

Collated & Perfect

all Historie of nd Death of r Faustus.

w Additions.

by C H. M A R.

*Collated
&
Perfect.*

J. H. K. 1814.



Collated & Perfect

Kathryn James and Aaron T. Pratt

An exhibition at the Beinecke Rare Book
and Manuscript Library, Yale University,
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Introduction

To begin that inquiry, I should like to recall a classic statement by Sir Walter Greg. It is this: "what the bibliographer is concerned with is pieces of paper or parchment covered with certain written or printed signs. With these signs he is concerned merely as arbitrary marks; their meaning is no business of his."

—D.F. McKenzie, *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts* (1999)¹

In the famous woodcut that accompanies several early editions of Christopher Marlowe's *The Tragickall Historie of the Life and Death of Doctor Faustus*, the eponymous scholar stands within a conjuror's circle, book in hand (see fig. 11, p. 17). He recalls the figure of the modern bibliographer. "Concerned with...pieces of paper or parchment covered with certain written or printed signs," wrote W.W. Greg in 1966, the ideal bibliographer treats those signs "merely as arbitrary marks; their meaning is no business of his." For Faustus, the occult symbols in the book given to him by the devil Mephistophilis promise godlike power, whatever it is they actually mean.

Fig. 1. "Collated & Perfect": note added to title page of Christopher Marlowe, *The Tragickall Historie of the Life and Death of Doctor Faustus* (London: John Wright, 1631) by John Philip Kemble. Beinecke Speck Taz M31 631

Fig. 2. "Collated & Perfect": note added to title page of Thomas Lodge, *The Wounds of Ciuill War* (London: John Danter, 1594; STC 16678), sig. A1r, by John Philip Kemble. Harry Ransom Center Pforz 624

For Greg's practitioner, the same symbols in a printed book promise a power that is admittedly a little more modest but is no more interested in the content of the text, as such: the bibliographer hopes to access the printing house that produced it. Both are conjurors.

A bibliographer of an earlier era than Greg has inscribed his copy of *Doctor Faustus* (1631) in the top right margin: "Collated & Perfect. J.P.K. 1814." (fig. 1). The man, actor and collector John Philip Kemble (1757–1823), has aggressively trimmed the pages of his copy and laid them into an album. At some point earlier in the book's history, someone wrote a capital R on the title page, and someone else has noted that the book was cataloged on May 29, in the year 17 of a previous century. It is now held in the collections of the Beinecke Library at Yale University.

The book may seem anomalous, perhaps a one-off accident of circumstance, until it is placed alongside a copy of Thomas Lodge's *The Wounds of Ciuill War* (1594) held more than 1,500 miles away in the collections of the Harry Ransom Center at the University of Texas at Austin (see fig. 14, p. 24). It was also owned by John Kemble; it, too, has been cut down and inlaid. And it, too, bears Kemble's inscription, "Collated & Perfect," alongside his initials and the date he collated it (fig. 2). In the essays that follow, these playbooks by Kemble will help elucidate the two terms of his formula. What does it mean to "collate"? What does it mean for a book to be "perfect"?

Collated & Perfect draws on the collections of the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University, and the Harry Ransom Center, the University of Texas at Austin, to explore the relationship between bibliography, book collecting, and meaning from the sixteenth century to the present. Told through a selection of early English imprints—the focus of Greg and other bibliographers in the Anglo-American tradition—*Collated & Perfect* begins to chart the standards against which rare books have been measured, and against which we still measure them today.

¹ D.F. McKenzie, *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 9, quoting W.W. Greg, “Bibliography—an Apologia,” in *Collected Papers*, ed. J.C. Maxwell (1966), 247.

Collated

Kathryn James

**Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library
Yale University**

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I.

Through the mid-nineteenth century, collation was understood as a process of textual comparison, an examination of the different iterations of a text in order to establish the correct or authoritative version. It is in this sense that it finds one of its earliest usages, by William Thynne in his 1532 edition of the works of Chaucer, describing the “contrarieties and alterations founde by collacion of the one with the other.” As an editor, Thynne describes his struggle to resolve these textual disparities. His response was to “make dilygent sertch, where I might fynde or recouer any trewe copies or exemplaries of the sayd bookes.” Thynne sought the “very trewe copies” (fig. 3).¹

By the twentieth century, collation had come to be associated with the examination of the text as material object, in order to establish its relationship with an ideal text. William Thynne’s ideal of the “very trewe copies” was replaced by that of a relational text, representing a material connection to an originating or authorial “copy-text.” As the iteration, however flawed, of a copy-text, the text acted as a ghost of its own origin, offering a glimpse of the mediations that might have occurred in the process of production.

In England, collation was a response to a particular history of textual uncertainty. The English Reformation had brought with it the dissolution of England’s monastic institutions and, with this, the dispersal of the monastic library collections. This loss, and its consequences,

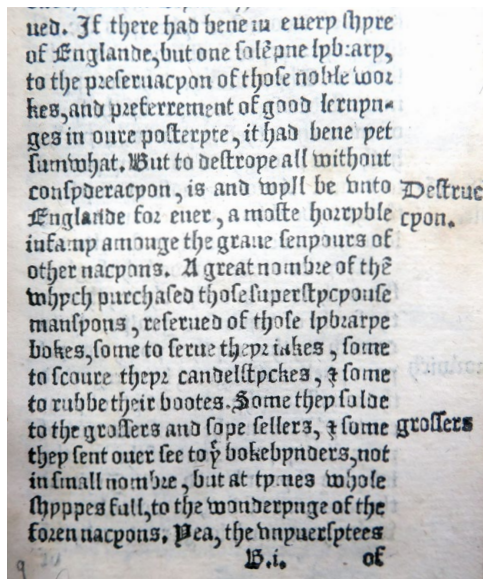


Fig. 3. Geoffrey Chaucer, *The Workes of Geffray Chaucer newly printed, with dyuers workes whiche were neuer in print before*, ed. William Thynne (London: Thomas Godfray, 1532; STC 5068), sig. A2v (detail). Beinecke Idz +532

Fig. 4. John Leland, *The laboryouse journey & serche of Johan Leylande, for Englandes antiquitees*, ed. John Bale (London: John Bale, 1549), sig. B1r (detail). Beinecke By6 6

radically shaped English scholars’ relationship with their textual heritage. John Bale, a witness to the destruction of the monastic libraries, described finding books at the premises of bookbinders, grocers, soap-sellers, tailors, and elsewhere: “some to serue theyr jakes, some to scoure theyr candellstyckes, & some to rubbe their bootes” (fig. 4).² Like others, Bale responded to this fragmentation by collecting. The history of collation closely

follows that of the collections formed by English individuals and institutions over the early modern period, in the wake of the destruction of the monastic libraries.

For many early modern scholars, textual collation was an urgent project of the English Reformation, a way of correcting and preserving an always vulnerable Protestant textual legacy. For editors like William Thynne, from the sixteenth century through the present, collation was a project of establishing an authentic English literary identity. In their edition in 1623 of the plays of their friend William Shakespeare, John Heminges and Henry Condell introduced their readers to the problems besetting the editor of English texts (fig. 5). "It had bene a thing, we confesse, worthie to haue bene wished, that the Author himselfe had liu'd to haue set forth, and ouerseen his owne writings," they wrote, in a passage that A.W. Pollard describes as "the only contemporary account we possess of the editing of the First Folio."³ Heminges and Condell describe their edition as a response to absence and incoherence, their "curing" of textual imperfections:

*as where (before) you were abus'd with diuerse stolne, and surreptitious copies, maimed, and deformed by the frauds and stealthes of iniurious impostors, that expos'd them: euen those, are now offer'd to your view cur'd, and perfect of their limbes.*⁴

William Thynne's "very trewe copies" of 1532 vie here with Heminges and Condell's more forcible curing and perfecting of the absent author's textual remains.

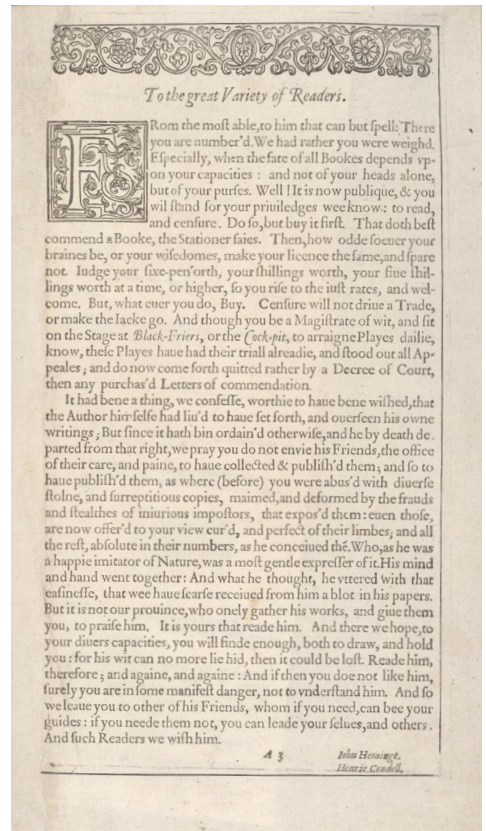


Fig. 5. "To the great Variety of Readers," in William Shakespeare, *Mr. William Shakespeares comedies, histories, & tragedies: Published according to the True Originall Copies* (London: Isaac Iaggard, Edward Blount, et al., 1623), sig. A3r. Beinecke 1978 +83

This essay examines the ways in which collation was defined and used to stabilize an English textual heritage framed by an originating loss. It follows five examples of collation, from the eighteenth century through the twentieth, to look more closely at the relationship between collation and perfection.

II.

William D'Avenant, *Gondibert* (1651): 4^{to}: A-3K⁴. N₂ & N₄ cancels. 3H₃ mis-signed 3G₃. First & last leaves blank. [4], 88, [4], 344, [8] pp. Printer's device to t.p. Head-tailpieces. Decorative initial capital letters.

"C&P"—collated and perfect—is the inscription written by the early eighteenth-century collector Thomas Rawlinson (1681–1725) in this copy of William D'Avenant's epic poem *Gondibert* (1651; [figs. 6 & 7](#)). The mark is one of the identifying characteristics of the books sold in a series of sixteen auctions between 1721 and 1733, as Rawlinson sought to forestall bankruptcy in the years before his death. The sales dispersed only part of his collection: the auction catalogs describe only a fraction of one of the largest private collections of manuscripts and printed books assembled in England. The inscription itself is now a provenance association, listed in catalog records and rare book descriptions. De Ricci calls it Rawlinson's "collation mark," describing the "bold black scrawl" in the books of one of the first collections of sixteenth-century English literature.⁵

Collation, rather than perfection, drove Rawlinson as a collector and scholar. His collection was a working library, holding both complete and incomplete copies. He and his books were situated in a nexus of scholarly relationships and correspondence.

Thomas Hearne, one of Rawlinson's most enduring friends and colleagues,

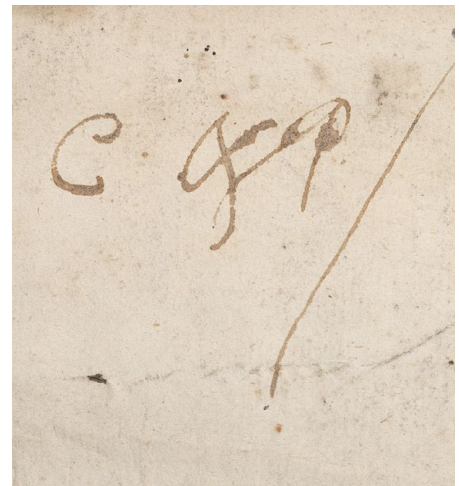
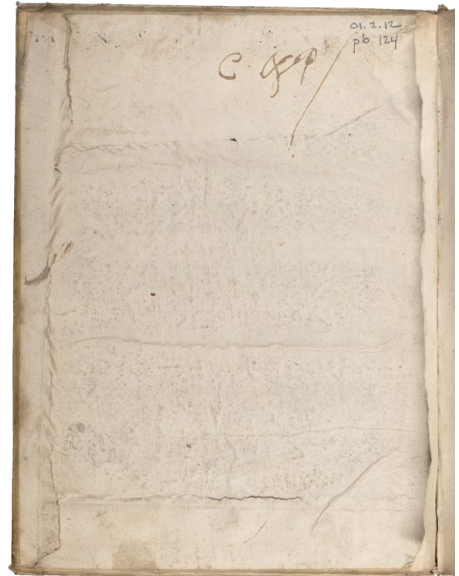


Fig. 6. Thomas Rawlinson's copy of William D'Avenant, *Gondibert* (London: Tho. Newcomb, 1651). Beinecke Osborn pb124

Fig. 7. Detail of fig. 6

drew on Rawlinson's collection for his own project of English Protestant history. Hearne's diaries are filled with the record of books sent by Rawlinson, which he read, always noting whether they were complete or imperfect texts. Hearne writes that he "read over the following imperfect book lent me by Thomas Rawlinson, Esq. (who hath written at the beginning of it thus: *imperf^t, but still very well worth reading. N.B. the mayor of Sandwich tore itt; w^t remains was obtain'd out of his Bogghouse. T.R.*)."⁶ This astonishing description of a book obtained out of the mayor's privy hints at the extent to which texts had been dispersed and devalued during the English Reformation.

Collation was also, and always, a relational activity. The marks of this can be found on the endpapers and title pages of books, where successive generations of bibliographical observers can often be found agreeing and disagreeing with each other on the status of a particular text. These notes, and bibliographical research, were taken very seriously. The stakes can be seen in a note of 1720, in which Hearne wrote to Rawlinson to return a box of books on "Godfrey's wagon," a carrier from Oxford to London, informing him that:

*You will find Memorandums at ye Beginning of each, signifying that I borrow'd them of you, and that I have read them over. Posterity will thereby judge, when you and I are retir'd to our Graves, that I am indebted upon this Account to you.*⁷

Rawlinson started to collect when he was a child. Hearne relates how his

friend's career as a collector began at Eton, when his grandfather left him an annuity of £14 to buy books,

*which he not only fully expended,...but indeed laid out his whole fortune this way, so as to acquire a collection of books both for number and value, hardly to be equalled by any one study in England, which was what really run him aground, and brought him at last into so much trouble.*⁸

After the death of his father in 1708, and his inheritance of the family fortune, Rawlinson gave up any pretense of practicing law and devoted himself to collecting. His letters to Hearne show the energy with which he accumulated, read, and shared early English texts, in print and manuscript. As William Oldys noted (with characteristic acidity), Rawlinson outgrew his four rooms at Gray's Inn and by 1716 had moved himself and his collections to London House, the palace of the Bishop of London, on Aldersgate Street. Here he continued in his "covetousness" of books until bankruptcy drove him to the first of the sales of his collection. "And as he lived so he died," wrote Oldys, "in his bundles, piles, and bulwarks of paper, in dust and cobwebs."⁹

Collation was a religious exercise before it became bibliographical. When Thomas James, keeper of the Bodleian Library, proposed a collation project in 1607, it was to compare print and manuscript editions of Protestant works to ensure textual accuracy. James emphasized the corruption of Protestant texts and the necessity of the comparative

project of collation for “reformation of the ancient Fathers Workes, by Papists sundrie wayes depraved.”¹⁰ In James’s plan, six Divinity students were to compare copies of the most recent printed works with multiple manuscript copies, “truely relating and reporting the differences of the written Copies of or from the printed Bookes.”¹¹

Similarly, a politically charged theological program underpinned collation in the early eighteenth century. Rawlinson’s religious and political views lay at the heart of his collecting. He was a nonjuror, a supporter of the Stuart cause who refused to swear the oath of allegiance to the Crown, “being a perfect hater of all new-fangled doctrines” (as Hearne, a fellow nonjuror, described it).¹² Like many nonjurors, Rawlinson left university without a degree so that he would not have to swear the official oaths. Many of his friends were also nonjurors. Others wished only to sidestep political differences, something made more difficult by Rawlinson’s habit, as Hearne described it, of “twitting” his friends, turning the same observant eye on his colleagues that he brought to the comparison of editions.

Thomas Rawlinson’s brother, Richard, was a bishop in the nonjuring church, the parallel church consisting of the bishops who had refused to swear the oath of allegiance at the succession of William and Mary. Richard was also a collector, and the papers of many of the bibliographers and antiquarians of the nonjuring church survive because he sought them out after their owners’ deaths. Thomas

Rawlinson’s collections survive because of his brother, who bought his books at sale and continued to build the collection after he had recovered the family fortune from the near bankruptcy to which Thomas’s collections, and indifference, had brought it.

The Rawlinson family library, like those of other private and institutional collectors, was a working collection. Its governing principle was to establish an idea of completeness, to gather as much as possible in order to be able to frame an understanding of the bibliographic entirety. Like the Elizabethan scholars working to establish the origins of the English Church, Rawlinson and his peers were concerned with questions of textual precedent, of historical example, of proof that their analysis of the religious and political situation was correct. The perfect copy was one whose text matched perfectly with a perfectly authoritative textual source. Perfection, in the collated and perfect copy, centered for the most part on a textual ideal.

III.

By the nineteenth century, as private collections like those of Richard Rawlinson had been acquired by university and public repositories, a few collections had begun to serve as the basis for bibliographical efforts: the British Museum (now British Library), Cambridge University Library, and Oxford's Bodleian Library, among others. The librarians in these collections were pivotal figures in bibliographical scholarship.

Bibliographers turned to related disciplines for their thoughts on bibliographical methodology. Through the nineteenth century in Britain, they worked alongside antiquarian and natural historical collectors, who were also engaged in the larger project of collecting and cataloging

the artifactual and textual specimens of British history. Scholars like William Stukeley (1687–1765), who gathered observations on Stonehenge, were also textual scholars, evaluating the authenticity of early texts and compiling textual precedents and sources (fig. 8).¹³

For Henry Bradshaw, librarian of the University of Cambridge collections, natural history provided the organizing methodology for bibliographical research. In spring of 1870, Bradshaw can be found writing one of many letters to Winter Jones, librarian of the British Museum, describing his earnest wish for better cataloging of the museum's fifteenth-century books:

*I have been at work for years trying to reduce the matter to a more scientific basis; to be able to look at the treatment of these books from a natural-history point of view—and here your own little blue lists of genera in the zoological department have been of material service to me—my object being to avoid the enormous amount of talk which has for years past been associated with descriptions of early-printed books and, by putting facts side by side in their natural order, to let facts speak for themselves.*¹⁴

Bradshaw's methodology represents a radical contrast with the work of scholars like Thomas Rawlinson and Thomas Hearne. Bradshaw used collation to establish a textual norm. Rather than a



Fig. 8. William Stukeley, "A peep into the sanctum sanctorum," 1724, from an album of engravings assembled by Stukeley, based on his drawings (1750). Osborn fc166

necessarily perfect text, the perfect copy was a perfect specimen, an exemplar of the characteristic features and structure of the work.

Bradshaw's insistence on the taxonomic nature of books—their philosophical status as specimens, capable of reduction to an established form—underpinned his approach to bibliographical description. As Paul Needham has shown, Bradshaw pioneered the analysis of a codex's structure as one of the principal bodies of evidence of its construction as a textual object. In doing so, Bradshaw articulated the idea of the "collational formula," the descriptive statement of the order and grouping of sheets within a codex.¹⁵ Bradshaw's "method" of description profoundly influenced several subsequent generations of literary scholars, as Thomas Tanselle has observed. Collational description became a surrogate for the analysis of the textual object as empirical specimen.

While Bradshaw worked on European books of the fifteenth century, and with the wide-ranging collections of the university library, it was as a scholar of Chaucer that he was most influential. Bradshaw's *The Skeleton of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales* (1868) represents his effort to reduce the manuscripts of Chaucer to a reliable taxonomy, to transform these texts into the recognizable outlines of genus and species, the anatomical skeleton on display in the scientific lecture hall.

IV.

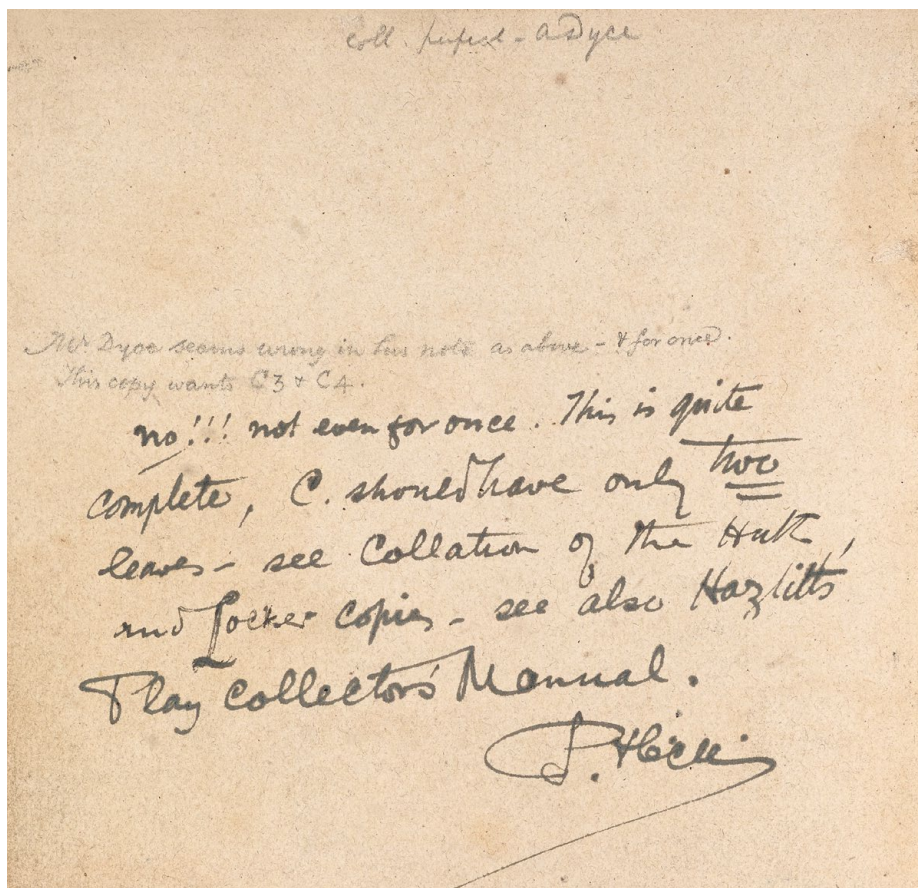
Thomas Nashe, *A Pleasant Comedie, called Summers last will and Testament* (1600; fig. 9). A², B–H⁴ (less C₃, C₄), I² A¹ wanting, probably blank. (A₂) Title, v. blank. B 'SVMMERS last will and Testament.' R–T. Summers last will | and Testament.

Thomas Nashe (1567–1601) was the focus of the literary scholar and bibliographer Ronald McKerrow (1872–1940). According to his friend and fellow bibliographer W.W. Greg, McKerrow's greatest achievement lay in "placing the editing of English literature upon a scientific basis."¹⁶ McKerrow published a five-volume edition of Nashe's work between 1904 and 1910. In the first volume, in the first line of the first chapter, McKerrow introduced the concept of the "copy-text," or the text that the publisher or editor used as the basis of his or her work. McKerrow gave a succinct definition of copy-text as "the text used in each particular case as the basis of mine."¹⁷

In 1927 McKerrow published *An Introduction to Bibliography for Literary Students*, one of the first statements of the principles of bibliographical description. McKerrow introduced bibliographical analysis as the study of the material structure of the text, focused on a few discrete material units: the codex, in manuscript or print, formed by the sheet of paper, folded into a signature or gathering. Collation was the process of examination of this structure, to determine what might be learned about the circumstances of textual production.

For McKerrow, the exemplar acts as the fossil remains, marking the circumstances of production. Close examination of these material remains might offer the possibility of discerning an originating text, the copy-text, which served as the source for the printed fossil. As Margreta de Grazia has observed, this immaterial presence, the originating and possibly authorial copy-text, is the persistent, otherworldly sighting in the scholarship of the New Bibliography.¹⁸

Fig. 9. "Coll. Perfect": a note by the literary scholar Alexander Dyce on the front endpaper of Thomas Nashe, *A Pleasant Comedie, called Summers last will and Testament* (London: Simon Stafford, 1600). Beinecke 1977 2706. A later commentator has corrected Dyce, in a penciled note below, observing that Dyce was mistaken. Below this, a further commentator: "No!!! Not even for once."



V.

William Shakespeare, *Hamlet* (1604).
Second edition, earlier title. Title, 1 leaf;
B–N⁴; O²; total, 51 leaves. O² is wrongly
marked G². Type-page, 6 7/16 x 4 13/16 in.

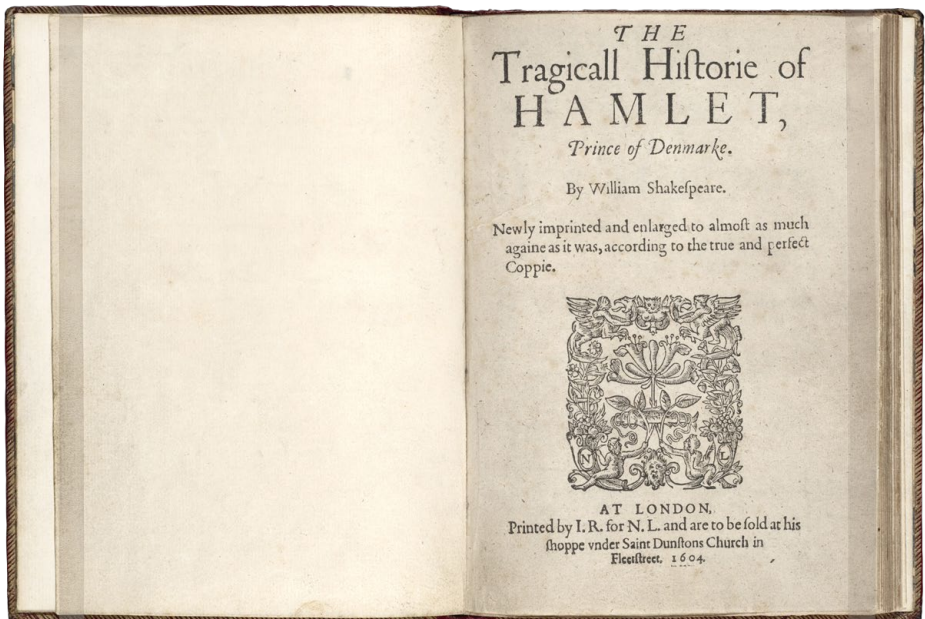
The copy-text stands like a ghost behind the 1604 *Hamlet*.¹⁹ The title page of *The Tragickall Historie of Hamlet, Prince of Denmarke* introduces it as an already historical text: written by William Shakespeare, printed “according to the true and perfect Coppie” (fig. 10). In its 1604 state, it is already altered from another, earlier iteration, “enlarged to almost as much againe as it was.”

In the twentieth century, the 1604 quarto edition was defined by its differences from an earlier text. The Yale University Library catalog record

identifies the work as “the first authoritative edition of the play, the first quarto of 1603 being a shortened version of the text, different in many ways, and possibly a surreptitious publication.” The record names it as an instance of STC 22276, STC being the acronym for *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books printed in England, Scotland, and Ireland and of English books printed abroad, 1475–1640* (1926), edited by Gilbert Redgrave and his colleague, the literary scholar and bibliographer A.W. Pollard.

In 1909 Pollard published *Shakespeare Folios and Quartos: A Study in the Bibliography of Shakespeare's Plays*,

Fig. 10. William Shakespeare, *Hamlet* (London: I.R., 1604). Elizabethan Club, Yale University. Eliz 168



1594–1685. The work draws on bibliographical examination to address the uncertainty inherent in Heminges and Condell's description of the "diuerse stolne, and surreptitious copies, maimed, and deformed by the frauds and stealthes of iniurious impostors." Pollard enlists the material description of the quarto and folio texts as one form of evidence, alongside other documentary evidence from the Stationers' Register and elsewhere, from which a relationship might be discerned between the copy-texts for the quarto and folio editions of the plays. "All the evidence available from external sources, or which can be extracted from the plays themselves, has been brought together," Pollard writes,

and we have now to consider whether this evidence points to all the Shakespeare quartos being tainted more or less indiscriminately with piracy and surreptitiousness, or whether it is possible to distinguish between some quartos and others, and to offer any solid reason for treating some as piratical and surreptitious, and others as genuine and honestly obtained. The question is of great importance for Shakespeare's text,...[as] if we condemn these quartos...we are committing ourselves to the assertion that the editors of the First Folio set up their text in part from the very editions which they condemned in their preface.²⁰

Piratical or honestly obtained; derived from texts condemned by the first editors: these are the charged categories that Pollard attached to bibliographical

evidence. Collation, as a measure of textual completeness or perfection, also situated a work within a moral context.

Pollard's conclusion was that, of the nineteen quarto play-texts published before 1623, five were considered "by universal consent thoroughly bad": the first edition of *Romeo and Juliet*; *Henry V*; *The Merry Wives of Windsor*; the first quarto edition of *Hamlet*; and *Pericles*.²¹ The remaining quarto texts, he argued, could be considered reliable. "The family has no single black sheep in it," he wrote: "there seems no reason for denying to this group of fourteen editions some such humble but not disreputable origin."²²

Pollard's theory of "good" and "bad" quarto texts brought the material book into relationship with an originating moment of creation. As Zachary Lesser observed, "By dividing the quartos into 'good' and 'bad,' depending on whether they were authorized by the players, Pollard had begun the process of identifying Shakespeare with the agency behind the publication of Q2."²³ Pollard broached the possibility of a connection with an author, and the role of the printed text as mediating influence—barrier or portal—between the author's intended text and its instantiation through the mechanical and human interventions of the press.

VI.

Christopher Marlowe, *The Tragical Historie of the Life and Death of Doctor Faustus* (1631; fig. 11). A–H⁴.

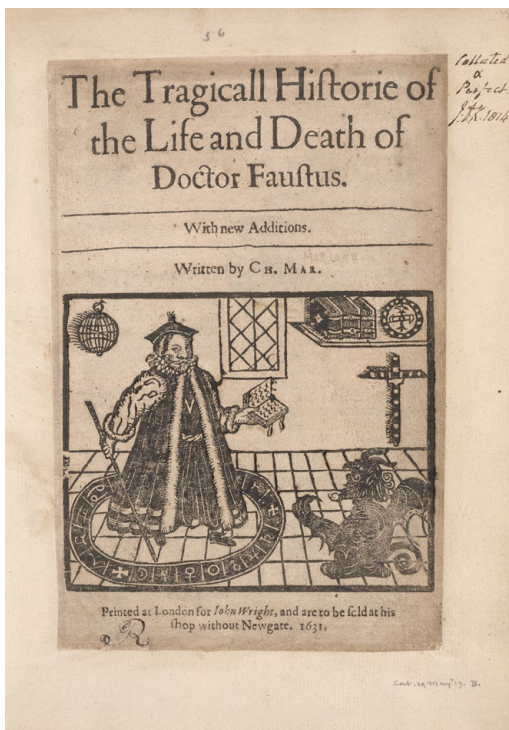
Natural history, and the scientific, became a powerful organizing metaphor for the proponents of bibliography in the early twentieth century. Henry Bradshaw was singled out by W.W. Greg in his 1912 paper for the Bibliographical Society as “the one man in whose hands bibliography had become an exact science.” For Greg, to be an exact science meant not simply to describe, but to be able to produce an overarching theoretical explanation.

Following Bradshaw’s own metaphor of bibliography as natural history, Greg argued that “you may name and classify the colours of your sweet peas and produce nothing but a florist’s catalogue; it is only when you begin grouping them according to their genetic origin that you will arrive at Mendel’s formula.”²⁴ Mere description contrasts with overarching theory, for Greg, as the collector’s or cataloger’s collation compares with bibliographical taxonomy.

This method, crucially, hinged on the idea of the perfect copy. In his influential 1934 paper, “A Formulary of Collation,” Greg introduces the idea of collating signature structures as the best way to identify the structure of the codex, “and so give the necessary information for detecting imperfect copies.”²⁵ This “ideally perfect” copy acts as a standard against which other, potentially imperfect iterations of a text can be evaluated.

The perfect copy did not at all imply the perfect copy-text. In his draft toward a lecture, held in Greg’s papers in the Beinecke, Greg explains the likelihood of an imperfect text to his audience:

Fig. 11. Christopher Marlow, *The Tragical Historie of the Life and Death of Doctor Faustus*, with John Philip Kemble’s collector’s note (see fig. 1, p. 2). The bulk of Kemble’s collection was acquired by William Cavendish, 6th Duke of Devonshire, and is now at the Huntington Library. A section of the collection was sold at auction on January 26, 1821, by Evans of Pall Mall, London. See “John Philip Kemble,” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.



It follows, that often there may never have existed what we should call a perfect text of a play: the author may not even have aimed at finality, and so far as something of the sort was achieved in the prompt-book, goodness knows to whose hand we may owe it.

In an insert added later, a long blue arrow connecting it from the margin to his text, Greg concludes: "Thus we see that the text of a play may differ considerably, according to the nature of the manuscript that happened to come into the printer's hands."²⁶ This was the textual problem Greg faced in his work on Christopher Marlowe's *The Tragical Historie of Doctor Faustus*, for which he produced both a critical analysis and a parallel-text edition of the play, publishing the 1604 and 1616 editions of the play alongside each other.

VII.

Charlton Hinman, *The First Folio of Shakespeare, prepared by Charlton Hinman* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1968). xxvii, 928 pages.

"OUR immortal BARD" was summoned from the grave in the early nineteenth century by the London printer Luke Hansard. "Shakespeare's Ghost!," a broadside of textual excerpts from Shakespeare's patriotic speeches, mustered England's poet to the aid of his countrymen in the campaign against Napoleon (fig. 12).²⁷ Shakespeare, "who was as good an ENGLISHMAN as a POET," was given to his wartime readers as an assemblage, a collation of texts.

Collation, and the collation of Shakespeare in particular, was informed by the Second World War as it had been by the Napoleonic. A generation of bibliographers was influenced by the work of Fredson Bowers and his colleagues and Shakespearean scholars Charlton Hinman, Giles Dawson, and Ray Hummel, who together worked for the U.S. Navy as cryptographers decoding Japanese cipher in WWII.²⁸ After the war, Hinman drew on his career in cryptanalysis to develop a machine for mechanical collation.²⁹ "My collator *is* a rather impressive gadget," Hinman said, in a talk at the University of Kansas in October 1960. "But what, after

Fig. 12. "Shakespeare's Ghost!" (London: Luke Hansard, ca. 1803). Beinecke BrSides Folio 2000 4

Shakespeare's Ghost!

O UR immortal BARD,—who was as good an ENGLISHMAN as a POET; whose Breast glowed as much with Enthusiastic LOVE OF HIS COUNTRY, as his Fancy with Poetic Fire,—addresses his COUNTRYMEN in the following animated Strain :

BRITONS!

BE STIRRING AS THE TIME; BE FIRE WITH FIRE,
Threaten the Threatener, and out-face the brow
Of bragging horror; so shall inferior eyes,
That borrow their behaviours from the great,
Grow great by your example, and put on
THE DAUNTLESS SPIRIT OF RESOLUTION.
Away; and glister like the God of War
When he intendeth to become the field :
Shew boldness, and aspiring confidence.
What! SHALL THEY SEEK THE LION IN HIS DEN?
AND FRIGHT HIM THERE; AND MAKE HIM TREMBLE THERE?
OH, LET IT NOT BE SAID!—Forage, and run
To meet displeasure farther from the doors;
AND GRAPPLE WITH HIM, BE HE COME SO NIGH.—
—Shall we, upon the footing of our Land,
Send fair-play orders, and make compromise,
Insinuation, parley, and base truce
To Arms Invasive? Shall a —————
————— brave our fields,
And flash his spirit in a warlike soil,
Mocking the air with colours idly spread,
And find no check?—LET US TO ARMS!

Now on, you NOBLEST ENGLISH,
Whose blood is set, From Fathers of war-proof
Fathers, that, like so many Alexanders,
Have on French soil from morn till even fought,
And sheath'd their swords for lack o' argument.—
Dishonour not your Mothers: now attest,
That those, whom you call'd Fathers, did beget you.
Be copy now to men of grosser blood,
And teach them how to war. AND YOU GOOD YEOMEN,
Whose Limbs were made in ENGLAND, shew us now
The metal of your Pasture: Let us know
That you are worth your breeding, which I doubt not:
For there is none of you so mean and low
That hath not noble lustre in your eyes;
I see you stand like Greyhounds in the slips,
Straining upon the start. THE GAME'S A-FOOT;
FOLLOW YOUR SPIRIT; and, upon this Charge,
Cry God for Us! For ENGLAND! and KING GEORGE.

BRITONS!

THIS ENGLAND NEVER DID (NOR NEVER SHALL)
LIE AT THE PROUD FOOT OF A CONQUEROR,
But when it first doth help to wound itself.—

—Let come three corners of the World in Arms,
And we shall shock them: NOUGHT SHALL MAKE US RUE,
IF ENGLAND TO ITSELF DO REST BUT TRUE.

SHAKESPEARE often delights us on the Stage in the Hour of Amusement,—let him now in the HOUR OF PERIL inspire us with that PATRIOTISM and COURAGE which animated our Forefathers to those DEEDS OF GLORY which he describes.—SHAKESPEARE now speaks in the Character of A TRUE ENGLISHMAN and A STURDY JOHN BULL, indignant that a FRENCH ARMY should WAGE WAR IN OUR ISLE: And in the Character of the heroic Harry the Fifth, who led our Forefathers to DEEDS OF GLORY in the HEART OF FRANCE—Deeds which no Achievements have yet excelled, and which will ever honour our National Character, unless ECLIPSED BY OUR WANT OF SPIRIT. Shall France, who acknowledged this Prince their Lord, now impose her Yoke upon Us? Need it be told that, led by His Royal Hero, an intrepid Band of Twelve Thousand Men, encountered and vanquished a Mighty Host of Sixty Thousand?—These courageous Men were BRITONS.—Who are BRITONS?—Let, then, all who claim that Title, and whose Veins flow with BRITISH BLOOD, emulate the ARDOUR, the COURAGE, the GLORY of the ANCESTOR, and strive to perceive that Renown for their POSTERITY, which the HEROES of AGINCOURT and CRESSY have transmitted to us.—AND MAY WE EQUALLY DESERVE THE ADMIRATION OF AFTER-AGES!

Like Hazlet, From, Green Trenches, English's-son Field, London.

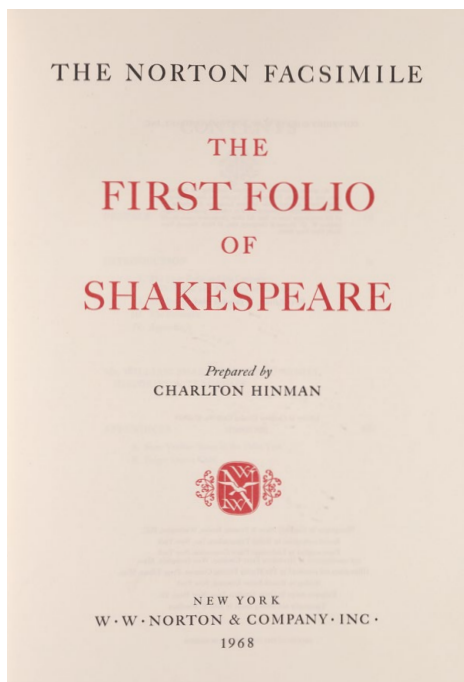


Fig. 13. Charlton Hinman, *The First Folio of Shakespeare*, prepared by Charlton Hinman (New York: W.W. Norton, 1968). Beinecke lg 11 +968

all, is it for? What can you *do* with such a machine?" Hinman's answer to that question was that,

*of course...you can collate with it. You can try to discover differences—even very minute differences—between documents that are theoretically identical; between, for example, different copies of the First Folio of Shakespeare.*³⁰

For Hinman, textual variation between copies acted as a kind of signal, through which moments of difference could be

observed in the production of the First Folio as a text. Hinman was particularly interested in tracking the proofreading of the printed text of the First Folio. Like the work of the compositor, that of the proofreader worked as an intervention, another mediation of an original text in its transformation from manuscript into print.

In 1968 Hinman published a facsimile edition of the First Folio (fig. 13), drawing on the eighty copies held in the collections of the Folger Shakespeare Library in Washington, D.C. Using his collator, Hinman had laboriously compared these copies, in the process identifying several corrected proof sheets for the First Folio's publication.³¹ Hinman's edition was an assemblage, rather than an instantiation of a single extant copy. He exerted his editorial judgment to choose—and reproduce in facsimile—the most perfect example of each leaf. The Hinman edition therefore does not exist in any single copy: it is a mechanically examined, mechanically reproduced iteration of an ideal.

Mechanical collation, and the machine-read difference, was one answer to the problem of textual disparity. The machine-readable text presents its own challenge to Greg's understanding of bibliography's concern with "pieces of paper or parchment covered with written or printed signs." It offered a response to William Thynne's question, in 1532, on how to address the problem of "contrarieties" and "alteracions" between texts, the stolen, surreptitious, maimed, and deformed copies that together made up England's textual heritage.

Notes

- 1 Geoffrey Chaucer, *The Workes of Geffray Chaucer newly printed, with dyuers workes whiche were neuer in print before*, ed. William Thynne (London: Thomas Godfray, 1532), A2v.
- 2 John Leland, *The laboryouse journey & serche of Johan Leylande, for Englandes antiquitees*, ed. John Bale (London: John Bale, 1549), sig. C1r.
- 3 Alfred W. Pollard, *Shakespeare Folios and Quartos: A Study in the Bibliography of Shakespeare's Plays, 1594–1685* (London: Methuen and Company, 1909), 1.
- 4 “To the great Variety of Readers,” in William Shakespeare, *Mr. William Shakespeares comedies, histories, & tragedies: Published according to the True Originall Copies* (London: Isaac Iaggard, Edward Blount, et al., 1623), A3r.
- 5 Seymour De Ricci, *English Collectors of Books and Manuscripts (1530–1930) and Their Marks of Ownership* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1930), 46.
- 6 Nov 15, 1719. Cited in *Remarks and Collections of Thomas Hearne*, vol. 7 (Oxford Historical Society, 1906), 65.
- 7 May 12, 1719, Hearne to Thomas Rawlinson, cited from Bodleian Library Rawlinson MS 34, f. 46. Cited in *Remarks and Collections of Thomas Hearne*, vol. 7, p. 7. Godfrey was Thomas Godfrey, who ran a carrier to the Oxford Arms, Warwick Lane, London. See *Remarks and Collections of Thomas Hearne*, vol. 10 (1915), 292.
- 8 *Reliquiae Hearnianae: The Remains of Thomas Hearne*, vol. 2, ed. Philip Bliss (London: John Russell Smith, 1869), 228.
- 9 *A Literary Antiquary. Memoir of William Oldys*, ed. James Yeowell (London: Spottiswoode & Co., 1862), 101.
- 10 Thomas James, *The Humble Supplication of Thomas Iames Student in Diuinitie and Keeper of the Publike Librarie at Oxford, for Reformation of the Ancient Fathers Workes, by Papists Sundrie Wayes Depraued* (London: John Windet, 1607).
- 11 Ibid.
- 12 *Reliquiae Hearnianae*, 229.
- 13 On Stukeley's antiquarian and historical work, and his authentication of the forged Richard of Cirencester manuscript, see Stuart Piggott, *William Stukeley: An Eighteenth-Century Antiquary*, rev. ed. (London: Thames and Hudson, 1985); Piggott, “William Stukeley: New Facts and an Old Forgery,” *Antiquity* 60 (1986): 115–22; and David Boyd Haycock, *William Stukeley: Science, Religion, and Archaeology in Eighteenth-Century England* (Woodbridge, UK: The Boydell Press, 2002).
- 14 Quoted in “Henry Bradshaw,” *The Library Chronicle: A Journal of Librarianship and Bibliography* 5, ed. Ernest C. Thomas (London: J. Davy & Sons, 1888): 182.
- 15 “But every codex, whether manuscript, printed, or blockbook, has or originally had a definable structure of conjugate (and on occasion nonconjugate) leaves. Bradshaw realized, from a very early stage of his bibliographical investigations, that the determination of this structure, and of its relation to the text or texts of the codex, is perhaps the very first thing one needs to know in order to pursue further questions of how the book or edition came into existence.” Bradshaw's notes were for the most part unpublished and are held in his papers at Cambridge University Library. Paul Needham, *The Bradshaw Method: Henry Bradshaw's Contribution to Bibliography* (Chapel Hill: Hanes Foundation, Rare Book Collection, University Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1988), 10.

- 16 *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.
- 17 Thomas Nashe, *The Works of Thomas Nashe*, vol. 1, ed. Ronald B. McKerrow (London: A.H. Bullen, 1904), xi.
- 18 Margreta de Grazia, "The Essential Shakespeare and the Material Book," *Textual Practice* 2 (1988): 69–86.
- 19 See Zachary Lesser, *"Hamlet" after Q1: An Uncanny History of the Shakespearean Text* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015).
- 20 Pollard, *Shakespeare Folios and Quartos*, 64.
- 21 *Ibid.*, 79.
- 22 *Ibid.*, 80.
- 23 Lesser, *"Hamlet" after Q1*, 61.
- 24 Walter Wilson Greg, "What is Bibliography," *Transactions of the Bibliographical Society* 12 (1914): 40.
- 25 W.W. Greg, "A Formulary of Collation," *The Library*, 4th ser., 14, no. 4 (March 1934): 365.
- 26 Walter Wilson Greg, "The Elements of Textual Criticism in Shakespeare's Plays," OSB MSS 162, Box 6, Folder 2, p. 3.
- 27 "Shakespeare's Ghost!" (London: Luke Hansard, ca. 1803). BrSides Folio 2000 4.
- 28 Alan Galey, "Networks of Deep Impression: Shakespeare and the History of Information," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 61 (2018): 297. See also G. Thomas Tanselle, "The Life and Work of Fredson Bowers," *Studies in Bibliography* 46 (1993): 1–154.
- 29 Steven Escar Smith, "'The Eternal Verities Verified': Charlton Hinman and the Roots of Mechanical Collation," *Studies in Bibliography* 53 (2000): 136.
- 30 Charlton Hinman, "Six Variant Readings in the First Folio of Shakespeare," University of Kansas Library Series, no. 13 (1961), 3.
- 31 Charlton Hinman, *The Printing and Proof-reading of the First Folio of Shakespeare* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963), 1:8.

Perfect

Aaron T. Pratt

Harry Ransom Center

The University of Texas at Austin

THE
WOUNDS
of Ciuill VVar.

*collated
perfect
1671*
Lively set forth in the true Tragedies of *Marinus and Scilla.*

As it hath beene publicquely plaide in London,
by the Right Honourable the Lord high
Admirall his Seruants.

Written by *Thomas Lodge* Gent.

O Vita! misero longa, felici brevis.
First Edition.



LONDON,

Printed by Iohn Danter, and are to be sold
at the signe of the Sunne in Paules
Church-yarde,

1594.

Cat 18 My 17
m

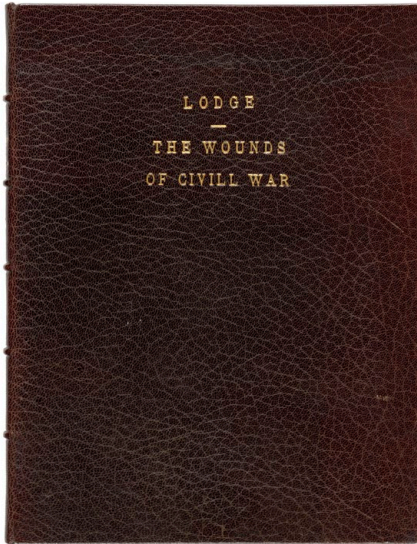
I.

The Ransom Center's copy of Thomas Lodge's play *The Wounds of Ciuill War* (1594) is a perfect book. Perfect, at least, according to John Philip Kemble. He was the English actor who owned the playbook in 1798 and inscribed the title page with his initials, the year, and what was by then a standard formula used by collectors, the one that gives the title to this pamphlet and the associated exhibition: "Collated & Perfect" (fig. 14; see also fig. 2, p. 2). By 1820, when he sold his collection to William Cavendish, Duke of Devonshire, Kemble had amassed around 3,500–4,000 printed playbooks—and, beyond them, a collection of manuscript plays and printed playbills. In 1914 Henry E. Huntington purchased the Kemble-Devonshire collection, which had ballooned to more than 7,500 playbooks thanks to additions at Chatsworth House, the Devonshire seat.¹ Huntington then went on to sell off hundreds as duplicates of editions he acquired from other sources.² But while they are now widely dispersed across collections both institutional and private, Kemble playbooks remain readily identifiable. For one, title pages tend to retain his "Collated & Perfect" ink inscription. Most immediately distinctive, though, is the fact that the leaves in his playbooks have been trimmed down to the printed text and inlaid into a larger piece of paper—a

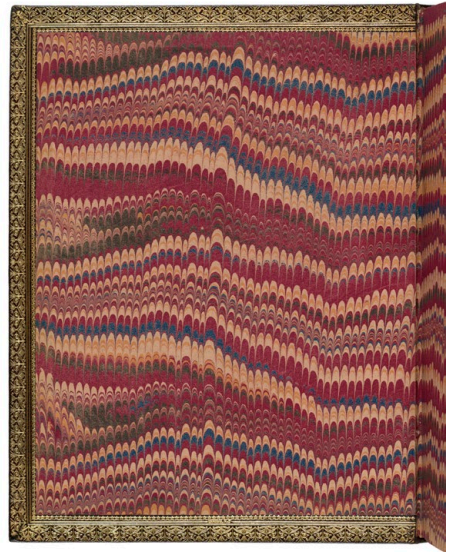
newer, whiter one. Kemble's *The Wounds of Ciuill War*, which came to the Ransom Center as part of the Carl H. Pforzheimer Library, provides an especially striking example: while Kemble usually trimmed all leaves in a given playbook to a uniform and rectangular shape, the title page of this one has been cut down more aggressively. The cuts largely follow the contours of the text and printer's device, with very little of the page's original negative space retained.

Today, Kemble playbooks outside of the Huntington Library—especially the Elizabethan and Jacobean ones—are often encountered as stand-alone copies in what have been cheekily called "morocco liveries," as individually bound books featuring colored goatskin leather covers, gilt titling, marbled endpapers, gilt turn-ins, and gilt leaf edges.³ English and American bibliophiles of the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries tended to prefer this style for books they valued, and a high percentage of the early English literature that survives went through their hands, making bindings along these lines standard dress for the works of Shakespeare and his contemporaries. In the particular case of the Lodge volume, the current binding was executed by the esteemed Paris firm of Georges Canape and dates from around the time the playbook made its way to Pforzheimer via private sale.⁴ While its covers may appear austere, the quality of the materials and work both indicate a binding at the luxurious end of the spectrum (figs. 15 & 16). It is simultaneously fancy and altogether typical.

Fig. 14. Thomas Lodge, *The Wounds of Ciuill War* (London: John Danter, 1594; STC 16678), sig. A1r. Harry Ransom Center Pforz 624



When Kemble owned *The Wounds of Ciuill War*, though, it did not look like this. Instead, it was combined with a half dozen or so other playbooks in a single binding. Bibliographers refer to such volumes as *sammelbände*, or bound collections.⁵ All of Kemble's stand-alone playbooks were in sets of this kind, and most at the Huntington remain that way, a fact that helps explain why they look the way they do today, even when encountered individually. In trimming and inlaying leaves, part of Kemble's goal—probably the main one—was to make his copies the same size for the purpose of binding them together. A continuation from the medieval tradition of producing manuscript miscellanies, the creation of *sammelbände* was common from the earliest years of European print until right around (or right after) the time Kemble was collecting. In England, volumes dedicated to playbooks start to



appear in quantity by the early decades of the seventeenth century, and the main reason for making these and others was simple: binding in sets was a lot cheaper than binding individually. When the constituent publications were slim ones like playbooks, it also had the benefit of producing substantial volumes out of insubstantial ones; *sammelbände* could stand upright on a shelf without support and were less likely to be misplaced. Another probable purpose of trimming and inlaying in Kemble's case was to remove parts of the paper that had been damaged. By the time he was collecting at the end of the eighteenth century, print specialists and bookbinders had begun to develop sophisticated (but not always safe) methods for cleaning paper, but the techniques available for closing tears and filling losses paled in comparison to those possible a century later: completely removing margins, as Kemble did,

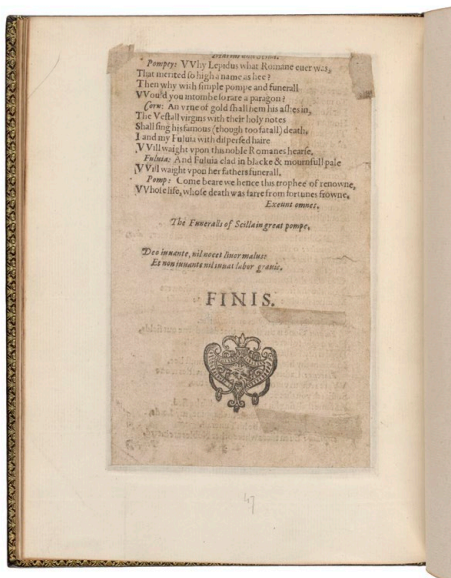


Fig. 15. Lodge, *The Wounds of Ciuill War* (see fig. 14), front cover

Fig. 16. Lodge, *The Wounds of Ciuill War* (see fig. 14), front pastedown and turn-ins

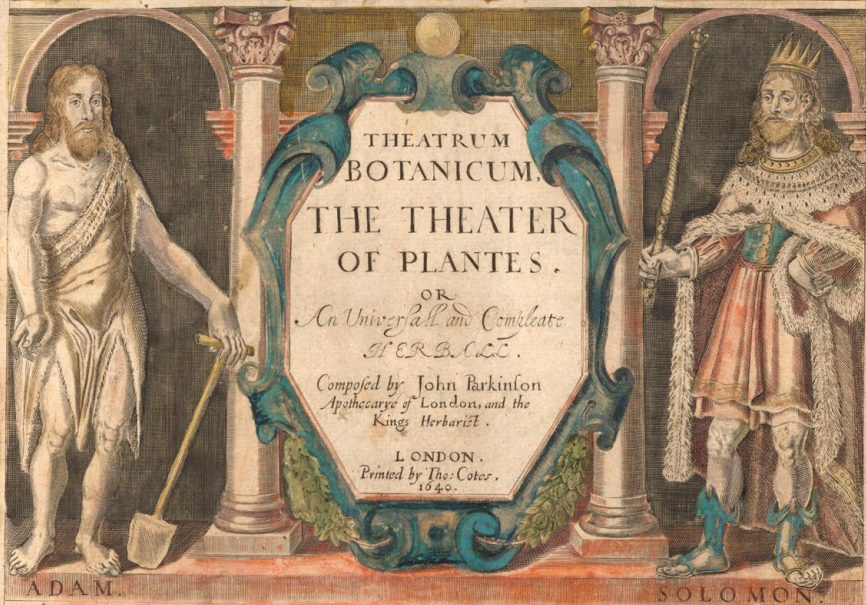
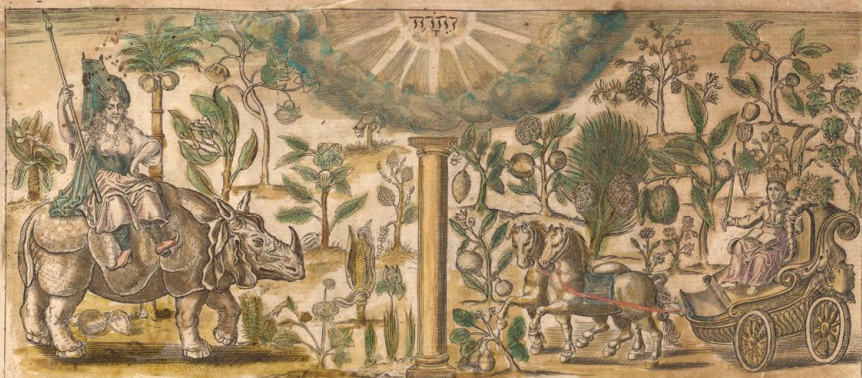
Fig. 17. Lodge, *The Wounds of Ciuill War* (see fig. 14), sig. K3v

obviated most of the need for awkward repairs.⁶ That said, as in the case of *The Wounds of Ciuill War*, it is not uncommon to find patches where damage has nonetheless encroached into the paper that remains (fig. 17).

In writing about the Huntington Library's various collections for the first issue of *The Huntington Library Bulletin* in 1931, George Sherburn described Kemble's volumes as "dismembered" and wrote that his "procedure has insured the perfect preservation of the text, but has impaired the bibliographical value of the editions."⁷ Jeffrey Todd Knight explains: "with each page mounted separately, it is no longer possible to count leaves in gatherings and to produce a collation formula—that is, to trace the printing and binding of the work by anyone other than Kemble himself."⁸ As Kathryn James reminds us in the preceding essay, however, the term "collation" became

associated with books in the context of comparing texts, not in the context of comparing bibliographical objects in the sense Sherburn and Knight write about. That Kemble quite literally excised almost everything except the printed text from his copies tells us that it was content that interested him, too, and not material integrity in the fullest sense. His collation—like Thomas Rawlinson's, William Thynne's, and others' before him—was not the Anglo-American bibliographer's.

As it turns out, *The Wounds of Ciuill War* does not even retain all of its original leaves. In the printed catalog of the Pforzheimer Library, the book's collation reads: "A–K⁴ (the last, a blank, lacking)."⁹ Perhaps in part out of deference to Pforzheimer, who had the three-volume catalog privately printed at his expense, the catalogers, Emma Unger and William Jackson, were not quite willing to call the copy "imperfect," but it is clear from



the parenthetical qualification that what was perfect to a collector in 1798 had become at least somewhat less than ideal by 1940. At the very least, they believed that having blanks was preferable to not having them: when books do retain the blank leaves that printers regularly left at the beginning and/or end, the catalogers flag them as a point of distinction, as in, for example, a copy of Thomas Dekker and John Webster's *The Famous History of Sir Thomas Wyatt* (1607). Jackson gives its collation as "A–G⁴ (the last, blank and genuine)."¹⁰

Kemble's third quarto of *Hamlet* (1611), now at the Folger Shakespeare Library, offers perhaps the greatest contrast to this later way of thinking. It lacks both an initial blank and the title page, but Kemble has nonetheless inscribed his trademark formula on the white frame surrounding the first page of the play itself: "Collated & Perfect J.P.K. 1814."¹¹ Unsurprisingly, the Folger's online catalog describes it straightforwardly as "Imperfect," as no doubt the Pforzheimer catalog would have. As long as Kemble could read the whole play, though, he was happy. The book—as an object—was perfect as far as he was concerned.

II.

On the 21st of June, 1666, fewer than three months before the Great Fire swept through London, the bookseller Nathaniel Nowell sold a used copy of an herbal, John Parkinson's *Theatrum Botanicum* (1640), for £10. With more than 850 leaves (1,700 pages) in folio, it is a large, heavy volume, and this particular copy is hand-colored throughout (fig. 18). It, like *The Wounds of Ciuill War*, is a perfect book—or at least it was. On that June day in 1666, Nowell guaranteed it in an inscription on a front endleaf (fig. 19), which he probably wrote at his shop in Little Britain in the presence of the buyer: "June y^e 21th 1666 / Sold this Booke to M^r Hanserd / Knollys for tenn pound and / warranted perfect / by me Nathaniell Nowell."

Fig. 18. John Parkinson, *Theatrum Botanicum* (London: Thomas Cotes, 1640; STC 19302), sig. [A]2r. Harry Ransom Center -q- QK 41 P2 copy 1

Fig. 19. Nathaniel Nowell inscription in Parkinson, *Theatrum Botanicum* (see fig. 18), front endleaf (detail)

At the price, the copy of *Theatrum Botanicum* was far from cheap, and it is not hard to imagine that Hanserd Knollys—an important Particular Baptist minister and author of some repute—would want to be sure he had a good copy. Given the book's considerable length, though, it would have been time-consuming for him to determine if anything were wrong with it. Presumably, both of these things are what either prompted Nowell to offer his guarantee or prompted Knollys to request it. Although rebaked more recently, the book remains in an early binding, and it does in fact retain all of its leaves—except for the initial blank, which is missing now and almost certainly was already missing in 1666.

When I recently acquired this volume for the Ransom Center, it was the earliest instance I had seen of “perfect” used in the context of either collecting or the book trade. Thanks to a tip on Twitter and the robust cataloging of the Folger Shakespeare Library, though, I was quickly able to locate others.¹² The earliest, curiously, is in another hand-colored herbal, a 1597 first edition of John Gerard's aptly titled *The Herball, or Generall Historie of Plantes*. On the verso of the volume's final leaf, a London bookseller named Richard Whittaker has written a long note dated the 3rd of December 1632. In it, he records the purchase price of £4 and “warrent[s] this [book] to bee of the last Impression and Perfect.” He then writes that the buyer, a “Mr Caprle,” may exchange it, along with 20 shillings more, for a copy of the next edition when it comes out.¹³ The other

example, an affidavit dated the 21st of June 1664—exactly two years before the Nowell-Knollys inscription—is inside a copy of *The Workes* of John Weemes (1637), a publication that spans four volumes in quarto. Here, a bookseller with the surname Lee writes, “I doe warrant these bookes...to be perfect...in four parts.”¹⁴ Additionally, there is a third, undated warrant of perfection in a Folger *sammelband* containing the two parts of William West's *Symboleography* (1622 and 1627). This book, another quarto, is a single volume containing upwards of 680 leaves.¹⁵ That all three share in common with the Parkinson the fact that they are thick books supports the sense that these guarantees were occasioned by a large number of leaves and an awareness that secondhand copies might be missing one or more of them. By the second quarter of the seventeenth century, then, we find “perfect” applied in a book trade context in a sense that would have been familiar to Kemble.

Of course, “perfect” has been part of the English language for a long time: it goes back through Middle English to Old French and then to Latin, *perfectus*—*per-facere* or “done thoroughly”—and it has long had a wide variety of uses.¹⁶ In early modern writing, it is not hard to find “perfect” applied to books in particular, but most of the time it is meant to communicate approval of a work's content rather than anything about its material manifestations. There are, however, a number of instances that provide a more immediately relevant context for the book trade inscriptions. For example, in

Thomas Middleton's controversial play, *A Game at Chess* (1625), one of the allegorical characters—an anthropomorphized chess piece, the Fat Bishop—asks after a book he has written: "Are my booke Printed pawne, my last invictiues against / Against the blacke-house?" His pawn replies, "Ready for publication: / For I saw perfect bookes this morning (sir)."¹⁷ Here, "perfect" attaches to books in the sense of them having been "completed" or "finished": the Fat Bishop's books were "perfect" when all of the sheets had gone through the press and were gathered into individual copies for distribution. And in Johann Gerhard's *A Golden Chaine of Divine Aphorismes* (1632), published the same year Whittaker sold the 1597 Gerard *Herball*, a commendatory poem by Dove Williamson proclaims, "Each leafe's a perfect book." Here, the emphasis is slightly different and arguably more akin to what we find in the inscriptions: instead of "perfect" serving to signal that the process of producing a book or books has concluded, resulting in complete copies, the adjective tells us more simply that a copy of an existing book includes everything it is supposed to have—that it has been perused and deemed complete. The boast in the poem is that Gerhard's aphorisms are so good that it would be fair to consider each leaf, on its own, as a complete copy of a book. Williamson continues: "Each part's enough, yet not the whole too much."¹⁸ If we go back decades before anything cited thus far, we can find one of the glosses to Spenser's *Shepherd's calender* (1579) in which the elusive annotator, "E.K.,"

mentions that he is in possession of "a perfect copie in wryting [i.e., manuscript]" of a treatise by Sir Thomas Smith.¹⁹

In the examples by Middleton, Williamson, and Spenser's "E.K.," "perfect" means complete, and the application is simultaneously to textual content and material object. Or, perhaps more accurately, the writers apply "perfect" directly to the physical "copie" or "book," but only insofar as they understand the text to be complete. This is almost certainly how Kemble used the word when marking his books, too, and it is in all likelihood—as the missing blank in the Parkinson hints—how the booksellers offering guarantees also understood it, so long as our concept of "the text" is capacious enough to include illustrations and other content. If you are interested in reading, as most were prior to the rise of book collecting as an independent activity in the later seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, there is no need for a different set of evaluative criteria. It was not until the advent of modern bibliography that anyone was ever tasked with turning old books back into (virtual) sheets. Before then, it was almost exclusively the other way around: binders turned sheets into books. Neither reader nor secondhand bookseller had a reason to evaluate the completeness of a book using the criteria we do now, so it should probably come as no surprise that an understanding of content, and not the ins and outs of printing, was the way to do it.²⁰

III.

There are copies of the first edition of Thomas Heywood's comedy *The Wise-woman of Hogsdon* (1638) at the Ransom Center as part of the John Henry Wrenn (figs. 20–22; see also figs. 28 & 29) and the Pforzheimer (figs. 23–26) Libraries. Each could be considered a perfect book. By the criterion of textual completeness, they pass: the title page, which has the dramatis personae on the verso, the play itself, and the commendatory poem on the last page are all there. And there is no problem with their collations as offered in bibliographical formulas, either. Published in 1920, the Wrenn catalog gives its as "Small Quarto, A to I, in Fours" and goes on to specify the contents as I have done.²¹ The collation in Pforzheimer for its copy reads, "A–I⁴; 36 leaves," and a pencil inscription on a rear endleaf confirms that the book is "Coll. + Perft." But despite collating the same—despite collating complete according to these catalogs—the two copies of this playbook are very different.

The Pforzheimer copy of *The Wise Woman of Hogsdon* is an essentially uncomplicated playbook, bibliographically speaking, though it does have a distinguished—albeit recent—pedigree. It has been in a red morocco collectors' binding with marbled endpapers and both gilt and blind-tooled decoration since the early to mid-nineteenth century, when Charles Murton (fl. 1821–40) bound it (fig. 23). And three of its owners before Pforzheimer have applied their leather book labels to the front marbled pastedown (fig. 25):

Beverly Chew (1850–1924), Herschel V. Jones (1861–1928), and John L. Clawson (1865–1933). Between Chew and Jones, the book was owned by Huntington, who sold it off in favor of the Bridgewater copy. Remarkably, in getting from Chew to Pforzheimer, this single copy of *The Wise-woman of Hogsdon* changed hands four times in a span of fewer than fifteen years. And all five owners were American. Chew sold the book along with others to Huntington in 1912; Huntington sold it via auction to Jones through Anderson Galleries in 1918; Jones sold it via auction to Clawson in 1919, also through Anderson Galleries; and Pforzheimer purchased it at the auction of Clawson's library in 1926, which, yet again, was held by Anderson Galleries.²² This period of turnover may have been especially high-paced, but the market in the United States for English literature had grown hot as the country's elite had become wealthy.²³ Moreover, collectors buying at the highest level were often doing so later in life and selling as they either wound down or died or, as in the example of the Chew sale to Huntington, as their collecting interests shifted.

The Wrenn *Hogsdon* is broadly similar in appearance to the Pforzheimer. It is in a collectors' binding of the kind first discussed at the beginning of this essay, but the endpapers are plain rather than marbled and, crucially, it was fashioned by a later generation of artisan than Murton (fig. 20). A stamp on the front turn-in (fig. 22) identifies both binder and owner: "BOUND BY RIVIERE & SON FOR J.H. WRENN." Wrenn, having purchased

the book in 1903, had it bound by the London firm of Riviere and Son. Arguably, the appearance of the printed paper of the Pforzheimer copy is a little worse than what we see in the Wrenn—when judged against the standard of a brand-new modern book, anyway. More grime has accumulated around the title page's margins, for example, and there is damage to the lower margin where an ink inscription or doodle has been effaced (fig. 26). On the other hand, the blank margins in the Pforzheimer are slightly wider, and by the early twentieth century, this mattered to collectors. Still, both are comparatively well-margined copies in good condition: only the hooked top of a single long-s (l) has been cropped from the headline on a single page of the Wrenn copy. But while the Pforzheimer playbook has survived in its present condition due to a succession of careful owners dating back to around 1638, the year of its publication, the Wrenn copy in a very real sense did not even exist prior to 1903 when he bought it. Or, more accurately, it did not exist until Riviere and Son completed their binding.

This is because Wrenn's copy of *The Wise-woman of Hogsdon* is an extreme example of what is often known as a sophisticated book. With tongue in cheek, it could be said that the playbook is sophisticated in the sense we commonly use the term now: the Riviere and Son binding marks it as refined, the kind of book that a cultured gentleman would own, and the act of sophisticating—in the sense meant by bibliographers—is the sort of thing that such cultured

gentlemen did in pursuit of perfect copies. Sophisticating books was, in this way, a sophisticated activity. But although the ultimate origin of “sophisticate” is an Ancient Greek verb meaning to become wise or learned, by the time the word reached English, it had taken on a firmly negative connotation from its association with the so-named sophists, rivals of Plato. In fact, some of its first appearances in English are the ones relevant to its use in a modern book trade context: if a product had been “sophisticated” in late medieval or early modern England, it had been adulterated by mixing in impure or foreign elements. This is more or less what the participle means in a book trade context today. A sophisticated book is one that has been made to pass on the market as a complete book by supplying missing leaves with those from another copy or copies—usually authentic ones from the same edition. Such books are also called “made-up” copies.²⁴ In most examples, only a few missing leaves have been added from a single source. The case of the Wrenn *Hogsdon* and many of Wrenn's other books, though, is far messier.

Wrenn, a Chicago financier, worked with the English bibliophile Thomas James Wise to acquire books for his collection. In 1918, George W. Littlefield, a former Confederate Army officer, purchased Wrenn's collection of some 6,000 volumes of English (and some American) literature for \$225,000 and gave it to the University of Texas. It was the university's first rare book collection. About a decade later, it became clear that Wise had forged a series of

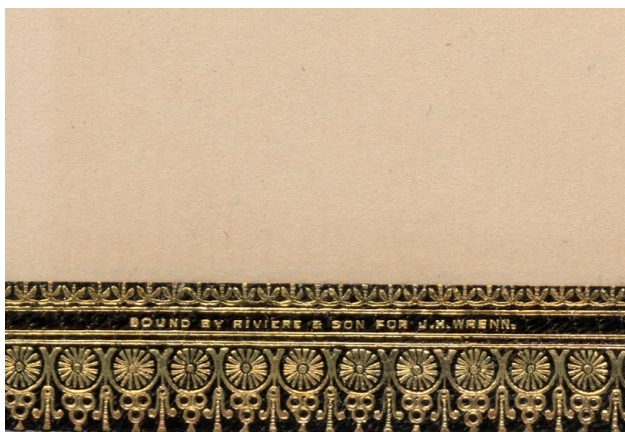
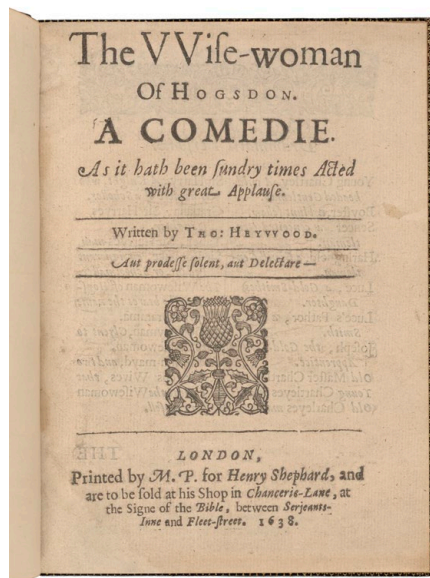
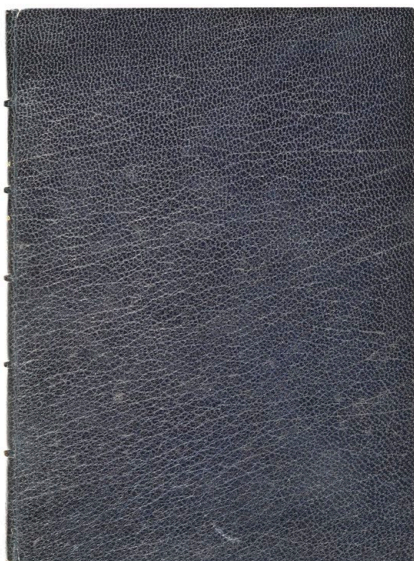


Fig. 20. Thomas Heywood, *The Wise-woman of Hogsdon* (London: Henry Shephard, 1638; STC 13370), front cover. Harry Ransom Center Wh H519 638w

Fig. 21. Heywood, *The Wise-woman of Hogsdon* (see fig. 20), sig. A1r

Fig. 22. Heywood, *The Wise-woman of Hogsdon* (see fig. 20), front turn-in (detail)

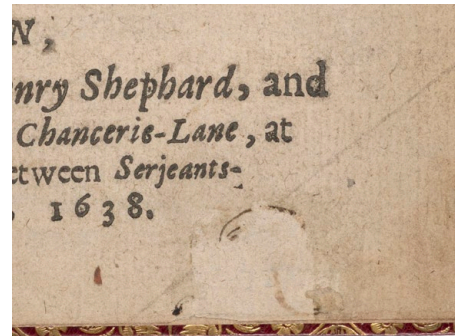
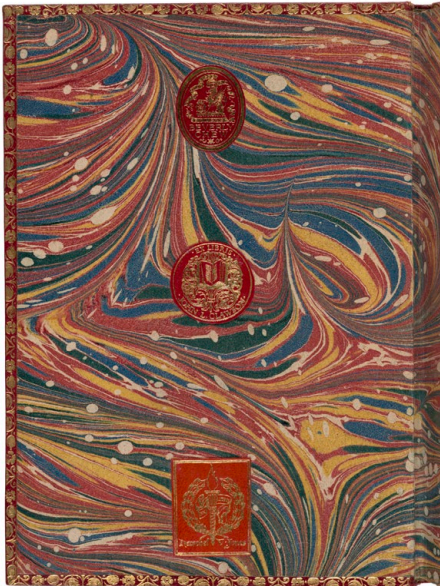
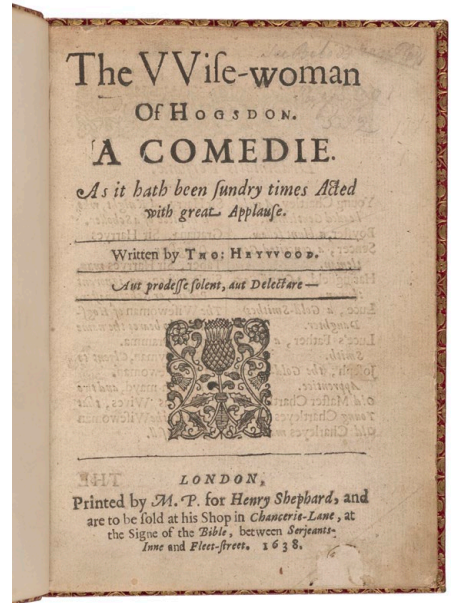
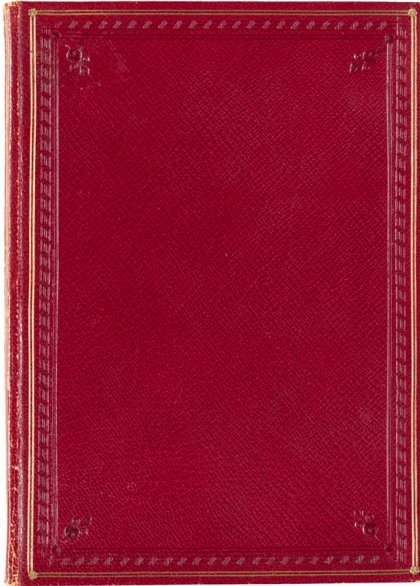


Fig. 23. Thomas Heywood, *The Wise-woman of Hogsdon* (London: Henry Shephard, 1638; STC 13370), front cover. Harry Ransom Center Pforz 487

Fig. 24. Heywood, *The Wise-woman of Hogsdon* (see fig. 23), sig. A1r

Fig. 25. Heywood, *The Wise-woman of Hogsdon* (see fig. 23), front pastedown and turn-ins

Fig. 26. Heywood, *The Wise-woman of Hogsdon* (see fig. 23), sig. A1r (detail)

nineteenth-century pamphlets and was passing them off to collectors as hitherto unattested rarities. The earlier books he sold to Wrenn and others, though, escaped scrutiny until after Wise died in 1937 and his personal collection, known as the Ashley Library, was purchased by the British Museum (now the British Library). In 1956, David Foxon announced to the public that there was “Another Skeleton in Thomas J. Wise’s Cupboard,” as one *Times Literary Supplement* headline read: he had discovered another set of misdeeds when comparing Wise’s playbooks with copies of the same editions already at the British Museum. After painstaking forensic examination, Foxon was able to determine that a number of leaves missing from older British Museum copies—mostly ones that actor David Garrick had donated—had been fully integrated into Wise’s. Wise, he rightly concluded, had stolen from the British Museum. Foxon could not find all of the missing leaves in London, but he knew that Wise had also built a collection for Wrenn. Before publishing on the Foxon thefts in 1959 and again in 1961, he was able to find quite a few of the stolen leaves among the playbooks at the University of Texas.²⁵

In the specific case of *The Wise-woman of Hogsdon*, Foxon’s investigation revealed that the Wrenn copy is a composite made of leaves sourced from four distinct copies of the 1638 edition. A primary copy—Foxon’s A copy—provides the title page along with 28 of the 36 leaves. Another, the C copy, provides all four leaves of the final quire; and two others,

B and D, contribute two leaves each. One of the latter two, copy B, is the pilfered Garrick volume, which has stubs where two nonconsecutive leaves have been excised. Bizarrely, the C playbook that supplied Wrenn’s final quire is the one that forms the basis of the Ashley copy, and the Ashley copy has in its place the quire that belongs with the A copy that forms most of Wrenn. In other words, the two copies swapped final quires.

In his preface to the 1920 catalog of the Wrenn Library, Wise writes that, per his agreement with Wrenn, he had “‘first call’ on Shelley, Dryden, Prior, and the early quarto plays, [and] Wrenn had ‘first call’ on Pope, Wither, and other authors.”²⁶ Presumably, then, Wise felt permitted to assemble the best copy for himself and a slightly less ideal—but still good—copy for Wrenn. So, if he generally preferred the C copy but liked A’s final quire, as it appears he did, he could mix and match at will. This does not necessarily mean that he gave short shrift to Wrenn’s *Hogsdon*, though: leaf C4 in copy A was present but had a partially shaved headline, so Wise used playbook D to supply a better one. We can know the condition of the discarded A leaf because it survives as a singleton at the Ransom Center (fig. 27), along with leaves from several of the other playbooks Wise used for sophisticated copies. The University of Texas acquired them in 1921 as part of the library of another of Wise’s customers, George A. Aitken.²⁷

The Wrenn and Ashley playbooks are very much artifacts of the book trade of the late nineteenth and early

The Wise-woman of Hogsdon.

Grat. No, if you can get his consent to marry him, shall it displease mee?

Haring. Indeed you therein much forget your selfe,
To sound her Father e're you tasted her.
You should have first sought meanes for her good-will,
And after compast his.

Sir Har. He can prevaile with neither, Gentlemen:
If you will come to revell, you are welcome;
If to my Table, welcome; if to use mee
In any gratefull Office, welcome too:
But if you come as Suitors, there's the doore.

Senc. The doore!

Sir Har. I say the doore.

Senc. Why Sir? tell not me of your doore, nor going
out of it; your companie is faire and good, and so is your
Daughters; Ile stay here this twelve-moneth, e're Ile offer
to trouble your doore.

Sir Har. Sir, but you shall not. *Taber!* where's that
knave?

Senc. Why Sir, I hope you doe not meane to make us
dance, that you call for a *Taber*.

Haring. Nay Master *Sencer*, doe not urge the Knight,
Hee is incens'd now, chuse a fitter houre,
And tempt his love in that: old men are testie,
Their rage, if stood against, growes violent;
But suffred and forborne, confounds it selfe.

Sir Har. Where's *Taber*?

Taber. At hand, noble Master.

Sir Har. Shew them the doore.

Taber. That I will, and take money too, if it please
them.

Senc. Is thy name *Taber*?

Taber. I am so eclips'd Sir.

Senc. And *Taber*, are you appointed to give us *Iacke
Drum's* entertainment?

Taber. Why sir, you doe not play upon me.

Sencer. Though I cannot, yet I have knowne an *Hare*
that

twentieth centuries. For one, Wise's method depended on the fact that most collectors' bindings from the period hold the textblock together using a technique known as oversewing. Unlike older, more traditional binding methods, oversewing does not require gutter folds, making it easy to bind large numbers of individual leaves together. Wise was free to remove and insert as many as he wanted. Additionally, paper restorers could wash and then press leaves that had come from

Fig. 27. Thomas Heywood, *The Wise-woman of Hogsdon* (London: Henry Shephard, 1638; STC 13370), sig. C4r. Harry Ransom Center 61-4779d

different sources to remove stains and achieve a largely uniform appearance. And, most importantly, techniques for repairing paper had improved substantially since Kemble chose to have his playbooks cropped and inlaid. When Wise and Wrenn were collecting, experts were able to fill losses and replace leaf margins with almost no visible seams, sometimes at least partially matching chain lines—even watermarks—by using period (or period-sympathetic) paper for the repairs.²⁸ Neither Wrenn nor Wise appears to have been inclined to pursue the most advanced possibilities, but the ability to extend leaves in an elegant way enabled them to include leaves of different sizes in the same book, including those with margins that had been damaged from pamphlet stitching that had torn and, more nefariously, those that had been cut or torn out of a bound book, as in the case of the British Museum leaves. Kemble had achieved consistency from playbook to playbook in the same *sammelband* by inlaying cropped leaves into different pieces of paper, and the restorers working for Riviere and Son achieved consistency between leaves in the same edition by rebuilding their margins, almost invisibly (figs. 28 & 29).

In thinking about the activities of Wise, it is important to keep the thefts separate from the practice of sophistication itself. While it is easy to dismiss both as morally suspect, supplying missing leaves with ones legally acquired has not always been tainted in the way that the negative connotation of “sophisticated” may suggest. Letters from Wise to Wrenn

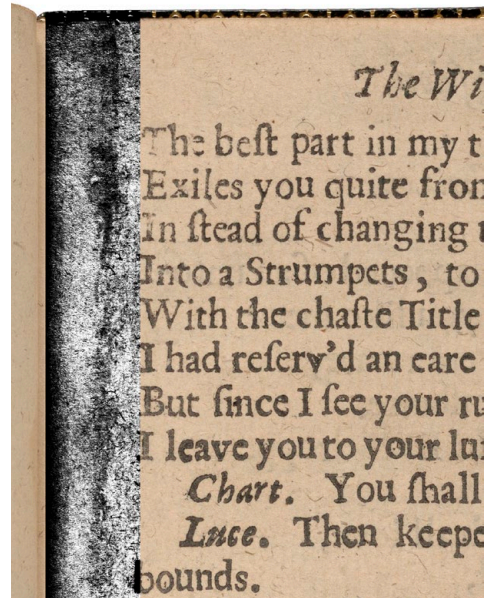
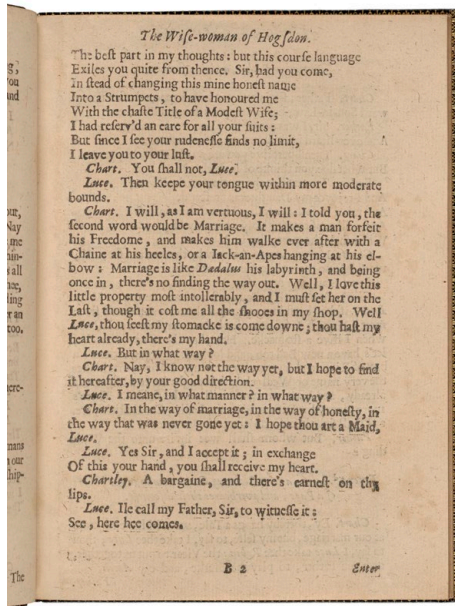
and the other collectors he worked with indicate “that they...accepted the practice without question.”²⁹ In a letter to Wrenn dated December 14, 1904, Wise reports,

I have made your “Marriage A-la-Mode,” 1673, perfect. I found a very imperfect copy in a bundle of imperfect plays which I have, and fortunately it had the two leaves which in your copy had been supplied from a copy of the Third Edition. So now the book is all right!

*Once again the wisdom is proved of preserving any play, no matter how imperfect it may be! One never knows what may not come in useful some time or other!*³⁰

Not only is sophisticating a copy above-board in this passage, it is almost virtuous. Previously defective, Wrenn’s playbook by Dryden has been “made... perfect” and is now “all right.” And there is no reason to think that Wise was dialing up the rhetoric to pull the wool over Wrenn’s eyes, because so many of his own books, like the Ashley *Hogsdon*, were also made up—to an extent even beyond what was necessary for completeness, as the leaf swaps show. In fact, because of the all-round approval we find in this instance, it is probably better to use “made-up” rather than “sophisticated” when describing the practice—as *ABC for Book Collectors* prefers—as it avoids any risk of misrepresenting historical attitudes toward it.

Ultimately, Wrenn’s copy of *The Wise-woman of Hogsdon* helps to highlight the moment when the development of Anglo-American bibliography began to effect a shift in how the book trade and its



customers evaluated rare books. By the time the University of Texas published the Wrenn catalog, collation formulas were well on the way to becoming the primary way of determining whether or not a book was complete. As W.W. Greg would go on to specify in 1934, collation was useful for providing “the necessary information for detecting imperfect copies.”³¹ By promising an objective basis for describing and then judging books, collation as a bibliographical exercise nudged the focus away from the content of a book to the printed sheets that transmit that content, from text to object. A desire for copies with large, wide-margined leaves did the same. And yet Wise’s preference for mixed-leaf books reminds us that a commitment to completeness in bibliographical terms need not also come with a commitment to historical integrity.

Fig. 28. Heywood, *The Wise-woman of Hogsdon* (see fig. 20), sig. B2r. This leaf was originally in the Garrick copy, now at the British Library 644.e.41

Fig. 29. Heywood, *The Wise-woman of Hogsdon* (see fig. 20), sig. B2r (detail). Contrast has been digitally applied to reveal the seam where the margin has been replaced.

IV.

More than one hundred black-and-white images of books and manuscripts are included in the three-volume Pforzheimer catalog. Of these, the bulk reproduce printed or manuscript leaves. In the case of the unique copy of Ben Jonson's *Time Vindicated*, the entire masque is presented in facsimile. A number of photos, though, show bindings. One shows his four copies of *Tottel's Miscellany* partially spread out on a table, and another shows the upright spines of his nine copies of *A Mirror for Magistrates*. The emphasis in these is on the impressive number of editions that Pforzheimer has been able to accumulate of a single work. A different type of binding photo shows an individual structure that highlights notable provenance, as in the case of his copy of Milton's *A Mask Presented at Ludlow Castle*, which remains bound with the Bridgewater arms on its covers and the bookplate on its front pastedown. It was originally performed before John Egerton, the Earl of Bridgewater, and Pforzheimer's copy boasts corrections to the text that may be in Milton's hand. Showing the binding and plate is a way to both show off and shore up that provenance claim. In the single instance where there is a photo of a firmly modern binding that does not bear arms or a crest, it is a sumptuous one by the famous Regency binder Charles Lewis. His work is in several ways the most immediate English forebear of what we find in bindings by Riviere and Son and their contemporaries at the turn of the twentieth century, and it makes sense

that a collector like Pforzheimer would want to commemorate it.

Several images also feature books' early structures. In fact, the first volume begins with one showing the exterior of Pforzheimer's Gutenberg Bible, which the catalog itself did not even include. The two bindings date from around the turn of the seventeenth century. (The University of Texas purchased Pforzheimer's Gutenberg in 1978, eight years before it acquired his early English literature.) From the English collection proper, the early bindings highlighted in photographs range from one that few would consider a true binding—Shakespeare's *Richard II* (1634) remains untrimmed and stab-stitched as issued—to limp parchment around copies of *Tottel's Miscellany* and Joseph Hall's *Virgidemarium* (1598), to the decorated calf that protects a gift manuscript made by the famous calligrapher Esther Inglis. All are evidently books for which Pforzheimer had a particular affection. In his introduction to the catalog, he even singled out the Hall: "the *Virgidemarium* is a perfect example of a book in the original vellum with the ties in place just as the book was issued in 1598."³² Quite unlike Wise, Pforzheimer was interested in preserving books as historical artifacts. He was after books in their "original" condition.

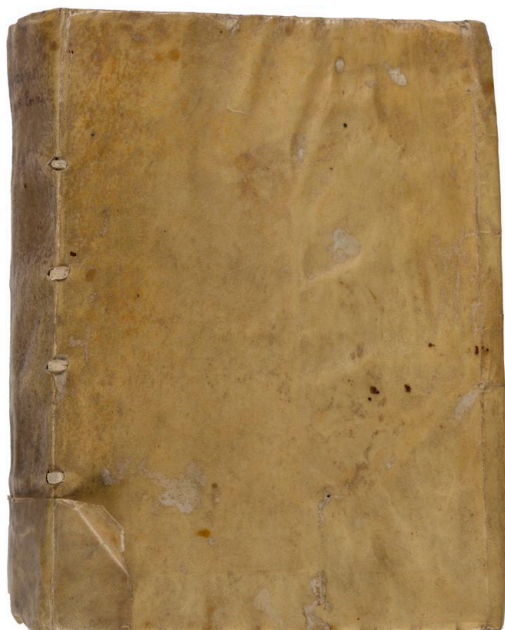
Unfortunately for Pforzheimer, much of what he purchased for his collection had gone through the hands of Victorian and Edwardian collectors and was rebound accordingly. A perusal of the catalog descriptions themselves demonstrates, though, that he sought out copies

in early structures when possible and that he—or at least his catalogers—was proud when he could get them. The bindings of around 110 of the more than 1,100 printed volumes in the Pforzheimer library are described as “original” or possibly so. With such high-profile editions, a rate of around 10% is impressive indeed, and when a binding has been judged “original,” the binding description begins by saying so, making it hard to miss. Not infrequently, the catalogers go on to identify copies in early bindings as “the finest known.” Even the comments that accompany each description reveal something of an obsession with early bindings; they regularly identify early bindings on copies held elsewhere.

We can see the priority that Pforzheimer placed on contemporary structures by looking at his *sammelband* of three editions by George Gascoigne (figs. 30 & 31): *The Posies* (1575), *The Steele Glas* (1576), and *The Glasse of Gouvernement* (1575). The binding description reads, “Original vellum, loose. 7 3/4 x 5 7/8 inches.”³³ The entry then goes on to describe the copy of *The Posies*, in particular, as “without doubt one of the finest known.” Similarly, the auction catalog for the Britwell sale, where Pforzheimer acquired it in 1924, described the three editions as in “original vellum, loose in binding” and indicated that they are “VERY FINE COPIES.”³⁴ In both descriptions, though, “loose” is somewhat of an understatement: the textblock has completely separated from the parchment covers at the rear, and it is currently held at the front very tenuously by only one of its four

alum-tawed supports. More seriously, the textblock itself has broken into a number of different pieces. Toward the end of *The Posies* and throughout both *The Steele Glas* and *The Glasse of Gouvernement*, it has fractured so fully that some of the separated sections are individual eight-leaf quires. While it was not likely in exactly the same state of disrepair when the Britwell and Pforzheimer catalogs were written, there is every reason to think it was close to it. Pforzheimer took care of his books, and the Gascoigne has only infrequently seen light in the reading room. At best, the textblock had all but pulled away from the covers when

Fig. 30. The parchment binding of a *sammelband* containing three editions by George Gascoigne (1575–76). Harry Ransom Center Pforz 404



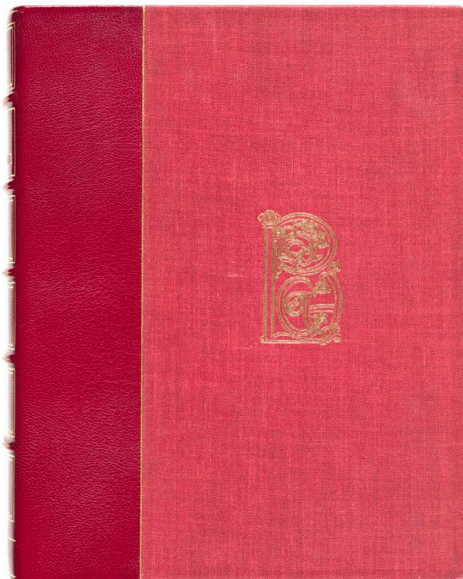


Fig. 31. George Gascoigne, *The Posies* (London: Richard Smith, [1575]; STC 11636), sig. U2v and George Gascoigne, *The Steele Glas* ([London]: Richard Smith, [1576]; STC 11645), sig. A1r. Harry Ransom Center Pforz 404

Fig. 32. Custom slipcase commissioned by Pforzheimer to protect his Gascoigne *sammelband* (see figs. 30 & 31)

the volume was cataloged. Apparently, though, the damage did not affect the catalogers'—or Pforzheimer's—judgment of the volume.

It is not entirely obvious how best to reconcile the apparent friction between the high praise given for the condition of the *sammelband* and its actual condition. Because they had long been established as *desiderata*, perhaps the answer is to stress the importance of completeness and paper size above all else. Both of these factors are surely a major part of why the copy is “fine”—even the “finest”—but it is difficult to see how the binding could not have played a role, particularly given Pforzheimer's evident interest in early structures. What seems to be going on is that the relative age of the binding is what mattered to him, not so much its structural integrity. It is probable that he would have preferred a binding that was contemporary to the editions contained within *and* functional, but the former seems to have trumped the latter. He also could have had the binding repaired, but he did not. Instead, he commissioned a quarter-morocco slipcase to protect it as is, one with his gilt arms on the side (fig. 32). With Pforzheimer's Gascoigne *sammelband*, then, we have a sign that the historicity of a volume of English literature as an artifact has trumped in importance its functionality as a book to be read.

V.

Of course, Pforzheimer's preference for complete copies with (little to) no sophistication meant that only some books in early bindings interested him. His printed book collection, after all, has earned praise based on the desirability of the editions represented along with the condition of its copies. This combination allowed him to vie for distinction within what was then—and, in many ways, remains—a decidedly masculine culture of book collecting. With exceptions allowed for editions by England's first printer, William Caxton, and a handful of other especially scarce books, imperfect copies would not have passed muster, however they were bound. Indeed, the cynical critic might attribute the turn toward original condition to collectors' general mania for “points,” which arguably arose as much or more from a need to draw increasingly fine distinctions between copies in the competitive world of collecting and bookselling as from reasoned interest in the conditions of production and early circulation as such. Whatever the reasons behind them, changing criteria in these worlds have increasingly led to the preservation of early bindings, provenance inscriptions, and reader annotations. At the same time, though, it is worth realizing that Wise's earlier and almost singular prioritization of completeness has preserved much that would otherwise not have survived, especially not in institutional collections, which in general remain averse

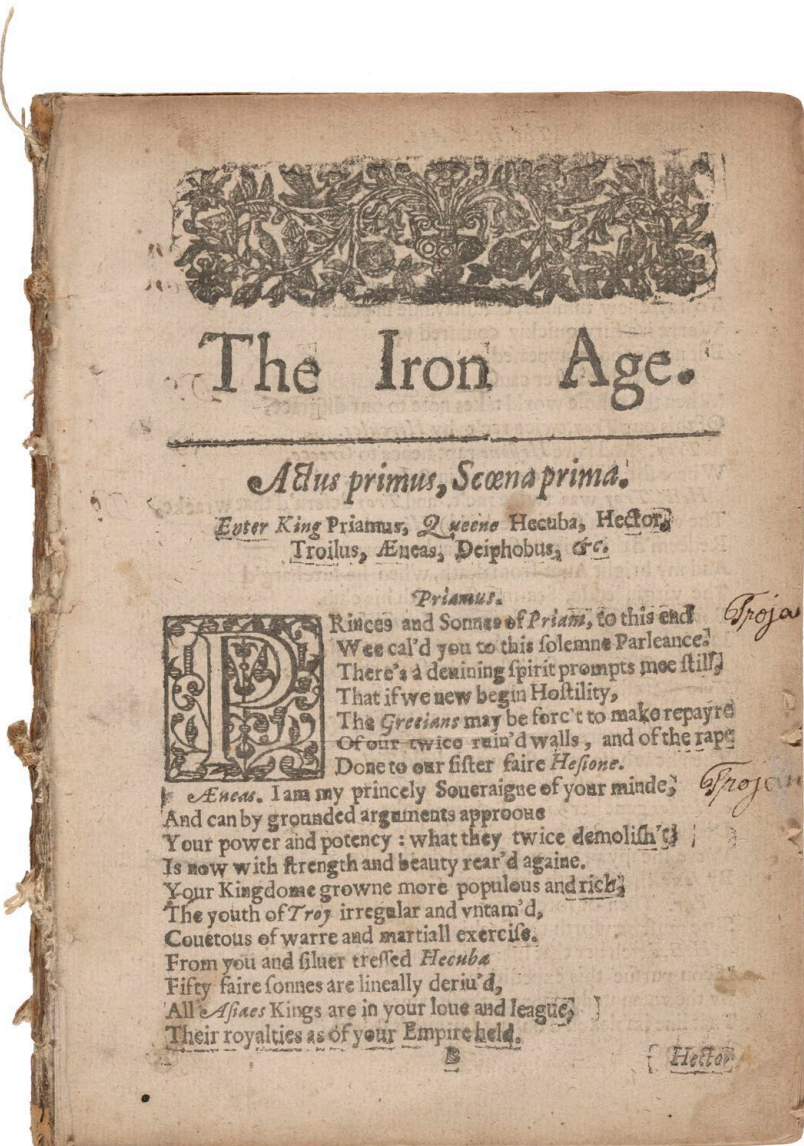


Fig. 33. Playbook fragments supplied by Thomas J. Wise to George A. Aitken. Harry Ransom Center 61-4779h, 61-4779a, 61-4779n, 61-4779b, 61-4779e, 61-4779f, 61-4779g

Fig. 34. Manuscript annotations in Thomas Heywood, *The Iron Age* [Part 1] (London: Nicholas Okes, 1632; STC 13340 or 13340.5), sig. B1r. Harry Ransom Center 61-4716

Notes

- 1 George Sherburn, "Huntington Library Collections," *The Huntington Library Bulletin*, no. 1 (1931): 42–43.
- 2 Most notable is the Bridgewater Family Library, which Huntington purchased in 1917.
- 3 For the tongue-in-cheek term "morocco liveries," see, for example, William A. Jackson, "Edward Gwynn," *The Library*, 4th ser., 15, no. 1 (1934): 92.
- 4 Emma V. Unger and William A. Jackson, *The Carl H. Pforzheimer Library: English Literature 1475–1700* (New York: Privately Printed, 1940; reprint, New Castle, Del., and Los Angeles: Oak Knoll Press and Heritage Book Shop Inc., 1997), 2:646.
- 5 Knight writes that surviving Kemble volumes contain "roughly" six to eight playbooks. Jeffrey Todd Knight, "Shakespeare and the Collection: Reading Beyond Readers' Marks," in *Shakespeare and Textual Studies*, ed. Margaret Jane Kidnie and Sonia Massai (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 190.
- 6 On the history of paper-cleaning practices, see David McKitterick, *Old Books, New Technologies: The Representation, Conservation and Transformation of Books since 1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 28–37.
- 7 Sherburn, 42–43.
- 8 Knight, 190.
- 9 Unger and Jackson, 2:646.
- 10 Unger and Jackson, 1:266.
- 11 Folger Shakespeare Library, STC 22277 copy 3, sig. B1r.
- 12 Andrew Keener (keenera), Twitter, January 31, 2018, 3:48 p.m., <http://twitter.com/keenera/status/958804304839704576>.
- 13 Folger Shakespeare Library STC 11750 copy 6. The second edition of Gerard's *Herball* was published that next year, in 1633.
- 14 Folger Shakespeare Library STC 25209 Vol. 1.
- 15 Folger Shakespeare Library STC 25275 copy 2.
- 16 "Perfect, adj., n., and adv.," OED Online (June 2018).
- 17 Thomas Middleton, *A Game at Chaess* ([London]: n.p., [1625?]; STC 17883), sig. D3v.
- 18 Johann Gerhard, *A Golden Chaine of Divine Aphorismes* ([Cambridge?]: [Thomas Buck and Roger Daniel], 1632; STC 11769), sig. ¶¶1r.
- 19 Edmund Spenser, *The Shepheardes Calender* (London: Hugh Singleton, 1579; STC 23089), sig. A2v.
- 20 This is not to imply that early collectors and booksellers were necessarily unaware of how early printed books were put together, only that content was the standard against which books were measured before bibliography became interested in reconstructing sheets as they went through the press.
- 21 Harold B. Wrenn and Thomas J. Wise, *A Catalogue of the Library of the Late John Henry Wrenn* (Austin: The University of Texas, 1920), 2:265.
- 22 Unger and Jackson, 2:488; and *The Library of the Late Beverly Chew, Part I: English Literature before 1800* (New York: The Anderson Galleries, 1924), [i].
- 23 Pforzheimer explains that "enlarged industrial operations" around the turn of the twentieth century brought about "greater prosperity," which, in turn, brought more collecting at a time when there was more selling in England. He writes that "taxation and other causes" after World War I pushed a number of important English collections onto the market. "American collectors were quick

to seize these opportunities," he continues, "and brought to this country many rare books and manuscripts, most in excellent condition and many of historic provenance" (Unger and Jackson, 1:ix–x).

24 John Carter and Nicolas Barker, *ABC for Book Collectors*, 8th ed. (New Castle, Del., and London: Oak Knoll Press and the British Library, 2004), 147.

25 David F. Foxon, *Thomas J. Wise and the Pre-Restoration Drama: A Study in Theft and Sophistication* (London: The Bibliographical Society, 1959); and David F. Foxon and William B. Todd, "Thomas J. Wise and the Pre-Restoration Drama: A Supplement," *The Library*, 5th ser., 4, no. 1 (1961): 287–93.

26 Wrenn and Wise, x.

27 A number of Aitken's more substantial playbooks are also sophisticated, some with stolen British Museum leaves.

28 Bookbinders and paper restorers tended to be secretive when it came to their methods. For one tell-all, originally published in German in 1938, see Max Schweidler, *The Restoration of Engravings, Drawings, Books, and Other Works on Paper*, trans. and ed. Roy Perkinson (Los Angeles: The Getty Conservation Project, 2006), esp. 109–26.

29 Foxon, 5.

30 Fannie E. Ratchford, ed., *Letters of Thomas J. Wise to John Henry Wrenn; A Further Inquiry into the Guilt of Certain Nineteenth-Century Forgers* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1944), 396; quoted in Foxon, 5.

31 W.W. Greg, "A Formulary of Collation," *The Library*, 4th ser., 14, no. 4 (March 1934): 365.

32 Unger and Jackson, 1:x.

33 Unger and Jackson, 2:391.

34 *Catalogue...of the Renowned Library Formerly at Britwell Court* (London: Sotheby and Co., 1916–27), 13:73.

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