A REËXAMINATION OF THE PRINTING HISTORY OF THE FIRST QUARTO OF ROMEO AND JULIET, 1597

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE DEPARTMENT OF

ENGLISH AND THE GRADUATE COUNCIL OF THE KANSAS STATE

TEACHERS COLLEGE OF EMPORIA IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF

THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

MASTER OF ARTS

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August, 1968

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PREFACE

Shakespeare's Romeo and Juliet, Q_1, according to its title page, was printed by John Danter in 1597. Scholars have called this quarto a "bad" quarto, becuase its text varies significantly from the text of the play as it was printed in the second quarto of 1599 and in the First Folio. Moreover, Q_1 is characterized by a change in type size and other pringing techniques occurring after the fourth signature. Scholars have explained these peculiarities by basing their theories upon the assumption that Danter pirated the play, and they have generally accepted the theory of memorial reconstruction as an explanation for the textual problems of the quarto. Recent evidence, however, positively identifies Edward Allde as the printer of the last six signatures of Q_1, and this discovery suggests the need for a new examination of the printing of Romeo and Juliet, Q_1.

Chapter I reviews the conditions in the printing trade in the late sixteenth century. A system of monopolies existed which worked hardship on the smaller printer by denying him opportunity to print works which were highly demanded and profitable, and this condition encouraged the poor printer to become involved in piracy (printing a work licensed to another person) and illegal printing (printing a work not already licensed without the proper authority).

Chapter II presents an examination of the circumstances surrounding the printing of Q_1 and shows that the work of printing the quarto had been begun by Danter in the early months of 1597, but was interrupted by a raid on his printing house during Lent of that year. The printing was completed by Edward Allde, and the fact that the transfer of the printing job occurred seems to suggest the involvement of a third party, probably Cuthbert Burby.

Chapter III presents an examination of the text of Q_1. It suggests that the source of the first part of the printed play was a manuscript of a shortened version of the play, and that this manuscript became, at best, fragmentary after the type had been set for the sixth signature. The conclusion of this chapter is that a second source lies behind the printing of the last part of Q_1.

Chapter IV summarizes the conclusions of this study and offers a theory projecting the printing of _Romeo and Juliet_, Q_1, as it might be further explored.

I gratefully acknowledge the help and encouragement offered by my thesis advisor, Dr. Charles E. Walton, during the course of this study. I wish, also, to thank Mr. Richard L. Roahen, second reader, for his help with the manuscript.

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CHAPTER I

A BACKGROUND FOR THE PRINTING OF Q_1

Within the body of Shakespearean criticism, a vast amount of research, study, and speculation has been focused upon the "bad" quartos. Critics have long been concerned with trying to solve the historical riddle of why and how these quartos came to be published. Those varying significantly from the accepted texts of the First Folio are _Hamlet_, _The Merry Wives of Windsor_, _Henry V_, _Romeo and Juliet_, and _Pericles_.[1] Of these five "bad" quartos, _Romeo and Juliet_ invites one's particular attention. According to its title page, it was printed by John Danter in 1597, but records show that it was never officially licensed; and circumstances surrounding its printing are unusual, as are the printing techniques and the text itself. Heretofore, the accepted theory concerning the nature of Q_1 has been that it was a reported text--that is, one not based upon an authentic manuscript, but probably reconstructed orally from memory by actors who had played in it.[2] However, after the fourth signature, the printed text is characterized by a distinct change, not only in printing techniques, but also in the quality of the text. The implication is that

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[1] W. W. Greg, _The Editorial Problem in Shakespeare_, p. 9.

[2] W. W. Greg, _The Shakespeare First Folio_, pp. 255-256.

there were two printers and perhaps two sources of manuscripts behind Q_1. In the light of recently uncovered evidence concerning the role of a second printer, one must re-examine the printing history of Q_1.

The late sixteenth century was a time of unrest within the English printing and publishing trade. This condition stemmed from a system of granting printing privileges that had been evolved over the years with the trade, creating large printing monopolies that were controlled by a few printers, and had, as a consequence, reduced the supply of materials available to the smaller printers.[3] When William Caxton introduced the printing press into England, no concept of licensing, copyright, or protection existed; and, for a time, the trade was small enough so that no such system was considered to be necessary.[4] The medieval concept of labor, which deemphasized individual achievement and recognition, spread to the printing trade.[5] However, although history shows that the medieval author or scribe had been supported by the church in his laboring for the glory of God, the printer, for a livelihood, depended upon success in the sale of his books, because his

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[3]Cyril B. Judge, Elizabethan Book-Pirates, p. 14.

[4]R. B. McKerrow, "Booksellers, Printers, and the Stationers Trade," Shakespeare's England, II, 214.

[5]Marjorie Plant, The English Book Trade, pp. 98-101.

initial investment was high, and a sufficient return was essential if he were to remain in business.[6] Since the reading public was too small to support much competition, it was, then, the printer, not the author, who sought protection. Following the old custom of patronage, he turned to the monarch in the hope of receiving grants for the exclusive rights to print certain works. The earliest grant known was that which was given to Richard Pynson in 1518.[7]

While the printer was desiring protection from his competitors, the government also was desiring protection from printed sedition and heresy.[8] In accordance with Henry VII's desire to centralize control of the powerful, city-oriented, monopolistic guilds, he made the printing trade, along with others, directly responsible to the crown.[9] The relationship, thus established, can be observed in the history of censorship and regulation of the printing trade throughout the sixteenth century, which reflected the shocks of the Reformation struggle. By 1533, since the printing profession had grown significantly, Henry VIII moved next to protect both it and the government, outlawing all commerce in foreign books, thereby protecting

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[6]Ibid., p. 98.

[7]Ibid., p. 101.

[8]H. G. Aldis, "The Book Trade," Cambridge History of English Literature, IV, 379.

[9]Judge, op. cit., pp. 6-10.

the industry from foreign competition, and simultaneously curtailing the flow of "heretical" literature into the country.[10] Furthermore, during his reign, an official censorship of printed materials was instituted; and no books were to be printed without the approval of "some" members of the Privy Council or other specified agent. Once having been so approved, they were not to be printed without the words, cum privilegio regali, ad imprimendum solum, along with some recognition of the license affixed to the copy.[11] In addition, then, to establishing censorship, Henry VIII granted numerous printing privileges and thus instituted a practice, which, when followed by his successors, led to much unrest among printers in the late sixteenth century.[12] One of the most important of these privileges was the exclusive right to print the A. B. C. with the Little Catechism that was granted to John Day and his son, Richard.[13] These kinds of grants were usually extended for a period of two years, although this particular one was granted for the lifetime of the patentees.[14] Judge explains that the ABC, a textbook for children, was used extensively in grammar

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[10] McKerrow, op. cit., p. 215.

[11] Alfred W. Pollard, Shakespeare's Fight with the Pirates, pp. 5-7.

[12] Plant, op. cit., p. 104.

[13] Judge, op. cit., p. 14.

[14] Edward Arber (ed.), A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London; 1554-1640, II, 753-761.

schools throughout the country, and this grant took out of the competitive market, for an undefined period of time, an easily printed, highly profitable, continually demanded book.[15] Hence, the ramifications of this grant and others like it were to be felt throughout the century.

In the following monarchies, Edward VI and Mary continued to support these patterns of censorship and privilege, although Edward directed his policies against the Catholics and Mary condemned the Protestants. The strictures during Mary's reign were harsher, and failure to comply with them carried the death penalty.[16]

Of the greatest significance to the printing industry, however, was the chartering of the Stationers' Company by Queen Mary. Formerly, the stationers had been a guild related to the Guild of Writers of the Court Hand and Text Letters which, in turn, had appeared as early as 1357.[17] When printing was introduced, participants in the new trade slowly became part of the stationers guild. Although it had been organized early in the fifteenth century, it had never been a very large or powerful organization.[18] However, Mary recognized its

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[15]Judge, op. cit., p. 14.

[16]Pollard, op. cit., pp. 8-10.

[17]Plant, op. cit., p. 24.

[18]McKerrow, op. cit., p. 216.

potential, and, although a charter for incorporation was sought as early as 1554, it was not actually granted until May 4, 1557:

> Membership of the company thus incorporated was open to all those who took any part in the production and sale of books. There were included printers, book-sellers, book-binders, and their journeymen and apprentices, a few type-founders and paper-makers, and an occasional joiner. The total number of freemen in 1557, as stated in the charter, was ninety-seven.[19]

There is some question as to whether the stationers themselves sought the charter or whether Mary, in accordance with her desire to bring England back into Catholicism, decided to charter the stationers as her means of eliminating and suppressing "unsuitable" literature.[20] However, whether Mary or the stationers initiated the charter is really unimportnat, for the powers given the new company left little doubt that its function would be to regulate the trade for the crown.[21] The Stationers' Company was given virtually sole licensing authority (with the exception of the crown itself), power to search and seize, and power to levy fines and punishment.[22] A 1558 decree that promised the execution of any person found with "wycked and seditious bokes" gave the company, already

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[19]Plant, op. cit., p. 124.

[20]Pollard, op. cit., pp. 9-12.

[21]Ibid., p. 10.

[22]McKerrow, op. cit., p. 217.

armed with the right of search and seizure, ". . . virtually the power of life and death over suspected persons."[23] Although Mary's use of the Stationers' Company was oppressive, the charter tacitly gave the Stationers the right to protect themselves against book piracy.[24] As McKerrow says:

> Not only did it give the Company supreme power over printing, but the right of search permitted the wardens to exercise quite effective, if somewhat anomalous, control over all stationers, publishers, imprinters of books, or book-binders not belonging to the company, as well as its own members.[25]

Thus the Stationers were able to guard their own economic interests as well as the interests of the crown.

With Elizabeth's accession to the throne, a more moderate and more specific regulation ensued. She first confirmed the Stationers' charter in 1559 and, during the same year, issued a series of injunctions that established a more reasonable system of control for the industry.[26] Now, no books were to be printed unless they were licensed by the Queen, by six members of the Privy Council, or by the Archbishop of Canterbury or York, the Chancellors of both universities, and the Bishop of London.[27] Moreover, plays, pamphlets, ballads, and religious books were now to be approved for printing by three

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[23]Judge, op. cit., pp. 18-19.

[24]Ibid., pp. 19-20.

[25]McKerrow, op. cit., p. 217.

[26]E. K. Chambers, The Elizabethan Stage, III, 161.

[27]Judge, op. cit., p. 21.

commissioners from the ecclesiastical court.[28]

> This document is remarkable for two excellent qualities, precision and moderation . . . it sets forth clearly how and what books might be licensed, and at the same time it provides penalties for violation of the ordinance, in proportion to the seriousness of the crime.[29]

Although the injunctions called for the named officials to read all "doubtful" books, ". . . actually the burden fell upon the masters and wardens of the Stationers' Company."[30]

Thus, by the time Q_1 of Romeo and Juliet was printed, it is clear that an English system of licensing had been established. A publisher had to pay a small sum to the author or owner of a manuscript that he desired to print.[31] Often payment was made in copies of the printed book which the author then sold at whatever price he could obtain for them.[32] Having received the manuscript, then, the printer or publisher submitted it to the master and wardens of the Company. If they approved it for printing, an indication of approval was entered on the Register, after the publisher paid a small registration fee, usually six shillings.[33] If there were any question about

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[28] *Ibid.*, p. 22.

[29] *Loc. cit.*

[30] *Loc. cit.*

[31] Leo Kirschbaum, *Shakespeare and the Stationers*, pp. 34-56.

[32] Pollard, *op. cit.*, pp. 26-27.

[33] *Ibid.*, p. 36.

the desirability of the material, the master and wardens could refuse to allow it, or might allow it upon the condition that the publisher would bring additional approval from the appropriate official or officials named in the injunctions.[34] Entry on the Register and payment of the fee gave the person who made the entry sole rights to the work. Titles could be transferred or sold, but the change also had to be entered. The title holder could print the work himself, have someone print it for him, sell the work himself, or have someone else sell it for him.[35] But the designation of these jobs and these people was his choice.

Another means of obtaining rights to a work was for the crown to grant letters patent. These letters patent gave the patentee exclusive right to print a given work.[36] Originally issued for only specific works, and for specific times, the grants of patents had, over the years, increased in number, in breadth, and in length of duration.[37]

1518	to Richard Pynson	for colophon or *Oratorio Richardi Paeci*
1542	to Anthony Morlor	for the Bible in English (four years)
1543	to Grafton and Whitchurch	For Book of the devine service

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[34] *Ibid.*, p. 38.

[35] *Ibid.*, pp. 25-26.

[36] Cyprian Blagden, *The Stationers' Company*, p. 63.

[37] *Ibid.*, p. 32.

1547	to Reginald Wolff	for books in latin, greek, and hebrew
1547	to Richard Grafton	for statuate books
1551	to Laurentius Torrentius	for digests of Roman Civil Law for Primers
1553	John and Richard Day	Catechism in English and the ABC
1553	to Richard Tottell	for common law books
1553	to John Cawood	for acts of Parliament and proclamations
1559	Richard Tottell	for All law books
1559	William Seres	for primers and books of private prayers
1559	John Day	Dr. Cummimgham's Cosmographical Glass
1559	Richard Jugge and John Cawood	joint printers to the queen.[38]

Examination of this list reveals the growing importance of the grants. Whole classes of printed materials--statuates, law books, school books, church books--were granted to individual printers. The increasing breadth of the grants is exemplified in the extension of the Tottell's patent from common law books to all law books. This trend is also seen in the appointment of Cawood, who already had patents for acts of Parliament, to the position of printer to the Queen, giving him a hand in the printing of virtually all official documents. The increasing duration of patents can be seen. Day's patent for the ABC with the Little Catechism had been issued for his lifetime and the office of printer to the Queen seems to have been for a lifetime. Significantly, four of these important grants issued in 1559 were made by Elizabeth. This system of granting

[38]Plant, op. cit., pp. 100-103.

extensive letters patent created a small, but powerful group of printers who, together, held monopoly over most of the highly demanded books of the day:

> . . . by 1582 certain individuals possessed copyrights of all Bibles, prayer Books, psalms, catechisms, statuates, proclamations, law books, dictionaries, almanacks and music books, and for specified Latin textbooks.[39]

These grants also created two classes of printers, the privileged and the unprivileged.[40] The latter were forced to become marginal operators, becuase they were denied access to standard materials that were dependable sources of income and for which there was great enough demand to warrant the printing of competitive editions.[41] Without such an available stabilizing force, each venture of the marginal operator became, by necessity, a gamble. The privileged printers, however, were prosperous and, moreover, were sought out for printing jobs, because their profits allowed them to attract and pay the more highly skilled craftsmen as well as to offer higher prices for desired manuscripts.[42] The monopolistic patents had created abuses for the poor printers, which, because they kept him poor by not allowing him to compete, helped to perpetuate the system. Judge believes that, more than any other single factor,

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[39] _Ibid_., p. 103.

[40] Aldis, _op_. _cit_., p. 385.

[41] Judge, _op_. _cit_., pp. 25-26.

[42] Aldis, _op_. _cit_., p. 384.

these systems of privileges contributed to the literary piracy of the sixteenth century.[43]

Piracy in this sense meant the printing of a work without benefit of legal copyright, as Judge explains:

> If we think of the word "copyright (which was of course unknown to Elizabethan ears) as the right held by the patentees or by the persons who had entered their copies in the Stationers Register, we shall be on safe ground with regard to the book-pirates of the sixteenth century.[44]

Piracy differs, then, from the practice of printing a work, not previously licensed, without approval or entry in the Stationers' Register. Scholars who have described Q_1 of Romeo and Juliet as a pirated text have employed pirate in a much broader sense, however. Printing without authority was illegal, but it was a minor offense, when compared to piracy that naturally posed an economic threat to those who held the patent. This distinction is important in relation to the printing history of Q_1, because, as it will be seen, its first printer was involved in both types of ventures.

Oppressive conditions for poor printers caused piracy to flourish. Although these printers had petitioned both the Company and the crown for changes, and although some few patents had been withdrawn,

> . . . such measures were wholly inadequate and, in consequence, led by John Wolfe and Roger Ward, the younger,

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[43]Judge, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

[44]*Ibid.*, p. 29.

> more turbulent spirits began to organize secretly for the printing of books in defiance of letters patent and contrary to the laws of the realm.[45]

Under this leadership of Ward and Wolfe, ten thousand copies of the <u>ABC with the Little Catechism</u>, John and Richard Day's patent, were printed with the same make-up as Day's edition and bore the patentee's name.[46] Day, whose profits from the <u>ABC</u> were being severly threatened, took the matter before the Star Chamber.[47] Ward and Wolfe in their defense incorporated the complaints of the poor printers, thereby virtually making themselves the spokesmen of the unprivileged.[48] However, the power of the privileged printers was not to be overcome, and Wolfe and Ward were imprisoned and their presses destroyed.[49]

Because piracy of privileged books was to continue spasmodically throughout the century, two measures closely related to this problem resulted. First, the privileged printers relinquished some of their patents and created a list of eighty titles that could be printed by the poor printers.[50] This move, however, was only a token gesture, because it did

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[45] <u>Ibid</u>., p. 32.

[46] Plant, <u>op</u>. <u>cit</u>., p. 105.

[47] W. W. Greg, <u>Companion to Arber</u>, p. 118.

[48] Aldis, <u>op</u>. <u>cit</u>., p. 385.

[49] Plant, <u>op</u>. <u>cit</u>., pp. 104-105.

[50] Greg, <u>Companion</u>, p. 120.

little to alleviate the injustice which the system had created.[51] A second measure, designed not to change the situation, but to control it, was manifest in the Star Chamber decrees of 1586, referred to in the Stationers' Register in connection with Danter's arrest in 1597.[52] The following is McKerrow's summary of the main points of these decrees:

> 1. Every printer was to deliver a note of the number of his presses.
>
> 2. No printing to be allowed anywhere save in London and the suburbs, with the exception of one press at Cambridge and one at Oxford.
>
> 3. Presses might not be set up in obscure or secret places, and the Wardens of the Company were to have access to them at any time.
>
> 4. The penalty for keeping a secret press was that it and the type used at it should be destroyed and the printer imprisoned for a year and disabled for ever from working save as a journeyman.
>
> 5. No new presses were to be set up until the number of existing ones was diminished, and then the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London were to decide who should be allowed to have one.
>
> 6. No books to be printed unless allowed according to the Queen's injunctions, and perused by the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London, but the Queen's printer was exempted from this rule, as also those privileged to print law books. . . .
>
> 7. The wardens of the Company are allowed to search for secret presses and seize any found.
>
> 8. The apprentices that might be taken are limited to three, two, or one, according to the master's rank

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[51] Judge, *op. cit.*, pp. 30-33.

[52] Kirschbaum, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

> in the Company, save in the case of the Queen's printer who may have six.[53]

The severity with which these rules were enforced varied with the offense. For example, piracy of highly profitable privileged works, like the ABC or the Accidences and Grammar, drew down the wrath of the Stationers who held the patents. Minor illegal printing, such as printing without authority, was generally punishable by a small fine:

> Where a printer was found to be infringing copyright he was fined by the company, but the fines were so low that he must often have gained on the transaction and found it profitable to repeat the offense.[54]

Since some fines were as small as one shilling, occasionally the offender was encouraged to continue. For example, in 1560, William Copeland printed the privileged Epistles and Gospels and was to "pay" by giving one hundred copies to the company to be sold for the company's benefit.[55] Day himself was fined five shillings for printing "An Excelent treates made by Nosterdamus."[56] One sees that piracy and illegal printing, then, were encouraged by this system of printing privileges, and while these offenses were symptomatic of the hardship suffered by the poor printers, they became serious

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[53] R. B. McKerrow, Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers, pp. xiv-xv.

[54] Plant, op. cit., p. 116.

[55] Ibid., pp. 116-117.

[56] Pollard, op. cit., p. 21.

offenses only when the offense threatened those in power.

Printing a play without first obtaining a license offered the poor printer a means of making money. Since plays probably took about a month to print, the returns would be immediate.[57] Danter, although he had been involved previously in both piracy and illegal printing, had produced a good quarto of *Titus Andronicus*.[58] In spite of his questionable record and the fact that Shakespearean scholars censure him for printing the "bad" quarto of *Romeo and Juliet*, it will be shown that Danter was not solely responsible. How and from whom he obtained the manuscript from which to print Q_1 is unknown. There were, however, in addition to a "memorially reconstructed" one, other potential sources of manuscripts.

The movement of a play from the author's hand through actual production of a play involved the construction and use of several manuscript copies of the text. Each of these offered a separate possibility of a slightly different text. Few of these exist, but to assume that each was destroyed to prevent printing and that only one existed at a time is unreasonable.[59] Moreover, while it was possibly to the acting

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[57] Greg, *Editorial Problems*, pp. 21-48.

[58] Aldis, *op. cit.*, p. 393.

[59] Evelyn May Albright, *Dramatic Publication in England, 1580-1640*, p. 290.

company's benefit to control the scripts of the plays which they were producing and to make difficult access to them, access was not impossible.[60]

The author had little legal control over his work once he had sold it to an acting company.[61] Although Albright contends that the author had more legal power, through custom and common law,[62] than has generally been recognized, the fact remains that copyright as it is now understood was not embodied in law until 1709.[63] Shakespeare, however, as well as being an author, was a member of the company, and, thereby, possessed a business interest in the production of his plays as well as an aesthetic interest.[64] This double role would suggest that he had more than normal control over the rewriting and production of his plays. Consequently, one could speculate that Shakespeare's close connection with his work would increase the probability that more than one version of his own work might have existed simultaneously.

Greg offers the most succinct review of possible manuscript sources. The first of these was the plot outline

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[60] Ibid., p. 291.

[61] E. K. Chambers, The Elizabethan Stage, III, 159.

[62] Albright, op. cit., pp. 202-236.

[63] Plant, op. cit., pp. 117-119.

[64] Albright, op. cit., p. 10.

--a brief act-by-act sketch of the play, probably submitted to the Company to attract its interest.[65] How fully developed a plot outline was is conjectural; for example, it might have contained bits and pieces of dialogue, or it might have been simply a prose summary.[66] One could speculate that it would have been enough, probably, to provide a basis for reconstructing a text, although the author's first vision might have differed considerably from the finished manuscript.

A second possible source was the author's foul sheets, in essence, his rough draft.[67] There is evidence to show that it was customary for an author to submit his foul sheets to the company for their approval and criticism.[68] Since Shakespeare was both author and actor and was familiar with the abilities of the members of his company, it would seem natural for him to submit the foul sheets to the company. He may have written his plays with particular actors in mind. If so, their reactions to his script would probably have been valuable to him in making revisions, and influential in causing him to develop certain characters to a greater extent than he had originally intended.[69]

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[65] Greg, _Editorial Problems_, p. 26.

[66] _Loc. cit._

[67] _Ibid._, p. 27.

[68] _Ibid._, pp. 27-28.

[69] Pollard, _op. cit._, p. 64.

If a printer had obtained the foul sheets to print from, much corruption in the printed text would seem to be inevitable, since the term, "foul sheets," implies that the manuscript would not be in final form, having yet to undergo revision before a final presentation was made to the company. In addition to the fact that the Elizabethan hand was inherently subject to misreading, even when clearly and carefully done, because of its similar characters and abbreviations and closeness,[70] a manuscript that was probably scratched out, marked over, and marginally noted would probably lead to a corrupt printed version, because a compositor would have had to decipher the hand and decide what should be included and what changed and what omitted.[71]

A third possible source was the author's fair copy,[72] his final copy which was sold to the company. In some cases, companies also demanded the foul sheets along with the fair copy.[73] Moreover, it was probably the author's fair copy that was submitted, as required, to the Master of the Revels for censorship and/or official approval.[74] This licensed copy,

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[70] Albright, _op. cit._, p. 293.

[71] _Ibid._, pp. 332-334.

[72] Greg, _Editorial Problems_, p. 31.

[73] _Ibid._, p. 33.

[74] Pollard, _op. cit._, p. 63.

with the seal and signature of the Master of the Revels and probably then stored in the company vault, since it was the only evidence of the play's having received official approval and of the company's being duly licensed to perform it.[75] Hemming and Condell's preface to the First Folio suggests that these fair copies were used as the textual basis of the Folio.[76] Obviously, the fiar copy would be the truest copy of the play--the author's final, corrected draft--the play as he intended it. It is possible, however, particularly in Shakespeare's case, that an author might have left some scenes unfinished in the hope that he could perfect them as he worked with the actors during rehearsals.[77]

At any rate, the fair copy served as the basis for several additional manuscript sources which might be grouped under the classification of company manuscripts. The most complete and reliable of these was the prompt script (the "book,") apparently, a transcription of the fair copy made by a scribe for the use of the book keeper or prompter.[78] To this, the prompter would add notes for his own use--entrance

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[75] Ibid., p. 67.

[76] Edmund Malone (ed.), Shakespeare Plays and Poems, III, 661.

[77] Greg, Editorial Problems, p. 32.

[78] Ibid., pp. 32-33.

cues ahead of the entrance of the character, notes concerning properties and stage directions; in other words, it was the working copy of the play.[79] Occasionally, it would reveal changes made in the text in order to fit the particular needs of certain actors or the peculiarities of the stage. Greg suggests that plays were usually not much altered once they had been produced.[80] If this theory is true, then the prompt script would be close to the acted version of the play. But the "book" as a source for a printer offered its own particular "corruption." A compositor, not familiar with technical terms and techniques of the stage, could be easily confused by the book keeper's additions to the copy. Evidence of this kind of error is apparent where an entrance is noted before an actor should appear on the stage, or where a promptor's note is printed as dialogue, or where an actor's name is substituted for a character's name.[81] It is generally assumed that there was only one prompt copy made for a play; however, Greg notes that the possibility of duplicate copies should not be ruled out.[82]

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[79]Albright, op. cit., pp. 298-299.

[80]Greg, Editorial Problems, p. 48.

[81]Pollard, op. cit., p. 61.

[82]Greg, Editorial Problems, pp. 41-42.

Another text was the actor's copy. Greg refers to one extant example of such a copy, a long narrow roll of sheets pasted end to end, including prompt notes, cues, and properties.[83] If each actor had such an actor's copy, it would have been possible to piece together an entire play, if all actor's copies were available.[84] If minor parts were missing, the central actions of the play might still have been reconstructed and the minor roles omitted or paraphrased. Such a process would hardly produce satisfactory results, since problems of order, staging, and completeness would have been subject to guesswork.

Another theatrical copy as a possible textual source was the stage copy, a sketch, act by act, posted back stage for the use of actors and property men.[85] Like the plot outline, it was not a fully developed text, but could have been useful to a printer who was trying to piece together the text of a play.

A play that was taken on the road constituted still another possible source of variant manuscripts. Traveling plays usually involved fewer players, and plays may have been shortened to allow for a smaller company, or to comply with

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[83] _Ibid_., p. 46.

[84] Albright, _op_. _cit_., p. 292.

[85] Greg, _Editorial Problems_, p. 47.

various time limitations placed upon them by various towns.[86] Another consideration might have been a simplification of the play in order to produce it uniformly in a variety of situations. To alter a play for a provincial tour would seem to have required a new prompt script as well as attendant theatrical scripts.

All of these possible sources may or may not have been used by printers in producing a printed text of plays. That there were so many possible sources shows the good faith of most of the printers of the time. Even if the companies closely guarded their licensed copies of the play, the variety and numbers of possible sources for a printed text would seem to have made it difficult for them to be assured of an absolute control.

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[86] Albright, *op. cit.*, p. 308.

CHAPTER II

THE PRINTING OF Q_1

The title page of Q_1 of Romeo and Juliet indicates that it was printed in 1597 by one John Danter.[87] However, circumstances surrounding its printing suggest that Danter did not finish the entire quarto, a theory substantiated by recent evidence that identifies Edward Allde as the printer of a second part of the text.[88] A brief review of the careers of these two men shows that they must have been drawn together through similar circumstances surrounding their professional interests in the year, 1597.

Danter's career began and ended in his involvement with the book-piracy that occurred as a reaction to the privileges granted to a small number of powerful printers. While still an apprentice, he was involved in the previously mentioned piracy of the ABC with the Little Catechism, John Day's patent.[89] The renewing of the patent to Day's son Richard had brought a reaction from the poorer printers who, under the leadership of Robert Ward and John Wolfe, had rebelled by

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[87]William Shakespeare, Romeo and Juliet, The First Quarto, 1597, A Facsimile, p. 1.

[88]Standish Henning, "The Printer of Romeo and Juliet, Q_1," Bibliographical Society of America Papers, pp. 363-364.

[89]Harry R. Hoppe, The Bad Quarto of Romeo and Juliet, pp. 18-19.

printing ten thousand copies of the book.[90] This reaction was voiced again, following the Star Chamber Decrees of 1586; and, toward the end of his career, Danter was once more involved in illegal printing, this time, with the text of Jesus Psalter, The Accidences and Grammar, and Romeo and Juliet.[91]

Danter was born around 1566 in Enynsham, Oxfordshire, the son of a weaver, John Danter, Sr.[92] In 1582, when he would have been about sixteen years old, his father was already dead, and the young boy was apprenticed by his mother to the famous printer, John Day.[93] Two years later, Day died, and Hoppe speculates that the widow must not have kept the business going or have provided much supervision of the remaining apprentices.[94] This situation was apparently profitable, for Danter is listed, along with Gilbert Lee and Thomas Dunne, as one of the pressmen for Bourne, Jefferson, and Tuck's pirated edition of Latin Grammar and Accidence, for which the patent belonged to Francis Flower.[95] In addition to seizing the press, type, and printing materials belonging to Jefferson, Bourne,

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[90] Blagden, op. cit., p. 90.

[91] Hoppe, op. cit., pp. 27-36.

[92] Ibid., p. 18.

[93] Arber, op. cit., II, 114.

[94] Hoppe, op. cit., p. 18.

[95] Judge, op. cit., pp. 86-89.

and Tuck, the Stationers' Company barred all six men from printing again, except as journeymen, and from ever operating their own printing houses.[96]

What happened to John Danter following this venture is unclear, but it is known that he finished his training under Robert Robinson. His apprenticeship was official transferred to Robinson on April 15, 1588, and was to end on Christmas, 1589.[97] Day's widow had remarried a man named Stone and, as a result of the marriage, was attempting to settle her business with the Stationers' Company.[98] She forfeited the last year of Danter's apprenticeship, to have officially ended at Christmas, 1590, and Hoppe suggests that this transfer was probably the official notice of a relationship which had previously existed.[99] Robinson had also been involved in the illegal printing of books, both the ABC and the *Accidences*, and, in addition to Danter, he was also, then, associated with Thomas Dunne, another of the three pressmen of Danter's earlier venture.[100] Remembering that the patent for the ABC's had belonged to Danter's master and master's

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[96] Hoppe, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

[97] Arber, *op. cit.*, II, 151.

[98] Hoppe, *op. cit.*, pp. 20-21.

[99] *Ibid.*, p. 20.

[100] Arber, *op. cit.*, II, 800-806.

son, Hoppe speculates that Danter had been involved with Robinson's piracy of the ABC, because he would have been quite useful as an "inside" man.[101] Hoppe further argues that Robinson's acquisition of three additional presses in 1588 created a need for additional workmen and, moreover, that Robinson would have benefitted by obtaining officially the cheaper services remaining in Danter's term of apprenticeship.[102] In 1599, Robinson sponsored Danter when he was eligible for advancement to journeyman printer, and it seems that Danter, then, continued with Robinson as a journeyman.[103] Both Robinson and Danter appear to have stayed out of trouble during this period.

In spite of the Stationers' Company's decree that Danter would never be able to own his own printing establishment, the Company allowed William Hoskins to take Danter and Henry Chettle into partnership in 1591, with the stipulation that neither man would succeed Hoskins as master printer.[104] This partnership lasted for about one year, and Hoppe reasons that a dispute between Danter and Chettle, which had to be settled by arbitration (after the partnership broke up),

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[101] Hoppe, op. cit., p. 20.

[102] Ibid., p. 21.

[103] Arber, op. cit., II, 706.

[104] Hoppe, op. cit., p. 21.

indicates that their personal relationship had been a strained one.[105] However, they maintained a business relationship that lasted until about 1596, and there is evidence to show that Chettle worked as a compositor in Danter's printing house.[106]

In 1592, Danter petitioned the Company for permission to print two works from the list of titles which the privileged printers had compiled for poor printers to use in time of need. Consequently, in 1592, Danter entered onto the Stationers' Register Golding's translation of The Metamorphoses and Vive's The Instruction of a Christian Woman:

> Giving Danter permission contains at least two implications: that he was hard put to it to make a living; and that he had slipped into the status of master printer despite the Court's earlier precautions, for the record is a tacit recognition of Danter's right to print for himself. Danter was now embarked, though precariously, upon his career as an independent printer.[107]

In 1592, Danter made nine entries in the Stationers' Register, and eighteen in 1593. Thus, it would appear that he was succeeding; however, one discovers that, during March, 1593, a warrant was issued for his arrest.[108] Although the records do not give the reason behind the warrant, Hoppe suggests that

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[105] Ibid., p. 22.

[106] Sidney Thomas, "Chettle and the First Quarto of Romeo and Juliet," Review of English Studies, I (January, 1950), 8-16.

[107] Hoppe, op. cit., p. 23.

[108] Kirschbaum, op. cit., pp. 297-298.

it was the result of the dispute between Danter and Chettle, alluded to above, and which, in turn, was associated with a second dispute, involving Danter and Cuthbert Burby. Specifically, Burby had published a work that had been partly printed by Danter and partly by John Charlwood.[109] Hoppe suggests that this dispute concerned the amount of money that Danter should receive for his part in the printing, and that the subsequent appointment of a group as arbitors was the Stationers' Company's attempt out of court to settle the matter, for which the warrant had been issued.[110] Hoppe, however, does not explain Chettle's part in the dispute.

The majority of Danter's work was of the nature of a trade printer--that is, he printed works for the publishers, who were the ones who took the financial risks.[111] His principal publisher was William Barley, for whom he printed at least ten books, and their relationship extended throughout Danter's career. Second in importance was Cuthbert Burby, for whom Danter printed five books and with whom he had business dealings involving several more. Hoppe implicates Burby in the publication of Q_1 of Romeo and Juliet by virtue of the fact that he seemed naturally to have come by the rights to the

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[109] Hoppe, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

[110] *Loc. cit.*

[111] Kirschbaum, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

quarto when he published Q_2, the "corrected" edition in 1599.[112] Since Burby also had dealings with Edward Allde, the printer of the second half of the play, Hoppe's argument is given additional support, because Burby would have been in a position, when the printing was interrupted, to transfer the job from one of his printers to another. In addition to Barley and Burby, Danter printed for William Jones, Thomas Man, Thomas Gosson, Thomas Nelson, Andrew Maunsell, Thomas Winnington, John Busby, Hancock and Hardy, Gubbin and Newman, and White and Millington.[113] Although some of Danter's work involved the printing of more important pieces of literature,

> . . . during his lifetime Danter entered about 80 titles in the Tegister. Of these, over half are, or appear to be, ballads, none of which are listed in the *Short Title Catalogue*. Judging from their titles, their contents must be harmless enough. . . . What they really show is Danter's marginal status; for ballads constituted the dregs and crumbs of the publishing business of that period. Considering his earlier request to print the *Metamorphoses* and *The Instruction of a Christian Woman*, books reserved for poor stationers and evidently allowed him on the plea of necessity, we have pretty strong testimony to his precarious sub-marginal fortunes.[114]

Possibly, some of the more important works that he printed, such as Thomas Nashe's material, were partially financed through the press by the author involved.[115] However, much of

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[112] Hoppe, *op. cit.*, pp. 10-17.

[113] *Ibid.*, p. 29.

[114] *Ibid.*, p. 27.

[115] *Ibid.*, p. 28.

Danter's work seems to have been printed for popular taste. That he had established a reputation for being, himself, an unsavory character is indicated by his representation in the Parnassus Plays, in which he is depicted as a printer who makes his money by circulating disreputable literature.[116] Scholars have generally accepted this picture of Danter without question, and this acceptance may possibly account for the scarcity of published research on Danter. It is possible, nevertheless, that Danter did print unsavory materials as a means of making quick money, and, as Hoppe notes, these kinds of item would probably not be listed on the Stationers' Register and also probably not be extant.[117]

Danter's most peaceful and productive year was 1594, the last one of this kind in his career. During the period, July, 1595-July, 1596, however, several entries in the accounts indicate that he was in trouble again, although no reason for this action is cited:

> . . . 1/8 for expenses in bringing Danter's man, one forme and one "heap" to the Stationer's Hall; 3/- for fetching him (? Danter or his man) out of the Counter' 2/6 for going to Lambeth and back, and 3/6 for transporting Danter's press to the Hall.[118]

McKerrow links this arrest with Danter's piracy of the Jesus

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[116] H. S. Bennett, English Books and Readers 1558-1603, p. 281.

[117] Hoppe, op. cit., p. 28.

[118] Ibid., p. 30.

Psalter,[119] but as Hoppe points out, the entry in the Records of the Court Register shows unquestionably that it occurred in Lent of 1597.[120] Whatever the reason for the arrest, perhaps the printing of an off-color ballad or, perhaps, some venture connected with Walter or Edward Venge, Danter, again, seems to have been in financial straits, for he applied in November, 1596, to print, from the list of titles for poor printers, Pedro Mexia's Forrest or Collection of Histories.[121] Apparently, his economic difficulties encouraged him to gamble on the possible profits of the black-market, and his arrests for these ventures injured his production and profits, and further complicated his professional situation.

Since Danter must have realized the seriousness of pirating a Catholic psalter, the fact that he undertook to do so suggests his desperate economic situation. The entry in the Stationers' Register for April 10, 1597, indicates that he must have printed this work in late 1596 and/or early 1597, because during Lent, 1597, his presses, type, and paper were confiscated:

x die Aprilii 1597 anno 39 R. Elizabethe

present m^r^ Harrison m^r^ Stirrop m^r^ wardens m^r^ Bysshop m^r^ Coldcodke m^r^ Bynge m^r^ Cooke

[119] Loc. cit.

[120] Loc. cit.

[121] Arber, op. cit., III, 73.

m^r dawson　　　m^r newberye　　　m^r Man ./
　　　　　　　　m^r Cawood

> Whereas there were latelie in lent last found in the house of Iohn Danter Twoo printinge presses and certen letters pica, and pica Roman, and other sorte of letters in fournes and cases, wch were employed in printinge of a booke called Iesus psalter, and other things without aucthoritie, which presses and letters were by vertue of the decrees of the starre Chamber seised and brought to the Stacioners hall wth certen leaves of the said booke/ Yt is nowe, accordinge to the said decrees ordered in full Court holden this daye, that the said presses and lr̃es shalbe defaced and made unservicable for pryntinge, as the said decrees in suche cases appointe.[122]

The contents of this entry leave no doubt as to the date of the piracy of the _Jesus Psalter_, and, moreover, it is significant to this study of the printing of Q_1 of _Romeo and Juliet_, for several reasons. First, it is important to note that "other things without aucthoritie" were seized, along with the book of the _Jesus Psalter_. Since the next indication of Danter's illegal printing activities (which concerned the _Accidences_) shows that he began, at the earliest, in August, 1597,[123] several months later, and since Q_2 of _Romeo and Juliet_ had never been entered on the Register (thereby being without authority), one proposes that Q_1 of _Romeo and Juliet_ may have been among the materials in question. Of this matter, Hoppe says,

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[122] Judge, _op. cit._, p. 136. Cited from Greg, _Records of the Court_, p. 56.

[123] Hoppe, _op. cit._, p. 35.

> . . . there is considerable reason to suppose that _Romeo and Juliet_ was going through the press at this time and that its completion was interrupted by the seizure of Danter's presses.[124]

Greg concludes that Q_1 must have been the work of two printers, but does not connect the change in type and style in Q_1 with an interruption of the printing.[125] Hoppe's conclusion provides a logical historical explanation that frequently has been overlooked.

The wording on the title page of Q_1 further substatiates this theory. It reads, "An Excellent conceited Tragedie of Romeo and Juliet as it hath been often (with great applause) plaid publiquely by the right Honourable the L. Hunsdon his Seruants."[126] The clue, here, lies in the designation of the acting company as the Servants of Lord Hunsdon, because Shakespeare's company was known by this title only between the dates of July 22, 1596, and April 17, 1597.[127] On the former date, George Carey succeeded his father, who held the titles of Lord Hunsdon and Lord Chamberlain, to the title of Lord Hunsdon and, consequently, to the patronage of the players; at the same time, Lord Cogham succeeded the elder Carey to the title of Lord Chamberlain.[128] Cogham died in March, 1597, and

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[124] _Ibid_., p. 32.

[125] Greg, _Shakespeare First Folio_, p. 225.

[126] Shakespeare, _op. cit_., p. 1.

[127] Greg, _The Shakespeare First Folio_, p. 225.

[128] E. K. Chambers, _The Elizabethan Stage_, I, 297.

the younger Carey, then, succeeded him to the title of Lord Chamberlain. The acting company, next, became known as Lord Chamberlain's Men, when George Carey received that title on March or April 17, 1597.[129] Since the presswork and composition of this quarto indicates haste, probably in order to take advantage of the "current popularity of the tragedy on the London stage," it is reasonable to assume that the editor would also have wanted to use the title of the acting company as it was then known.[130] However, if this title page had been set after Carey had become Lord Chamberlain, certainly it would have carried the more distinguished title. If it had been set, but the change made before the book was bound, the problem could easily have been solved by inserting a cancel title page.[131] Since the editor could not have known when the present Lord Chamberlain (*i*.*e*., Cogham) was going to die, the obvious conclusion must be that the title page, which bears the signature A (indicating that it was the first to be set), must have been printed before Carey's change of title and, because four signatures in Q_1 were set on the same press, obviously shortly before the raid on Danter's house in Lent of 1597.[132]

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[129]Greg, *The Shakespeare First Folio*, p. 225.

[130]Hoppe, *op*. *cit*., p. 40.

[131]*Ibid*., pp. 39-40.

[132]*Ibid*., p. 40.

To return to the final years of Danter's career, one believes the outcome of Danter's trouble in connection with his pirated printing of Jesus Psalter is unusual because there are no records concerning it. Possibly, his apprentice, John Boulter, later involved with the illegal printing of Catholic books, was actually responsible, and Danter, as his master, had to bear the punishment.[133] If Danter was ever imprisoned, his term must have been short, for his next and final entry in the Register is for Milhil Mumchance on August 22, 1597.[134] This work was sold by William Jones and seems to have been printed in conjunction with Simon Stafford or Richard Jones, as indicated in the appearance of some new ornaments mixed in with some of Danter's old type and ornaments.[135] Also, it is significant that some of his ornaments appear in the works of these two men after his death.[136]

Perhaps, because of financial strain experienced over his last two years--including the loss of two presses, two arrests, and possible fines and imprisonment--Danter was again involved with piracy as early as August, 1597. This particular case is complicated,[137] concerning the Stationers'

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[133] Ibid., pp. 32-35.

[134] Kirschbaum, op. cit., p. 298.

[135] Hoppe, op. cit., p. 33.

[136] F. E. Halliday, A Shakespeare Companion, p. 127.

[137] Judge, op. cit.; for the full account of the case, see pp. 112-140.

Company's attempt to convict Simon Stafford and William Barley (Danter's primary publisher) of illegally printing four thousand copies of the <u>Accidences</u>.[138] On March 13, 1598, Cuthbert Burby and Thomas Dawson, acting as the chief agents of the Company, led a raid on Stafford's printing house and on the house next door, which, until just before the raid, had been owned by William Barley, who had sold it to Thomas Pavier.[139] Four thousand copies of the <u>Accidences</u> were found, and Burby testified that they were discovered in Stafford's house; Stafford brought counter-charges of perjury against the Company, stating that the books were found in the house next door.[140] The result was a Star Chamber investigation and an interrogation of Stafford, Thomas Pavier, William Barley, and Edward Venge.[141] The outcome, significant to this study, was that both Stafford and Thomas Pavier claimed that they were not involved, insisting that Walter Venge and John Danter had printed the <u>Accidences</u> for Roger Pavier and Edward Venge.[142] Thomas Pavier, on the other hand, admitted that he had stitched and bound these books, but that he had done so for his master,

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[138] <u>Ibid</u>., p. 117.

[139] <u>Ibid</u>., pp. 117-118.

[140] <u>Ibid</u>., p. 121.

[141] Hoppe, <u>op</u>. <u>cit</u>., p. 35.

[142] Judge, <u>op</u>. <u>cit</u>., p. 127.

Roger Pavier.[143] Barley claimed that he had not been involved; yet, Hoppe points out the following:

> Despite Barley's denial of all complicity, his long association with Danter in previous years points to their association in this venture.[144]

In view of the fact that Danter was never questioned or brought to trial for his part in the venture, the speculation arises that he was dead or ill. That there was no mention of his death during the trial implies, at least, that he was still alive in June of 1598.[145] Perhaps, because of his long association with Cuthbert Burby (the Company's agent in this case), he was kept out of the case. If, as Hoppe suggests, Burby had been involved with the printing of Q_1 of Romeo and Juliet, perhaps there was some reciprocity or blackmail indulged in, here. But one must remember that the printing of a work without its first being entered in the Register was a minor offense compared to the printing of a privileged book (Accidences), or one outlawed by the crown (Jesus Psalter).

Danter probably was alive in June of 1598, but his death must have come towards the end of 1598, and at least before Christmas, 1599, for it seems that he had ceased to carry on a business at some time in 1598, and the Stationers'

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[143] Ibid., p. 128.

[144] Hoppe, op. cit., p. 35.

[145] Kirschbaum, op. cit., p. 298.

Register shows that his widow transferred two of his copyrights to William White on December 24, 1599, and two more to White in October of 1600.[146] Furthermore, his widow's appeal to the Company for financial aid in July, 1600, indicates that Danter had died a poor man. Her case was so acute that the Company gave her five shillings at the time and promised five more at the next quarter.[147]

While several critics have toyed with the possibility of a second printer's work as having been indicated by the change in printing techniques after the fourth signature D in Q_1 of _Romeo and Juliet_, none has been able to identify the man. Henning, however, substantiates Hoppe's speculation of 1948 that the second printer was Edward Allde.[148] He explains that the additional evidence that Hoppe had wished for is now available, presenting the results of his application of a process developed by Charlton Hinman, Robert Turner, and others which has

> . . . demonstrated the feasibility of identifying individual pieces of battered type and of observing their repeated appearances in successive sheets of the same book or in different books printed by the same printer.[149]

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[146]Hoppe, _op. cit._, pp. 37-38.

[147]Kirschbaum, _op. cit._, p. 299.

[148]Henning, _op. cit._, pp. 63-64.

[149]_Loc. cit._

Using five different type fonts which appear in <u>Romeo and Juliet</u>, sigs. F and G, Henning shows that they appear in three books positively known to have been printed by Allde.[150] That one of the three books, <u>Babylon Is Fallen</u>, was also printed in 1597 adds further weight to Henning's study.

The positive identification of Edward Allde as the second printer of Q_1 means that a new study of the printing history of the quarto is warranted. While it substantiates the theory that the quarto was interrupted during its printing by the Lenten raid on Danter's printing establishment, it also poses new questions for scholars; for example, why did the task of completing the quarto fall to Edward Allde?, how did Allde acquire the material?, was it perhaps pirated from one press to another, or was there a third man involved, for whom Danter was printing the play, and who, upon Danter's arrest, commissioned Allde to finish it? If Q_2 of <u>Romeo and Juliet</u> were among the unlicensed materials found in Danter's house and confiscated, by what process did the four finished signatures get to Allde? What happened to the manuscript? It certainly seems possible that the source for the quarto might have been lost, or confiscated, during the raid or afterwards. Unlike the four printed sheets, which were probably in large stacks, the manuscript from which they were set was probably

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[150] <u>Ibid</u>., p. 64.

comparatively small and possibly separated. The loss of the manuscript and the consequent necessity of replacing it in some way not only seem historically plausible, but also answer the riddle of the technical changes between the first and second parts and the quality of changes made in the two.

What is needed, first of all, is new information on Allde. In 1929, McKerrow made a study of Allde in which he wrote:

> Beyond what we can gather from his books and from the records of the Stationers' Company there is, so far as I know, not a fragment of external information about Allde. We have not evey any of those scraps of useless personal detail which we have about several of the other printers of the period--no one seems to have even charged him with piracy. He seems to have been simply a fiarly competent commercial printer, who having gradually enlarged it, worked it for nearly fifty years, and dying, left it to his widow.[151]

In trying to establish Allde as the typical trade printer, McKerrow may have overlooked some clues that, connected with an identification of him as the second printer, now possibly may shed new light on his career.

Allde printed from 1584 to 1624, his career overlapping Danter's during the fifteen years between 1584 and 1599.[152] If, as has been suggested, economic stresses pushed the poorer printers into illegal printing practices, then Allde's career,

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[151]R. B. McKerrow, "Edward Allde as the Typical Trade Printer," The Library, Fourth Series X (September, 1929), 124.

[152]Ibid., p. 127.

at least during these first fifteen years, has significant parallels with Danter's. Allde inherited his printing business from his father, John Allde, and occupied his shop, The Long Shop in the Poultry, until c. 1588.[153] During the early years, Allde worked primarily as a printer-publisher, doing most of his work himself. Judging from his entries in the Register, he must have been, like Danter, a marginal operator. He printed only twenty-nine books during the first seven years, less than five per year,[154] and the Register shows a large number of ballads. As mentioned previously in connection with Danter, ballads were the leftovers of the business. McKerrow states that the contrast between this period and Allde's busiest period, between 1604 and 1610 when he presented ninety-five books, is striking.[155] Allde's printing fortune during the intervening decade of the 90's is dismissed as being one of transition from publisher-printer to trade printer.[156] If Allde's fortune improved, it must have been slowly, for in 1595, he was allowed to print two volumes of Homelies from the poor printers' list, which Danter a year later used, providing he make only one edition and return to the company 6 d. per

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[153] Ibid., pp. 126-127.

[154] Ibid., p. 131.

[155] Loc. cit.

[156] Ibid., pp. 131-132.

pound for the use of the poor.[157] It is interesting that Allde and Danter applied within a year of each other for this kind of economic assistance. Apparently, both were in financial stress.

In 1597, the year in which he printed the second part of Romeo and Juliet, Allde was also in trouble for printing "a popish confession," and was now forbidden to print; but, apparently, the sentence was not enforced, for McKerrow states that his production was not harmed.[158] McKerrow dismisses this venture as a minor offense, common to all printers, but when it is connected with Allde's part in printing Q_1 of Romeo and Juliet, it suggests a new dimension to his career.

Allde's offenses over the next few years also appear to be relatively minor, but they are consistently associated with people who had had dealings with Danter. For example, entered on the Register on June 25, 1600, is the following:

> Edward alde — Yt is ordered touchinge a Disorderly ballad
> William White — of the wife of Bathe printed by Edward Alde
> Edward White — and William White, and sold by Edward White.
> That all the same ballates shalbe brought in an burnt/ And that either of the printers for theire Disorders in printinge yt shall pay v^s A pece for a fine. And that master White for his offence and Disorder in sellinge it shall pay x^s for a fine.
>
> xx^s

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[157] Ibid., p. 136. Though McKerrow does not say so, this was one of the patents relinquished by Christopher Barker for the use of poor printers. See Arber, op. cit., II, 786.

[158] Ibid., p. 123.

> And ther Imprisonment is respited till another tyme.[159]

Danter had printed for William White, and it was to White that Danter's wife transferred copyrights. The next evidence of trouble is dated September or October, 1602:

> Edward Aldee Yt is ordered that he shall pay for a fine for printing a booke without entrance contrary to th[e] orders.
> Thomas Pavier Yt is ordered that he shall pay for a fine for causing Edward Aldee to print the same book.
> Cuthbert Burby Yt is ordered that he shall pay for a fine for dealing in the book.[160]

Thomas Pavier had, it will be remembered, stitched and bound the printed Accidences which Danter and Walter Venge had printed for Roger Pavier.[161] Burby, who published the Q_2 of Romeo and Juliet, had also had several dealings with Danter. Of particular interest, here, are six books which originally had been entered to Danter, but which, during the period 1594-1597, were assigned to Burby. One, in particular, Richard Johnson's Most Famous History of the Seven Champions of Chrisendom, was assigned to Burby on September 6, 1596, but reserved Danger's right to print the book.[162] The printing of the book was started by Danter, but completed by Allde in

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[159]Arber, op. cit., II, 831.

[160]Ibid., 835.

[161]Judge, op. cit., p. 128.

[162]Hoppe, op. cit., p. 162.

1597, the same year in which Q_1 was printed.[163] This evidence certainly seems to tie Burby into the Q_1 venture, and the above entry indicates that the relationship with Allde had continued.

In 1603, Allde and thirteen other printers were fined for dealing with a recently outlawed book entitled Basilicon Doron.[164] However, the fine was not a deterrent to Allde, for in May, 1603, the following entry appears, dealing with a second edition of the book:

> Master Edward White — Yt is ordered that Master Edward White shall pay xj^{ii} $xiij^{s}$ $iiij^{d}$ for a fine that he had v^{c} [500] of the bookes basilicon Doron of the second ympression Disorderly printed by Edward Aldee and hath sold the same number so they cannot be taken beinge fortayted by th[e] ordonnances
>
> xj^{ii} $xiij^{s}$, $iiij^{d}$
>
> and beinge to endure imprisonment for the same by th[e] ordonnances, his imprisonment is resputed to the further order of the Company.[165]

His previous involvement with White (e.g., on the Wife of Bath ballad) was, like Burby's, evidently continued. This chain of entries, therefore, suggests that Allde was involved from a period of 1597 to 1604 with those who printed illegally and in whose ventures he also participated. Hence, McKerrow's

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[163] Ibid., pp. 10-11.

[164] Aldis, op. cit., p. 384.

[165] Arber, op. cit., II, 836.

portrait of Allde as being "an average sort of person" seems doubtful.[166]

It is rather curious that Allde did not place his name on many of the books that he printed:

> . . . he appears to have had the rather bad habit of frequently omitting his name from his productions. A large number of books, at least sixty-three, have already been identified as coming from his press. . . .[167]

Since it was customary for publishers to exchange books,[168] Allde's best source of advertisement would have been his name printed on the books he had issued that were disbursed throughout the London Publishing houses and book shops. Thus, a study of the books printed anonymously by him and of their publishers might possibly shed more light on Allde's business ventures. In spite of the large number of variant spellings of his name (Aldee, Allde, Alldee, Alday, Aldey, Alde, All-de),[169] a scholar with access to the original records of the day should carefully examine them for additional clues contributing to a knowledge of the career of Edward Allde.

Briefly concerning the printing of Q_1 of Romeo and Juliet, one should remember that Allde, Danter, and possibly Burby were not attempting to inflict on history a corrupt

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[166] McKerrow, "Edward Allde," p. 124.

[167] *Loc. cit.*

[168] Aldis, *op. cit.*, p. 388.

[169] McKerrow, "Edward Allde," p. 127.

edition of an important literary work. The Q_1 venture offered them a means of making money quickly by printing and selling copies of a popular London play. Although it is easy to condemn them for the carelessness of their work, their offense, at the time, was simply that of not entering it in the Stationers' Register.

CHAPTER III

THE TEXT

Q_1 is characterized by certain textual peculiarities, which, having been referred to in a general way, must now be more closely examined. Immediately, one observes that on the title page there are two distinctive features--the designation of the players as the "L. of Hunsdon his Seruants," and omission of any designation of publishing house location or shop in which the book could be purchased.[170] The former has been discussed as an indication of the printing date of the quarto. The latter is significant in that a common form of advertising is omitted. Designation on the title page of a place where a book could be purchased was widely accepted practice, for copies of title pages were frequently posted in many book shops around London as a means of publicizing new works.[171] The absence of this information suggests that the publisher intended to distribute copies to more than one selling place.[172] Wide distribution would be a logical move for a publisher who wished to make the work easily accessible to the reading public and, thereby, increase the possibility of quick,

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[170]Shakespeare, op. cit., p. 1.

[171]Bennett, op. cit., pp. 259-261.

[172]Hoppe, op. cit., p. 14.

substantial profits. If Burby were involved in the printing of Q_1, as has been earlier suggested, he would have been in a good position to have controlled the distribution, for, as a publisher, he had dealings with numerous booksellers. The nature of the plot-line of Romeo and Juliet, combined with Shakespeare's use of pun and double entendres, would have made the book popular and lucrative for black-market trade. Moreover, its success on the stage would have made the title familiar to a large number of people who may not actually have seen the play, but whose interest may have been stirred enough to cause them to purchase the book.

The combined influences of the ravages of the plague and the Puritan attacks on the theaters, which resulted in the intermittent closing of the theaters during the last half of the sixteenth century, had again forced the prohibition of plays during the summer of 1596.[173] The Lord of Hunsdons' servants played in the provinces, as did other companies when the theaters were closed:

> For the second time since their formation in 1599, the company had to travel. They are traceable at Rye in August, at Dover between 3 and 20 September, at Marlborough, Faversham, and Bath during 1596-7, and at Bristol about 29 September.[174]

The words on the Q_1 title page indicate that Romeo and Juliet

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[173] Chambers, The Elizabethan Stage, II, 195.

[174] Ibid., p. 196.

had been recently played, so it would appear very likely that it was one of the plays presented during a tour of the provinces. Travel would have increased the base of the play's popularity, and in this light, the absence of a selling place on the title page could indicate the publisher's intent to sell it outside of London, as well.

Further evidence that Q_1 of Romeo and Juliet was included in the traveling repertory may be observed in the prologue, which presents a brief summary of the plot:

> Two houshold Frends alike in dignitie,
> (In faire Verona where we lay our Scene)
> From civill broyles broke into enmitie,
> Whose civill warre makes civill hands uncleane.
> From forth the fatall loynes of these two foes,
> A pair of starre-crost lovers tooke their life:
> Whose misaduentures, piteous overthrowes,
> (Through the continuing of their Fathers strife.
> And death-markt passage of their Parents rage)
> Is now the two howres traffique of our Stage.
> The which if you with patient eares attend,
> What here we want wee'll studie to amend.[175]

This prologue summary would have been useful to inform those, not members of the regular playgoing public, about what would transpire in the play so that they could follow the text more easily. The phrase, "two howres traffique of our Stage," indicates that what was going to be presented was not, perhaps, the full length version of the play. This is further verified by the fact that Q_2, which does not include the prologue, is

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[175]Shakespeare, op. cit., p. 3.

775 lines longer than Q_1.[176] Albright contends that plays were usually shortened for traveling because the company was reduced to about ten players in order to reduce expenses.[177] Craig demonstrates that the Q_1 version of Romeo and Juliet could have been acted by a company of this size.[178] However, while this quarto may well be a version shortened for London, or for traveling, and while the first part of the quarto seems to substantiate the implications of the Prologue, the second part of the text confuses the issue.

In order to assure a clear understanding of the textual peculiarities that follow, one defines the "two parts" of the quarto, thus, necessitating a brief summary of the Elizabethan printing process.[179] The first step was that of composition. The compositor, probably reading from a manuscript, hand set the type from which the copy would be printed, one page at a time.[180] The copy was set in wooden forms which corresponded to the size of the paper to be used. One sheet of printing

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[176]E. K. Chambers, William Shakespeare, I, 342.

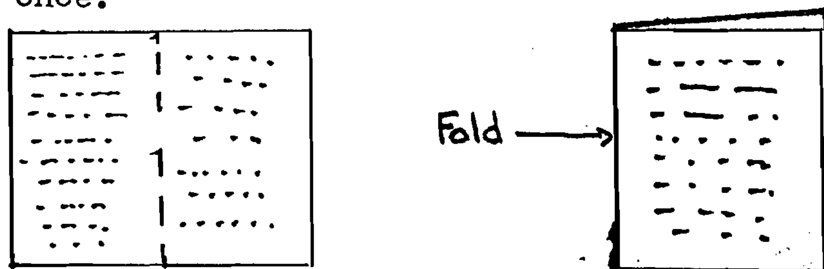
[177]Albright, op. cit., p. 10.

[178]Hardin Craig, A New Look at the Shakespeare Quartos, pp. 56-60.

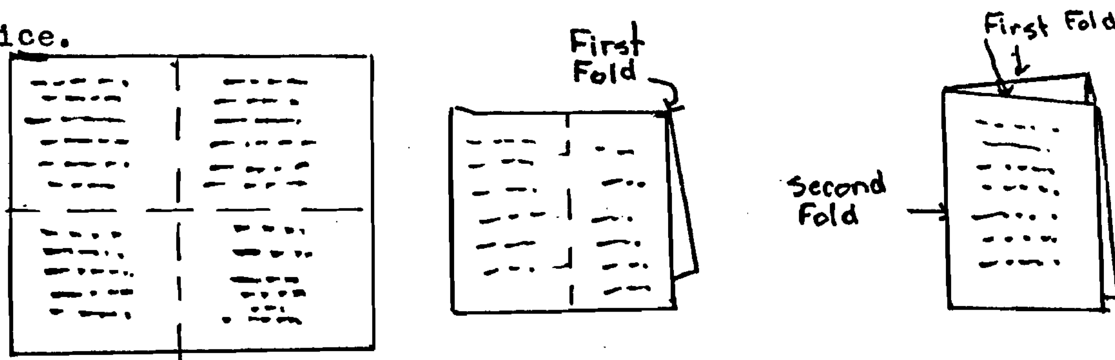
[179]R. B. McKerrow, An Introduction to Bibliography for Literary Students. See pp. 6-24 for a discussion of the printing process.

[180]Ibid., p. 63.

paper formed a signature--that is, it was assigned a letter, or a "signature," instead of page numbers.[181] The number of the pages of finished copy to be printed on the signature, then, depended upon the number of times the paper was to be folded. For a book printed in folio, there would be four pages per signature. The sheet, printed front and back, was folded once.



A book in quarto, such as Romeo and Juliet, contained eight pages per signature.[182] The signature sheet was, then, folded twice.



It seems that, generally, the compositor set type from a manuscript, page by page, in sequential order.[183] In turn,

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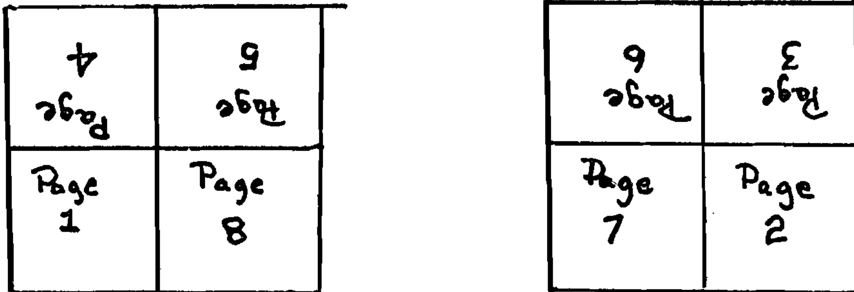
[181] Ibid., p. 30.

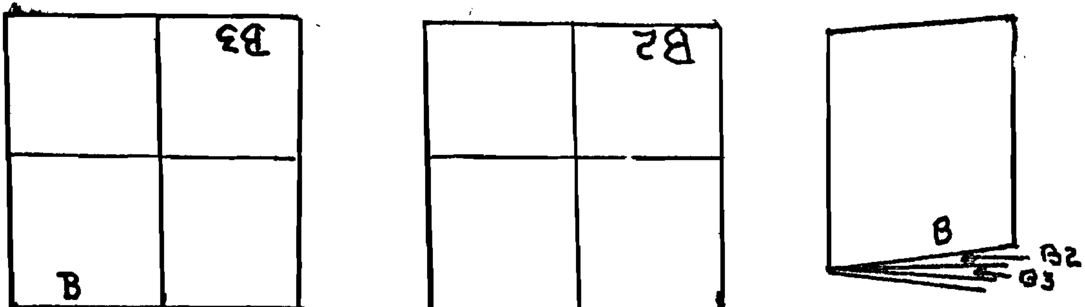
[182] Ibid., p. 28.

[183] Ibid., p. 63.

these pages were arranged so that, when the printed signature was folded, the pages would appear in order as follows:



To provide a check for the time when the pages were to be folded, the compositor of Q_1 placed the signature letter in the middle of the first page of a sig., the signature letter in addition to the number 2 in the middle of the third page, and the signature letter in addition to the number 3 on the fifth page:



Thus, when a signature was folded, it could be checked by leafing quickly through the sheets and glancing at the lower edge, because the designations, if the signature had been folded properly, would appear in succession on the front lower edge of the first three pages.

The text of Q_1 initiates this pattern with the second signature. The first signature, sig. A, encompasses the following:

p. 1 Blank
p. 2 Blank
p. 3 Title Page
p. 4 Blank
p. 5 The Prologue
p. 6 Blank
p. 7 Text Begins, ll. 1-23
p. 8 ll. 24-49

Designation for this signature would normally fall on the first blank page, the title page, and the prologue page. It is easy to see that the signature designations would be omitted to prevent detractions on the "formal" pages of the book. The next signature picks up the signature letter with B, and all of the succeeding signatures follow the same pattern, continuing in alphabetical order through K (except for the letter "J," which was not used).

In addition to the signature designation, there occurs at the bottom of the page in tie right-hand corner the first word of the following page, called the catchword, an aid to the compositor, allowing him to know what came next when he set the following page without having to read through the last line or two of the page just finished.[184] This practice also is followed throughout the quarto.

The signature designation and the catchword are, however, the only printing techniques that are continuous, because there is a distinct change in the quarto after sig. D, obviously in type size and spacing. Since the break occurs

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[184] Ibid., p. 26.

after sig. D, for convenience, hereafter, sigs. A-D will be referred to as Part I, and sigs. E-K as Part II. Part I is printed in "pica" type that has the appearance of being rather worn, for its letter impressions are not sharp and distinct. The first four sigs. contain thirty-four lines of type, the last being used for the sig. and catchword designations. There are only four unused lines in these four sigs.: one following the title and preceding the first stage direction; one after the first stage direction; one before the long stage direction on the next page; and one following it.

Since the general practice was for the printer to estimate the amount of paper he would need before he began to print, it would appear that Danter had not only followed this practice, but had figured his margins very closely.[185] The close spacing indicates that he needed to make full use of his paper. Knowing that Danter was not a prosperous printer and that paper was expensive, one suggests that he had purchased paper for only ten sigs., or eighty pages; and, judging by the consistency of the spacing in Part I, he would have had to print the entire play in this manner in order to have taken full advantage of this amount of paper.

His plans were interrupted, however, by the raid on his printing house, and, somehow, the work fell to Edward Allde,

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[185]Plant, <u>op</u>. <u>cit</u>., p. 102.

who finished it in "elite" type. The type changes with the beginning of sig. E, but the sig. continues with the same close spacing with the exception of nine blank lines. The obvious explanation, here, is that the compositor followed the pattern that Danter had initiated, spacing a little more freely, but not compensating fully for the difference in type size (fifteen blank lines short). Sig. F uses seventeen blank lines, but also does not fully compensate for the difference in type. One might speculate that, at this point in the composition, the compositor was not aware that he would not have enough copy to utilize the amount of paper alloted.

Beginning on the third page of sig. G are ornamental bars equalling three lines of type and extending the full width of the line. These would compensate exactly for the difference if one were used on every page. However, there are only twelve used, three each in sigs. G and H, four in I, and two in sig. K. Moreover, the spacing around entrances and exits becomes more generous as the discrepancy between the number of lines and the amount of paper grows. The insertion of the ornamental bars shows no discernible pattern in relation to the printing techniques, but there is a correlation to what could be act or scene changes. There has been, until the entry of the first bar, no designation of act and scene. However, the bars fall in the following places:

1. end of III.iv (bottom of page) between Cap. and Paris

2. beginning of III.v	Romeo and Juliet's window scene
3. ----------	before scene with Juliet and her mother
4. before IV.i	(Friar and Paris)
5. before IV.ii	(after Juliet and Friar make their plan)
6. before IV.iii	Nurse and Juliet
7. before IV.iv	Scene with family before discovering Juliet "dead"
8. before V.i	Romeo, Balthasar, and Apothecarie
9. before V.ii	Friar Lawrence and Friar John
10. before V.iii	Paris and Romeo at the tomb
11. after Romeo kills himself	
12. after Juliet kills herself	

This correlation, noted as being curious by Chambers, is significant, because it suggests a different source from the one previously used, which obviously has no breaks.[186] It would seem logical that, having acquired a manuscript of some variety to compensate for pages possibly lost during the transfer to Allde, the compositor felt it necessary to call attention to the changes indicated in the new manuscript but had no way in which to number them (or otherwise note the change), since nothing previously had been so noted. Several scholars have mentioned that the text seems to disintegrate after the second act, but they have been considering this change in relation to the theory of the text's having been reported, their theory perhaps influencing their examination of the text. While the possibility of two sources, or report

[186] Chambers, The Elizabethan Stage, III, 200.

of only Part II of the quarto is conjectural, this and other evidence suggest that this alternate proposal deserves further critical attention.

Another significant alteration between Parts I and II is manifest in a change of the running title. The title at the beginning of the text reads, "The most excellent Tragedie of Romeo and Juliet." This same title is employed across the top of the pages of sigs. A-D, with the words, "The most excellent," appearing on verso and "of Romeo and Juliet" appearing on recto in small italics. On the first page of sig. E, which is on recto, occur the words, in large type, "of Romeo and Juliet." However, on the next page, where the new compositor would have had to set it for the first time, are the words, "The excellent Tragedie," the word, most, having been omitted. Apparently, the new compositor had not checked the title page carefully, if at all, or even the completed sigs. While this discrepancy could easily be explained as the natural result of a change in printer, one thinks it possible, also, that the compositor may have had before him a different manuscript entitled "The Excellent Tragedie of Romeo and Juliet."

Most scholars who support the theory that Q_1 was a memorially reconstructed text base their argument upon two interrelated points: (1) the rapidly increasing discrepancy between this text and F_1, usually termed "disintegration," and (2) the tendency of the stage directions to become more

descriptive, compensating for the "deletions" from the text. Following is a list of stage directions of Q_1 as they occur, by page and by signature:

Stage Directions, Part I

Direction Number	Stage Direction	Facsimile Page	Sig Letter
1	Enter 2 serving men of the Capolets	5	A
2	Enter 2 serving men of the Mountagues	6	A
3	They draw, to them enters Tybalt, they fight, to them the Prince, old Montague, and his wife, old Capulet and his wife, and other Citizins and part them	6	A
4	Exeunt	7	B
5	Enter Romeo	7	B
6	Enter Countie Paris, old Capulet	9	B
7	Enter Serving man	10	B
8	Exeunt	10	B
9	Enter Benvolio and Romeo	11	B
10	He reads the Letter	11	B
11	Enter Capulets wife and Nurce	13	B
12	Enter Juliet	13	B
13	Enter Clown	14	B
14	Enter Maskers with Romeo and a Page	15	C
15	Enter old Capulet with the Ladies	18	C
16	They whisper in his eare	21	C
17	Exeunt	21	C
18	Exeunt	21	C
19	Enter Romeo alone	22	C
20	Enter Benvolio Mercutio	22	C
21	Enter Frier Francis	28	D

Stage Directions, Part II

Direction Number	Stage Direction	Facsimile Page	Sig Letter
1	Exeunt	31	E
2	Enter Mercutio, Benvolio	31	E
3	Enter Nurse and her man	33	E
4	He walks by them, and sings	34	E
5	Exeunt Benvolio, Mercutio	34	E
6	She turnes to Peter her man	34	E
7	Enter Juliet	36	E
8	Enter Nurse	36	E
9	Exeunt	37	E
10	Enter Romeo, Frier	37	E
11	Enter Juliet somewhat fast, and embraceth Romeo	37	E

12	Exeunt omnes	38	E
13	Enter Benvolio, Mercutio	38	E
14	Enter Tybalt	39	F
15	Enter Romeo	40	F
16	Tybalt under Romeos arme thrusts Mercutio, in and flyes	40	F
17	Exeunt	40	F
18	Enter Benvolio	41	F
19	Enter Tibalt	41	F
20	Fight, Tibalt falles	41	F
21	Exeunt	41	F
22	Enter Citizens	41	F
23	Enter Prince, Capolets wife	42	F
24	Exeunt Omnes	43	F
25	Enter Juliet	43	F
26	Enter Nurse wringing her hands, with the ladder of cordes in her lap	43	F
27	Exeunt	45	F
28	Enter Frier	45	F
29	Enter Romeo	45	F
30	Nurse knockes	47	G
31	Shee knockes againe	47	G
32	He rises	47	G
33	He offers to stab himselfe, and Nurse snatches the dagger away	48	G
34	Nurse offers to goe in and turnes againe	49	G
35	Exit Nurse	49	G
36	Enter olde Capulet and his wife, with County Paris	49	G
37	Paris offers to goe in, and Capolet calles him againe	50	G
38	Exeunt	50	G [187]

39	Enter Romeo and Juliet at the window	51	G
40	He goeth downe	52	G
41	Enter Nurse baslely	52	G
42	She goeth downe from the window	52	G

43	Enter Juliets Mother, Nurse	53	G
44	Enter olde Capolet	54	G
45	She kneeles downe	55	H

[187] ░░░ indicates the appearance of the ornamental bars.

46	Exit	56	H
47	Exit	56	H
48	She lookes after Nurse	57	H
49	Exit	57	H
50	Enter Fryer and Paris	57	H
51	Enter Paris	58	H
52	Exit Paris	58	H
53	Exeunt	60	H
54	Enter olde Capolet, his wife Nurse and servingman	60	H
55	Exit servingman	60	H
56	Enter Juliet	61	H
57	She kneeles downe	61	H
58	Exeunt Nurse and Juliet	61	H
59	Exeunt	62	H
60	Enter Nurse, Juliet	62	H
61	Exit	62	H
62	Enter Mother	62	H
63	Exit	62	H
64	She fals upon her bed within the curtaines	63	I
65	Enter Nurse with hearbes, Mother	63	I
66	Enter oldeman	63	I
67	Enter Servingman with Logs & Coales	63	I
68	Exit	64	I
69	Enter Mother	64	I
70	Enter Oldeman	64	I
71	Enter Fryer and Paris	64	I
72	All at once cry out and wring their hands	65	I
73	They all but the Nurse goe forth, casting Rosemary on her and shutting the Curtens	66	I
74	Enter Musitions	66	I
75	Enter Servingman	66	I
76	Exit	67	I
77	Exeunt	67	I

░░

78	Enter Romeo	67	I
79	Enter Balthasar his man booted	67	I
80	Exit Balthasar	68	I
81	Enter Apothecarie	68	I
82	Exeunt	69	I

░░

83	Enter Frier John	69	I
84	Exit	70	I
85	Exit	70	I

░░

86	Enter Countie Paris and his Page with flowers and sweet water	70	I
87	Paris strews the Tomb with flowers	70	I
88	Boy whistles and calls	70	I
89	Enter Romeo and Balthasar with a torch, a mattocke, and a crow of yron	70	I
90	Romeo opens the tombe	71	K
91	They fight	72	K
92	Falls	72	K

░░

93	Enter Fryer with a Lantborne	73	K
94	Fryer stoopes and lookes on the blood and weapons	73	K
95	Juliet rises	73	K
96	Enter Watch	74	K
97	She stabs herselfe and falles	74	K

░░

98	Enter Watch	74	K
99	Enter one with the Fryer	74	K
100	Enter one with Romeos Man	75	K
101	Enter Prince with others	75	K
102	Enter olde Capolet and his wife	75	K
103	Enter olde Montague	75	K
104	Finis	77	K

In examining this list, one should note particularly the location of the ornamental bars (░░░). There is, again, a

correlation, which one should consider, between their appearance and the increasingly more literary stage directions. These bars begin to appear at about the same place in the text as the change in the nature of stage directions, a phenomenon that suggests a manuscript of a different nature from that used in Part I may be behind Part II. There are only twenty-one stage directions occurring in the first four sigs., and only one of these is unusual--the rather long direction giving the action of the fight scene almost as if in summary. This method condenses the F_1 version by eliminating some of the two servants' directions and some rather redundant material following. The implication, here, along with that in the Prologue, is that the text of the play has been shortened. Craig maintains that this type of "omission" is a consistent and careful "cutting" of the play to shorten the text for traveling.[188] The rest of the directions in Part I deal with specific actions of the characters; entrances and exits, primarily; and two in connection with the on-stage actions of reading the letter and whispering in Capulet's ear. These directions have as distinct characteristics a business-like quality concerning the manipulation of characters onto and off the stage.

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[188] Craig, _op_. _cit_., pp. 56-60.

Beginning with Part II, there is a mounting increase in the number of stage directions. This fact would partly result from an increase in the number of characters on stage and from the faster pace of the action as the play now moves toward a climax. However, there is a growing number of stage directions in Part II. Sig. E, consistent with the other changes mentioned, closely follows the pattern established in Part I. The two directions (numbers four and ten) which are somewhat literary still describe action rather than establish mood.

In sigs. F and G, wherein the spacing and printing techniques have been observed as they become distinctly different, the number of the descriptive types of stage directions increases and moves toward setting a mood, for example, "wringing her hands," "snatches dagger." The most distinct change occurs in sig. G, which is also the sig. where the ornamental bars (▒▒▒) begin. The descriptive directions, or literary directions, outnumber the simple entrances and exits in Part I, and properties which were implied within the characters' speeches in Part I have now become defined in the stage directions included in Part II. This pattern continues throughout the remainder of the play.

In addition to the changes in type size, spacing, heading, and stage directions, there is also a noted change between Part I and Part II in the manner of references to

characters. Variant spellings are, of course, characteristic of Elizabethan works, often used by printers as one means of making a line of type uniform.[189] However, perhaps the most revealing change of reference to character concerns Lady Capulet. Unlike the others, it cannot be ascribed so easily to a compositor's idiosyncrasy. For example, never in Part I is Lady Capulet referred to as "Mother." She is referred to as "wife," but in her scenes with Juliet, she is known as "Lady Capulet." In Part II, however, even in the stage directions, she becomes "Mother," and, moreover, this term first occurs in sig. G after the third ornamental bar. While the different connotations of the two references may appear to be abstract, this change, similar in method to others mentioned, indicates a document of a different nature that lies behind Part II.

The correlation of the changes in spacing, the change in stage directions, the change in character reference, and the addition of the ornamental bars, all of which occur in sig. G, converge to suggest two separate sources behind Q_1. All of the previous scholars in their theories concerning Q_1 have assumed that one source was behind the text. However, with the identification of Allde as the second printer, the possibility of two sources must now be considered. Textual evidence strongly indicates this possibility.

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[189] McKerrow, Introduction to Bibliography, pp. 10-11.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSIONS AND PROJECTIONS

Thus far, one has examined the historical background of the printing of Q_1 of _Romeo and Juliet_, the specific conditions of its printing, and its textual peculiarities from which the following seven conclusions are apparent:

1. The system of printing monopolies that had developed by the Elizabethan era fostered book piracy and illegal printing.
2. Piracy was a more serious offense than printing without an entry on the Stationers' Register, because its economic threat to the privileged printers resulted in more severe recrimminations.
3. The printing of Q_1 of _Romeo and Juliet_ was a case of illegal printing, not book piracy, probably undertaken by those involved as a means of making money quickly.
4. The actual printing of Q_1 was begun by John Danter early in 1597, and was interrupted when his shop was raided for a piracy offense (the printing of the _Jesus Psalter_), and was completed by Edward Allde.
5. The initiator of the project may have been Cuthbert Burby who, at the time, had dealings with both

Danter and Allde, and who also published another work in the same year begun by Danter and completed by Allde, and who later seemed to have some claim to the rights for publishing Q_2 in 1599.

6. The textual evidence shows not only an interruption of the printing process, but also suggests a change in the source used in printing.
7. The identification of Allde as the second printer calls for a new investigation of Q_1.

In addition to the prominent theory of memorial reconstruction as an explanation of the peculiarities of Q_1, there are other theories deserving of consideration. The first, proposed by Malone, is that the text of the play is printed from the author's foul sheets.[190] Fleay and White, however, argue for a collaboration, suggesting that Shakespeare had revised the work of an earlier playwright, possibly George Peele. This concept, however, has been satisfactorily disproved by Spalding and Spedding.[191] On the other hand, Pollard and Wilson agree on a "double revision" theory, a view that is accepted by a large number of scholars.[192] Stenographic reporting has also been offered as an explanation for the state of the "bad"

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[190]Malone (ed.), op. cit., I, xviii.

[191]Hoppe, op. cit., pp. 62-63.

[192]Ibid., p. 64.

quartos, but specific study has demonstrated the implausibility of this argument.[193] Finally, Chambers and Greg have advanced what is probably the most generally accepted theory, e.g., that of memorial reconstruction.[194]

All of the studies have, however, proceeded from what seems, upon reflection, to be an unproved premise--that Q_1 is the result of one consistent process or source. The change of printer, the different printing techniques, and the quality of the text have not been correlated with the events surrounding the printing of Q_1. Several scholars, however, have called attention to the higher quality of craftmanship of the first part of Q_1. For example, Greg's following comment is fairly typical:

> There is no question that Q_1 is in the main a report. It varies greatly in quality, as nearly all the "bad" quartos do. Roughly, the first two acts are well reported, the third loosely; the last two are mere paraphrase embodying now more now fewer genuine words. The difference between the best and the worst is so great that at first sight it seems difficult to suppose them due to the same agency.[195]

Greg, however, does accept one agency, arguing that because ". . . we find every intermediate degree of accuracy and inaccuracy, it seems impossible to divide the text into

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[193] Ibid., pp. 64-70.

[194] Ibid., pp. 72-73.

[195] Greg, Editorial Problems, p. 62.

categories."[196] Yet, if, as Chambers suggests[197] and the Prologue and the other textual evidence indicate, the "report" is of a shortened version of the play, it would be difficult to determine against what standards degrees of accuracy could be measured. The high correlation of the good "reporting" and Part I of the quarto, and the deterioration of "reporting" and Part II of the quarto seem to have been ignored. Perhaps the explanation of two manuscript sources is so simple that it has been overlooked.

Craig, in his reappraisal of the Shakespeare quartos, and without a knowledge of the identification of the second printer of Q_1 of Romeo and Juliet, called for a new look at Q_1, taking to task the supporters of the memorial reconstruction theory and, building his case on internal evidence of the play, concluding that it was a

> . . . shortened stage version that has been acted in the provinces. It shows actors' modifications and corruptions, although the corruptions are by no means as great as recent scholars, anxious to establish _a priori_ theories, have represented them to be.[198]

Craig holds that the consistency and skill of the alteration of the play to accommodate a small company, condense the action, and, at the same time, maintain the quality of the play are

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[196] _Loc_. _cit_.

[197] Chambers, _William_ _Shakespeare_, I, 342.

[198] Craig, _op_. _cit_., p. 54.

apparent in the text.[199] However, Craig's justification of the condition of the last two acts of the play is somewhat weaker than his preceding argument, and he concedes that some of the omissions are puzzling.[200]

Stis study has suggested that the solution to the printing riddles of Q_1 may lie somewhere in between the two major theories. Realizing that more research is yet needed, one could suggest that the following reconstruction of the printing events of Q_1 might be the direction which such an investigation should take.

A shortened version of Romeo and Juliet toured the provinces during 1596-1597. It was highly successful, and when the company returned to London, this play offered a publisher wishing to make quick money an opportunity to do so. Moreover, the closing of the theaters and the persecution of acting companies by the Puritans left the players in grave financial stress. This condition would have made it possible for a publisher, probably Cuthbert Burby, to obtain somehow a shortened version of the play. Wishing to capitalize upon the popularity of this drama, Burby may have decided to print it as quickly as possible. That Q_1 is not entered on the Stationers' Register may lie in an explanation showing that

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[199] Ibid., p. 55.

[200] Ibid., p. 60.

Burby would not have wished to waste time in obtaining the proper authority. If he had purchased the manuscript surreptitiously from a member of the acting company, entry in the Stationers' Register would have revealed the illegal nature of the transaction and, consequently, might have created trouble for both the book seller and Burby. The fact that Burby chose not to enter Q_1 properly in the Stationers' Register infers that he was printing without authority and, therefore, would probably have to choose a printer who would be willing to take the risk with him. He chose John Danter, a man who had previously worked for him, who apparently was not too scrupulous to undertake an illegal venture, and who was in financial difficulty.

Danter, then, began to print the play early in 1597, and had completed the first four signatures of the quarto when his printing house was raided during Lent because of his piracy of the Jesus Psalter. Consequently, his presses were confiscated and destroyed. His papers, which, as indicated by the entry in the Stationers' Register, included other materials without official printing authority, were also taken. Danter may or may not have been imprisoned for his offense. At any rate, he was obviously unable to complete the printing of the play.

His arrest left Burby with a half-finished undertaking. Somehow, Burby managed to recover or to retain the first four

completed signatures of the play and transfer them to Allde, who, like Danter, was a printer in financial difficulty and who also had had previous dealings with Burby. The fact that Allde, in the same year, completed another work for Burby which had also been started by Danter verifies that some kind of working relationship existed between them.

Allde's compositor, then, began to set type for the remainder of Q_1, and the fifth sheet, with the exception of the change of the running title and the size of type, follows closely after the pattern established in Danter's earlier work. However, somewhere during the composition of the sixth and seventh sheets, the printing source was discovered to be fragmentary, severly damaged, or lost. Here, several explanations are possible: (1) the manuscript which Danter had been using may have been confiscated in the earlier raid on Danter's shop. Burby's position in the Stationers' Company may have made it possible for him to have recovered part of the manuscript along with four printed sheets. Moreover, the Stationers' Company may have returned a part of the manuscript and Danter's printed sheets, assuming that Burby would have been unable to complete the printing; (2) during the composition process in Danter's printing house, pages of the manuscript might have become detached and, during the raid, could have been lost or damaged; (3) even if the manuscript had remained intact during the composition at Danter's printing house, it could have been damaged

or lost while being taken to the Stationers' Hall or to Allde's printing house; and (4) if the entire manuscript had been lost, a possible explanation for the apparent continuity of the printed copy between the fourth and fifth pages, in spite of the type change, might be the following--four sheets had been composed and printed, and the forms for the fifth sheet had been prepared, but not printed. The form for the fifth sheet, then, could have been transferred to Allde along with the finished signatures. Allde's men could have printed a copy of the fifth sheet by hand, thereafter setting type for a new fifth sheet in the forms used for Allde's press. Any one of these explanations would require that a new source be discovered to supplement or substitute for the original document which appears to have been exhausted during the composition of the sixth or seventh signature.

Not wanting to suffer a financial loss on a venture already undertaken, Burby would have had to arrange for another manuscript copy to be found or reconstructed for the last part of the play. If he originally had been able to procure a copy of the supposed shortened version of the play from one of the players, he might also have been able to arrange for a "memorial reconstruction" of the last part of the play. Already in financial difficulty, he would not seem to have been a likely candidate for the additional financial investment that this kind of a surreptitious printing would have entailed. It is

possible, of course, that Allde procured a new manuscript copy, perhaps a plot-outline, or an actor's part, or a stage copy. Again, however, these copies would have been expensive. Burby, therefore, seems to have been in a better position, both in terms of finances and theatrical contacts, to have obtained the new copy for Q_1.

The printer next realized that the new manuscript was not long enough, when the type would be set, to utilize all of the paper allotted, because Allde's type was smaller than Danter's. Consequently, the compositor might have compensated for the differences in type size by placing decorative bars at the bottom of every page. Now, however, having followed Danter's pattern throughout sig. E, he found it necessary to space more freely around the entrances and exits thereafter so as to compensate for the growing discrepancy between the amount of paper assigned and the manuscript. When he had exhausted the original manuscript, apparently during sig. G, he then began to include the ornamental bars in places in which the new manuscript indicated a change in scene or stage action, continuing to space around entrances and exits. This technique was adequate to enable him to compensate for the shorter manuscript, because he managed to have the text of the play end on recto, of the last page of sig. K.

Thr printing having been completed, the play was then distributed, probably through booksellers with whom Burby had

dealings. Since Allde was primarily a printer, he engaged in less bookselling activities than would a printer-publisher, like Burby. Because haste was important if the participants in this venture were to capitalize upon the popularity of this play, a new title page was not set. Therefore, the play was issued with Danter as the printer, but without mentioning a place of sale. Thus, Allde, who had a record of printing works anonymously, apparently was satisfied with whatever return he might have realized. In addition, the absence of his name on the text may have afforded him some kind of protection if the stationers or the acting company should have decided to cause trouble.

Two years later in 1599, Burby published the second quarto of _Romeo and Juliet_, printed by Thomas Creede. On the title page of this edition appear the words, "Newly corrected and augmented."[201] It is not known how Burby gained the rights to the second quarto; however, there is some evidence to show that printing a work, if it were not already patented, established rights to the work. Thus, Burby's involvement with Q_1 would explain the rights he had gained to Q_2. Moreover, the Chamberlain's Men must have given him the copy used in the printing of Q_2, perhaps pressuring him into making restitution for the "bad" quarto by publishing a newly corrected

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[201] _Ibid._, p. 103.

one. A similar set of circumstances surrounded the publication of Love's Labour's Lost, in which the acting company also gave Burby a copy for the quarto of this play, which Burby then published in 1598. Although an earlier copy of Love's Labour's Lost had never been entered on the Stationers' Register, the 1598 edition, as in the case of Romeo and Juliet, also carried the words, "newly corrected and augmented," on the title page.[202] One would assume from these words that an earlier quarto had also existed for this play. Burby seems to have come by his rights to the 1598 edition of Love's Labour's Lost and the 1599 editior of Romeo and Juliet in much the same way; that is, as a result of earlier involvement.

The printing of Q_1 of Romeo and Juliet, therefore, was not the work of one man as scholars have sometimes assumed. The identification of Allde as the second printer, and the interrelationship among Danter, Allde, and Burby, which now seems significant, suggests that a new investigation of the printing of Q_1 is warranted. Perhaps scholars with resources and records available to them can, by reëxamining the careers of these three men, shed new light on the sources of the text and the history of the printing of Romeo and Juliet, Q_1.

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[202]Greg, Editorial Problems, p. xlii; cf. i.

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