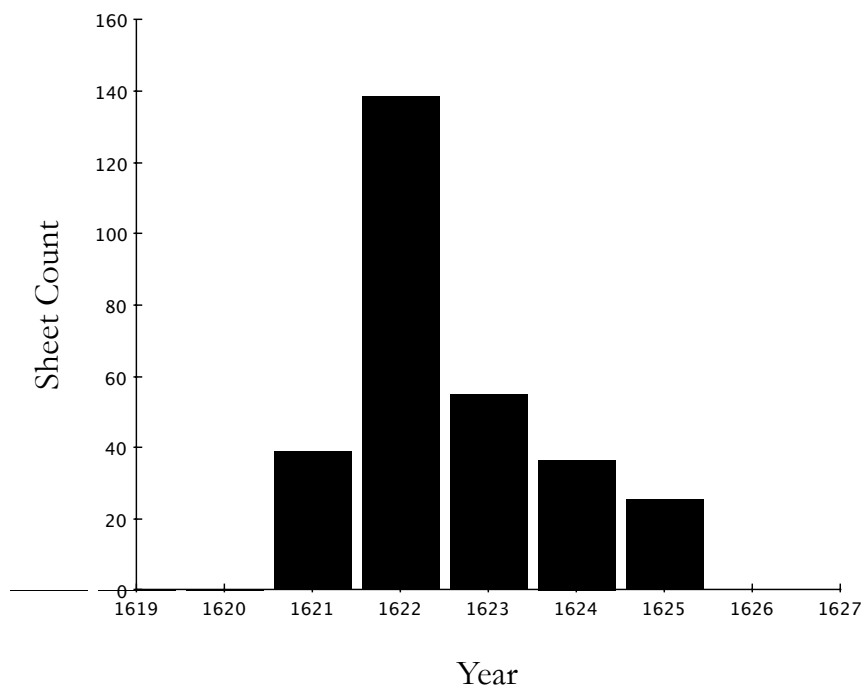


Fig. 1.20. The edition sheets financed by Thomas Dewe during his entire career.

Social and Professional Links

Dewe's career contains just one link to the Folio group: in 1622 William Jaggard printed for Dewe an edition of a short religious book by the clergyman Daniel Tuvill.¹⁶⁷

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¹⁶⁶ Hinman, *Printing* II.473.

¹⁶⁷ Daniel Tuvill, *Christian Purposes and Resolutions* (1622, STC 24393.7).

Conclusions

With twelve stationers involved, there are inevitably many unanswered questions about the negotiation process for Shakespeare's Folio, but some conclusions are clear. No single overriding factor determined whether or not a stationer became part of the Folio syndicate. As with Jonson's folio of 1616, straightforward ownership of material was not enough: Thomas Pavier and Matthew Law both owned more copy than either William Aspley or Edward Blount. Economic circumstances provide a likely reason why Arthur Johnson, Laurence Hayes, Matthew Law, and Thomas Walkley were not involved in the syndicate; but again, counting edition sheets provides no magic key: Pavier and Nathaniel Butter were both consistently more productive than other syndicate members, while the financial situation of Edward Blount was complicated by his activities beyond the book trade.

Each of the four major shareholders was more than twenty years into his career, and looking at the investment strategies of this group shows that each was interested in financing physically large books. The professional experience of the shareholders is one consistent factor, compared with the inexperience of most of those who became lessors. The standing of the shareholders within the book trade also meant they had accumulated significant social and professional credit among their peers. Most of this credit is intangible to modern scholars, yet it was probably a powerful factor in the way the syndicate formed. The links presented here show that both William Jaggard and Edward Blount were known to many of the copyright holders, which suggests that it was these two stationers who oversaw the negotiations.

The most mysterious feature of the Folio syndicate is the absence of Thomas Pavier. He owned four manuscripts, can be linked to William Jaggard, Aspley, and Smethwick, and was clearly interested in publishing Shakespeare as his collection of 1619 shows. He was also financially secure during the project. Two suggestions for his absence were mentioned above. One is that his workload, combined with the logistics of operating three other syndicates, meant

he had reached the limits of his publishing capacity. A second is that Pavier may have been a divisive figure during negotiations with those stationers whose copy he had used in 1619. Perhaps the price of obtaining *The Merchant of Venice*, *King Lear*, and *The Merry Wives of Windsor* was that Pavier not be directly involved.

CHAPTER TWO

Structures of Authority in Print: William Jaggard as a Publisher of Reference Books

it is enough for me, that I haue satisfied my selfe in it, that M. *Yorke* may vnderstand, it touches a Printer as much to maintaine his reputation in the Art he liues by, as a Herald in his Profession, and that if any affront be done me in that kinde, I shall be euer as sensible of it, as hee would be of the like...¹

~ William Jaggard, 1622

An early example of one of the many disparaging critiques that have since been levelled at the workmanship of William Jaggard was made by the author and herald Ralph Brooke. In 1622, Brooke publicly blamed Jaggard for a series of mistakes in Brooke's own book of heraldry, prompting the response quoted above. Jaggard had committed diverse errors, according to Brooke, who levelled this accusation on the title page of his second edition and repeated it in a preface; Jaggard had misread copy and been careless as soon as Brooke was not attendant on the press.² Stung, Jaggard issued a detailed five-folio-page rebuttal (printed in the same type used for Shakespeare's Folio) that contained printed marginal references to historical sources that Brooke had misread, quotations from Brooke's text with factual errors exposed, and most damning of all a promise to show Brooke's original manuscript to any doubting reader. Jaggard then published

¹ Augustine Vincent, *A Discouerie of Errours* (1622, STC 24756) ¶7r.

² Ralph Brooke, *A Catalogue and Succession of the Kings* (1622, STC 3833) [A2r], [A4r].

two subsequent folios of heraldic history, licenced by the Earl Marshal of England, that superseded Brooke's work as the trusted authorities in the field.³

The exchange with Brooke implicated Jaggard in the systems of credit that could give books authority in two senses. The first is practical: good workmanship was vital to reproduce accurately a manuscript, and a printing house could generate a reputation for its competence that affected its business. A reputation for good workmanship was why in 1637 John Downname praised the 'diligence' of the Cambridge printer Thomas Buck, and reserved for Buck's perusal a manuscript of Downname's brother's: 'we gave a great opinion of the sufficiencie & faithfull dilligence of m^r Bucke your printer, unto whom when [the manuscript] is licensed we intend to comitt it.'⁴ In a different context, two years later Sir John Lambe endorsed the application of the London printer Thomas Brudenell to become a master printer by describing Brudenell's reputation as 'a very good workeman'. Lambe wrote to Archbishop Laud that Brudenell 'is counted an honest able man, & a very good workeman, And (w^{ch} I commend in him), hath not adventured, since y^e decree (y^t he was left out) to print by connivancy, as some others have done.'⁵ Both Downname and Lambe vouched for the quality of workmanship of the printer in question, which is partly what Jaggard defended in 1622. But there was another element of Jaggard's reputation at stake. When Jaggard used the term reputation, and later in the same preface defended his public 'credit', he was writing not only about his ability to reproduce manuscript copy accurately, but also of his authority and judgment as a publisher. Jaggard had financed Brooke's work as well as printing it, which meant Jaggard had endorsed its contents. By 1622, Jaggard had spent many years publishing books that recorded, documented, and inscribed

³ Vincent, *Discoverie*; Andre Favyn, *The Theater of Honour and Knight-Hood* (1623, STC 10717).

⁴ *John Downname to Samuel Ward*, 5 April 1637: Bodleian MS Tanner 67, 3r. The manuscript referred to was probably that from which STC 7117 was set.

⁵ *Thomas Brudenell to Archbishop William Laud*, 26 November 1638: Bodleian MS Tanner 67, 46r. Lambe's endorsement is dated 26 August 1639.

knowledge in various subjects – forms of reference work in which both printing accuracy and publishing judgment were vital. This chapter takes Jaggard as its first case study of the Folio syndicate and argues that by consistently publishing books that were trusted sources of knowledge, Jaggard himself became a trusted source whose name was imbued with substantial reputational credit, which in turn transferred onto Shakespeare.

Since the eighteenth century Jaggard has traditionally been regarded as a ‘piratical printer’, a liar and a thief who produced suspect work. That reputation has affected histories of Shakespeare’s Folio – it makes Jaggard’s involvement in a book sanctioned by the King’s Men hard to explain; it is usually said to be an unfortunate consequence of there being not many printing houses in London that were capable of handling a project the size of the First Folio.⁶ The first section of this chapter shows that Jaggard’s current critical reputation is a fallacy that was constructed using eighteenth-century ideas about authorship and intellectual property that are no longer relevant. After sections on Jaggard’s early life and apprenticeship that show he was trained to produce reference work by the stationer Henry Denham, the chapter examines his publishing, not his printing. Jaggard’s list of published books comprises just seventy titles from the more than 250 items he produced overall; they reveal a clear strategy of investment in factual and authoritative forms of writing, such as dictionaries, histories, manuals, and science books. This chapter argues that the consistency of Jaggard’s investment in reference work gave him a reputation for probity and epistemological security. Early modern readers were sensitive to the various mechanisms that could affect the integrity of information in conception and transmission; stationers and their reputations became part of the systems of credit that gave printed books authority.

⁶ W. W. Greg, *The Shakespeare First Folio* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955) 8-10; David Scott Kastan, *Shakespeare and the Book* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2001) 55-60; *Shakespeare After Theory* (London: Routledge, 2005) 75.

Jaggard is best known as a printer, but most of the work he printed for other members of the Stationers' Company did not feature his imprint or publishing device, and so cannot have contributed a great deal to his public reputation. An exception to this is the work he printed for the City of London corporation, which almost always featured Jaggard's name in a prominent location. When Jaggard was made the official City Printer in December 1610, he became the mouthpiece of local government, responsible for producing edicts, acts, bills, and all manner of regulatory and administrative ephemera that controlled civic life. The City Printer's role has traditionally been seen as unimportant because not much material survives to show what work was involved, but new evidence provided by this chapter shows that being the City Printer was a busy trade position that would have covered London with papers that featured Jaggard's imprint. The City Printer role was another area of Jaggard's work where values of accuracy and authenticity were crucial. The documents he produced were in some cases legislative, and his accuracy was vital. So to analyse Jaggard's contemporary reputation, this chapter concentrates on both his publishing and his work as City Printer, because these two facets best represent his personal interests and public persona. Both Jaggard's publishing and his City Printing embodied structures of authority – of knowledge, and of civic government – that eventually transferred onto Shakespeare's Folio.

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Love Poems and False Imprints: Why Jaggard Was No Pirate

The Passionate Pilgrim

the infamous pirate, liar, and thief who published a worthless little volume of stolen and mutilated poetry, patched up and padded out with dirty and dreary doggrel, under the senseless and preposterous title of *The Passionate Pilgrim* ⁷

Here is Algernon Swinburne's verdict on Jaggard, written in the late nineteenth century. Versions of this still circulate today. The current Arden edition of Shakespeare's sonnets, edited by Katherine Duncan-Jones and republished in a revised edition in 2010, described Jaggard's 'piratical publishing' and called his edition of *The Passionate Pilgrim* 'outrageously piratical and misleading'.⁸ Duncan-Jones' biography of Shakespeare also described Jaggard as 'an adventurous pirate', and in other areas, too, this view is supported: the digital database *Early English Books Online* introduces its users to two scanned microfilm copies of *The Passionate Pilgrim* by noting that the book is 'a pirated miscellany'.⁹ The most recent critical assessment of Jaggard used moral and juridical language to conclude that he was involved in culpable deception by printing *The Passionate Pilgrim*, that he was 'shamed' and 'intimidated' into changing his publishing tactics, and that ultimately, 'Despite Ling's and Heywood's best efforts, [Jaggard] corrupted the subsequent printing of Shakespeare's collected poetry'.¹⁰ Recently, another strand of criticism has questioned

⁷ Algernon Charles Swinbourne, *Studies in Prose and Poetry* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1894) 90. *The Passionate Pilgrim* was published by Jaggard in three editions between 1598/9-1612 (STC 22341.5-22343).

⁸ Katherine Duncan-Jones ed., *Shakespeare's Sonnets*, 2nd rev. ed. (London: Methuen, 2010), 40, 334.

⁹ Katherine Duncan-Jones, *Shakespeare: An Ungentle Life* (London: Methuen, 2010) 247; EEBO reel nos: STC / 470:05 and / 1334:18.

¹⁰ James Bednarz, 'Canonizing Shakespeare: *The Passionate Pilgrim*, *England's Helicon*, and the Question of Authenticity,' *Shakespeare Survey* 60 (2007): 265, 266. Nicholas Ling was the stationer who, following Jaggard's publication of *The Passionate Pilgrim*, republished four of Shakespeare's sonnets with a correct attribution in the miscellany *Englands Helicon* (1600, STC 3191). Thomas Heywood's involvement is discussed below.

this view of Jaggard, sometimes using the same evidence that has been used to prosecute him.¹¹

This new perspective has pointed out the difficulty of recreating the conceptual frameworks of authorship and intellectual property that make appropriate moral judgment of Jaggard's actions possible.¹² However the traditional view of Jaggard as a pirate prevails, in part because Jaggard has become important to a much larger understanding of the hostile relationship between art and industry. Creative authors and mercantile stationers are often put at different ends of a moral-cultural spectrum, particularly in histories of Shakespeare's books, in which stationers are sometimes portrayed as 'merchants in the temple', to use a phrase from the French cultural theorist Pierre Bourdieu.

The starting point for understanding how Jaggard's bad reputation began is Richard Farmer's 1767 *Essay on the Learning of Shakespeare*.¹³ Farmer's essay was the first published discovery of a crucial piece of evidence in the case against Jaggard: an epistle written by Thomas Heywood that was addressed to the printer Nicholas Okes (see below). The epistle complained that Jaggard had taken some of Heywood's poetry from the work *Troia Britannica*, published by Jaggard in 1609, and republished it under Shakespeare's name in the 1612 edition of *The Passionate Pilgrim*.¹⁴ The facts of this are as follows. *The Passionate Pilgrim*, an octavo of miscellaneous love poetry, appeared in three editions that we know of. The first of these (the first octavo – known as

¹¹ Bednarz's evidence for saying that Jaggard was 'shamed' and 'intimidated' is the two variant title pages of *The Passionate Pilgrim*, which are discussed below, but Colin Burrow has used the same evidence to argue that Jaggard was responding efficiently and competently to market forces with no sense of wrongdoing: Colin Burrow ed., *The Complete Sonnets and Poems* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2002) 79n1.

¹² Max Thomas, "Eschewing Credit: Heywood, Shakespeare, and Plagiarism Before Copyright", *New Literary History* 31.2 (2000): 277-93; Burrow, *Complete Sonnets* 74-82.

¹³ Richard Farmer, *An Essay on the Learning of Shakespeare* (Cambridge, 1767).

¹⁴ Heywood named two specific epistles in his dedication, but Jaggard removed nine poems in total. All came from Heywood's *Troia Britanica* (1609, STC 13366), where they occupy V1r-X3r, X5r-Y4v, Z5r-v, 2B6v-2C1v, N1r-v, H3v-5v, and 2E2v-2E3r. The poems were re-ordered for publication in *The Passionate Pilgrim*, which may reflect conscious editorial work on Jaggard's part. The literature on *The Passionate Pilgrim* is extensive. For a summary see: Arthur Marotti, "Shakespeare's Sonnets as Literary Property", in Elizabeth Harvey and Katherine Maus eds., *Soliciting Interpretation: Literary Theory and Seventeenth-Century English Poetry* (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1990) 143-73. For a recent account, see: Sasha Roberts, *Reading Shakespeare's Poems in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2003) 143-90.

‘O1’) was printed in either 1598 or 1599, but only eleven internal leaves (from a total of twenty-eight) survive. At some early point, these leaves were bound with several other leaves from the second edition (O2) to make a complete copy, and that volume is now in the Folger Library.¹⁵ The title page is one of the lost leaves, so we do not know how O1 was marketed or if it was attributed to Shakespeare, but the title page design was probably the same as that used for O2, which appeared in 1599. Two complete copies of the second edition survive, showing that the edition contained twenty poems. Current scholarship attributes five of these poems to Shakespeare; of the remaining fifteen, four have been confidently attributed to other authors, and eleven are of unknown authorship. Some scholars have argued three of these eleven uncertain poems are also by Shakespeare.¹⁶ So *The Passionate Pilgrim* is a miscellany, with certainly five and possibly eight poems by Shakespeare, and the rest by various authors. Despite this the title page of O2 named Shakespeare as the author of the book – though the edition also contained an internal title page, which precedes the final six poems and has no authorial attribution (these two title pages are shown below). The intent of that second title page is ambiguous. To take a view that is sympathetic to Jaggard’s intentions, the second title page provides evidence that he attributed the first fourteen poems to Shakespeare and partitioned off the final six; a practical theory would be that Jaggard cast off his copy poorly and needed to fill a leaf. The imprints to both title pages were printed from the same setting of type (*see illustration below*), which may indicate the internal title page was planned from the start. If so, this would strengthen the idea that the internal title page was planned from the start to separate the final six poems, rather than created as a practical necessity halfway through the printing.

Neither O1 nor O2 apparently disturbed Heywood or Shakespeare. There is no record that these two octavo editions passed as anything other than one of many dozens of cheap

¹⁵ The copy has the shelfmark: Folger Library, STC 22341.8.

¹⁶ C. H. Hobday, “Shakespeare’s Venus and Adonis Sonnets”, *Shakespeare Survey* 26 (1973): 103-110.

pamphlets of love poetry that were published at the turn of the century. What bothered Heywood was the third edition, which was published in 1612 (O3). That edition added nine more poems to the twenty of O2, each of which had been taken from Heywood's *Troia Britannica*.

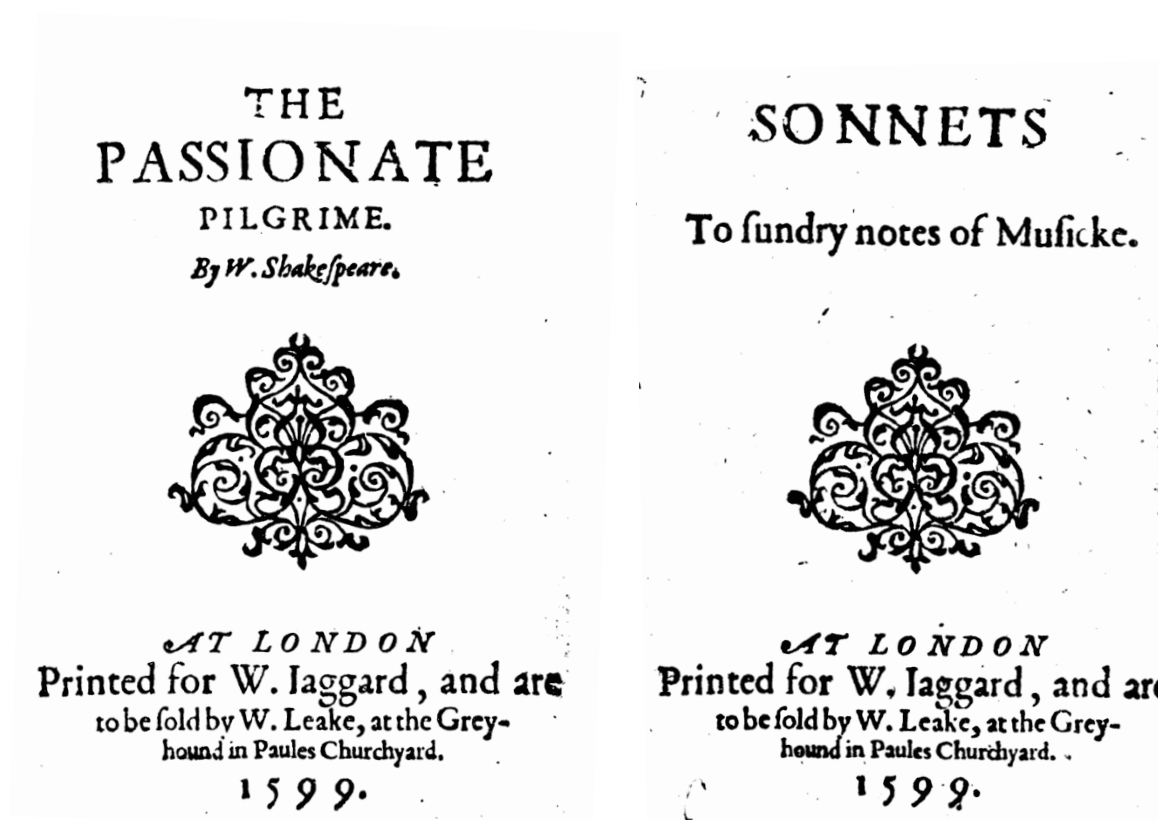


Fig. 2.1. The title page (A2r) and internal title page (C3r) of O2 *The Passionate Pilgrim* (1599, STC 22342). Image: EEBO reel STC /470:05.

As Jaggard had personally registered the manuscript of *Troia Britannica* with the Stationers' Company in December 1608, then printed and published it in 1609, there is no doubt that he knew the provenance of these nine poems. All of those nine poems appear after the unattributed internal title page, so that was not a clear false attribution, but nevertheless Heywood felt injured. As a final complication, O3 was also published with two variant front title pages, one of which has the attribution to Shakespeare while the other does not. The conventional critical interpretation of these variant title pages is that Jaggard removed the Shakespeare attribution in

response to social pressure – thus confirming his guilt. These two variant title pages of O3 are shown below.

THE
PASSIONATE
PILGRIME.
OR
Certaine Amorous Sonnets,
betweene Venus and Adonis,
newly corrected and aug-
mented.
The third Edition.
Where-unto is newly ad-
ded two *Loue-Epistles*, the first
from *Paris* to *Hellen*, and
Hellens answere backe
again to *Paris*.
Printed by W. Iaggard.
1612.

THE
PASSIONATE
PILGRIME.
OR
Certaine Amorous Sonnets,
betweene Venus and Adonis,
newly corrected and aug-
mented.
By W. Shakespere.
The third Edition.
VVhere-unto is newly ad-
ded two *Loue-Epistles*, the first
from *Paris* to *Hellen*, and
Hellens answere baske
again to *Paris*.
Printed by W. Iaggard.
1612.

Fig. 2.2. The two variant title pages of O3 *The Passionate Pilgrim* (1612, STC 22343). Image: EEBO reel STC / 1334:18.

Heywood's response to O3, which is the epistle that Farmer discovered in 1767, originally appeared in 1612 at the end of Heywood's book *An Apology for Actors*. That epistle, which is another early instance of an attack on Jaggard's workmanship, looks like this:

To my approued good Friend,

M^r. *Nicholas Okes*.

THE infinite faults escaped in my booke of *Britaines Troy*, by the
negligence of the Printer, as the misquotations, mistaking of sillables,

misplacing halfe lines, coining of strange and neuer heard of words. These being without number, when I would haue taken a particular account of the *Errata*, the Printer answered me, hee would not publish his owne disworkemanship, but rather let his owne fault lye vpon the necke of the Author: and being fearefull that others of his quality, had beene of the same nature, and condition, and finding you on the contrary, so carefull, and industrious, so serious and laborious to doe the Author all the rights of the presse, I could not choose but gratulate your honest indeauours with this short remembrance. Here likewise, I must necessarily insert a manifest iniury done me in that worke, by taking the two Epistles of *Paris to Helen*, and *Helen to Paris*, and printing them in a lesse volume, vnder the name of another, which may put the world in opinion I might steale them from him; and hee to doe himselfe right, hath since published them in his owne name: but as I must acknowledge my lines not worthy his patronage, vnder whom he hath publisht them, so the Author I know much offended with M. *Jaggard* (that altogether vnknowne to him) presumed to make so bold with his name.¹⁷

This epistle was initially absorbed neutrally by editors and critics. Farmer was not interested in theft or copyright, he was interested in what Heywood's words revealed about Shakespeare's ability to read Latin (the poems in question were translated from Ovid). Edmond Malone mentioned Farmer's work in a manuscript note dated 1785 on his own copy of O3 *The Passionate Pilgrim*, which contained both variant title pages. Citing his 'good friend' Farmer, Malone observed the poems had 'for near a century and a half passed for Shakespeare's', but did not judge Jaggard's actions and formed no theory about the construction of O1.¹⁸ Malone's Shakespeare edition of 1790 again mentioned the episode but was typically even-handed and factual.¹⁹ Gradually though, in parallel with the rise of romanticism, an ethical dimension joined the narrative. In 1817 Nathan Drake called Jaggard's actions a 'connivance', a 'fraud', an 'offence' and said *The Passionate Pilgrim* was 'void of all authority'.²⁰ Picking up this theme in 1841, John

¹⁷ Thomas Heywood, *An Apologie for Actors* (1612, STC 13309) G4r-v.

¹⁸ Note on Malone's copy of O3 *The Passionate Pilgrim*, now kept in the Bodleian Library, shelfmark: Arch. G g.1.

¹⁹ Edmund Malone, *The Plays and Poems of William Shakspeare* (London: J. Rivington & Sons, etc, 1790) 10 vols., 10.321-2. See also his: *Supplement to the Edition of Shakspeare's Plays* (London, C. Bathurst, etc, 1780) 709, 731.

²⁰ Nathan Drake, *Shakspeare and His Time* (London: T. Cadell, 1817) 47.

Payne Collier described Jaggard as ‘the careless and fraudulent printer’, and in 1865 Richard White wrote of

A bookseller named Jaggard, who, even in those days of extremist licence in his craft, was distinguished by his disregard of the rights of literary property and literary reputation, printed a volume of verses under the unmeaning title *The Passionate Pilgrim*, upon the title page of which he impudently placed Shakespeare’s name, although but a part of its meagre contents were from his pen, and that part had been surreptitiously obtained.²¹

Some of White’s perspective has no factual basis – there is no evidence that Jaggard ‘surreptitiously obtained’ the genuinely Shakespearean poems in *The Passionate Pilgrim* and the unclear ‘rights of literary property’ White mentioned did not exist in any codified form. But there are several examples of this perspective from the nineteenth century that reflect an increasingly polarised division between authorial integrity and industrial piracy.²² It is not clear when exactly this increasingly harsh view of Jaggard came into focus because no new evidence was found other than the documents that have been discussed, but Heywood’s epistle stated that Shakespeare himself was offended by Jaggard, which meant that in the age of bardolatry it inevitably became a prominent document. *The Passionate Pilgrim* came to define Jaggard’s reputation, as Charles Edmonds made clear in 1879 when he wrote in his edition, titled *The Passionate Pilgrim, A Collection of Fugitive Poetry*, that ‘William Jaggard was generally unscrupulous in his business transactions’, and continued, ‘I am the more particular in thus calling attention to the natural laxity of Jaggard’s principles, as it will enable us to judge how he would act in any other instance in which his interest was concerned.’²³ However, *The Passionate Pilgrim* is in no way representative of Jaggard’s career as a publisher. The three editions in which this title was published amounted to 15.5

²¹ Stephen Gosson, *The School of Abuse*, ed. John Payne Collier (London: The Shakespeare Society, 1841) 66; Richard Grant White, *Memoirs of the Life of William Shakespeare* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1865) 132.

²² Howard Staunton ed., *The Plays of Shakespeare with the Poems* (London: Routledge, 1860) 3 vols, 3.789; Robert Bell ed., *The Poems of William Shakespeare* (London: John W. Parker, 1855) 237.

²³ Charles Edmonds ed., *The Passionate Pilgrime, A Collection of Fugitive Poetry* (London: Henry Sotheran and Co., 1870) v, vi.

edition sheets from a total of 4,460 that Jaggard personally financed, or 0.3 percent. The miscellany was the only title of love poetry that Jaggard published, and one of a very small number of editions of secular poetry, most of which were historical verse. In addition, the first two editions of *The Passionate Pilgrim* appeared at a professionally unstable time for Jaggard. Between 1598 and 1604 none of his imprints mentioned a permanent retail outlet, and by 1599 Jaggard had published just five other titles, all of which were short books from a miscellaneous range of subjects: a sermon, a book of lace patterns, a husbandry manual and a mathematics textbook, mostly four to eight sheets long. In 1597 a property on Fleet Street that was being used by Jaggard was repossessed, which further added to his instability.²⁴ It seems that his efforts to establish himself in the trade drove a series of disconnected investments, which included *The Passionate Pilgrim*.

Nevertheless this miscellany became the emblem of Jaggard's career and in 1906 Phoebe Sheavyn was one of several scholars who connected Jaggard's infamy relating to *The Passionate Pilgrim* with his involvement in Shakespeare's Folio. Sheavyn noted that it was a 'curious irony' that he should have printed the Folio when he was such an unscrupulous figure.²⁵ Critics had by this stage accepted the three main charges against Jaggard that are included in Heywood's epistle. These charges are as follows:

- (i.) Bad workmanship in the production of *Troia Britanica*.
- (ii.) Refusing to print an errata list for *Troia Britannica*.
- (iii.) Removing poems from *Troia Britanica* and printing them in *The Passionate Pilgrim* under Shakespeare's name.

Heywood's first two complaints seem harsh. Criticism on *Troia Britanica* has not noted its poor workmanship; Frederick Boas instead emphasised Heywood's poor handwriting.²⁶ And if Jaggard did refuse to publish an errata list then that decision was not typical: he printed two in 1612 and

²⁴ *Button v Whitfield*, TNA C 2/JASI/B40/22. This document is a chancery suit from 1610 that includes discussion of William Jaggard and his wife Jane Jaggard.

²⁵ Phoebe Sheavyn, "Writers and the Publishing Trade, Circa 1600," *The Library* S2.7 (1906): 337-65, at 343.

²⁶ Frederick Boas, *Thomas Heywood* (London: Williams & Norgate, 1955) 58.

several others earlier in his career.²⁷ A full page of errata appeared at the end of Heywood's translation of the Roman historian Sallust, which was printed and published by Jaggard in 1608.²⁸

The third charge is accurate: Jaggard did remove these poems and he reprinted them in a manner that at the least left their attribution ambiguous. Less clear is the conceptual framework of authorship and intellectual property that determined how his actions should be interpreted. Clearly for Heywood there was no doubt that Jaggard had done wrong, but Heywood's testimony is not free from bias. Certainly in eighteenth century criticism and still today his epistle is rarely contextualised within the author's fraught relationship with the book trade at large, nor the early copyright conditions that in fact made Jaggard's actions completely legal.²⁹ The moral critique of Jaggard's actions hinges on a critical disdain towards any attempt to profit *unfairly* on Shakespeare's reputation, and also on the fact that by adding false poetry to the Shakespeare corpus Jaggard affected the same reputation he capitalised on. But ultimately the level of intentionally malicious deception involved in the three editions of *The Passionate Pilgrim* is ambiguous: it depends on the provenance of the manuscript for O1, as well as on individual interpretation of details like the internal title page of O2 and O3, and larger concepts such as the status of authorship as a cultural sign. It is true that two of the poems in *The Passionate Pilgrim* – the poems placed eighth and twentieth in O2 – are faithfully copied from *The Encomion of Lady Pecunia*, a book clearly attributed to Richard Barnfield on its title page and published in 1598 by

²⁷ William Attersoll, *A Commentarie on the Epistle of St Paul* (1612, STC 890) 2X6v; Thomas Wilson, *A Christian Dictionarie* (1612, STC 25786) P4r-v. Wilson is explicit in his praise of 'the Printers very great care and diligence.' Other errata include those printed in: Thomas Milles, *The Catalogue of Honor* (1610, STC 17926) 6B4r; William Attersoll, *A Continuation of the Exposition of the Booke of Numbers* (1610, STC 894-.5) 2Y7v. Robert Glover, *Nobilitas Politica Vel Civilis* (1608, STC 11922) R5v; Thomas Bell, *The Iesuites Antepast* (1608, STC 1824) 2Fr. As Jaggard's reputation is at stake, I have only included books that named Jaggard as their printer in their imprint.

²⁸ Sallust, *The Two Most Worthie and Notable Histories*, trans. Thomas Heywood (1608, STC 21625) 2P4r.

²⁹ Benedict Robinson has noted that for Heywood, 'the performed play is "trew", while the printed text is a distortion, a stolen and mangled version, or at best an inadequate representation of the real thing': "Thomas Heywood and the Cultural Politics of Play Collections," *Studies in English Literature 1500-1900* 42.2 (2002): 361-80, at 365. Sidney Lee's facsimile edition is a rare exception in that Lee contextualised Heywood's preface: *The Passionate Pilgrim* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1905).

John Jaggard, brother to William. Some scholars see this connection as evidence that William knowingly copied poems from Barnfield's collection, but there are other possibilities: William may not have been responsible for assembling the contents of *The Passionate Pilgrim*. He may simply have acquired the manuscript from another source, and not connected two of the poems with two that his brother had published a year or so earlier.

What is knowable, by comparing Jaggard with his colleagues in the book trade, is that a basic level of misattribution did not make him a reckless pirate.³⁰ As Arthur Marotti has pointed out, by 1612 Jaggard legally owned all the copy in O3 of *The Passionate Pilgrim* and he did not need permission to reprint it:

what [Jaggard] was doing in printing the Shakespeare poems and mixing them with the verse of other writers was quite legitimate ... it is a historical mistake for modern critics to express outrage for such a publishing practice as the printing of works without an author's permission.³¹

No contemporary legal or regulatory framework made Jaggard a pirate – he has only subsequently been prosecuted under an inferred code of ethical practice created by scholars working from within the territorial values of literary study. The variant title pages of the 1612 edition do not provide sure evidence of Jaggard responding to such an ethical code because the chronology of their printing is uncertain: in making his argument that the title page *without* Shakespeare's name was printed first, Colin Burrow has noted that the title page *with* the Shakespeare attribution is considerably more worn than its variant, which leads him to suggest it was printed second as the final intention for the book's presentation.³² Circumstantial typographical evidence may support this: the non-attributed title page included a swashed upper case A, of the kind that is also found on leaf H7r within the text, but this same letter A was not

³⁰ Burrow, *Complete Sonnets* 82; Lukas Erne, *Shakespeare and the Book Trade* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2013) 83-4.

³¹ Marotti, *Sonnets* 153-4.

³² Burrow, *Complete Sonnets* 79n1.

used to print the attributed title page. If the swashed capitals were kept in a different tray of upper-case type from the standard roman fount, then the fact this swashed fount was used for the text of the book and the unattributed title page, but was discarded for the attributed title page could suggest a break in the continuity of the typesetting.³³ A further unmentioned possibility is that *both* title pages were purposefully issued in sheets to the trade. Such joint issuing was sometimes the practice with books that had been co-published and so featured variant title pages with different imprints.³⁴ If the two title pages for the 1612 edition of *The Passionate Pilgrim* were issued at the same time it would explain why Malone found both in his copy (his manuscript note records that ‘they were both prefixed to this copy’).³⁵ Jaggard may have offered individual booksellers the choice of whether or not to use Shakespeare’s name to sell the book, perhaps as an extra incentive to purchase copies because his retail partnership with William Leake was no longer in place for O3. That partnership was advertised in the imprint of O2, which looks like this:

Printed for W. Iaggard, and are
to be sold by W. Leake, at the Grey-
hound in Paules Churchyard.
1599.

But was not advertised in the imprint of either title page for O3, both of which simply read:

Printed by W. Iaggard.
1612.

³³ The capital A of *Amorous* on the unattributed title page appears on *Passionate* 1612, H7r, but not on the attributed title page.

³⁴ For example, see the Wellcome Library’s copy of Gervase Markham, *Markhams Master-Peece* (1636, STC 17379.5), shelfmark EPB/B 4077/B. This edition was co-financed by the stationers John Smethwick and Nicholas and John Okes. Variant title pages name Smethwick (for one title page) and the Okes pair (for the other) as the edition’s publishers. The Wellcome copy has one of these variant title pages bound at the front of the copy, and one at the rear. Just as is the case with *The Passionate Pilgrim*, the Smethwick and Okes title pages are in different settings.

³⁵ Note on Malone’s copy of O3 *The Passionate Pilgrim*. Bodleian Library, shelfmark: Arch. G g.1.

This way of selling the text would complicate any attempt to locate agency for the misattribution in Jaggard alone. Instead responsibility would be shared with the network of booksellers who chose which title page to use. The publication of *The Passionate Pilgrim* is mysterious and intriguing, but it does not provide enough evidence from which to infer that Jaggard had a reputation as a thief or a pirate. Jaggard did infringe to some degree on the moral rights of his authors by publishing *The Passionate Pilgrim*, but we do not know the extent of his agency, and the scale of these three small books in relation to his entire career makes it unfair to assume they accurately represent his publishing brand.

The Pavier Quartos

The Passionate Pilgrim might not by itself have secured Jaggard's infamy if not for the so-called Pavier Quartos. In 1908 a single volume was discovered that entrenched Jaggard's bad reputation. The volume contained nine quartos made up of a mixture of Shakespearean and pseudo-Shakespearean titles variously dated 1600, 1608, and 1619. Alfred Pollard initially thought the volume provided evidence that 'remainder' sheets of older editions of Shakespeare's plays were bound up and resold with fresh editions, but in 1908 W. W. Greg identified the dates of five of the imprints as false. By analysing watermarks, ornaments, and distinctive pieces of type he showed that William Jaggard had printed all the plays for the publisher Thomas Pavier in 1619.³⁶

The Pavier Quartos raise two important issues concerning William Jaggard. One is that critics understandably immediately viewed the production with suspicion, and the second is that the subsequent critical debate never clearly addressed who was responsible. As a result, writing about the Pavier Quartos recognised that the integrity of Shakespeare's printed work had been

³⁶ Again, there is substantial literature on this topic. See W. W. Greg, "On Certain False Dates in Shakespearian Quartos," *The Library* S2.9 (1908): 113-131; William Neidig, "The Shakespeare Quartos of 1619," *Modern Philology* 8.2 (1910): 145-63. More recently see: Jeffrey Todd Knight, *Bound to Read: Compilations, Collections and the Making of English Literature* (Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania P, 2013) 150-5 and 177-8.

damaged, but there was no clear sense who should be blamed. The argument over agency took place implicitly as scholars concentrated on other implications and named either Jaggard or Thomas Pavier or both as being responsible without explicitly discussing why.³⁷ Evelyn Albright in 1915 referred to Jaggard and Pavier as ‘a team of pirates’ and argued that Jaggard for his part had personally ‘invaded the rights of the Hayes family’ by printing the 1619 edition of *The Merchant of Venice*, and Raymond Rhodes saw the episode as ‘a piracy by Jaggard and Pavier.’³⁸ Jaggard’s existing notoriety led to a narrative of habitual piracy that soon reached other areas of English studies: John Tatlock described Jaggard as ‘a thoroughly unprincipled printer’ in a discussion about Troy in Elizabethan culture, also published in 1615.³⁹ When Greg returned to the topic of the Pavier Quartos in 1924 he included William Jaggard’s son, Isaac, in his condemnation and cast suspicion on the entire Jaggard family. Greg wrote:

So, I take it, Pavier approached young Isaac Jaggard, who, since he took up his freedom in 1613, had been helping his father William in the management of the printing-house in Barbican, and showed a sporting disposition. The two laid their plans, perhaps without worrying the old man unnecessarily with details.⁴⁰

Four years later Greg wrote of several ‘shady mysteries that cluster around William Jaggard and his son Isaac’, and by 1934 the disrepute of Jaggard and ‘his family’s unsavoury reputation’, as William Jackson put it in that year, was a critical commonplace, as was knowledge of ‘his

³⁷ See: Alfred Huth, “On the Supposed False Dates in Certain Shakespeare Quartos,” *The Library* S3.1 (1910) 36-45; Alfred Pollard, *Shakespeare Folios and Quartos: A Study in the Bibliography of Shakespeare’s Plays 1594-1685* (London: Methuen, 1909) 101-2; Alfred Hart, *Stolne and Surreptitious Copies* (Melbourne: Melbourne UP, 1942) 3, 158. At least two critics have suggested that Jaggard functioned as the publisher of the two quartos with imprints that falsely named the stationer James Roberts: F. E. Halliday, *A Shakespeare Companion 1564-1964* (London: G Duckworth, 1964) 385; Edwin Willoughby, *A Printer of Shakespeare: The Books and Times of William Jaggard* (London: Phillip Allan & Co, 1934) 125-39.

³⁸ Evelyn Albright, “To Be Staied,” *PMLA* 30.3 (1915): 451-99, at 458; Raymond Rhodes, *Shakespeare’s First Folio: A Tercentenary Study* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1923) 43.

³⁹ John Tatlock, “The Seige of Troy in Elizabethan Literature,” *PMLA* 30.4 (1915): 673-770, at 688.

⁴⁰ W. W. Greg, “The First Folio and its Publishers”, in *Studies in the First Folio* (London: Oxford UP, 1924) 129-56, at 141.

Shakespeare piracies'.⁴¹ This consensus can be seen in Willoughby's 1934 biography of Jaggard, which sought to salvage its subject's reputation not by challenging the orthodoxies of blame for *The Passionate Pilgrim* and the Pavier Quartos but by arguing these were unfortunate but aberrant episodes in a much larger career. In a chapter titled "The Piracy of "*The Passionate Pilgrim*"", Willoughby explained the way Jaggard 'perpetrated his first and most notable piracy'.⁴² In his chapter on the Pavier Quartos Willoughby argued that Jaggard had co-published the project with Pavier and wrote about the episode using an active voice that promoted Jaggard's agency:

Jaggard, therefore, concluded that there would be no opposition in the Company to his seizure and printing.

Jaggard intended to add a general title page to the collection.

Jaggard was prepared to disregard the rights of the stationers who owned the 'copies'.⁴³

Critics now recognise that printing the Pavier Quartos does not make Jaggard responsible for the design and inception of the project. Andrew Murphy, Douglas Brooks, and Lukas Erne have regarded Pavier as the leader of the scheme, and the most detailed examination of Pavier's career, by Gerald Johnson, has agreed with this but challenged the idea that we should see even Pavier as a pirate.⁴⁴ As Erne has noted, 'At least one scholar speculates that William Jaggard functioned as publisher... although there is no evidence that he did and the collection as a whole is now rightly

⁴¹ W. W. Greg, "Review of Evelyn Albright, *Dramatic Publication in England, 1580-1640*," *Review of English Studies* 4.13 (1928): 91-100, at 94. William A Jackson, "Counterfeit Printing in Jacobean Times," *The Library* S4.15 (1934): 364-76, at 367, 370.

⁴² Willoughby, *Jaggard* 47.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 131-2.

⁴⁴ Andrew Murphy, *Shakespeare in Print: A History and Chronology of Shakespeare Publishing* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2003) 38; Douglas Brooks, *From Playhouse to Printing House: Drama and Authorship in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2006) 67-8; Erne, *Book Trade* 179. James Marino has argued against them, renaming the collection 'Jaggard's falsely dated playbooks', but he also does not see the collection as a piracy: *Owning William Shakespeare: The King's Men and their Intellectual Property* (Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania P, 2011) 110-115.

considered Pavier's.⁴⁵ The idea that Jaggard was a pirate begins to unravel when examined in the light of current knowledge of the book trade. Jaggard's bad reputation is based mainly on a romantic understanding of Shakespeare's literary estate and a critical hostility towards any agent who is seen to have treated that estate with disrespect. The emotional and moral quality of the critical condemnation of Jaggard, best summed up by Swinbourne's vehement assessment that was quoted at the start of this section, relates to a cultural investment in Shakespeare. The idea of piracy created a story of attack and defence, of an author under threat, suffering duress, and that in turn inspired sympathy and admiration for Shakespeare's creativity. These values have unfairly distorted our understanding of William Jaggard, and this chapter now returns to his origins to recover his contemporary reputation.

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Early Life

William Jaggard was baptised on 23 February 1567 in St Lawrence Jewry beside Guildhall, the building that housed the City of London corporation that Jaggard later served as City Printer.⁴⁶ He was the second of three known children of John Jaggard and Bridget Wayte, who married in St Lawrence Jewry on 4 June 1564.⁴⁷ After 1570 the Jaggard family moved to St

⁴⁵ Erne, *Book Trade* 179. The most recent research by Zachary Lesser and Peter Stallybrass has shown that the Pavier Quartos are at least partly a construction of New Bibliography. Their chapter, "Shakespeare Between Pamphlet and Book," in *Shakespeare and Textual Studies*, edited by Sonia Massai and M. J. Kidnie (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2015) 105-33, shows the collection was probably never intended to be solely Shakespearean, but was instead likely to have been sold as a pre-bound miscellany of plays which contained the 1617 edition of Thomas Heywood's *A Woman Kilde With Kindnesse* (STC 13372), as well as various combinations of the ten plays (in nine playbooks) associated with this production. Contrary to the view presented here, Lesser and Stallybrass see William Jaggard as central to the project because he was 'the only stationer who we know for certain was involved in all the playbooks' (131). They also conclude Jaggard's name does not feature in the imprints because he tried to hide his agency, though they note that 'who Jaggard may have been trying to deceive... and why remains obscure' (131). Lesser and Stallybrass's work creates important new questions about the composition of the collection as well as the purpose of the false imprints and the roles of the various stationers involved.

⁴⁶ *St Lawrence Jewry, Register of Baptisms 1538-1605*: LMA P69/LAW1/A/001/MS06974, 28r. For Jaggard's biography see Willoughby, *Printer*, and Stanley Wells, "Jaggard, William (c. 1568-1623)," *ODNB* (Web: Oxford UP, 2004): www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/37592. Most of the following adds to their research.

⁴⁷ *St Lawrence Jewry* 26r.

Botolph Without Aldersgate, where Willoughby suggested the family began; the earlier baptism record in a different parish has been overlooked because the entry for William's birth reads 'William Haggard', which seems to have been a spelling mistake by the clerk.⁴⁸ No other Haggards were baptised in St Lawrence Jewry during the 1560s or 70s, while the record of baptism of John Jaggard (26 March 1565), and Thomas Jaggard (16 August 1569), show the family was present.⁴⁹

William's father joined the Barber-Surgeons' Company in November 1561 as an apprentice to Robert Brownell, a prominent freeman who became master of the company in 1563.⁵⁰ John Jaggard was reprimanded in 1569 or 1570, as Willoughby noted in his biography, for his involvement in a controversy over the competency of that company's yeomanry. An apprentice originally bound to John Jaggard was made free of the Barber-Surgeons in 1586, which means that John was presumably still alive in about 1577 when that apprentice would have been bound, but by 1584 he was dead. In that year, both William and his brother John Jaggard were described as the sons of 'John Jagger late citizen and barborsurgeon of London deceased' in the two entries that show each man beginning their apprenticeship with the Stationers' Company.⁵¹ William's entry is pictured below.

⁴⁸ Willoughby, *Printer* 38. The mistake was compounded in 1598 by a clerk who transcribed the original register. That copy retained the Haggard spelling but confused the date of William's baptism with the entry below: *St Lawrence Jewry, Copy of Register of Baptisms 1538-1605*: LMA P69/LAW1/A/002/MS06975, 21r.

⁴⁹ *St Lawrence Jewry* 26r, 30r.

⁵⁰ Thanks to Victoria West, archivist of the Barbers' Company, for this information, and for telling me that John Jaggard took on at least two apprentices: William Martin, made free in 1574, and Hugh Floude, freed in November 1586 after John Jaggard's death.

⁵¹ Arber II.126, 129.

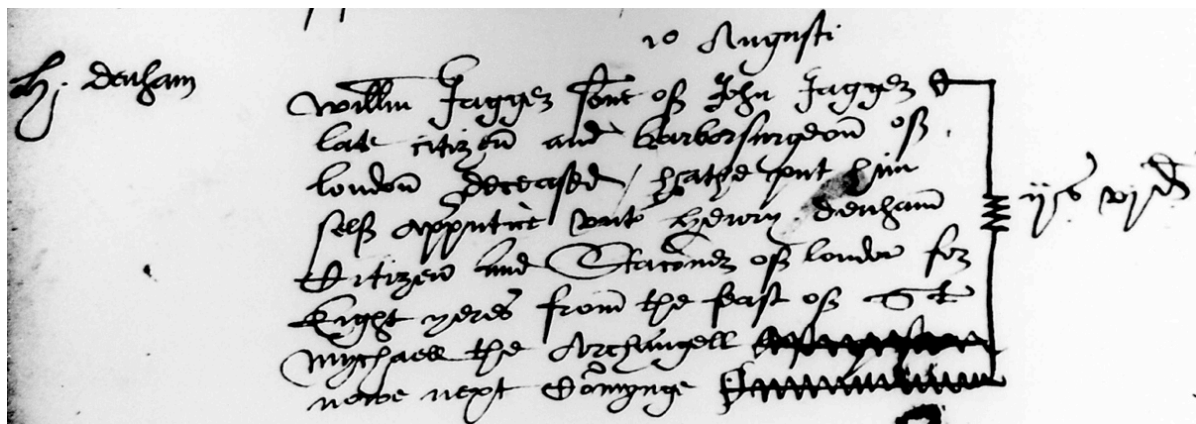


Fig. 2.3. The entry for William Jaggard's apprenticeship to Henry Denham. Image: privately owned microfilm of Stationers' Company Archives, *Register B*, 46v. The text reads:

h. Denham	William Jagger sonne of John Jagger late citizen and barbersurgeon of london deceased / hath put him self apprentice unto henry denham Citizen and Staconer of london for Eight yeres from the feast of St mychaell the Archangell nowe next Comynge --- ijs vjd
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There are three relevant family connections in this early part of William Jaggard's career. The first was suggested by Willoughby, who noted that Jaggard may have been related to his master in the Stationers' Company, the eminent printer Henry Denham. Willoughby thought this because

on 30th of May 1605, an administration was granted on the estate of Elizabeth Denham, of St. Botolph, Aldersgate, widow, deceased, the property passing to her natural and legitimate nephew, William Jaggard. We cannot be certain, unfortunately, that this William Jaggard is the future printer of Shakespeare's First Folio.⁵²

But Willoughby was probably right. A note in the Act Book entry for this administration gave William Jaggard's occupation as a stationer. The full text of the note is not clear, but there is enough to be sure that this is the relevant William Jaggard. The Act Book note is shown in a picture below.

⁵² Willoughby, *Printer* 67-8.

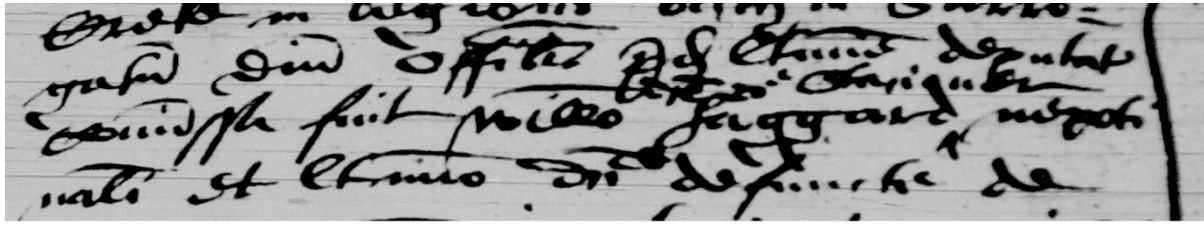


Fig. 2.4. Part of Elizabeth Denham's probate entry, which granted her estate to 'willo Jaggard \[? = Cives] stacioner/ nepoti nali et ltimio...' ('William Jaggard, [? = citizen and] stationer, natural and legitimate grandson...') Image: author's own of *Diocese of London Act Book 1603-11*, LMA DL/AL/C/001/MS09050/004, 290r. Thanks to Peter W. M. Blayney for alerting me to this reference.

Peter W. M. Blayney has also found Henry Denham's marriage to one Elizabeth Wayte on 14 August 1565, who seems likely to have been the sister of Jaggard's mother Bridget Wayte.⁵³ This family connection linked the Jaggards to two of the most important printing businesses of the time. While William became an apprentice to Henry Denham, John Jaggard became an apprentice to Richard Tottell, who had been Denham's own master.

William's own marriage to one Jane Urique also benefitted his career. The marriage took place in 1594 in St Bride's church on Fleet Street.⁵⁴ Through her father's estate Jane owned the lease of a property known by the Sign of the Leg on Fleet Street. A previously unknown lawsuit concerning Jane's father's estate placed William at this address during the first few years of his career when he ran a bookshop in St Dunstan's Churchyard.⁵⁵ In 1597 Jaggard acquired the lease for this property through his wife, and renewed it in 1618 – that is the deed that Willoughby discussed.⁵⁶

⁵³ *St Mary Aldermary, Register of Marriages 1558-1728*: LMA P69/MRY3/A/001/MS08990/001, entry for 14 August 1565.

⁵⁴ *St Bride Fleet Street, Register of Marriages 1587-1653*: LMA P69/BRI/A/002/MS06537, unfoliated entry for 26 August 1594. Jane Urique (nee Lee) was a recent widow. Her earlier marriage to one John Urique is in the same register on 20 August 1592.

⁵⁵ *Button v Whitfield*, TNA C 2/JASI/B40/22.

⁵⁶ Willoughby, *Printer* 122-4. The indenture of 1618 is now: *Conveyance of Land to William Jaggard*: LMA CLA/023/DW/01/294, item 14.

Finally, it also seems likely that William was brother-in-law to James Mabbe, the Spanish translator who contributed commendatory verses to the First Folio. This connection is not certain, but may have come about through the marriage of William's brother John. James Mabbe was one of eleven Mabbe children that were baptised in St Matthew Friday Street during the 1560s and 1570s. Two of his siblings included Elizabeth and Edward Mabbe.⁵⁷ John Jaggard married an 'Elizabeth Mabb' in St Dunstan in the West in 1597.⁵⁸ No evidence proves this was James Mabbe's sister, but the connection is made more likely by the fact that when John Jaggard died in 1622, the sureties for his orphans were his wife Elizabeth and one Edward Mabbe, gentleman, presumably James' brother. Here is the entry of those sureties for Jaggard's orphans:

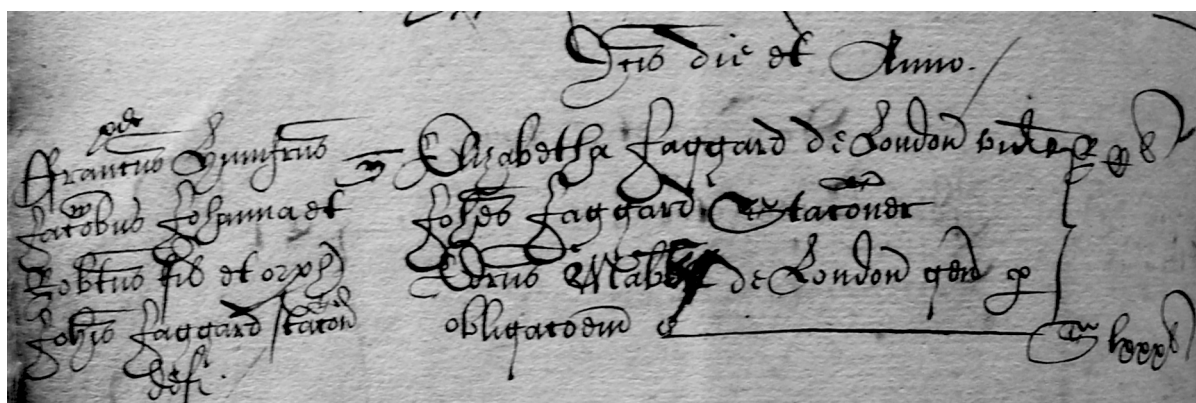


Fig. 2.5. 'Edrus Mabbe de London' is listed as a surety for the orphans of John Jaggard, stationer. Image: author's own of *Court of Orphans* 255v.

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⁵⁷ A. M. Bannerman ed., *The Register of St Matthew Friday Street London 1538-1812* (London: The Harleian Society, 1933) 3, 5. Thanks to David Kathman, author of Mabbe's *ODNB* article, for confirming these records relate to the correct Mabbe family.

⁵⁸ *St Dunstan in the West, Parish Register 1558-1631*: LMA P69/DUN2/A/01/MS10342, entry for 5 June 1597.

Apprenticeship

Jaggard's apprenticeship to Henry Denham began in August 1584 and ended in 1591.⁵⁹ To what extent this period of time influenced Jaggard or dictated his later work is an issue that engages with the larger problem of what constitutes evidence for influence, a problem that recurs throughout this thesis. Each member of the Folio syndicate can be seen to have continued work that was begun by their master, which implies that the genealogy of a stationer's professional career was an important factor in the way he positioned himself as an independent agent. It is clear that there was considerable overlap between Denham's work and that of Jaggard. One way to understand this is to approach the books that both men published by genre – Denham's bookshop published many reference works of the kind that Jaggard later relied on: books of medicine, languages and lexicography, historical writing, and natural history. In more precise recurrences, editions of the same authors and titles were financed by both men, such as the astronomy and physiognomy books of Thomas Hill or the religious manuals of Abraham Fleming.⁶⁰ Another kind of correspondence is found in Jaggard's edition of Ambroise Pare's *The Method of Curing Wounds Made by Gun-shot* (1617), which borrowed subject matter and the design of its title page illustration from Denham's edition of Thomas Gale's *Certaine Workes of Chirurgerie* (1564), which included 'an excellent treatise of the wounde made with gonneshote.'⁶¹ The reversal of the woodblock in Jaggard's later work suggests it may have been made by a freehand drawing of the earlier illustration, which was then rubbed onto a woodblock for cutting.

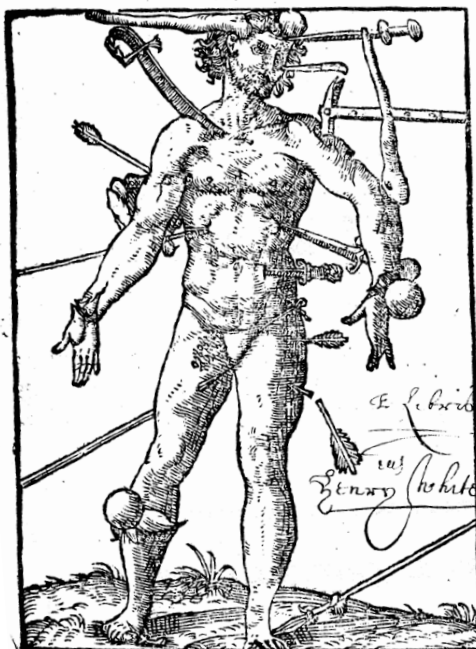
⁵⁹ Arber II.126, 710. Henry Plomer ranked Denham as the second or third most important English printer of his time: "Henry Denham, Printer," *The Library* S2.10 (1909): 241-50. See also: Patricia Brewerton, "Denham, Henry (fl. 1556-1590), printer," *ODNB* (Web: Oxford UP, 2004) < <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/7477?docPos=1>>.

⁶⁰ For example: Thomas Hill, *The Contemplation of Mankinde* (1571, STC 13482), *A Contemplation of Mysteries* (1574, STC 13484); *The School of Skil* (1599, STC 13502), *A Pleasant History: Declaring the Whole Art of Physiognomy* (1613, STC 13483); Abraham Fleming, *The Conduit of Comfort* (1579, STC 11037.3); *The Diamond of Devotion* (1586, STC 11042); *The Diamond of Devotion* (1608, STC 11045).

⁶¹ Thomas Gale, *Certaine Workes of Chirurgerie* (1564, STC 11529) Aa1r.

CERTAINE VVORKES

of Chirurgerie, nevly compiled and
published by Thomas Gale, Pat-
ter in Chirurgerie.



Printed at London by Rowland Hall.

THE Method of Curing Wounds made by Gun-shot.

Also by Arrowes and Darts, with their Accidents.

Written by AMBROSE PARE of Laual, Counsellor and chiefe Chi-
rurgiean to the French King.

Faithfully done into English out of the French Copie, by
Walter Hamond Chirurgiean.

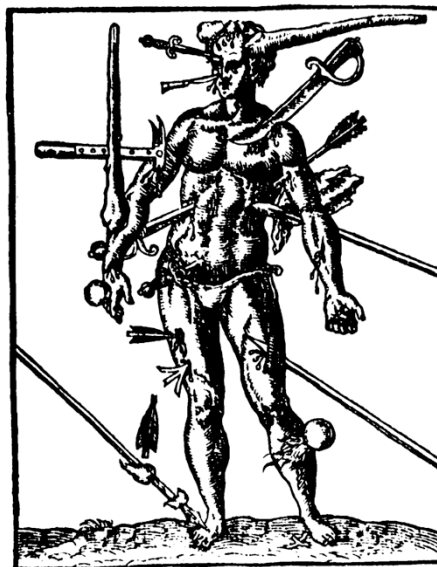


Fig. 2.6. The title pages of Thomas Gale's *Certain Workes of Chirurgerie* (1564, STC 11529) and, on the right, Pare's *The Method of Curing Wounds Made by Gun-shot* (1617, STC 19191). Images: EEBO reels 1519:01 and 1180:12.

In December 1584 Denham was granted a royal patent to print all chronicle histories and dictionaries.⁶² That patent, which coincided with Jaggard's arrival as a young apprentice, resulted in work that provided the bulk of Jaggard's training. In 1584 alone Denham financed four titles that feature the *cum privilegio* of this royal grant in their imprints, and all represented substantial investments: a history of Wales at fifty-seven edition sheets, an edition of Thomas Cooper's *Thesaurus Linguae* at 429 sheets, an edition of John Stow's *Summarie of the Chronicles of England* at twenty-seven sheets, and an edition of John Veron's *A Dictionarie in Latin and English* at eighty-

⁶² Arber II.438.

eight sheets. The physical size of chronicles and dictionaries made this patent particularly demanding – both were genres that involved a lot of type, careful proofreading, often multiple languages and large formats, and occasionally illustrations, and so the patent shaped most of Denham’s remaining career, with projects such as the revised edition of Holinshed’s *Chronicles*.⁶³ Historical publishing similarly accounts for just over half of all the edition sheets Jaggard later published, showing that Jaggard absorbed the strategies and audiences Denham targeted.⁶⁴

Denham was also interested in civic printing, which may have influenced Jaggard’s later pursuit of the City Printer’s office. Denham’s list of printed works includes royal proclamations and books such as *A Pamphlet of the Offices, and Duties of Euerie Particular Sworne Officer, of the Citie* (1584).⁶⁵ In 1589 Denham registered a manuscript called *The Armes of all the Cumpanyes of the worshipfull cyttye of London* (this was probably the broadsheet engraved by Benjamin Wright that survives in an edition dated 1596).⁶⁶ These works show the same interest in civic culture that Jaggard later championed; that interest can also be seen in the way Denham presented himself as a publisher: the City of London’s arms feature in his publisher’s device alongside those of the Stationers’ Company. That device is shown below.

⁶³ Raphael Holinshed, *The First and Second Volumes of Chronicles* (1587, STC 13569). See also Denham’s abridgement of Geoffrey of Monmouth’s *Historia Regnum Britanniae* (1585, STC 20109), and a polyglot dictionary by Adrian Junius called *The Nomenclatur* that collects and translates groups of words based around themes (1585, STC 14860). In 1587 Denham also published and printed an updated edition of Stow’s *Summarie of the Chronicles* (STC 23326). Shortly after in 1588 he produced an edition of Nicholas Clenard’s Greek grammar, *N. Clenardi Graecae Linguae Institutiones* (1588, STC 5402).

⁶⁴ Identifying what constitutes an ‘historical’ book is obviously subjective, but by my count, Jaggard financed 4,460 edition sheets in his career, in eighty-two editions, and his historical publishing accounts for 2,244.5 of these edition sheets (50.3 per cent). Historical and reference publishing together account for 2,959 edition sheets (66.3 per cent).

⁶⁵ John Hooker, *A Pamphlet of the Offices...* (1584, STC 24889).

⁶⁶ Arber II.536; Benjamin Wright, *The Armes of All the Cheife Corporatons* [sic]... (1596, STC 26018).



Fig. 2.7. Henry Denham's woodblock device, showing the City of London arms (top) and those of the Stationers' Company (bottom).

Jaggard's Publishing and Printing Career

With a stationer as productive as Jaggard, it is important to be clear what does and does not count as part of his publishing strategy. Jaggard produced 246 separate bibliographical items. Most of those are documents that were printed for other stationers – items known as ‘trade printing’ – after Jaggard took over the printing house of James Roberts in Barbican.⁶⁷ Jaggard's publishing career began in 1594 with a short sermon by John Dove; his printing seems to have begun by 1600, though the first sure evidence of his owning a press dates from 1605. In total Jaggard personally published seventy titles, and though that is a minority of the titles he was

⁶⁷ The total of 246 items includes three not listed in the *STC*: a broadside Privy Council proclamation of 1616 (*Orders and Articles Made...*: British Library HS.74/1172/56]), a broadside act of Common Council from 1620 (*An Act of Common Council*: LMA CLA/022/02/003), and an edition of F.T.'s *The Case Is Altered* from 1605 (ESTC S123140). On this last book see: Stephen Tabor, ‘Additions to *STC*,’ *The Library* S.6.16 (1994): 190-207, at 206-7. Note also the four *STC* entries discussed in footnote 70 on page 72 of this thesis, which may not ever have existed.

involved with, those seventy comprise a majority (sixty-seven per cent) of all the edition sheets he produced. That is an important corrective to the critical view of Jaggard as primarily a trade printer – he was actually primarily a publisher who also printed his own books, rather than a printer to the trade. The numbers of edition sheets he published can be seen on the chart below in black, in relation to the number of edition sheets he printed for the trade beneath in red.

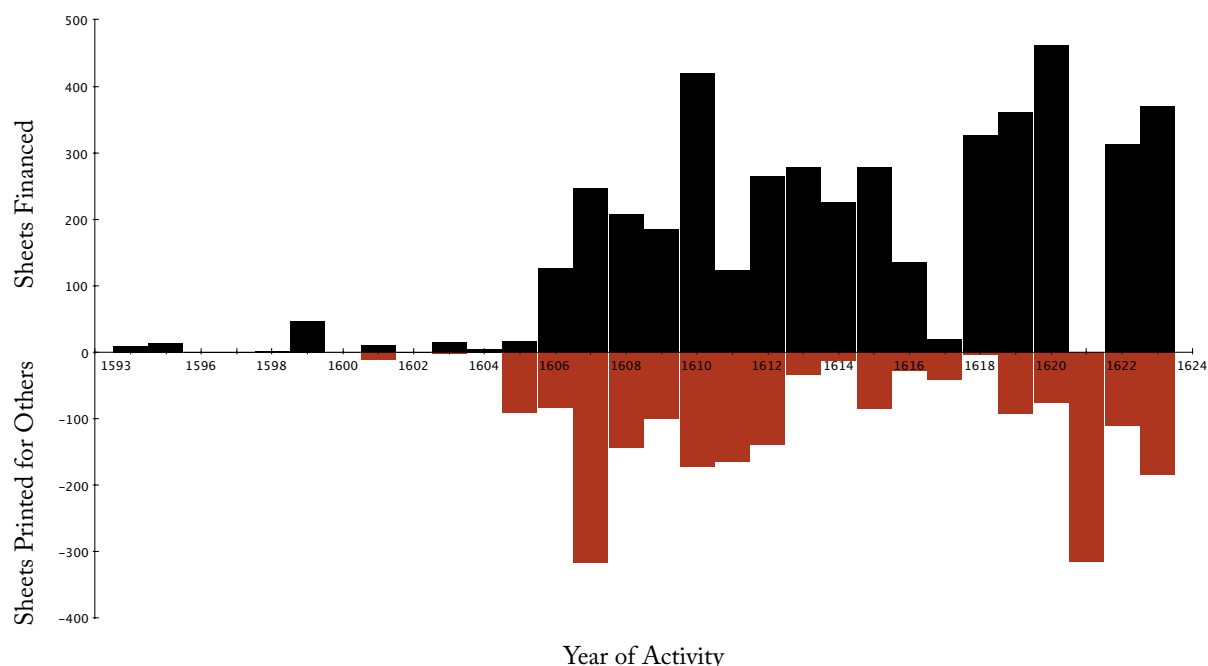


Fig. 2.8. Jaggard's publishing (in black) and his trade printing (in red), over the course of his career, charted in numbers of edition sheets produced.

Apart from those seventy titles, some of which were published in multiple editions, Jaggard's remaining output contains 157 items. Those items include twenty-four pieces of civic printing (meaning printing that was financed by the City of London corporation) and 133 items that were printed by Jaggard for other members of the trade. Those 133 items are simply documents that Jaggard was employed to produce. They do not represent his own interests, and they are not discussed in this chapter, other than to say that only fifteen of these trade printed items identify Jaggard in their imprint, which shows that he did not strongly associate his reputation with work that was not published by him. By contrast the seventy titles that Jaggard

published usually featured his full name and his publisher's device. The following two sections look first at the seventy titles that Jaggard published, to show that he concentrated on historical writing and reference books, and then at the twenty-four items that comprise his civic printing to examine the way this printing complimented his publishing strategy.

Forms of Reference

Historie, and Chronologie, in their essentiall understanding; Are the
Treasure of passed occasions; the pattern of such as are to succeed...

~ William Jaggard, 1623⁶⁸

'Reference' is an anachronistic term to describe a genre of books in the seventeenth century, but it helpfully describes a broad publishing project that consistently provided authoritative and often factual information to readers in an accessible format. The major subject within Jaggard's reference publishing was 'historical writing', which counts for 50.3 per cent of all of Jaggard's editions sheets. Describing historical writing as a branch of reference work reflects the major way history was understood in the period: 'as a form of rhetoric and a source of exempla – moral and prudential precepts'.⁶⁹ The term 'reference' also captures a way of reading that guided Jaggard's marketing of his historical writing, which was with an understanding that readers would consult these books episodically rather than read continuously. The bibliographical apparatus Jaggard arranged around the texts, and the rhetorical idiom in which he situated his authors offered history as a resource for readers, to be critically appraised and extracted. Jaggard himself quoted the well-known Ciceronian definition of *historia magistra vitae est* ("history is life's

⁶⁸ Andre Favyn, *The Theater of Honour and Knight-Hood* (1623, STC 10717) A2r.

⁶⁹ Anthony Grafton, *What Was History?* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2007) 31. See also D. R. Woolf, *Reading History in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2000) 105-31.

teacher”) in one of his paratexts, and included historiographical statements from humanists like Jean Bodin and Simon Grynaeus who emphasised the importance of history as a training manual or guide to conduct.⁷⁰ Beyond the familiar injunction to read the past for counsel, historical writing was also a form of reference in its inscription of an authoritative account of a subject, and that is common in most of Jaggard’s books. Beyond history he published books of anatomy and astronomy, of husbandry and lexicography. Taken collectively, these titles count for more than two-thirds of all Jaggard’s publishing, and what makes them cohere into an associative group is that they all defined and inscribed information for Stuart readers.⁷¹ As will become clear, Jaggard’s imprint came to guarantee that a work was reliable and authoritative. So in this chapter ‘reference’ is used to capture the fact that each of Jaggard’s books sought to make an authoritative statement about a particular field and so become part of the epistemological boundary of that field in the vernacular tradition.

Historical Writing

The first history book that Jaggard published was also the first of the two books he authored. *A View of all the Right Honourable the Lord Mayors of this Honourable City of London*, by W. I. of London, Printer, presented Jaggard as an author, creating and inscribing historical writing, and also a printer, who reproduced writing.⁷² The book contained a chronological list of forty-three

⁷⁰ Favyn, *Theater* A2r.

⁷¹ Jaggard also published a selection of religious books that do not feature in this discussion. They make up most of the final third of his publishing output. The most substantial title within Jaggard’s religious publishing is William Attersoll’s *Commentarie Upon the Fourth Booke of Moses* (1618, STC 893), a huge book of 325 edition sheets that was also marketed as a reference work: its title page promised ‘the Reader shall finde more then five-hundred Theologicall Questions, decided and determind’, and it included an index of doctrinal issues as well as a general index that specified the column of text and page number. It seems that Jaggard’s idea of reference was less dependent on subjects that today we would recognise as non-fiction, and more on a consistent bibliographic approach that could frame various kinds of material as resources to be drawn upon as needed. One advantage of this approach from Jaggard’s perspective is that it conditioned readers to view his books as essential components of a private library by suggesting their permanence and reliability. This tactic would not generate rapid reprints but did bring gravitas and authority to Jaggard’s reputation.

⁷² William Jaggard, *A View of All the Right Honourable the Lord Mayors...* (1601, STC 14343).

Elizabethan mayors, each presented on a full folio page with a woodcut portrait (some of which were recycled) and a short biography. The annalistic-style and list format of this book were both features of the chronicle form, and in that regard Jaggard's *View of all the Right Honourable...* was probably influenced by his apprenticeship with Denham. A simpler list of the same London mayors was printed in John Stow's *Summary of the Chronicles*, which had been twice published by Denham during Jaggard's apprenticeship and may have been a source for Jaggard.⁷³ *A View of all the Right Honourable...* was not a scholarly book, but equally it was not ignored: extracts were copied into a manuscript miscellany compiled by Thomas Trevelyon and finished in 1608.⁷⁴ As well as being Jaggard's first piece of historical writing, the work foreshadowed Jaggard's role as London's City Printer; it was an early bid on Jaggard's part to present himself as the city's official chronicler. This interest in London also saw Jaggard publish Anthony Munday's *The Triumphes of Re-united Britania* in 1605, a pageant that celebrated London's new Lord Mayor and recounted the history of Britain according to the Trojan foundation myth.⁷⁵

The year after Munday's book appeared, Jaggard published a new translation of a classical history by Justinus, titled *The Historie of Iustine* (1606), in a folio of ninety-two edition sheets. The presentation of this book shows that Jaggard had positioned himself as an important and trustworthy historical publisher in several ways. Three preliminary prefaces discussed the importance of reading histories. In the first preface, the translator described history as vital for 'the aduancement of vertue, and ouerthrow of vice'; this was followed by a more substantial preface extracted from a longer work by the Latin historiographer Simon Grynaeus, and a third taken from within Justinus' text itself.⁷⁶ Each preface presented Jaggard's book as a vital historical

⁷³ John Stow, *A Summary of the Chronicles of Englande* (1584, STC 23325.8 and 1587, STC 23326).

⁷⁴ *Trevelyon Miscellany*. Folger Library, V.b.232, 316r-27v. See also: Heather Wolfe ed., *The Trevelyon Miscellany of 1608* (Seattle: U of Washington P, 2007) 8, 12.

⁷⁵ Anthony Munday, *The Triumphes of Re-united Britania* (1605, STC 18279).

⁷⁶ Justinus, *The Historie of Iustine*, trans. George Wilkins (1606, STC 24293).

and moral resource. The second of these prefaces – the essay by Simon Grynaeus – had originally been published in Basel in 1539 as *De Utilitate Legendae Historiae*, and was reprinted in Paris and Lyon over the sixteenth century, but this was its first appearance in English.⁷⁷ Grynaeus' essay stressed the importance of careful reading to stimulate the mind by the strength of examples, and warned readers to be wary of the fact that all histories contained rhetoric, which could distract from the purity of historical truth. One of the essay's key themes is that good historiography was in the hands of the cautious reader, not the author, and that readers must employ good judgment to find texts that they truly trusted. That cautious tone is captured by Grynaeus' closing emphasis on *prudentia* – meaning prudence, or wisdom in discernment.⁷⁸ The term *prudentia* appeared in Grynaeus' final sentence as a watchword that implored readers to consider the authority of their texts. In Jaggard's preface the word was translated as 'wisdom', and it seems also to have inspired the design of Jaggard's publisher's device, which is first found on the title page of this edition. The word *prudentia* was cut into Jaggard's device as a motto to represent Jaggard's own careful persona as printer and publisher of historical and reference work. The implication was that Jaggard was a careful guardian of what was and was not valid historical writing. The woodblock, which is shown below, also contained other symbols that present Jaggard as a judicious historian. The design featured a crowned portcullis on top of a staff, which was a specific heraldic badge used by the Portcullis Pursuivant, one of the twelve officers of the College of Arms whose job it was to research lineage and award coats of arms. So by adopting that symbol in his device, Jaggard associated himself with the College of Arms and with their tradition of authoritative historical research. Over his career Jaggard became close to a house printer for the heraldic college, and published several books by holders of the Portcullis Pursuivant office. The most

⁷⁷ Pompeius Trogus, *Iustini ex Trogo Pompeio Historia* (1539, USTC 668647) 82r- 84v.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 84v.

prominent of these books was Robert Glover's important history of political power *Nobilitas Politica Vel Civilis* (1608), which also featured this woodblock device on its title page.⁷⁹



Fig. 2.9. Jaggard's publishing device, commissioned for *The Historie of Iustine*, featuring the heraldic symbol of a chained portcullis and the watchword 'prudencia', perhaps taken from Simon Grynaeus' historiographical preface. Image: detail of the title page of *Iustine*, EEBO reel 640:03.

This publisher's device presented Jaggard as a defender of the historical culture of the herald's profession. The serpent eating its own tail (a symbol known as an 'ouroboros'), curled around the word 'prudencia', was a well-known emblem for the passage of time.⁸⁰ The woodblock shows that Jaggard positioned himself as involved in the battle for historical truth, taking the sceptical wisdom of Grynaeus as his motto alongside symbols for time, and for the genealogy of the gentry. Over the rest of Jaggard's career this woodblock was used on books that were appropriate

⁷⁹ Robert Glover, *Nobilitas Politica vel Civilis* (1608, STC 11922). Jaggard also published twelve books by Glover's nephew, Thomas Milles. While apprenticed to Denham, Jaggard worked on Thomas Lant's *The Dailie Exercise of a Christian* (1590, STC 15222). Lant served as Portcullis Pursuivant from 1588-1597. With Denham, Jaggard also worked on Francis Segar's *The Schoole of Vertue* (1582, STC 22136). Francis was brother to William Segar, who held the Portcullis Pursuivant office from 1585-1588.

⁸⁰ Contemporary references to the ouroboros symbol include: Paolo Giovio, *The Worthy Tract of Paulus Iouius* (1585, STC 11900) G8r: 'and also that Serpent with his tayle in his mouth, which signifies time...'; Gerard Malynes, *Consuetudo, vel Lex Mercatoria* (1622, STC 17222) B5v (in a discussion about the understanding of histories): 'that space of Time, which wee call the yeare...which caused the Egyptians to make the figure thereof in their Hierogliphicks like unto a serpent byting his owne taile.' See also: Thomas Goodwin, *Romanae Historiae Anthologia* (1614, STC 11956) H3v.

to this brand: the two-volume historical encyclopedia *Treasurie of Auncient and Moderne Times* (1613 and 1619) and Thomas Heywood's historical poem, *Troia Britanica* (1609), but not on Jaggard's religious publishing.

Other examples illustrate the range of historical writing that Jaggard produced. After his edition of Justinus he financed two other classical histories, one of which was Thomas Heywood's translation of the Roman historian Sallust. Heywood's work was published in 1608 as a folio of fifty-one sheets and again it featured the *prudencia* device shown above.⁸¹ This book included another prefatory statement of historiography – a chapter of the French renaissance historiographer Jean Bodin's work *A Method for the Easy Comprehension of History*. Jaggard restyled Bodin's chapter as another advisory statement to readers, telling them 'to make a iudicious coniecture of the goodnesse of Histories'. Bodin's extract stressed scepticism in reading, objectivity in writing, and a careful choice of writer: 'an Author ought not to be accepted with an ouer-weening credulity,' the preface stated, and it continued:

For in this choise of Authors, which euery student ought to propose vnto himselfe, I would not haue euery one to be his owne iudge (for censure is a gifte of art and experience).⁸²

Bodin's work, extracted by Jaggard and placed at the start of this historical text, implied that Jaggard was a trustworthy publisher who had the necessary 'art and experience' to identify a useful historical work.

Natural history was another prominent category in Jaggard's work. A large folio written by Edward Topsell and published by Jaggard in 1607 as *The Historie of Foure-Footed Beastes* is now well-known as the first major work on animals to be printed in English, and also as a work that

⁸¹ The imprint of this book explains it was printed for (*i.e.* published by) John Jaggard, but because William Jaggard registered the manuscript (Arber III.370), printed the work, and often collaborated with his brother I have treated it here as a partnership.

⁸² Sallust, *The Two Most Worthy and Notable Histories*, trans. Thomas Heywood (1608, STC 21625) [¶1r], [¶1v].

included many detailed woodblock illustrations.⁸³ The title page described the book as a compendium of knowledge ‘necessary for all Diuines and Students’, filled with ‘other good Histories, Collected out of all the volumes of Conradus Gesner, and all other Writers to this present day’.⁸⁴ A companion volume published in 1608, also by Jaggard, *The Historie of Serpents*, is often found bound with the first.⁸⁵ Both would have been costly productions, totalling 287 edition sheets, but they sold well: Topsell in 1613 wrote that the two had almost sold out ‘to the stationers great proffitt’.⁸⁶ David Cheney has described these books as ‘an exhaustive source of information about Elizabethan ideas on natural history,’ and Jaggard’s paratexts frame the book as a repository of knowledge.⁸⁷ These paratexts included a catalogue of authors cited, two indices of animals, and twelve lists of species names in ancient and modern languages, all cross-referenced with pages numbers. The books gathered and organised contemporary knowledge of the natural world.

After natural history, heraldry was another important branch of historical writing in Jaggard’s output. Six imposing folios of heraldry count for twenty-one per cent of all Jaggard’s edition sheets, fulfilling the promise contained by his heraldic woodblock. As Kathryn Will has noted, authority and accuracy were essential values in this field because they related directly to social standing.⁸⁸ A mistake in research or in the printing house had the potential to disturb a powerful elite. The early seventeenth century saw several disputes between heralds who undermined one another’s interpretation of the historical record, ‘almost always with the aim of

⁸³ Edward Topsell, *The Historie of Foure-Footed Beastes* (1607, STC 24123).

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, A2r.

⁸⁵ Edward Topsell, *The Historie of Serpents* (1608, STC 24123).

⁸⁶ Virgil B. Heltzel, “Some New Light on Edward Topsell,” *Huntington Library Quarterly* 1.2 (1938): 199-202, at 202.

⁸⁷ David Cheney, “Edward Topsell’s The History of Four-Footed Beasts and Serpents,” *Books at Iowa* 10 (1969): 31-4, at 33.

⁸⁸ Kathryn Will, “Cultivating Heraldic Histories in Early Modern English Literature,” unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Michigan, 2014.

delegitimising it [*i.e.* a colleague's work] and demonstrating the superiority of their own methods.⁸⁹ Jaggard shows that stationers were one part of the way a book could be legitimised. As discussed at the start of this chapter, Jaggard was involved in the leading heraldic dispute of this period between the York herald Ralph Brooke and his colleague Augustine Vincent. In 1619 Jaggard published Brooke's *Catalogue and Succession of the Kings, Princes, Dukes, Marquesses, Earles, and Viscounts of this Realme of England*, but before long the Privy Council recalled the book because errors in the text presented an inaccurate record. Brooke immediately blamed Jaggard's workmanship and published a second revised edition in association with the printer and publisher William Stansby. At the same time, another herald, Augustine Vincent, wrote a corrective account that was published by Jaggard in 1622 as *A Discoverie of Errours in the First Edition of the Catalogue of Nobility Published by Ralph Brooke, Yorke Herald*. The episode illustrates the importance of accuracy in this field. Both Brooke and Vincent claimed their record was the most historically correct and most valid authority, and Jaggard was personally implicated by Brooke's comment that the mistakes in his work were due to 'diuers faults, committed by the *Printer*'. Brooke demonstrated that stationers were part of the system of proof that guaranteed a text; Jaggard's response, part of which was quoted above, shows him defending his reputation. Here is another extract from Jaggard's response: 'I owe my selfe that iustice, and my poore credit so much right, as not to heare my name publicly proclaimed and pasted on the fore-front of a book for those faults whereunto the Author can onely be Principall.' Jaggard's defence is convincing, not least because Brooke had a poor record of professional integrity.⁹⁰ An exchange in Ben Jonson's play, *The New Inn*, shows that Jaggard's edition of Vincent's work was popularly seen as the more reliable account. The exchange reads:

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 68.

⁹⁰ Wyeman H. Herendeen, "Brooke [Brookesmouth], Ralph (c.1553-1625), herald," *ODNB*. Web: Oxford UP, 2004 <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/3552>>. Herendeen described Brooke as "acrimonius," and "belligerent and untoward".

Host. She's a wild-Irish borne! Sir, and a Hybride,
That liues with this yong Lady, a mile off here,
And studies *Vincent* against *Yorke*.

Bea. She'l conquer,
If she read *Vincent*.⁹¹

Jaggard explicitly defended his workmanship in his preface in Vincent's book, but the edition also maintained Jaggard's authority by providing the most accurate version of the historical record. To bolster its credentials, Vincent's book included an epistle written by John Selden in which the famous scholar explains that he has proofread Vincent's text, and twelve other endorsements from officers of the College of Arms and other writers. Presentation copies were given to dignitaries including Robert Sidney, the Earl of Leicester, the Chester herald Henry Chitting, and John Egerton, the Earl of Bridgewater.⁹² The following year Jaggard published another large heraldic folio by Andre Favyn, *The Theater of Honour and Knight-hood. Or, A Compendious Chronicle and Historie of the Whole Christian World* (296 edition sheets), which gave descriptions of the heraldic orders of Europe and beyond, including France, Spain, Germany, Italy, and 'the Holy Land' – meaning the Middle East. It was lavishly illustrated with coats of arms, and contained a long section on the English system of nobility, as well as several bibliographical finding aids. The Brooke-Vincent exchange and the related heraldic publishing show Jaggard defending a position of authority in the trade.

Chronicles also featured in Jaggard's publishing, as did large folio compendiums of universal history like Thomas Milles' two-volume *The Treasurie of Auncient and Moderne Times* (a total of 489 edition sheets, published in 1613 and 1619). Universal histories are positioned uneasily between modern genres – part encyclopedia, part history, part heraldry, and part vast commonplace book – but they share an interest in recording, collecting, and inscribing history. Milles' compendiums in particular were reference works in the form most recognisable to

⁹¹ Ben Jonson, *The New Inne* (1631, STC 14780) D1r.

⁹² These copies are now: Bodleian Library, Gough Gen. top. 214; Gough Gen. top. 209, and Huntington Library 69784.

modern readers. Under commonplace headings ('Of God', 'Of Law-Makers', 'Of Melancholy'), Milles' *Treasure* provided a host of topics from which to extract authorities.

Sciences and Other Reference Books

Forms of reference work that have not already been mentioned count for one-fifth of all Jaggard's edition sheets. Prominent among these reference books is Helkiah Crooke's *Mikrokosmographie* (256 edition sheets), which was the period's most important book of anatomy in English and contained dozens of illustrations. Crooke positioned his work as a reference manual for students of surgery, addressed to the company of Barber-Surgeons, particularly those who 'do not so wel vnderstand' Latin.⁹³ He maintained his book was the leading authority available to English doctors. Though clearly a work of science, Jaggard advertised it as a history in his catalogue of 1618, which may be because Crooke's book also contains sections that discuss the history of anatomy and physiognomy. One leaf in the book, which is sometimes found bound at the end of the text and in other copies at the front, contained an address from Jaggard that makes clear his own judgment and agency were instrumental in bringing Crooke's work to the press. Jaggard wrote:

WHen I intended first this excellent labour (Courteous Reader) my absolute purpose aymed at the ingenious worke of M. *Ambrose Parae*, (Chirurgion to the most Christian King of France) [...] But finding his scope farre short of so deliberate a determination, & that more mature discourse flowed from those two famous Anatomists, *Iaspar Baubinus* and *Andreas Laurentius*, with diuers other Authors writing on the same argument, I made choise for this time to be gouerned by their worthy enstructions; although to my no meane care and cost it hath risen to so great a volume.⁹⁴

In this address Jaggard described the book as his own 'purpose', and told the reader he had chosen the authorities, discarding some of Ambrose Pare's work in favour of two other

⁹³ Helkiah Crooke, *Mikrokosmographia* (1615, STC 6062), 2¶v.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, [Qqqq4r].

anatomists, despite the extra costs this incurred. In the final lines of the address Jaggard told his readers that his motivation for publishing the book was ‘the expectation only to the publique benefit of my countrey.’⁹⁵ This address promotes Jaggard’s presence in his book, and foregrounds his own judgment as a vital part of the way the book was made.

Jaggard’s other reference books included an astronomy textbook by Thomas Hill, titled *The School of Skill* (1599). Hill’s book was the only astronomical work Jaggard published, but in its student audience (Jaggard’s preface, the first that he authored, offered the book ‘for the profit of al wel-affected Students’), and its didactic intent, Hill’s work began a long publishing trajectory.⁹⁶ In 1613 Jaggard published a second textbook by Hill, this time of physiognomy. *A Pleasant History Declaring the Whole Art of Physiognomy* contains illustrations that describe the relationship between physical appearance and health. It is worth noting that Jaggard rebranded this title too as a ‘history’ – its first edition (printed by Denham in 1571) was titled *The Contemplation of Mankinde*.⁹⁷

In lexicography Jaggard published three editions of Thomas Wilson’s *The Christian Dictionary* (expanded from 103 to 120 sheets over these three editions), which was the first English dictionary of the bible. It contained nearly nine hundred quarto pages of scriptural definitions that sought to provide authority within vernacular religious discourse. Wilson’s preface to his work explained that his book aimed to ‘breake the ice’ in a new field by offering a reference for students of the bible.⁹⁸ An unusually large number of paratexts provide guarantees of the value of Wilson’s work: dedications to Edward Wotton, Baron of Marleigh, two bishops and a dean were followed by leaves that advertised the ‘commodities of this Booke’, endorsements from six clergymen and a series of poems.⁹⁹

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

⁹⁶ Thomas Hill, *The Schoole of Skil* (1599, STC 13502) A3v-4r.

⁹⁷ Thomas Hill, *The Contemplation of Mankinde* (1571, STC 13482).

⁹⁸ Thomas Wilson, *A Christian Dictionarie* (1612, STC 25786) A6v.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, A3r-8v, ¶1r-6v.

A final type of reference work published by Jaggard represented authority in a different domain. As was mentioned in the introductory chapter, Jaggard printed one of the earliest English book catalogues aimed at the trade. Both John Bale (in 1557 to 1559) and Andrew Maunsell (in 1595) had published earlier catalogues, but both were aimed at readers, not stationers. Jaggard's *A Catalogue of Such English Bookes, as Lately Haue Bene, and Now Are in Printing for Publication* (1618), mentioned in the introduction to this thesis, provided his fellow stationers with a birds-eye view of who was publishing what in the trade. As James Marino has noted, this was 'an industrial publication, apparently taken on Jaggard's personal initiative, requiring the cooperation of the entire guild (who had to furnish their information to Jaggard), and with the guild as a primary audience.'¹⁰⁰ The catalogue was a reference for booksellers, enabling them to understand what texts were currently available. The title page shows it was intended to instantiate a regular biannual series. That series seems not to have emerged, but the surviving edition makes clear that Jaggard aspired to provide a regular secure directory for his fellows.

This section has shown that the majority of Jaggard's publishing was reference work that assumed authority over a subject. Most of these books can be broadly grouped as historical writing, though that large subject contains several sub-genres, such as natural history, classical translations, and heraldry. Perhaps because of his training under Denham, the chronicle form appealed to Jaggard, and vestiges of its bibliographical apparatus were often applied to Jaggard's books – marginal printed dates, lists of dignitaries, catalogues, indices, and chronological organisation of material. He also extracted statements of renaissance historiography and prefaced them to his books. These statements explicitly discussed the importance of authority in ways that invited a reader to consider the trustworthiness of the systems through which information had passed to reach them, including the publisher, thus positioning Jaggard as a reliable source.

¹⁰⁰ Marino, *Owning* 114.

Jaggard's reputation was, then, close to the opposite of a pirate: he was a publisher whose strategy demanded that readers trust and respect his judgment.

Civic Printing: Authority in the City

This section examines a small but important part of Jaggard's work: printed documents related to the governance and organisation of civic life, including broadsides, bills, handbooks, and other ephemera.¹⁰¹ Though formally miscellaneous, these items are grouped here as 'civic printing' because they were paid for by organisations or businesses based in London, and had citizens of the city as their primary audience.

Crucially, unlike the books that Jaggard published, these civic documents were not themselves products to be sold. Their purpose was to communicate information to as wide an audience as possible. There is one exception to this: the playbills Jaggard printed for London's theatre companies. For these bills, the information on the document related to a product that was for sale. However for the majority of Jaggard's civic printing the purpose of the document was only to be viewed, which placed those items outside the standard discourses of market competition. They were public notices that citizens had to read to continue the good order of their community, and so were subjected to a less sceptical gaze.

Jaggard's civic printing leads to two important points. The first is that, because the purpose of these documents was to communicate necessary information to as wide an audience as possible, the documents would have been visible across most of the city, and would have been likely to attract attention – arguably more careful attention than most print that appealed to readers as consumers. The second point is that Jaggard almost always associated his personal

¹⁰¹ Peter Stallybrass has described such short, often city-related documents as 'jobbing work': "Little Jobs": Broad-sides and the Printing Revolution," in Sabrina Baron et al eds., *Agents of Change: Print Culture Studies After Elizabeth Eisenstein* (Amherst, MA: U of Massachusetts P, 2007) 315-41, at 326. On the same page, Stallybrass is mistaken that 'the Jaggards were above all printers, undertaking work that had been paid for by others.'

brand with these documents by including his imprint in a prominent position. The result was that Jaggard's civic printing became an infrastructure that carried his reputation to an exceptionally wide audience within the City of London and associated him with some powerful institutions, including the city's government.

Jaggard's first effort at civic printing concerned playbills. One of his earliest activities as an independent stationer was to try to secure a contract to print playbills in 1593. This attempt failed, but in 1602 he negotiated to print bills for the Earl of Worcester's theatre company. By 1615 he had taken over the full privilege to print bills for all theatre companies.¹⁰² In May 1604 Jaggard also tried to gain an unusual right to print and sell a copy of the ten commandments to every parish church and chapel in England and Wales.¹⁰³ In Jaggard's case, commentators have noted how lucrative his patent of 1604 must have been, but in fact this, like Jaggard's first attempt to secure the playbill contract, probably failed.¹⁰⁴ The entry of the patent in the Signet Office Docquet Book, which represented one stage further in the process of gaining a patent than the State Papers archive, has a marginal note that reads 'not sealed staid by the L: Cecill' – meaning the Lord Privy Seal Robert Cecil had blocked Jaggard's patent.¹⁰⁵ That note is not present in the earlier draft in the State Papers archive. So Jaggard's attempt to win a patent to print the ten commandments probably never succeeded, but does provide further evidence that he sought printing work that occupied a privileged and authoritative position in society.

¹⁰² Jaggard's efforts to win the playbill printing contract are discussed by Tiffany Stern, *Documents of Performance* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2009) 36–62.

¹⁰³ Willoughby, *Jaggard* 66. There is a precedent for this attempt in Jaggard's apprenticeship: in 1568–9, Henry Denham registered the right to print 'the x commandements in Spanysshe'. See: Arber I.385.

¹⁰⁴ Stallybrass, "Broadside" 330; Willoughby, *Printer* 67; Wells, "Jaggard, William."

¹⁰⁵ *Signet Office Docket Book, April 1603–April 1605*: TNA SO 3/2, 278r. Thanks to Peter W. M. Blayney for alerting me to this reference. In the State Papers series the patent draft can be found at: *State Papers Domestic, Signet Office Docquets*: TNA SP 38/7, 141v.

Jaggard's most important civic printing arrangement began in December 1610 when he was appointed Printer to the City of London Corporation by the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen.¹⁰⁶ The entry in the corporation's archives looks like this:

Item this day William Jaggard is by this court chosen and admitted to be the Printer for this City in the Roome & steed of John Windett lately deceased for so long tyme as he shall well sufficiently & honestly *performe* the same and at such reasonable rates & prises as the said John Windett *formely* did.¹⁰⁷

Both Willoughby and a researcher of the post, Charles Welch, saw the City Printer's office as relatively unimportant because so little evidence survives to show that it was much used. Welch's article listed just three documents for Jaggard's thirteen-year tenure from 1610 to 1623, which led Willoughby to conclude that, 'the income from the office was not large and Jaggard's duties in this connection probably not heavy [...] the honour, then, of being the City Printer was not a great one.'¹⁰⁸ The second edition of the *STC* added nine items to Jaggard's City of London printing, and there are two further items that are unrecorded.¹⁰⁹ However a detailed account of the work of the City Printer is given by the City of London's cash accounts, which contain annual itemised lists of what was printed for the governing corporation. Fire destroyed the accounts dating from before 1632, but extant records show many of the jobs were annual fixtures, and there is no reason to see these slightly later accounts as unreliable evidence of what the job involved for Jaggard ten years earlier. The earliest bill, which is for Robert Young, who succeeded Isaac Jaggard as City Printer in 1627, lists thirteen separate jobs that total 27,250 pieces of print.¹¹⁰ This led to gross payment of fifty-three pounds and six shillings – far more work and

¹⁰⁶ For the City Printer's post, see Charles Welch, "The City Printers," *The Library* 14.1 (1917): 175-242. See also Willoughby, *Jaggard* 97-8.

¹⁰⁷ *Court of Aldermen Repertory Book 1610-12*: LMA COL/CA/01/01/033, 36r.

¹⁰⁸ Willoughby, *Jaggard* 97-8.

¹⁰⁹ *An Act of Common Council*: LMA CLA/022/02/003; *Orders and Articles Made*: BL HS.74/1172/56.

¹¹⁰ *City of London Cash Accounts 1632*: LMA COL/CHD/CT/01/001, 65r-v. A modernised transcription of this bill is presented in appendix one.

money than the surviving documents suggest. Specific information in the bill reveals what documents were visible in London, including mayoral proclamations, a few of which survive, but also documents that no longer exist: tickets for royal entertainments, passports for criminals leaving Newgate and travelling back to their parish, instructions for apprentices, orders to appear in court and commissions for tax-collecting. The accounts also contain valuable information about print runs: broadside mayoral proclamations and acts of Common Council were usually printed in 500 copies; thousands of passports for rogues were required each year; and handbooks of city regulations were also issued in editions of 500 copies. The City Printer might also occasionally provide binding services, as an item from Robert Young's second bill, from 1633, shows: '500 bookes for the lawes of the markett being vij^c L^{tie} sheets at j^d the sheete and for stitching the same bookes as by one other bill appeareth vj^{li} iiijs'.¹¹¹ Two specific commissions that date from Jaggard's time as City Printer add more detail to what we know about the City Printer's office. The two commissions are recorded in the repertory books of the Court of Aldermen. No item of print from either of these jobs survives today, again highlighting the ephemeral nature of most of the City Printer's work. In 1612 Jaggard was paid five pounds for printing 400 decrees for Blackwell Hall, which was the centre of London's cloth trade. The entry for this job reads as follows:

Item it is ordered that the Gouverno^{res} of xristes hospitall London shall presently pay to William Jaggard the cittie's Printer for printing foure hundred of the Ordynannces and decrees for Blackwell hall being foure sheetes at iij^d a peece the some of fve poundes And this shalbe their warrant in that behalfe.¹¹²

And in 1619 an entry was made that records a batch of passports that Jaggard was ordered to print, for, 'conueyance of all such rogues as at every Sessions of gaole deliury are by order of

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 154v.

¹¹² *Court of Aldermen Repertory Book 1610-12*: LMA COL/CA/01/01/033, 380r. Thanks to Peter W. M. Blayney for this reference and the one in the next footnote. The edition this entry refers to, though it does not survive, was probably similar to *Orders Set Downe For Blackwellhall* (1595, STC 16716), which was printed by the then City Printer John Windet.

court to passe from Newegate to their Contrey.¹¹³ Jaggard also printed for a range of other institutions as well as the City of London Corporation, including the Privy Council (for which a broadside bill containing an order about bread prices survives), the College of Arms (a herald's summons), the king (another broadside bill), for local authorities (a Tewkesbury petition for financial aid), and for civic competitions (a bill for a shooting match).¹¹⁴ These documents all projected their messages onto the city's public spaces, and almost all these items carried Jaggard's imprint, and so the presence of his business and his reputation. Tiffany Stern has noted that early playbills (none of which survive) were found 'not just in every street of London but also inside many of its homes and about its people', and while mayoral proclamations and government edicts may not have been carried home as playbills were, they would have occupied a privileged position in London's public forums.¹¹⁵ The numbers in which these bills were printed indicate they were not only hung in the churches and courts that were the usual sites of legal proclamations, but probably also around shops and on the many posts that served as advertising space in the city. The 'posting' of city regulations was mentioned by William Sanderson in 1658, who wrote of 'publique Proclamations and Placands upon each post'; similarly in 1644 Clement Walker wrote of 'publike Proclamations (posted up at Westminster, and the Exchange)'.¹¹⁶

There are practical reasons why Jaggard's imprint was a prominent feature of these documents. His name and title (the 'Printer to the City of London') guaranteed the status of the document together with visual signs like the large woodblock arms of the City of London that appeared at the top of most surviving mayoral proclamations from this period. Almost all City of London printing featured the imprint, 'William Jaggard, Printer to the Honourable City of

¹¹³ *Court of Aldermen Repertory Book 1618-20*: LMA COL/CA/01/01/038, 91r.

¹¹⁴ The *STC* references for these documents are: 16768.32, 8704.5, 23918.5, 20397.3.

¹¹⁵ Stern, *Documents* 53.

¹¹⁶ William Sanderson, *A Compleat History of the Life and Raigne of King Charles* (1658, Wing S646) I4r; Clement Walker, *To the Honourable the Knights, Citizens, and Burghesses...* (1644, Wing W337) single sheet.

London', either before or after a 'God Save the King' (*see below*). Some of Jaggard's woodblock capitals were used with such frequency to start these formulaic documents that they too may have become associated with the status and authority of an official proclamation. The same unusually large woodblock W often began the first word ('Whereas') of mayoral bills, for example, and was also used to begin one of the preliminary epistles in Shakespeare's Folio; the same fount of decorative capitals that appears elsewhere in the preliminary pages of Shakespeare's Folio was used on Privy Council proclamations. These documents contained mandatory information about the organisation of the city, impelling readers to pay attention to maintain their civic contract. Jaggard's ornaments and imprint were part of the authenticity of these documents.

**uen, to the end, the seuerall Offenders may bee duly punished, and that the paines, penalties,
and forfeitures may be duly leaued: wherein such as shall be carefull and painefull to further
and speede due execution in this behalfe, shall out of the penalties and forfeitures, be (for theyr
care and paines therein to be taken) sufficiently recompenced and rewarded.**

**Printed by William Iaggard, Printer to the Honou-
rable Citty of London.**

God saue the King.

Fig. 2.10. The bottom of a mayoral proclamation from 1613, showing Jaggard's imprint was a prominent part of his civic printing (*Where, In All Well-Governed Kingdomes...* 1613, STC 16725.3). Image: EEBO, reel position: STC/1731:03.

The authority that Jaggard's civic printing gave him affected his personal publishing: at times, he used his City Printer's imprint to brand his own publications, seemingly to lend them an 'official' status. In 1611 he registered and published Anthony Munday's *A Briefe Chronicle, of the Success of*

Times. Jaggard's imprint on the *Briefe Chronicle* followed the same format as that used for official publications. The imprint is shown here:

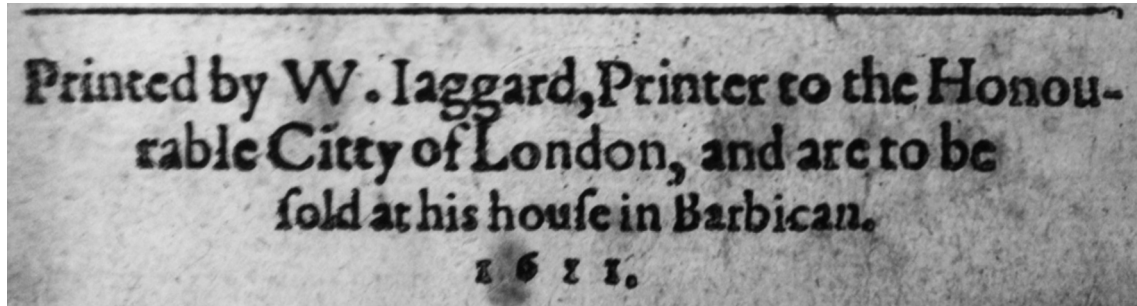


Fig. 2.11. Detail of the title page of Anthony Munday's *A Briefe Chronicle* (1611, STC 18263), showing the imprint. Image: author's own of Guildhall Library, shelfmark H.2.7 no 7.

Munday's book contains just enough material about London to suggest that this was indeed an official text; though it was not, because official City of London work was not entered into the Stationers' Register, as this text was.¹¹⁷ The text was dedicated by Munday to the serving Lord Mayor of London, William Cravan, and it included 4.75 sheets that described 'the Originall Antiquity, Increase and Moderne estate of the honourable City of London', with a survey of the city and several lists of city officials.¹¹⁸ Jaggard's use of the City Printer's imprint seems a conscious attempt to brand a private publication with the authority of the city's governing corporation – he extended his imprint in ways that relate to Bloomsbury's use of the Arden Shakespeare imprint discussed in the introduction. Jaggard's personal pride in the City Printer's post is made clear by his will:

Item I giue to the hall of the right honour^{bl} Company of the stationers
my very good freindes and brothers [] the use of the sayd
Brotherhood A peice of siluer plate comonly called Bullion weighing

¹¹⁷ In June 1611: Arber III.460.

¹¹⁸ Anthony Munday, *A Briefe Chronicle* (1611, STC 18263) Nn4r-Ss2r.

twenty ounces [] woordes to be ingrauen thereon viz The Guift of
William Jaggard Printer to the honourable Citty of Lon[don]¹¹⁹

~

Jaggard's First Folio

Scholars have investigated Jaggard's material contribution to Shakespeare's First Folio in minute detail. This chapter has studied his career to recover the symbolic meanings he added to the Folio through his reputation as a publisher and a civic printer, which was embodied in his imprint and his printing materials. Histories of the Folio that describe Jaggard's involvement as an unfortunate practical necessity have misunderstood his reputation, partly to protect the Folio's status from the perception that Jaggard was a pirate. But as this chapter has shown, Jaggard was not seen as a pirate by his contemporaries, and in fact the Folio drew a large part of its bibliographic authority *from* the involvement of the Jaggard business.

There are some general and some specific conclusions to be drawn about what symbolic meanings Jaggard added to the Folio. His reputation as a publisher of authoritative books would have strongly endorsed the rhetoric of authority in the Folio's paratexts, and the Folio's presentation of copies of the plays that were more valuable and more accurate than any that were otherwise available. In its sales pitch to 'the great Variety of Readers', signed by two members of the King's Men theatre company, the Folio claimed to have corrected 'diuerse stolne, and surreptitious copies' by providing authoritative texts 'cur'd, and perfect of their limbes'.¹²⁰ Jaggard's name and printing materials did much to ground this claim in a credible heritage of authoritative book production. The sense of the Folio's claim in the preface quoted here is not much different to a preface that Jaggard added to the front of one of his books of heraldry, 'Thomas Milles' *The Catalogue of Honor*. Immediately after Milles' title page Jaggard added a leaf

¹¹⁹ *Will of William Jaggard*: LMA DL/AL/C/003/MS09052/005. In this transcription the square brackets [] mark where the right margin of the document is missing. The silver plate Jaggard left was subsequently sold by the Stationers' Company: Jackson ed., *Records of the Court* 390.

¹²⁰ William Shakespeare, *Mr. William Shakespeares Comedies, Histories, & Tragedies* (1623, STC 22273) A3r.

that explained his own aim in publishing Milles' book. The end of that leaf reads: 'this work entending nothing but HONOR vnto All, disputes no Titles publique nor priuate, but aymes at TRVTH, onely, in matter of DESCENTS, GENEALOGIES, ARMES, and PEDEGREES.'¹²¹ The highest aim of the book is 'truth', meaning historical accuracy and authority, which were the values that Jaggard championed over his career. Similar ideas of authority and accuracy are an important part of the Folio's sales pitch. As a civic printer Jaggard was also associated with London's major institutions, including the City of London corporation and the Privy Council, as well as the theatre companies themselves. The status created by these associations complimented a collection of plays belonging to the king's own theatre company.

This fresh perspective on Jaggard's reputation also suggests new ways to think about specific aspects of the Folio. One such aspect is the use of particular pieces of distinctive decorative type. Some of the folio's printing materials were used in other resonant forms of public print that may have affected the meanings they carried. The ornamental 'W' that began John Heminge and Henry Condell's address to the Herberts ('Whilst we studie to be thankful...') was also in 1623 posted up around the city on 500 broadside acts of Common Council ('Where by the statute made...') and 500 royal proclamations ('Whereas the Kings most excellent Maiestie...') (*see image below*). The smaller fount of decorative capitals that began two preliminary poems and many of the plays also circulated on a herald's summons and in handbooks of city regulation. The wooden satyr ornament that appeared at the end of twenty-five of the Folio's plays had previously appeared in several important Jaggard folios, including Helkiah Crooke's *Microcosmographia* and Vincent's *Discoverie*. An interaction of meaning between these two contexts – the Folio and Jaggard's civic printing – was made likely by the public nature of Jaggard's reputation and the high visibility of his printing work.

¹²¹ Thomas Milles, *The Catalogue of Honor* (1610, STC 17926) A2r.

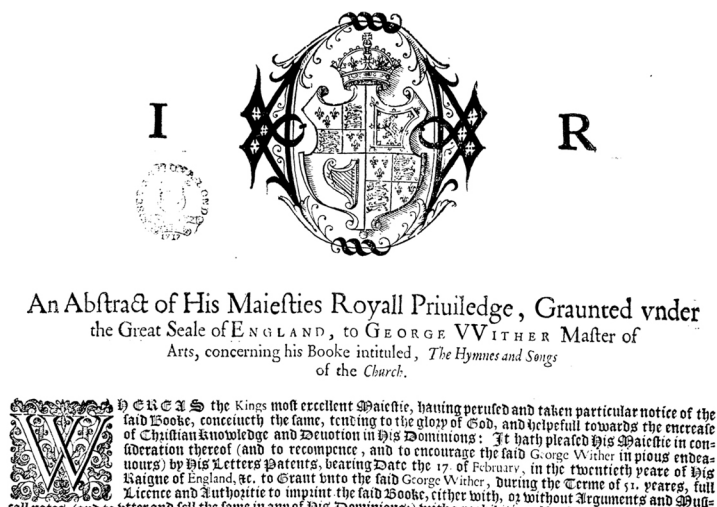
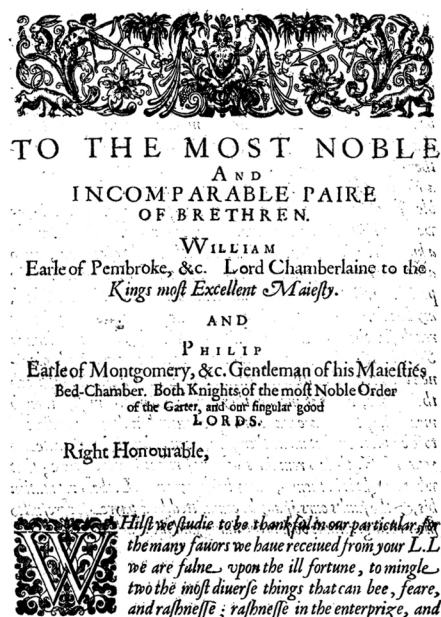


Fig. 2.12. The decorative initial W used for the First Folio's dedication (*left*) was also used on two official proclamations circulating in 1623, including this royal announcement concerning hymn books (*right*). Pictures: EEBO reels STC / 774:11 (showing π A2r of Shakespeare, *Comedies, Histories, & Tragedies*) and STC / 1875:142 (showing James I, *An Abstract of His Maiesties Royall Priuiledge...* [1623, STC 8704.5]).

The design and language of the Folio's contents page also emerge in new light from this study of Jaggard's career. The page contains several elements common to Jaggard's work – enough to suggest his agency in the page's construction. To begin with, the page is styled as a 'CATALOGVE' of comedies, histories, and tragedies. That word, which sums up the referential quality of Jaggard's publishing, is found on the title pages and in the paratextual matter of several other of Jaggard's books, yet never in the paratexts of any other Folio publisher. The remaining syndicate members preferred less specific phrasing in comparable paratexts, such as 'The

Contents of this Book', 'Books Contained in this Volume', or 'A Table of the Chapters'.¹²² In the Folio, the word 'catalogue' immediately presents the plays as intentionally ordered according to a particular logic. In 1617 'catalogue' was one of the 'many hard English words' included in the fourth edition of Robert Cawdry's dictionary, where it was defined as a 'beadrole, or rehearsal of words and names'.¹²³ A beadroll was a list of persons to be prayed for, with connotations of a distinct pedigree or genealogy to the order of such a list.¹²⁴ In the context of Shakespeare's plays the word 'catalogue' invited readers to trust an imaginary authoritative presence controlling the organisation of the plays, while it simultaneously contributed to ideas of dynasty and descent that can be found elsewhere in the Folio preliminary matter, such as Heminge and Condell's description of Shakespeare's plays as 'Orphanes' related to their late father and their new 'guardians', the Folio patrons William and Philip Herbert. 'Catalogue' suggests authority of descent; a dynastic heritage that further bound the plays to their noble patrons, the earls of Pembroke and Montgomery.

Jaggard's influence also seems present in the titles and genres of the plays themselves, which are listed under three headings: Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies. This influence is most evident in the Histories section, which orders an originally heterogeneous set of quarto editions into a chronicle-like progression of monarchs, which guided the presentation of Jaggard's own *A View of all the Right Honourable the Lord Mayors*, and his edition of *A Catalogue and Succession of the Kings*, or the various lists of London dignitaries (mayors, chamberlains, and recorders among

¹²² In Jaggard's work, 'Catalogue' appears as part of the title of: Milles, *Catalogue; A Catalogue of the Kings of Scotland* (1610, STC 22008); *A Catalogue of Such English Bookes...* (1618, STC 14341); Ralph Brooke, *A Catalogue and Succession of the Kings* (1619, STC 3832-3); Augustine Vincent, *A Discouerie of Errours in the... Catalogue of Nobility* (1622, STC 24756). The word also heads a paratext ('The Catalogue of the Authors') in Edward Topsell's *The Historie of Four-Footed Beastes* (1607, STC 24123). The examples quoted from books published by other members of the Folio syndicate are: Nicholas Breton, *A Poste With a Madde Packet of Letters* (1602, STC 3684) [A3v]; Edward Dering, *M. Derings Workes* (1614, STC 6678) A1v; Michel de Montaigne, *The Essayes* (1613, STC 18042) A4v-5r.

¹²³ Robert Cawdry, *A Table Alphabeticall* (1617, STC 4886) B6r.

¹²⁴ Henry Cockeram's 1626 dictionary of 'hard English words' gives: 'A roll, bill, a register of names' for beadroll. *The English Dictionarie* (1626, STC 5462) C5r.

others) found in Jaggard's edition of Munday's *A Briebe Chronicle of the Successe of Times*. The layout of the Histories in the Folio invokes forms of writing in which Jaggard specialised. The construction of that category itself, in its nationalistic focus on English monarchs, reflects an interest in national and civic identity that is present in much of Jaggard's publishing. Creating this list of history plays necessitated several changes to the quarto titles that importantly altered the focus and genre of those plays. Three of the Folio's history plays - *Richard II*, *Richard III*, and *3 Henry VI* – were originally marketed as tragedies. The earliest of these was *3 Henry VI*, which first appeared as an octavo titled *The True Tragedie of Richard Duke of Yorke, and the Death of Good King Henrie the Sixt* in 1595.¹²⁵ It was republished as a quarto with the same title in 1600, and again as one part of a different title (*The Whole Contention Betweene the Two Famous Houses, LANCASTER and YORKE*, a book that contained both the second and third parts of *Henry VI* as one joint publication) in 1619. The Folio's retitling of the text as *The Third part of King Henry the Sixt* not only repositioned it as a history but also made it the conclusion of a trilogy that revolves around King Henry VI. Generic expectations of *Richard II*, *Richard III*, and *3 Henry VI* now invited readers to consider conventions appropriate to historical, not tragic, narratives.

The reverse of this generic change is true for *The Merchant of Venice*, which in its quarto editions was described as a 'Most Excellent History', but in the Folio is awkwardly positioned as a comedy – a category that highlights the play's comedic features but that uncomfortably housed its darker themes. Similarly *Hamlet* was originally marketed as a hybrid 'Tragicall Historie' on the title pages of its first two quarto editions. Yet in the Folio, where 'history' is exclusively English, *Hamlet* is a tragedy. *Troilus and Cressida*, originally marketed as *The History of Troilus and Cressida*, was finally placed among the tragedies after the syndicate finished negotiating with the play's owner, Henry Walley, while *Cymbeline*, which is now seen as a romance, or tragi-comedy, is put among

¹²⁵ William Shakespeare, *The True Tragedie of Richard Duke of Yorke, and the Death of Good King Henrie the Sixt* (1595, STC 21006).

the tragedies. As well as changing the genres of some plays, the Folio contents page imposed a rigid structure that rejects any ambiguous or hybrid forms.

The changes instigated by the Folio contents page are not merely cosmetic. They guided the focus of early readers, and so help us to understand what was important to Shakespeare's contemporaries. The Folio preliminary pages have also, as Margreta de Grazia has argued, 'been influential in forming the received wisdom as to the nature of Shakespeare's genius, his method of writing, the sincerity of those responsible for the Folio, and the respective authenticity of the Folio and quarto texts.'¹²⁶ Importantly, de Grazia stresses that the preliminary pages are not referential but performative: they create the identity that later critics understood as antecedent to the Folio. Suggesting that Jaggard controlled the layout and vocabulary of the contents page does not simply supply a historical figure to whom agency for a part of the Folio can be assigned. As this chapter has shown Jaggard is of interest for his authoritative publishing reputation, and his involvement in the Folio contents page enables a deeper understanding of how part of the most important document in the construction of Shakespeare's identity was connected to economic and industrial logic. The word 'catalogue', together with the titles of the plays and their genres powerfully constitute a particular vision of Shakespeare's work – one which may have emerged from the economic practices and discursive publishing interests of the Jaggard publishing business, which had in turn been influenced by the business of Henry Denham.

There is one final way Jaggard may have influenced the Folio's construction. The categories imposed by the contents page led to the Folio's title, *Mr. William Shakespeares Comedies, Histories, & Tragedies*, which means that if Jaggard controlled the contents page he also supplied the wording that determines our perceptions of the plays today.

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¹²⁶ Margreta de Grazia, *Shakespeare Verbatim: The Reproduction of Authenticity and the 1790 Apparatus* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1991) 27.

CHAPTER THREE

William Aspley: The First Folios of John Boys and William Shakespeare

In 1646 the parishioners of St Dunstan's in the West, Fleet Street, mourned the death of their vicar, James Marsh. Marsh's estate included a library that was inventoried by the vestrymen. Most of the list comprises Latin and Greek theology, but two English books stand out. One, under 'Lib in Fol.' is a copy of 'Shacespeers playes'; further down is the entry 'Boyses Autum parte'.¹ The first of these is a previously unknown reference to a Shakespeare Folio, though as the list was written in 1648 it is not clear whether Marsh owned a first or second edition of Shakespeare's works. The second entry is an edition of an almost-forgotten quarto by the clergyman and approximate contemporary of Shakespeare, John Boys (1571-1625).

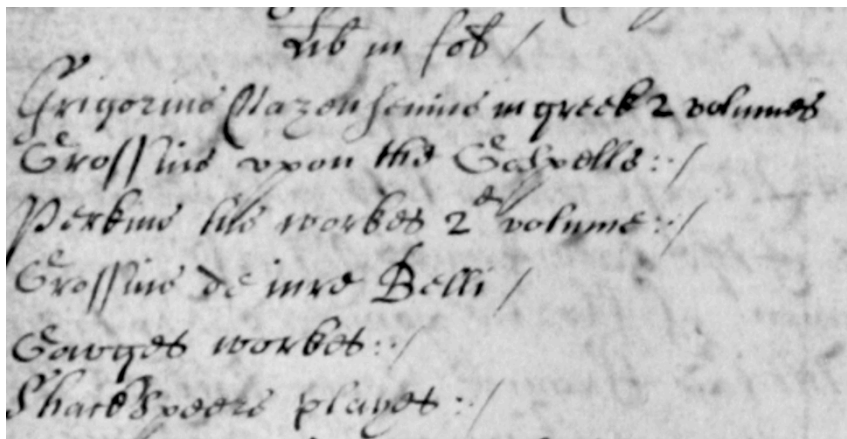


Fig. 3.1. The entry from Marsh's inventory, showing 'Shacespeers playes' under 'Lib in fol'. A few lines beneath this is the entry for the John Boys quarto. Image: author's own of *Register of Deeds, St Dunstan in the West*, 362v.

¹ *Register of Deeds, St Dunstan in the West*: LMA P69/DUN2/D/001/MS02983, 362v.

It seems unusual to find these two books in a library that, to judge from the inventory, was focused on Latin continental theology, but Marsh was not alone in owning Boys and Shakespeare. The account books of Sir Edward Dering, the first man known to have bought a First Folio, also record the purchase of 'Dr Boys his expositions on the english' for thirteen shillings shortly before he bought his copies of Shakespeare.² In fact Shakespeare's Folio was connected to the work of John Boys through the publisher William Aspley, who had an exclusive publishing arrangement with Boys during the clergyman's lifetime but was also a shareholder in the Shakespeare Folio project. This chapter shows that Aspley placed Boys at the centre of his publishing strategy, and argues this has two major implications for the way readers approached Shakespeare's Folio.

The first implication of Aspley's work with John Boys concerned the content of Boys' texts. The preacher was a strongly orthodox Protestant who was enlisted by King James as part of the Chelsea College group of religious writers that produced polemical tracts directed at the king's enemies, primarily Roman Catholics. Aside from Chelsea College works, Boys' major writings provided a detailed exegesis of *The Book of Common Prayer*, supplying a politically safe interpretive framework for preachers. Through Boys, Aspley's bookshop propagated a conformist religious ideology that worked on behalf of the state to suppress dissent and factionalism. That same ideology was espoused in many of Aspley's other books, Boys being at the centre of a consistently orthodox output. By 1623 Aspley had a reputation as a pro-establishment publisher who was associated with the monarchy, and his name on Shakespeare's Folio added new religious and political legitimacy to Shakespeare's status.

² Dering bought the Boys book on 19 April 1621. The manuscript is: *A Booke of Expenses*: Kent County Archives U350/E4. See: T. N. S. Lennam, "Sir Edward Dering's Collection of Playbooks, 1619-1624", *Shakespeare Quarterly* 16:2 (1965): 145-53; and the Folger Shakespeare Library's *Private Libraries in Renaissance England* database, at: plre.folger.edu, record 4.494. See also Laetitia Yeandle's web-edition transcription of Dering's account book: *Sir Edward Dering, 1st bart., of Surrenden Dering and his 'Booke of Expences' 1617-1628*. The Kent Archaeological Society Papers, no. 20. Web. <<http://www.kentarchaeology.ac/authors/020.pdf>>.

The second point to emerge from Aspley's relationship with Boys is not about the content but about the form and presentation of Boys' books. In various bibliographic ways, the Boys quartos show that Aspley used authorship as a marketing tool. Each quarto was coded as part of a series organised around the presentation of John Boys as an author. This campaign transformed Boys from being a relatively unknown parish clergyman in 1608, when his first quarto was published, to being one of the best-known religious writers of his time by the early 1620s, when all of Boys' writings were collected in a folio *Workes* that was published in 1622 and reprinted in 1630 and 1638. This folio was described by one contemporary as a 'monument' to Boys' fame, in another instance of the metaphor that was also used by Ben Jonson and Leonard Digges to describe Shakespeare's authorial reputes in their contributions to the preliminary matter of the First Folio. The author of Boys' biography, published a few years after his death, described his folio *Workes* as, 'a monument of his fame, which Time cannot deface, nor the rotten tooth of *Envy* euer obliterate.'³ Aspley created this fame through deft handling of Boys' printed reputation. An author-focused approach to marketing books is visible elsewhere in Aspley's work, so that by 1623 an interest in collecting and compiling texts written by the same author was a characteristic element of Aspley's publishing style, granting Shakespeare's Folio a familiar and established bibliographical frame within which to assert its proprietary notion of authorship.

This chapter begins by showing when and how John Boys became the central product of Aspley's bookshop. It then gives an account of Aspley's early life and apprenticeship, highlighting the way these periods shaped Aspley's interest in Boys and religious writing. It then shows that Boys' religious orthodoxy was supported by other aspects of Aspley's publishing to create a coherent brand. The chapter finally explores the formal and bibliographical qualities of the Boys' quartos and the implications of Aspley's interest in authorship, before concluding with ways these two contexts – a publishing specialism in religious orthodoxy, and a habit of using

³ John Boys, *Remaines of that Reverend and Famous Postiller, Iohn Boys* (1631, STC 3468) A3r-v.

authorship to market books – brought meaning to Shakespeare’s Folio. Investigating the way Shakespeare and Boys interacted with one another in Aspley’s bookshops at the sign of the Tiger’s Head, the chapter will show that Boys’ dramatic rise in print illuminates the process through which Shakespeare achieved his own authorial fame.

John Boys at the Parrot

William Aspley, who published books from 1599 to 1640, is a particularly rich and exciting figure in Folio history because he has never been studied in depth. The most important fact about his publishing reputation is that in 1623 he was associated with one author, John Boys, to a remarkable degree. This relationship is evident whichever way Aspley’s output is quantified: Boys accounted for thirty of the 106 items that are attributed to Aspley by the *STC* between 1599 and 1622. These 106 items comprise ninety-two separate editions and fourteen re-issued texts, of which Boys counts for twenty-eight editions and two re-issues: a total of 30.4 per cent of all of Aspley’s pre-Shakespeare Folio editions.⁴ As a proportion of edition-sheets that Aspley financed during the same time, Boys counts for 44.8 per cent; in terms of the number of ens of type that Aspley paid to be composed during that time, Boys counts for 50.9 per cent. So by the most accurate measures, of edition sheets and ens of type financed, John Boys accounts for roughly half of all the work financed by Aspley before the First Folio.

The likelihood that Boys was a major part of Aspley’s public reputation at the time the First Folio was published is increased by looking at the chronology of the publication of the Boys quartos. Though he started to publish books in 1599, Aspley’s first edition of John Boys

⁴ The Boys quartos are described by the *STC* as ‘bibliographically complex’. Boys had a relatively small corpus of works, but the titles were issued in combinations with one another and sections were occasionally recycled. At least one issue is not recorded by the *STC*: Bodleian Library, Vet. A2 e.353 (5) is an uncatalogued issue of *The Autumne Part*, first published in 1612 as *STC* 3460.5. The imprint of the known issue of the 1612 edition includes Aspley’s address (‘...for VVilliam Aspley, are to be sold at his shop in Pauls Church-yard, at the signe of the Parrot, 1612’), while the Bodleian copy does not: ‘...for VVilliam Aspley. 1612.’ This unrecorded issue has not been included in the counts of Aspley’s output.

appeared in 1609, shortly after the stationer had moved his premises from the Sign of the Tiger to the Sign of the Parrot, both in Paul's Cross Churchyard. In October 1609 Aspley registered a manuscript written by Boys with the Stationers' Company; the first Boys quarto appeared by the end of that year.⁵ Twenty-seven further quarto editions followed before the folio *Workes* of John Boys in 1622. Between 1609 when the first Boys quarto was published and the 1622 *Workes*, Boys accounts for 63.5 per cent of all ens of type financed by Aspley, or 64.8 per cent of all his edition sheets. Aspley's investment in ens of type composed is shown below.

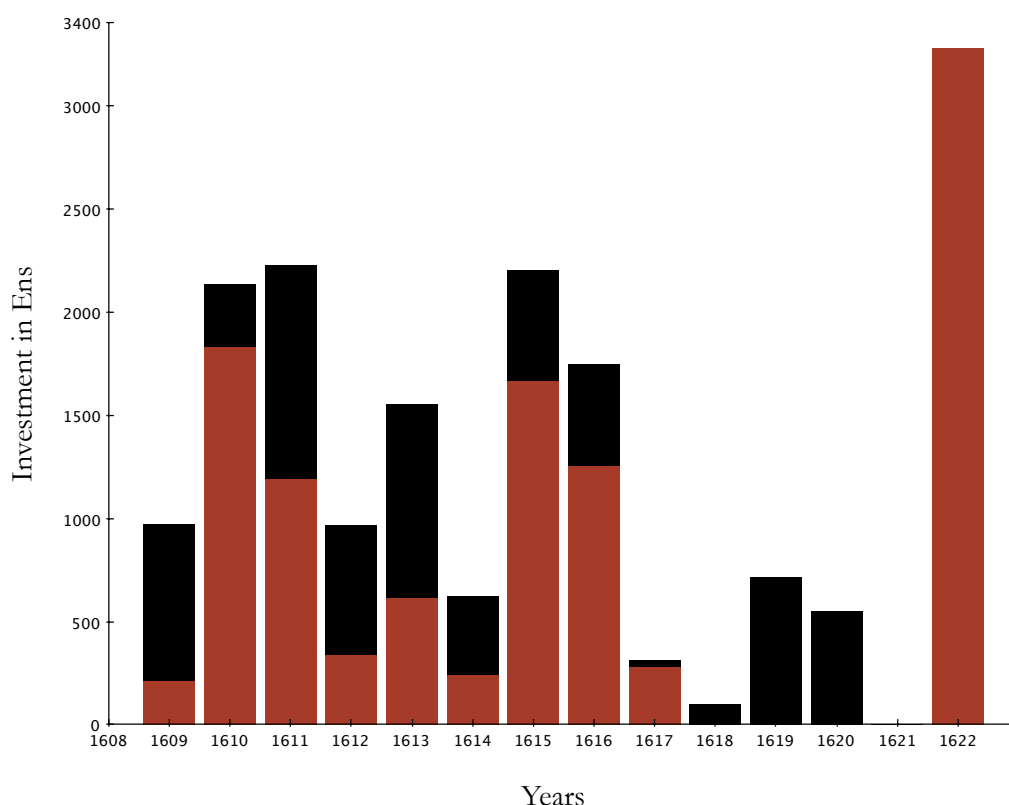


Fig. 3.2. Chart showing William Aspley's investment, measured in the ens of type he published. The ens that represent work by John Boys are coloured red.

⁵ Arber III.423. The book appeared as: John Boys, *An Exposition of Al The Principall Scriptures Used in Our English Liturgie* (1609, STC 3455).

This is the most consistent investment in a single author made by any of the publishers who were involved in Shakespeare's Folio by some distance. The exclusivity of the arrangement is unusual within the entire book trade. With only one exception, every Stationers' Register entry that related to Boys was made by Aspley, and again with only one exception each imprint on the thirty-four Boys books that were produced in the seventeenth century name only Aspley as the publisher. The exception within the Stationers' register is that in April 1611 the stationers Felix Kingston and William Welby co-registered one of Boys' manuscripts⁶. Aspley bought Kingston's share of this manuscript in July 1612, while Welby retained his share till 1618, when he sold it Thomas Snodham.⁷ Kingston and Welby's original entry of 1611 is ambiguous in its wording, in that it stated Kingston and Welby had acquired 'Doctor Boys his leiturgie', and, as this title is not a complete match for any of the Boys quartos that were subsequently published, but is a partial match for several, it is difficult to say whether or not Kingston ever saw an edition of his manuscript published. However neither Kingston, Welby, nor Snodham were ever named in the imprint of a Boys book as publisher, so if any of them were involved with a particular title it was through an arrangement that was not advertised bibliographically. The exceptional imprint is that of the first Boys quarto, which was printed in 1609, and looks like this:

AT LONDON
Imprinted by F. K. for *Martin Clerk*, and are to be sold
by *William Aspley*, at the signe of the Parot in
Pauls Churchyard. 1609.⁸

Martin Clarke was a bookseller of mostly religious texts who was active between 1606 and 1611. The Boys quarto with his name in its imprint was republished in three further editions the following year, none of which named Clarke, meaning that at some point between 1609 and 1610

⁶ Arber III.457.

⁷ Arber III.489.

⁸ John Boys, *An Exposition* 1609, A2r.

Clarke seems to have relinquished his stake to Aspley. Beyond the two exceptions described here, the entire literary estate of John Boys was owned and produced by William Aspley.

Beyond books, there is some evidence that Aspley had a personal relationship with Boys. In October 1618 Boys was made the rector of Great Mongeham parish in Kent. For that appointment, Aspley was one of two guarantors who provided surety that Boys would pay his First Fruits tax on the income this post generated.⁹ Aspley also published several writers who are associated with Boys through dedications in Boys' books, or through his membership of Chelsea College, including Matthew Sutcliffe, William Camden, and the Archbishop of Canterbury George Abbot.

William Aspley: An Introduction

So who was William Aspley? In most histories of the production of the Folio, Aspley is described as a marginal figure, one of the minor shareholders. He contributed two manuscripts to the Folio syndicate and featured in none of the documents that give evidence about the way the Folio was made, which means that his career has little to say about questions of textual authenticity, manuscript provenance, or the editorial and leadership functions of the Folio project. Yet Aspley was an equal publisher in the Folio syndicate, making his reputation and audience as relevant as any other syndicate member. Both his Folio manuscripts – *2 Henry IV* and *Much Ado About Nothing* – were registered jointly with another stationer who published several Shakespeare quartos, Andrew Wise. Aspley and Wise registered their joint Shakespeare manuscripts in August 1600. Wise died in about 1603, leaving Aspley as the only known stationer to hold a share in these two plays. Their original joint entry looks like this:

⁹ *Office of First Fruits 1614–18*: TNA E 334/15, 104v.

Andrewe Wyse Entred for their copies vnder the handes of the
William Aspley wardens Two bookes. the one called *Muche a Doo*
about nothinge. Th[e]other *the second parte of the history of*
kinge HENRY the IIIth with the humours of Sir JOHN
FFALLSTAFF: Wrytten by master SHAKESPERE,
xij^d.¹⁰

Aspley did not publish much ‘literary’ writing. From 1599 to 1622, Shakespeare counts for three of the ninety-two editions Aspley financed, and each of those three books were published in a partnership where Aspley seems to have played a minor role. For *Much Ado About Nothing* and 2 *Henry IV*, scholars generally see Wise as the dominant partner because he published a great deal of Shakespeare between 1597 and 1603.¹¹ Aspley’s third Shakespeare edition was the *Sonnets* of 1609, which was published primarily by Thomas Thorpe but sold through the retail bookshops of Aspley and the stationer John Wright.¹² Those three Shakespeare editions equate to 1.5 per cent of the edition sheets Aspley financed up to 1622, and 1.4 per cent of the number of ens of type composed.¹³

Just as Aspley was not particularly interested in publishing Shakespeare before the Folio, he was also only negligibly interested by the genre of printed drama. Aspley financed seven plays before the First Folio, including the two Shakespeare plays mentioned above. All of these plays were published between 1599 and 1607, and they collectively account for 5.3 per cent of Aspley’s edition sheets produced before 1623. Prior to Shakespeare’s Folio Aspley invested overwhelmingly in religious writing and maintained one or two secondary interests. His entire investment output up to and including 1622 is summarised by the table below.

¹⁰ Arber III.170.

¹¹ On Andrew Wise, see Adam G. Hooks, “Wise Ventures: Shakespeare and Thomas Playfere at the Sign of the Angel,” in Straznický ed., *Stationers* 47–62.

¹² William Shakespeare, *Shakespeare’s Sonnets* (1609, STC 22353).

¹³ That is, 30 sheets from a total of 2002.5, and 329,000 ens from a total of 23,120,857.

<i>Category (1599-1622)</i>	<i>Sheets (%)</i>	<i>Ens (%)</i>	<i>Editions (%)</i>
Religion	66	65.9	62.6
Society and Conduct	14.1	15	5.4
Poetry and the Arts	10.9	10.8	16.5
Politics and History	7.3	6.5	13.2
Science and Mathematics	1.7	1.6	2.2
School and Languages	0	0	0

Fig. 3.3. William Aspley's publishing investments before the First Folio, grouped into six main genres.

The evident lack of literature that Aspley published has led scholars to see Aspley's involvement with Shakespeare's Folio as an unimportant consequence of early intellectual property conventions. Greg did not mention Aspley in his book, *The Shakespeare First Folio*, published in 1955; more recently David Scott Kastan has written that Aspley was 'no doubt, invited into the syndicate rather late in the game'.¹⁴ In 2003 Andrew Murphy noted that Aspley seems 'not to have played a very active part in the venture', and most recently Sonia Massai has pointed out that Aspley had no strong literary interests.¹⁵ Yet Aspley's publishing reputation, created primarily through John Boys, is just as important to the reception of the Folio as those of Blount, Jaggard, and Smethwick. The next section shows that his interest in religious publishing may have originated from his upbringing by a father who was also a clergyman.

¹⁴ David Scott Kastan, *Shakespeare and the Book* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2001) 61.

¹⁵ Andrew Murphy, *Shakespeare in Print* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2003) 43; Sonia Massai, *Shakespeare and the Rise of the Editor* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2007) 171.

Early Life

Aspley was born in about 1571 to William Aspley senior and Alice Grewell, who married in Kensington in the same year.¹⁶ The future stationer William was the eldest of at least eight siblings, though because his father died in 1574 most of these must be step or half-siblings.¹⁷ William Aspley senior was a clergyman, born in 1545, in Coppenhall, Staffordshire.¹⁸ In 1571 when William was born, Aspley senior was vicar of St John the Baptist Church in Royston.¹⁹ The area had strong links to the monarchy, and was to become a favourite hunting ground of James I, who built a lodge there.

Aspley senior was appointed to the Royston vicarage just a few days after being given his 'diaconate', meaning the office of deacon, by the Bishop of London.²⁰ The speed of this appointment may imply that Aspley senior was well-connected; if true, those connections may have been acquired during time spent at All Souls College in Oxford. Aspley senior had entered All Souls as a bible clerk and completed his studies by October 1561, aged 16, when he

¹⁶ Joseph Foster ed., *London Marriage Licences 1521-1869* (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1887) 43. Baptism records for the relevant parish (Royston, on the border of Cambridgeshire and Hertfordshire) only begin in 1662.

¹⁷ William Aspley senior's death is noted in: *Bishop's Register*: LMA DL/A/A/006/MS09531/013/001, entry for 19 July 1574. Information about the siblings comes from two sources: *Will of William Aspley*: TNA Prob 10/610, and a subsequent probate quarrel that finished in 1642: *Probate Act Book 1640-4*: TNA Prob 8/37, unfoliated entry for December 1640. The judgment for this probate quarrel, which concluded the stationer Luke Fawne was the legal executor of Aspley's estate, can be found at: *Sentence of the Will of William Aspley*: TNA Prob 11/190/12.

¹⁸ *Clergy of the Church of England Database (CCed)*, Record ID 165614.

¹⁹ Aspley senior was given the Royston living on 9 July 1567: *Certificates of Clergy Appointments*: TNA E 331/London/1, piece 7. A separate record of the appointment exists in Hertfordshire Archives: *Alphabetical List of Parochial Incumbents of the County of Hertford from Lists Compiled by Rev. GL Hennessy* (manuscript on open shelf, no shelfmark or foliation).

²⁰ Ordination as deacon: *Bishop's Register*, entry for 6 July 1567. Priesthood: *ibid.* 29 September 1567.

supplicated for the degree of BA.²¹ He must have continued to study while he held the Royston living and raised his son because he supplicated for the degree of MA in January 1573.²² In fact, though, Aspley senior was not admitted to his MA degree, and he died the following year. Aspley senior also had connections in higher places: Anthony Wood noted that he served for a time as ‘one of the chaplains to Queen Elizabeth’, and took on a further post connected to the Savoy Hospital on The Strand.²³ Aspley senior died aged 29 in July 1574, and he does not seem to have left a will. The next record of the Aspley family is William’s apprenticeship to the important stationer George Bishop, which began in 1588. Despite moving to London, Aspley’s will, proved in 1640, shows that he owned property in Cambridgeshire that included a house inhabited by his sister.

Details of his father’s biography show Aspley had a devout upbringing. The bible clerk post followed by the vicarage in Royston must have given the family unit a strong sense of Protestant theology. If Aspley senior was also a chaplain to Queen Elizabeth, then the family was connected to the monarchy. These biographical details emerged during Aspley’s publishing career through his preference for Protestant writing, and ties to the Stuart monarchy that included the first English edition of James I’s *Daemonologie* in 1603. There is no proof the Aspley family held any favour under Elizabeth that was transferred to James I, but it may be that Aspley’s upbringing inculcated the religious and pro-monarchist views that Aspley later espoused.

²¹ Supplication as Aspley, scholar in the Faculty of Arts, 10 November 1561: *Supplication Roll*: Oxford University Archives NEP/supra/Reg I, 198r. Admission to BA (as Apsley) on 19 November 1561. Inclusion (as Apslee) in those determining in Lent 1562: *ibid.*, 200v. Thanks to Simon Bailey, Keeper of the Archives at the University of Oxford, for this information. See also: Joseph Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses 1500-1714*, 2 vols (Oxford: Parkey & Co, 1891-2), I.29. The information about Aspley joining All Souls as a bible clerk was provided by Dr Norma Aubertin-Potter, Librarian in Charge of the Codrington Library. On bible clerks, whom R. Eason has described as ‘unblushingly Warden’s appointees’, and ‘often sons of quondam bible clerks’, see: R. Eason and R. A. Snoxall, *The Bible Clerks of All Souls College, Oxford* (Oxford: All Souls College, 1976) v.

²² *Supplication Roll for MA*: Oxford University Archives, NEP/supra/Reg KK, 136r.

²³ Anthony a Wood, *Fasti Oxonienses*, 3rd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1815) ed. Philip Bliss, I.162. The All Souls librarians were unable to locate the manuscript Wood cited as an authority.

Apprenticeship

In February 1588 Aspley was bound to George Bishop, who ran an established printing and publishing business from the sign of the Rose in Paul's Cross Churchyard.²⁴ The apprenticeship ended in April 1597. During this time Bishop's business influenced Aspley's later work in a number of ways: some discursive aspects of Bishop's work may have directed Aspley's later investments, while other benefits concerned practical matters such as the lending of money and professional advancement.

During the nine years of Aspley's apprenticeship Bishop produced or part-produced seventy items. The major difference between these items and Aspley's is that Bishop published mostly in Latin (forty-three of the seventy were in that language). English was a secondary language for Bishop (he published only twenty-two items in English), and he also published four items in Greek and one in French. As Bishop's biographer Anders Ingram has stated, Bishop concentrated on learned books aimed at a continental market. Despite the fact that Aspley's own books were almost exclusively in English and primarily directed to an English vernacular readership, it seems likely that Bishop's interest in religious work and, in particular, religious commentary directed Aspley's own investments.

The influence is made clear by the fact that they both published several of the same religious authors, who include the religious controversialist Matthew Sutcliffe, founder of Chelsea College. Bishop published three editions of Sutcliffe's work in 1591, and registered the manuscript of another in 1595; Aspley published three editions of Sutcliffe in 1604. This pattern of Aspley investing in the same authors as his master is also true of the work of William Camden

²⁴ Arber II.150. Anders Ingram, "Bishop, George (*b.* in or before 1538, *d.* 1610/11)", *ODNB*. Web, 2013 < <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/104774?docPos=1>>. Bishop was an important stationer: five times master of the Stationers' Company, deputy printer to Queen Elizabeth, and aldermen of Billingsgate Ward from 1609.

and Bishop John Gordon. Both Bishop and Aspley also appear in the archives of the exchequer, where they guaranteed payments owed to the crown by Protestant clergymen.²⁵

One particularly important inheritance Aspley took from Bishop was a nuanced appreciation of *The Book of Common Prayer*. Bishop's post as a deputy printer to Queen Elizabeth gave him the printing of much of the work assigned to the royal printer Christopher Barker, who held the right to print *The Book of Common Prayer* and the bible.²⁶ Ingram has noted that Bishop 'became responsible for the day-to-day running of the [royal] printing house'.²⁷ As well as deputising Barker to print editions of the communion book and bible, Bishop personally financed two commentaries on the church 'lectionary' (a list of the parts of the bible to be read at church services) that are the predecessors of the work of John Boys. The first was by the Dutch Lutheran Niels Hemmingsen, whose books were immensely popular in London from 1570 to 90.²⁸ In 1569 Bishop commissioned the writer Arthur Golding to translate Hemmingsen's *A Postill, or Exposition of the Gospels*. In his preface to the book that resulted, Golding described Bishop and his partner Lucas Harrison as, 'men well mynded towards godlynesse and true Religion, [who] taking uppon them too Imprint this woork at their proper charges, requested mee too put the same intoo English.'²⁹ The following year the same two stationers commissioned Golding to translate a similar work by the German Lutheran David Chytraeus, *A Postil or Orderly Disposing of Certeine Epistles Unusually Red in the Church*.³⁰ Both books sold well enough to require

²⁵ For George Bishop: *Office of First Fruits 1594-1603*, TNA E334/12, 34r, 58v, 75r; *Office of First Fruits 1604-13*, TNA E334/14, 11v. For Aspley: *First Fruits 1604-13*, 187r; *First Fruits 1614-18*, TNA E 334/15, 104v.

²⁶ Imprints that confirm Bishop printed on Barker's behalf include: STC 22908-9, 22912, 2895.3, 10788, 2896.

²⁷ Anders Ingram, "Bishop".

²⁸ For Hemmingsen, see: Paul Lockhart, *Frederik II and the Protestant Cause* (Leiden: Brill, 2004) 76-80 and 159-62. In all, Hemmingsen's work was published in 18 separate editions between 1570-90.

²⁹ Niels Hemmingsen, *A Postil, or Exposition* (1569, STC 13062) a3r. On the Golding translation, and other of Bishop's religious work, see: H. S. Bennett, *English Books and Readers 1558-1603* 2 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1965) 2.107-10.

³⁰ David Chytraeus, *A Postil or Orderly Disposing of Certeine Epistles Unusually Red in the Church* (1570, STC 5263).

second editions (sales of Hemmingsen were helped by bishops who recommended the work to their clergy as a guide). These two titles dealt with the same subject matter as does John Boys, and are often referred to in his writing. Hemmingsen, Chytraeus, and Boys all explained which passages of the bible were to be read on which days of the church calendar, together with an explication and justification of that passage that created a safe theological interpretation for less well-read clergymen. Ian Green has argued that John Boys eventually replaced Hemmingsen as ‘the standard fare from many early Stuart pulpits.’³¹ There was an authorial genealogy from Hemmingsen to Chytraeus to Boys that was matched by an industrial genealogy in Bishop and Aspley.

Bishop also had practical influence on Aspley’s career. When Aspley opened his first retail bookshop Bishop seems to have provided credit in the form of printed books – a legacy described in Bishop’s will as ‘all that debte wch he oweth unto me in my Booke.’³² In 1600 Bishop also made Aspley the beneficiary of a small purchase of land in Staffordshire.³³ Aspley witnessed Bishop’s will in 1611 and was the guardian and executor of the family’s estate when Bishop’s wife Mary died in 1613. The will of Mary Bishop states: ‘My will and mynde is that he [Aspley] should have the Tuiton, keeping and bringing upp of my [...] cousen Gabriell Cawood my executor, and the managing and performance of the affaires and business of my estate.’³⁴

John Boys and Religious Orthodoxy

The centrality of John Boys to Aspley’s publishing project had two major implications for Shakespeare. The first concerned the content of Boys’ writing; the second the marketing power

³¹ Ian Green, “Preaching in the Parishes”, in Hugh Adlington, Peter McCullough, and Emma Rhatigan eds., *The Oxford Handbook of the Early Modern Sermon* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2011) 137-54, at 144.

³² *Will of George Bishop*: TNA Prob 11/117/70.

³³ *Bargain and Sale Leading to a Common Recovery*: Shropshire Archives 1037/21/120.

³⁴ *Will of Mary Bishop*: TNA Prob 11/122/159.

of a popular author. The content of Boys' writing was strongly orthodox. He systematically defended the church liturgy on behalf of King James at a time when established interpretations of that liturgy were under attack from both Roman Catholics and Puritans. Under examination it becomes clear that this religious position was the defining feature of Aspley's publishing career even before he began to publish Boys.

Conformist religious politics first appeared in Aspley's work through 'conversion literature': books that give accounts of the conversions of often prominent churchmen, usually while persuading the reader to switch his own allegiance. In his first active year as a stationer Aspley registered and published one of these conversion books by the Gray's Inn clergyman Roger Fenton, titled *An Answere to William Alabaster his Motives*.³⁵ Alabaster, a prominent clergyman, had converted to Catholicism in late 1597 and defended his position in a widely circulated manuscript known as *The Seven Motives*. Important church leaders including Richard Bancroft and Lancelot Andrewes failed to persuade Alabaster to change his new religious affiliation, and so the churchman was confined to the Clink prison in Southwark, from where he escaped and took shelter in Rome. Fenton's response, finished in November 1599 and immediately published by Aspley, refuted Alabaster's 'motives' for conversion point by point and acknowledged the danger of leaving public heresy unchallenged to contaminate the popular mindset. Fenton explained he had decided to respond to Alabaster in case, 'your popular fallacies should insinuate themselves into the minds of the more unstable'.³⁶ Later examples of conversion literature from within Aspley's career included his 1611 publication of Theophilus Higgons' *Sermon Preached at Pauls Crosse... In Testimony of his Heartie Reunion with the Church of England*.³⁷ Higgons, another clergyman, had converted to Roman Catholicism in about 1608 and published

³⁵ Roger Fenton, *An Answere to William Alabaster his Motives* (1599, STC 10799).

³⁶ *Ibid.*, A3v.

³⁷ Theophilus Higgons, *Sermon Preached at Pauls Crosse [...] In Testimony of his Heartie Reunion with the Church of England* (1611, STC 13455.7-56.5).

two books in 1609 that outlined his reasons for turning away from Protestantism. However in March 1610 Higgons publicly recanted his conversion in a sermon preached from Paul's Cross that was rapidly produced in three editions by Aspley. In that text Higgons presented himself as the model of penitent revelation. He wrote, 'my affectation of vaine glory, my impatience at calamities, and my other sinnes, were punished with the sinne of *Apostasie*, and defection from the truth, euen from the sincerity of the Gospell of Iesus Christ.'³⁸ In conclusion Higgons affirmed his loyalty to the king and promised to use 'al the faculties that I haue, in aduancing the dignity, & lustre of this incomparable Church.'³⁹ Like the 'last dying speeches' genre that flourished later in the seventeenth century and often involved the condemned accepting their punishments as just responses for their crimes, conversion narratives like those of Higgons and Alabaster reinforced an established ideology and so became important propaganda tools. Higgons' sermon was 'Published by Command' according to the title page, and was sold with another religious polemic published by Aspley – Richard Sheldon's *Certain General Reasons Prouing the Lawfulnessse of the Oath of Allegiance*.⁴⁰ Sheldon was another Roman Catholic priest who had converted to Protestantism in 1612. His *Certain General Reasons* supported James I's 1606 Oath of Allegiance and urged English Catholics to recognise the lawfulness of the oath and conform to its authority. In his preface Sheldon explains that his manuscript was perused by George Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury, who had realised its value to the king's cause and arranged for it to be published. Sheldon's text features what may be the only preliminary epistle written by Aspley.⁴¹ Though unsigned, the 'Avertisement' found on ¶1v seems to have been written by Aspley

³⁸ *Ibid.*, F1r-v.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, H2r.

⁴⁰ Richard Sheldon, *Certain General Reasons Prouing the Lawfulnessse of the Oath of Allegiance* (1611, STC 22393). Higgons' sermon was printed as an additional part of this edition, with a separate title page and new register.

⁴¹ The only other possible preface Aspley may have written appeared in Sebastian Michaelis, *The Admirable History of the Possession and Conversion of a Penitent Woman* (1613, STC 17854) A3v-B1v. The preface in Michaelis' book was addressed 'To The Reader' and is also unsigned.

because it describes how and why the three following treatises (the work of Sheldon, Higgons, and a third text that attacked the authority of the Pope) had been produced together.⁴² The opening sentence of this address articulates a major strand of Aspley's publishing. That sentence explained Aspley had published the book

For the satisfying of such dispassionate persons, as leane to the doctrine of the Church of *Rome*, and being weake in their owne iudgements, are led away by such as can be contented to hold a side, and keep them il and vndutifully affected to his Maiestie and the State.⁴³

The proximity of church and state described here (particularly strong within the reign of James I, who styled himself the 'nutritius', or nursing father, of the church in his *Basilikon Doron* and *The Trew Law of Free Monarchies*) meant Aspley's religious stance aligned him with the monarchy. That alignment can also be seen in Aspley's publication of James' *Daemonologie* in 1603, and five other books with particularly close ties to the crown. These five comprise two unionist tracts, a speech that welcomed the new king to London on behalf of the city sheriffs, a royally-commissioned work by Isaac Casaubon that defended James' variety of Anglicanism against the Papacy, and a sermon of 1614 preached by the royal chaplain Robert Wilkinson to Prince Charles and again published by royal command.⁴⁴

Another conversion tract appeared in 1604, when Aspley co-published an anonymous account titled *The Voluntarie Conversion and Severall Recantations of Foure Great Learned Men... From the Errours of Idolatrie and Poperie*. The crowded title page named each of the four converts, gave the date and location of their conversion to Protestantism, and assured the reader that the texts

⁴² *Ibid.*, ¶1v.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ James I, *Daemonologie* (1603, STC 14365-.5); Francis Bacon, *A Briefe Discourse, Touching the Happie Union* (1603, STC 1117); John Gordon, *The Union of Great Britaine* (1604, STC 12062); Richard Martin, *A Speech Delivered, to the Kings Most Excellent Maiestie* (1603, STC 17510); Isaac Casaubon, *The Answere of Master Isaac Casaubon* (1612, STC 4741); Robert Wilkinson, *A Paire of Sermons Successively Preacht to a Paire of Peereles and Succeeding Princes* (1614, STC 25661).

within were taken from manuscripts these converts had written ‘vnder their owne hands’.⁴⁵ The book exhorted Roman Catholics to switch allegiances and provided precedents to ease that transition. Aspley continued to publish conversion narratives once he had started to publish the work of John Boys: in 1613 Aspley produced two editions of Sebastian Michaelis’ *The Admirable Historie of the Possession and Conversion of a Penitent Woman*.⁴⁶

Other forms of religious polemic that Aspley published were not directed at specific converts but at the threat of English Catholicism stemming from cultural changes instigated by a new monarch. In 1604 Aspley financed a book by Matthew Sutcliffe called *The Supplication of Certain Masse-Priests Falsely Called Catholikes. Directed to the Kings Most Excellent Maiestie*. Sutcliffe was an associate of John Boys and a central figure in Stuart religious policy. He contributed several works to the Protestant church’s anti-Roman Catholic propaganda war. Sutcliffe’s *Supplication* appeared in three editions in 1604. The rapid sales presumably related to topical appeal: Sutcliffe scornfully critiqued a work by the Catholic priest John Colleton who had publicly appealed to the new king for toleration for Catholics. In his preface Sutcliffe stated that he wrote on behalf of the king to neutralise Colleton, whose book had been, ‘dispersed abroad in corners, to trouble mens heads, and to set forward malcontented persons to some further attempt.’⁴⁷

Aspley published several other religious works before he started to publish Boys. Most of these reflect a mainstream interest in Protestantism. They include sermons by the Dean of Salisbury, John Gordon, and the clergyman George Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury between 1611 and 1633; religious verse by John Davies and Elizabeth Grymeston, and ‘a systematic

⁴⁵ *The Voluntarie Conversion, and Severall Recantations...* (1604, STC 5650) A1r.

⁴⁶ Sebastian Michaelis, *The Admirable Historie of the Possession and Conversion of a Penitent Woman* (1614, STC17854-a).

⁴⁷ Matthew Sutcliffe, *The Supplication of Certain Masse-Priests Falsely Called Catholikes* (1604, STC14429.5-14430) A2r. One link between Boys and Sutcliffe is that Boys dedicated a work titled, *The Third Part...* to him in 1615 (STC 3463). The dedication appeared on the title page.

compendium of Christian theology in one manageable book' by the German theologian Amandus Polanus.⁴⁸

From the introduction to Aspley's publishing that has been given, it is clear that religion featured prominently in his work from the start. However that focus increased after Aspley registered the first Boys manuscript. The first quarto, *An Exposition of Al the Principall Scriptures Used in Our English Liturgie*, appeared in late 1609. The book was dedicated by Boys to Richard Bancroft, who was then Archbishop of Canterbury, with an address that described the book's vigorously anti-schismatic intent:

the *Liturgie* of the Church is crucified betweene two malefactors: on the left hand *Papists*, on the right hand *Schismaticks* [...] Against the *Romanist* I vse a sword, against the *Nonelist* a buckler, against both armour of prooffe: for these *Scholiall annotations* in part descrie, but my larger expositions of the *Gospels* and *Epistles* hereafter shall more fully describe, their malicious or ignorant misconstruing of our Church.⁴⁹

What followed in that first book was a systematic exposition of the first two sections of *The Book of Common Prayer* (the parts that described the proper way to conduct morning and evening prayer), as well as explanations of the Ten Commandments and the order of communion. At each step, Boys examined the scriptural invocations *The Book of Common Prayer* prescribed as the correct verses to be spoken by ministers during a service and defended them against misuse or misinterpretation: 'I beseech thee therefore (good reader) marke them diligently, which cause diuision and offences, contrarie to the doctrine which you haue learned, and auidoie them. For they that are such, serue not the Lord Iesus Christ.'⁵⁰ Boys' defence was critical at this time because, as he pointed out, heretical interpretations of the liturgy had increased since James I

⁴⁸ George Abbot, *A Sermon Preached at Westminster May 26. 1608.* (1608, STC 38-.5); John Davies, *Mirum in Modum* (1602, STC 6336); Elizabeth Grymeston, *Miscelanea* (1608, STC 12407.5-8, and 1618, STC 12410); Amandus Polanus, *The Substance of Christian Religion* (1608, STC 20085). The description of Polanus' book is from: Robert Letham, "Amandus Polanus: A Neglected Theologian?" *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 21.3 (1990): 463-76, at 464.

⁴⁹ John Boys, *An Exposition of Al the Principall Scriptures Used in Our English Liturgie* (1609, STC 3455) A3r-v.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, R3v.

succeeded to the throne. The Hampton Court Conference of 1604 had been convened in response to Puritan demands for revisions to be made to *The Book of Common Prayer*. The Puritans, represented by John Reynolds, had asked at that conference for particular changes to the wording of rituals including the baptism and marriage rites, and for interpretive clarification. A new edition of *The Book of Common Prayer*, published in 1604, had featured several such revisions. The consequences of this conference reverberated through the subsequent decade, creating a period that Daniel Swift has called a time of ‘passionately contested revision and of manic sensitivity to a verb or turn of phrase’ in *The Book of Common Prayer*.⁵¹ This sensitivity to interpretation was only heightened by the Oath of Allegiance controversy after 1606, which arose from the different personal meanings adherents took from the wording of the oath. At around the same time as the Hampton Court Conference in 1604, the episcopacy placed new weight on the importance of *The Book of Common Prayer* when it ordered that copies should be placed in every church in England ‘at the charge of the Parish’, and threatened any preacher who deviated from the accepted interpretation: ‘such Ministers as refuse to subscribe to the forme and maner of Gods worship in the Church of England prescribed in the Communion Booke, and their adherents [...] Let them be Excommunicated, and not restored vntill they repent and publicly reuoke such their wicked errors.’⁵² In the same decade, *The Book of Common Prayer* was entrenched as the cornerstone of the English liturgy, yet was also subject to heated debate over its content and meanings. Against this backdrop the editions of Boys’ works sold rapidly: in one year Aspley published four editions of the first title, *An Exposition of Al the Principall Scriptures Used in Our English Liturgie*. Boys filled the book’s margins with scriptural references and annotations that referred on points of controversy to contemporary authors, all of which supplied useful authorities to preachers without access to a

⁵¹ Daniel Swift, *Shakespeare’s Common Prayers: The Book of Common Prayer and the Elizabethan Age* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2013) 22.

⁵² *Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiasticall* (1604, STC 10070.3) D4v-E1r, N4v.

library. Early provenance inscriptions confirm that clergymen, probably seeking guidance, were among the book's audience. Some of these inscriptions are:

Sum ex libris Roberti Powes Vicarii DD Ruddlawn.⁵³

a man who studied this old book carefully ought to become a good
divine. There is much in it worth reading & weighing.⁵⁴

Richardus Lloyd vicarius de Llanynys et Jana Lloyd filia Symonis
Lloyd Rectoris et vicarii ibidem⁵⁵

Ten further titles followed this first book, and these ten were published in twenty-three editions from 1610 to 1617. Most of these titles continued to interpret sections of *The Book of Common Prayer* in a methodical fashion. For example, the second title, *An Exposition of the Dominical Epistles and Gospels Used in Our English Liturgie*, provided an exegesis of all scriptures to be read on the Sundays of the church year. More books that expounded the scriptures to be read on festival days like Christmas and Easter Monday followed, and they always adhered to the church calendar in the organisation of their contents. Ian Green has argued that increasing demands on preachers in the early Stuart reign pushed members of the clergy towards Boys' work for sermon material – a suggestion that may be substantiated by evidence of reading practice in the surviving quartos.⁵⁶

This campaign of writing and publishing won Boys professional advancement. In 1618 he was given the benefice of Great Mongeham by the Archbishop of Canterbury and the following year, under the patronage of James I, he was made dean of Canterbury Cathedral.⁵⁷ In 1620 Boys

⁵³ John Boys, *An Exposition of the Dominical Epistles... Winter Part* (1615, STC 3458.5), Huntington 313526, rear flyleaf.

⁵⁴ Note on the flyleaf of a *Sammelband* of six John Boys titles gathered in one volume in the Folger Library, at shelfmark: Folger STC 3456.3.

⁵⁵ Note on the title page of a *Sammelband* of four Boys titles in the Bodleian Library, at shelfmark: Vet. A2 e.171.

⁵⁶ Green, "Preaching" 144. Many of the Boys quartos are annotated in ways that seem to be clergy extracting and adapting passages of Boys' exegesis for their own sermons.

⁵⁷ For Boys' biography see: William Richardson, "Boys, John (*bap.* 1571, *d.* 1625), dean of Canterbury," *ODNB*. Web, 2004, < <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/3144?docPos=1>>. There is discussion of his career in: Lori Anne Ferrell, *Government by Polemic: James I, the King's Preachers, and the Rhetorics of Conformity 1603-1625* (Stanford, CA: Stanford UP, 1998) 107-9.

became a member of the court of high commission. Boys' folio *Workes* of 1622 was dedicated to the king with an epistle that sums up the author's commitment to religious orthodoxy. 'Hating schisme with a perfit hatred,' Boys wrote,

*from my youth vp vnto my gray haire, I did euer esteeme, as a second Bible,
the booke of Common Prayer, in which (as I haue here proued) euerie
tittle is grounded vpon the Scripture, euerie Scripture well applied,
euerie good application agreeable to the most ancient and best
reformed Liturgies in all ages.*⁵⁸

In 1625 Boys was chosen to preach the marriage sermon of Charles I in Canterbury Cathedral; three months later he died in his study and was buried in the cathedral. By the time of his death Boys' reputation as a defender of the faith had been established. His biographer wrote in 1631 that 'there were in his time, and yet are few soules... that taste not of his books'.⁵⁹ Further evidence of Boys' contemporary fame is provided by the dedications of two books that were presented to him: another clergyman, James Wattes, dedicated his book concerning the controversial Roman Catholic practice of kneeling during the Eucharist to Boys, and a few years later the convert Richard Sheldon dedicated another sermon to Boys.⁶⁰ Both dedications speak to Boys' reputation as a champion for the established Protestant faith.

By November 1623, which is about when Shakespeare's Folio went on sale, the folio *Workes* of John Boys' had been available for over a year. The publication of Boys' folio marked the end of a vigorous twelve-year campaign to defend the interests of church and state. During these twelve years Aspley's publishing programme was defined by its orthodox ideology, and by links to key figures in Stuart religious policy: to successive Archbishops of Canterbury, to Matthew Sutcliffe and other members of Chelsea College, to a series of prominent Protestant converts whose stories were disseminated as propaganda, to the work of the royal chaplain

⁵⁸ John Boys, *The Workes of Iohn Boys* (1622, STC 3452) [¶]2r-v.

⁵⁹ Richardson, "Boys, John."

⁶⁰ James Wattes, *The Controversie Debated About the Reverend Gesture of Kneeling* (1621, STC 25109); Richard Sheldon, *A Sermon Preached at Paules Cross* (1625, STC 22398).

Robert Wilkinson, and most importantly to James I through publication of his book *Daemonology*. Aspley's imprint stood for religious orthodoxy. David Gants, by counting the numbers of editions sheets each stationer published, has judged that Aspley was the sixth most productive publisher of religious commentary working in England between 1614 and 1618.⁶¹ Bearing in mind that Gants' list also included the Cambridge University printer John Legat, and that all of Aspley's books were relatively short quartos, this list highlights the productivity of Aspley and Boys' relationship. Further evidence that Aspley considered religious commentary his main interest is provided by his will, proved in December 1640, in which Aspley made no mention of his Shakespeare copyrights but does single out and bequeath his rights to the work of Boys, as well as two other popular Protestant authors, Roger Fenton, who is mentioned as 'd ffenton' and John Norden, author of the 'pensive mans practice'. The relevant section of Aspley's will reads:

Whereas I haue certaine Coppies, or bookes the sole printinge thereof belonging unto me, beinge bought by me and entred into the hall booke. and haveinge 2 Kinsmen freamen of the Stationers, and booth capable them William Page, and Robert Lun, to whom I give and bequeth these coppies ffollowing x m^r. d. Boys his Exposition of the Epistles throughout the whoole yeare Charron of Wisdome: d ffenton of Usurie, and the second and third parte of the pensive mans practice.⁶²

By the time that it was to feature on Shakespeare's Folio, Aspley's name had become a well-known emblem for religious orthodoxy and alignment with the monarchy.

Marketing Authorship

Boys' tomb in Canterbury Cathedral is a monument to authorship as well as to its occupant. It features a marble effigy of the dean sitting in his study at a writing desk with a large

⁶¹ David Gants, "A Quantitative Analysis of the London Book Trade 1614-1618," *Studies in Bibliography* 55 (2002): 185-213, at 211.

⁶² *Will of William Aspley*: TNA PROB 10/610.

folio open before him, turned away in a moment of reflection. Behind him are rows of books on shelves, and amid the fore-edges that are on display is a Latin plaque that praises Boys' writing:

... et opus quo non extat Clero Anglicano gratius aut utilius, Liturgiae
universae praeclarum Elucidationem, sui perpetuum Monumentum
reliquit.

... left behind him as his perpetuall Monument [is] an excellent
Explanation of the whole Liturgy; a work of the utmost use and
benefit to the English Clergy.⁶³

The design of the tomb may combine two pictures of Boys that appeared on the engraved title page of his folio *Workes*. One of these pictures was captioned with a verse from Matthew 13 that read 'scriba doctus in regno coelorum', meaning, 'a scribe instructed in the kingdom of heaven'. There is an illustration of this title page below, beside a picture of Boys' tomb. Both the tomb and the title page promote Boys' identity as an author, which is not surprising given the esteem Boys was held in for his writings during the seventeenth century. Thomas Fuller called him 'famous to posterity for his Postils in defence of our *Liturgy*' in 1662, while David Lloyd went further by calling him, 'the best postiller [religious commentator] in England' in 1668.⁶⁴ The biography written about Boys a few years after his death, which has already been mentioned, described him as 'a Pillar in the Kings dale.'⁶⁵

⁶³ John Burnby and John Duncombe, *An Historical Description of the Cathedral of Canterbury*, 2nd ed (Canterbury: Simmons & Kirkby, 1783) 34-5.

⁶⁴ Thomas Fuller, *The History of the Worthies of England* (1662, Wing F2440) 2M2v; David Lloyd, *Memoires of the Lives...* (1668, Wing 190.01) 4T1v. There are other references to Boys in: William Prynne, *The Church of England's Old Antithesis* (1629, STC 20457) I2v, K*2r, L*3r, *passim*; John Spencer, *Things Old and New* (1658, Wing 549.06).

⁶⁵ John Boys, *Remaines* a1v.

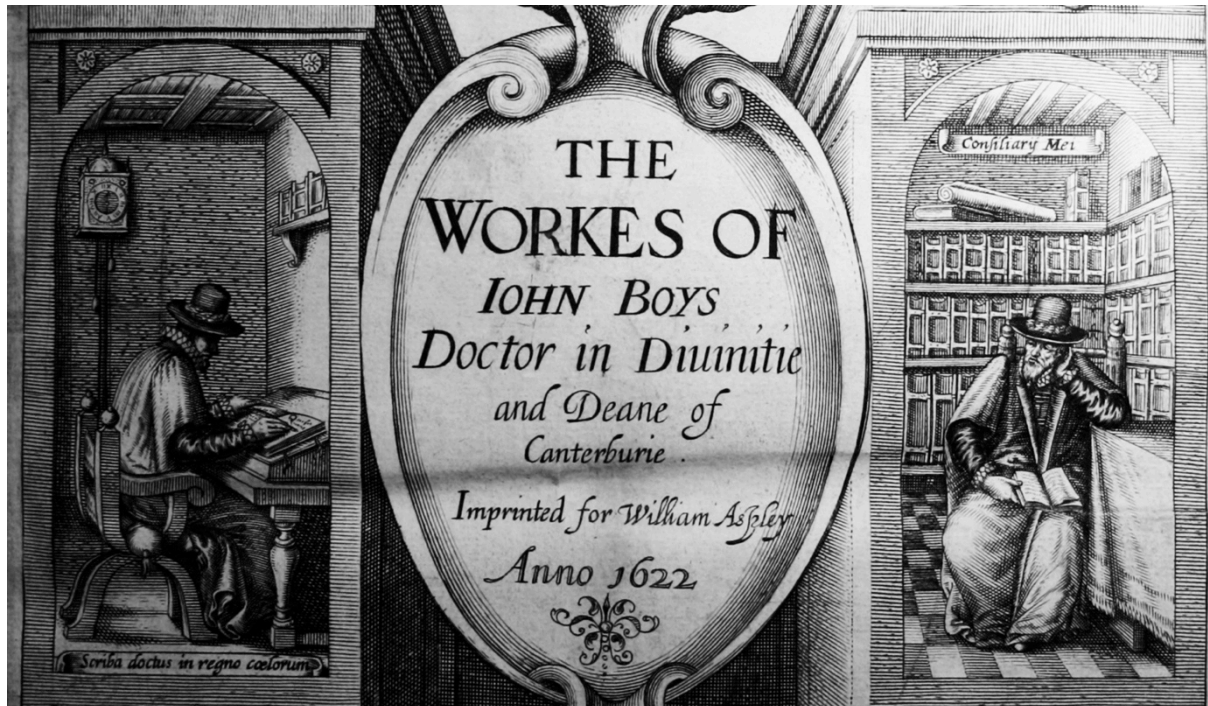


Fig. 3.4. Detail from the title page of John Boys' *The Workes of Iohn Boys* (1622, STC 3452). Image: author's own of Bodleian Library, Douce B subt. 203.



Fig. 3.5. Detail of the tomb of John Boys in Canterbury Cathedral. Image: Jules & Jenny on flickr.com, used here under a creative commons licence.

Boys' authorial reputation was created entirely by Aspley between 1609 and 1622. The success of this reputation is partly a result of Aspley's interest in the concept of authorship as a marketing device. Evidence of Aspley's interest in authorship from an early stage of his career is found in the Stationers' Register entry of August 1600, in which Aspley and Wise registered *Much Ado About Nothing* and *2 Henry IV*.⁶⁶ That entry provided the first instance of Shakespeare's name in the Stationers' Register, which may reflect the consciousness of Aspley and Wise of how profitable the playwright's name had become. The subsequent quarto editions of these two plays both featured the unequivocal attribution: 'Written by William Shakespeare'.⁶⁷

An interest in authorship is also present in the few other playbooks Aspley published. These include John Marston's *The Malcontent*, which was printed in 1604 with an unusually plain title page that lacked a theatrical attribution or a plot summary, instead presenting the author as the only agent responsible for the text (the title page to *The Malcontent* is shown in an image on the following page). Still another of Aspley's playbooks, the collaboratively written *Eastward Hoe*, was printed with a title page that named its three authors in a sensitive attribution of co-authorship. Each author is presented in alphabetical order on the same line, giving no precedence to one above any other:

Made by
GEO: CHAPMAN. BEN: IOHNSON. IOH. MARSTON.⁶⁸

⁶⁶ Arber III.170.

⁶⁷ William Shakespeare, *The Second Part of Henrie the Fourth* (1600, STC 22288 and 22288a); *Much Adoe About Nothing* (1600, STC 22304).

⁶⁸ George Chapman, Ben Jonson, and John Marston, *Eastward Hoe* (1605, STC4970-3).

THE MALCONTENT.

By Iohn Marston.



1604.

AT LONDON
Printed by V.S. for William Aspley, and
are to be sold at his shop in Paules
Church-yard.

Fig. 3.6. Title page of John Marston's *The Malcontent* (1604, STC 17480) A2r. Image: EEBO reel 894:21.

Issues of authorship were also relevant to Aspley's conversion literature, the value of which partly depended on the infamy of the recusant concerned. The names of the converts William Alabastor and Theophilus Higgon were made part of the titles of the books Aspley published about them and by them respectively:

An Answer to William Alabaster his Motives...

A Sermon Preached at Pauls Crosse the Third of March, 1610, By
Theophilus Higgons in Testimony of his Heartie Reunion with the
Church of England...⁶⁹

Naming authors in titles featured in other of Aspley's books where the author's identity contributed to the status of the text in some way. For Isaac Casaubon, it was his reputation as a religious scholar and historian that enhanced the efficacy of his text; for Robert Wilkinson, it was his position as one of the king's royal chaplains. Examples of titles from Aspley's career where the name of the author was incorporated into the title of the book, not presented as a separate attribution, include:

The Answere of Master Isaac Casaubon to the Epistle of the Most
Reuerend Cardinall Peron

Shake-speares Sonnets. Never Before Imprinted.

The Workes of Iohn Boys Doctor in Diuinitie

A New and Large Discourse of the Travels of Sir Anthony Sherley
Knight

Mr. William Shakespeares Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies

Fiue sermons by Doct. *Fenton*

Three sermons preached by Robert Wilkinson Dr. of Divinity, and
chaplaine to the Kings Maiestie.⁷⁰

Aspley's use of an author's name as a marketing tool showed he was alert to the commercial value of author-figures. This alertness to the value of authorship also guided Aspley's production of the Latinist John Bond's commentary on Persius in 1614. Bond died in late 1612, and the title

⁶⁹ Roger Fenton, *An Answere to William Alablaster His Motives* (1599, STC 10799); Theophilus Higgons, *A Sermon Preached at Pauls Crosse the Third of March, 1610* (1611, STC 13455.7-56.5).

⁷⁰ Isaac Casaubon, *The Answere of Master Isaac Casaubon to the Epistle of the Most Reverend Cardinall Peron* (1612, STC 4741); William Shakespeare, *Shake-speares Sonnets* (1609, STC 22353); Boys, *Workes*; Shakespeare, *Comedies, Histories, & Tragedies*; Roger Fenton's *Five Sermons by Doct. Fenton* was advertised by Aspley in Jaggard's *Catalogue* (A2r); Robert Wilkinson, *Three Sermons Preached by Robert Wilkinson Dr. of Divinity* (1617, STC 25664).

page and preface to Aspley's edition framed the text as a one-year anniversary event that marked Bond's death.⁷¹

In other ways, too, Aspley's publishing shows that he used authorship as a marketing tool. In 1617 Aspley gathered three sermons by Robert Wilkinson that had previously been published and repackaged them as one book with a new general title page that made Wilkinson's authorial identity the major selling point: 'Three Sermons Preached by Robert Wilkinson Dr. of Divinity, and Chaplaine to the Kings Maiestie'.⁷² In 1618 Aspley repeated this tactic of repackaging old sermons with five of Roger Fenton's sermons, originally published in 1603, 1615, and 1616. It seems to have been Fenton's death, in 1616, that prompted Aspley to repackage the sermons as a collection under the new title of 'Fiue Sermons by Doct. *Fenton*'.⁷³

Boys' writing was well-suited to a stationer interested in authorship. In the dedication of his first published work Boys explained he intended to write more books: 'these Scholiall annotations in part descrie, but my larger expositions of the *Gospels* and *Epistles* hereafter shall more fully describe.'⁷⁴ Aspley presented Boys' books as a coherent series organised around its authorship, which was only possible because of the exclusive publishing arrangement between Boys and Aspley. The title page of each Boys quarto featured a common layout and often recycled the same wording. Each title page contained the same elements: a clear authorial attribution, a scriptural quote, a formulaic title, and a woodblock above the imprint. Examples of three of Boys' title pages that were printed in 1610, 1614, and 1616 are shown below.

⁷¹ John Bond, *Auli Persii Flacci Satyrae Sex* (1614, STC 19777). The title page of this edition included notice of Bond's death, while the dedication dwelt on the one-year anniversary of that death.

⁷² Wilkinson, *Three Sermons*.

⁷³ Jaggard, *Catalogue* A2r.

⁷⁴ Boys, *An Exposition*...1609 A3v.

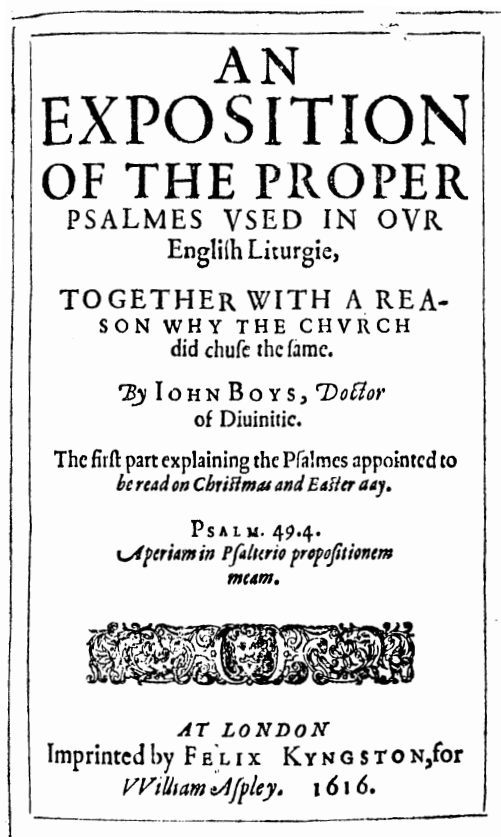
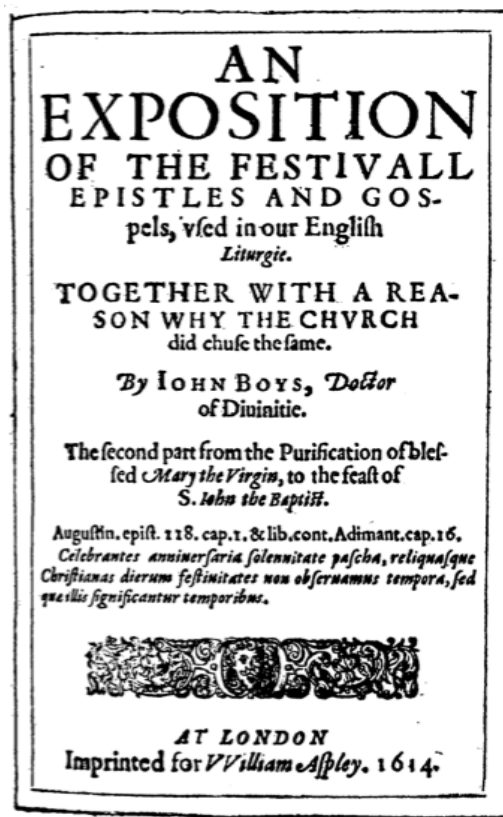
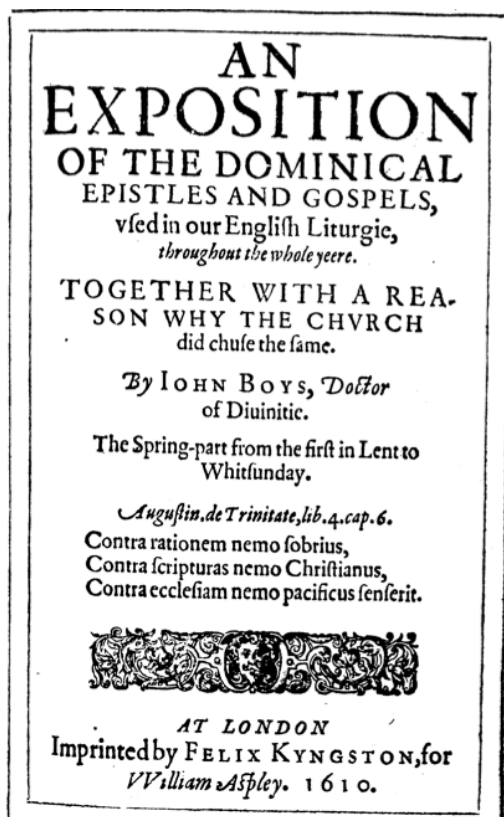


Fig. 3.7. The title pages of three John Boys quartos. These editions are *An Exposition of the Dominical Epistles... Spring Part* (1610, STC 3459); *An Exposition of the Festivall Epistles... Second Part* (1614, STC 3462.7); *An Exposition of the Proper Psalmes... First Part* (1616, STC 3466a). Images: EEBO reels 1746:18, 1403:6b, and 1540:12a.

The internal architecture of each Boys quarto is consistent. The number of lines on each page as well as the typeface and line measure are the same in almost every edition despite three different printers being employed to print the quartos. The overall effect is that each book became part of a larger whole and cohered with the other Boys quartos. The continuity of the Boys quartos was also established by title page rhetoric that in nine out of eleven cases described a particular edition as one ‘part’ of a larger whole. Each book in the series reminded the reader that by itself it was an incomplete work. Marginal references in the text referred readers to other Boys quartos, creating a self-sustaining system of authority and reference. One quarto that was first published in 1610 featured a note, ambiguously by either Aspley or Boys, after the errata page, which read, ‘I forbear prefaces and Indices vntill the whole be finished.’⁷⁵ Withholding an index signalled to readers that the author had not reached the end of his project. In the end Aspley printed two indices. The first appeared in 1615, appended to a re-issued Boys quarto. This first index covered all nine Boys titles then in print; the second appeared in 1617 and covered the remaining two titles. That Boys, as the author of the series, was the dominant element around which the quartos were organised (rather than *The Book of Common Prayer*, which was the subject of the texts), is shown by the prominent attribution on each title page and by the inclusion of some books into this series that are nothing to do with *The Book of Common Prayer*, such as Boys’ Paul’s Cross sermon of November 1613. The manuscript of this sermon was registered as simply ‘a sermon... uppon the Last psalme’. The entry in the Stationers’ Register looks like this:

William Aspley. Entred for his Coppie vnder the handes of master
Doctor MOCKETT and master warden **ffield** a
sermon preached by master Doctor BOYS at Paules
Crosse *uppon the Last psalme*, vj^d.⁷⁶

⁷⁵ John Boys, *An Exposition... Winter Part* (1610, STC 3458) 2Q3v.

⁷⁶ Arber III.539.

Yet when printed, the title page of this sermon conformed to the conventions already established by Boys' *Common Prayer* books. The sermon was marketed as 'An Exposition of the Last Psalme' and featured the key visual signs of being a Boys quarto: the authorial attribution, a scriptural quote, the formulaic title, and a wooden ornament (see below). The prolific sales of the Boys quartos combined with this consistent approach to their form created a powerful bibliographical matrix coded with authorial identity. Each book became an exemplar of and an ambassador for the series, and sales of each new edition were both aided by and contributed to an existing authorial reputation.

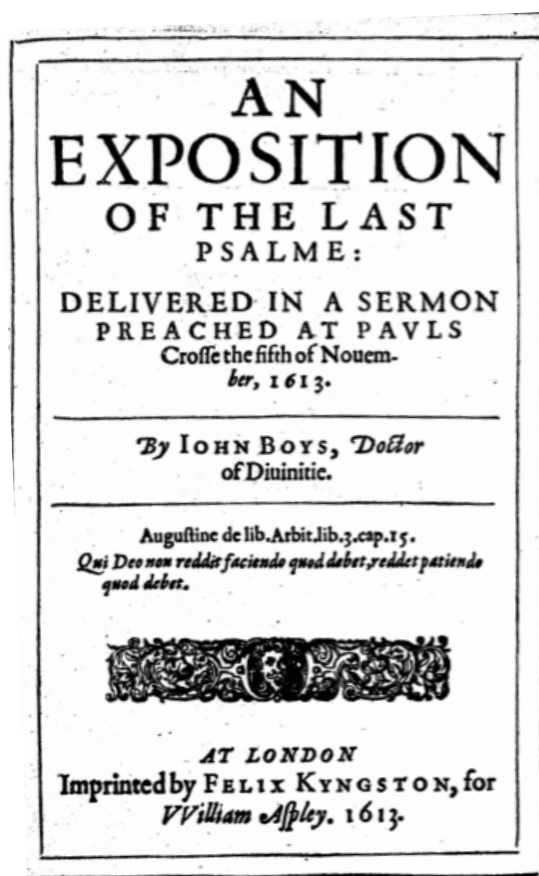


Fig. 3.8. Title page of John Boys, *An Exposition of the Last Psalme* (1613, STC 3464). The design of the title page conformed to the series of works Boys produced on *The Book of Common Prayer*, though the text of this sermon was unrelated to that series. Image: EEBO reel 563:05.

Boys' status as an author also determined the way his books were sold and collected. Most Boys quartos that survive in their early bindings are found in *Sammelbande* that gather up to ten of his titles. Very few of these volumes contain work by another author. Early bindings that contain only one title are rare, showing that Boys' books were often sold as an authorial collection.⁷⁷ The labels written onto the original spines of these *Sammelbande* often identified an author and a project, rather than any specific title the volume contained. Typical examples include 'BOYS, The Liturgy', or 'BOYS, his Exposition'.⁷⁸ A manuscript booklist from 1614 identified one of the quartos as 'A piece of Boys on the Litturgie', which reflected Aspley's habit of marketing individual editions as parts.⁷⁹ Though doubtless customers could select their own combination of titles, it is also clear that some Boys compendiums were offered for sale pre-bound. The London bookseller John Piper sent a copy of 'Boyse whole bound' to the Oxford bookseller Thomas Huggins in 1620 at the trade price of twelve shillings and eight pence, and early prices on the first title pages of some *Sammelbande* suggest they too had been sold in a pre-bound form.⁸⁰

Perhaps the strongest endorsement of Boys' authorial status was the publication of his folio *Workes* of 1622. The *Workes* represented the largest single investment Aspley had made in a

⁷⁷ I have seen some original individual bindings, but they are rare compared with the *Sammelbande*. Individual bindings include British Library 1219. D. 50 (a vellum stab-stitched binding of the first book by Boys to appear on the market, which must necessarily have been sold singly). There is a disbound copy of the same first Boys quarto in the Folger Library, with the shelfmark Folger STC 3455, that may also have been sold singly. This Folger copy has a manuscript price of twelve pence on its title page. Boys' first quarto was 16.5 sheets long, and twelve pence was probably the price for this text alone. In contrast to the rarity of these two single-title John Boys books, the university and college libraries of Oxford and Cambridge collectively contain eighteen Boys-only *Sammelbande*.

⁷⁸ British Library C. 118. BB. 10 (which has been re-backed, but the original spine was retained); Canterbury Cathedral Library, H/J-1-31.

⁷⁹ *Probate Inventory of the Goods of Edward Homer (1614): PLRE*, record no: 160.15.

⁸⁰ *Christopher Meredith to Thomas Huggins, 3 January 1621*: Huntington Library, 28116. Examples of early prices that indicate a Boys book was sold as a collection of titles include: three shillings on Folger Library, STC 3456; ten shillings on Bodleian Library, Vet. A2 e353; five shillings on Corpus Christi College Library, A.11.9. Aspley's listing for Boys work in Jaggard's *Catalogue A2r* does not give a price but makes clear that several titles are being collected for sale.

book by a considerable amount. The *Workes* required 252 edition sheets, and before this volume appeared Aspley's largest investment had been the *Admirable History* of Sebastian Michaelis, which required eighty-three sheets. Boys' *Workes* also featured the engraved title page that is pictured above. The symbolism of that title page confirms Boys' identity as a royally-favoured conformist author and preacher. In addition to the images of Boys reading and writing that are shown above, the title page featured an image of Boys preaching from a pulpit, holding his left hand over a group of auditors in a gesture of suppression and control. The arms of James I and those of his son Prince Charles are present at the top of the engraving, to remind the reader of Boys' ties to the monarchy. Boys' theological and authorial identities combine to present him as a devout champion. The strength of Boys' reputation and the success of Aspley's marketing led to the folio *Workes* being reprinted in 1630 and again in 1638.

Aspley and Shakespeare

This chapter has found that Aspley invested more in Boys than in any other author, and that he published other books that were closely aligned with Boys' orthodox religious views. The way Aspley marketed the Boys quartos created an authorial persona that became astonishingly popular, so that by 1623 Aspley would have been associated with Boys, with an author-focused approach to publishing, and with religious orthodoxy.

When the Shakespeare Folio project began, Aspley's contribution was two manuscripts. But once the Folio was finished, Aspley's reputation also supplied it with religious and political legitimacy. The impression left after reviewing Aspley's career is that he was an agent of the church and state; the ideologies and beliefs of these institutions became associated with his name, and so by extension were conferred upon the Folio. In Aspley's publishing business and bookshop, the First Folio was sold amid books that defended the middle ground of church and state from Puritans and Roman Catholics and ardently sought to unite the mainstream on behalf

of the establishment. The Folio itself is clearly not one of these books, which were mostly religious commentary, but it was a cultural document, in that it contained a set of plays that were a significant part of everyday life in Elizabethan and Stuart England, and in that sense the Folio was a political book and a possible tool to support established ideologies. The Folio emerged from professional theatre, which had been subject to contentious religious debate since the 1580s, when public theatres had become a site of tension between Puritans and playgoers. Playhouses, built outside city jurisdiction in areas known as ‘the Liberties’, were contested sites that Puritans sought to associate with values that served their beliefs. As Tiffany Stern has written, ‘There was a heavily puritanical faction in London who were keen to stop all plays and pull the theatres down, but theatre companies...insisted that putting on productions was a royal duty.’⁸¹ The Folio is not a book that hides its theatrical origins, and so neither does it obscure its relationship to religious tension. Where Ben Jonson’s folio *Workes* of 1616 all but elided the theatrical performance of its plays and chose instead to stress their literary qualities, the writers of the Folio’s preliminary matter proudly advertised the book’s heritage. John Heminge and Henry Condell recollected in their dedication to William and Philip Herbert ‘your [lordships] likings of the severall parts, when they were acted, as before they were published’.⁸² The address to the great variety of readers stressed the Folio’s connections to public theatre: ‘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 haue had their triall already, and stood out all Appeales.’⁸³ Jonson’s preliminary verse in the Folio praises Shakespeare as ‘the wonder of our Stage’ and longs ‘to heare thy Buskin tread, And shake a Stage’.⁸⁴ The preliminary poems of Hugh Holland, Leonard

⁸¹ Tiffany Stern, “The Theatre of Shakespeare’s London,” in Margreta de Grazia and Stanley Wells eds., *The New Cambridge Companion to Shakespeare* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2010) 45-59, at 57.

⁸² Shakespeare, *Comedies, Histories, & Tragedies* 1623 A2v.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, A3r.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, A4r-v.

Digges, and James Mabbe all situate Shakespeare's work on the public stage, referring to the Globe, the 'tyring-house' (the theatre's dressing room) and the applause of spectators. The Folio also includes more than one internal leaf that contains theatrical information, such as the 'Names of the Principall Actors', which lists the actual members of the King's Men theatre company rather than the names of characters, and the theatrical epilogue to *Henry VIII*, which had been spoken after performance. Flaunting its theatrical origins in this way made the Folio an emblem of playhouse culture, and so exposed it to religious censure from the powerful Puritan faction. In 1633 the Puritan William Prynne noted with distaste that quarto playbooks had become 'more vendible than the choycest Sermons' and criticised one of Shakespeare's Folios – either the First or the Second, which had been published in 1632 – in a marginal note to his main text.⁸⁵ The relevant section reads:

Some Play-books since I first undertook this subject, are growne from Quarto into Folios, which yet beare so good a price and sale, that I cannot but with grief relate it, they are now (e) new-printed in farre better paper than most Octavo or Quarto Bibles.

(e) Shackspeers Plaies are printed in the best Crowne paper, far better than most Bibles.⁸⁶

As a well-known religious publisher, Aspley clearly was not able to shield the Folio entirely from the disapproval of Prynne or other Puritans. In fact, it may have been Aspley's connection to the project that politicised the Folio as an object of religious tension for Prynne and his cadre. Aspley's involvement strengthened the Folio's moral and cultural status by associating Shakespeare with staunch pro-establishment religious writers like John Boys. The religious security Aspley provided countered what Alison Shell has described as 'a steady drip of hostile references to drama within sermons and moralistic literature' that continued during the Stuart

⁸⁵ William Prynne, *Histrion-Mastix* (1633, STC 20464) *3r.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, **6v.

period.⁸⁷ Through Aspley the Folio became part of the apparatus that unified and controlled society on behalf of the state and the church; the Folio became, to a degree, a tool of propaganda. Aspley showed his readers that Shakespeare and the King's Men had not only been sanctioned by the monarchy but were also approved by the Protestant church, which meant that popular theatre itself had been co-opted as a tool to unify the people. To buy a copy of Aspley's Folio was to stand with the Protestant many against the Puritan factionalist few. As an orthodox publisher, Aspley's involvement with the Folio also drew attention to those moments in the Shakespeare canon that borrowed from contemporary religious discourse to mock sectarianism – the caricatured Puritanism of Malvolio in *Twelfth Night* for example, would have been recognised by anyone who had read one of Boys' scathing descriptions of a Puritan in his quartos.

As a publisher who vigorously marketed authorship, Aspley also affected the way the Folio promotes Shakespeare as an author. It is likely that Aspley's involvement eased the reception of the Folio as an author-centred book. It is often remarked that the Folio was a bold landmark in the history of authorship because, through its production, it constructs and valorises a version of 'Shakespeare' as an important literary figure. This innovative move risked a sceptical reception. Yet Aspley had by 1623 trained his audience to expect books that featured an author as their organising principle. In 1622 the folio *Workes* of John Boys was designed and marketed around Boys' fame as an author, providing a precedent for Shakespeare's Folio. The folios of John Boys and of William Shakespeare represent entirely different genres, but the books were united by Aspley's imprint.

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⁸⁷ Alison Shell, *Shakespeare and Religion* (London: Bloomsbury, 2010) 31.

CHAPTER FOUR
John Smethwick and the Topography of Shakespeare Publishing

Printed for *Iohn Smethicke*, and are to be sold
at his Shop in S. Dunstons Church-
yard in Fleetstreet.
1602.

This is an early imprint that was issued by the Shakespearean publisher who is the subject of this chapter: John Smethwick.¹ As is the case with William Aspley, modern scholars usually dismiss Smethwick as a minor partner in the First Folio syndicate, but this chapter argues that he played an important part in Shakespeare's legacy by connecting the First Folio to the Inns of Court, and so endorsing the playwright for a generation of students who went on to shape the nation's political and cultural agenda. Recovering how and why he did this, and exploring what it meant that Smethwick 'connected' and 'endorsed' Shakespeare for the Inns of Court is the focus of this chapter.

The imprint pictured above contains a clue to Smethwick's publishing strategy: his address, in the churchyard of St Dunstan in the West in Fleet Street, slightly under a mile west of Paul's Cross Churchyard. The address matters because in some cases, where a book was produced – not just the sign of the bookshop, but the geographic area of London – said things

¹ Imprint from: Nicholas Breton, *The Mothers Blessing* (1602, STC 3669).

about what kind of a book it was likely to be. The address could convey information about the text to the reader: the area around the Fleet prison, for instance, adjacent to the Old Bailey Sessions House and Newgate gaol, was notorious in the early eighteenth century for the production of crime literature and dying speeches.² Jeremy Smith has noted that the trade in maritime books during the second half of the sixteenth century was based in a few bookshops in the Paul's Wharf area.³ The layout of the city itself could interact with texts by creating porous geographic zones of readers with shared sets of values and interests based around an aspect of identity that was rooted in an address: membership of an institution, or of a particular parish community for example. Publishers working in these zones would of course still have sold their books wholesale in batches to other booksellers across London, but they also invested in books that were aimed at their local readership, and tailored those books accordingly.

Smethwick's bookshop was surrounded by the Inns of Court and Chancery – the institutions described as a 'third university' with substantial cultural and intellectual influence in early modern England.⁴ The arrangement of the Inns of Court around St Dunstan's Churchyard, shown below, suggests why students, legal professionals, and those related to the Inns of Court in other ways were Smethwick's primary retail audience. Two of the Inns of Court (the Middle

² Michael Harris, "Paper Pirates: The Alternative Book Trade in Mid-Eighteenth Century London," *Fakes and Frauds: Varieties of Deception in Print and Manuscript*, ed. Robin Myers and Michael Harris (Winchester: St Paul's Bibliographies, 1989) 47-69, at 51.

³ Jeremy Smith, *Thomas East and Music Publishing in Renaissance England* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2003) 17. John Dunton's comment that 'having got acquaintance with Persons of Quality' the printer Richard Baldwin 'was now for taking a Shop in Fleet-street' is another example of an address being associated with social status: *The Life and Errors of John Dunton Late Citizen of LONDON* (London, 1705) 342. James Raven has reconstructed the geography of London's book trade before 1800, showing how local communities of workers affected publishing capacity and working practices: *Bookscape: Geographies of Printing and Publishing in London Before 1800* (London: The British Library, 2014).

⁴ Sir George Buck's 'third university' epithet strictly referred to all London, but, as he noted (4M1r), 'the greatest part of this Booke is bestowed in the description of the Colledges, and collegiate houses founded in this Cittie, for the professors of the Municipall, or common Law': George Buck, "Third Universitie of England," in John Stow, *The Annales* (1615, STC 23338) 4M5v-4N4v. Stow described 'An vniversitie of [law] students in and about this Citie' in his *Suruay of London* (1603, STC 23343) F7r. See also: Jayne Elisabeth Archer, Elisabeth Goldring, and Sarah Knight eds., *The Intellectual and Cultural World of the Early Modern Inns of Court* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 2013); Brent Whitted, "Legal Play: The Literary Culture of the Inns of Court" (PhD Dissertation: U of British Columbia, 2000).

and Inner Temples) were almost directly opposite St Dunstan's churchyard. Lincoln's Inn and Gray's Inn were slightly further north. Only a wall separated the chambers of Clifford's Inn from the churchyard where Smethwick ran his publishing business for nearly forty years.⁵



Fig. 4.1. A map of St Dunstan's in the West and its environs. St Dunstan's is the green building marked with a white cross. The buildings of the Inns of Court are coloured red. The map is that used by the *STC*, slightly extended west. The extension is based on the 1676 survey of London made by John Ogilby and William Morgan. There were four more Inns of Chancery based slightly further west of Temple Bar: Clement's Inn, Lyon's Inn, New Inn, and Strand Inn.

⁵ See John Shaw's 1828 plan of the church before it was rebuilt in 1831: *Report to the Vestry by John Shaw*, LMA P69/DUN2/B/048/MS12016A.

This chapter suggests that Smethwick learned to cater to the members of the Inns of Court during his apprenticeship to the stationer Thomas Newman. The chapter goes on to argue that Smethwick refined his approach in a forty-year tenure in a bookshop ‘beneath the dial’ of St Dunstan’s Church. Smethwick’s Shakespeare publishing and his involvement in the First Folio is then reviewed in the context of a career spent publishing books for members of the Inns of Court. The chapter shows that Smethwick’s publishing of Shakespeare, and in particular his involvement in the First Folio syndicate, prompted a shift in the geography of Shakespearean book production. At the start of the Stuart era the centre of Shakespearean publishing was Paul’s Cross Churchyard, but after the First Folio was produced, stationers who worked to the west of Paul’s Cross in the area around the Inns of Court began to realise the commercial possibilities of Shakespeare’s plays. By 1631 the image of a law student neglecting his studies and wandering around with a copy of ‘Shakespeare’s plaies instead of my Lord Coke’ had become a caricature.⁶ The first section of this chapter explains the importance of local readerships and shows that, despite trade sales and a national book market, Smethwick can be seen as primarily a publisher for the Inns of Court. Section two supplies Smethwick’s early biography, before section three explores specific links between Smethwick and the Inns of Court in his apprenticeship and independent publishing career. Finally section four argues that Smethwick’s reputation legitimised the First Folio for readers affiliated with the textual culture of the Inns of Court, which led to a rise in Shakespeare’s bibliographic presence around St Dunstan’s in the West.

⁶ Wilfrid Prest, *The Inns of Court Under Elizabeth I and the Early Stuarts 1590–1640* (London: Longman, 1972) 138. Prest quoted this line from a book of character sketches by Francis Lenton, *Characterismi* (1631, STC 15463), but I have not found the line from the reference Prest gives.

Book Trade Topography: Connecting a Place of Publication with a Group of Readers

An important idea in this chapter is that there was a relationship between a publisher's output and the readers who lived and worked beside that publisher's premises. This relationship could influence which books a publisher produced and the way they looked, because decisions about where to invest and how to frame texts were made in the environment of that local readership, even if wholesale transactions accounted for most sales of an edition of a book. This section explores the importance of place in book production, an idea that has been alluded to by other scholars. In a recent account of early law printing, J. H. Baker noted that early legal printers, 'kept closely in touch with the needs of the profession they supplied. Their premises were conveniently situated close to the Inns of Court.'⁷ Baker's comment related to a discussion of Richard Pynson (active 1490-1529) and Richard Tottell (active 1550-1593), both of whom dominated the production of law-books in their eras. Baker saw the location of the printing houses owned by these two stationers as one reason they collaborated successfully with the Inns of Court. Physical proximity both enabled and emerged from communication between these two stationers and their primary readership. An example of a book produced as a result of communication between Pynson and the Inns of Court is an edition of the *Old Tenures*, printed in 1494. The imprint for this edition stated it was printed 'at the instance of my maistres of the company of stronde Inne' in Pynson's shop beside Temple Bar.⁸ Another example of the Inns of Court collaborating with local stationers to produce a book is the work of William Owen of the Middle Temple, who edited law books for nearby stationers in 1521 and 1525.⁹

By Smethwick's time there are signs that physical proximity between members of the book trade and members of the Inns of Court was considered to be important by both sides. In

⁷ J. H. Baker, "The Books of the Common Law", in Lotte Hellinga ed., *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain Volume 3: 1400-1557* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1999) 411-32 at 429.

⁸ *Tenir Per Service de Chivaler* (1494, STC 23877.7) a8v. See also: Curt Buhler, "Notes on a Pynson Volume," *The Library* S4.18 (1937): 261-7.

⁹ Baker, "Common Law" 429-30.

1597 Gray's Inn allowed a petitioner to build two new shops on waste ground beside its main gate, under provision that the lease of these shops should go to 'none but a bookseller'.¹⁰ In 1635 the Inner Temple went further, decreeing 'there should be no shops in the House but those for selling books, parchment, and the like.'¹¹ Later in the seventeenth century the Middle Temple protected shops that were owned by 'tradesmen proper and useful to the Society, such as stationers, booksellers.'¹² Account rolls show the Inns of Court turned to local stationers to buy books and to have them bound, and to supply paper. During the early 1600s both the Inner and Middle Temples used Leonard Becket's binding service from a shop in Temple Bar; for bookselling they went to Smethwick, as well as to the stationers Richard Meighen and Nicholas Vavasour. Each of these stationers was based in or beside St Dunstan's churchyard.¹³

Accounts 1620-1621

PAYMENTS

To Leonard Beckett, for covering the Moot Book, 1*s*.

[...]

To Smithwick, the stationer, for one half the new books for the [Temple] church, 2*li*. 2*s*¹⁴

That members of the Inns of Court comprised a large portion of the local trade in retail bookselling is implicit in the stationer Samuel Joscelyne's petition of 1643. He asked for lower rent on his bookshop beside the Temple church, because no members of the Middle Temple were resident in commons (meaning in halls owned by the Middle Temple) 'during these hard

¹⁰ Reginald Fletcher ed., *The Pension Book of Gray's Inn: 1569-1669* (London: Gray's Inn, 1901) 133.

¹¹ F. A. Inderwick ed., *A Calendar of the Inner Temple Records, Volume 2: 1603-1660* (London: The Inner Temple, 1898) 222.

¹² Charles Martin ed., *Minutes of Parliament of the Middle Temple, Volume III: 1650-1703* (London: Middle Temple, 1905) 1435.

¹³ Inderwick, *Calendar* 38, 126, 127, 171, 246.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* 126-7.

and troublous times'.¹⁵ Joscelyne's dismay at the absence of members of the Inns of Court is understandable: records dating from about 1600 indicate that over 1,000 students lived in halls and private residences in the Fleet Street and Holborn areas.¹⁶ That count did not include professional members; neither did it include students of the preparatory Inns of Chancery. The students that were resident around St Dunstan's were typically university graduates: literate, relatively affluent, and interested in books.

The fact that Inns of Court members made up a considerable proportion of the custom of local bookshops is made explicitly clear by an order of June 1630, in which the Middle Temple gave the lease of a bookshop 'at the great gate of the Middle Temple towards Fleet Street' to Smethwick's neighbour and fellow publisher Richard Meighen, who in 1632 became one of the syndicate of stationers who published Shakespeare's Second Folio. In June 1630 the Middle Temple granted Meighen his lease on the shop 'that it may be fit for a stationer or bookseller to sell books for students of the law.'¹⁷

The examples cited here show a symbiosis between members of the legal community and the publishers, printers, and retail booksellers that worked close beside that community. Hugh Adlington has also noted this relationship. Discussing sermons given at the Inns of Court that were later printed, Adlington wrote, 'A good proportion of these extant texts were sold through booksellers located in the heart of London's legal district – at St Dunstan's, Chancery Lane, and near the Temple – suggesting that lawyers themselves made up the majority of their readership.'¹⁸ Adlington used the term 'readership' to describe a stationer's target audience. His idea is closely

¹⁵ Charles Martin ed., *Minutes of the Parliament of the Middle Temple, Volume II: 1603-1649* (London: Middle Temple, 1904) 929.

¹⁶ Prest, *The Inns of Court* 6-10. Sir Edward Coke estimated there were around 1,200 students in the four Inns of Court in 1602; this did not include those enrolled in Inns of Chancery (*ibid.* 8).

¹⁷ Martin, *Parliament* II.766.

¹⁸ Hugh Adlington, "Gospel, law, and *ars praedicandi* at the Inns of Court, c.1570-c.1640," in Jayne Elisabeth Archer *et al* eds., *Cultural World* 51-74, at 53.

related to the ‘imaginary audience’ of a publisher that was described in the introductory chapter of this thesis. As soon as the abstract idea of a ‘readership’ is populated by people with concrete identities and professions – lawyers, judges, barristers, magistrates, clerks, and students – then it becomes possible to look for textual and bibliographical codes that appealed to the values and interests of those communities. If the living and working habits of these groups of people were concentrated within small areas of London, then the stationers who worked in those areas would produce books with those groups in mind, just as modern scholars have shown that John Donne altered the style of his preaching depending on which congregation he was addressing.¹⁹

There is some evidence to suggest that the stationers around St Dunstan’s understood they were collectively engaged with a distinct audience that was unique to their area. In a dedication published in 1618 and addressed to the ‘worthy young gentlemen’ of Gray’s Inn, Geffrey Minshull, himself a student of Gray’s Inn, explained that his work was available ‘upp and downe Fleetestreet.’²⁰ Minshull implied that the booksellers of Fleet Street were, as a group, likely to stock his work; he did not mention Paul’s Cross churchyard – a far-larger site of book trade commerce. In a deposition from 1601, Smethwick described being out of stock of a particular title when a customer had asked for it, which prompted Smethwick to turn to the nearby bookseller Matthew Selman, who was based opposite St Dunstan’s church beside the Inner Temple gate. Smethwick borrowed six copies of the title from Selman on sale or return. The relevant extract from Smethwick’s deposition looks like this:

the *complainant* \as he was tould/ did enquire at this deponentes
[Smethwick’s] shopp for to buye some halfe dozen of Dowlandes
second Booke *which* this deponent hearinge of did send unto one

¹⁹ The recent Oxford edition of Donne’s sermons organises them by place for this reason. The edition’s website notes ‘continuities between sermons are most often between those preached to the same congregation, and not between those... for different auditories.’ The editors continue: ‘Each venue had its own distinctive physical setting and congregational character.’ See, “Place of Preaching,” under “Editorial Conventions”: Peter McCullough et. al. ed., *The Oxford Edition of the Sermons of John Donne*. Web: Oxford UP. <<http://www.cems-oxford.org/donne/the-edition/editorial-conventions>>.

²⁰ Geffray Minshull, *Essayes and Characters* (1618, STC 18319) A2r.

mathew Selman A stationer for some of them and sent him woord
that he should eyther have his price for them or his bookes Agayne.²¹

The exchange between Smethwick and Selman shows that both men stocked the same title and did not think it unusual to collaborate with one another, which may indicate a distinct local culture among the booksellers around St Dunstan's.

The church of St Dunstan's itself hosted seven shops in its churchyard, at least six of which were bookshops in 1629.²² Alongside a relationship with the book trade, the church was an important site for local legal culture. Pews were reserved for judges, while the members of Clifford's Inn kept their own chapel on the north side of the church. Members of the Inner and Middle Temples joined church parishioners each year for a feast, organised by the church officers, which was part-funded by the Templars for 'the mainteininge and increase of neighbourly love & freindshipp' between members of the Inns of Court and the local parishioners, including the stationers who ran bookshops.²³ Smethwick, who held a succession of church offices, based his publishing business at a site that united students, lawyers, judges, and tradesmen as parishioners and worshippers, which helped him to intuit the needs of members of the Inns of Court and shape their shifting tastes.

A large local population of Inns of Court members inevitably affected the way books were presented. Certain bibliographical codes were used, such as a dedication to the Inns of Court, or a title-page description that explained that a particular sermon had been 'given at the Temple Church in Easter tearme last'.²⁴ These bibliographical codes were by no means exclusive to publishers who worked around St Dunstan's church, or to books read by members of the Inns

²¹ *Eastland v East*: TNA PRO REQ 2/203/4, 4r-5r.

²² *Scavengers' Rate Assessments 1628-30*: LMA P69/DUN2/C/001/MS03783, 10v. The stationers who owned shops in the churchyard in April 1629 were John Smethwick, the bookseller William Washington, the publisher Richard Meighen, the publisher John Marriot, the bookseller Richard Moore, and the bookseller Thomas Jones.

²³ *Vestry Minute Book of St Dunstan in the West*: LMA P69/DUN2/B/001/MS03016/001, 104, 129, 169.

²⁴ Thomas Ailesbury, *Christus Redivivus* (1624, STC 997.5), published by Leonard Becket from beside Temple Church.

of Court, but nevertheless these codes gently directed a book towards a particular readership. The argument here is that (i) such codes were designed to appeal to an Inns of Court readership because the codes advertised an association with the Inns of Court, and (ii) these codes often appear on books that were published by stationers based close to the Inns of Court, so that (iii) it is legitimate to say that stationers based beside the Inns of Court often appealed to an Inns of Court readership. To establish the geographical origin of a bibliographical code, the map below depicts the publishing location of any book that was dedicated to the Inns of Court and Chancery, as well as all books dedicated to groups of the legal community, from the start of English printing up to 1640.²⁵ The map shows that of the fifty-five relevant titles, thirty-six (sixty-four per cent) were published by stationers who worked outside the City of London and among the Inns of Court and Chancery. The two major areas in which books dedicated to the Inns of Court were produced were the area around Paul's Cross Churchyard, including Paternoster Row, and the area around St Dunstan's Churchyard, including Temple Bar. While Paul's Cross and Paternoster Row produced thirteen titles (twenty-four per cent), St Dunstan's and Temple Bar produced twenty (thirty-six per cent).

²⁵ At my count this is fifty-five titles, all of which are first editions. Subsequent editions and re-issues have been excluded. The fifty-five titles includes all *STC* numbers under the 'Inns of Court' section in: Franklin B. Williams, *Index of Dedications and Commendatory Verses in English Books Before 1641* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1960). The following changes have been made to Williams' list: duplicate *STC* numbers, which occur when a title was dedicated to more than one of Williams' categories, are counted just once; I can find no address for 'I. More armigeri' (*STC* 5527); *STC* 5883 and 17518 have been excluded, but *STC* 17824a, 4981, 16674, and 12095 are added. The locations of the publishing houses have been taken from the chronologically-closest imprints to feature an address. The map is a copy of that used in the third volume of the *STC*.

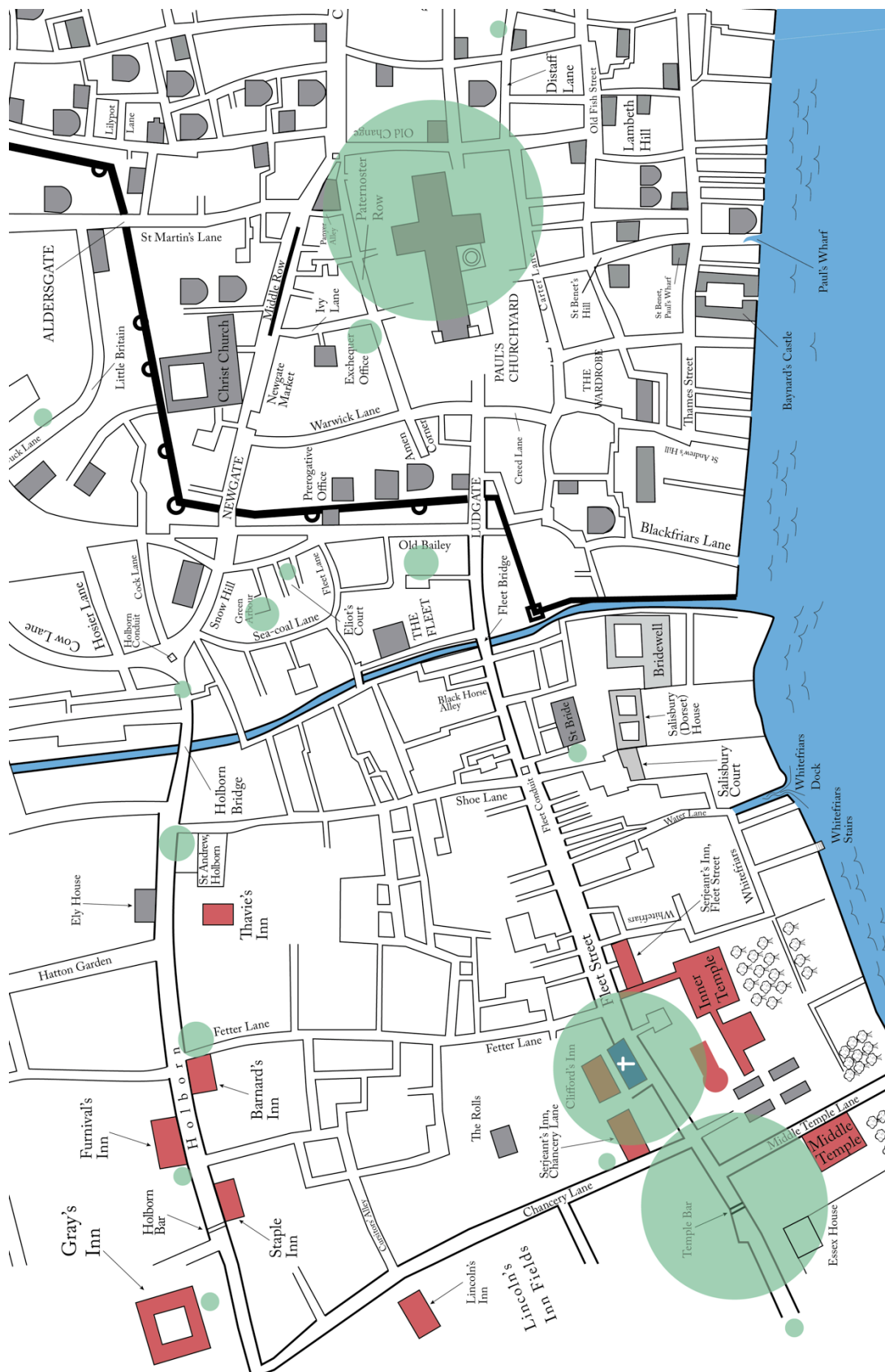


Fig. 4.2. The publishing locations of books dedicated to the Inns of Court and Chancery and the legal professions produced to 1640. Sites shown are: Paul's Cross (thirteen titles), Temple Bar (eleven), St Dunstan's (nine), the Holborn area (three), Fetter Lane (two), Paternoster Row (two), Greene Arbor (two), Old Bailey (two), Little Old Bailey (one), Distaff Lane (one), Chancery Lane (one), Holborne Conduit (one), Duck Lane (one) St Bride's (one), Gray's Inn gate (one), St Clement's (one: west of Temple Bar). Not shown are Guildhall (one), Aldgate (one), and Britain's Bourse (one). Total: fifty-five titles.

The relative numbers of stationers who were active in the two main areas around Paul's Cross and St Dunstan's make these results more powerful: in 1600 more than 30 stationers published books from locations in Paul's Cross Churchyard and Paternoster Row, while less than half that number published books from beside Dunstan's and Temple Bar. Despite the difference in the size of these two book trade communities, if a book published before 1641 was dedicated to one of the Inns of Court, it was more likely to be financed by a stationer who worked beside one of the Inns of Court than a stationer who worked beside Paul's Cross or in Paternoster Row.

It is clearly wrong to suggest that books published by Smethwick were exclusively or even mostly bought by members of the Inns of Court. Trade sales make this untenable, and since the work of the French theorist Michel de Certeau modern scholars have understood that readers defy prescribed cultural boundaries.²⁶ But boundaries need to be established in order to be defied, and the relationship between some stationers who worked beside the Inns of Court and the members of those legal institutions could and did affect book production. In the early 1600s during a vogue for character-sketch writing, Minshull's *Essayes and Characters* was published in two editions in 1618. Minshull, the Gray's Inn student who was quoted above, saw the first of his editions financed and sold by Matthew Walbanck, a publisher who had recently acquired the lease for two bookshop premises from Gray's Inn.²⁷ Consequently the title page of Walbanck's edition, sold from 'his shops at the new and old Gate of Grayes-Inne', advertised the text as 'written by G. M. of Grayes-Inne Gent', and included a dedication to 'THE MOST WORTHY young Gentlemen (my noble Visitants) of Grayes-Inne'.²⁸ A second edition of this book was published in the same year by a different stationer, William Jones, who worked from premises in the

²⁶ The influential essay 'Reading as Poaching' by Michel de Certeau appears as chapter 12 of his book *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven Rendall (Berkeley: U of California P, 2011) 165-76. *The Practice of Everyday Life* was originally published in France in 1980 under the title *Arts de Faire*.

²⁷ Fletcher, *Pension Books* 223.

²⁸ Minshull, *Essayes and Characters* A1r, A2r.

Barbican. Jones stripped his edition of references to Gray's Inn.²⁹ He removed the dedication to the members of Gray's Inn, and changed Minshull's title page attribution to a pseudonym. Substantive differences between the texts of these two editions seem tailored to different readerships: the edition published by Walbanck from beside Gray's Inn included a series of sketches that portrayed jailors of the King's Bench prison and the convict way of life.³⁰ This material may have been added for a legal audience.

When this chapter describes Smethwick as an 'Inns of Court publisher' and reads his books as directed to members of the Inns of Court, it does not argue that those books were a prescriptive student reading list, or that Smethwick always had fully-affiliated members of the Inns in mind. The primary textual interests of the Inns of Court, in terms of the curriculum, were covered by the law book patent, and none of Smethwick's books belonged to this group (though as a member of the Stationers' Company Stock from 1605 Smethwick was able to buy copies of law books at very favourable below wholesale prices).³¹ The chapter argues instead that the student and professional population of the Inns of Court, and more broadly the literary milieu of those institutions, constituted the imaginary audience that governed Smethwick's publishing decisions. This audience lay behind the selection of his texts, shaped the bibliographical structures and paratextual rhetoric that housed those texts, and, as shown below, organised the timetable of their production. Smethwick's publishing business and retail bookshop can be

²⁹ Geffray Minshull, *Certain Characters and Essayes* (1618, STC 18318).

³⁰ Minshull, *Essayes and Characters*, E3r-G4v.

³¹ Smethwick acquired a yeomanry share in the Stationers' Company stock in about 1605, which meant he became one of a group of about 125 stationers who owned shares in the stock, and so were jointly responsible for publishing law books (the law book patent covered their printing, not their publishing). Smethwick's involvement in the Stationers' Company stock includes a tantalising link to Edward Blount: in about 1614 Blount married Elizabeth Bankworth, who held a valuable livery share in the Stationers' Company stock through her late husband, the stationer Richard Bankworth. But Edward Blount already owned a livery share, and so the spare share was sold to Smethwick. The transfer of shares sometimes indicates a relationship between the two stationers involved (*i.e.*, William Jaggard took over the livery share of his brother and frequent collaborator, the stationer John Jaggard, after the latter's death in 1622). Thanks to Peter W. M. Blayney for the information in this footnote.

thought of as a university bookshop: no doubt filled with copies of law books and textbooks acquired wholesale from other stationers, but also stocked with an array of literature that Smethwick had produced for the kind of recreational reading alluded to by Ben Jonson. In addressing his play, *Every Man Out Of His Humour* to members of the Inns of Court, Jonson wrote:

*I command, it lye not in the way of your more noble and, and vse-full studies to the publike. For so I shall suffer for it: But, when the gowne and cap is off, and the Lord of liberty raignes; then, to take it in your hands.*³²

The credit that Smethwick accumulated among his Inns of Court audience was conferred onto the First Folio through Smethwick's decision to become a shareholder.

Early Life

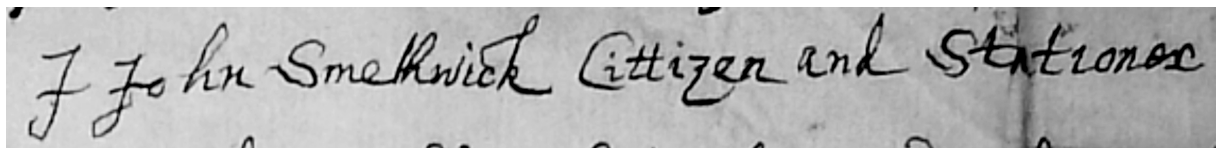


Fig. 4.3. The start of Smethwick's original will, written in his own hand. Image: author's own of *Will of John Smethwick [original]*: TNA PROB 10/619.

John Smethwick (also occasionally spelled Smithicke, Smethick, or Smythick in records) was baptised on 17 January 1574 in St Dunstan's.³³ He was one of at least ten children born to the draper Richard Smethwick and his wife Johan, who were married in 1560, again in St Dunstan's.³⁴ One of these siblings, Katherine, became a significant figure and philanthropist in

³² The dedication first appeared prefixed to the text of *Every Man Out of His Humor* that was published by John Smethwick as part of Jonson's 1616 folio: *The Workes of Beniamin Ionson* (1616, STC 14752) G2r. There had been three earlier quarto editions, each printed in 1600 and none of which featured the dedication.

³³ *Parish Register of St Dunstan in the West*: LMA P69/DUN2/A/01/MS10342, unfoliated entry for January 1574.

³⁴ *Percival Boyd's Register Roll*, Draper's Company Archives, no shelfmark, unfoliated entry under 'Smethwick'. Thanks to Penny Fussell, archivist of the Draper's Company, for supplying images of the roll.

the parish, whose husband, a baker named Edward Tirrell, owned the freehold lease of premises that in 1615 were in the ‘occupacon’ of Smethwick.³⁵ Richard served several parish offices before he died either in late 1577 or early 1578. Johan died within a few months of her husband.³⁶ Richard’s will, witnessed by the curate of St Dunstan’s, gave four-year-old John the lease on a messuage in Whitefriar’s Gate, which was probably part of an old friary by that name that lay within a precinct of St Dunstan’s: ‘Item I give and bequeathe unto my sonne John Smethicke all that my messuage or Tenement wth th’appurtenances nowe in the tenure of John Phillipps beinge hight the white ffriars gate in London/ And all my interest of and in the same.’³⁷

For his education John Smethwick probably attended the Free Grammar School of St Dunstan in the West, set up by Elizabeth I in April 1562 for ‘the children and youthe of the same parishe, there to be instructed, brought upp and taught’.³⁸ Like the church, the school was another site that united stationers and members of the Inns of Court: the sixteen governors included the stationer Richard Tottell, as well as three judges. Tottell was a governor in 1586 when Smethwick would have attended the school.³⁹ Smethwick’s apprenticeship to the publisher Thomas Newman began in January 1590. Newman, then aged twenty-eight, had recently paid £150 to take ownership of a bookshop in St Dunstan’s owned by the printer Henry Middleton.⁴⁰

³⁵ *Will of Edward Tirrell, Whitebaker of London*: TNA Prob/11/125/284, 177v. Smethwick lived in Crown Court on Chancery Lane in 1605: *Churchwarden’s Accounts for St Dunstan in the West*: LMA P69/DUN2/B/011/MS02968/001, 500v. He moved to Fleet Street at some point before 1629: *Scavengers’ Rate Assessments*, 2r, B1v.

³⁶ *Churchwarden’s Accounts for St Dunstan in the West*, 284v. Richard Smethwick’s parish offices are listed in: *Wardmote Inquest Book of St Dunstan in the West*: LMA CLC/W/JB/044/MS03018/001, 31r, 33r.

³⁷ *Will of Richard Smethwick, Draper of London*: TNA Prob 11/60/368, 223r-v. In 1603 Stow recorded that the friary buildings were now ‘many fayre houses builded, lodgings for Noble men and others’: Stow, *Suruay* 2C8v.

³⁸ *Appointment of Governors to Free School of St Dunstan in the West*: LMA P69/DUN2/E/001/MS03793.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ Arber II.166; Robert Steele, “Printers and Books in Chancery,” *The Library* S2.10 (1909): 101–6, at 103–4.

Smethwick as an Inns of Court stationer

Apprenticeship with Thomas Newman

Thomas Newman produced just eighteen titles (twenty-two editions), before he died and left his business to his wife Elizabeth. He began to publish in 1587, when he financed a translation of Boccaccio's *Fiammetta*, by Bartholomew Yong. That first book illustrates one way in which several of his titles advertise a connection to the Inns of Court, and show Smethwick to have trained under a stationer interested in targeting members of those institutions. In 1587 Yong was a student of the Middle Temple who lived in Temple Bar. The title page of his translation of Boccaccio identified him as *B. Gionano del M. Temp* (playing on the Italian for 'young', 'giovane'). Newman restated the connection between Yong and the Middle Temple in his own dedication to the edition, where he described Yong's book as 'this small pamphlet of M. Iohn Boccace a famous Poet, and translated by M. Bartholomewe Young of the middle temple, [is] a peece of worke worthy the wearing, in that it sheweth the manner howe to eschew deceitfull & wicked loue.'⁴¹ In the same dedication Newman gave some indication of his intended audience when he suggested that 'schollers will flocke' to read the work. The identification of Yong as a member of the Middle Temple immediately placed the translation within a context of Inns of Court writing. Like the dedications to the legal community that were mapped above, the style of Yong's identity is also a bibliographical code that associated his writing with the Inns of Court. A more subtle sign that the book was intended for legal students was the inclusion of a line of Petrarch's poetry, translated from its original Italian into Law French, and included as a final addition to the book after the index. Through these mechanisms the book attempted to appeal to other members of the group from which it announced itself emerging. The same mechanisms would also appeal to readers who were not from the Middle Temple but understood that site as a

⁴¹ Giovanni Boccaccio, *Amorous Fiammetta* (1587, STC 3179) *iiv. Curiously much of Newman's dedication is plagiarized from Robert Greene's *Gwydonius* (1587, STC 12262) A2r-v.

place of fashion, taste, wit, and refined education, and who were interested in engaging with those cultures. Yong may already have had a reputation as an Inns of Court writer, because he translated another Italian text that was published in 1586 with a similar authorial attribution. The attribution of 1586 looks like this: ‘Barth. Young, of the middle Temple, Gent.’⁴² Yong’s third and only other extant work gives the same attribution on its title page, and includes a dedication in which Yong describes performing in a Middle Temple play.⁴³ Yong’s description of the performance again located his work within the cultural milieu of the Inns of Court.

Author attributions that advertised a connection to the Inns of Court appeared elsewhere on Newman’s title pages. In 1587 he financed Richard Crompton’s *A Short Declaration of the Ende of Traytors*. Crompton was another student of the Middle Temple. His title page read: ‘Published by Richard Crompton, an Apprentice of the common Lawes’.⁴⁴ Just as was the case with Yong, Crompton’s other books – a popular analysis of court authority published by Charles Yetsweirt from beside the Middle Temple and a revision of Sir Anthony Fitzherbert’s work on criminal law that was published by Richard Tottell – similarly advertised his legal identity on their title pages through their styles of authorial attribution.⁴⁵

There are other examples of writing that emerged from the Inns of Court in Newman’s list of books. Abraham Fraunce, a student of Gray’s Inn, approached Newman in 1588 to publish his manuscript of *The Lanyers Logic, Exemplifying the Praecepts of Logike by the Practise of the Commone Lawe*; it was registered by Newman with an approval note in Fraunce’s hand and

⁴² Stefano Guazzo, *The Ciuile Conuersation of M. Stephen Guazzo* (1586, STC 12423) Aiir.

⁴³ Jorge de Montemayor, *Diana of George of Montemayor* (1598, STC 18044) a1r, a2r.

⁴⁴ Richard Crompton, *A Short Declaration of the Ende of Traytors* (1587, STC 6055) Air.

⁴⁵ Anthony Fitzherbert, *Loffice et Authoritie de Iustices de Peace* (1583-1617, STC 10978-83); Richard Crompton, *L’authoritie et Iurisdiction des Courts* (1594, STC 6050); Richard Crompton, *The Mansion of Magnanimitie* (1599, STC 6054).

published in two editions that year.⁴⁶ *The Lawiers Logic* applied the work of the logician Petrus Ramus to common law in a student manual that was designed to make sure that ‘After the tearme of seaven yeares [are] fully compleate and ended, [students] may bee in their blewe velvet night-caps solemnly called to the Barre.’⁴⁷ Newman’s publication of Fraunce’s book began a successful relationship between author and stationer. Newman financed six editions of Fraunce’s work, including a subsequent book about legal emblems, *Insignium, Armorum, Emblematum*, that had also been influenced by Ramus, and three editions of Fraunce’s translation of Thomas Watson’s Latin poetry, the *Lamentations of Amyntas*.⁴⁸

Several of the dedications in Newman’s books also addressed the legal and student community. Fraunce’s *Lawyers Logic* was dedicated

TO THE LEARNED

*Lawyers of England, especially the Gentlemen of
Grays Inne.*⁴⁹

Two other books published by Newman, both written by Robert Greene, were dedicated ‘to the Gentlemen Schollers of both Universities’ – and an education at Oxford or Cambridge was a prerequisite to legal training (the standard path for a young law student was to progress from Oxford or Cambridge down to one of the four Inns of Court).⁵⁰ Other of Newman’s books were dedicated to specific individuals within the legal community. To: ‘Julius Caesar, Doctor of the Civill Law, chiefe Judge of her Highness honourable Court of the Admiraltie’, to ‘Sir Christopher

⁴⁶ Arber II.490. Abraham Fraunce, *The Lawiers Logike* (1588, STC 11344-5). Newman registered the manuscript of another Gray’s Inn graduate – Edmund Bunny (admitted in 1561) – on the same day. The subsequent printed edition of Bunny’s manuscript did not name a publisher, and has not been treated as Newman’s work here.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, ¶1v.

⁴⁸ Abraham Fraunce, *Abrahami Fransi, Insignium, Armorum, Emblematum...* (1588, STC 11342); Thomas Watson, *The Lamentations of Amyntas* (1587-9, STC 25118.4-6).

⁴⁹ Fraunce, *Logike* ¶1r-¶¶3v.

⁵⁰ Robert Greene, *Greenes Farewell to Folly: Sent to Courtiers and Schollers* (1591, STC 12241); *Greenes Mourning Garment* (1590, STC 12251).

Hatton, Lord High Chancellor of England’, and to Sir Anthony Thorold, a practicing attorney and Grey’s Inn alumnus.⁵¹ In total, sixteen of Newman’s twenty-two editions (seventy-three per cent) were associated with the legal community through some part of their paratexts. Some of the remaining 6 of Newman’s editions appealed to a local parish readership without being linked directly to the Inns of Court. For example, Newman published a sermon by Thomas White, the vicar of St Dunstan’s, in 1589.⁵² In the 1620s it was recorded that the numbers of lawyers and legal students coming to St Dunstan’s to hear services like the one White published had reached a level that required the vestrymen to reserve a chapel for the Inns of Court and to post a churchwarden on the door so that the lawyers ‘bee not heereafter interrupted or troubled in the said seates’ by the parishioners.⁵³

Another book that Newman published, Mathurin Cordier’s *Colloquiorum Scholasticorum*, was a handbook of rhetoric that proved so popular among students that it became part of the Stationers’ Company Stock. Widely used in grammar schools around England, Cordier’s work may also have appealed to the preparatory Inns of Chancery.⁵⁴ Newman’s entries in the Stationers’ Register also show he was occasionally in contact with members of the legal community: in June 1593 he registered an account of the recent trial of three Huntingdonshire witches, ‘beinge Recommended for matter of truthe by master Judge Fenner vnder his handwrytinge.’⁵⁵ Judge Edward Fenner was a member of the Middle Temple.

The work of one of Newman’s authors, Abraham Fraunce, demonstrates the obvious fact that the Inns of Court were home to a wide array of literary interests. A corollary of this is the

⁵¹ James Aske, *Elizabetha Triumphans* (1588, STC 847) A2r. Everard Digby, *Everard Digbie his Dissuasive* (1590, STC 6842) A2r. John Bate, *Portraiture of Hypocrisie* (1589, STC 1579.5) A3r.

⁵² Thomas White, *A Sermon... 17 November 1589* (1589, STC 25407). White’s other three printed sermons were also published by stationers who worked in St Dunstan’s churchyard.

⁵³ *Vestry Minute Book of St Dunstan in the West*, 104.

⁵⁴ Cordier’s work entered the English Stock before an edition of 1607. On the popularity of this text see: I. M. Green, *Humanism and Protestantism in Early Modern English Education* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009) 180–3.

⁵⁵ Arber II.633.

difficulty of knowing when a book is a piece of ‘Inns of Court literature’, and what makes it so: a problem that relates to the impossibility of creating a straightforward link between a book and its audience. Fraunce’s book *The Lawiers Logike* clearly looks to have emerged from the educational practices of the Inns of Court and was equally clearly directed at lawyers and trainee lawyers. Fraunce made this apparent in his dedication to England’s lawyers in which he described discovering that the logic of Petrus Ramus was a useful aid in learning and practicing common law. The same dedication contained explicit signals that Fraunce expected the book to be read primarily by lawyers. Yet Fraunce also explained that *The Lawiers Logike* was only the most recent version of a work he had originally written at Cambridge University. The published edition of Fraunce’s text kept much of the old version, written while its author was at Cambridge, but added some new material based on Fraunce’s identity as a lawyer in the Inns of Court. Describing one of the revisions he had made to his manuscript, Fraunce wrote that “This last alteration hath chaunged the name of the Booke, & this new name of the Booke proceeded from the chaunge of my profession.”⁵⁶ Fraunce’s changed circumstances affected his thought and his writing, and so influenced the appearance of his work as a printed book. A substantial amount of Fraunce’s book, which was addressed to lawyers, had originally been composed as a manuscript directed to university students, which shows that it is difficult to link a book to an audience in a complete way that includes the book’s origins and intentions. What may be true, though, is that Newman’s imprint on a book signaled his belief that a text would be of interest to members of the Inns of Court. Smethwick’s apprenticeship with Newman attuned him to this local audience.

⁵⁶ Fraunce, *Logike* ¶1r.

Smethwick began to publish books in 1599. His last book appeared in 1641, by which time his son Francis had begun to play a part in the business.⁵⁷ Smethwick's activity resulted in a total of forty-nine titles, published in 100 editions.⁵⁸ Four of these titles, and ten editions, were books that contained plays by Shakespeare. The rights to these Shakespearean books, which are examined in the final section, were acquired from the stationer Nicholas Ling along with several other manuscripts in a transaction that was recorded in the Stationers' Register in November 1607.⁵⁹ This first section examines Smethwick's career before he acquired these manuscript rights.

Evidence from the earliest stage of Smethwick's career suggests that his investments were directed at the Inns of Court. Andrew Keener has described Smethwick's first book – an Italian translation titled *Of Mariage and Wiuing* – as being modeled on the 'moots' (meaning the debates that formed a large part of legal training) of the Inns of Court, noting it emerged 'in the midst of the Inns of Court and their rhetorical traditions.'⁶⁰ Other early books published by Smethwick included a prose work, *The Case is Altered* (1604), that is connected to the Inns of Court in a similar way to *Of Mariage and Wiuing*. It was dedicated to 'D.R. F. R.', who is unidentified, though the language used implied he was a member of the legal profession. Part of the dedication states: 'Syr, your long Experience in the varietie of Cases, hath made me send you these fewe merry,

⁵⁷ Francis Smethwick, made free of the Stationers' Company in 1633 (Arber III.687), published an edition of Lodge's *Euphues* in 1642 and is named on a loose endpaper dated either 1639 or 1640, depending on the calendar that was used ('Bought of ffrancis Smethwick y^e 6th of ffebruary 1639 and he doeth warent it to be perfit or to make it perfeit or to give hime his mony againe'); *Purchase of Book From Francis Smethwick 6 February 1639*: Folger Library, MS X.d.254. Smethwick left Francis 'my shop and all my Bookes thearin, and Also all my Bookes in Quieres at home or else wheare', and asked the Stationers' Company to give Francis a yeoman's share in the company stock in exchange for giving up his assistant's share: *Will of John Smethwick [Original]*. Another son, George Smethwick, was freed in 1631 and took over the bookshop of William Washington in St Dunstan's churchyard after the latter's death in 1629: *Scavengers' Rate Assessments*, B9r. George may have died by 1641 as he is not mentioned in Smethwick's will.

⁵⁸ Smethwick also re-issued five texts (three of them editions of Drayton) to make a total of 105 items.

⁵⁹ Arber III.365.

⁶⁰ Andrew Keener, "Robert Tofte's *Of Mariage and Wiuing* and the Bishop's Ban of 1599," *Studies in Philology* 110.3 (2013): 506–32, at 513.

pittifull Cases: In which, if your leisure be to reade, your iudgement is sufficient to discerne the cause of their gathering together.⁶¹ *The Case is Altered* took one of the main modes of learning used by the Inns – the readers’ cases, which, similarly to the moots, saw students debate points of law through illustrative examples – and reinvented that model as a comic list of unfortunate ‘Cases neuer pleaded, but only discoursed upon, by a couple of idle people’.⁶² Two disputants, Dalio and Millo, meet in an unspecified place between their houses and fall into conversation. They cite precedents and pronounce judgments on tragic cases recited from memory that range from lengthy scenarios of domestic woe to rapid, sparring dialogue about patricide, witchcraft, adultery, and church-robbing. Institutionally self-referential vocabulary such as ‘judgment’, ‘pleadings’, ‘hearing’ and ‘breach’, places the text in a legal frame that draws on established conventions and subverts them through the comedic subject matter and dialogue form. The text is anonymous, but has been attributed on stylistic grounds to Nicholas Breton. Most of Breton’s books were published by stationers who worked beside one of the Inns of Court, and if the attribution for *The Case is Altered* is correct then this title would show Breton writing in a form, and about a subject matter, that appealed to the values and traditions of the Inns.⁶³

The following year saw the joint production of George Saltern’s *Of the Antient Lawes of Great Britain* by Smethwick and John Jaggard. In 1605 Saltern was an Utter Barrister (meaning he had studied for at least seven years), and lodged in the Middle Temple.⁶⁴ Later that year Smethwick financed a poem by Peter Woodhouse, *The Flea*, that takes a disputative model similar to *The Case is Altered* and again subverts that model to comic effect. Subtitled ‘The Contention

⁶¹ F. T., *The Case is Altered* (1604, STC 23614) A3r.

⁶² *Ibid.*, A4r.

⁶³ Breton was published by the stationers Richard Jones, John Browne, John Deane, and John Marriot, who all worked beside the Inns. The attribution originates from: Thomas Corser ed., *Collectanea Anglo-Poetica* (Manchester: The Chetham Society, 1867) 73–6, 96. See also: Marcy North, *The Anonymous Renaissance: Cultures of Discretion in Tudor–Stuart England* (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 2003) 74, 275n53.

⁶⁴ Charles Martin ed., *Minutes of Parliament of the Middle Temple, Volume I: 1501–1603* (London: Middle Temple, 1904), 405–6; Martin, *Parliament Vol II* 473.

between the *Elephant* and the *Flea*, the poem is an argument between the two creatures in which the flea's rhetoric repeatedly frustrates the elephant's assertions that he is the most mighty beast. The work opens by referring to Shakespeare's popular character Justice Shallow, who features in *2 Henry IV* and *The Merry Wives of Windsor*: 'when thou sittest to consult about any weighty matter, let either iustice *Shallowe*, or his Cousen Mr. *Weathervocke* be foreman of the Iurie.'⁶⁵ While Shallow was undoubtedly a widely popular character, he is likely to have been particularly well-known by members of the Inns of the Court, because Shallow himself made membership of those institutions part of his identity. In act three of *2 Henry IV* Shallow muses on the career path of his young cousin by saying, 'Hee must then to the Innes of Court shortly: I was once of *Clements* Inne; where (I thinke) they will talke of mad *Shallow* yet.'⁶⁶ By referring to Shallow, Woodhouse located his work within judicial culture. Legal terminology equally shows the poem to have emerged from the Inns of Court:

Graue arbitrators, now your selues haue tride
This beastes proud arrogance and daring pride,
But, heare me plead (with patience) for the Fleas,
Then may you giue your censure as you please.
Th'one part vnheard, who lets his verdict passe,
Though he iudge right, no vpriht iudge he was.⁶⁷

This again was literature that simultaneously invoked and subverted the training provided by the Inns. That same subversive tone is found in Breton's *A Post with a Packet of Madde Letters*, published by Smethwicke in eight editions from 1601 to 1620. Breton's popularity was widespread, but several printed verse miscellanies associate his poetry with that written by Inns of Court poets. Among the fictional letters in *A Post with a Packett of Madde Letters* was one by a prevaricating lawyer writing 'To my loving cousin, master T. W., Justice of Peace'. Another letter was addressed 'to a judge in behalf of an offender' and a third is addressed to 'To Master F. R. at

⁶⁵ Peter Woodhouse, *The Flea* (1605, STC 25967) A2v.

⁶⁶ Shakespeare, *Comedies, Histories, & Tragedies* 1623 g6v.

⁶⁷ Woodhouse, *Flea* C4r.

his lodging in the 'Temple' and contains advice to a student considering swapping his legal studies for a life at court.⁶⁸ The collection is also replete with legal language, as in the following excerpt taken from a letter that one 'R. S.' addressed 'to his fair Mistress and heartes honour':

I will use no Atturneie in this case: which being to be iudged in your kindnes, I will onely craue audience, and stand to your arbitrement: my case being mine owne lawyer, thus 3 plead: your eies haue stolne my hearte: now I must either be accessarie to mine own hurte, or accuse you of the fellonie.⁶⁹

The first decade of Smethwick's career was less productive than his later work, yet nevertheless several of the texts he financed emerged from, and were designed for, an Inns of Court culture.

Career: Post-Nicholas Ling

Following the death of Nicholas Ling in 1607, Smethwick's production timetable may itself be evidence of an Inns of Court readership. An erratic publishing timeline developed into a regular rhythm after Smethwick realised the value of the rights he had acquired from Ling. The entry was made in the Stationers' Register in November 1607, and it included the rights to sixteen titles of mostly literary works. Among them were four Shakespeare plays, three prose works by Robert Greene, Thomas Lodge's *Euphues Golden Legacy*, and Michael Drayton's *Poems*. Smethwick published most of these titles several times and rarely changed them through revision or augmentation. The impact these titles had on his investment habits can be seen in the chart below.

⁶⁸ Nicholas Breton, *A Poste With a Packet of Madde Letters. The Second Part* (1606, STC 3691.3) B2v-r, B3v, D2r, D3r.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, C4v.

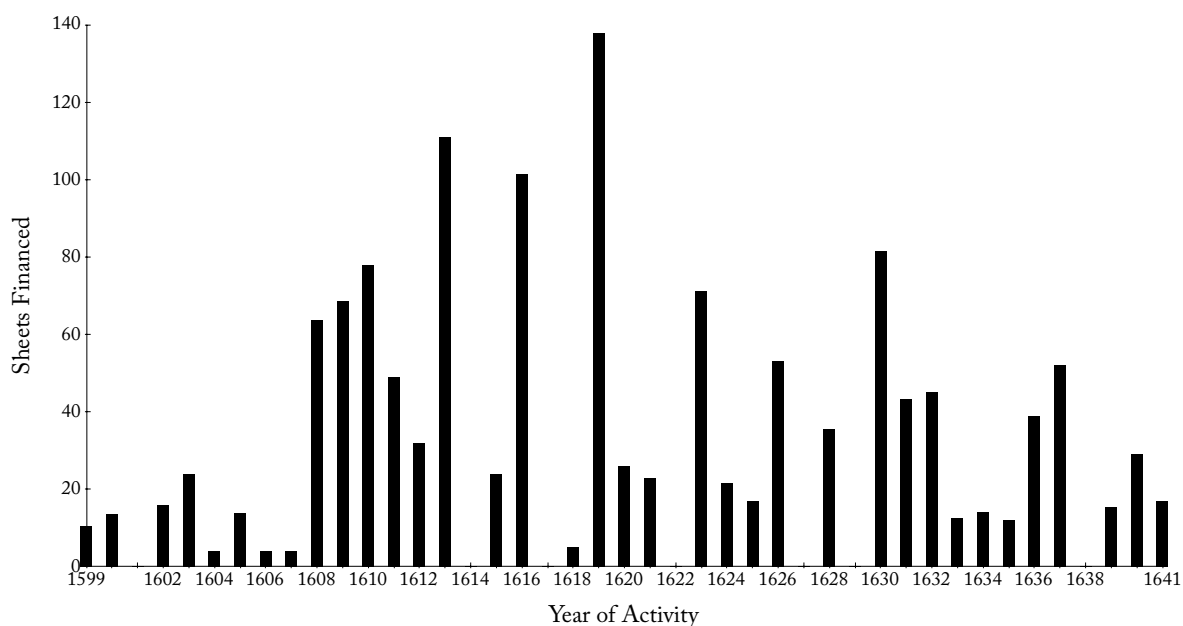


Fig. 4.4. Smethwick's annual investment in edition sheets over the course of his career. The inheritance from Nicholas Ling occurred in late 1607, after which Smethwick invested heavily in the new books he had acquired.

The most popular seven titles count for forty-nine editions, or one half (forty-nine per cent) of Smethwick's total number of editions. Examples of the stability of this group include Robert Greene's courtly romance, *Ciceronis Amor, Tullies Love*, which went through five editions with minor or accidental textual alterations, and Henry Smith's *Three Sermons*, produced in nine editions with minimal changes to the text or title page. The static and predictable rhythm implied – may even have required – a readership that renewed itself rather than becoming saturated. The average reprint rate of this core group of books ranged between 2.4 years and 8.3 years, which may simply have been the rate of trade demand for these particular titles (Greene, Smith, and Lodge were popular across England, which helps to explain why Smethwick's titles were reprinted at an impressive rate. Most early modern books were never reprinted at all). But the gaps also broadly matched the residency of an Inns of Court student (see below). For the roughly ten percent of students who were intent on pursuing law as a career, a stay of at least seven years was required to become an Utter Barrister. The majority that used the Inns of Court as a

finishing school were present for around three years.⁷⁰ In Smethwick's core group of titles, a more serious academic text like Thomas Smith's *The Common-wealth of England, and the maner of gouernment thereof* had an average reprint rate of 6.2 years, while Breton's witty collection of fake letters averaged 2.4 years and the printed commonplace book *Politeuphuia* 3.7 years.⁷¹ There were some important changes made to these texts during this time but most were untouched.⁷²

Some of the authors and titles in this core group can be associated with the Inns of Court, often through the writer's social circles, and occasionally through individual instances of provenance. Thomas Lodge's *Euphues Golden Legacie* was bought by William Freke shortly after he registered as a student at the Middle Temple; Lodge identified himself as a member of Lincoln's Inn on some of his title pages and dedicated some of his writing to the Inns of Court at large.⁷³ It is not difficult to imagine that Lodge's *Euphues* sold well to students interested in the literary milieu of the Inns of Court. Michael Drayton may have studied at the Inns, and though his early biography is obscure he was associated with them in his writing and social circle.⁷⁴ Selden's epistle at the start of Drayton's *Poly-Olbion*, for example, published by a syndicate of four stationers based beside St Dunstan's, was signed 'From the *Inner Temple*'.⁷⁵ Traces of Drayton's poetry appear in manuscript verse miscellanies associated with the Inns of Court in the early

⁷⁰ J. H. Baker, "The Third University 1450-1550: law school or finishing school?" in Jayne Elisabeth Archer, Elisabeth Goldring, and Sarah Knight eds., *The Intellectual and Cultural World of the Early Modern Inns of Court*. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013) 8-27.

⁷¹ The *STC* dates for *Politeuphuia* are mostly conjectural. Dated editions were published in 1608 and 1641. The nine editions published between these two dates can be ordered by A3r of the prefaces printed in each, which state 'the eleventh', 'the twelfth', and so on. The dates of these nine editions are conjectured based on this order.

⁷² The most significant changes were that Drayton's *Poems* were republished in a folio edition in 1619, and Smith's *Common-wealth* was updated in 1633 to include an engraved title page, a new fount of roman type, and different format (from a quarto to a duodecimo).

⁷³ Prest, *The Inns of Court* 161. Lodge's title pages and dedications: STC 16653-4, 16658-9, 16674.

⁷⁴ Bernard Newdigate, *Michael Drayton and His Circle* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1941) 21.

⁷⁵ Michael Drayton, *Poly-Olbion* (1612, STC 7226) A4v.

seventeenth century, including the commonplace book compiled by John Ramsay of the Middle Temple.⁷⁶

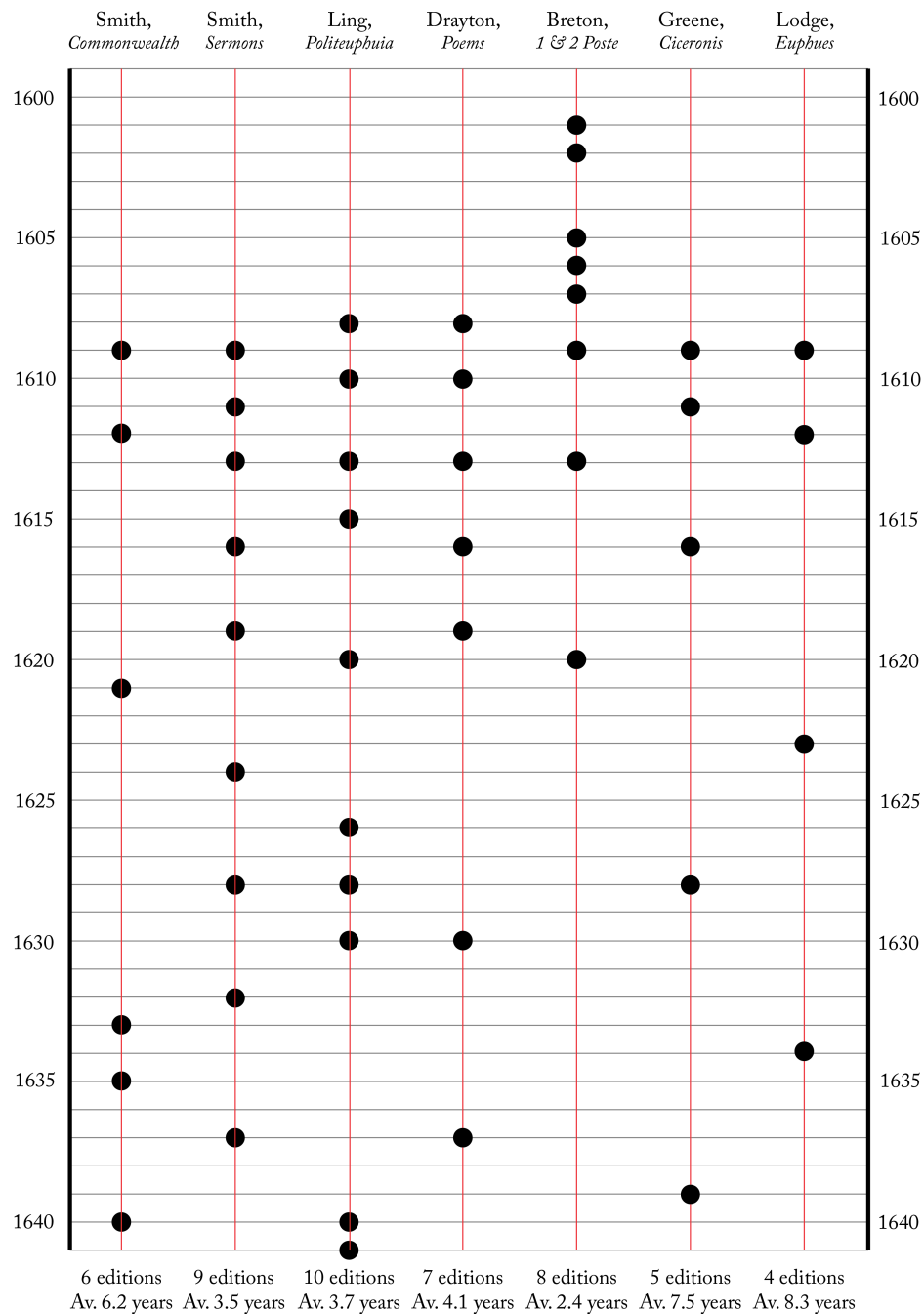


Fig. 4.5. Publication schedule of the most popular seven titles of Smethwick's career. This chart conflates parts 1 (STC 3684) and 2 (STC 3691.2) of Breton's *Poste With A Madde Packet of Letters*.

⁷⁶ *John Ramsey's Commonplace Book*: Bodleian Library, MS Douce 280, 124v; *Verse Miscellany 3*: MS Rawl. Poet 142, 19v; *Verse Miscellany 4*: Meisei University Library, MR 0799, 63; *Octavo Miscellany*: Huntington Library, HM 46323, 2v.

The lawyer Richard Butcher acquired a copy of the third issue of the 1619 folio edition of Drayton's *Poems: by Michael Drayton* from the author directly during an evening spent drinking in a St Dunstan's tavern in November 1620.⁷⁷ Moreover, Drayton's work, like that of Nicholas Breton, was popular with stationers local to the Inns of Court. Matthew Lownes, John Browne, John Helme, John Busbie, John Marriot, Thomas Dewe, and William Lee were all publishers who worked close to St Dunstan's church and financed editions of Drayton between 1610 and 1640. Smethwick may have started what seems to have been a publishing vogue that was local to his area. His 1608 edition of Drayton's *Poems* was followed by twelve subsequent editions and issues of Drayton's writing before 1640, involving ten different publishers. Seven of these publishers were based in St Dunstan's Churchyard, one beside St Dunstan's on Fleet Street, and two were based in Paul's Churchyard.

Outside that core group of seven titles are other examples of literature directed at the Inns of Court, including a sermon by John Mayo delivered before the criminal assizes court of Dorchester in 1629 and published by Smethwick in 1630. In manuscript, the sermon is titled *The Uniuersall Principle*; so Smethwick may have been responsible for adding to it the subtitle: *the Common Iustice of the World, and the Royall Law of Love*. In this sermon, Mayo expounded on Matthew 7:12: 'Therefore, whatsoever yee would that men should doe to you, even so doe yee to them; for this is the Law and the Prophets'. To judge from references in the text, the sermon's audience was members of the legal community. Mayo framed Matthew's precept as a moral law that weighed particularly heavily on those who were responsible for administering justice:

Pardon therefore my boldnesse (right honourable and reuerend
Judges) if I first speake to you, and tell you, that this generall rule of
 Iustice, to doe as ye would be done vnto, is fit and worthy to be
 remembred of you who are *loquentes leges*, chiefe guardians of iustice.

⁷⁷ Butcher recorded the evening on the endpaper of his copy of Drayton's folio: Bodleian Library, J-J Drayton d.6.

This generall rule of Iustice is fit to be remembred and followed of
you also, who are Magistrates, and in the Commission of peace.

This generall rule of Iustice is fit also to be remembred and followed
of you who practise and professe the Lawes, and plead present
matters for your *Clients*.⁷⁸

The following year Smethwick published the first edition of John Selden's *De Successionibus in Bona Defuncti, seu Iure Hæreditario, ad Leges Ebræorum*, a text that investigated the history of Jewish inheritance law. A provenance note on a copy of the second edition records that it was bought for seven shillings from Richard Meighen in 1636, shortly after Meighen had set up his bookshop for 'students of the law'.⁷⁹ The high price may stem from composition costs: the work featured Hebrew, Greek, and Arabic type, and is the only Smethwick book printed with a two-colour title page, which must have required two separate workings on the press.

Smethwick's books mix texts that are designed to appeal primarily to the Inns of Court with literature popular with both the Inns of Court and the reading public in general. In the 1593 verse miscellany *The Phoenix Nest*, 'Set foorth by R. S. of the Inner Temple', Nicholas Breton, Robert Greene, and Thomas Lodge are among the first poets featured, and each is represented by a substantial collection of verse that collectively takes up around half the text.⁸⁰

Smethwick and Shakespeare

Smethwick inherited three inarguably Shakespearean titles from Ling: *Romeo and Juliet*, *Hamlet*, and *Love's Labour's Lost*. He also inherited rights to *The Taming of a Shrew*, the non-Shakespearean text that is linked to Shakespeare's play in complicated ways.⁸¹ The right to print *A Shrew* seems also to have entailed the right to *The Shrew*, which was printed in the Folio and

⁷⁸ John Mayo, *The Uniuersall Principle* (1630, STC 17756) C1v, C2r.

⁷⁹ Note on the verso of the title page of the copy of John Selden's *De Successionibus* (1636, STC 22170) held by Jesus College Library, Oxford, with the shelfmark A. 4. 1.

⁸⁰ *The Phoenix Nest* (1593, STC 21516), most of D3r-K1r.

⁸¹ See: Barbara Hodgdon ed., *The Taming of the Shrew* (London: Methuen, 2010) 7-25.

published by Smethwick in its first quarto edition in 1631. These four titles count for ten of Smethwick's editions; eight quartos (Q4 *Romeo and Juliet* in two issues) and the First and Second Folios. The chronology of these Shakespearean publications shows that Smethwick became more interested in Shakespeare after the First Folio.⁸²

The first Shakespeare titles Smethwick published were *Romeo and Juliet* (1609) and *Hamlet* (1611). Critics have generally interpreted the timing of Q4 *Romeo and Juliet* (1623) as anticipating fresh demand for quarto editions in the wake of the Folio.⁸³ That is plausible, though does not explain why Smethwick ignored *Love's Labour's Lost* and *The Taming of the Shrew* until after publication of the Folio. The timing of the publishing of Q4 *Romeo and Juliet* may also have reflected a regular publishing timetable that was aligned with the rhythms of Inns of Court students: editions of *Hamlet* were produced in 1611, 1625, and 1637, and editions of *Romeo and Juliet* appeared in a similar rhythm of 1609, 1623, and 1637 (see below).

Smethwick may have chosen to publish *Hamlet* and *Romeo and Juliet* first because, as tragedies, the tone and register of those two plays suited the culturally elevated tastes of the Inns of Court. *Romeo and Juliet* was named by Meres in 1598 in his 'comparatiue discourse of our English Poets' as one of Shakespeare's 'most excellent' tragedies and extracts from act one can be found in a quarto manuscript miscellany associated with the Inns of Court and dating from the early seventeenth century. That miscellany also includes extracts from other authors published by

⁸² The three Shakespeare quartos Smethwick published before the First Folio accounted for 4.1 per cent (34.25 sheets) of all of Smethwick's printed edition sheets dated up to and including 1623 (34.25 sheets from a total of 834.5). The five quartos published after the First Folio account for 26.2 per cent of all Smethwick's printed sheets produced between 1624 and 1641 (140 sheets from a total of 534.23).

⁸³ On the date of Q4 *Romeo and Juliet* see: R. Carter Hailey, "The Dating Game: New Evidence for the Dates of Q4 *Romeo and Juliet* and Q4 *Hamlet*," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 58.3 (2007): 367-87. On its textual significance: Sonia Massai, *Shakespeare and the Rise of the Editor* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2007) 141-4; Lynette Hunter, "Why Has Q4 *Romeo and Juliet* Such An Intelligent Editor?" in Maureen Bell ed., *Re-constructing the Book: Literary Texts in Transmission* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001) 9-21.

Smethwick, including Michael Drayton.⁸⁴ Gabriel Harvey's comment that *Hamlet* was for 'the wiser sort' may gesture towards a culturally elite engagement with that work.

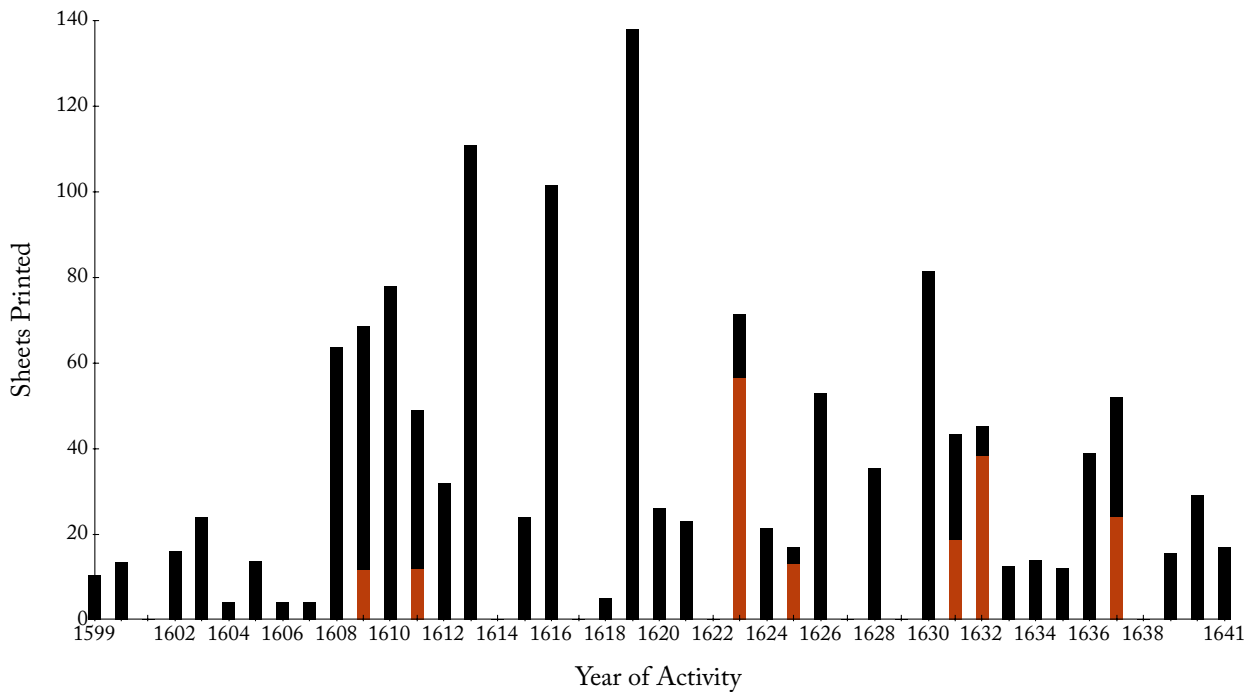


Fig. 4.6. John Smethwick's publishing investment, measured in edition sheets. Sheets featuring work by Shakespeare are red. The third quartos of *Romeo and Juliet* and of *Hamlet* are the two books published before the First Folio.

Smethwick also emphasized the generic status of *Hamlet* by altering the title page wording. While the second quarto had been published by Nicholas Ling in 1604-5 as *The tragicall historie of Hamlet*, Smethwick removed generic ambiguity from the title of the third quarto and published the book as *The tragedy of Hamlet* in 1611. That title-page emendation followed another that Ling had made to the title page of Q1 *Hamlet*. Ling had recently opened a bookshop beside St Dunstan's, and in marketing his first edition of *Hamlet* he added words that seem designed to appeal to the recent Oxford and Cambridge graduates living around Fleet Street: 'As it hath beene diuerse times acted

⁸⁴ Francis Meres, *Palladis Tamia* (1598, STC 17834) Oo2r; *Verse Miscellany* 4.

by his Highnesse seruants in the Cittie of London: as also in the two Vniuersities of Cambridge and Oxford, and else-where.⁸⁵

The *Romeo and Juliet* story has particular links to the Inns of Court. An important early English version of this tale, and Shakespeare's major source, was Arthur Brooke's verse narrative *The Tragicall Historye of Romeus and Iuliet*, first published in 1562. Exactly when Brooke wrote his version is not known, but he was made a member of the Inner Temple on 18 December 1561 after writing a series of 'certain plays and shows' for that year's Christmas revels.⁸⁶ Brooke's version of *Romeo and Juliet* appeared at a time when he was writing for Inner Temple students. The text was published by Tottell from Temple Bar in 1562, a year when Tottell's other editions included six law yearbooks, one book of legal precedents, and an edition of Legh's *Accidens of Armory* – a book dedicated to the Inns of Court that included a lavish description of the Inner Temple as a sovereign city state. Brooke's *Tragicall Historye*, reprinted by Tottell in 1567 and by Robert Robinson in Fetter Lane beside Furnival's Inn in 1587, may well have proved popular in the Inns of Court. Bernard Garter's subsequent retelling, *The Tragicall and True Historie Which Happened Betwene Two English Louers*, was also published by Tottell in 1565 and 1568 in a style that mirrored Tottell's editions of Brooke.

In 1623, Smethwick's contribution to the First Folio was to present Shakespeare to an Inns of Court audience in a new way. Members of the Inns of Court were, of course, familiar with Shakespeare, whose plays were sometimes performed privately in certain legal halls. Yet Smethwick's involvement with the Folio legitimized the printed version of Shakespeare to this legal audience. One of the indications of this is the geographic shift in Shakespearean book production that occurred after publication of the Folio. In 1609 and 1611, when Smethwick first

⁸⁵ William Shakespeare, *The Tragicall Historie of Hamlet Prince of Denmarke* (1603, STC 22275) A1r. This imprint is discussed by: Paul Menzer, "The Tragedians of the City? Q1 *Hamlet* and the Settlements of the 1590s," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 57.2 (2006): 162-82.

⁸⁶ D. S. Bland, "Arthur Broke, Gerard Legh and the Inner Temple," *Notes and Queries* 16.12 (1969): 453-5.

published *Romeo and Juliet* and *Hamlet*, the majority of the stationers who were publishing Shakespeare quartos worked in Paul's Cross Churchyard, which, together with the Royal Exchange, dominated Shakespeare publishing before production of the Folio: publishers in these two areas jointly produced sixty-four of the eighty-nine editions (seventy-two per cent) of books that were attributed to Shakespeare that appeared before 1623.

The first Shakespeare edition to mention St Dunstan's, and so to be indisputably published from beside one of the Inns of Court, was Q2 *Hamlet* (1604/5); by that date nearly fifty editions of Shakespeare's books had been published. The next edition to be published beside an Inn was Smethwick's edition of Q3 *Romeo and Juliet* in 1609, and following that it was Q3 *Hamlet* in 1611. Smethwick was thus only the second stationer to publish Shakespeare from beside an Inn of Court, and arguably the most significant given that he financed multiple titles in successive editions. Yet after the Folio was published, a new interest in Shakespeare spread through stationers working beside the Inns of Court. In 1630, shortly after he was given the lease for the Temple church shop to supply books for students, one of the first books published by the stationer Richard Meighen was the third quarto of *Merry Wives of Windsor*. To this text Meighen added for the first time Latin act and scene headings, and the massed entries that were associated with playbooks of university and classical drama, and were designed to appeal to the rarified milieu of the Inns of Court.⁸⁷ The play was well-chosen for a legal audience – it begins with a scene in which Justice Shallow discusses bringing a case against Falstaff:

Shallow. Sir *Hugh*, perswade mee not: I will make a Star-Chamber matter of it, if he were twenty Sir *Iohn Falstoffe*, hee shall not abuse *Robert Shallow* Esquire.

Slen. In the County of *Glocester*, Iustice of Peace and Coram.

Shal I (*Cosen Slender*) and *Cust alorum*.

⁸⁷ William Shakespeare, *The Merry Wiues of Windsor* (1630, STC 22301).

Slen. I, and *Rotulorum* too.⁸⁸

Also in 1630 Richard Hawkins published an edition of *Othello*, sold ‘at his shoppe in Chancery-Lane, neere Sergeants-Inne’, and an edition of *Venus and Adonis* was published and sold from a shop beside the Old Bailey. Smethwick, too, renewed his interest in Shakespeare after the Folio. In 1631 he published the first quarto of *The Taming of the Shrew*, having first acquired a related manuscript (the non-Shakespearean ‘a Shrew’) in 1607 (Q1 of *The Taming of the Shrew* was set from the Folio text). In the same year Smethwick financed an edition of *Love’s Labour’s Lost*, and chose to add Latin act headings and endings that are not present in the previous quarto edition, published in 1598 by Cuthbert Burby. The title pages of Smethwick’s editions of both *The Taming of the Shrew* and of *Love’s Labour’s Lost* advertised performance at the prestigious private Blackfriars theatre on their title pages, which associated the plays with private performances of Shakespeare such as took place in halls of the Inns of Court.

Other stationers based beside the Inns of Court also became interested in Shakespeare for the first time. The manuscript copy of *Lucrece* was bought and financed by Roger Jackson, who worked in Fleet Street beside the conduit, in 1624. William Sheares, who operated from a shop in Paul’s Churchyard, went so far as to secure a new retail outlet beside the Inns of Court for his 1632 edition of *1 Henry IV*, the imprint of which supplies the addresses ‘the great South doore of Saint *Pauls*-Church; and in Chancery-Lane, neere *Serieants-Inne*’.⁸⁹ John Norton financed three new editions of history plays (*Richard II*, *Richard III*, and *1 Henry IV*) between 1634 and 1639 from his business in the Strand, close beside three Inns of Chancery. Only one of those three editions names the location of its publication in its imprint, but while the other two cannot be securely located, in 1635 Norton did sell a book from beside the Middle Temple, and so was

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, A2r.

⁸⁹ William Shakespeare, *The Historie of Henry the Fourth* (1632, STC 22286) A1r.

clearly working in that area. John Benson's 1640 edition of Shakespeare's *Poems* was also published from St Dunstan's. The imprint for Benson's edition reads:

Printed at *London* by *Tho. Cotes*, and are
to be sold by *Iohn Benson*, dwelling in
S^t Dunstons Church-yard. 1640.⁹⁰

Following Benson's edition there was a lull in Shakespeare publishing till the 1650s. When interest in Shakespeare's work returned, the leading stationer was William Leake, who was based at the sign of the Crown on Fleet Street, between the two Temple gates.⁹¹

Perhaps the clearest evidence of how the First Folio altered the landscape of Shakespeare publishing can be found in comparison with the Second Folio, published in 1632. For the First Folio, Smethwick was the only stationer working west of the City of London, among the Inns of Court. Blount and Aspley were based in Paul's Cross Churchyard, and the Jaggards were north of Paul's in Barbican. Three of the five stationers involved in the Second Folio – Smethwick, Richard Hawkins, and Richard Meighen – ran publishing businesses that neighboured one of the Inns of Court.

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This chapter has argued that Smethwick aimed the books that he published primarily at students of the Inns of Court, and that when he became a shareholder in the First Folio he endorsed Shakespeare's plays for an audience associated with those institutions. This created fresh interest in the playwright's printed work among members of the Inns of Court. Identifying groups of readers with distinct tastes is a challenging and inexact task, but this chapter has argued that identity could be created geographically, and that the book trade capitalised on this. There is a history of scholarship studying the way theatrical productions of Shakespeare relate to the Inns

⁹⁰ William Shakespeare, *Poems* (1640, STC 22334) A1r.

⁹¹ On William Leake, see: Adam G. Hooks, "Booksellers Catalogues and the Classification of Printed Drama in Seventeenth-Century England," *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 102.4 (2008): 445-64, at 450-6.

of Court; now is the time to extend this institutional interest to print.⁹² Of course students of the Inns of Court knew and read Shakespeare before Smethwick financed his quartos and the Folio, but in 1623 the plays were incorporated into the work of an authoritative stationer who was a recognized part of the mechanisms that kept the Inns of Court running. Smethwick's name meant validation within the community of readers he had cultivated for more than twenty years.

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⁹² See for example chapters 12 and 14 in Jayne Archer, Elisabeth Goldring, and Sarah Knight eds., *The Intellectual and Cultural World of the Early Modern Inns of Court* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 2013); Hannah Crawforth, Sarah Dustagheer, and Jennifer Young, *Shakespeare in London* (London: Bloomsbury, 2015) 99-120; William Elton, *Shakespeare's Troilus and Cressida and the Inns of Court Revels* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2000).

CHAPTER FIVE

Edward Blount and the Production of Literary Culture

In 1646, after Lady Anne Clifford inherited her father's estates, she commissioned the well-known 'Great Picture' triptych that now hangs in Abbot Hall in Cumbria. The Great Picture is an important source for early modern book historians because each of the three painted panels contains shelves of books with conspicuously legible titles. The painting provides insight into Lady Anne's sense of self, and into the reading habits of aristocrats in the first half of the seventeenth century. As Maureen Bell has written, "There is every reason to believe that the books depicted in the painting were deliberately chosen as part of [Lady Anne Clifford's] complex self-representation as heir to the Clifford estates."¹ Nearly all the forty-nine books in the painting can be identified, often to particular editions. There are three bibles, one manuscript, three French texts, and one book that may be a *Sammelband* volume. Among the remaining forty-one editions of English printed books one publisher is represented more than any other: Edward Blount.² His books appear in each of the three frames. On the left, where a fifteen-year-old Lady Anne is surrounded by the formative reading of her early years, one of Blount's most famous books is visible: the first English translation of *The Essayes* of Michel de Montaigne, made by

¹ Maureen Bell, "Women Writing and Women Written." In John Barnard and D. F. McKenzie eds., *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, Vol. 4: 1557-1695* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2002) 431-52, at 448.

² Eight of the forty-one editions are associated with Blount. Other stationers represented in the portrait include William Stansby (three volumes), Matthew Lowndes (three volumes), John Norton (four volumes), William Aspley (two volumes), and Simon Waterson (two volumes). These stationers formed a powerful group that had a disproportionately high impact on contemporary culture. They are associated with one another in professional collaborations (Blount worked with each of them), and most were named by Thomas Coryate as 'lovers of vertue, and literature' in 1616. Coryate's full list reads: 'M. *William Stansby*, the Printer of my *Crudities*, at his house in Thames street: also to his childlesse wife... Mast. *Norton*, Mast. *Waterson*, M. *Mathew Lowndes*, M. *Edward Blount*, and M. *Barra*: *Thomas Coriate Traveller for the English Wits* (1616, STC 5811) G3v.

John Florio and registered and published by Blount in 1603. *The Essayes* was a particular favourite book of Lady Anne's, who twice recorded in her diary of 1616 to 1619 that she enjoyed listening to it being read aloud.



Fig. 5.2. Full image of the 'Great Picture'. Blount's books are present in each frame. Image from the Google Cultural Institute, courtesy of the Abbot Hall Art Gallery and the Lakeland Arts Trust: <www.google.com/culturalinstitute/>.

There are other Blount books in the painting. The edition of Montaigne is close to 'Epictetus his Manual', a book published by Blount in 1610 and again in 1616. The 1610 edition was dedicated to Florio, while the 1616 edition was dedicated to the aristocrat and patron William Herbert, brother to Lady Anne's second husband. Still in the left panel, the edition of Epictetus sits on top of a copy of the works of Clifford's tutor Samuel Daniel, whose poetry and plays Blount published in five editions from 1603 to 1607, three of which contain a poem to Lady Anne Clifford. Daniel's book is beside a volume by the French poet Guillaume du Bartas, which

was published by Blount in five editions from 1606 to 1614.³ At Lady Anne's feet is 'The Feigned History of Don Quixote', a book registered by Blount in 1611 and published by him in 1612 and 1620. Other books in this left panel are not published by Blount but are closely connected to his output: clearly visible in the painting is Castiglione's *The Courtier*, a manual of courtly etiquette that modern scholars compare with a similar manual by Lorenzo Ducci named *The Courtiers Arte*, which was registered and published by Blount in 1607.

There are three books on a shelf in the central panel: another bible, a manuscript book of alchemy, and 'All Senakes Workes translated out of Latine into English'. The Seneca manuscript was registered by Blount in 1600, and there is nothing in the Stationers' Company archives to indicate that Blount resold this manuscript, so it is possible he was involved with the publication of this book in 1614, though the imprint of that edition only names the printer William Stansby. But the most telling association between Blount and Lady Anne is found in the right-hand panel that shows her in late middle age, when the portrait was commissioned. This panel represents her as the successful head of one of the nation's most important aristocratic families, made secure by her inheritance and her second marriage to Philip Herbert, Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery. Two visually privileged books, seemingly the most significant in the portrait, rest beneath Lady Anne's right hand. The lower book is a bible, containing the 'old: and new Testament.' The upper, on which her hand rests, reads, 'Charon's Booke of wisdom translated out of French into English'.

³ None of these du Bartas volumes are in the list of books attributed to Blount by the *STC*, because none gives his name in an imprint or colophon. But Blount registered the third and fourth days of du Bartas' 'second week', in November 1605 (Arber III.304), and December 1606 (Arber III.335). He sold all the du Bartas manuscripts in 1614 (III.544), meaning that he had owned them during the five times they were published between 1606 and 1614 as STC 21649a, 21649a.5, 21650, 21651, 21652. The imprints of these editions are blank.



Fig. 5.1. Detail of the 'Great Picture', attributed to Jan van Belcamp (1646). Image from the Google Cultural Institute, courtesy of the Abbot Hall Art Gallery and the Lakeland Arts Trust: www.google.com/culturalinstitute/

Here at the heart of the picture is another Blount book: the English translation of a work by the French philosopher Pierre Charron, registered with the Stationers' Company and published by Blount as *Of Wisdome* in 1608. That Blount's presence is so much a part of Lady Anne's identity has two explanations. One is that Blount and Lady Anne knew one another personally – he published three editions that contained a poem to her, and four more that were dedicated to her second husband. Another is that Lady Anne was exactly the kind of select, elite reader that Blount catered for; the kind to whom he ultimately directed Shakespeare's First Folio.

Blount's books feature in the Great Picture because he embodied the principles of taste and selection that represented the interests of an elite class of readers. Blount marketed his books along lines of eliteness and distinction: his dedication to Charron's *Of Wisdome*, for example, warns that the book is not for the merely 'curious' or 'envious' readers, but for 'the judicious

Reader... 'This is the man whom I desire to satisfie.'⁴ The text must be worthwhile, the dedication adds, as it has been parsed and approved by 'my learned, judicious and honest friend *M. Roger Webb*, sometime student and fellow of *S. Johns Colledge in Oxford*.' The dedication gives notice that much of the text has been left in its original Latin, and insists only the learned should attempt reading:

The Latine I haue left vntoucht; and if that be a fault, I disburden it vpon the Author: He did it; and why not I? And if hee thought all French men vnderstood it; why should not I haue as good a conceit of my Countreyemen? If he thought none fit to reade his booke, but such as vnderstood it, it is no fault in me if I thinke so too.⁵

By consistently choosing the right books, and marketing them in ways that created and exploited lines of educational or cultural difference (such as the ability to read Latin), Blount himself came to be a symbol of the cultural distinction his books exploited: he became part of the reason a book was worth reading. The books in the Great Picture radiate a symbolic currency that is part of Lady Anne's refined, privileged position at the top of the English social class. Blount's reputation is an inextricable part of that symbolic currency: his name is not on display, but his publishing presence looms large.

Part of this argument about Blount's ability to influence the cultural agenda is well known. Edmund Malone was the first to notice that Blount was 'a bookseller of eminence', though he did not develop the point. More recently, several other scholars have commented on the powerful and consecratory nature of Blount's personal taste, though always in relation to particular cases rather than by surveying his career. Among these more recent scholars are Leah Scragg, who looked at the preliminary epistles in Blount's edition of John Lyly's comedies and in the First Folio, and James Bednarz, who has looked at Blount's edition of the 1601 poetic

⁴ Pierre Charron, *Of Wisdome* (1608, STC 5051) ¶4v-5r.

⁵ *Ibid.*

miscellany *Love's Martyr*.⁶ Most relevant to the present chapter is the work of Gary Taylor, whose D. F. McKenzie Lectures at the University of Oxford in 2006 positioned Blount as “The Man Who Made Shakespeare: England’s First Literary Publisher.”⁷ However, while Blount’s influence has been studied in individual cases there is no full account of his career while Taylor’s lecture series remains unpublished. The new contribution of this chapter is to take a long view of how Blount’s cultural influence evolved to a point that it could meaningfully affect Shakespeare’s First Folio, and to apply a book historical approach that tries as much as possible to judge the importance of Blount’s works from the perspective of a seventeenth-century stationer by considering the investment each book required in ens composed and sheets printed. This approach is supplemented by new research on Blount’s biography, which is placed beside his publishing activities to show how the Folio drew on the reputation Blount had established by 1623. The chronological view taken in this chapter begins with Blount’s apprenticeship to William Ponsonby, which introduced Blount to a set of writers and patrons who shared ideas about what constituted ‘literary’ worth. In his own publishing business Blount maintained his relationships with these influential figures and so continued to trace and stimulate their interests. The chapter then notes how Blount distinguished himself as an important publisher by publishing two unusually expensive and grand folios at the start of his career, before showing how from 1603 to 1607 Blount published a small range of ‘elite’ playbooks. In the final stages of his career Blount carefully tracked the interests of the political elite and concentrated on producing Spanish books. The chapter concludes by considering how Blount’s readership shaped

⁶ *The Plays of William Shakespeare. In Fifteen Volumes. With the Corrections and Illustrations of Various Commentators*, 4th ed., vol. 13 (London: T. Longman and 39 others, 1793) 610. Leah Scragg, “Edward Blount and the History of Lylian Criticism,” *Review of English Studies* 46.181 (1995): 1-10; “Edward Blount and the Prefatory Material to the First Folio of Shakespeare,” *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 79.1 (1997): 117-26. James Bednarz, “Contextualising ‘*The Phoenix and the Turtle*’: Shakespeare, Edward Blount, and the *Poetical Essays* Group of *Love’s Martyr*,” *Shakespeare Survey* 67 (2014): 131-49.

⁷ Gary Taylor, “The Man Who Made Shakespeare: England’s First Literary Publisher.” University of Oxford. The St Cross Building, Manor Road, Oxford. 30 January to 2 February 2006. Lecture Series.

the reception of Shakespeare's First Folio. Another important new contribution the chapter adds to research on Blount is a sceptical approach to some of the language used to talk about 'literary' or 'elite' stationers. Such terms are often used to describe both Blount and Ponsonby, but the reconstruction of the cultural hierarchy that makes these terms meaningful is rarely discussed. This chapter argues that the 'literary' realm at the top of a cultural hierarchy may have been defined in Blount's time by readers privileged in their social class, their financial wealth, and their educational status – three attributes that can sometimes be recovered from the bibliographic evidence of particular editions Blount published. By developing a relationship with such a group of readers, Blount eventually became a key agent in how the 'literary' category was constructed in the early modern times, and a valuable asset to Shakespeare's success.

Apprenticeship

Blount's interest in a culturally elite audience began during his apprenticeship to William Ponsonby, which started in August 1578 and ended in June 1588. Prior to this, Blount's childhood had been spent in London, where he was christened in St Lawrence Pountney church in 1562. As Gary Taylor has pointed out, Blount probably attended the famous Merchant Taylors' school under the humanist Richard Mulcaster.⁸ If so, he would have received a humanist education and studied alongside the neo-Latin playwright Matthew Gwinne, whose work Blount later published.

As several modern critics have noted, Ponsonby was the first Elizabethan stationer to publish work consistently aimed at an elite readership. The nature of that elite status has been described in different ways. For Michael Brennan, what made Ponsonby's readers elite was their

⁸ Gary Taylor, "Blount, Edward (*bap.* 1562, *d.* in or before 1632)," *ODNB* (Web: Oxford UP, 2006) <www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/2686?docPos=1>. Other sources for Blount's biography and work include: Sidney Lee, "An Elizabethan Bookseller," *Bibliographica* 1.4 (1895): 474-98; Scragg, "Lylian Criticism," and "Prefatory Material."

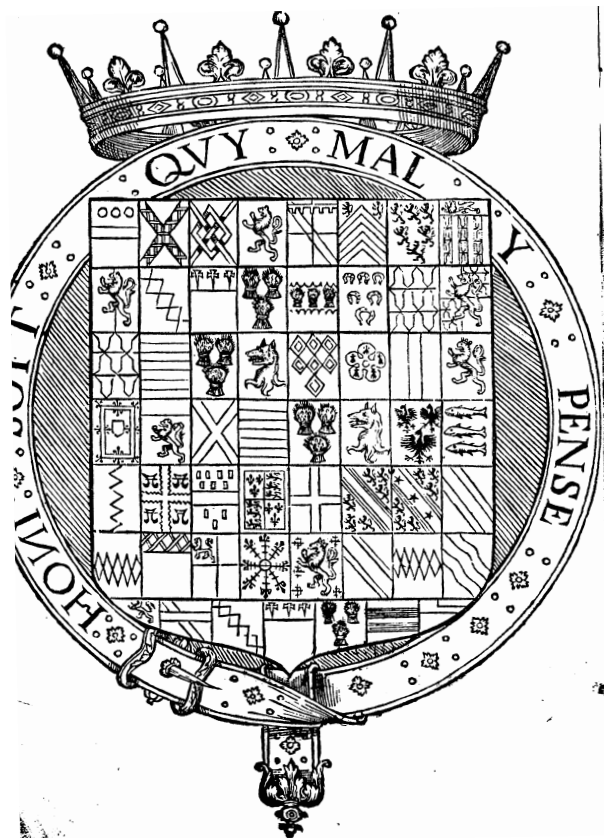
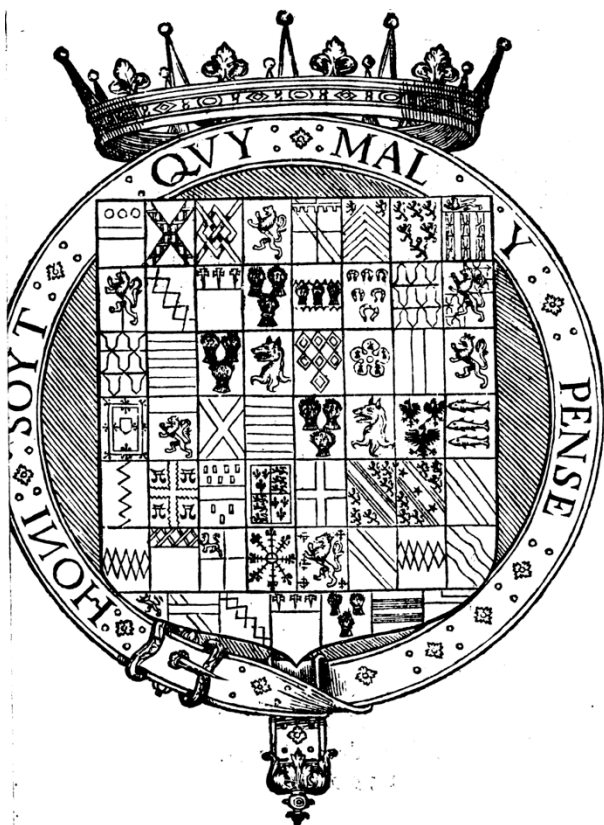
social class, something that could be deduced from the dedications of Ponsonby's books. These paratexts placed Ponsonby in an elite milieu, according to Brennan, who wrote that 'It seems to have been essential for a bookseller of Ponsonby's importance to be associated through his books with some of the various political, religious, and literary groups of the day.'⁹

Blount maintained some of Ponsonby's relationships when he launched his own business.¹⁰ Robert Devereux, the Earl of Essex, had been an important patron for Ponsonby since 1588 and can be linked to several of Blount's earliest publications. These include Blount's first book, produced in 1594, which was a French poem translated by Josuah Sylvester, a poet who was patronised by Essex. Blount's second title, a set of courtly songs composed by the lutenist Charles Tessier and published in 1597, contained two dedications to the Earl's sister, Lady Penelope Rich.¹¹ In 1599 both Blount and Ponsonby dedicated books to Essex: Ponsonby published a military manual by Richard Crompton, while Blount produced a fencing manual by George Silver. The two quartos share a martial subject matter designed to appeal to Essex's reputation as a soldier, and were printed by Richard Field in a similar style (*see below*). The strategy of dedicating books to the same patron was repeated by Blount and Ponsonby in 1604, when both dedicated works to Prince Henry. These joint productions aligned the work of both stationers.

⁹ Brennan, "Ponsonby" 102-3.

¹⁰ Blount's apprenticeship ended in 1588, but he probably still worked for Ponsonby in 1591, when the latter sent him to collect the first installment of Edmund Spenser's pension: Herbert Berry and E. K. Timings, "Spenser's Pension," *Review of English Studies* 11.43 (1960): 254-9, 255. See also Bednarz, "Contextualising," 135.

¹¹ The production of this title is described in John Ward, "Tessier and the 'Essex Circle'", *Renaissance Quarterly* 29.3 (1976): 378-84, 380n6. See also: Jeremy Smith, *Thomas East and Music Publishing in Renaissance England* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2003) 90. Smith means 'Edward Blount', not 'Christopher Blount', and the second issue Smith discusses has a cancel title page, rather than, as Smith states, a paste-on slip for a new imprint.



TO THE RIGHT
HONORABLE, MY SINGVLAR
GOOD LORD, ROBERT EARLE OF
Essex and Ewe, Earle Marshall of England, Vis-
count Hereford, Lord Ferrers of Charley, Bourchier
and Louaine, *Maister of the Queenes Maiesties horse, &*
of the Ordenance, Chancellor of the Vniuersitie of Cam-
bridge, *Knight of the most noble order of the Gar-*
ter, and one of her Highnesse most ho-
norable Priny Counsell.

FENCING (Right honorable)
in this new fangled age, is like
our fashions, euerie daye a
change, resembling the Ca-
melion, who altereth himselte
into all colours saue white: so
Fencing changeth into all wards saue the right.
That it is so, experience teacheth vs: why it is
so, I doubt not but your wisdom doth con-
ceiue. There is nothing permanent that is not
true, what can be true that is vncertaine? how
can that be certaine, that stands vpon vncertain

A 3



TO THE RIGHT
HONORABLE, ROBERT EARLE
OF ESSEX AND EWE, EARLE MAR-
shall of England, Viscount Hereford, Lord Fer-
rers of Charley, Bourchier and Louaine, Knight of the
most noble order of the Garter, *Maister of her Maiesties*
Horse, and Ordenance, Chauncellor of the Vniuersity of
Cambridge, and one of her Highnesse most honorable Priny
Counsell, RICHARD CROMPTON desireth
eternall felicitie.

Here is no kingdome (Right
honorable) so strongly feared,
or with Castles so fortified, or
that so aboundeth in wealth,
which without valiant men
trained vp in martiall disci-
pline, can be defended from the force of the e-
nemy: for the stronger or richer the countrey is,
the more are the snares and sleights prepared
by the enemy to compasse and conquer the
same: for which cause, and for that also, occasions
of warre are often offered vpon the sodaine, it is

A 2

Fig. 5.3. Openings from two books published in 1599 by Blount and Ponsonby. On top is George Silver's *Paradoxes of Defence* (STC 22554, A2v-3r), published by Blount; the bottom image is of Richard Crompton's *The Mansion of Magnanimitie* (STC 6054, A1v-2r), published by Ponsonby. Image: EEBO reels 212:03 and 975:17.

Blount's connection to the Pembroke family also began with Ponsonby, who had 'the status of the Sidney family publisher'.¹² Blount produced eight dedications to either William or Philip Herbert, and other, more subtle links to the Herbert brothers can be found in his career: in 1607 Blount acted as a guarantor for a Somerset preacher whose appointment had been arranged by William Herbert.¹³ The 'synergy', as Sonia Massai has called it, between Ponsonby, Blount, and the Herbert brothers, created a joint programme of textual culture that eventually produced Shakespeare's Folio.¹⁴ Blount also inherited a notable retail customer from his master: the accounts of Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, show the Earl bought his books from Ponsonby from 1591 to 1596, but then began to buy them from Blount.¹⁵ In this instance Henry Percy had bought books to stock his new library at Syon House; in helping Percy with this task Blount presumably used principles of selection and value that would have been part of the services by which he distinguished himself from his peers – his 'taste' in books. In 1611, after the young Prince Henry took up residence at St James' palace, it was Blount again who supplied books for the library. The relevant entry in the prince's accounts is for £122, 15s., and reads: 'Edward Blunte Stacioner for certen bookes by him delivered towardses the furnishing of the Princes Library at St James by warrt under the privy seale dated the vijth of July 1612'.¹⁶

¹² Gavin Alexander, *Writing After Sidney: The Literary Response to Philip Sidney 1586-1640* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2006) 84. See also: Michael Brennan, "The Queen's Proposed Visit to Wilton House in 1599 and the 'Sidney' Psalms," *Sidney Journal* 20.1 (2002): 27-54.

¹³ *Office of First Fruits 1604-1613*: TNA E 334/14, 89r.

¹⁴ Sonia Massai, "Edward Blount, the Herberts, and the First Folio," in Marta Straznicky ed., *Shakespeare's stationers: Studies in Cultural Bibliography* (Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania P, 2012) 132-46, at 145.

¹⁵ *Sixth Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts* (London: HM stationery Office, 1877), 227. The accounts are now MS PHA/577-9 and MS PHA/580-a at the West Sussex Record Office.

¹⁶ *Prince Henry's Accounts 1611-12*: TNA E 351/2793.

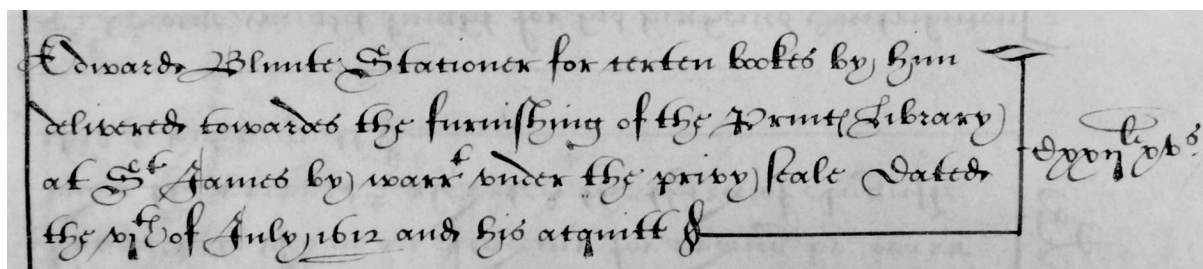


Fig. 5.4. Notice of payment to Edward Blount in the account books of Prince Henry, 1611-12. Image: author's own of TNA E 351/2793.

In his choice of authors, Blount also matched his master's interests. Perhaps the most important writer in Blount's career, in terms of Blount's investment, was the Italian language tutor John Florio, whom Blount first encountered in Ponsonby's bookshop in 1590, when Florio edited and produced an edition of Sidney's *Arcadia*.¹⁷ Other overlaps between Blount and Ponsonby include their interest in the Italian historian Francesco Guicciardini, the poet and dramatist George Chapman, and the French poets Odet de la Noue and Guillaume du Bartas.¹⁸ The repetition of these authors and their titles was not as a result of the inheritance of copyright – all of the manuscripts that Ponsonby had registered with the Stationers' Company passed to his brother-in-law, the stationer Simon Waterson. Instead the repetition suggests Ponsonby and Blount should be seen as the two halves of a pan-generational industrial programme to shape 'literary' taste. Blount and Ponsonby were particularly close: after Ponsonby's death in 1604 it was Blount who acted as a guarantor for the estate of his old master's six underage orphans.¹⁹ Yet in a professional sense, the close links between master and apprentice show that ideas of taste and cultural distinction could be inherited from the professional relationships a stationer acquired during his training.

¹⁷ Henry Woudhuysen, *Sir Philip Sidney and the Circulation of Manuscripts 1558-1640* (Oxford: Clarendon P, 1996) 224-32.

¹⁸ Arber II.496, III.304, 335.

¹⁹ *Court of Orphans Recognizances 1590-1633*: LMA CLA/002/05/001, 33v; *Court of Aldermen Repertory Book 1610-12*: LMA COL/CA/01/01/033, 233v.

Publishing Career

1. Florio and Montaigne

Blount continued to work for Ponsonby after his apprenticeship had ended, before he began his own publishing business in 1594.²⁰ His first new shop was beside the ‘great north door’ of Paul’s Cross, to quote an imprint from 1597, then he moved to a shop under the Sign of the Black Bear, also in Paul’s Cross Churchyard, in about 1609, where he spent most of the rest of his career. Before 1623 Blount had published seventy-five separate editions: they are too numerous to be examined in their entirety for ways they indicate an elite readership. But when these books are looked at as a whole, it becomes clear that Blount’s overarching intention was to concentrate on a select readership. Focussing on some specific examples illustrates the way his publishing strategies targeted select readers, and the way these strategies changed over Blount’s career.

The first technique that marked Blount out as a publisher of distinction was economic. In his first years of publishing he made two dazzlingly ambitious investments in large folios. The retail cost of a book was related to the number of sheets of that paper the book required, which meant that by publishing two large books Blount automatically targeted an affluent readership that was likely to be more culturally influential than one with less disposable capital. Cultural division does not always follow an economic rationale, but wealth is one of several hierarchies that grant members of a society power over the cultural domain, and books could appeal to the wealthy through their price. Large books appear throughout Blount’s career – the Folio is one – but what makes these two first investments exceptional is that he published them so soon after setting up a business. The timing was unique within the First Folio syndicate of publishers: the other four stationers took decades to reach the level of investment that Blount achieved with only his second publication.

²⁰ For evidence that Blount continued to work for Ponsonby, see: Berry and Timings, “Spenser’s Pension,” 255.

These two early folios are John Florio's Italian-English dictionary *A Worlde of Wordes* (1598), and his translation of Montaigne's *Essayes* (1603). The dictionary required 122 edition sheets and was printed in a small, long primer Roman typeface in three columns. The amount of type used in this dictionary was roughly half that used to print the First Folio – a daunting weight of compositorial labour for a lone and inexperienced stationer to finance, when Blount must have known that larger books took more time to return a profit than shorter works. The edition would have sold for roughly six to eight shillings a copy, and clearly did well enough to earn a second edition by 1611. The still-larger 1603 edition of Montaigne's *Essayes*, a book of 170 edition sheets, used a similar amount of type as Florio's dictionary. The *Essayes*, translated by Florio, sold for between seven and ten shillings a copy, and did well enough to earn a second edition, which appeared in 1611.²¹ The cost of Shakespeare's Folio – split between four publishing businesses – is often mentioned as one of the reasons it was such an exceptional volume: the two Florio folios combined required a substantially greater investment in paper and in compositorial labour than the Shakespeare Folio, and Blount funded them both by himself within a few years of opening his own bookshop.

So by their sheer size these two Florio folios were costly books that could only be bought by the wealthy. In other ways, too, the folios appeal to a select readership. Both have an impressive set of dedications: in total the two folios were offered to nine aristocrats, which situated the folios among some of the most important patrons of their time, including Henry Wriothesley, the Earl of Southampton and Florio's employer since 1594, and Lucy Russell, the Countess of Bedford, another member of the Essex and Sidney circles. Presentation copies of both folios exist that show a wider network of aristocrats received preferential treatment from Blount in the form of a free copy, some of which contain manuscript corrections made

²¹ Copies with prices include: Canterbury Cathedral Library, W2/A-5-1 (seven shillings); Bodleian Library, Douce M 731 (eight shillings) and H 4.8 Art (ten shillings).

personally by Florio; another has a unique manuscript sonnet by Florio's friend Matthew Gwinne.²² Still in the preliminary matter the two folios contain complimentary verses by a circle of well-known writers: as well as Gwinne, other contributors include the poet Barnabe Barnes, and the court poet Samuel Daniel, who had been a student of Florio's. The paratexts position the two books as intellectually and culturally priceless – 'event' publications to be added to quality libraries. In *A Worlde of Wordes*, a sonnet by Gwinne praised a book:

which might dispence
Of euery worde, the true intelligence
Of that toong, erst of toongs the Peerelesse-Queene²³

In calling Italian the first ('erst') and 'Peerlesse-Queene' of languages, Gwinne reminded the reader of Queen Elizabeth's well-known preference for Italian, which Florio, the royal language tutor, also mentioned in his preface: 'To know Italian is a grace of all graces, without exception, which I ever exemplifie in her gracious Highness.'²⁴ Here was a book that offered ambitious gentlemen the means to follow their queen and become accomplished linguists. The popularity of Italian culture in England in the 1590s ensured that language-learning was an esteemed discipline. As Florio's biographer has noted, the study of Italian at this time was 'at its peak in cosmopolitan London and particularly among the ruling class'.²⁵ As if to reassure readers that this dictionary had the requisite scholarly credentials, Blount included an unusual reference leaf that lists

*The names of the Bookes and Auctors, that haue bin
read of purpose, for the accomplishing of this
Dictionarie, and out of which it is
collected.*²⁶

²² The unique sonnet is in a copy of Florio's 1598 dictionary that was sold at auction in 1978. The sonnet is mentioned by Woudhuysen, *Sidney* 91. There is a picture of the page containing the sonnet in an auction catalogue from 1965: *Catalogue of Distinguished Printed Books, Autograph Letters, and Manuscripts, the Property of the Newberry Library, Chicago... 8-9 November 1965* (London: Sotheby & Co, 1965) 47.

²³ John Florio, *A Worlde of Wordes* (1598, STC 11098) b2v.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, b1v.

²⁵ Desmond O'Connor, "Florio, John (1553-1625)," *ODNB* (Web: Oxford UP, 2008). < <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/9758?docPos=1>>

²⁶ Florio, *Worldde* b4v.

Like the Italian dictionary, Montaigne's *Essayes* were also a favourite of the royal household. The first edition contains preliminary verse by Samuel Daniel, a royal favourite, while the second edition was dedicated to the queen. The *Essayes* can also be found on a royal reading list for Princes Charles and James II. In 1603, the reader was left in no doubt about the value of Montaigne's writing before reaching the text itself. As Daniel wrote:

*And let the Critic say the worst he can,
He cannot say but that Montaigne yet,
Yeeldes most rich pieces and extracts of man;
Though in a troubled frame confus'dly set.
Which yet h'is blest that he hath euer seene.*²⁷

The paratexts present the books as elite objects. The recent editor of Florio's dictionary, Hermann Haller, has determined that it was 'written for the clearly didactic purpose of teaching aristocratic students Italian'.²⁸ William Hamlin has surveyed 110 copies of the 1603 translation of Montaigne, paying particular attention to marks of provenance and reading to uncover an unusually detailed understanding of who read the book. Hamlin's work supports an analysis by Warren Boutcher that shows 'the popularity of Montaigne in early modern England depended very considerably upon the favourable reception accorded the *Essays* within aristocratic households'.²⁹ These two folios were eagerly received by an elite audience, and both rapidly earned second editions, to which Blount added further dedications and an engraved portrait of Florio that celebrated his authorial status. The second edition of the dictionary was expanded by fifty-six edition sheets that included hundreds of new definitions and a whole Italian grammar addressed to Queen Anne. By 1620 an Oxford bookseller sent to London for more copies of Montaigne but was told they were 'exceeding scarce' to come by, forcing the bookseller to turn to

²⁷ Michel de Montaigne, *The Essayes* (1603, STC 18041) ¶1v.

²⁸ Hermann Haller ed., *A Worlde of Wordes: A Critical Edition* (Toronto: U of Toronto P, 2013) xii.

²⁹ William Hamlin, *Montaigne's English Journey* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2013) 244. Hamlin is developing the research of Warren Boutcher, "The Origins of Montaigne: 'Of the institution and education of children, to Madame Lucy Russell, Countess of Bedford'," *Montaigne Studies* 24.1 (2012): 7-32.

secondhand sources to supply his university retail customers.³⁰ But perhaps the most important aspect of Blount's success in packaging these two books for elite readers was the quality of their content – which confirms his own cultural taste in approving publication. Research on the impact and reception of the dictionary and Montaigne's *Essayes* has overwhelmingly backed Blount's decision to publish the manuscripts. The recent editor of Florio's dictionary has described the 1598 first edition as intellectually 'nothing short of trailblazing and astounding'.³¹ It contains 46,000 entries, and vastly updated the only previous Italian-English dictionary (containing around 9,000 entries, written by William Thomas in 1550). Montaigne's *Essayes* rapidly became considered a classic work of literature, and remains at the centre of the early modern interest in scepticism and moral philosophy.

The two folios were not the only books Blount published during this period. In the first decade of his career, he published twenty other editions of shorter books, including the first editions of some titles that became classics. In 1598 he published Christopher Marlowe's *Hero and Leander*, adding a preface in which he spoke of Marlowe as a friend, and described himself as the executor to Marlowe's 'intellectual will'.³² In 1603 he was one of a privileged syndicate of fourteen stationers who took shares in James I's immensely popular *Basilikon Doron*. In 1604 he financed *The Naturall and Morall Historie of the East and West Indies*, a quarto that has been praised by Anthony Grafton as 'one of the most original histories' of the region, which appears on the same royal reading list that features Montaigne.³³ The following year he financed a book of travel writing about Tuscany that the 'intelligencer' Samuel Hartlib praised as 'excellent' and 'most Political'. Hartlib's verdict in 1641 was that Blount's book contained 'the most accurat

³⁰ *John Piper to Thomas Huggins, 23 March 1621*: Huntington Library, 28116.

³¹ Haller, *Wordes* xvi.

³² Christopher Marlowe, *Hero and Leander* (1598, STC 17413), Aiiir-v.

³³ Anthony Grafton, *New Worlds, Ancient Texts: The Power of Tradition and the Shock of Discovery* (London: Harvard UP, 1995) 1; *Bookseller's Bill to Prince Charles II and James II, 1641*: Folger Library, MS X.d.95.

descriptions that ever have been made. They are out of print and very rare to be had, and most worthy of Translations.³⁴ Several of Blount's remaining books from this first decade were high-status publications in other ways. They included Samuel Daniel's *A Panegyrike Congratulatorie Delivered to the Kings Most Excellent Maiestie* (1603), a poem that directly addressed the new monarch. Also found among this group is Blount's first interaction with Shakespeare, in the form of an untitled poem, 'known as "The Phoenix and the Turtle", included in the *Loves Martyr* miscellany (1601). That miscellany shows particularly clearly that a stationer's marketing practices can shape a text: the same sheets were re-issued in a different style by the stationer Matthew Lownes in 1611.³⁵ While Blount marketed the miscellany as a collection of 'poeticall essayes' that were 'done by the best and chiefest of our moderne writers', Lownes rebranded the book as a piece of historical writing.³⁶ In line with his strategy, Blount fashioned the miscellany as an elite collection of poems, while Lownes' new title page barely mentions poetry at all, saving that word for the end of the final line and choosing instead to emphasise the antiquarian subject matter of one of the poems and direct the text to a different audience.

THE
 Anuals of great
 Brittain.
 OR,
 A MOST EXCEL-
 lent Monument, wherein may be
seene all the antiquities of this King-
 dome, to the satisfaction both of the
 Vniuersities, or any other place stir-
 red with Emulation of long
 continuance.

*Excellently figured out in a worthy Poem.*³⁷

³⁴ Samuel Hartlib, *Ephemerides 1641*: Hartlib Papers, 30/4/70b and 30/4/76a-b. <hridigital.shef.ac.uk>.

³⁵ Robert Chester, *Loves Martyr* (1601, STC 5119 and 1611, STC 5120).

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 1601, Z1r.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 1611, [A1].

2. Blount's Playbook Publishing

Another way to understand Blount's intention to target an elite audience is by looking at the genres of texts he published. The seventy-five editions he financed before the Folio mostly belong to culturally elevated genres: the moral philosophy of Montaigne and Pierre Charron is also present in Lodowick Bryskett's *A Discourse of Civill Life: Containing the Ethike Part of Morall Philosophie* and Thomasso Buoni's *Problemes of Beautie and All Humane Affections*, as well as William Cavendish's *Horae Subsecivae: Observations and Discourses*. The interest in languages started by Florio's dictionary continued with Cesar Oudin's *A Grammar Spanish and English*, and Richard Perceval's *A Dictionary in Spanish and English*, as well as being more generally represented by Blount's preference for European writing in translation over English work.

Genres like moral philosophy and lexicography are intrinsically elite for a mixture of intellectual and economic reasons: these were often printed as large books so likely only to be appreciated by readers with a certain level of free time as well as education. To identify Blount's readership it is therefore particularly helpful to look at his dramatic publishing, because this is a genre that is conventionally considered by modern scholars to have a low cultural status, and also because that reveals the publishing trajectory that led to the Folio. Before the Folio Blount published six playbooks, each of which belonged to a sub-genre of printed drama that had an elevated cultural status within the larger field of printed drama. Only one of Blount's plays was a piece of professional theatre, of the kind that is generally understood as 'popular culture'. The remaining five titles, while still being 'playbooks' in a technical sense, belonged to the socially and politically prestigious sub-genres of university drama, masques, and closet drama. The timing of their publication is also important: the six playbooks were published at the start of the Stuart

reign, and five of them bid for royal favour by being dedicated to either King James or Prince Henry.³⁸

Blount's first playbook was Matthew Gwinne's *Nero Tragaedia Nova*, published probably shortly after Florio had praised Gwinne's writing in a preface to the 1603 edition of Montaigne's *Essayes*.³⁹ *Nero* was a work of Latin university drama, written by Gwinne during his time at St John's College, Oxford. University drama, being almost exclusively in the Latin that reflected the scholarly surroundings of its production, was a considerably more prestigious form than popular drama (*i.e.* London stage plays). Gwinne's work is a lengthy Senecan tragedy of about 5,000 lines.⁴⁰ It contains more than eighty speaking parts, which is why it was never performed publicly, a point stressed by Gwinne in a Jonsonian preface that defends the text on the grounds that it should be read, not performed:

At cur non acta? Non dico, quod non apta; forte nec scripta in hunc finem: etsi utrumque innuat et personarum multitudo, et longitudo inaequalis actuum, et modus tractandi non plausibilis.

But why wasn't this acted? I do not say because it was unsuitable: possibly it was not written to this end. Even if one asserts that it was both these things, one must consider the multitude of roles, the unequal length of the Acts, and the implausibility of producing such an intractable piece.⁴¹

Here Gwinne seems to boast about how impossible it would be to stage his 'intractable piece', at the same time stressing his work's value as a reading text. For a London publisher to produce this play at all is unusual, as most university dramas were printed in either Oxford or Cambridge.

Blount's presentation stresses the book's intellectual context and classical heritage: the Latin title

³⁸ The grouping corresponds with the first 'boom phase' of drama publishing: Alan B. Farmer and Zachary Lesser, "The Popularity of Playbooks Revisited," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 56.1 (2005): 1–32, 10.

³⁹ Copies of Montaigne were on sale by 21 May 1603, when one reader inscribed that date on his copy: Hamlin, *Journey* 13. Gwinne's manuscript was registered on 23 February 1603 (Arber III.238).

⁴⁰ Gwinne's play was prepared for the Renaissance Latin Drama in England first series by Heinz-Deiter Leidig in 1983 (Hildesheim / New York). A Latin and English hypertext critical edition is available through the Birmingham Philological Museum, edited by Dana Sutton: www.philological.bham.ac.uk/Nero/.

⁴¹ Matthew Gwinne, *Nero Tragaedia Nova* (1603, STC 12551) ¶4r. Translation from Sutton's edition.

page identifies Gwinne as a doctor of St John's College, and notes that the text within has been 'gathered out of Tacitus, Suetonius, Dio, and Seneca'. A quotation from Ovid's *Epistulae ex Ponto* features on the title page, which translates as 'I wish I was as happy as my heart is pure!' This quotation, by Ovid, is in context a reference to his poetry being misunderstood: were it correctly understood, his whole being would be as happy as his heart – pure because it knows the correct interpretation. On the title page of *Nero*, this quotation presents the playbook as a similar work of 'true' poetry for a rarified few capable of appreciating its value.

Unusually for a playbook, *Nero* also contains dedicatory epistles. The play exists in two states: in the first state two epistles dedicate the play to Sir Thomas Egerton and the humanist Justus Lipsius. The preface to Lipsius is written by John Sandsbury of St John's College, Oxford, who compares Gwinne to Seneca, again framing the text as a literary document to be appreciated by those with 'judgment':

Neronem nunc habe; votis tuis Oculisque dignum...
Videte; talis Seneca qui Gwinnus, fuit.
Qui iudicas, fatere; qui nescis, tace.

now you have a Nero worthy of your desires and your reading...
Observe: Gwinne is as Seneca was. You who have judgment, confess
it. You who are ignorant, keep still.⁴²

In the second issue of the playbook – which probably dates its printing to March of 1603 – these two dedications are cancelled and replaced by one to King James. Printed marginal notes throughout the text point out the play's classical sources and are another indicator of its 'literary' presentation. The gulf between Gwinne's work and that of popular professional dramatists is also evident in original *Sammelbande*, which show early readers collected *Nero* and placed it beside Latin university histories and books of scholarship rather than popular drama. A typical reader was

⁴² *Ibid.*, A1r. Translation from Sutton's edition.

Thomas Twyne, a scholar and doctor who bought and annotated a copy of *Nero* before 1613, binding it with Latin works of science by Johannes Kepler and William Fulke.⁴³

So *Nero* was far from being a popular or 'low-culture' playbook, and the same is true of Gwinne's second play, *Vertumnus*, published by Blount in 1607. Another Latin university drama, *Vertumnus* was dedicated to Prince Henry and the two Herbert brothers and is prefaced by commendatory poems in Latin and Greek. The rest of Blount's dramatic publishing comprised equally distinguished titles. His third playbook was William Alexander's *The Monarchick Tragedies* (1604).⁴⁴ This edition contained two Senecan closet dramas in verse, 'one of the most highly regarded genres of the Renaissance', both of which were dedicated to King James and were never performed.⁴⁵ Typographically the plays are coded with university and classical drama in several ways, including the use of prefatory 'arguments' and massed entries. Again there is a Latin motto on the title page, this time from Horace's *Ars Poetica*, and dedicatory and commendatory poems in English and Latin. Blount published *The Monarchick Tragedies* in a composite quarto that also contained an advice poem to Prince Henry written by Alexander, creating a collection that promoted its author as 'a good adviser to a prince, an ideal courtier and royal servant.'⁴⁶

The fourth dramatic work published by Blount was a pageant from the official festival that welcomed King James into London: *B. Ion: His Part of King James His Royall and Magnificent Entertainment* (1604).⁴⁷ Most of the book is an order of proceedings for the festival, written by

⁴³ Corpus Christi College Library, Oxford: Phi.A.1.6. See also Queen's College Library, Oxford: YY.t.25 (*Nero* bound fourth in a compilation featuring John Caius' *Historiae Cantabrigiensis* [1574], John Budden's life of Waynflete *Gulielmi Patteni* [1602], and the *Academiae Oxoniensis Pietas erga Serenissimum et Potentissimum Iacobum* [1603]), and Jesus College Library, Oxford: M.6.20. Gwinne's own college, St John's, has a seventeenth century *Sammelband* that picks up on the preface of *Nero*, which contributes to the debate about the morality of stage plays: HB4/4.a.6.15. collects *Nero* with key texts in that debate by John Northbrooke and John Rainolds.

⁴⁴ William Alexander, *The Monarchick Tragedies* (1604, STC 343).

⁴⁵ David Reid, "Alexander, William (1577-1640)," *ODNB* (Web: Oxford UP, 2004). <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/335?docPos=2>>.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ Ben Jonson, *B. Ion: His Part of King James* (1604, STC 14756). Ian Donaldson has described Blount's edition as a claim for royal favour: *Ben Jonson: A Life* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2011) 196.

Jonson, in which he interpreted the classical symbolism of the ceremonies and recorded the speeches. The book also contains a panegyric composed by Jonson for the king. The playbook section appears in the final part of the book, which contains a masque known as the ‘Althorp Entertainment’ after the country estate where the masque was performed in front of James I during his journey down to London. Martin Butler, editor of this quarto for *The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Ben Jonson*, has described it in this way:

This is one of Jonson’s most complex publications, and was calculated to bring him into public and royal notice, drawing attention to the skill and learning with which he celebrated the event, and publicizing a seemingly personal bond between the new monarch and the poet... The marginalia and the attention to detail shown in typography and layout are calculated to give an appearance of prestige and monumental scholarship, while waspish asides in the text underline the superiority of Jonson’s work to that of other contributors to the celebrations.⁴⁸

Samuel Daniel’s *Philotas*, published in duodecimo in 1605, is the first of Blount’s plays that was performed, though the performance was a one-off at court. *Philotas* is not a professional play, and Daniel’s dedication contains an apologia for letting his work reach ‘the censoring stage’.⁴⁹ Dedicated to Prince Henry, the book was published by Blount in partnership with the stationer Simon Waterson, and as with William Alexander’s *Monarchick Tragedies*, the text of *Philotas* appeared as part of a composite edition that was branded as a collection of poetry rather than drama: the title page reads: *Certaine Small Poems Lately Printed: with the Tragedy of Philotas*. Further underscoring its ‘literary’ context, *Philotas* was published by Blount in a second edition in 1607 as part of a composite duodecimo that included Daniel’s *A Defence of Ryme* – a literary critical work dedicated to William Herbert that defended the use of metre and rhyme in English verse.

⁴⁸ Martin Butler, “The King’s Entertainment, A Panegyre, and the Entertainment at Althorp: Textual Essay,” *The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Ben Jonson*. Web: Cambridge UP. <universitypublishingonline.org/cambridge/benjonson>.

⁴⁹ Samuel Daniel, *Certaine Small Poems Lately Printed* (1605, STC 6239) [2]A5v.

So Blount chose to publish university drama, closet drama and a masque rather than the more popular forms of London stage plays. But there is one exception to this: George Chapman's comedy *Sir Gyles Goosecappe*, published in 1606.⁵⁰ The title page of *Goosecappe* explains that the play was performed professionally by the Children of the Chapel. The playbook contains certain markers that can be read as high status – the title page activates ideas of social status by using a single line for 'SIR', set in a large fount, and by using an italicised fount and single line for 'Knight' beneath (*see image overleaf*). The play also contains Latin stage directions and act headings – but in general this text looks like most other popular quarto playbooks of the period.

Nevertheless a reading of *Goosecappe* supports the idea that Blount targeted an elite audience: the play's central characters are comically in love with French and Italian culture and language in a way that lampoons a vogue among sections of the courtly elite of which Blount himself was a major proponent. *Goosecappe* seems to have been a light-hearted counterpoint to the philosophy of Montaigne and Charron, and the Italian advice books of statesmanlike behaviour that Blount produced. Passages such as the one quoted below, where Lord Furnival describes his efforts to mimic French customs during a stay at court in Paris, seem knowingly ironic beside Blount's edition of Ducci's courtier's manual, or his edition of Lodowick Bryskett's *A Discourse of Civill Life... For for the Instructing of a Gentleman*.⁵¹

Furnival:	I seem'd not to note The Ladies notes of me, but held my talke, with that Italionate Frenchman, and tooke time (Still as our conference seru'd) to shew my Courtship In the three-quarter legge, and settled looke, The quick kisse of the toppe of the forefinger And other such exploytes of good Accost; All which the Ladies tooke into their eyes With such attention that their fauours swarm'de About my bosome... ⁵²
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⁵⁰ George Chapman, *Sir Gyles Goosecappe Knight* (1606, STC 12050).

⁵¹ Lorenzo Ducci, *Ars Aulica, or, The Courtiers Arte* (1607, STC 7274); Lodowick Bryskett, *A Discourse of Civill Life* (1606, STC 3959).

⁵² George Chapman, *Sir Gyles Goosecappe Knight* (1606, STC 12050) G1v.

SIR
GYLES GOOSECAPPE
Knight.

A Comedie presented by the Chil:
of the Chappell.



AT LONDON:
Printed by *Iohn Windet* for
Edward Blunt, 1606.

Fig. 5.5. Title page of George Chapman's *Sir Gyles Goosecappe Knight* (1606, STC 12050). Image: EEBO reel 958:23.

Earlier in the play, three pages comically avoid a fight by discovering they can speak to one another in French and therefore must all be civilised. Bullaker is about to beat Jack and Will when Will calls out:

<i>Will</i>	O pray pardon vs Sir.
<i>Bul.</i>	Out ye <i>mopede monckies</i> can yee not knowe a man from a <i>Marmasett</i> , in theis Frenchified dayes of ours? nay ile <i>Iackesie</i> you alittle better yet.
<i>both,</i>	Nay good Sir, good Sir, pardon vs.
<i>Bul.</i>	Pardon vs, out ye home-bred peasants, plain english, pardon vs, if you had parled, & not spoken, but said <i>pardonne moy</i> ; I wood haue pardon'd you, but since you speake, and not parley, I will cudgell ye better yet.
<i>Ambo</i>	<i>O pardonne moy mounsieur.</i>
<i>Bul.</i>	<i>Bien je vous remercie, thers pardonne pour vous</i> Sir now. ⁵³

⁵³ *Ibid.*, A2v.

The humour of *Goosecappe*, and its appeal to an elite audience, stems from its assumption that its readers will be familiar with the fastidious interest and reliance on continental manners displayed by the characters. The play allows the upper classes to recognise and laugh at their own customs, while confirming the social hierarchy that separated those who had cultural fluency from those who did not. There may also be a social reason behind Blount's production of Chapman's play: one of the play's characters, Sir Cuthbert Rudsby, is described repeatedly as a 'blunt knight' in a way that apparently puns on Blount's name. Chapman, who had worked with Blount before, may have intended Rudsby's nickname to be an affectionate allusion to a well-known stationer. Here is one of the punning passages:

Hip. ...no man commends my blount Seruant Sir *Cutt: Rudesby*
methinks.
King. Hee is a kind gentleman *Ladie* though hee bee blunt, and
is of this humor, the more you presume vpon him
without Ceremonie, the more he loues you, if he knowe
you thinke him kinde once and will say nothing but still
vse him, you may melt him into any kindenesse you will;
he is right like a woman, and had rather, you shood
bluntlie take the greatest fauour you can of him, then
shamefastly intreat it.⁵⁴

The unusual orthography of 'my blount servant' in this passage was corrected for the 1636 second edition of the play (published after Blount's death when the pun would have been no longer relevant). The same pun had already been used few years earlier by the stationer Thomas Thorpe in a dedication to one of Christopher Marlowe's books:

TO HIS KIND, AND TRVE FRIEND:
EDWARD BLVNT.

BLount: *I purpose to be blunt with you, & out of my dulnesse to encounter you*
*with a Dedication.*⁵⁵

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, F2r-v. See also A3v.

⁵⁵ Christopher Marlowe, *Lucan's First Booke* (1600, STC 16883.5) A2r.

Just as those playbooks Blount did chose to publish were prestigious examples of the genre, the playbooks he chose *not* to publish belonged to mainstream genres generally seen as ‘popular culture’. Six entries in the Stationers’ Register show Blount registering a manuscript playbook he does not then publish. Each is from the professional public theatre: Ben Jonson’s *Sejanus*, Cyril Tourneur’s *The Nobleman*, Richard Niccols’ *The Twins’ Tragedy*, *A King and No King*, by Beaumont and Fletcher, and *Pericles* and *Antony and Cleopatra* by Shakespeare. Most of these plays were sold on by Blount to other stationers who had an interest in popular drama. In several cases it is clear why Blount may initially have been interested in the manuscript – Jonson’s preface to *Sejanus* carefully separates the printed text from the play’s staged performance, highlighting its ‘literary’ status. And both *Pericles* and *Antony and Cleopatra* ostensibly draw on classical history, which fits Blount’s interest in forms of ‘high’ culture. But in each of the six cases he decided the playbook did not fit his publishing profile, perhaps because none was obviously distinct enough for his audience.⁵⁶

Blount’s playbooks were published in the middle decade of his career. Documentary evidence of his activities outside the book trade from this same period show that he moved in increasingly influential circles. Letters between John Chamberlain and the diplomat Sir Dudley Carleton make it clear that ‘Ned Blunt’ was an important contact for the transmission of news, books, artworks, and luxury goods. Those letters show Blount was in contact with both Carleton and Sir Isaac Wake while they travelled in Europe, and that Blount occasionally brokered foreign currency exchanges.⁵⁷ A letter and a receipt link Blount with a religious writer in Devon and the

⁵⁶ Arber III.273 (Jonson’s *Sejanus*, sold to Thomas Thorpe the following year [III.297]); III.378 (*Pericles*, published the following year by Henry Gosson, and *Antony and Cleopatra*, unpublished before the Folio); III.478 (*The Nobleman* and *The Twin’s Tragedy*, both unpublished); III.631 (*A King and No King*, published by Thomas Walkley the following year).

⁵⁷ Norman McClure ed., *The Letters of John Chamberlain* (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1939), 2 vols: I.484, 489, 543–4, 555–6, 613; II.30, 171, 287; *Edward Blount to Dudley Carleton, 26 April 1615*: TNA SP 14/80, 136r; *Edward Blount to Dudley Carleton, 26 June 1615*: *Ibid.*, 186r.

poet Robert Herrick in Cambridge.⁵⁸ From 1607 to 1612 Blount underwrote a series of loans to churchmen linked to his patronage networks, seemingly to strengthen ties between him and his aristocratic contacts.⁵⁹ Around this time, too, Blount was named by the writer and explorer Thomas Coryate as one of a select group of stationers deemed to be ‘lovers of virtue, and literature’, as mentioned above in a footnote on page 234.⁶⁰ Coryate’s list documented his circle of friends and authors, and includes John Donne, Ben Jonson and Hugh Holland. It also includes other cultural producers: several important patrons, the editor Samuel Purchas, and the architect Inigo Jones. Blount’s inclusion in the list shows he was not viewed as a mechanistic functionary, but as a fellow in a democratic and social world of production; a publisher who embodied taste and cultural distinction.

3. *Spanish Publishing*

The final class of evidence that reveals Blount continued to target elite readers in the last stage of his career, during the lead up to the printing of the Shakespeare Folio, is his Spanish publishing. Starting with his edition of *Don Quixote* (1612), Blount published a series of Spanish translations and language-learning aids aimed at an elite and politically alert audience. Spanish books became his main interest, which peaked in the years 1622 and 1623 with two major folios, a large quarto, and an octavo Spanish grammar. This Spanish publishing demonstrates Blount’s commitment to an elite audience in a couple of ways. The first is the calibre of the texts he produced and the way they were marketed – these points are discussed below. But an economic context makes this series of books particularly significant. Blount invested heavily in expensive

⁵⁸ George Ornsby ed., *The Correspondence of John Cosin, D.D. Lord Bishop of Durham* (London: The Surtees Society, 1869) I.20; *Robert Herrick to Sir William Herrick, Janary 1617*: Bodleian Library, MS Eng. c. 2278, 17r.

⁵⁹ *Office of First Fruits 1604–13*: TNA E 334/14, 85v, 87v, 132v, 211v. These references include the 1607 appointment of Henry Parry, a favourite of King James, to the bishopric of Gloucester; of the clergyman Thomas Sandford in a 1612 appointment patronized by the king; and of the clergyman Timothy Kent in a 1609 appointment connected to Henry Howard.

⁶⁰ Coryate, *Trauelller* G3v.

Spanish works despite increasingly perilous financial circumstances that eventually stopped him publishing altogether. His pioneering of new cultural forms for the elite classes in the face of mounting financial pressure reaffirms his commitment to the audience he had developed.

Blount's publishing output fell considerably after 1615, and stopped after the Shakespeare Folio was published. Critics have noticed this change in his productivity. Marta Straznicky has noted 'Whether the decline of Blount's business after 1623 was related to an ill-judged investment in the Shakespeare folio will probably never be known.'⁶¹ Gary Taylor has also linked Blount's seeming collapse after 1623 with the commercial failure of the Folio, discussing, 'the apparent collapse of Blount's business immediately after publication of the Shakespeare folio'.⁶² The fall that both scholars discuss is plain on a chart of Blount's annual edition sheet output.

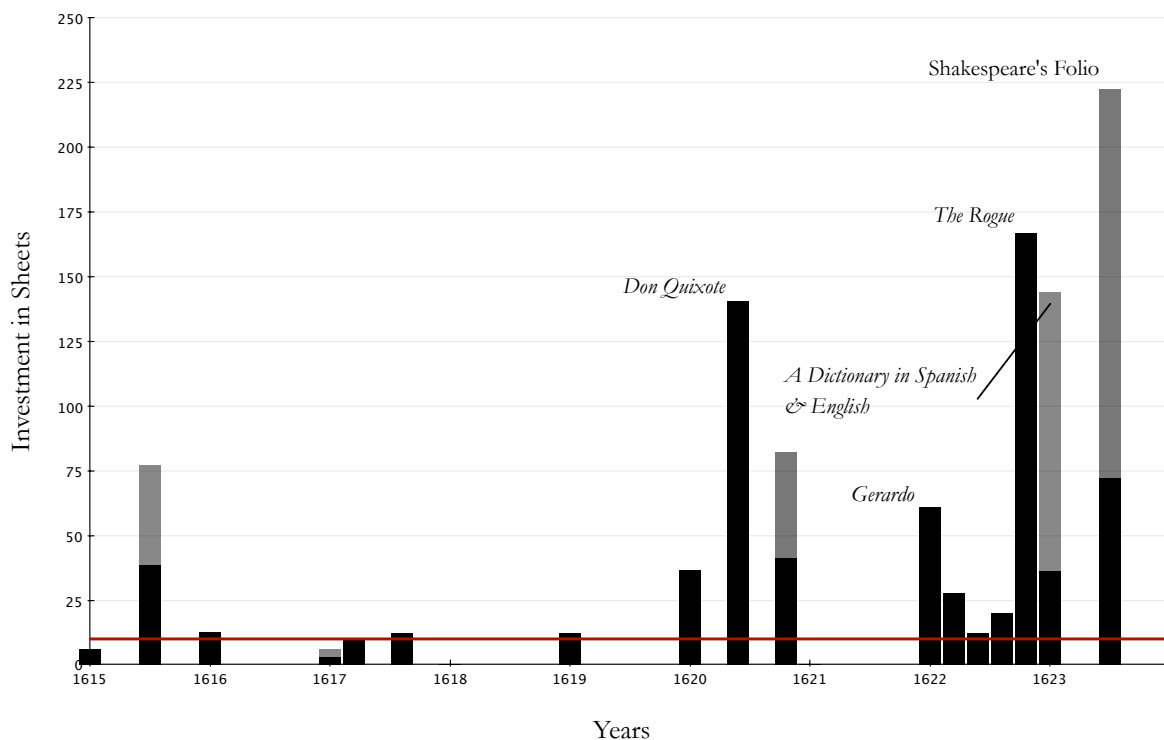


Fig. 5.6. Blount's output from 1615 to 1623. Each bar represents the number of edition sheets published in an individual title of that year. Co-published or syndicated books have been given their full number of sheets in grey, and Blount's assumed individual contribution is in black. The red line shows the length of an average quarto playbook. After 1623 Blount published nothing for five years.

⁶¹ Straznicky ed., *Stationers* 313n33.

⁶² Taylor, Gary. "Making Meaning Marketing Shakespeare 1623," in Peter Holland and Stephen Orgel eds., *From Performance to Print in Shakespeare's England* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2006) 55-72, at 61.

However the collapse of Blount's business had little to do with Shakespeare. His trouble probably relates to a debt owed to Blount by his brother-in-law. In about 1615 Blount married, and so inherited a debt of £1,800 owed by his wife's brother, one Roger Roydon. Blount spent the next nine years trying to recover this debt, and seemingly failed. While some details of this legal struggle are unclear, the important point for this chapter is that Blount's efforts to recover the debt reveal the strain under which his publishing business was operating.⁶³ To recover his money Blount began legal proceedings against Roydon in November 1616. By 1623, as a bill of complaint records, Blount had brought cases against Roydon in London's Court of Orphans, a local court in Denbighshire (where Roydon lived), the Welsh Court of Great Sessions, and eventually the Court of Chancery. Each time he failed to force Roydon to pay.⁶⁴ These legal proceedings were time-consuming and expensive: the bill of 1623 describes Roydon's debt as 'the cheefest means left' to Blount's family, and notes that the stationer had 'expended diverse great sommes of money but hitherto could gett noe fruit or benefitt'.⁶⁵ On 16 October 1623, as the printing of Shakespeare's Folio finished, a chancery clerk updated the case, recording in an entry book that Blount 'hath done his utmost endeavors to get in the *said* debt and hath spent above 150^{li} in charges about getting in[?] thereof and yet cannot get the same or any *part* thereof'.⁶⁶ The Chancery Court issued a subpoena, but Roydon did not respond, and in fact caused more problems by lying about collateral for the debt.⁶⁷ For Blount, more substantial than the £150

⁶³ Most of what follows is taken from: *Blount v Roydon*: TNA C 3/333/25; *Entry Book A 1623*: TNA C 33/145, 415v-6r; *Entry Book A 1624*: TNA C 33/147, 663r-v. The bill of complaint (*Blount v Roydon*) is transcribed as appendix 2.

⁶⁴ The cases are mentioned at various points in the documents cited above. I have found no reference to this case in the index sequence for the civil records of the Chester circuit (containing Denbigh, where Blount's case was heard) of the Welsh Court of Great Sessions between 1617 and 1622. A Roger Roydon of Denbigh – perhaps the same man – appears multiple times in the docket rolls in connection with another case in July and September 1620. See *Great Sessions Docket Rolls*: National Library of Wales, Great Sessions 8/5, pieces 17 and 19.

⁶⁵ *Blount v Roydon*, lines 16 and 20.

⁶⁶ *Entry Book A 1623*, 416r.

⁶⁷ *Blount v Roydon*, lines 49-74.

chancery fees mentioned by the clerk was the cost of distributing Richard Bankworth's estate to his three underage orphans. As their father-in-law it was Blount's responsibility to see that each received a share: to do this Blount borrowed £1,800 from other stationers, a debt recorded in London's Court of Orphans.⁶⁸

In other words, Blount was trapped between a debt owed to him and the debt he owed to his new sons-in-law when they came of age and could claim a share of their father's estate. Squeezed between two pressures, his publishing business suffered. It seems that Blount borrowed heavily from his colleagues in order to sustain his publishing and meet his obligations to the Bankworth orphans, believing that Roydon would eventually pay his debt. But that never happened, and records from within the Stationers' Company show Blount moved further into debt from 1618 until the end of his life in 1632.⁶⁹ He borrowed more and sold his part in the valuable English Stock. He sublet and eventually sold his bookshop at the sign of the Black Bear.⁷⁰

This financial context is not in itself evidence that Blount targeted an elite audience with his publishing, but the fact that he continued to finance costly and untested first editions of new work demonstrates Blount's commitment to continuing the publishing values he had developed over his career. What is evident is that Blount's dedication to a business was driven at least partly

⁶⁸ *Court of Orphans Recognizances, 1590-1633*: LMA CLA/002/05/001, 119r-v. The money was borrowed from the stationers William Leake, Thomas Adams, George Swinhowe, and Clement Knight. There is another reference in this volume (135r) that shows Blount took on more debt on behalf of the Bankworth orphans.

⁶⁹ In May 1618 Blount was threatened with the removal of his share in the English Stock for non-payment of debt; later that year it is recorded that he owed £300 each to three stationers (this is a reference to the bond made by Leake, Adams, and Swinhowe in the Court of Orphans, cited above), and in December 1618 he sold his part in the English Stock. Further debts are recorded in 1622, 1625, 1627, and 1630. See: William Jackson ed., *Records of the Court of the Stationers' Company, 1602-1640* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1957) 100, 105, 106, 146, 152, 180, 197, 217. See also: William Ferguson, "The Stationers' Company Poor Book, 1608-1700", *The Library* S5.31 (1976): 37-51, at 40.

⁷⁰ See the imprints of STC 7407, 1635, 7610, 11546. The sale to the publisher Robert Allot probably happened in 1627. An indenture of February 1627 records the Black Bear as being 'nowe in the tenure or occupacon of Edward Blunte Stacioner or his assignes', but from that year imprints only name Allot and describe the Black Bear as 'his [*i.e.* Allot's] shop': *Hustings Roll With Deed of Black Bear*: LMA CLA/023/DW/01/302, item 40; imprints of: STC 1203, 5940.5, 24985.

by non-economic concerns. One might expect him to have changed his habits and restricted his activity to ‘safe’ investments: shorter books from established genres that sold reliably, such as sermons or newsbooks or further editions of works that he had already published that had proven successful. He had opportunities to adopt a safer approach: he registered the manuscript of Francis Beaumont’s *A King and No King* in 1618, which proved to be an unusually popular playbook. But he passed the manuscript on to the stationer Thomas Walkley, who published the first quarto in 1619. Three more quarto editions were published by 1639. Instead of Beaumont’s play, Blount invested in large Spanish books. In 1620 he published *Don Quixote* in two large quarto editions that totalled 140.25 edition sheets. To these books Blount added a dedication to the king’s favourite George Villiers, recently made Marquess of Buckingham and a key advisor to James during the Spanish Match negotiations. Blount’s dedication presents the text as having proved its worth in the courts of Spain and France, and claimed it was well-suited to the English court. *Don Quixote* was, Blount wrote:

*a bashfull stranger, newly arrived in English, having originally had the fortune to be borne commended to a Grande of Spaine; and, by the way of translation, the grace to kisse the hands of a great Ladie of France, [and] could not despaire of lesse courtesie in the Court of Great Brittain.*⁷¹

Just as was the case with the books produced by his relationship with Florio, Blount’s Spanish publishing has also left an important legacy. This edition of *Don Quixote* sparked ‘more than a thousand allusions to characters and passages in Cervantes’ works [...] in seventeenth-century English literature’.⁷² John Ardila notes that ‘those who have conducted research into Cervantes in Britain agree unanimously that *Don Quixote* has been the most influential foreign book in English intellectual life’.⁷³

⁷¹ Miguel de Cervantes, *The second part of the history of the Valorous and witty Knight-Errant, Don Quixote of the Mancha* (1620, STC 4917) A2r-v.

⁷² J. A. G. Ardila, “The Influence and Reception of Cervantes in Britain, 1607-2005,” in J. A. G. Ardila ed., *The Cervantean Heritage: Reception and Influence of Cervantes in Britain* (London: MHRA, 2009) 2-31, at 3.

⁷³ *Ibid.*

Blount's investment in Spanish work continued as Stuart foreign policy from 1618 to 1623 concentrated increasingly on the courtship between Charles, Prince of Wales, and the Spanish Infanta. Alexander Samson has explained that negotiations with Spain 'uncovered in London the latent hispanophilia of a significant sector of the cultural elite.'⁷⁴ It was to this elite that Blount catered: in 1622, the same year he sold his part in the English Stock of the Stationers' Company in order to pay off debts, he published four books containing a total of 275.5 edition sheets of Spanish-related writing. These four editions included two translated novels: *Gerardo the Unfortunate Spaniard*, a large quarto of sixty-one sheets dedicated to the Herbert brothers, and Mateo Aleman's *Guzman De Alfarache*, translated by James Mabbe as *The Rogue* and published in a folio of 167 sheets. Another grand publication, *The Rogue* contained twenty-five separate paratextual addresses, including verses by John Florio, Ben Jonson, and the translator Leonard Digges. Ardila's study of the English reception of Spanish fiction notes that *The Rogue* 'would become, with *Don Quixote*, the favourite foreign book of English readers and authors.'⁷⁵ Mabbe's translation of Aleman's story inspired several related English works, including *The Sonne of the Rogue* (1638) and *The English Gusman* (1652). The so-called 'gusmanry, or Guzmanmania' that followed Blount's edition saw the term 'gusman' adopted into common speech to describe a general rogue.⁷⁶ New editions of *The Rogue* were published in 1630, 1634, and 1656.

Less has been said about the reception of Blount's quarto edition of *Gerardo*, translated by Leonard Digges, but the book was republished in 1653 with a new preface describing the first edition as 'accounted one of the Master-pieces of his own Language', and the 1652 play *The*

⁷⁴ Alexander Samson, "1623 and the Politics of Translation," in Alexander Samson ed., *The Spanish Match: Prince Charles's Journey to Madrid, 1623* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006) 91-106 at 106.

⁷⁵ J. A. G. Ardila, "The Picaresque Novel and the Rise of the English Novel," in Ardila ed., *The Picaresque Novel in Western Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2015) 113-139, at 123.

⁷⁶ Ardila, "Influence and Reception" 2. See also Harry Sieber, *The Picaresque* (London: Methuen, 1977) 51.

Bastard refers to *Gerardo* alongside *Don Quixote* and *The Rogue* as a common cultural characters.⁷⁷

Speaking to his servant, the foolish gallant Don Praepontio brags about his romantic demeanour:

Pra. Does not the superficialities of my countenance demonstrate as much love as *Don Quixot*'s, or *Gerardo*'s, the unfortunate and ominous *Spaniard*? am not I kin to the Family of the *Guzmans*, think you?⁷⁸

Both fictional characters Don Praepontio used to present himself as an idealistic lover featured in a book that was first published in England by Blount. An octavo Spanish grammar of 1622 was dedicated to another key member of the aristocratic team working to bring about the match – Sir Thomas Howard, earl of Arundel and of Surrey, and one of the King's inner council on matters relating to the Infanta. The address to the reader stressed that every sheet had been proofread, and offered the grammar to 'Gentlemen (for such commonly they be, who are addicted to the learning of forraine languages).'⁷⁹ Finally, in 1623, when he has conventionally been seen as preoccupied with Shakespeare, Blount also financed the most comprehensive Spanish-language dictionary to date, a revised edition of John Minsheu's *A Dictionary in Spanish and English*, a folio of 144 edition sheets. Once again, an impressive array of paratexts associate the dictionary with culturally elite groups of readers: a new epistle dedicates the text 'to the right worshipfull gentlemen Students of Grayes Inne' and poems in Latin and Spanish praise the work.⁸⁰ Minsheu's reputation as a lexicographer had been established by his 1617 polyglot dictionary *Ductor in Linguas, The Guide Into Tongues*, and his name, together with a description of him as 'Professor of Languages in LONDON' featured prominently on the title page of the Spanish dictionary.

⁷⁷ Gonzalo de Cespedes y Meneses, *Gerardo the Unfortunate Spaniard* (1653, Wing C1783) A2r.

⁷⁸ Cosmo Manuche, *The Bastard: a Tragedy* (1652, Wing M548) D4r-v.

⁷⁹ Cesar Oudin, *A Grammar Spanish and English* (1622, STC 18897) A4r.

⁸⁰ John Minsheu, *A Dictionary in Spanish and English* (1623, STC 19621) Ll6r-Mm1r.

Conclusion: Blount and Shakespeare

In 1624 the completed First Folio was advertised at the Frankfurt book fair. Unlike the only previous advertisement of 1622 (discussed in the introductory chapter to this thesis), which featured Isaac Jaggard's name, the 1624 entry described the Folio as the work of Edward Blount. The alteration of Jaggard's name to Blount's was accompanied by two other changes: while Isaac Jaggard's advertisement described the book as 'Playes, written by M. *William Shakespeare*, all in one volume', the later advertisement changed this to 'Master *William Shakesperes* workes'. The second advertisement of 1624 looks like this:

Master *William Shakesperes* workes, printed for *Edward Blount*, in fol.

Fig. 5.7. Edward Blount's advertisement for the First Folio, printed in the *Catalogus Universalis Pronundinis...* (1624, STC 11330.2), D4v. Image: EEBO reel 2006:11c.

These changes alter the presentation of the Folio. Calling the volume a 'workes' aligns it with the classical tradition of titling an author's writing their 'work' or 'opera', for which Ben Jonson had received so much ridicule after his own folio of 1616, *The Workes of Beniamin Ionson*. This retitling of Shakespeare's Folio took place after the book had been finished, meaning the advertisement ignored both the actual title and Isaac Jaggard's previous description of the book as 'plays'. The new title was a subtle effort to classicise the Folio, which was supported within the text itself by the leaf containing the names of the principal actors, which is headed:

The Workes of William Shakespeare,
containing all his Comedies, Histories, and
Tragedies: Truly set forth, according to their first
ORIGINALL.⁸¹

⁸¹ Shakespeare, *Comedies, Histories, & Tragedies* 1623 ^πA5+2^r. This signature reference is taken from the table of the Folio preliminary matter compiled by Anthony West, "A Model for Describing Shakespeare First Folios, With Descriptions of Selected Copies," *The Library* S6.21.1 (1999): 1-49, at 46.

In other ways, too, the advertisement emphasises the status of the Folio and its author: the ‘M.’ used in Isaac Jaggard’s advertisement was expanded to the full ‘Master’, which drew attention to Shakespeare’s pedigree as a gentleman. Finally, the replacement of Blount’s name for Jaggard’s alerted a different audience to the potential of this book, an audience who, like Lady Anne Clifford of the Great Picture, would have been comfortable with the classical heritage implied by Shakespeare’s ‘workes’ and made secure by his status as a gentleman. The second Frankfurt advertisement marketed the Folio as one of Blount’s prestigious volumes, in the tradition of his dictionaries, his editions of Montaigne, and his translations of the best of Spanish fiction. The advertisement invokes ideas of social status and classical heritage to direct the Folio to the elite readers who by 1623 were familiar with Blount’s name and brand.

Just as the Frankfurt advertisement seems to ‘remake’ the Folio as a Blount production, there are ways the book itself aligns with his publishing style, and so would have been welcomed by the audience Blount had developed. Like many Blount books, including *Don Quixote*, Charron’s *Of Wisdome*, the second editions of Montaigne’s *Essayes* and of Florio’s Italian dictionary, Shakespeare’s Folio famously features an engraved title page (one that shows its subject to be a gentleman by his clothing). A familiar cast of authors contributed to the Folio preliminary matter: Ben Jonson, Leonard Digges, James Mabbe, and Hugh Holland had each previously written verses for the preliminary pages of other Blount books.⁸² In its dedicatees, too, the Folio looks like a Blount publication: ten of his books from 1603 to 1623 were dedicated to one or both of the Herbert brothers.⁸³ However the most important sign of Blount’s brand is his name in the imprint on the title page. This chapter has examined what this name meant in the

⁸² Verses by James Mabbe, Ben Jonson, and Leonard Digges appear in the preliminary matter of Mateo Aleman’s *The Rogue*, translated by Mabbe (1622-3, STC 288-9). Digges had also recently translated Meneses, *Gerardo* (1622, STC 4919) and Claudian’s *The Rape of Proserpine* (1617, STC 5367) for Blount. Hugh Holland contributed a verse to Thomas Coryate’s *Coryats Crudities* (1611, STC 5808).

⁸³ On Blount’s links to William and Philip Herbert, see: Sonia Massai, “Edward Blount, the Herberts, and the First Folio,” in Marta Straznicky ed., *Shakespeare’s Stationers: Studies in Cultural Bibliography* (Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania P, 2012) 132-46.

field of early modern publishing over the course of Blount's career, and shown it had particular resonance with a group of elite readers. Factors that have been considered include the social and professional connections Blount inherited from Ponsonby, the price of the books he published, his selection of high-status sub-genres of playbook within the larger genre of printed drama, and finally his commitment to the textual interests of a courtly elite despite difficult financial circumstances. Individually none of these factors equates to cultural distinction, but collectively they indicate his marketing to – and perhaps creation of – a group of readers that influenced the cultural domain. These influential readers comprised the audience that Blount purposefully targeted, and to whom he presented the Folio. Anthony West has found that the earliest known owners of Folios were almost all noblemen – the few exceptions were 'commoners of standing'. This pattern of ownership, West has noted, 'persisted for a long time', and fits with this chapter's view of Blount's publishing strategy.⁸⁴

The elite status of Blount's readers is particularly important because they were well-placed to begin the process of anointing a text as 'literature'. Readers like Lady Anne Clifford chose Blount's books because of their undeniable intrinsic worth. However the 'worth' of a book is also created and defined socially: inseparable from the 'worth' of Blount's books are the expectations of a community of readers about the way those books should be understood. When a new text is published, factors such as the willingness of readers to approach the text generously, to buy it at all, to investigate their own critical response before concluding whether or not that response is valid, and to discuss the text within a community and reach a consensual verdict on its content – or at least to give the text a hearing even if no consensus is reached (which is to accept that the text can sustain debate) – are crucial elements of that text's reception. These factors can be thought of as the 'credit' extended to any new publication, and Blount developed an unusual level of credit within a community of select readers, so that his name predisposed the Folio to a

⁸⁴ Anthon West, *The Shakespeare First Folio: The History of the Book, Vol. 1* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2001) 6.

favourable reception within an elite milieu. An early blessing from the most important publisher of his time was an instrumental part of why and how Shakespeare continues to be the figurehead of western literary culture.

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CONCLUSION

Shakespeare's First Folio is a unique book for several reasons: for its ground-breaking presentation of a collection of popular drama in the folio format; for its preservation of plays that would not otherwise survive in any form; and for the scholarship it continues to inspire. This thesis has concentrated on another unique aspect of the Folio: it is the only book to be published by this combination of stationers. The thesis has argued for the significance of that fact, showing that the four publishing businesses which produced the Folio also conferred meanings on it that were particular to the activities of those businesses. In doing this the thesis has approached the four stationers involved in different ways.

For William Jaggard, freighted with over a century of bibliographic research and narrative, it was necessary first to remove his bad reputation before establishing his status as an authoritative publisher. Jaggard's production of factual work shows him to have been part of the system of proof that assured readers a text was accurate both in its presentation (*i.e.* the composition and proof-reading of the book) and in its content. His involvement guaranteed the Folio's claim to present the most accurate versions of Shakespeare's plays, printed from manuscripts with unimpeachable provenance. Jaggard thus helped the Folio to supersede earlier quarto editions as the pre-eminent source for the Shakespeare canon; he also brought the textual modes and bibliographic apparatus of historical writing (catalogues, annalistic lists, and ordered contents) to the Folio's organisation and presentation.

The chapter on William Aspley has concentrated on his relationship with one author in particular: the clergyman John Boys. The thesis has shown that both Boys and Aspley were

propagandists for the church and state – Boys through his links to Chelsea College and his systematic commentary on the Book of Common Prayer, and Aspley through his pro-establishment publishing strategy. Boys became, as his eulogist wrote, ‘*A Pillar in the Kings dale*’, whose folio *Workes* was ‘a monument of his fame, which Time cannot deface’ and Aspley was the means by which the author’s repute developed.¹ Shakespeare, in the preliminary matter to the First Folio, was described in a similarly valorising tone as a ‘Moniment, without a tombe...alive still, while thy Book doth live’.² Through Aspley’s bookshop, both Boys and Shakespeare were established as key individuals within the framework of institutionalised culture; their works were enshrined for posterity and sanctioned for mass appreciation. Through Aspley, Boys’ unimpeachably orthodox credentials helped to place the First Folio within an homogenised cultural realm, safe to be read and enjoyed by members of the establishment; elected to represent the views and tastes of the people. The vision of Shakespeare presented by the Folio’s preliminary matter is of an egalitarian playwright who was a favourite of the nation. He was, according to Jonson, the ‘Soule of the Age...the wonder of our Stage’; he is repeatedly referred to as *our* Shakespeare. ‘Wee wondered,’ wrote James Mabbe ‘that thou went’st so soone,’ and later in his poem added ‘Wee thought thee dead’.³ The collective identity behind the plural terms used in the preliminaries is firmly nationalistic: ‘*Triumph, my Britaine, thou hast one to show*’ wrote Jonson in his Folio preliminary poem in a line that may have begun the idea of Shakespeare as a ‘national’ poet-playwright.⁴ Aspley connected England’s premier religious polemicist with England’s premier playwright to consolidate the status of both.

¹ John Boys, *Remaines of that Reverend and Famous Postiller* (1631, STC 3468) A3r-v.

² Shakespeare, *Comedies, Histories, & Tragedies* 1623 ⁿA4r-v.

³ *Ibid.* ⁿA5+1r.

⁴ *Ibid.* ⁿA4v. On Shakespeare as a national icon see: Patrick Cheney, *Shakespeare, National Poet-Playwright* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2004).

The importance of Smethwick's publishing brand lay in his address. The location of his bookshop connected him to the Inns of Court, and in turn sanctioned the Folio as an appropriate book for members of those institutions. This was particularly important given that Shakespeare was not university educated; neither was he one of the circle of 'university wits' whose work was popular among students in the late Elizabethan and early Stuart periods.

The publishing business of Edward Blount worked by following the interests of a select audience. Blount's involvement alerted his elite readers to the potential of Shakespeare's Folio. The four chapters on these stationers take different approaches – dealing with geography, authorship, and generic issues – as a necessary consequence of the contingency of the early modern book trade: publishers defined their careers and reputations in different ways. Despite their differing tactics, each publisher developed a distinct audience, and it was the particular combination of these four audiences that secured the Folio's reception. Each of the four publishing businesses produced work that was broadly linked to one of the major power structures of early modern society: vernacular knowledge, religion, institutionalised education, and elite culture. Within these fields, each Folio stationer was considered by readers to be an established agent who held influence over their publishing terrain. The Folio's unification of these fields, and the interaction represented by the colophon and imprint of the book, gave Shakespeare's collected works a powerful passport as it began its reception. There is scope to develop this thesis by examining in detail the way these power structures interacted in the seventeenth century with respect to book production, and how the fortunes and popularity of Shakespeare's printed works rose and fell in alignment with industrial attitudes and technological advancement.

This thesis has also shown that stationers became aware of their own reputations as a marketing tool in the mid-sixteenth century. From that date publishers developed their personal 'brands' in order to thrive in the book trade. This can only have happened alongside a parallel

shift in the consciousness of readers, which would have seen book-buyers become sensitive to the way the industry of book production could alter texts. As the book trade grew, so did the need of publishers to specialise, and so too did the awareness of readers about the way books were being shaped by different stationers. By 1623 the marketing values of the different ‘brands’ of stationers was influencing the formation of literary categories.

Today, very few readers will see the names of the publishers of the First Folio anywhere near their copies of Shakespeare’s plays, because the imprint and colophon of the Folio have, for the most part, been consigned to the status of having no meaning. After nearly four centuries the link between Smethwick, the Jaggards, Aspley, Blount, and the First Folio still exists but for most readers is encountered only through online facsimiles, or in the ‘Syston Park’ copy held by the Folger that was scanned by *EEBO*.⁵ Shakespeare’s plays are now materially severed from the Folio syndicate, but in another way the Folio remains connected to the stationers who first appraised it. The history of the Folio’s reception is a series of iterations. Each generation of readers responds to the Shakespeare it has been given by the previous generation: each new generation challenges the orthodoxy it has received. Traced to its origins, this contest of cultural positioning began with the Folio syndicate, and their initial decision to present Shakespeare as part of their publishing brands. All subsequent re-positionings of the Folio have their origins in its initial entry to the market. This thesis has given the *pre*-history of the Folio, and in doing so it has supplied details about the very first act of the Folio’s reception: the decision to publish.

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⁵ This copy has been catalogued by Anthony West as ‘West 65’: *The Shakespeare First Folio: The History of the Book. Vol II: A New Worldwide Census of First Folios* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2003) 154-5.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1

City Printer's Bill for 1632 ⁶

Paid to Robert Young Printer for printing:

250 commissions for collections to be made within this city for repairs of St Paul's Church in London, containing two sheets a piece at 1*d.* the sheet, 41*s.* 8*d.*

For 2,000 passports delivered to the constables of this city for sending away of vagrants at a farthing the piece, 41*s.* 8*d.*

For 500 Acts of Common Council for the assize of sea-coal sacks containing two sheets a piece at 1*d.* the sheet, 4*li.* 3*s.* 4*d.*

For 500 proclamations for reforming the abuses used in making of beaver hats, containing one sheet a piece at 1*d.* the sheet, 41*s.* 8*d.*,
as by one bill appeareth: 10*li.* 8*d.*

Paid more to him for printing 500 proclamations for conservacy of the river of Thames, containing three sheets a piece at 1^d the sheet, 6*li.* 5*s.*

500 proclamations for the meat market being two sheets a piece at 1*d.* the sheet 4*li.* 3*s.* 4*d.*

For 500 proclamations for the passage of barges betwixt London and Gravesend being three sheets a piece at 1*d.* the sheet 6*li.* 5*s.*

Allowed him towards his loss in reprinting one sheet of them that was wrong printed 16*s.* as by one other bill appeareth: 17*li.* 10*s.*

Paid more to him for printing 5,000 instructions of apprentices, being 1250 sheets at 1*d.* the sheet 5*li.* 4*s.* 2*d.*

For 4,000 tickets to warn men into the orphans court, being 500 sheets at 1*d.* the sheet 41*s.* 8*d.*

3,000 passports for constables for sending away of vagrants, being 750 sheets at the same rate, 3*li.* 2*s.* 6*d.*

500 orders for the gaol of Newgate, being 2 sheets a piece at 1*d.* the sheet, 4*li.* 3*s.* 4*d.*

⁶ *City of London Cash Accounts 1632*: LMA COL/CHD/CT/01/001, 65r-v. This is a modernised transcription, with the spellings updated and contractions supplied. The numbers of printed documents referred to in the list have been converted from Roman numerals.

And allowed him for reprinting some sheets about the passage of
barges betwixt London and Gravesend formerly wrong printed, 10*s*.
as by one other bill appeareth, 15*l*.

Paid more to him for printing 6,000 passports for constables for
sending away of vagrants and 4,000 passports for Bridewell for
sending away of vagrants from thence, containing together 2,500
sheets at 1^d the sheet as by one other bill appeareth: 10*l*. 8*s*.

Summa as by four bills appeareth: 53*l*. 6*s*.

Appendix 2

Blount versus Roydon: A Chancery Bill of Complaint Submitted During the Final Stages of the Printing of the First Folio

Description

This document is a bill of complaint in the Court of Chancery, dated 30 July 1624 in the top corner. The bill is addressed to Bishop John Williams, who presided over Chancery proceedings from 1621-5. It is a single large sheet of vellum, damaged by fire along the right edge. Some of the lines are complete, and this shows that approximately six words are missing on each line in the worst affected sections. The bill is creased by folding and there is minor water damage. Puncture holes line the left margin. A larger puncture hole in the top left corner may indicate the bill was once attached to answers from the parties involved. Two other manuscripts relating to this bill are discussed in chapter five, and listed in the bibliography as *Entry Book A 1623* and *Entry Book A 1624*.

Conventions

Contracted forms implied by tildes, ligatures and superscript letters have been supplied and italicised. Editorial insertions are in square brackets. Long J has been shortened, and the use of 'ff' changed to 'F'. The interchangeable 'u' and 'v' have been modernised. The thorn character 'y' has been updated to 'th'. Virgules have been kept, as has spelling and capitalisation. Line numbers are marked, and fire damage is marked at the end of each line by [F].

Transcription

// D'ewes. 30 J[u]ly 1624.⁷

To the right honorable right reverend father in God John Lord Bishopp of Lincolne Lord Keeper of the great seale of England,⁸/

- 1.) In all humblenesse complayning shewe unto your good Lordship your Orators Edward Blount of London Stacioner & Elizabeth his wife late wife & administratrix of the goodes chattells rightes & credittes of Richard Banckworth late of London Stacioner [F]
- 2.) Robert & John Banckworth Children & orphanes of the said Richard Banckworth by the said Edward & Elizabeth their guardianes, That whereas about Eleaven yeres since the said Richard Banckworth did lend [F]
- 3.) Iscoide⁹ in the county of denbigh Esquyer the somme of 1000^{li} And thereupon the said Roger Roydon (being possessed for diverse yeres then & yett enduring of & in certayne Messuages lande & tenementes in hault Iscoide Sutton & elswhe[re] [F]

⁷ Written by a different hand from the main text, in italic script and darker ink. Perhaps Simonds D'Ewes? Or one of the Chancery clerks.

⁸ John Williams, Bishop of Lincoln 1621-41, who presided over the Court of Chancery during his tenure as Lord Chancellor (1621-5).

- 4.) by force of severall *letteres* patente thereof made under the seale of his *Majestie*,
courte of Exchequer) did by one Indenture dated on or about the xx iiijth day of
November in the Eleaventh yere of his *Majestie*['s] reign that now is assigne [F]
- 5.) lande and *tenementes* & all his estate terme & demannd therein unto the said Richard
Banckworth his executors *administrators* & assignes upon *condicion* that if the said
Roger Roydon payd unto the said Banckworth the *somme* of C^{li} on t[he] [F]
- 6.) day of November 1614 & the *somme* of C^{li} on the xxvxth day of November 1615 and the
somme of Eleaven hundred poundes on the Nyne & *twentie*th of November 1616 that
then the saime *assignement* to be voy[F]
- 7.) stand in full force And the said Roger Roydon about that tyme also did by bargayne &
sale acknowledged to be Inrolled in this courte assure unto the said Richard Banckworth
& his [F]
- 8.) same *condicion* certayne freehould Messuages landes *tenementes* & hereditamentes lying in
Sutton aforesaid & elsewhere in the said County of Denbigh whereof he then was or then
pretended himself to be [F]
- 9.) lawfully seised in his demeasne as of Fee simple And for the said Banckworthes further
security of repayment of the said moneyes the said Roydon did enter into one statute of
two thowsand poundes defeaza[ble] [F]
- 10.) for repayment of the said moneys according to the said *Condicions* And shortly
Afterwarde viz about fower Moneths after the makeing of the said Assurances & before
the Inrolling of the bargayne & [sale]
- 11.) of the said freehould landes the said Richard Banckworth died Intestate and after his
death the inrolling of the same bargayne & sale *with*ⁿ the sixe Moneths lyimited by the
statute was forgotten or
- 12.) neglected whereby noe estate in lawe passed by the same So that the money payable by
the said provises or *condicions* came to be *part* of the *personall* estate of the said Intestate
whereof *lettres* of *administracion*
- 13.) were in due firme as lawe graunted unto *your* oratrix Elizabeth then the Wydowe & Relict
of the said Richard Banckworth whoe by force thereof became lawfully Interested of &
in the said debt whereon
- 14.) consisted the said Intestates cheefest estate And thereof *your* oratrix Elizabeth exhibited
severall Inventories into the Ecclesiasticall Courte & the Courte of orphanes in London
And by the Custom of the said

⁹ Is-y-coed, in north Wales, described in the nineteenth century as ‘a chapelry in Holt parish, Denbigh’ of 103 houses: John Wilson *Imperial Gazetteer of England and Wales* (London, 1870-2). The postal town was Holt, or ‘hoult’, as the scribe refers to it.

- 15.) cittie of London the said Intestates estate (all the debtes owing by him being payd & his funerall charges being deducted) is to be devyded betweene your oratrix Elizabeth & the other of your Lopps Orators the
- 16.) children & orphanes of the said Richard Banckworth whoo became thereby also lawfully Interested of & in the debt aforesaid being the cheefest meanes lefte them for their porcons & mayntennince & your orator
- 17.) Edward Blount having married the said Elizabeth became thereby as in the right of the said Elizabeth likewise lawfully Interested of & in the same debt And the said Roger Roydon afterwarde payed & satisfied the
- 18.) twoo first of the said paymente being C^{li} apeece But there being (by the true meaning of the said provisoes or condicioness the somme of Eleaven hundred poundes due on the Nyne & twentieth day of [F]
- 19.) thowsand sixe hundred & sixteene, the said Roger Roydon made default in payment thereof & refused to pay the same or any part thereof Whereupon your said Orators comenced diverse [F]
- 20.) the said landes And therein your orators Edward Blount & Elizabeth his wife expended diverse great sommes of money but hitherto could gett noe fruit or benefitt there [F]
- 21.) the Moneth of November now last past the differences betweene the said Roger Roydon & your orators being by order of the said Courte of Orphanes in London, referred [F]
- 22.) knight & Alderman & other comittees; the said Roger Roydon or John Roydon his sonne & heire apparant or those that were appoynted by the said Roger did alledge that
- 23.) weakened in his estate & notable to pay the said whole debt with use & Consideracion for the forbearance thereof as was agreed And thereupon did freely offer to pay fower [F]
- 24.) per annum in liewe & Recompence of the said debt & to assure unto your orators for the true payment thereof accordingly Lande of the full & cleere yerely value of cx[F]
- 25.) a good estate & which were & should be free & cleere from all encombrances whatsoever By such Conveyances & assurances as your orators or their Connsell shall devyse & [F]
- 26.) Orator Edward Blount hoping to have the same payd accordingly without further sute or trouble, did for his part consent to accept notwithstanding the same tended [F]
- 27.) But in regarde that about a Moyty of the said debt did belong to the orphanes of the said Richard Banckworth the orator Edward Blount lefte the Consideracion thereof [F]
- 28.) And thereupon the said Comittees certified that the said Eleaven hundred poundes had byne unpayd seaven yeres which with the use thereof came unto Eighteene hundred [F]

- 29.) conceived it fitt if the offer of the said Roydon should be accepted, that a survey of the said landes so to be assured should be made by Roger Middleton Esq & John Edwarde of [F]
- 30.) County of denbigh gent of the true value of the same landes & the same to be cer[tified to the said Orphanes Courte under their handes & to be subscribed likewise by m^r Thomas Foster the[F]
- 31.) might be truly certified of the true value of the said landes And that in the said Survey all the lease landes formerly conveyed to the said Banckworth to be parcell of the cxx^{li} [F]
- 32.) reading of *which* Certificate the said Courte of Orphanes (in Comiseracion of the weake estate of the said Roger Roydon & upon promise then made by the said Roger Roydon or his [F]
- 33.) performannc of the promisses did give way to accept of the offer of the said Roydon as aforesaid although the same tended much to the losse & prejudice of the said Orphanes and [F]
- 34.) Aldermen of the said Cittie bench Judges of the said orphanes Courte *withou*tt their *litteres* directed the said Roger Middleton John Edwarde & others thereby requesting them to take [F]
- 35.) afforded to be assured as aforesaid & to certifie them of the true yerely value thereof & *which* was held by lease & *which* was freehould And thereupon the said Roger Middleton John Edwarde [F]
- 36.) did accordingly survey the said landes & thereupon the xxvjth of Aprill now last past made their Certificate to the said Lord Mayor & Aldermen thereby certifying that according to the [F]
- 37.) had taken a viewe of such Messuages landes & *tenementes* of Roger Roydon gent lying in houlte & in Sutton in the County of Denbigh as were shewed unto them by the said Roger Roydon & had [F]
- 38.) thereof & *which* part is held by lease & *which* is freehould as might appeare by a Note or *particuler* there inclosed subscribed by them the tenor of *which* note or *particuler* is to the effect following [F]
- 39.) the Capitall Messuages of M^r Roydon *with* the yarde gardens & *appurtenances* *iiij*^{li} a messuage in the tenure of John Rice xs a messuage and landes in the tennure of ¹⁰horton xls
- 40.) M^r Roydon & his undertenantes called the hall fieldes xx^{li} a *parcell* of lande called the Rough Croft ij^{li} a Clausure of land called Ridley Wood xij^{li} Lande in Sutton the twoo rae[F]

¹⁰ Blank space left for a name.

- 41.) viijs Coed Kae Lanncelott iiij^{li} the osan[?] xxvjs viijd And that all the messuages landes & tenementes abovesaid were part of the lease landes assigned to the said Banckworth as aforesaid [F]
- 42.) mencioned were freehould landes whereof the said Roger Roydon was seised of an estate in fee simple viz landes in houlte a Messuage in the tenure of Richard Dodd & of ¹¹ Sadler xxx[F]
- 43.) Clausure called y Seuthacre iiij^{li} a Clausure called the great acre vj^{li} xiijs iiij^d a Meadow called y werne Igmere x^{li} the pasture called pwill y whiad vij^{li} x^s John Phillips tenement & tw[F]
- 44.) & Kae Newith viij^{li} a parcell called Kaehir¹² xxvjs viij^d a messuage in tenure of John Williams xiijs iiij^d a tenement in the tenure of William Phillips xl^s a tenement in the tenure of wydowe Roberts [F]
- 45.) iiij^{li} a Clausure called the litle accrey iiij^{li} a clausure called the lower horse pasture valued att xl^s a clausure called Kae ryn vj^{li} and that the said lease & freehould landes after the rates [F]
- 46.) totall to Cxiiij^{li} xvjs viij^d by the yere As by the said Note or particuler returned unto the said orphanes Courte under the handes of the said Roger Middleton Thomas Foster & John Edwards may more [F]
- 47.) So it is may it please your good lopp that the said Roger Roydon & Jane his wife John Roydon & Thomas Roydon their sonnes & the said Thomas Foster & Thomas Powell the elder Esqr brother of the said Jane & Thomas [F]
- 48.) (notwithstanding the voluntary offer of the said Roger as aforesaid & the acceptance thereof tending so much to his benefitt & your orators losse & prejudice They the said Roger Roydon Jane his wife John Roydon Thomas
- 49.) Thomas Powell the elder & Thomas Powell the yonger \not contented with your orators said losse But/ having a purpose to deceave your said orators & to defraude & defeate[?] them of the said debt did by practise & combynacion betweene themselves to that end and purpos[e] [F]
- 50.) The said Roger Middleton & John Edwardes when they viewed & surveyed the said landes diverse false & untrue Informations as namely that all the said landes mencioned in the said note or particuler were the said [F]
- 51.) owne landes & that the landes therein mencioned to be leaselandes were comprized on the leases assigned to the said Richard Banckworth & that the landes therein mencioned to be freehould landes were the said Roger Roydons owne [F]

¹¹ Another blank space left.

¹² Kae Hir, a parcel of land in north Wales mentioned in several seventeenth century deeds.

- 52.) he was \then/ seised thereof of a good & lawfull estate of Inheritance in fee simple & that all the same landes as well lease as freehold were severally & respectively of the yerely value in the said Note or *particuler* expressed [F]
- 53.) cleere from all estates charges & encombrances whatsoever & thereby the said Roger Middleton & John Edwardes were ledd & drawne to make the said Note or *particuler* & to sett downe the values thereof in sorte before expressed wh[F]
- 54.) diverse *parcells* of the said lease landes are not comprized in the lease assigned to the said Banckworth & the said Roger Roydon hath not any good or lawfull estate of Inheritance of or in the landes mencioned in the said Note or *particuler* [F]
- 55.) or of or in any *part* thereof Neither are the said Messuages landes & *tenementes* mencioned in the said Note or *particuler* truely & bona fide of such yerely values severally & respectively as is mencioned & sett downe in the said Note or *part[iculer]*[F]
- 56.) the said Jane wife of the said Roger Roydon John Roydon Thomas Roydon Thomas Foster Thomas Powell the elder & Thomas Powell the yonger or some or one of them deeclayme or challenge or in tyme to come will lay n[F]
- 57.) estate right title joynture or interest of or in the Messuages Landes & *tenementes* comprized in the said Note or *particuler* or some *part* thereof And they & the said Roger Roydon John Roydon deceased by their [F]
- 58.) or with their privity have att sondry tyme & tymes made & contrived unto & betweene themselves or to *persons* unknowne by *your* said orators diverse & sondry secrett & other \leases/ estates & encombrances of or conce[F]
- 59.) landes & *tenementes* mencioned in the said Note or *particuler* or some *part* or *parcell* thereof And likewise there are still remayning in force & undischarged (to the knowledge of the said Roger Roydon & Jane his wife John [F]
- 60.) Foster Thomas Powell the elder & Thomas Powell the yonger or some or one of them or whereof they or some or one of them have had some notice or knowledge or have heard or byne enformed or have seene some coppies wryting [F]
- 61.) the same) diverse & sondry bargaynes sales quittrents leases joynctures doweries wills uses intailes Morgages fynes feoffui recouries releases Patentes Marchaunt & of the staple Recognizances Judgements exte[F]
- 62.) debte our *sovereigne* Lord the king annuyties rents charges rentiseir arrerages of rente & quittrent & other estates charges titles & encombrances that were or have byne made suffered or contrybuted by th[F]
- 63.) Jane his wife John Roydon Thomas Roydon Thomas Foster Thomas Powell the elder & Thomas Powell the yonger or some or one of them or by the said ~~Roy~~¹³ John Roydon deceased or some other *person* or *persons* that were seised poss[F]

¹³ The mistake has been blotted out.

- 64.) some estate of or in the said Messuages landes & tenementes mencioned in the said Note or *particuler* wherewith or whereunto the same Messuages landes & tenementes in the said Note or *particuler* mencioned or som[F]
- 65.) be subject lyable charged or encombred And the said Roger Roydon & Jane his wife John Roydon Thomas Roydon Thomas Foster Thomas Powell the elder & Thomas Powell the yonger & any of them by the Combyna[F]
- 66.) all the said estates & encombrances & will not discover or make knowne the same or any of them unto *your* said orators So that if *your* said orators should take an assurance of the said Messuages landes & [F]
- 67.) said Note or *particuler* according to the offer of the said Roger Roydon then the same are so charged & encombred *with* the said estates & encombrances that *your* orators should never be the better thereby or [F]
- 68.) proffitt thereof but should utterly be defrauded & defeated of the said fowerteene hundred poundes afforded to be paid & assured in liewe & Recompense of the said debt as aforesaid & of all meanes for or
- 69.) to all equity & conscience In tender consideracion \whereof/ and for as much as *your* orators have not meanes to discover the said secrett estates & encombrances att or by the course of the Comon Lawe But *your* orators hope th[F]
- 70.) Roydon & Jane his wife John Roydon Thomas Roydon Thomas Foster Thomas Powell the elder & Thomas Powell the yonger if they may be compelled to answere this *your* orators Bill will upon their oathes confesse & declare[F]
- 71.) of all & singuler the demises May it therefore please *your* good lopp the premises duely considered to graunt unto *your* said orators his *Majestes* most gracious writt of Subpena be directed to the said Roger Roydon & Jane his wife Jo[F]
- 72.) Roydon Thomas Foster Thomas Powell the elder & Thomas Powell the yonger thereby Comannding \them/ & any of them att a certayne day & under a certayne payne therein to be lymitted to be & personally appeare before *your* good lordship [F]
- 73.) Courte of Chancery then & there to answere the premises upon their severall corporall oathes And for ther to stand to & abide such order & decree in the premises as *your* good lordship shall seeme agreeable to [F]
- 74.) And *your* orators as in duety bound shall [?] pray for *your* Lordships health & happines /
- 75.) W.C

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