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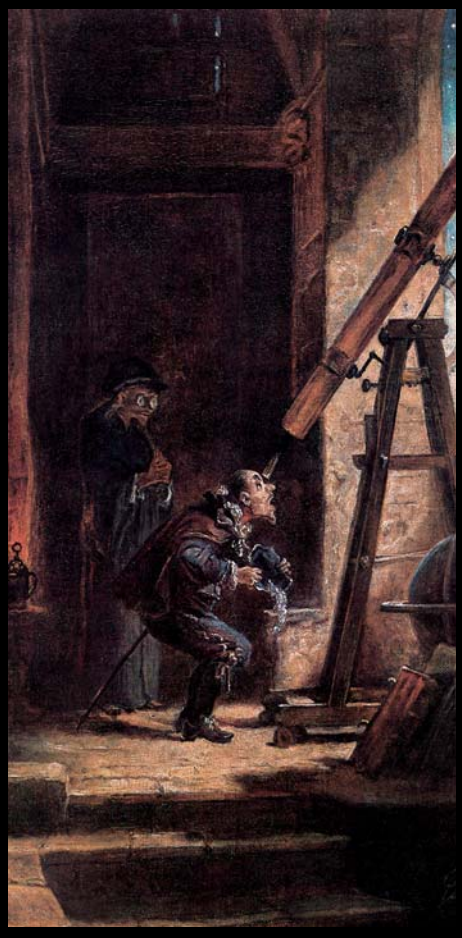
A Shakespearean Constellation: J. O. Halliwell-Phillipps and Friends

Marvin Spevack



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Wissenschaftliche Schriften der WWU Münster

Reihe XII

Band 5

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Wissenschaftliche Schriften der WWU Münster
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Marvin Spevack held a chair of English Philology at the University of Münster. After producing essential works on Shakespeare – concordances, editions, and a thesaurus – he turned to literary figures of the nineteenth century with studies of James Orchard Halliwell-Phillipps, Isaac D'Israeli, Sidney Lee, Francis Turner Palgrave, and now a constellation of Victorian Shakespeare scholars.

Bibliografische Information der Deutschen Nationalbibliothek:
Die Deutsche Nationalbibliothek verzeichnet diese Publikation in der Deutschen Nationalbibliografie; detaillierte bibliografische Daten sind im Internet über http://dnb.d-nb.de abrufbar.

Dieses Buch steht gleichzeitig in einer elektronischen Version über den Publikations- und Archivierungsserver der WWU Münster zur Verfügung.
http://www.ulb.uni-muenster.de/wissenschaftliche-schriften

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Die Reihe „Wissenschaftliche Schriften der WWU Münster“ erscheint im Verlagshaus Monsenstein und Vannerdat OHG Münster
www.mv-wissenschaft.com

ISBN 978-3-8405-0078-7 (Druckausgabe)
URN urn:nbn:de:hbz:6-28309453353 (elektronische Version)

direkt zur Online-Version:

Satz: Marvin Spevack
Titelbild: Carl Spitzweg, „Der Sterndeuter“ (ca. 1860-1865)
Quelle: http://www.zeno.org
Umschlag: MV-Verlag
Druck und Bindung: MV-Verlag

To
MM and MCD

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PREFACE

The history of Shakespeare scholarship in the nineteenth century has yet to be written. Surprisingly perhaps but understandably, and not simply because the output was massive. The London of Elizabeth was a village compared with the megametropolis of Victoria. The sceptred isle was but one jewel in the crown of the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and Empress of India. In the nineteenth century everything became great. Keen enterprise and unbridled energy created and nurtured an empire of vast dimensions and a homeland of expansiveness and complexity. It was not all of a piece, to be sure. But there can be no doubt that the sustaining force was an irrepressible and burgeoning national consciousness. England boomed. It celebrated its heroes and venerated the greatest of them all, Shakespeare. Shakespeare scholarship flourished across the nation. Editions of the complete works numbered well over two hundred. There were not one but two major Shakespeare societies: the first with some 716 members by 1842, the second with 247 at its first meeting in March 1874 and 478 by December. Stratford-upon-Avon was resurrected, refitted, and consecrated. Shakespeare all but succeeded Saint George as patron and guardian of England and Englishness. The implications and ramifications are multitudinous. A comprehensive picture can only be achieved when all the elements have been isolated and analyzed and then intelligently integrated to form what may turn out to be something more than the sum of the parts. That gigantic task is not the object of this work, whose focus is on the interaction of personalities who shaped and fostered Shakespeare studies. More precisely, it is the view from the perspective of James Orchard Halliwell-Phillipps.

The fifty years of Halliwell's literary career, roughly from 1840 to 1889, constitute what might be considered the bookends of Shakespearean scholarship in the nineteenth century. They coincide with the announcement of John Payne Collier's Shakespeare Society in 1840, on the one hand, and the final whimpers of F. J. Furnivall's New Shakspere Society in 1894, on the other. Halliwell played a role in both – a protagonist in the first and an unwilling antagonist in the second – has been discussed in detail elsewhere,[1] as has been the nature of the societies and their passionate and controversial directors,[2] as well as the careers in various studies of such players as Alexander Dyce and William Charles Macready, who were council members of the first, and Edward Dowden and Horace H. Furness, who were among the sixty-six vice presidents of the second, not to mention Robert Browning, the honorary president, and Algernon Charles Swinburne, the arch enemy of Furnivall.

Halliwell knew them all, the leaders and the followers who were engaged in the study and propagation of Shakespeare. His correspondence was immense, as testified by some 15,000 letters addressed to him which he bequeathed to Edinburgh University in 1872[3] and some 1500 addressed to him which found their way

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[1]Among others, by Arthur Freeman and Janet Ing Freeman, *John Payne Collier: Scholarship and Forgery in the Nineteenth Century* (2 vols., New Haven, 2004) and Marvin Spevack, *James Orchard Halliwell-Phillpps: The Life and Works of the Shakespearean Scholar and Bookman* (New Castle, Delaware, 2001).

[2]Among others, by Freeman and Freeman, William Benzie, *Dr. F. J. Furnivall: A Victorian Scholar Adventurer* (Norman, Oklahoma, 1983) and Sylvia Stoler Wagonheim, "John Payne Collier and the Shakespeare Society" (diss. U. of Maryland, 1980). A matching book-length study of the New Shakspere Society has yet to be written. Robert Sawyer, "The New Shakspere Society, 1873-1894," *Borrowers and Lenders: The Journal of Shakespeare and Appropriation* 2:2 (Fall/Winter 2006) --<www.borrowers.uga.edu> – briefly traces its "rise and fall." Hardly any study of the period fails to mention the Shakespeare Societies but most often for special emphases.

[3]The "Letters of Authors" contain mostly letters to and occasionally letters (usually copies) by Halliwell, as well as clippings, offprints, programmes,

into the Folger Shakespeare Library. All the major Shakespeareans of the day come together in letters which span the period from about 1839 till almost 1889, the year of Halliwell's death. Together they depict the everyday life and concerns of Shakespearean endeavour – all reflecting the harmony and friction of individual personalities, the critical predispositions and internal politics, and the bonding and unswerving devotion to the enthronement and celebration of a national model and hero. In this respect Halliwell was not solely a major player in the cause of Shakespeare but also one of the centers around which so many satellites revolved and communicated, revealing cameos of individuals, the nature of their relationships, and in effect portraying *in nuce* the dimension and surge of Shakespeare scholarship of the age. It is the purpose of this archival research to make available detail and color for the comprehensive narrative that remains to be written.

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invitations, other printed matter, and some handwritten remarks. Halliwell ordered them to be "½ bound in dark calf & lettered" in 300 volumes of mainly octavo size. At the end of most volumes he supplied a handwritten index to the authors (or occasionally source or subject) and to the numbers of the letters he had supplied. Some volumes have no index and the numbering is by folio and not letter. In this work reference is to the volume number followed by Halliwell's letter number – e.g. 11:10; in those volumes in which he did not number the letters, reference is to the volume and first folio number (usually supplied by another hand) – e.g. 266:30. Where no date is given, 00 is used.

Overall, the arrangement attempts to be chronological, but in fact that is more the exception than the rule. The first volume, for example, contains letters ranging from 1838 to 1872; Volume 43 contains letters from Thomas Wright only and from 1840 and 1850-55; some letters are undated. Volume 264, which apparently contains letters from the early 1880s, has been missing for some time and could not be considered here. Other features which add to the unwieldiness of three hundred volumes are the inexactness of the indexes due to inaccuracies such as misnumberings or omissions or changes of order, and the excision of names and the cropping of letters or their removal (sometimes roughly torn out).

The marshalling of the material for this work could not have been accomplished without the help of others. Although Halliwell's letters have been used in my various published studies of his life and works I am pleased to repeat my gratitude to the great depositories of Halliwelliana for putting the letters to and from Halliwell at my disposal: Special Collections of the Edinburgh University Library and the Folger Shakespeare Library in Washington, D .C. Others, of access and staff no less generous and accommodating, include the Bodleian Library Oxford, the Cambridge University Library, the library of University College London, Houghton Library Harvard, Trinity College Dublin, and Special Collections of the Van Pelt-Dietrich Library, University of Pennsylvania. In the parts which have appeared in *The Library* and in my other work on Halliwell, I have already acknowledged the kindness and expertise of many friends and strangers. It is with continued gratitude that I remember and value each and every one of them.

PART ONE

I. EDITORS

Among the notable achievements of the first decades of the reign of Queen Victoria (1837-1901) was the production of important, if not major, editions of Shakespeare. The first twenty-five or so years saw the appearance of new (and also revised) editions by Charles Knight, John Payne Collier, Samuel Weller Singer, Alexander Dyce, Howard Staunton, Richard Grant White, W. G. Clark and W. A. Wright, Thomas Keightley, and James Orchard Halliwell (afterwards, Halliwell-Phillipps), among the almost countless recorded in the catalogue of the British Library. Competition, intellectual or commercial, was – and is – a central tenet of a burgeoning society. Since competition presupposes the co-existence of competitors, it is always of interest to discover why and how the competitors react to each other. For if competition is the motor, then accommodation is the vehicle of society. The editors knew each other, corresponded with unfailing energy, sought information and society, participated in the same or similar activities, quarrelled – each according to his temperament or needs. Contact was seldom broken off, even in the face of stressful disagreements and public scandals. Collier, for example, corresponded even at times when he could "hardly write for rheumatism" (30 April 1876; LOA 4:68) or was "nearly blind in one of [his] eyes, and dim with the other" (27 June 1881; LOA 266:22) or, as his daughter writes, when his "memory [was] most defective, & he suffer[ed] from terrible fits of depression" (9 November 1882; LOA 261:31). In another instance, Dyce, Knight, Collier, and Halliwell were the founding members in 1840 of the Shakespeare Society: they had of course overlapping interests and all lived in London; still, Dyce and Halliwell could publicly attack

Collier and still maintain a working and even genuinely amiable correspondence with him. In still another, the unbroken flow of letters between Halliwell and the rambunctious F. J. Furnivall is unsurpassed in its portrayal of the often harsh but enduring equipoise of common interest and personal propensity.

1. John Payne Collier

What brought Halliwell and Collier together was books: written and edited, bought and sold, copied and reprinted, owned and loaned, available and withheld, acclaimed and criticized, genuine and forged. Collier and Halliwell dealt in the business of books. It is inappropriate to treat them as if they had lofty literary pretensions or stature or to characterize their persons or style as prosaic, even "unpoetical."[4] Their society included collectors, publishers, booksellers interested in the acquisition, organization, and dissemination of knowledge. They were less "intellectual" and "aesthetic" than inquisitive and enterprising. Their emphasis was on pure learning; their attitude was almost archaeological, their activities excavational. It was no accident that they and many others in the literary societies were first and perhaps foremost members of the Society of Antiquaries or of the Camden Society, which later was to be incorporated into the Royal Historical Society; literature and art for that matter they considered artefacts to be discovered, examined, explained, reproduced, distributed. And they took their work seriously.

The letters trace the careers of the two bookmen. Although there is overlapping of a sort, they may be subdivided into five main groups. The largest, from 1840 to 1853, deals with the learned societies and book clubs – mainly the Camden, Percy, and Shakespeare Societies – in which both played important roles: more specifically, they concern reprints, editorial practices, and

[4]As does S. Schoenbaum, *Shakespeare's Lives* (new edition, Oxford, 1991), p. 293.

opinions of and gossip about persons and politics of the societies. There is also a largish group of letters of the forties and fifties which deals with the projects Collier and Halliwell were working on separately, the most prominent being the editions of Shakespeare. A smaller but important group of letters is concerned with the scandals which highlighted and threatened their careers: the charge in 1844 that Halliwell had stolen manuscripts from the library of Trinity College, Cambridge and, for about ten years after Collier announced on 31 January 1852 that he had found a corrected copy of the Second Folio of Shakespeare, the suspicion and then charge that he had forged marginal corrections which he attributed to an "Old Corrector." Another group of letters, continuing the business of reprints done outside the literary societies and growing in number from the 1860s onwards, deals with the buying and selling of books. A final group is devoted to personal or private matters – health, family, this-and-that – a group that increased as the years progressed and Collier's customary salutation "My dear Sir" gave way in the 1860s to variants of "Dear Halliwell" and even in 1875 and later to "My dear old friend."

1840-1853: Friendly Rivals

Although there are but eight letters from Collier in 1840, they are enough to suggest the tenor and substance of the relationship. The first letter from Collier to Halliwell is dated 30 January 1840. Collier had just turned fifty-one (on 11 January), Halliwell was to turn twenty on 21 June. By then, Collier had had a career as a reporter for the *Times* and the *Morning Chronicle*; for the latter he was until 1847 law and parliamentary reporter as well as an occasional dramatic and literary critic and writer of leading articles. Although he had studied law and had various prospects in the legal profession he turned more and more to literary activities. By 1839 he had written, edited, compiled, or translated some twenty-three works, among which were the three-volume *History of English Dramatic Poetry to the Time of Shakespeare* (1831), translations of two works by Schiller, and the *Catalogue, Biographical and Critical, of Early English Literature, forming*

a portion of the library at Bridgewater House, the property of […] Lord Francis Egerton (1837). He was, among other things, literary adviser to the Duke of Devonshire, a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, a member of the Garrick Club, and a founding member and councillor of the Camden Society. Collier was, in short, an established figure in the London literary scene by the time he wrote his first letter to the nineteen-year-old Halliwell. Although still an undergraduate at Cambridge, the young Halliwell was by no means an unequal correspondent. In 1837-38 he compiled and annotated "Collections on the History of the Mathematics. Principally from Books and Manuscripts in the British Museum," a handwritten work which he presented to the Library on 8 April 1843 (Add. MS 10461), along with a similar work (dated August 1838) whose province was the "Books and MSS. in the Bodleian Library" (Add. MS 10462). In 1839 he published two works on mathematical subjects, edited Sir John Mandeville's *Travels* and John Warkworth's *Chronicle of the First Thirteen Years of the Reign of King Edward the Fourth*. As well as being secretary and treasurer of the Historical Society of Science, he was a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries and of the Royal Society of Literature, among more than a dozen other societies in Great Britain, Europe, and America. In 1840 he published ten further works on subjects ranging from *The Connexion of Wales with the Early Science of England* to *The Early History of Freemasonry in England* to *The Harrowing of Hell*. By 1840 Collier and Halliwell were both active in the newly formed literary organizations in London; both were members of the Council of the Camden Society, the Percy Society, and the Shakespeare Society.

Common aims and pursuits, obviously, motivated and invigorated the correspondence. In that first letter of 30 January 1840 (LOA 3:10) Collier mentions sending Halliwell a copy of his *Five Miracle Plays* (privately printed and issued individually in an edition of twenty-five copies in 1835-36). He no doubt wished to show his good will and collegiality, for Halliwell must have consulted it in preparing his own edition of *The Harrowing of Hell*, which appeared in the course of 1840; Halliwell also made

use for his 1840 edition of *The Merry Tales of the Wise Men of Gotham* of a copy which Collier (erroneously referring to Andrew Borde's *Merry Tales of the Mad Men of Gotham*) had lent him.[5] Collier's collegiality does not amount to a kind of bland noblesse oblige. For he comments (14 July 1840; LOA 3:25) on a "translation" of Halliwell's as being "not literal enough for me," referring perhaps to *The Harrowing of Hell* or more likely to the *Ludus Coventriae*, which Halliwell was to publish in 1841. And he asks (19 November 1840; LOA 3:31) for a "correct" transcription of the Cambridge manuscript of *Vox Populi*, which he finds "so much superior to the Harleian" and which he must have passed on to Alexander Dyce for Dyce to use in his edition of John Skelton (1843).[6]

Receiving somewhat more attention in these first letters is the business of the literary societies. On 11 April 1840 (LOA 3:49) Collier writes that he has accepted an invitation to be a member of the Council of the Percy Society, remarking immediately that it should have more competition as to printers (not just one) and that the subscription should be two guineas, perhaps only one, although he would be willing to give five; on 16 June 1840 (LOA 1:13) that he will not join the Historical Society; on 2 July 1840 (LOA 1:16) that he has agreed to join the Shakespeare Society and be one of the Council. Some of the internal workings of the newly formed Shakespeare Society are evident in his letter of 10 November 1840 (LOA 3:32) in which he reports that since there is "not yet much money in hand," he must defer the transcript of

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[5]Halliwell's acknowledgement in his introduction to *The Harrowing of Hell* (p. 3) is gracious: "It is unnecessary to enter here into the history of this species of dramatic poetry, and more especially as the wide circulation of Mr. Collier's admirable work on the subject has left nothing to be wished for, save the discovery of fresh documents." It is worth mentioning too that Halliwell, in 1841, dedicated his *On the Character of Sir John Falstaff, As Originally Exhibited by Shakespeare in the Two Parts of King Henry IV* to Collier "as a slight testimony of respect and esteem."

[6]Dyce did indeed use the Cambridge Public Library (i.e. Cambridge University Library) MS 2567, finding the longer Harleian MS 367 fol 130 "on the whole inferior."

Halliwell's *Ludus Coventriae*, "though all the members (& myself in particular) are anxious to give you every facility for the accomplishment of so desirable an object." More programmatic is Collier's opinion (2 July 1840; LOA 1:16) that Shakespeare's name should be spelled "as it was invariably [...] spelt by contemporaries," a matter very dear to Halliwell's heart, one which he championed from the beginning of his career in *An Introduction to Shakespeare's "Midsummer Night's Dream"* (1841) to the very end in *Which Shall It Be? New Lamps or Old? Shaxpere or Shakespeare?* (1879).[7] Perhaps the most personally interesting letter in 1840 is that in which Collier, replying to Halliwell's request that he "puff" his *Early History of Freemasonry in England* (1840) in the *Morning Chronicle*, writes, "I never puffed myself, nor procured myself to be puffed in my life," however many "other proofs I may have given of my own quackery" (8 May 1840; LOA 3:35). Coming within the context of the letters already written, and given Collier's temperament therein, as well as the fact that both were within a month or two to become founders and then councillors of the Shakespeare Society, Collier's reply is perhaps milder than has been judged, or at least is not necessarily an indication that Collier was "taken aback" by a "brash letter" from a "callow youth of twenty."[8] Halliwell's original letter is in fact quite cordial and respectful: "You told me the other day that you thought every one a quack who wished for newspaper puffs. I suppose I am a quack, for I should be really *very* much obliged to you if you would give me a notice of my little work on Freemasonry in your newspaper.[9]

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[7]Later, after acknowledging this work as "extremely well done," Collier could not resist adding: "I care more for one letter of his text than for all the letters of his name" (10 December 1879; LOA 266:21).

[8]Schoenbaum, p. 284.

[9]This letter, dated only "Thursday" and bound in a copy of Halliwell's *The Early History of Freemasonry in England*, is in University College London (Ogden Collection). Halliwell made a similar request in connection with the BM affair (10 July 1846; Folger Y.d.6 [135]), apparently not previously aware that Collier was about to lose the *Morning Chronicle* post or had indeed just lost it.

The fact of the matter is that Collier did insert a "puff" in the *Morning Chronicle* on the very next day (9 May 1840, [p. 3]). The episode offers a hint of the nature of their long-standing relationship. Throughout, both were what they were: Collier direct and at times bluff, but not without a certain ambiguity; Halliwell direct and always civil, but not without a certain purposefulness.

The relationship deepened in the next two decades as both men became central and powerful figures on the London literary scene and were enmeshed in career-toppling crises. Between 1840 and 1860 the Edinburgh collection contains 248 letters from Collier to Halliwell, including twelve which are undated or misdated but from their contents and the volume in which Halliwell placed them undoubtedly belong to this period. It is the period of their joint activities as members and officers of *inter alia* the Percy, Camden, and Shakespeare Societies. It is the period which saw the appearance of three editions of Shakespeare by Collier (1842-44, 1853, 1857), one by Halliwell (1853-65), as well as editions by Singer (1856), Dyce (1857), and Staunton (1858-60), among more than fifty others. It is the period which saw the dissolution of the Percy and Shakespeare Societies in 1852 and 1853 respectively. It is the period of the turbulent "affairs": Halliwell's with the British Museum in the mid-forties and Collier's with the Perkins Folio, which reached a climax in the fifties, peaking in 1859-60. It is the period in which both men produced a noteworthy number of publications: Collier some fifty-two separate titles (according to the British Library catalogue, although there were even more), Halliwell 160 (twenty-nine in 1860 alone).

Collier was director of the Shakespeare Society from 1841, when it first began issuing publications, to 1853, the year of its dissolution. Of the twenty-one original members of the Council, he is one of the five to have served uninterruptedly – the others being William Ayrton, Halliwell, William Harness, and F. Guest Tomlins (who was secretary throughout). Although he was a member of other societies, it is clear that he was especially active, energetic, and devoted in this one. Perhaps even more important than the fact that he was assured another outlet for his scholarly

work was the evident pleasure he had in directing people and events. Numerous letters to Halliwell are concerned with the day-by-day business of the Council of the Shakespeare Society. Typical is Collier's letter of 11 November 1842 (LOA 23:52) in which he tells of having informed the members of the state of Halliwell's transcripts, of a resolution enabling Thomas Wright to commence printing the Chester Plays, of the payment for a German translation, of the state of Collier's reprints of *Pierce Penniless* and Henslowe's *Diary* and Barron Field's *Edward IV*. Others testify more directly to Collier's attempts to shape and control the society. Early on, in a letter of 8 January 1841 (LOA 10:20), he quotes, approvingly, the "correct" view of Halliwell that they should have "men on the Council known to the public as well as to ourselves," but adds: "My objection is to such a one as is *nimis notus omnibus*: he is worse than an *ignotus* – However, such we have avoided as yet." Indeed, personalities – harmonizing or conflicting – are the subject of numerous letters. In a P.S. of 10 November 1840 (LOA 3:32) Collier had been "very much obliged for the earnest & zealous manner in which you have so early stepped forward with your aid. It is in contrast with Mr [Joseph] Hunter's reluctance, though he may have good reasons for retiring from active duties." Collier expands on the matter in 8 January 1841 (LOA 10:20):

I am sorry to say that Mr Hunter has declined to re-join the Council of the Shakespeare Society. Perhaps he does not like some of the members of it; but I think he is wrong to let any personal feelings interfere with the attainment of a good object. Of course neither I nor any body else ever expected him to apply to the purposes of the Society any acquisitions he may have made & can profitably apply otherwise. If I were he, I would stand on my own learning & reputation and not care one straw for any member of the Council, however *dislikeable*. I think it is a condescension on his part to be at all governed by such feelings & it is making others of a vast deal too much importance. It makes himself too little, and them too great.

Collier's pragmatism did not prevent him, however, from

wondering (31 December 1841; LOA 33:19) whether Hunter could take over from Charles Knight, who had withdrawn from the Council, for Hunter might be the lesser of two evils. What is clear is that Collier wanted to rule the Council and that meant populating it with compatible members. Halliwell did become a member after Hunter resigned. Sensing in him a sympathetic ally, Collier mentions (30 March 1841; LOA 14:11) that "at the next Council we shall have to consider who shall come in instead of the five retiring members," and urges him to "turn this in your mind & let me know without reserve what your wishes are. I am confident that in the main we shall concur." Collier had a definite idea of whom he wanted (8 January 1841; LOA 10:20): "I want to get such a man as Mr [Henry] Hallam, if we can. I do not object to the young, who have often more zeal & sometimes more knowledge than the old. It would give me great satisfaction to have Mr C[harles] P[urton] Cooper among us, if he could consent." They would certainly be better than Thomas Campbell, who had withdrawn from the Council and the Society: "He is one of those who think that mines of information have yet been unexplored and that we ought to discover wonders unheard of respecting Shakespeare. Let him be one of the discoverers. He seems to have had some opium dream of 'treasures yet undug'." He has doubts about Halliwell's candidate, James Robinson Planché, who at the founding of the Society "refused not only that place [on the Council], but to subscribe at all, though pressed as far as good breeding would allow." Although "pledged" to Planché, Collier reports (19 January 1842; LOA 24:1) that he has not been elected to the Council and is sorry that Halliwell is "dissatisfied." A few days later (24 January 1842; LOA 24:7), he asks Halliwell to "reconsider" his decision to resign.[10] Shortly

[10]Remaining or resigning was apparently a tactical device in the machinations of the societies. Within a relatively short period moves and counter moves are referred to. On 13 December 1841, for example, a fragment of a letter from Collier reads: "me to return to the Percy Society after I had withdrawn. Let me now prevail with you. I shall miss you most grievously, for I always look up to you as a thorough-going antiquarian, who will support me in the right against all pretenders" (LOA 10:43). Two

thereafter (19 April 1842; LOA 24:16) Planché appears once again on Collier's list of candidates, along with Henry Hallam, Barron Field, T. J. Pettigrew, and John Oxenford: "Thus you will see that the wishes of both of us are so far accomplished & there can be no doubt of their election." By 1842 a considerable overhaul of the Council had taken place. Although the number of members remained twenty-one, Thomas Courtenay, C. W. Dilke, Thomas Campbell, Charles Knight, Douglas Jerrold, James Kenney, Frederic Madden, Thomas Noon Talfourd, and Charles Young were replaced by Peter Cunningham, Beriah Botfield, Frederick Watson, Barron Field, Henry Hallam, John Oxenford, Thomas Joseph Pettigrew, and Planché. Despite some later changes, Collier's power remained stable. As director from the founding to the dissolution of the Shakespeare Society he could respond to a move by Halliwell with a magisterial "Of course the Shakespeare Society would not for an instant think of standing in your way" (17 July 1852; LOA 56:40).

Halliwell was, it may be assumed, useful to Collier for the implementation and consolidation of his power as director. "As far as I am concerned," writes Collier on 30 October 1841 (LOA 31:22), "the more you interfere with the proceedings of the Shakespeare Society the better," explaining that Halliwell had helped him by pointing out Peter Cunningham's inconsistent editorial practices and indicating that it would be best not to

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days later Collier is "sorry" Halliwell has withdrawn from the Percy Society: "what we shall do without you [...] I know not" (15 December 1841; LOA 35:8). On 13 January 1842 Rimbault, the secretary, asks Halliwell to postpone retiring so as to show there are not "some dissensions [...] in the Council" (LOA 24:8). In another instance, Sir Frederic Madden's diary (now in the Bodleian Library) entry for 8 December 1842 gives a vivid picture of a meeting of the Percy Society Council: "Above an hour was occupied in a very stormy discussion respecting Mr Halliwell, whose shameful (not to say swindling) conduct as Treasurer, ended by his quitting the Society altogether." Be that as it may, Halliwell continued his publications for the Percy Society, became a Council member again in 1846, acting secretary in 1849 and then honorary secretary until its dissolution.

mention the source of this information since "some authors do not like their copy to be examined & criticized by other authors." It would be inaccurate, however, to interpret Collier's role as merely power-oriented. For, as is apparent in some of the letters just quoted, Collier was not simply interested in personalities but was following a programmatic course. Not only were the members of the Council to represent various intellectual and literary views – antiquaries and bibliographers were as well represented as literati – they were also expected to exhibit solidarity. In a typical stance, Collier castigates one member, whose name (in all likelihood, Dyce) Halliwell excised:

That kind are generally good: notwithstanding he does not think he can afford to say a good word of any body – but himself, I will say this of him. I told him many years ago that the true way was to give every man his due, and not to try to build up a reputation for himself by pulling that of other people down – & *using the materials* (4 January 1844; LOA 23:42).

Even more exemplary is Collier's

I only wish you understood me as I wish to be understood, & we should never have the slightest discordance. It is these petty disputes about nothing that render us Lit. Antiquaries as a body comparatively powerless. No two pull together; & the moment one appears to be getting a-head, the rest are pulling him back & putting him down. We should act upon a more enlarged view & system, and then we might do something (14 January l851; LOA 56:98).

The combination of the programmatic, the practical, and the personal is evident in Collier's description of Charles Knight's "distinct motion against me for my unanswerable (I still call it) note in Armin's tract" (13 October 1842; LOA 10:29), brought up by George Craik, "one of Mr Knight's employés."[11] Collier

[11]Knight was enraged at Collier's criticism of his "error" in both the *Pictorial* and *Library Shakspere* for "not having consulted the earlier editions of [*Much Ado about Nothing*]." The criticism is to be found in the

supported the Council's "resolution [...] that in future a declaration should accompany the works of the Society, leaving the editors only responsible for facts, criticism or remarks," although "this course seemed to me on some accounts too much, but as I was a party concerned in the question, I expressed my approbation to a certain extent." Two years later, in a characteristic turn, Collier announces that he is responsible for putting the names of the writers of articles in the Shakespeare Society Papers as signatures at the end (30 June 1844; LOA 17:15). (As it turned out, many of the names are fictitious, and Collier himself wrote several articles signed with other names.) Collier's standpoint is sharply illustrated in his response to Halliwell's conjecture about "ducdame" (*AYL* 2.5.54):[12]

> I do not concur [...] but that is neither here nor there: neither you nor I denounce people for not concurring in an opinion. We know too well the difficulty of arriving at conclusions to insist upon others swallowing our nostrums willy nilly. It answers the purpose, however, to seem positive & dictatorial now & then since it makes weak minds concur from the mere apprehension of differing. They think infallible those who affect to think themselves so (23 August 1844; LOA 21:23).

The irony, in view of what was to happen in their careers, is inescapable. But that is a matter which requires separate treatment.

An even more striking example of the interaction of policy and personality is found in Collier's reaction to the treatment of two tracts proposed for publication by the Percy Society, *Pleasant Quips for Upstart Newfangled Gentlewomen* (attributed by Collier to Stephen Gosson) and Charles Bansley's *The Pride and Abuse of Women*. "Finding a strong objection on the part of some members to coarse words (though some of our modern fine words are a great deal coarser)," Collier "left out some lines and terms in

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introduction signed J.P.C. to the reprint of Robert Armin's *Nest of Ninnies* (Shakespeare Society Publications 10, 1842, p. ix).

[12]Art. XXIV, *Shakespeare Society's Papers*, I:24 (1844), p. 151.

the reprints, rather to shew how much worse the blanks were, than the lines & terms which I had omitted" (20 October 1841; LOA 10:10). Nevertheless the Council cancelled suppressed the reprint altogether, substituting Collier's edition of *The Pain and Sorrow of Evil Marriage*. Collier felt "the sudden determination of the Council amounted to this – that I was unfit to be entrusted with the choice or editing of works for the Society." With not uncharacteristic self-pity he was "annoyed, not to say hurt, that what I have done (however little) [the parenthesis interlined] was treated with so little ceremony." Continuing, Collier was in fact almost lachrymose:

> Without any overweeningness on my part (of which I should be ashamed) I think I was entitled to this sort of observation from some of the Council – "Here is a work on which some little pains have been bestowed: the work has merit in itself, independent of its rarity; & here are notes and an introduction, trifling in themselves, but still containing some knowledge: it has been prepared by one of our oldest & not least zealous members, and what we ought to do is to take copies of it home, read them, & on a future day decide whether we ought or ought not to cancel the whole impression."

Collier, obviously, was angry at being caught by surprise, at being caught acting single- and highhandedly: his ever-present suspiciousness is evident in his remarking that "one or more Members observed 'This ought to be a lesson to us, not to permit any work to be put to press without the previous sanction of the Council'." Underneath the surface perhaps, his over-reaction may have served to cover his uneasiness or relief at not (yet) having been caught at forging an inscription so as to establish the attribution of *Pleasant Quips* to Stephen Gosson. At any rate Collier threatened to resign. From the Lear-like pathos to the Coriolanus-like stance he thanks Halliwell (in a final burst added vertically above the salutation in the same letter of 20 October 1841) for his "good opinion" of him and for his "earnest wish that [he] should not leave the Society," convinced that "the Society has left me by taking a different road." At any rate, in what may be the

most characteristic personal and programmatic gesture of all, Collier did not leave the Council, his name not missing from the list of members until 1848. Without doubt, Collier enjoyed the politics and personalities of the societies. "I shall not be tired of them as long as they are not tired of me," he wrote to Halliwell on 1 May 1852 (LOA 53:50), ironically the year which saw the dissolution of the Percy Society, to be followed in 1853 by that of the Shakespeare Society.

Collier's letters to Halliwell in this period on the projects they are engaged in are likewise programmatic, professional, and personal. In them Halliwell shares Collier's confidence, is regarded as colleague and competitor, and is treated with Collier's habitual cordiality and testiness. Typical of their collegial interaction is Collier's offer of his Robin Goodfellow ballad for use by Halliwell in his *Introduction to Shakespeare's "Midsummer Night's Dream*" (1841), although he has no illustrations for it (22 February 1841; LOA 11:42). In fact, he has no objection to Halliwell's reprinting it, adding that he has "in several places [...] invented stanzas or parts of stanzas and lines or parts of lines, exactly fitting what is left of the original impression. These additions are invariably marked with brackets" (5 March 1841; LOA 11:40). Collier's generosity does not, however, prevent him from expressing his disagreement with Halliwell on the date of the play (20 April 1841; LOA 11:33) or asserting that he "cannot undertake to do what even you wish about your Introduction" (25 April 1841; LOA 11:32). Still, Collier would like a copy (11 September 1841; LOA 11:35).

Underlying these exchanges is a programmatic standpoint which Collier felt impelled to make quite explicit on several occasions. Praising their cooperation, he quotes the end of the ballad "From Oberon in Fairy-land" (mistakenly attributed to Ben Jonson) and goes on: "I hate dog-in-the-mangerism above all things & cannot approve even the reply of those who say, 'I cannot communicate because I am going to use it myself *some time or other*'" (24 November 1841; LOA 24:13). It is not just a question of exchanging material, it is more importantly a matter of critical give-and-take. Acknowledging a mistake pointed out by Halliwell,

Collier replies, “I am glad you have found me out in an error which I will acknowledge the moment it is pointed out to me. I dare say it is only one of many, but I make as few as I can” (11 August 1841; LOA 10:40). In a jovial counter he points to a mistake Halliwell has made and concludes, “You must not be too sore and thin-skinned about such matters. I am pretty callous, but I should like to know which twenty lines I omitted, that I may make a note of my blunder.” Collier is much “obliged” by Halliwell’s “remarks & corrections at all times, because I know they are the result of thought and reading, & are only offered in the best spirit – the spirit of arriving at truth” (25 January 1843; LOA 23:63). In the scholarly world, differences are to be expected and respected: “Our ‘verbal Shakespearian differences’ I know nothing of. What are they? and where are they? I can have no "difference" with you merely because you are of one opinion on some philosophical point, and I of another. Each of us must think according to our several means of information. – If your means are more, or better, than mine so much the better for you” (27 November 1850; LOA 59:22). The coexistence of opposing positions is dramatically illustrated in Collier’s response to Halliwell’s edition of the *Ludus Coventriae* (1841):

> The principle on which you have gone is in my judgment a mistaken one, but other people may think differently. My plan would have been to correct all the obvious and undoubted errors of the MS, & to have pointed out the corrections in the notes, thereby shewing how the ignorant transcriber had blundered without adopting his blunders in the text. Your mode accomplishes the same end in a different manner, and I am confident that people in general will be sensible of the obligation you have conferred by your disinterested labours (15 July 1841; LOA 10:45).

In his anonymous review of the work in the *Athenaeum* (4 September 1841, pp. 686-87) Collier does not mention the “mistaken” principle, but finds the “editorial care [...] entrusted to Mr. Halliwell [...] to have [been] discharged [...] with praiseworthy zeal, knowledge, and acuteness.” And in another

instance, he responds to Halliwell's *A Few Remarks on the Emendation "Who smothers her with painting" in the Play of Cymbeline*: "You have made (like an ingenious advocate) a good defence in a bad cause [...]. The fact is that the amanuensis misheard, & therefore miswrote. If a tract were to be written upon every one of the emendations in my copy of the folio 1632, which could be disputed upon plausible grounds, where could the controversy end" (29 March 1852; LOA 49:62). More explicit and firm but yet conciliatory is Collier's justification of his response to Halliwell in the addenda of his *Notes and Emendations* (1853, pp. 495-97):

I assure you that you entirely mistake the spirit of my note in my new Vol. I thought your pamphlet clever, & I said so; but I thought it wrong, & I said so. You have always treated me with courtesy, and I ought to be the last to write or speak in any other spirit. I only mentioned Mrs C[owden] Clarke's Concordance to excuse myself from making quotations, & not at all to imply that you had resorted only to that book. Nevertheless, I do so constantly, and never scruple to avow it. Pray, accept my apology, if it be necessary, & remember that the speed with which the book in question was prepared by me must account for various errors & hastiness (if there be such a word) in the course of it. I respect you too highly, & interest myself in your undertakings too deeply ever to mean to speak at all slightingly of you or them (2 February 1853; LOA 58:9).

Critical discourse, it would seem, should be criticism offered with a liberal spirit and understanding mind. In sending Collier a copy of his new *Life of William Shakespeare*, in which he is referred to, Halliwell says he relies on Collier's "good judgement not to be affronted by plain speaking" (8 December 1847; Folger Y.c.1207[1]). Rejecting Halliwell's criticism of an emendation, Collier can nevertheless say "unreservedly, that, whether in print or in MS, you will do me a favour in setting me right at any time. I only want to be right, though I may not always think those right who tell me I am wrong" (3 April 1852; LOA 47:27). Halliwell, he feels, is one of the few whose judgment and knowledge he respects

and accepts: “Excepting yourself, perhaps, there is nobody who can appreciate the difficulty of such an undertaking” (5 September 1848; LOA 13:55). It is little wonder that Collier can assert that Halliwell can have anything relating to Shakespeare that he has (23 January 1853; LOA 46:21).

Collier’s generosity and good-spirited criticism are most evident when, as director of the Shakespeare and Percy Societies, he can help or counsel Halliwell on projects the societies have commissioned: as seen above, he is ready to lend manuscripts and published works and answer relevant questions, expecting and receiving the like in return. The same is true in matters of the politics of the societies. And Collier’s interest in and support of Halliwell’s other projects – his *Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words* (1846), which is referred to as the Glossary or Archaic Dictionary, and a host of Shakespearean and non-Shakespearean undertakings – are constant. Collier’s continuous interest in Halliwell’s activities and admiration of his energy and financial resources are typically expressed in a letter of 26 June 1851 (LOA 51:9), in which Collier says he would like to see Halliwell’s books and “show 2 or 3 of his own” and then goes on: “You talk of my energy & industry. Am I to understand that yours begins to fail? I hope not, and that it will continue for many years. I have twenty literary projects in my head now, and shall not live, perhaps to complete one of them.”

However, competitiveness and even envy mark the text and subtext of Collier’s correspondence, especially in this period. “Go on & prosper in your book-buying & book-applying,” he writes on 10 May 1852 (LOA 47:36), “You will be sure to turn your acquisitions and knowledge to some account one of these days. For me, not being afflicted with much money, I buy as I can, and as cheaply as I can.” Cooperation is somewhat halting and strained when both are engaged in overlapping projects. If a preoccupation with Shakespeare may have been what bound them, it was also what served to block them. Both produced editions of Shakespeare in the middle decades of the nineteenth century: Collier in 1842-44, 1853, and 1858; Halliwell in 1853-

65.[13] Both produced a life of Shakespeare: Collier first in 1844 in Volume One of the works; Halliwell first in 1848.

Surprisingly or not, Collier is relatively tight-lipped in his remarks to Halliwell about his own first edition of 1842-44. He regrets not being able to present him with a copy, with a fairly lame excuse: "I wish the 'liberality' of the publishers enabled me to give you a copy of the Shakespeare" (30 January 1843; LOA 23:45). But he nevertheless awaits Halliwell's opinion of the seventh volume (9 February 1843; LOA 23:78) and, in returning Halliwell's "postponed, not rejected, papers [most likely, *Some Notes on Passages in Shakespeare*, 1847]," seems peeved enough to remark, "Do not think I shall quarrel with you for not mentioning me or my Shakespeare" (6 August 1845; LOA 23:18). His only other references in this period to his edition are used to attack Alexander Dyce. Collier did have a copy sent to Dyce but wishes

> that I had never presented one to a quarter where it is only received for the sake of finding all possible fault with it, in the true spirit of an old friend turned new enemy. But no more of that, for I will continue to heap coals of fire on his head. I will venture to say that in many respects there is no man living under greater obligations to me than he is (30 January 1843; LOA 23:45).

Collier's constant fear of betrayal is obvious in his complaining of "Mr Dyce who promised me the use of all his notes upon Shakespeare before I began, but when I asked him for them withheld them & now prints them in order to do me what injury he can" (12 March 1844; LOA 22:40). Collier's indignation – "This is not the conduct of a friend of twenty years standing" – is, however, to be balanced against his own penchant for withholding

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[13]James Heywood was glad to learn that Halliwell had postponed his edition of Shakespeare, "as the two editions of Knight & Collier, now coming out, will, I think, glut the market for the present" (14 February 1842; LOA 33:23). It is not clear whether Collier was aware of Halliwell's plans.

information, especially as regards his *Notes and Emendations* and the Perkins Folio.

Although Collier's references to Halliwell's edition are somewhat more numerous, they are perhaps even more meagre in substance. The reason may be that they were written before the publication, during the subscription period, in the main in 1852. On the other hand, more might be expected since it was Collier's habit throughout the correspondence to ask about Halliwell's projects. "I should like to hear on what literary projects you are now engaged. Your mind is so active that you cannot remain idle" (28 June 1850; LOA 59:24) is a typical example, as are such recurring words of support as "I am very glad that your project proceeds so very prosperously" (17 March 1852; LOA 53:20). "Prosperously" is the key word, for it is the main theme of the letters on the edition. Indeed, money and material success constitute a major theme of Collier's life, as well as of his relationship with Halliwell, from whom he bought and to whom he sold books, discussed his pension and financial straits, and whose business acumen and seeming wealth and independence he much envied. The first letter on the subject reveals the many-faceted response of Collier to his rival:

I am not rich enough (or to speak more strictly, I am too poor) to become subscriber to your new undertaking, but I heartily wish you all success.[14] There is, I see, a rather slighting paragraph about it in the Athenaeum [2 July 1853, pp. 796-99]. This is hardly fair [...]. I am at this moment printing 3000 copies of an edition in *one* handsome

[14]The initial subscription of the Folio Shakespeare was £40, later raised to £60. (Years later, in a letter of C. M. Ingleby, Halliwell cites £42 as the initial price for 125 copies with plates on plain paper, £63 with plates on India paper, adding, "Both prices were afterwards raised" (27 December 1879; Folger C.a.11[16]). In an undated list (LOA 85:30) Halliwell itemizes his "first vol. cost," coming to a total of £40.1.6. An album of Halliwell miscellanea in University College London (Ogden Collection) contains an undated announcement by Sotheby's of the sale of thirty-three "remaining copies" of a printing of 125 on plain and 25 on India paper, at £63 and £84 respectively. It lists 124 "present owners," among which are seven blanks.

volume; but that cannot interfere with your 20, nor your 20 with my one. I dare say you will fill your list. For me, I aim at the mobility – you at the nobility – only one letter difference. Strange, that a single letter sho[d] make all the odds between 20 volumes & 1 volume! (11 July 1852; LOA 56:39).

Although Collier does not match this Shakespeare-like complexity in the other letters, the duality of response is always evident. If he cannot "afford the luxury," he supposes the "list would be filled forthwith" (5 August 1852; LOA 53:36). He is "glad to hear that the subscription list is full and that you are going to press out of hand" (18 August 1852; LOA 56:1). He is "glad [the] subscription proceeds so prosperously," adding (not unambiguously) that Lord Ellesmere will probably subscribe when the work is complete, for "he hates works that come out piece-meal" (12 September 1852; LOA 60:71). Apologizing for his "negligence" of response, Collier concludes that "you are up to your eyes & ears in illustrations &c of your *great* book, and that any interruption will be a trouble" (5 November 1852; LOA 56:3). And he repeats the two-edged sentiment a few days later: "Remember that I shall be glad to be of any use to you, though I cannot subscribe to your book" (14 November 1852; LOA 48:15). Hearing "that you are purging your list of Subscribers" (3 December 1852; LOA 46:50), Collier responds the next day by sending the prospectus to "a very stable friend of mine [who] wished to subscribe to your monster" (4 December 1852; LOA 53:22).

This help-hinder response, tinged at times with what resembles a touch of *Schadenfreude* when things are going poorly for the other, is apparent in Collier's protection of his *Life of Shakespeare* (in Volume One of his 1842-44 edition) with great defensiveness, if not acrimoniousness, in the second edition of *Notes and Emendations to the Text of Shakespeare's Plays* (1853). Collier was obviously pleased with the *Life*. The first volume is almost done, he announces to Halliwell (10 January 1844; LOA 23:66): "I am making it as far as I can the very opposite of 'Shakespere a Biography'." A few days later (15 January 1844; LOA 21:53) he writes that the Duke of Devonshire

"says that the inscription of such a book to him will be 'quite a feather in his cap.' I hope that it may be so in mine but Dyce (as I hear for I never see him) is still threatening to prevent my ever wearing it. Never mind." The publication of Volume One – "just out" – testifies further to Collier's habitual suspiciousness: "I have not shown it to any body as I went along, being resolved to do all upon my own responsibility [...]. Mr Dyce as morose as ever upon the subject – just as if annotating and editing an old poet were 'Tom Tuckler's Ground' of which he had sole possession & upon which nobody was to trench" (21 February 1844; LOA 23:100). Collier's irritability is evident in his response to receiving a copy of Halliwell's *Life*. He need not make any apology for differing, Collier advises, but he expects only "ordinary literary courtesy" (20 December 1847; LOA 11:21). Collier can also turn the knife adroitly. Glad Halliwell likes his book (*Extracts from the Registers of the Stationers' Company*, 1848) and sorry to have pointed out an omission in Halliwell's *The Interlude of the Disobedient Child* (1848), Collier does not hesitate to add: "What really vexed me was to see a favourable review of my book, and an unfavourable one of yours in the same Athenaeum [19 August 1848, pp. 821-23, 827-28]" (2 September 1848, LOA 11:16).

A noteworthy chain of responses surrounds his *Notes and Emendations*. The matter of the Perkins Folio forgeries is too complex for discussion here.[15] But Collier's individual assertions and strategies are so typical as to merit rehearsal. For one thing, there is the exhilaration of productivity: he is very busy with the work and "an entirely new and improved text (the mere text) in one extremely handsome volume, of which several thousand copies are to be struck off" (4 June 1852; LOA 56:2); "Mine is a tedious job, but the more I see of the new-readings, the more surprised I am that so few had ever been guessed by previous annotation" (23 August 1852; LOA 50:69). As a safeguard he has

[15]The authoritative treatment of Collier's forgeries is to be found in Freeman and Freeman. For a concise summary, see Schoenbaum, pp. 256-66. Collier is defended in a full-length study by Dewey Ganzel, *Fortune and Men's Eyes: The Career of John Payne Collier* (Oxford, 1982).

"been taking the opinions of eminent counsel on the copyright of emendations – whatever you may make, if new, let the authority for them be what it may, is your own property. This will give you a permanent hold upon your own edition, & nobody can copy you with impunity" (18 August 1852; LOA 56:1).[16] This pontificating does little to erase the memory of his earlier complaint that Dyce would not share his readings with him (12 March 1844; LOA 22:10), although he sees no contradiction in capping his own refusals with the assertion that Halliwell can have anything relating to Shakespeare which he has (23 January 1853; LOA 46:21). Employing irony, he can pretend to be matter of fact and above controversy: "As for my book, I care little about the precise authority for the emendations and anybody may differ from me, of course "without offence." I am quite certain that some (not to say most) of the changes must be admitted at once, though it may be doing violence to a few prejudices" (13 January 1853; LOA 48:19).

Collier's most prominent tactic was evasiveness, delay, and even stonewalling. It is not necessary to know all the details of the complex Bridgewater House forgeries to recognize Collier's manoeuvring. Granted free access to the Bridgewater House collection by Lord Ellesmere, he was able to screen off attempts to see the documents on which he was suspected of having based his forgeries. On 12 September 1852 (LOA 60:71) he writes that he hopes Ellesmere will let Halliwell see the documents in question, adding disingenuously that "as far as my advice has influence, I have recommended him to let you have the use of them." Two weeks later Halliwell is informed by Collier that the "MSS in question are in a fire-proof box in London," that he will ask Ellesmere about them or Halliwell can do so directly (1 October 1852; LOA 47:44). Four weeks later Collier writes that Ellesmere "has taken the matter of the documents entirely into his own

[16]The legitimacy of this copyright was much disputed, as is evident in the protests of George L. Craik (17 January 1854; LOA 51:28) and F. R. Atkinson (27 November 1856; LOA 62:17).

hands: indeed I never had any thing to do with the disposal of them" and suggests Halliwell apply directly to him (27 October 1852; LOA 56:41). Two and a half months later Collier replies that Ellesmere will not allow facsimiles (5 February 1853; LOA 50:3). A meeting is finally arranged in Belgrave Square for Halliwell to view the documents (9 February 1853; LOA 50:54), but to Halliwell's request for a facsimile of one of the documents Collier replies that Ellesmere "would rather not be asked for it; but [...] if you much wish for it, I think his Lordship would not refuse to comply" (13 February 1853; LOA 50:36). This does not seem to have happened, for Collier, apparently irritated, answers a Halliwell request, "I fancied that in your collation you would have ascertained precisely how the names were spelled. I hope that you were not hurried" (15 February 1853; LOA 50:67). And finally in his last letter on the subject Collier gives the impression of having been taken aback and hurt by the whole business: "I am much astonished by your opinion respecting the documents you saw in my company at Lord Ellesmere's. I am the more surprised, because you did not utter one word of doubt, or suspicion, to me at the time: nor have you done so since, until now, although some months have elapsed in the interval" (1 May 1853; LOA 49:81). And well he might be, for Halliwell had just produced his exposing *Observations on the Shaksperian Forgeries at Bridgewater House; Illustrative of a Facsimile of the Spurious Letter of H. S.*

To be sure, Halliwell's motives were not absolutely altruistic: his edition and career, like Collier's, had much to gain. The letters, however, emanate from Collier and direct the focus on him and the characteristics of his relationship with Halliwell. Stonewalling, whatever the exact motivation, is one such characteristic. And it takes a pronounced form in Collier's reaction to a traumatic event in Halliwell's life, the charge that he had stolen manuscripts from Trinity College, Cambridge, which then were bought by the British Museum.[17] Only five letters in one year testify to Collier's studied

[17]For treatments of Halliwell's involvement, see D. A. Winstanley, "Halliwell Phillipps and Trinity College Library," *The Library* III:2 (1947-

distancing of himself from the affair. "As to the other matter mentioned, or hinted at, in your note," he writes on 27 March 1845 (LOA 21:12), "I am luckily in total ignorance. I have heard people often speak against you in various ways, but I have given them to understand that the topic was not agreable [*sic*] to me. If you have been injured, I heartily wish that you may obtain redress." The word "luckily" added with a caret does little to reduce the disingenuousness of Collier's protesting in the four remaining letters that "I never will mix myself up with any hostility personal or literary" (26 August 1845; LOA 23:28); that "I have been and shall be strictly neutral: I am neither for nor against any side" (28 August 1845; LOA 23:29); that "I have purposely abstained from mixing myself up with the matter [...]. I was glad that you and Sir H[enry] Ellis would sit at the same table at the last Council of the Shakespeare Society, and that we are not likely to have archaeological and other disputes there. I will belong to no Society that cannot carry on its affairs peaceably" (23 February 1846; LOA 24:35). Collier does indicate in the same letter that "I never hesitate, when the question arises, to do you justice and to enforce the hardship of your case." But evidently not enough to satisfy Halliwell, to whom Collier replied three days later with a repetition of his neutrality, though admitting that in this "one object of my life [...] I have not always been successful." He assures Halliwell that he "may presume" that he took his part and not that of the Trustees of the British Museum, but not in the substance, only in their taking steps to bring the matter to an issue. "I said," he comments, ingratiatingly, "that I rejoiced at it for your sake, as that was what you wished & wanted of all things" (26 February 1846; LOA 24:25). Halliwell was apparently not completely reassured by other instances of Collier's support. In the heat of the British Museum affair Thomas Wright reports: "Collier says he takes a great interest in the matter, and he is strong on your side" (3 October 1845; LOA

48), 250-82, and Spevack, pp. 124-43. Halliwell's view is to be found in his pamphlet *Statement in Answer to Reports which have been Spread Abroad against Mr. James Orchard Halliwell* (26 July 1845).

19:91). In another instance, Bolton Corney writes: "On proceeding to consider who were to retire [from the Council of the Shakespeare Society] Mr Collier said a few words in favor of your reelection, and I followed his example. – I doubt if there was a single vote against you" (15 April 1846; LOA 26:46). But that primary wish of Halliwell's – an open inquiry into the matter – was not fulfilled, although his reader's ticket was restored. Collier's apparent refusal to take sides openly, however, and his pronouncement that neutrality was the one object of his life are not entirely consistent with the events of his career. They may also help account for the fact that in the numerous letters in the Edinburgh collection there are none at all between 1 May 1853 and 27 December 1856.[18]

Other letters of the period, though less dramatic, reinforce the ambivalence of Collier's relationship with Halliwell. Numerous letters dealing with this-and-that and his interest in learning of and seeing Halliwell's projects and works mingle with those concerning Collier's pursuit (for his own purposes) of copies of a quarto of *Titus Andronicus* and the novel upon which *Pericles* is based and the rather humdrum news of the business of the

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[18]Though not in the Edinburgh collection, a letter from Collier to the Duke of Devonshire, brought to my attention by Janet Freeman, is devastatingly revealing of Collier's personality, motivation, and relationship to his patrons, friends, and competitors. As has been observed, Collier constantly avows that he has little influence with his patrons: he can only transmit requests and follow orders. Reacting to Halliwell's application for the use of the Duke's 1603 quarto of *Hamlet*, Collier on 31 January 1851 avers: "Mr Halliwell [...] is not ingenuous; for his 'Shakespearean collections' are for the purpose of a new edition, which he has procured to be puffed in all sorts of ways. He does not tell your Grace, that he means to supersede my editions, by means of his cheap one. It will be easy to make him a civil, but a sufficient, answer in the negative. Mr Halliwell would have made many more friends, if he had been a little more straight-forward in his dealings. He is too fond of doing things underhandedly, and then congratulating himself on the success of his cunning. I speak frankly, because I know that what I say may put your Grace upon your guard" (Chatsworth, 6th Duke of Devonshire's Correspondence, 2d ser., 17.10; quoted with the kind permission of the Chatsworth Settlement Trustees).

societies, mainly titles for publication and the like. And, to be sure, there are charming personal letters: Collier's surprise but "unfeigned pleasure" at Halliwell's marriage in which he praises Halliwell's *Merry Wives of Windsor*, hoping "you have a Merry Wife yourself" (19 August 1842; LOA 23:53); his congratulations on the birth of Halliwell's daughter: "You will have a son all in good time, I dare say; only do not bring him up to the unprofitable trade of an antiquary. It is all very good to be an antiquary but not to try to get anything by it" (10 August 1843; LOA 23:99); even his graceful way of covering up a *faux pas*: "You mistake when you say that I congratulated you twice on the same event; but if it had been *twenty times* it would hardly have been too often, considering that it is your first, when the twenty first arrives, then perhaps even a single congratulation will be too much. Ask Mrs Halliwell" (29 August 1843; LOA 17:89).[19] While the geniality of such letters is undeniable, a certain pungency or piquancy may exist as well. Collier's interest in the *Titus* quarto, which he suspects Halliwell of having, is not without coyness. He would give £50 to the owner of a 1591 or 1594 quarto, "whoever he is" (1 November 1848; LOA 10:30). And three days later, in a P.S., he asks, "Can you contribute something to the projected Shakespearian Exhibition. The edit. of Titus Andronicus, 1594, for instance?" (4 November 1848; LOA 10:12). This is followed by a request a short time later for the date of the *Titus* Halliwell collated (24 November 1848; LOA 33:33), which information "rather disappoints me, because it does not support a new theory of mine, founded upon some recent disclosures" (26 November 1848; LOA 10:49). In another instance, as early as 1843 Collier harmlessly asks whether there is a 1611 *Pericles* (2 March 1843; LOA 23:84); years later, having discovered that Halliwell owns a copy of George Wilkins's novel *The Painfull Adventures of*

[19]In a letter to Halliwell, Thomas Wright conveys, in his special tone, something of the nature of the relationship. He had seen Collier, "who asked anxiously after you, when you were where, how Mrs H. was, how many children you had got, whether they were boys or girls, & & &." (Friday, September 1850; LOA 42:31).

Pericles Prince of Tyre, he cannot understand why Halliwell objects to the Shakespeare Society's reprinting his copy, which Collier would reprint if it were his (31 December 1850; LOA 64:3). In fact, while admitting that "my gladness that the novel on Pericles was yours, arose partly out of the supposition that now there would be no difficulty in the Shakespeare Society to procure a transcript" (7 January 1851; LOA 46:54), he contributed an introduction to the 1857 German publication of a reprint of a copy discovered by Tycho Mommsen. He uses the occasion, it would seem, to suggest the line of defence he was to employ to protect his *Notes and Emendations*: "Every man has a right to do as he likes with his own, as long as he does not injure other people" (26 February 1851; LOA 56:22). And it is difficult to overlook a personal twist in Collier's mischievously touching on a sensitive spot – Halliwell's elopement with the daughter of a vehemently unforgiving Sir Thomas Phillipps – in an otherwise chatty little letter: "I heard it said that Mrs Halliwell had returned to her father's, but it is no part of my character to give circulation to such matters. Besides, I have too much work to do to have time to gossip" (14 November 1842; LOA 23:14). Halliwell was not pleased with this bit of gossipy non-gossip: he underlined in purple the clause "I [...] father's" and added: "It is astonishing how this foundless bit of gossip was generally spread about & believed."

1856-1881: Rival Friends

The remaining 137 letters in the collection cover the period 27 December 1856 to 8 November 1881, to which may be added two from Collier's daughter Emma Letitia on her father's condition and legacy. By 27 December 1856 Collier was just two weeks away from his sixty-eighth birthday. From 1852 to 1860 he was being questioned and then attacked for various forgeries he had perpetrated. In spring 1850 he had moved from London to Maidenhead and was granted a civil list pension of £100.[20] In

[20]A measure of the friendly rivalry between Halliwell and Collier may be implicit in F. W. Fairholt's response: "So Payne Collier has a hundred a

December 1857 his wife died (Collier had mentioned her cancer in a letter of 5 November 1857 [LOA 63:35] to Halliwell); a month later, his patron the Duke of Devonshire. The Percy and Shakespeare Societies no longer existed. Collier resigned as vice-president of the Society of Antiquaries in 1856; he remained as vice-president of the Camden Society until 1861.

His health was failing. Whereas earlier he half-jokingly describes his falling downstairs, "book burdened, & broke my back nearly" (14 July 1848, LOA 11:8), from 1860 on, he complains of having "lost most of my former energy" (9 November 1860; LOA 73:54), grimly or grinningly complains of rheumatism in his right hand, "but, I hope not yet in my mind," although a "Grandpa 24 times over" (17 October 1869; LOA 142:29) and although it "abridges the letters of one at 83¼" (14 March 1872; LOA 194:6). In 1866 he could announce that he had ordered his "*wooden jacket*" (12 April 1866; LOA 113:36). As early as 1860, in asking again how one of Halliwell-Phillipp´s "schemes" was proceeding, he confesses: "I live out of the world & any body does me a favour who is kind enough to become the edit. of a little literary information" (26 June 1860; LOA 73:33).

Nevertheless Collier worked on with industry and engagement. Although rejecting in 1868 a suggestion that he do a new edition of his *History of English Dramatic Poetry to the Time of Shakespeare* – "I can now only potter – not produce" (31 October 1868; LOA 144:35) – he did indeed produce that three-volume work in 1879 at the age of ninety. And he edited an important edition of Spenser (1862), the noteworthy two-volume *Bibliographical and Critical Account of the Rarest Books in the English Language* (1865), and a host of privately printed early prose and verse tracts, as well as ballads. "How do you employ your leisure?" he asked; "I am afraid that when I relax work, I shall be miserable for want of something to do" (1 December 1877; LOA 241:18). And he tried never to be so, even when he admitted

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year *because* he has edited Shakspere & written about the old drama [...] *what* has the government done for you – my *pauvre enfant*" (00 November 1850; LOA 45:4).

he was too old to attend meetings (4 August 1879; LOA 248:13), and his memory and eyesight were failing.[21]

Still, it is hard to deny that the fire was diminished. The letters to Halliwell in these twenty or so years are perhaps less interesting as far as literary scholarship and other related activities are concerned, but then again perhaps more interesting for the deepening relationship and the emotions they portray. The scene is more restricted, the concerns less weighty. The societies dissolved, the pressures of who's in, who's out no longer exist. The battles which involved them both have been fought.[22] Collier's tone, while still lively and crusty, is increasingly nostalgic, even elegiac.

Although the main societies which published early texts no longer existed, Collier continued to devote much of his time to producing reprints, most of which were privately printed. His correspondence with Halliwell in the late 1850s and the 1860s is heavily concerned with them. Almost a leftover from the earlier evasiveness are eleven letters from Collier from 27 December 1856 to 15 July 1858 devoted to a comparison of pages of the copies of the first quarto of *Hamlet* (1603) owned by Halliwell and the

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[21]On 20 April 1878 (LOA 241:55) Collier writes that he has "mislaid" Halliwell's "precise Address" and after his signature adds, "Pardon me! At the moment and till this moment ["and[...]moment" inserted above a caret] I forgot the Phillipps." Recovering gracefully, he goes on: "You have good reason to remember it, at all events."

[22]Thomas Wright thought "the interest in Collier's forgeries, or at least in the Collier question, is entirely gone" (7 October 1860; LOA 75:61). Earlier in the same year Halliwell had written to N. E. Hamilton: "I have explained to Mr. Staunton my strong wish to keep entirely out of the controversy" (23 May 1860; LOA 71:12). In her diary (*A Victorian Chronicle*, ed. Marvin Spevack [Hildesheim, 1999]) Mrs. Halliwell records copying the letter and, earlier, that both her husband and E. W. Ashbee thought the facsimiles in Hamilton's book "badly done & the book altogether" (18 February 1860), among numerous references in her diary of 1860 to the Collier forgeries and her husband's not taking part in it. Some years later she mentions that on a visit to Bridgewater House Halliwell "was silent" in response to Dr. George Henry Kingsley, the librarian, who "was severe in his remarks about Collier & the Shak. MSS." (12 July 1867).

Duke of Devonshire, Collier's patron. As before, Collier is certain the Duke will comply with Halliwell's request, adding his characteristic "as soon as he can conveniently get at the book" (3 January 1857; LOA 60:32) and, also typical, noting that he thinks Halliwell paid too much for it but, equally typical, glad that it is who he has it rather than the British Museum. The Duke, however, refused permission for a facsimile (1 February 1857; LOA 64:34).[23] Nine months later the request is discussed in six further letters between 25 September and 13 November 1857, followed by Collier's dubious admission that he "had no notion that you intended to make a fac-simile of the Hamlet 1603 a part of your great work" (21 November 1857; LOA 64:25). Eight months later Collier is asking whether Halliwell still wants a copy of the title page of the Duke's copy, adding, "If you do, I will forward it immediately" (14 July 1858; LOA 72:57). A day later he does so, expressing his surprise to his by now exasperated friend that he is not giving a facsimile of the whole quarto. By September 1858 Collier had himself "superintended" and published a lithographic facsimile of the Duke of Devonshire's *Hamlet*.

In connection with another project, it is not possible to regard as totally generous Collier's assurance, after applauding Halliwell's "spirit & energy":

> Do not be afraid of interfering with any series I may contemplate. There is room for both of us (even if I had a project in hand) [the parenthesis added above a caret], and always had been, without the necessity of crossing and jostling, unless we wish to cross and jostle, & throw each other out of the course (30 January 1859; LOA 74:22).

Nor is there much comfort in his continuing, "Only remember that, whatever you do, you may reckon upon me for a subscriber."

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[23]Halliwell was so irritated that he made his "disappointment" part of the conclusion of the Preface to his Folio Shakespeare: one of the two disappointments "deserving remark" is "the refusal of His Grace the Duke of Devonshire to permit me to have a fac-simile of the first edition of *Hamlet*."

Three years later Collier brings up the matter again:

I want to know, and without more pause than convenient, whether you have given up your plan of making reprints? [...]. If you *are* going to carry it on, remember that you must consider me a subscriber. If, on the other hand, you are relinquishing the task, I would partially take it up & revive my old plan of furnishing reprints at the exact cost of print and paper (16 April 1862; LOA 213:3).[24]

As always, finances played a major role in Collier's calculations. For one thing, he had little money. To Halliwell and others who felt he merited more than a pension of £100 per year, he replied with some bitterness, "I am not for spitting in the faces of those who would do me a kindness, & I know hundreds who would be glad of my pension for doing nothing, & for having done so little" (27 November 1850; LOA 59:22). And there is little doubt that he envied Halliwell's resources or at least overestimated them. One thread that runs through the correspondence is this fixation on money, which culminates not long before his death in a maxim: "Buying land is better than buying books, & buying books better than making them" (6 May 1877; LOA 237:3). It takes various forms. Collier felt it necessary to explain on various occasions the decision of his patrons, and his role in it, not to subscribe to Halliwell's Shakespeare:

You were never more mistaken than if you suppose that I ever said one word to the Duke, or to Lord Ellesmere against subscribing to your great undertaking. All that ever passed on the subject was that the Duke told me that he never took in a work of the kind in portions; and Lord Ellesmere, at once, informed me that he could not afford to buy the book. I smiled, and added that if his Lordship could not afford it, I was well fortified in the reason, of the same sort, that I had myself

[24]Collier's "Illustrations of Early English Popular Culture" (2 vols., 1862-64) consisted of twenty-four titles; his "Illustrations of Old English Literature" (3 vols., 1864-66), of twenty-four as well. His "reprinting club" increased from twenty-five to fifty subscribers. Halliwell's "Reprints of Rare Books," 1847-64, consisted of eighty-one titles.

assigned to you (2 October 1857; LOA 63:20).

Similarly, he goes on to refer to his own "inability (I willingly avow it) to incur the expense" and feels compelled to repeat that he is "sincerely sorry that I cannot afford to buy your noble volumes" a year later (10 November 1858; LOA 72:59). A few months thereafter, after pledging to be a subscriber to "whatever" Halliwell does, he repeats, "I could not afford your Shakespeare (I would now, *if I could*)," and assures him, "but I can afford (thanks to friends & foes) to pay for your fac-similes [of the Shakespeare Quartos, 48 volumes, 1862-71. The original subscription was five guineas per volume.] as they come out" – with the proviso, "if not too extravagant" (30 January, 1859; LOA 74:22). His wavering fortunes are reflected in his saying later, among numerous instances, that he cannot afford Halliwell's reprints, that people do not pay promptly for his own (2 December 1863; LOA 89:31), that he is tempted to subscribe to Halliwell's "new work [*A Collection Of Ancient Documents Respecting the Office of Master of Revels*, 1870] on my old subject – if not *too dear*" (27 June 1870; LOA 162:10), and even in his remarking that although his "reprints go on very smoothly" people "cannot take the trouble of sending me the trifle due in *postage stamps"* (19 December 1862; LOA 85:23).[25]

"Reprints for ever!" Collier announced, and not simply "if only to prevent utter losses by fire" (30 June 1865; LOA 109:2). This was the scholarly essence of Collier's life and that of his antiquary followers and the societies they founded and supported. And it is hard to deny that since the number printed was proportional to the monetary value of the work, the fewer that were printed, the rarer they were and therefore the wiser the investment. The reprint must be well done, to be sure, as Collier makes clear in his asking "Is there any security that Mr [Lionel] Booth's work, the

[25]Quixotically perhaps, but not uncharacteristically, Collier contributed a stately £50 to Halliwell's National Shakespeare Fund, just half the amount given by the Prince Consort and ten times more than the £5 Dyce was pressured to give.

Reprint of the Folio 1623, will be well done?" (11 April 1860; LOA 230:3). And that attitude accounts for the concern in the relatively large number of letters about the nature and quality of the reprints. But more and more Collier, be it out of benevolence or shrewdness or the miserliness often associated with old age, emphasizes the financial aspects. His unremitting concern for the number of subscribers, his references to the prices of the works, his acknowledgements and thanks for "orders" received[26]: these and similar assertions are typical of the commercial orientation as well as the ambiguity of motivation also found earlier in the correspondence. In 1848 Collier declares he will be a subscriber to Halliwell's "undertaking [probably *Contributions to Early English Literature*] only I shall be glad to be *assured* that no more than *75* copies of each book will be struck off" (26 March 1848; LOA 11:3). A few days later he protests against 100 copies: "Printing even these [75] you expose yourself to the imputation if it be any, that you want to make a sort of bookselling profit of the undertaking. Seventy-five copies, at 5/ each copy, will be nearly £20; and I do not see how print and paper are to cost that" (4 April 1848; LOA 11:4).

Collier's axiomatic "buying books [is] better than making them" (6 May 1877; LOA 237:3) would seem to explain the number and nature of so many letters in this period: the lists of titles, the prices asked and the acknowledgement of payments received, the readiness and indeed eagerness to produce lists of works for sale and to engage in trade with Halliwell. Still, for all his spirited involvement and evident pleasure, Collier does not disguise the discomfort, if not pain, of his enterprise. For one thing, he admits, "I am, and always have been a bad bargainer" (7 January 1861; LOA 71:34) as far as buying and selling books is concerned. In sending lists to Halliwell, he protests that "I do not want you to buy a 'pig in the poke', nor to pay me one farthing more than the thing is fairly worth. I am not a bookseller, though in this instance a seller of books" (18 January 1861; LOA 95:44).

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[26]See, for example, 19 November 1866 (LOA 118:16), 25 November 1866 (LOA 121:23), 12 June 1867 (LOA 122:17), 12 October 1871 (LOA 186:1).

Not surprising is his long letter in which he

own[s] at once that I do not like your proposed wholesale way of dealing in the matter [...]. No: as you yourself proposed in your last, you put your prices agt each in the margin: then return the list to me, & I will say which I will & which I will not sell at the price named [...]. If you think it [Richard Barnfield's *The Encomion of Lady Pecunia*, 1605] too dear when you have it, let me have it again. I am sure I shall like the book quite as well as the money (16 January 1861; LOA 88:45).

The internal conflict is apparent. "Money has often been an object to me, and has prevented my buying many books; but it is not so now: I am nevertheless not unwilling to dispose of tracts [...] that I have now no use for," he concludes. But he evidently feels the pain not of selling as such but "the notion of parting with my books" (23 January 1861; LOA 88:4). For every attempt to mitigate the pain – for example, his minimizing the importance of his books by saying he never had much of a collection, "as I had two capital libraries [of the Duke of Devonshire and the Earl of Ellesmere] at my service" (13 May 1861; LOA 71:7) – there is the more insistent argument: "There is not a book that you know I do not wish back again" (5 April 1861; LOA 85:66); "I cannot bring myself to part with any leaf of it," he says in not sending *England's Helicon*; "If I did, it should be to you" (14 January 1866; LOA 102:7). Or in Collier's preferring to sell books to Halliwell, but not if he is to sell them further (4 December 1865; LOA 102:14). Or in Collier's indignant

I do not care one straw whom you may tell that you bought certain tracts of me [...]. What I object to is merely this; that any body (as one man in particular did) should come to me and say "I want your early edition of Sir J. Davies' Poems for a life I am writing of him," &, giving me £8 for it, should sell it *the very next week* to a collector of Bacon for £12. He, too, pretended to be an author & a gentleman, & no tradesman (15 December 1865; LOA 101:12).

It is not just a question of trading or trading fairly. For one

past seventy – the high tide of his selling was in the 1860s – the selling of his books may have provided him with a vitalizing activity: "This [reprinting and by easy extension selling books] might furnish me with a not disagreeable employment in my old age; for now I have done with Shakespeare & Spenser, I may begin to want something in which to take an interest. – Without it I shall die" (16 April 1862; LOA 213:3). But it is also elegiac, a preparation for death, a disposing of the long-cherished "rarities" and, if so, fairly (the recurring word), and to a friend who will not use them for profit. The accompanying orchestration is evident also in his sensitivity to possession: his "hope" that "*you will lend it, or them to me only for a single day*" (23 January 1861; LOA 88:4); his rehearsal of books he has lost (16 February 1859; LOA 67:7); his mentioning a protégé who had stolen books from him (24 March 1865; LOA 99:34); even his wistfully cynical, "I have done with books as some people do with friends: as soon as I have got out of them all I wanted, I wished them good morning, and shewed them the door" (12 May 1865; LOA 109:21). At the same time his generosity is striking. In response to Halliwell's request for permission to use in his Shakespeare some of the readings from the Perkins Folio (13 September 1866; LOA 114:22), Collier, who had once fought the literary world to protect them, answers on the very next day: "Do what you like with the emendations, as far as I am concerned: I am not aware that I ever parted with the copy-right. All success to you!" (14 September 1866; LOA 114:45).[27]

To the sense of separation and loss, of things and physical powers, belongs the celebration of work accomplished. He is

resolved to make my new book [*A Bibliographical and Critical Account of the Rarest Books in the English Language*, 1865] as good

[27]Starting with the entry for 26 November 1867 and continuing into 1868, Mrs. Halliwell records in her diary that the whole family was busy copying Collier's notes. On 11 January 1868 she writes: "There were 338 notes in all. James gives me £1-10-0 for it [...]. Ellen & Katie earned a halfpenny each by lookg out references in Shak. for James."

as I can. My materials (some of them) go back for more than fifty years, as I was an incautious collector before I was twenty, and now I am in my 75th year. I never omitted to make notes of all rare books I could get hold of, and those notes I have duly arranged (14 January 1863; LOA 92:33).

At age eighty-seven he finds "most welcome" Halliwell's "kind opinion" of his final edition of Shakespeare (30 April 1876; LOA 4:68). His continuing interest in how Halliwell is "getting on" with his "schemes" escalates to his "rejoicing" that he is "proceeding successfully with more discoveries" (28 December 1862; LOA 95:51). He is ready with thanks for works received which he reads "with pleasure" and "with great attention." Shortly before his death he writes, "I am myself in no hurry to die, and to the last I keep up my spirit of enquiry. All success to you in whatever you undertake" (29 January 1880; LOA 266:15). He appears to participate vicariously in it all: "I see that you have been excavating at Stratford. Go on, prosper [...]. I have not given up Shakespeare & never shall give him up" (29 June 1862; LOA 81:37). Interest, encouragement, and support – but essentially passive – were what Collier could offer. Shakespeare was, of course, the magnet: "Nothing can be worthy of him, or approach his worth by the distance between earth and Heaven" (6 May 1877; LOA 237:4). He may ask how Halliwell is "getting on with your 'Shakespeare Commemoration,' or whatever it may be properly called? I hope, well. If I were of your age, I should take great interest in it – though I might not think that our great poet needed any commemoration but his name, nor any monument but his works" (25 November 1863; LOA 89:54). He offers his help, but prefers to stay at home rather than to go to Stratford (5 July 1863; LOA 95:29). Even his criticism of the "late *celebration*" – its "confusion & mis-spent money," "misarrangements," and "ridiculous failures" which led him to be sick of the words "celebration" and "tercentenary" (27 May 1864; LOA 92:6) – serves to underline his absence and his essential marginality. Ironically, even his offer to deposit books in the Shakespeare Library at Stratford backfires: "nearly 100 dramas by

Shakespeare's contemporaries" were rejected and returned (22 July 1865; LOA 109:42). Although Collier remarks that "instead of being 'affronted' by it, I shall be very glad of some of my books back again," he cannot hide his "owning" that "the custodians [were] wrong" in the limits they had set (12 May 1865; LOA 109:21).

Recurring mention of his age and failing health and powers coupled with well-wishing – success, prosperity, health – for his "younger" friend, an almost ceremonial consciousness of occasions, merge in a bonding reverie: "It gives me pleasure to think that you and I formerly pulled together so well, even upon the subject of Shakespeare and that we might have carried all before us, if we had done so still. [Name deleted by Halliwell but most likely Dyce] would have died of envy & mortification" (11 April 1860; LOA 230:3).

But sentiment is not all. Along with the considerable activities of Collier in his later years are the strong opinions of an old campaigner. He names names. Trusting that Halliwell's "Remarks" on his Shakespeare would not have been in the "spirit of Mr. Dyce's," he asserts, "I only want to be right, and make no difficulty in confessing errors, when I make them. All are not errors that others call so: my coat has as many holes in it as those of my rivals; and if it have not more, it is not because they have refrained from picking them, or picking at them" (14 July 1858; LOA 72:57). And one day later:

I hear that the Rev. Mr. Dyce is busy answering me – or trying to answer. This I will say – only let him show that I am unjust, or even mistaken, on any point, and I will acknowledge it in a moment, & in the most public manner. This he may claim from me, on the score of our 30 years friendship, Mr. Singer is "another guess (or guise) sort of person" (15 July 1858; LOA 72:43).

"As for personal attacks on me," announces the seventy-year-old, "I know where & why they originate, & I am prepared for them. Cat's-paws are sometimes very useful & needful. They know what a literary stalking-horse is, as well as a sporting one" (4 August

1859; LOA 179:14). Or the tone can be mellower, the information more directly self-revelatory:

In the course of my literary life I have had sad reason to repent the formation of friendships I once thought sincere, but which turned out to be detestably hollow & selfish. The undisguised openness of my own nature was most cruelly employed against me. My confidence was abused, and my honest meaning grossly misrepresented. Had I not been of a cheerful and, I will say, kindly disposition, I should by this time have been a sort of temperate Timon (21 March 1862; LOA 68:40).

At seventy-eight he elucidates the plan for a reprint series he had announced in the *Athenaeum* (the first reference appears to have been on 3 November 1866, pp. 571-72) and in the reprint of his *England's Parnassus*:

By "restoring property," I mean giving back to the right owner – Thus many lines by Shakespeare, given to Greene, Daniel & Drayton, I have given back to Shakespeare in my notes but still preserving the fact of the misappropriation by retaining the name as originally printed by the Editor of E. P. (8 March 1867; LOA 120:38).

At age eighty-one he refers once more to the manuscripts at Bridgewater House, mentioning a list of persons (including actors) who attended the funeral of Queen Anne, the wife of James I (19 March 1870; LOA 154:35). Harry Hunt describes him after a visit in late 1872: "He is a wonderful man 84 & as upright as a skittle – he has come out in the beard & moustache line" (27 November 1872; LOA 212:28). At age ninety-two, "well & merry," he rushes to the defence of his friend: "Who is the fool and blackguard [most likely, F. J. Furnivall]? You have done wrong in taking notice of him. I take it, he is the same person who in various ways has assaulted me; but I did not crush the spider, as you have done: I let him crawl away" (6 February 1881; LOA 266:20). And later that year, almost ninety-three, he was still engaged: "Do me the favour to send me the book," he writes to

Halliwell. "I know nothing of the Author; but I am very much obliged to him." And, continuing characteristically, "I am sorry to give you this trouble; but very glad to hear that [you] are well, and working: the last must of course depend upon the first," adding after his signature, "I am getting very blind & unsteady in the hand – not in the heart" (8 November 1881; LOA 266:30).

In the 1860s Collier became uncomfortable with the salutation "My dear Sir": "This is not a form of address I like, after our acquaintance of 25 years; & on so many Shakespearian matters I feel so warmly and zealously towards you, that I am half tempted to break through my usual formality. However, I am an old fashioned fellow, now 73" (21 March 1862; LOA 68:40). Still, toward the mid-1860s Collier's salutation "My dear Sir" was replaced by "Dear Halliwell" and he was, in return, addressed as "Dear Collier." It is of course impossible to find an event to explain the change, and it may be an exaggeration to detect some kind of break-through. That the relationship had persisted and matured may be reason enough. Family news – weddings, grandchildren, greetings – became staples of Collier's letters. Be that as it may, Collier seems to have become attached to the name Halliwell. When, after the death of his father-in-law, Thomas Phillipps, Halliwell added Phillipps,[28] Collier still uses "Dear Halliwell" but continues: "You see that I use your old name – that by which I first knew you 40 year ago and that by which you will be best known 400 years hence, as a great benefactor to Literature" (1 May 1874; LOA 110:4). Another time, he uses "Dear H. Phillipps" but protests, "You ought not suppress the name by which you have been so long and so *well* known" (6 April 1875; LOA 158:9). Three days later he writes, "I do not like to lose the Halliwell. May you not be called J. O. Halliwell Phillipps?" (9 April 1875; LOA 158:36). A few months later he addresses "My dear old

[28]Starting with the entry for 26 November 1867 and continuing into 1868, Mrs. Halliwell records in her diary that the whole family was busy copying Collier's notes. On 11 January 1868 she writes: "There were 338 notes in all. James gives me £1-10-0 for it [...]. Ellen & Katie earned a halfpenny each by lookg out references in Shak. for James."

friend," continuing, "Excuse it, if you do not like it, as I could hardly get your two or three ["or three" above a caret] names (and the *Halliwell* I could not consent to omit) into the line" (24 October 1875; LOA 219:38). Although Collier is "glad you do not give up, nor mean to give up, the name of Halliwell" (2 April 1876; LOA 222:19), Collier's varying the salutation and his insistence on Halliwell do, in their earnest playfulness,[29] increase the affectionate sentiment of the "Old Man." The last but one letter in the collection, written in a steady hand when he was ninety-two, testifies to Collier's assessment of his relationship to his colleague:

My dear old friend I must have known you now not far from half a century. My best and heartiest thanks for the copy of your book [*Outlines of the Life of Shakespeare*], and for its welcome inscription.[30] You are at least 20 years my junior; but I still feel the warmest interest in your pursuits & discoveries; and although I am now not far from 93 years old, I cannot imagine that arrival of a time when the name of Halliwell, in connexion with that of Shakespeare, will not seem to take very many years from my old shoulders. Yours most thankfully J. Payne Collier (29 June 1881; LOA 266:23).

For his part, Halliwell was, to the very end and unbeknown to Collier, engaged in his behalf. Having learned from Lord Carnarvon that there was no way to prevent Collier from being removed from the Society of Antiquaries because of non-payment of his arrears, Halliwell wrote an immediate and eloquent appeal, "urgently in defence of an old friend's position in the Society," so revealing of both men and their relationship:

Mr Payne Collier, who is in his 95th year, is not in a state of health to

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[29]See above, n. 21 for Collier's addition to the letter addressed "My dear Halliwell."

[30]The copy, now in the collection of Arthur Freeman, is inscribed to Collier "from his old friend, The Author." True to form, Collier commented on the book in his *Diary*, as Janet Freeman has pointed out to me: "very industrious and laboriously accurate [...]. It is a bad title but a good book" (Folger M.a.37:57).

attend to business of any kind. On this ground alone his name should not be allowed to remain in such a list – but it should be remembered that, in years gone by, Mr Collier, long one of your Vice-Presidents, materially assisted the Society by his pen & in its business arrangements. To put the case, however, on what is, in this instance, the lowest ground of all, that simply of money, surely his unpaid contributions to the Archaeologia are worth more than the few guineas now due, otherwise, I presume, they would not have been allowed to appear. It would no doubt be unfair to conclude that the Society values pecuniary more than literary services, & yet there is obviously the risk of this inference in the present case (10 April 1883; LOA 263:51).

Collier seems to have remained in the Society to the end. There is an admiring eulogy of him in the proceedings of 23 April 1884.

Later that year, Halliwell wrote to Collier's daughter after the death of her father that "it will be a source of great satisfaction to me if I can be of any use in advising you as to the disposition of your dear Father's books," sensibly recommending Sotheby, Wilkinson, and Hodge as the best auctioneers and the "best persons to value for the probate duty" and also "the advisability of some of the volumes with his private memoranda being retained by the family" (18 October 1883; LOA 276:53). In response to her "letter of the 14th Inst.," he repeated his recommendation, adding with urgency that "before the Catalogue is made, I will go carefully through them ["every book, every MS., & *every* literary *scrap* of any kind"] in their [Sotheby's] rooms & pick out anything that ought to be kept by the family" (17 November 1883; LOA 278:25).

Intriguing, for some, is not merely *what* Halliwell was looking for but also *why*. Was it only good will that underlay his offer? Or was there something else in play in his statement "pray do not hesitate to command my services, for I feel that I should pretty well know any that your Father would have wished not to be put up to auction"? There is little reason to doubt Halliwell's sincerity, especially at this stage of his career. Still, it is not clear whether Miss Collier took up his proposal. The matter is at any rate hard to resolve with certainty. And it may reflect, in a small way, the nature of the relationship between two men who, each in his own

way, could be aggressive and yet defensive, open to criticism and yet rigorous in accepting it, urging cooperation and yet not without a certain paranoia, social beings and yet intensely private. For all their differences, which are shadings of these attitudes, there can be little doubt that they shared the complexities of the common pursuit: they were first and last bookmen.

2. Alexander Dyce

Alexander Dyce corresponded with Halliwell from 1840 to 1869, the year of his death. Born in 1798, he was, like John Payne Collier (nine years his senior), an established literary figure by the time of his first letter (in the Edinburgh collection) of 30 May 1840 to Halliwell, then a few weeks short of his twentieth birthday. Having abandoned both a business and a clerical career after leaving Oxford, he had by 1840 produced editions of George Peele (in two volumes, 1828, and three, 1829-30), of John Webster (in four volumes, 1839), of Robert Greene (in two volumes, 1831), of Thomas Middleton (in five volumes, 1840), among numerous other works. He was, without doubt, the most respected if not prolific editor of Elizabethan dramatists of his time. That he should correspond with the young Halliwell is, as was the case with Collier, a sign of mutual scholarly recognition and regard. Both had much to gain from a cordial working relationship which continued, with one notable hiatus, for almost thirty years.

The ninety-two letters from Dyce to Halliwell in the Edinburgh collection, as well as the four to Dyce from Halliwell,[31] though

[31]This total includes three letters which have been deleted (LOA 124:40, LOA 152:56, LOA 155:8). It is not uncommon for some of Dyce's letters to lack the date of a day – Dyce at times substituting the name of the day – or even the month. In such cases, the name of the day is given or a "00" for a missing day or month. In three instances day, month, and year are omitted: LOA 88:42, LOA 108:48, LOA 208:25. From the content or the volume in which they have been bound, roughly chronological, they can be assigned to the 1860s. There are also two notes from Halliwell bearing exclusively on Dyce: one, a letter to Dr. Henry Bence Jones, Dyce's

averaging out to only about three per year, are quite straightforward in their nature, utilitarian in their intent, and yet not uninteresting in their personal and literary revelations. There are thirteen letters from Dyce between 30 May 1840 and March 1844; the rest cover the period between 30 June 1854 and 28 January 1869. Striking is the fact that there are no letters between Dyce and Halliwell from March 1844 to 30 June 1854.

Though relatively few, the letters of the earlier group are concerned with all the main topics of the entire correspondence: information connected with Dyce's undertakings and reactions to Halliwell's, interspersed with remarks on friends and competitors. There are no this-and-that or simply chatty letters, but Dyce's particular grumpy-grinning tone, which serves to characterize both himself and his relationship with Halliwell, is hardly ever absent. Dyce does not seem to have been as much of a full-time player as Collier and Halliwell in the literary societies, although he was a founder of the Shakespeare Society and a Council member as well of the Camden and Percy Societies. He knew, of course, that Halliwell was a keen "societist" and could not resist addressing one of his earliest letters to Halliwell as "F.R.S.A.B.C.D.E.F.G.H.I.J.K.L.M.N.O.P." (16 November 184?; LOA 10:9).[32] In another he asked, "Tell me if you have yet demolished the Camden. & how many new Literary Societies you have established during the last six weeks" (1 July 1840; LOA 3:23). And, continuing, he demonstrates his apparently cordial relationship with Halliwell and others who play a role in his life:

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physician (13 May 1861; LOA 79:8), and the other, a note on Dyce's condition (26 March 1869; LOA 149:5*).

[32]Halliwell was fond of listing his memberships on his title-pages, especially at the beginning of his career. The reviewer for *The Athenaeum*, identified by The Athenaeum Indexing Project as William John Thoms (secretary of the Camden Society and founder in 1849 of *Notes and Queries*), used the fact to intensify his harsh review of *The Interlude of the Disobedient Child* (Percy Society, 1848): if the string of them means "'competent editor', we are bound, on such authority as the pamphlet before us, to pronounce it an unwarranted usurpation" (19 August 1848, p. 828).

"Remember me to Wright & Collier; & say to the latter that I felt greatly obliged to him for the opera tickets which he did *not* send me. Be a good boy till I return; & cultivate brotherly love towards [W. J.] Thoms & [John] Bruce [both members of the Camden Society Council with whom Halliwell was in conflict about publishing policy]." Dyce must obviously have been only too aware of the young Halliwell's eager and ambitious attempts to further his career. And he could be critical: Sir Frederic Madden, not without personal prejudice, reported in his diary entry of 9 August 1841 that Dyce "condemned in no very measured terms" Halliwell's editions of Lydgate's minor poems (for the Percy Society, 1840) and of the *Ludus Coventriae* (for the Shakespeare Society, 1841). But Dyce did not share his undeniable personal animosity. In fact, Dyce's crusty humor and scholarly strictness were not spared his own Percy Society. He quarrelled with the "Percy Asses" – playing on the name of one of them, Lord Braybrooke – "who have determined to castrate the publications on account of indecency, – a determination at which Collier was, as well as myself, indignant" (20 September 1843; LOA 16:54), and asked Rimbault to withdraw his name from the Council-list.[33] Collier, at this point, was in fact one of Dyce's closest associates. Dyce, "his very sincere friend," had "inscribed" his edition of Middleton to him in 1840. In regretting that he could give

[33]Thomas Wright, with customary humor, reported that "Dyce tells me he has written to resign his place on the Council because they wont print indecent books!!!!!!" (24 July 1843; LOA 18:22). Like the others in his circle, Dyce was not universally praised. Peter Cunningham's characterization – Dyce "has a knack of throwing a cold drop on everything" (29 August 1844; LOA 21:90) – is hardly disputable. Thomas Wright wrote: "Dyce tells me that Collier is very angry with him about Shakespeare. Moxon is to print Dyce's Remarks on Collier's Shakespeare. Dyce's Timon is out – the text is horrid wash and (entre *nous*) the notes are no great shakes for one who is apt to be critical on others" (7 October 1842; LOA 36:17). But he was also circumspect enough to advise Halliwell not to be "too critical on Dyce. The worst he says of you is that you are given to joking. I think he exposes Collier and Knight very much" (6 May 1844; LOA 18:95).

Halliwell no information about the anonymous comedy *Wily Beguiled* (1606), he recommended Collier, who "is the man for such matters; he possesses more knowledge about entries & dates of plays than any person ever attained" (00 February 1843; LOA 22:10). But the clouds were darkening, and a year later Dyce confided to Halliwell:

> Though unwell of late, I have been printing my book on Collier & Knight [*Remarks on Mr. J.P. Collier's and Mr. C. Knight's Editions of Shakespeare*, 1844], which (in spite of the conviction that I have Truth on my side) affords me little satisfaction, because I am attacking one with whom I have been on terms of friendship: I mean, of course, Collier. What Knight may say or think, I regard not (00 March 1844; LOA 17:13).[34]

This is the last letter of the group, but Collier continued to be an irritating subject of Dyce's letters.

A favorite subject of the whole correspondence, very much connected with Dyce's training in classical philology[35] and strong interest in vocabulary, is already apparent in these early letters, although the *DNB* is surely mistaken in asserting that "so early as 1818, in his undergraduate days, he had edited Jarvis's [*sic*] dictionary of the language of Shakespeare"; he did so fifty years later when he published that title by Swynfen Jervis. Never uncritical, Collier himself, in commenting to Halliwell on whether his *Glossary* is "undertaken & published," thought it "ought to undergo the most rigid supervision" and suggested that Halliwell "ask Dyce what he thinks of your proposal for he knows as much

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[34]In remarking somewhat earlier that "Dyce is writing amendations [*sic*] upon Collier & Knight's Shakespeares to be published in an 8to vol by Moxon," John Russell Smith, the publisher and friend of Halliwell, noted that Dyce's acquaintance with many Elizabethan works "may save you much plodding" (29 December 1842; LOA 15:10).

[35]In 1821 Dyce published *Select Translations from the Greek of Quintus Smyrnaeus* in blank verse. A manuscript of his projected translation of the *Deipnosophista* of Atheanaeus of Naucratis, a Greek writer of ca. 200 A.D., is in the Dyce Collection in the Victoria and Albert Museum (MS. 5).

of our old language & customs as anybody" (14 June 1841; LOA 35:27). Responding two weeks later, Dyce wrote, "As to your *Glossary*, it might, I think, have been better," and with characteristic mockery:

> I see no traces in it of the great Sir F[rederic]. Madden, who probably could not supply the information you desired: as to the worthy Wright, he leads you wrong, like an ignis fatuus; what made him explain "steracle," *a sight*, except that in Mapes [Wright had edited *The Latin Poems Commonly Attributed to Walter Mapes* for the Camden Society in 1841] it is preceded by the word "see," I cannot imagine (2 July 1841; LOA 10:46).

Two years later Dyce was still trying to find the meaning (22 September 1843; LOA 16:44), a testimony to the focus of interest and tenacity of purpose of both scholars.

Also characteristic of stance and tone are Dyce's reactions to another Halliwell work and even to his own. To the first: "I *have read* with *great pleasure* the Essay on Falstaff [*On the Character of Sir John Falstaff*, 1841], which appears to me clever, acute, & for the most part convincing. Does *that* satisfy you?" (19 October 1841; LOA 31:28). And to the second: "Gracious! will there be no end to [the edition of John] Skelton [two volumes, 1843]? I have already *corrigenda & addenda*, – a second *Addenda*, – & 3 *Appendices* to his *Life*" (19 October 1843; LOA 17:62). The remaining few letters of the group are business-like, though at times with a certain twist, mainly requests for Halliwell to check or copy works (and thanks for doing so), like the opening of *Jasper* [not identified], "in case the brutes at Magdalen [Oxford] should persist in their refusal" (24 November 1840; LOA 7:10); or the "*title-page* and *colophon* of Rand's edition of [John] Skelton's *Elinor Rumming* [*Elynour Rummin* STC 26614], 1624, 4to" (20 September 1843; LOA 16:54); or not to "forget the Cambridge MS.: it distracts me" (21 March 1842; LOA 169:22); or for information on Joseph Lilly, the London bookseller, and others (30 May 1840; LOA 59:41).

Why there are no letters from Dyce between March 1844 and

30 June 1854 is a matter of speculation. The earlier letters as well as the later ones give no indication of conflict or even tension. With one possible but slight exception – in a letter dated only Saturday [1863 added by Halliwell]; (LOA 90:36*), inserted after 36 and called 37 in the index] Dyce replies, "I never dreamed of 'thinking you rude': on the contrary, I have always found you very obliging & communicative" – the correspondence after 1854 to the time of Dyce's death continued to be cordial and business-like, as at the same time it became more open and personal. For a number of possible explanations for the ten-year gap there is no convincing evidence. Halliwell's troubles with the British Museum, which began in 1844, elicited strong responses from friends and foes, but nothing from Dyce. Even Collier, who professed neutrality, was not completely silent.[36] In fact Halliwell's tactic was to mobilize opinion, to publicize the matter, even to engage Parliament through Disraeli, in order to have the charges against him specified openly and thus, he hoped, to clear himself of them. Besides, his reader's ticket was restored in 1846 and – though he was not legally vindicated, since the British Museum and Trinity College did not take the matter to the courts – he at least resumed what may be described as his status ante quem. No individual or institution seems to have persisted in isolating him. Certainly the eight years between 1846 and 1854 would have been enough time for Dyce, should he have been put off by Halliwell's behaviour, to have re-established relations with him, especially since they shared common pursuits – not to mention their public attacks on the Collier forgeries – and were in even greater need than earlier of communication. Another possible explanation, that Dyce might have been too occupied to write, is likewise unconvincing. It is true that he was immensely busy with an eleven-volume edition of Beaumont and Fletcher (1843-46) and a three-volume Marlowe (1850), among other works. And he was indeed much involved in the Collier forgeries affair. But throughout his life he was an immensely productive scholar, and letter-writing in abundance was a constant and

[36]See above, pp. 23-24.

apparently necessary activity. His health seemed stable during the period: earlier he had mentioned rheumatism in his right hand (9 August 1841; LOA 10:41) and though "unwell of late" he had been printing his book on the Shakespeare editions of Collier and Knight (00 March 1844; LOA 17:13); in the later correspondence references to his health begin in 1861, when he was sixty-three years old. Of course, the answer to the break in the correspondence may be that there was no break at all – that there are letters elsewhere.[37] Still, it is remarkable that there should be none for a ten-year period in the massive Edinburgh collection, nor for that matter any from Halliwell to Dyce in the 1500 or so of his letters in the Folger Shakespeare Library.

The letters from Dyce from 1854 to 1860 contain the most deeply personal utterances of the whole correspondence, centering on perhaps two of the most important events of his life: his edition of Shakespeare (1857) and the wake of his falling out with his old friend John Payne Collier. Very much embroiled in the forgery charges against Collier, he had added to his *Remarks on Mr. J.P. Collier's and Mr. C. Knight's Editions of Shakespeare* (1844) two further frontal attacks: *A Few Notes on Shakespeare; with Occasional Remarks on the Emendations of the Manuscript-Corrector in Mr. Collier's Copy of the Folio 1632* (1853) and *Strictures on Mr. Collier's New Edition of Shakespeare*, 1858 (1859). Dyce's second letter after the long

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[37]Dyce's letter LOA 47:42, dated only Monday, with 7 August 1854 added in Halliwell's hand, thanked Halliwell for his letter. Since it has not yet been located, there may be others as well. In this regard it is important to remember that there is no trace of a correspondence in the Dyce Collection in the Victoria and Albert Museum, although there are numerous letters from other Shakespeareans, such as Collier, S. W. Singer, W. G. Clark, Thomas Keightley, and Richard Grant White. There seems to be only one passing reference to Halliwell in the Collection: in a letter to Dyce of 16 November 1841 Collier writes that he would be pleased to meet Cunningham, Mitford, and Halliwell. Similarly, there are no letters to or from Dyce among the 1500 in the Halliwell Collection in the Folger Shakespeare Library. Dyce is mentioned, at times passingly, in but six letters.

silence makes explicit the connection between the two events:

> My Shakespeare [he wrote] will consist of 6 vols; and I have nearly completed 3. I undertook it on the condition that it was to be without notes of any kind: but I soon found that there was an absolute necessity for occasional annotation concerning variae lectiones in disputed passages, conjectural emendations, &c; and, accordingly, I have a good many notes at the end of each play. Collier's New Emendations cause me no little trouble, in carefully examining them one by one, and in picking out the gold dust from the rubbish. That here and there the Corrector's changes restore the genuine readings, I have a conviction which is not to be shaken by anything that criticism can urge against them. How it happens that he should have made so many bad shots, and yet in a few passages have hit the mark exactly, is a fact for which I am altogether unable to account: I can only wonder at it, – as I do at the egregious folly of Collier in maintaining that the Corrector is always right (7 August 1854; LOA 47:42).

Dyce's certainty about the correctness of his appraisal of Collier is not apparent in his attitude toward his own edition. "*My* Shakespeare will, I apprehend, give little satisfaction to you," he wrote two days earlier, "or to anybody else: I say so sincerely; for I myself am utterly dissatisfied with it, & daily regret that I ever undertook it" (5 August 1854; LOA 50:47).[38] "You will be disappointed by my forth-coming Shakespeare," he wrote three years later. "It is not what it ought to be, – not what I ought to have made it: I have allowed many corruptions to stand, which I now regret that I did not boldly alter. Besides, many errors have crept in, – I hardly know how, – wrong punctuations, mis-spellings, &c." (00 July 1857; LOA 67:40). Even his thanks for

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[38]Interestingly, S. W. Singer, commenting on two readings in Dyce and Collier, pointed out that "Mr Dyce is less disposed to the strait-laced adhesion to palpable errors of the old copies than when he commenced printing" (18 June 1855; LOA 97:47). Earlier, he reported that Dyce had completed three of six volumes but will cancel and reprint "much that he has done" (28 September 1854; LOA 98:29).

Halliwell's "favourable opinion" of his Shakespeare (Friday night, 00.1859; LOA 67:29) – modulated by his lugubrious "P.S. So poor Singer is gathered to the Commentators of other days!" – and his earlier assertion, "I am glad to find that I can see your *Monster*-Shakespeare at the Athenaeum: – how I regret that it was not completed before I commenced my own!" (7 August 1854; LOA 47:42), serve as self-protecting reservations and doubts not so much because of the competing editions as of the public controversy and doubtless also the emotional stress over Collier. Some of Collier's "statements about me," he protested, "are so monstrously false, that I mean to answer them publicly" (7 January 1859; LOA 67:1). Still busy with the reply to Collier (00 March 1859; LOA 67:62), he was at last able to send a copy of his "little book [*Strictures on Mr. Collier's New Edition of Shakespeare, 1858*, 1859]" to Halliwell (00 May 1859; LOA 67:63), adding shortly thereafter that his "strong language" in speaking of Collier was "justified" (00 June 1859; LOA 67:20) and months later in a "P.S. The Collier business grows daily more & more perplexing" (22 April 1860; LOA 65:5).

Dyce's reservations about his Shakespeare are not to be interpreted as meaning he was uninterested in its acceptance and also its success against competing editions. While admitting the imperfections of his own edition, he had vowed, "If I live to print a second edition [...] I shall do my endeavour to make it better than the *first*, *– which to me, – I speak sincerely*, *– is a most unsatisfactory book*" (Wednesday, March 1858; LOA 72:30). And with the emergence of this second edition (nine volumes, 1864-67) it is difficult to overlook what might be described as Dyce's growing excitement over his prospects. "I am not sure there is any glory in being 'sold *off* cheap'," he grumbled. "However, they talk of a new edition" (Saturday, January 1862; LOA 80:1). After admonishing Halliwell not to say "*anything to anybody at present* about my new edition of Shakespeare" (00 February 1862; LOA 80:8), he proceeded in the same month to ask that his Shakespeare be mentioned, for a Cambridge bookseller had announced an edition and his publishers wanted "the world" to learn that he was preparing a new edition (00 February 1862;

LOA 68:5). Fueling his excitement further were his relief and exhilaration, while printing his first volume, on the appearance of the first volume of the Cambridge Shakespeare (most likely the one the Cambridge bookseller had announced): "I was in terrors at the *Cambridge Shakespeare* [ed. W. G. Clark and W. A. Wright, also in nine volumes, 1863-66], till I saw the first vol., and found, to my great pleasure & utter astonishment, that it presents an almost uncorrected text, – wretched in the extreme. In fact, it is a *mumpsimus* edition with hieroglyphical notes" (8 May 1863; LOA 96:45). The momentum was increased as Dyce mentioned the possibility of an American reprint of his edition (14 September 1863; LOA 91:11) and sought information from Halliwell on publishing it in the United States (17 September 1863; LOA 95:43).

Dyce's ambivalent attitude – self-protecting doubts and strong commitment – is evident as well, if not enforced by, his reaction to reviews of his work. "Indifferent" to the response of the periodical press to his first edition, he remarked, "*The Examiner* [16 January 1858, p. 36] praised it, and [...] *The Athenaeum* [16 January 1858, pp. 73-75] ran it down [...]. I adhere to the resolution which I made years ago – never to read reviews of my own publications" (Wednesday, March 1858; LOA 72:30). Grateful for Halliwell's positive response to a volume of his second edition, Dyce was nevertheless apprehensive: "With your favourable opinion I shall try to console myself, when the critic of *The Times*, as I daily expect, comes down upon me 'horse and foot'" (Sunday, January 1864; LOA 90:19). However, no review seems to have appeared in 1864. Although not satisfied with his second volume but "very well pleased" with the third, he did not hesitate to protest, "*I look at no reviews of my edition*: but I am told that the Athenaeum made a most spiteful, unjust, & ignorant attack on the first vol." (Sunday, February 1864; LOA 90:2). As a matter of fact, although not uncritical, the *Athenaeum* review (9 January 1964, pp. 45-46) concludes: "With its many beauties and its few faults, this new edition of Shakespeare is a handsome and noble book: much nearer to our ideal of a perfect work than Mr. Dyce's former edition." Still, Dyce's almost automatic

apprehensiveness is again evident in his reaction to receiving "sundry critiques" of his edition, "most of which I throw into the fire unread, lest they should contain something to annoy me" (Tuesday, February 1865; LOA 99:42).

Dyce's abiding interest was in vocabulary. His classical background, experience with early texts, and natural fastidiousness (obvious as well in his precise, birdlike script) were the ideal equipment for the passionate annotator and glossarist. His status was respected, and his opinions were sought after not merely by Shakespeareans but also by lexicographers: in the Dyce Collection in the Victoria and Albert Museum are letters to Dyce from, *inter alia*, Charles Richardson, the author of *A New Dictionary of the English Language,* 1837, concerning alternative meanings, derivation, spelling, and usage. In some ways his Shakespeare *Glossary* (1867), originally Volume IX of the second edition of the works, was his most satisfying work and for a time the standard work of its kind. It was even revised and published separately by Harold Littledale in 1902. It is small wonder that the largest number of letters in the group – no fewer than twenty-five – are devoted to readings and shades of meaning, as both men were working on their editions and glossaries (Halliwell had published *A Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words* in 1846 and revised Robert Nares's *Glossary* in 1859, among other things). Three letters from Dyce which deal with readings or meanings in *R2*, *Tit.*, *Rom.*, *Ham.*, and *LLL* (30 June 1854; LOA 51:21, 00 May 1855; LOA 56:11, 00 June 1855; LOA 48:55) were doubtless used in his first edition; the rest in the 1860s for his second edition. As always, Dyce was, at least outwardly, modest and self-protective about his efforts. He was glad to receive Halliwell's "favourable opinion" of his *Glossary*, despite its errors (28 October 1867; LOA 125:3). In the preface itself, his reservations are characteristic: "very probably some philologers may think that I have occasionally made distinctions [in determining the nicer shades of meaning] where none in fact exist, and sometimes confounded what ought to have been kept distinct. Nor do I feel sure that sundry other things will not be objected to, and perhaps with justice, in such a mass of

omnigenous matter." These protestations, however, are not to be interpreted as indications of compromise or weakness. On the contrary, Dyce was convinced of the reasonableness of his readings and the accuracy of his glosses. He was as hard-headed and passionate about their rightness and integrity as he was about acknowledging his obligations to his predecessors, "which I mention," he continues in the preface, "because of late it has been too much the fashion to borrow largely and verbatim from the notes of the Variorum Shakespeare, and yet to conceal the debt." Even if not certain of an interpretation, he was certain enough of its unreasonableness:

I don't pretend to determine whether "arm-gaunt" [*Ant*. 1.5.48] be or be not the true reading (I have considerable doubts about it): but I feel quite sure that to explain it as 'as thin as a man's arm' is more than ridiculous. A horse 'as thin as a man's arm' can be no other than a wretched scare-crow: and would you have the mighty Antony, in all his glory, mounted on such an animal?" (Tuesday [the date 7 January 1868 added by Halliwell]; LOA 128:8).

It is not surprising, therefore, that these brief business-like exchanges can also be pithy, exemplifying taste, preference, and so personality. Thus he can criticize Halliwell for adopting in his *1H6*, "*relato lectore*, some sophistications of the second folio" (Sat. Night, June 1864; LOA 6:38); he can reprove him: "What tempted you to adopt the reading 'brooch' [*Tro*. 2.1.114]? & to quote [William] Harness's foolish note, which proves that 'brache' is the true lectio?" (3 July 1865; LOA 7:81); he can simply declare it "*un*safe" for him to alter "house" to "home" in *Err*. 3.1.42 (Wed. Night, September 1866; LOA 114:52). He can agree with Halliwell that "her" is better than "his" in *Per*. 2.2.34 (Monday, March 1865; LOA 100:8), but more often, in a prompt reply to Halliwell's query (14 December 1864; LOA 6:64), he can think the "better reading is decidedly 'found' [in *Lr*. 1.1.59]," although *found* and *fond* are "often confounded in old books" (16 December 1864; LOA 6:65); and he can prefer Collier's "heed" to Halliwell's "heal" in *Per*. 1.4.54 (3 October 1865; LOA 101:2) and "me" in *TGV*

2.4.148 to Halliwell's conjecture "her" (19 September 1866; LOA 114:42).

Dyce's decisiveness is not to be interpreted as dogmatic overbearance. He can be humorously self-ironic: "Upon my word," he admonishes Halliwell, "you are growing so fond of *emendation*, that you will presently be as naughty in that way as I am!" (Wed. Night, September 1866; LOA 114:52). He does not hesitate to ask Halliwell to correct an error in his *Life of Shakespeare* (8 May 1863; LOA 96:45). His requests for information are direct and his responses appreciative. And they are reciprocated by Dyce's generosity in offering Halliwell the opportunity to examine his Shakespeare quartos, adding, characteristically, which "are, on the whole, not worth much" (Sunday, March 1862; LOA 80:8*); by offering to lend him a fragment, adding, again characteristically, that he hopes he will not be asked to lend any of his perfect quartos (Saturday, 00. 1863; LOA 90:26); and even granting Halliwell's request (5 September 1866; LOA 115:24) to use a "sprinkling" of his readings, adding, once more characteristically, that he should like a "*slight* acknowledgement" in the Preface (7 September 1866; LOA 115:20).

Dyce was a no-nonsense colleague, competitor, and friend. He required from Halliwell what he himself offered: information, meaning, "decided opinion" (24 July 1868; LOA 139:13). If straight talk was his wont, then what he wrote is to be taken at face value. His sly humor with regard to Halliwell's projects – "There is really no end to your Shakeapearian undertakings: they quite astonish me; and, as you speak positively of your 'madness,' I shall not be rude enough to contradict you" (Thursday, January 1863; LOA 96:42) – is to be taken as positively as his straightforward remark, "I really am astonished at your indefatigableness!" (14 April 1866; LOA 113:15). Even his seeming unwillingness to accept assistance is not to be taken as indicating a lack of friendliness or generosity. Just a few months before his death, suffering from a life-threatening liver condition, he can thank Halliwell for his offer, "but I believe the MS. Notes on these plays of Ford [Dyce was editing Gifford's *Works of John Ford [...]*

with Additions to the Text and Notes, 1869] would be of no use to me. I have printed all his plays, & *taken immense pains* to correct the absurd oversights & mistakes of Gifford" (15 December 1868; LOA 148:15). And yet shortly thereafter, in his last but one letter in the Edinburgh collection, he can admit that he will avail himself of Halliwell's help, only months before his death, if need be (4 January 1869; LOA 149:29).

It is in this context of straight talk that Dyce's relationship to Halliwell must be assessed. Halliwell must certainly have enjoyed Dyce's view that Richard Grant White was "talking sheer nonsense" possibly about copyright matters, a long-time concern: "he would not have a leg to stand upon in the event of any legal proceedings" (Saturday, 00.1863; LOA 95:33) or that what Mr. [Richard Henry] Horne writes about Shakespeare "ought surely to be passed over in silence" (18 January 1868; LOA 128:31). Halliwell must certainly have understood Dyce's "great annoyance" on being informed by C. M. Ingleby that "an entry concerning Marlowe [in Henslowe's *Diary*], which I quoted from Collier's ed. of Sh., is a decided forgery!!" (6 October 1868; LOA 137:18). And, though he may have been stunned by Dyce's blunt statement, "The older I grow the more & more I dislike such volumes as the one you are now preparing, – I feel the greatest difficulty in forcing myself to read 'full & particular accounts' of 'certaine tenements,' &c. [most likely, *Abstracts and Copies of Indentures Respecting Estates in Henley Street, Stratford-on-Avon*, 1866]," he must certainly have had no reason to doubt Dyce's avowal, "However, I sincerely trust that your new undertaking may prosper" (10 January 1866; LOA 104:27), nor Dyce's response to what must have been Halliwell's immediate reaction: Dyce did not mean he "despised" the works but "my meaning was that I did not like them" (22 January 1866; LOA 105:26). Halliwell's reaction must not only have been immediate but – importantly for one often characterized as devious – straightforward. And it is just this which marked their relationship and which lends genuineness to the forty-five-year-old Halliwell's estimation of Dyce: "You are the shrewdest critic we have ever had, & to my thinking worth a hundred of Gifford,

who is too hasty. I am glad to see you are compassionate to me – no doubt recollecting I have often to dismiss the text in minutes when I ought to take hours, & that I am but really a beginner, hoping now to begin my studies soon afresh & devote to them the rest of my life" (14 February 1865; LOA 5:13).

Above all, the relationship, as it developed in the 1860s, must be judged in the light of numerous and affectionate references to each other's health and welfare. Most revealing is Halliwell's overall appraisal of Dyce and his own Weltanschauung. Not in a letter but in a note dated 24 March 1860 (inserted after LOA 82:43), he characterized the person of his friend. After a pleasant dinner party at Sir James Prior's, he

went home with Dyce about 11 o'clock to the new house in Cambridge terrace, where he showed me over every room. Evidently very proud of his new grandeur & good taste, the walls being covered with expensive pictures, original drawings by Raphael, for many of which he has paid large sums. [*A Catalogue of the Paintings, Miniatures, Drawings, Engravings, Rings and Miscellaneous Objects* bequeathed by Dyce to the South Kensington, now Victoria and Albert, Museum appeared in 1874.] Notwithstanding however every supposed material for happiness, I think it a mere struggle, & that he has much inward melancholy. I can trace a sigh sometimes where all should by rights be sunshine. But such results are of the world & since its commencement. Our grand error is to look for too much from the world. Hence so many sighs for disappointments that might otherwise have been statistically expected.

In the 1860s, with Dyce in his sixties and ailing, the tone of the exchanges is modulated by personal concerns. Dyce reports on his health and inquires about Halliwell's "lameness" (Thursday, July 1861; LOA 81:27), evidently a sprained ankle also mentioned by Halliwell's daughter Charlotte (5 July 1861; LOA 82:20). He is partly "laid up" (Friday, December 1861; LOA 90:18) and asks to be visited (Tuesday, 00.1862; LOA 90:36). He is concerned that

he has not heard from Halliwell (Friday, 00.00; LOA 88:42).[39] For his part, Halliwell, as early as 1861, writes to Dyce's physician, Dr. Henry Bence Jones, on the severe and weakening condition of his patient (13 May 1861; LOA 79:8), "uneasy fearing [...] as he does not appear to have any relatives with him [...] that he does not take sufficient support" and hoping the doctor will excuse his giving "the intimation *quite privately* respecting so valuable a life." Interspersed are lighter touches. When Dyce "demurred" from contributing to Halliwell's National Shakespearian Fund, Mrs. Halliwell's diary records:

> Jas told him that he was determined to have his name, & if he wd not subscribe that he wd put his name down in the papers for £5 & wd pay the money himself – After that Mr D. asked what was the lowest sum he cd give? J. said £5 & as much more as he liked. He gave £5 (17 November 1861).

On 25 May 1866 she records that the two men dined at the University Club. In another instance of their intimacy Dyce dates a letter to John Blake Jell (whose scrapbooks are in the library of the University of Michigan) from Halliwell's residence at 11 Tregunter Road, South Kensington, 26 December 1867. In the late 1860s, in the months before his death, Dyce charts the course of his illness and his reaction to it. "Though better, I am still, ill, ill, ill" (24 July 1868; LOA 139:13). His health is improving (27 August 1868; LOA 140:7); he is feeling better (6 October 1868; LOA 137:18).[40] In rapid succession he produces three characteristic letters: in the first, going into detail about his health ("At times I strongly suspect I am gradually dying of atrophy") and yet reporting on his edition of Ford and asking about the existence of a copy of *The Wonderful Discovery of Elizabeth Sawyer, a Witch*, 1621 (4 December 1868; LOA 149:13); in the

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[39]Though dated only Friday, the letter must be from the 1860s on the basis of the volume in which it has been bound.

[40]These sentiments, in almost the same wording, are to be found in the letters from Dyce to John Forster quoted in his *DNB* article on Dyce.

second, admitting he is so unwell as to "have strong suspicions that I am gradually dying," and yet feeling "greatly obliged" if Halliwell could inquire whether the Sawyer tract be in the Ashmolean collection and, if so, whether he could procure a transcript of it (10 December 1868; LOA 149:19); and a third two days later (LOA 148:18) exhibiting his crusty sympathy: "I congratulate you & yours on your escape from injury by the falling in of the ceiling"; he himself had barely escaped a blown-down chimney which might have "crushed [him] to mummy."[41]

This is the last letter but two from Dyce to Halliwell. Halliwell's concern is evident in a note a few months later:

Called at Rev. A. Dyce's. Poor fellow, I fear I shall never see him again. The housekeeper told me he is fearfully emaciated, & I gather there is little or no hope of recovery. It must now be nearly a year since he was taken ill with the jaundice. When I last saw him he was as yellow as a guinea (26 March 1869; LOA 149:5*).[42]

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[41]Halliwell refers to the incident in a letter to John Russell Smith: "The ceiling of my Study has fallen down, & the other ceilings so dangerous I am having them all redone, & the only place I have to write is in my dressing-room – & not able to get at a single book or paper" (13 January 1869; Folger C.b.17[48]).

[42]In her diary entry for 6 May 1869, Halliwell's wife, Henrietta, noted that the doctor has "given over" Dyce and on 18 May 1869 that Dyce died "Saturday last." It is indicative of the closeness of Dyce and the Halliwell family that in his last letter in the collection Dyce wrote that his housekeeper knows how much "finishing & decorating my present abode" cost (28 January 1869; LOA 169:28), obviously aware that Mrs. Halliwell was busy redecorating the study and part of her house (as she writes in her diary, for example, on 9 April 1869). It must also be mentioned, without prejudice, that Halliwell's note of 26 March 1869 concludes with the perhaps tantalizing statement that Dyce's "house is literally filled with choice works of art & books" – a statement that bears comparison with the note quoted above on p. 56 and the entry of 8 July 1869 in Mrs. Halliwell's diary, in connection with his buying a portrait of Portia by William Salter Herrick, reporting that her husband "told me that Mr Dyce always told him that when he got to middle age he would become very fond of Art, & so it proved by his buying so many statuettes &c."

And to a letter from Dyce's housekeeper, Mrs. E. Chowles, immediately of his death – "Just a line to inform you Mr Dyce departed this Life Saturday Evening between 8 & 9 o'clock his end was peaceful & happy" (18 May 1869; LOA 149:19*) – Halliwell added, "From poor Dyce's housekeeper. He died on Saturday, 15th May, 1869." In an interesting and touching aftermath, he wrote to the Rev. W. J. Ebsworth fifteen years later, on 10 December 1884:

What a merciful escape you have had, & how thankful one ought to be for similar mercies. Two similar accidents have happened in Tregunter Road, & the late Alexr Dyce had only left his next-to-sky room in Grays Inn a few minutes before the chimney stack fell just over his usual chair – that dear old room in which I was first welcomed in my youth now nearly fifty years ago.[43]

And even later, in describing the old Shakespeare Society for the New York Society, Halliwell portrayed Dyce as colleague and friend in a letter to Appleton Morgan:

Alexander Dyce was a frequent attendant. Although sometimes caustic in his writings, he was the reverse at the council and in conversation; and that he was personally one of the kindest and best-hearted of men few can vouch with more accuracy than myself, having enjoyed the advantage of his friendship from the days of my boyhood until his death in the year 1869.[44]

3. Thomas Keightley

There are only four letters in the Edinburgh collection from Thomas Keightley to Halliwell, one in fact just a fragment. There are no direct responses from Halliwell, although there is a

[43]The letter is in the collection of Arthur Freeman, who has kindly permitted its quotation.
[44]"Communication from J. O. Halliwell," *Papers of the New York Shakespeare Society*, No. 5 (1886), pp. 28-9.

mention of Keightley and his edition of Shakespeare (six volumes, 1864) in a letter from Halliwell to W. H. Dixon found in the Folger Shakespeare Library. While not enough to indicate very precisely the extent of the relationship, the few letters do give some insight into the person of Keightley and an additional viewpoint regarding a number of central literary and Shakespearean concerns. One was written in 1853 when, among other notable events, Collier's *Notes and Emendations* was published amid an increasing furore and Halliwell's Folio edition (sixteen volumes, 1853-65) was beginning to appear. Two further letters were written in 1862, when Keightley was preparing his own edition and Halliwell's was well along. Halliwell's letter to Dixon was written in 1865, the fragment by Keightley in 1866, after both editions had been published and reviewed.

When the correspondence began in 1853 Thomas Keightley was sixty-four years old, thirty years Halliwell's senior. Keightley had already had a long literary and journalistic career, begun when Halliwell was but four years old, devoted to popular treatments of topics ranging from fairy mythology to history to classics. He came late to English studies, but was apparently not awed by the challenge, as may be deduced not merely from character traits but from the very fact that his edition of Shakespeare appeared when he was seventy-five years old. What emerges from his letters is a picture of Keightley as one who does not stand on ceremony, as one takes on issues and persons vigorously and without hesitation, speaks his mind openly, confidently, and unguardedly – as one whose views are at the same time as peculiar as they are particular.

His first letter to Halliwell (29 August 1853; LOA 50:22), four pages long and concluding, "Excuse my presumption in thus venturing to lecture you on S[hakespeare]," is typical. After acknowledging the receipt of "two Shakspearian *brochures*," and thanking Halliwell for them, he immediately turns to the matter of reviews. "As to the Athenaeum folk I have long since learned to put no faith in periodic criticism & never take my idea of a work from a review; but as all have not that wisdom you were perhaps right in making a reply for the sake of the subscribers to your

Shakespeare." Keightley was evidently referring to Halliwell's *Curiosities of Modern Shaksperian Criticism* (1853), a reply to an attack on the first volume of his edition in the *Athenaeum* of 2 July 1853 (pp. 796-99).[45]

Keightley then proceeds to Collier, leading to the surmise that the second brochure was Halliwell's *Observations on Some of the Manuscript Emendations of the Text of Shakespeare, and Are They Copyright?* (1853). "I never thought much of Mr Collier as a critic," he unhesitatingly asserts, "& I now regard his reputation as completely gone. How any man could be so deceived is strange. I had hardly read a dozen pages in his book when I saw plainly that his 'corrector' was merely a conjectural critic without any exclusive means of information; even the lines which he supplies I think I could prove to be his own composition." Keightley's listing of specific emendations, "some" of which are "good," and "many" which are "wretchedly prosaic," illustrates his special and at times eccentric point of view. "A table of green freeze" (Collier spells "freese," *H5* 2.3.17), for example, he is "inclined to think is right." "*Enemies* for *runaways* [*Rom.* 3.2.6] I had conjectured myself & rejected I am now in favour of *Rumour's* which I may perhaps justify in N&Q," he asserts. Keightley is clearly an emender, undaunted by tradition and the authority of the old texts, folio and quarto. Although this view was also held by many others, Keightley's method is simplistic, like that of many others. "To show how easy it was to make many of these corrections I made it a practice in reading Mr C's volume," he explains, "not to look at the correction till I had tried my own hand on the place & in 3 cases out of 5 I hit on the very word."

The matter of the authority of the folio is continued. Although not yet having seen Halliwell's edition – like many others he is unable to afford it: "my circumstances oblige me to be rather economic" – he "presumes" Halliwell is not "enthralled to the

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[45]The Athenaeum Indexing Project has identified the anonymous reviewer as none other than John Bruce. As early as 1840 Dyce had urged Halliwell to "cultivate brotherly love" towards the rivals Thomas Wright (Halliwell's friend) and Bruce. See above, p. 44.

folios like Mr C." Accordingly, Keightley elucidates the "one principle to which I adhere in reading S.[,] namely that a true poet cannot write an inharmonious verse, so when I meet with such I infer some error or corruption & in almost every case the cure is very simple." This leads to "another idea of mine [...] that S. never used short lines at the end or the beginning of a paragraph & when they occur in the middle the passage is wrongly arranged, a thing also very easy to rectify." Finally, Keightley tackles the question of verse and prose head on: "My rule," he avers, "is any prose that can be read as verse *is* verse, for real prose never can."

The "lecture" is followed nine years later (27 October 1862; LOA 160:31) by a situation which "emboldens" Keightley to make a request, which turns out to be a number of requests for information, and leads as well to two statements of convictions. All shed light on Keightley and on Halliwell, who appears to have responded in a kind and patient manner, judging from Keightley's expression of gratitude in his next letter (12 November 1862; LOA 160:30). Once again, Keightley wastes no time: "You seem to be the only one of the Shakespearians who is willing to admit me into the society," he plunges in. "You are also the only one of whose corrections I am unable to speak, for the simple reason that your splendid folios are inaccessible to me." In preparing his own edition of Shakespeare, Keightley is not at all embarrassed to admit that he wants "very much to read the originals of Sh's plays edited by yourself & others for the Sh. Society but I cannot get them. Mr Thoms, my usual resource, having sold his among some other books & you know they are not to be bought, at least separately." Consequently, he continues, "would you, who I presume must have them, be so kind as to lend them to me for about a month? at the end of which time I will return them safe & uninjured." After listing *Wiv.*, *Shr.* *R3,* and *Tim.*, he follows with a barrage of questions:

Are there any others there or elsewhere which you could also let me see? Has the original sketch of Henry V been reprinted? Have you been able to make out when the Third Part of the Seven Champions was first published? Is it in the 4to as in the folio of M.N.D. [2.1.251]

Quite over-can*op*ed &c? Are you among those who believe I have proved the prose of our dramatists when metric?

And then, without a pause, the first conviction: "I am now able to show that nearly the whole of our prose was such for 3 ½ centuries from Chaucer & Wycliffe to Dryden & Tillotson including the Bible itself Just by the 1st Chap of Genesis or *any* other chapter." And immediately thereafter the second: "I am fully convinced that Sh read both French & Italian with ease & was able to write in the former."

Halliwell's response is not available, but, judging from Keightley's thanks for the *Timon of Athens*, his assertion that his "discovery of metric prose [...] is as certain as the Copernican system [...] [first introduced by] Gascoyne in his translation of I Suppositi," and still further questions (12 November 1862; LOA 160:32), he was not disposed to ignore the petitioner. One response, however, of his to Keightley's edition is found in a letter to W. H. Dixon. Halliwell was to review it, but "found on examination it is full of variations & no means of getting at what he is driving at." Somewhat exasperated, he does "not know what to do with it until this Shakespeare Expositor [1867] appears" (28 March 1865; Folger Y.c.1213[60]). Still, he does not go so far as Sidney Lee, who describes the edition in his *DNB* article on Keightley as "often very rashly emended." Especially intriguing is the fact that in the last letter of Keightley's to Halliwell (00 August 1866; LOA 115:19) all has been excised but the last paragraph, which is typical of Keightley: "You must not be offended to find no reference to your magnificent folios for they have of course been totally out of my reach."

4. Howard Staunton

The Edinburgh collection contains sixty-two letters from Howard Staunton to Halliwell, ranging from 1855 to 1874, the year of his death. The last one, in fact, was written on 17 June 1874, just five days before he died; a further letter from his wife, Frances,

written on the day after his death, informed Halliwell that she had "found him in his chair quite dead with an unfinished letter before him" (23 June 1874; LOA 106:7). Interestingly enough, forty-four of the letters were written between 1872 and 1874, dealing heavily with Staunton's failing health and increasing melancholy. (Six are undated but, judging from their content and the volumes in which Halliwell placed them, five may be assigned to this period, one [LOA 115:3] to 1866.) Another cluster of six was written in 1865-6, leaving the remaining thirteen spread very thinly over the twenty-year span: one in 1855, three in 1856, two in 1857, one in 1860, one about 1866, one in 1868, one in 1869, and three in 1871.

This chronological distribution begins to indicate something of the nature of the relationship. In 1855 the forty-five-year-old Staunton had already had a brilliant career as a chess player and journalist: in 1843 he defeated the European champion, Fournié de Sante-Amant, going on to other victories and an international reputation; at the same time he owned and edited the monthly *Chess Player's Chronicle*, went on to write the chess column in the *Illustrated London News*, was the author of a number of often reprinted chess manuals and textbooks, and even projected a history of chess in the Middle Ages with Frederic Madden. When his game declined in the early 1850s he turned to literary matters, especially Shakespearean ones. Unlike his competitors, he produced relatively little: an edition issued serially in fifty numbers from 1858 to 1860 with illustrations by John Gilbert, which was reissued in 1864 as the Library Edition in four volumes without the illustrations; facsimiles of the 1609 edition of the Sonnets (1862) and the 1600 quarto of *Much Ado about Nothing* (1864), both from the Ellesmere collection in the library of Bridgewater House; a facsimile of the First Folio of 1623 (1866); and a series of nineteen short articles, "Unsuspected Corruptions of Shakespeare's Text," which appeared in the *Athenaeum* from 1872 to 1874.[46]

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[46]These articles appeared in the *Athenaeum* in 1872 on 19 and 26 October, 2, 6, and 23 November, and 14 and 28 December; in 1873 on 25 January, 29 March, 12 and 26 April, 14 June, 8 November, and 6 December; in 1874

Since the correspondence began in 1855 and although they seem to have become acquainted earlier, Staunton seems to have played no discernible role in Halliwell's early activities: both the Shakespeare and the Percy Societies had been dissolved; the British Museum "affair" was long forgotten. The furore surrounding the John Payne Collier forgeries was very much alive in the mid-1850s, reaching a climax about 1859-60. But since there were only seven letters from Staunton to Halliwell between 1855 and 1860, when Staunton was gaining his spurs, so to speak, on the Shakespearean scene, it is nevertheless surprising that there is little or no reference to Collier in these early letters, though not surprising in those which followed when the Collier matter subsided. Staunton, of course, was very aware of Collier since he was preparing his own edition of Shakespeare from the middle of the 1850s and devoted the largest section of its preface (five of the ten pages and a long footnote and appendix) to the "notorious Collier folio," a preface in which he describes his own attempts to have the "writing tested." Mrs. Halliwell's diary entry of 20 February 1860 reports that Staunton came for information "as to where to find certain documents. I do not know what. James thinks Mr. S. was sent by the Museum." Staunton did write once to Halliwell on a matter which is connected with Collier: "Pray be kind enough to put an end to the uncertainty with regard to the handwriting of the Dulwich envelope by saying whether it is yours or not" (18 May 1860; LOA 82:60). Staunton was responding to a request from N. E. Hamilton "in regard to the pencil endorsement on the wrapper of Mr Alleyn's letter" (17 May 1860; LOA 82:59). Halliwell kept Hamilton's letter to Staunton and wrote to Hamilton a few days later: "I have explained to Mr. Staunton my strong wish to keep entirely out of the controversy" (23 May 1860; LOA 71:12). It may well be that Collier receives no

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on 3 and 31 January, 14 March, 4 April, and 27 June. C. M. Ingleby, after listing these dates (*N&Q*, 6th ser., IV [October 1, 1881], 263-64), adds: "Besides these papers Mr. Staunton did not leave a scrap of criticism affecting the text of his author, or in any way modifying or adding to the notes of his own edition."

additional mention from Staunton because he was so decided by 1860 not to take a further public part in the matter.[47] Or it may be that the matter was only talked about rather than discussed in their correspondence, or of course that letters have disappeared.

What is clear, on the basis of what exists, is that the correspondence was limited to only relatively few professional concerns and enterprises and became increasingly the record of a lively and jovial friendship. When the correspondence began in 1856 both Staunton and Halliwell were preparing their own editions of Shakespeare, the latter having begun publishing his Folio edition in 1853. The few letters on the projects came only from Staunton, who, having "no idea of buying rare folios or quartos for myself" (20.00.1856; LOA 41:71), was having difficulties getting quartos for his collations (00 January 1857; LOA 60:66 and 7 January 1857; LOA 60:35). Staunton coupled this situation with a desire for a copy of Halliwell's Folio edition. In the first instance he wrote: "I am very sorry to hear that your beautiful edition is so inaccessible. It would have been of great assistance to have"; in the second, he asked for the "magnificent Shakespeare" at a reduced price.[48] Earlier in fact he had even asked for cancelled sheets of the edition (9 August 1856; LOA 62:13). The only other references to Staunton's edition were his writing that the first volume of his Library Edition was to appear in the summer of 1866 (6 April 1866; LOA 113:48) and a few days later that the four-volume Routledge Shakespeare, "a reprint of the Illustrated Edition begun in 1856," had been produced without his sanction and advertised as the New Library Edition.

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[47]Mrs. Halliwell's diary entry for 23 May 1860 reports that she "copied letter [of] James to Mr Staunton in wch he declined mixing up in the Collier question."

[48]The complaint was common. Collier and Dyce, among many others, complained of being unable to afford a subscription. Even institutions were affected. William J. Rolfe asked Halliwell to find a rich Boston and Harvard man abroad to present his Folio edition to their libraries (14 March 1873; LOA 83:3) and again a month later to suggest to "some Boston tourist that the gift of the edition to the Harvard library would be very welcome there" (21 April 1873; LOA 143:7*).

"It abounds with errors," was his verdict (16 April 1866; LOA 112:43).[49]

Halliwell makes no direct reference to Staunton's edition, but he evidently thought it useful. In an undated letter responding to a Halliwell request (18 September 1866; LOA 120:32), Staunton gave him permission to use "any suggestions of mine [...] provided you distinctly attribute to me what is mine," preferring they be in notes (00.00.00; LOA 115:3). In a copy of his response – dating Staunton's immediate reply as "of the 19th Inst." – Halliwell agreed to comply "with your wishes by distinctly stating that suggestions are taken from your work," albeit pointing out that in the Handy Volume Shakespeare (1866-67) some of Staunton's alterations have been taken with "merely a general acknowledgement" and, always correct, adding, "You will of course understand that I do not bodily adopt your alterations, merely one here & there, so that the originality of your work will not be impaired" (25 September 1866; LOA 115:11). On the same day Routledge granted Halliwell permission to use Staunton's "suggestions," provided he make "due acknowledgement of them" (25 September 1866; LOA 130:29) – Staunton evidently agreeing even before receiving Halliwell's assurances. This is the only rather chilly exchange in the Edinburgh collection, except perhaps for Halliwell's remark in a letter to E. W. Ashbee regarding Staunton's folio facsimile project: he will not have anything to say about it "even if the process manages to bring out something better than the wretched failure of the Sonnets" (19 March 1863; LOA 85:54). Be that as it may, Staunton did indeed involve Halliwell in the project by informing him that he needed a publisher for the prospectus and asking whether Henry Sotheran might be the one (00.00.00; LOA 202:24), and also that Sotheran will not publish it and that he will have to do it himself, adding that he was "pleased at being elected a Trustee of the Shakespeare Birth Place" (00.00.00; LOA 203:19). (In both cases, of course,

[49]William Jaggard, *Shakespeare Bibliography* (1911), lists a three-volume edition in 1866 from Routledge. The edition is not found in the British Library catalogue.

the undated letters must be dated before the publication of the Library Edition in 1866.) At the same time the relationship was warming: Staunton thanking Halliwell for a book (28 March 1866; LOA 113:44) and for *New Place* [*An Historical Account of the New Place, Stratford-upon-Avon, the Last Residence of Shakespeare*, 1864], a "very noble looking volume" (10 April 1866; LOA 112:1); and sending various chatty letters (00.00.1865; LOA 101:34, 1 November 1868; LOA 41:32, 20 November 1868; LOA 41:29, 21 December 1869; LOA 156:16).

In the 1870s the correspondence increased in number and intensity. As earlier, the concern is with specific projects, but the emphasis is more and more on personal matters. Significantly, the salutations are no longer "My dear Sir," but tellingly "Dear Halliwell" and "Dear Staunton"; Staunton's closings, "Sincerely yours" and "Faithfully yours," Halliwell even employing "Yours ever."

In 1871 Staunton offered Halliwell the copyright of his *Memorials of Shakespeare,* which he had collected and annotated in 1864. He has thought of using it "together with the corrections &c. [...] prepared for another edition." Since he was inclined to "dispose" of the copyright, he stressed the "Will and other beautifully copied documents regarding Shakespeare property," which would be "invaluable" for Halliwell's *Life of Shakespeare* (19 January 1871; LOA 134:27).[50] Halliwell's response can only be deduced from Staunton's next letter, in which he wrote, "I have no idea that your work should stand over such a long period or I should not have proposed the purchase of the Memorials to you" (27 January 1871; LOA 180:5).

The only other letter in 1871 from Staunton deals with a project he had been working on for a number of years – a collection of conjectural emendations which were appearing in

[50]It is not clear whether Staunton knew that Halliwell had published copies of the Will in 1838 and 1851. The latter was so bitter that the authorities of the Prerogative Office refused him permission to publish a facsimile of the Will in the Folio Shakespeare that he underlined his "disappointment" in the Preface (p. vii).

the *Athenaeum*. On 8 June 1871 (LOA 181:14) Staunton informed Halliwell that he wanted to communicate with the editor on the matter, mentioning as well that he has been "dangerously ill." The subject is continued in 1872. Evidently in need of help, Staunton asked for support for his project "for the sake of Shakespearean criticism which has sorely languished of late years" (19 October 1872; LOA 207:9). Although he has a "good deal to say, many emendations and suggestions to put forth, more startling than any yet given," he doubts that he will have the opportunity to do so, for "there are so many silly & so many jealous persons who decry all attempts to 'tamper,' as they miscall it, with Shakespeare's text, that I fear our friend [Norman MacColl, the editor] will be afraid to continue the articles. I *wish you would give him encouragement to go on*. A letter from you would have a good deal of influence on him. We have now been two weeks without an instalment. This looks ominous" (7 December 1872; LOA 134:20).[51] Earlier, Staunton tempered his concern with the joviality for which he was widely admired. Having read that Halliwell had bought the Stratford-on-Avon Theatre, he congratulated him on his "good spirit and liberality," adding, "I would suggest, however, that as Lord Bountiful you might earn 'an infinite' of *Kudos* and do much to bring folks' minds back again to Shakspear and the musical glasses, were you to offer publically [*sic*] a prize, say a copy of your magnificent edition of 'the Bard,' for the best emendation or explication of half a dozen *inscrutables* which we might pick out [...]. Shall I draw up the announcement for the Athenaeum, Saturday, I.L. News, &c. – anent 'The Halliwell's Shakespearian Prize'?" (1 April 1872; LOA 134:23).

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[51]Staunton's concern was great. In a letter to W. J. Rolfe dated only "Sunday P.M. 1872" H. H. Furness reported that Staunton "writes to me that I can't do Sh'n criticism more good than by a note to the editor of the Athenaeum expressing the interest felt here in such and similar articles. So you see, Shakespearean whippers-in are needed all the world over" (*The Letters of Howard Horace Furness*, ed. H[orace] H[oward] F[urness] J[ayne], 2 vols., Boston, 1922, I:178).

The other letters in 1872 refer to Halliwell's "projected great work," which Staunton urged him to continue (4 February 1872; LOA 188:1) and for which he suggested an illustrator, "Mr Fitzcook, for many years an artist connected with the Illustrated News" (29 June 1872; LOA 134:25). Letters of thanks for presents (13 March 1872; LOA 194:16, and 15 March 1872; LOA 194:4) are mingled with some envy of Halliwell's means. "Were I rich enough to offer such a bonus," he had written in connection with the chiding "Halliwell's Shakespearian Prize" (1 April 1872; LOA 134:23). Surely, the aspect of wealth must at least partially underlie his "I sincerely trust Sir T[homas]. P[hillipps].'s magnificent library will not be dispersed, *but will be* yours" (4 February 1872; LOA 188:1) and certainly his ironic, "I hope you are as well as can be expected under the terrible implication of an access of wealth. It must be trying, But I should fancy not insupportable" (13 March 1872; LOA 194:16). A reference to his edition being stalled (18 November 1872; LOA 134:21) is matched by Halliwell's "idea [...] that the time has arrived for the success of a *popular* edition of Shakespeare on a larger scale than has yet been attempted. A *quarto* edition embodying illustrations, copious annotations, archaeologically illustrated, would I suspect be a profitable spec for any really able & judicious publisher, such as is Mr. Sotheran [...]. You are just the boy to undertake such a work & carry it to a successful completion" (23 October 1872; LOA 207:21).

Increasingly, however, it is the man Staunton, the bon vivant, who comes to the forefront of the letters. To the chatty this-and-that letters (e.g. 16 August 1872; LOA 207:33, and 24 October 1872; LOA 200:1) come the vivid pictures of the personal relationship. Mrs. Halliwell records (3 April 1872) that "Mr Howard Staunton the Chess player called this afternoon before dinner & it is after noon now & he is talking as fast as ever." In a note dated 12 January 1871 (inserted after LOA 171:22) Halliwell gives a clear and illuminating description of Staunton's conversation and person:

Howard Staunton called on me today & stayed about two hours. He

looked old & fagged but brightened up under the influence of a few glasses of sherry, & his mind is as vigorous as ever. He told me much that was new to me respecting Edmund Kean, Dickens, Thackeray, & other celebrities. The young lady respecting whom arose the silly quarrel between Dickens & his wife was a fascinating actress who was much admired by Dickens, but there was no pretence for believing that anything whatever of an improper intimacy ever existed between them. Staunton in his early days had acted as an amateur at Deptford in a small theatre where Kean occasionally performed – once when Kean acted at his best as Shylock there were only a few shillings in the house. Kean it seems was utterly indifferent to the number or enthusiasm of his audience. The character of his acting depended chiefly on how his brandy & water agreed with him.

Equally revealing and high-spirited is Staunton's letter of 4 April 1872 (LOA 206:19):

Oh! J. O. Phillipps, Ohio Halliwell! What could induce you to drown me in Sherry after that fashion, last night? – I have not imbibed so much wine at a sitting for a dozen years. It is amazing I got home safe to my wigwam, for since the late illness I cannot carry two or three bottles of wine as discreetly as I once could. Two or three glasses are as much as I usually take and are quite as much as are good for me. My tippling days are over. Pray remember this and, as your Sherry is strong, be merciful. Give my respects to Mrs Phillipps and my promise that when I have next the honour of dining in Tregunter Road, I will not take my wine *before* dinner. I hope you were none the worse, though, as tempter you deserved to be. Later in the year, inviting Halliwell for a cigar, he added: "You are no smoker, but you like a bottle of good wine and a dish of pheasants and those & some pleasant chat [...]. No dress coats or polished boots. All free and easy" (28 December 1872; LOA 134:28).

In 1873 Staunton wrote sixteen letters to Halliwell, the most of any year. The weighting of the correspondence, both in number and nature, shifts noticeably from the professional to the personal. Only five letters are mainly concerned with common pursuits. Towards mid-year Staunton did not think anything

would come of his meeting with Henry Sotheran, the publisher (2 May 1873; LOA 199:39). A few weeks later he asked Halliwell to "disseminate" prospectuses of his new Folio facsimile, and feeling it might even lead to his doing a critical edition for Oxford (21 May 1873; LOA 230:79). And at the end of the year, less optimistic, he informed Halliwell once again about his conjectural emendations:

Touching my Shakespearean discoveries I am reserving every thing in the faint hope of publishing a new edition of his works. I shall cling to that hope until I believe it utterly futile & then as a sin-offering for years of wasting time & thought, I shall probably consign every particle of manuscript I have collated to the flames (2 December 1873; LOA 77:9).

The same letter begins with a bit of gloomy self-revelation:

It is very good of you to think the health of an old hulk like me worth inquiring about – The late weather, so wonderful in its mildness, considering the season, has been very favourable to me, but, remembering what my sufferings were last year, I am looking forward with terror at the approach of Winter with its cold Death-wave.

Staunton had mentioned his failing health in 1871 (8 June 1871; LOA 181:14) and 1872 (4 April 1872; LOA 206:19). In 1873 it became an important theme, merging with his mood, especially in a joyous meeting with Halliwell and others in the Cotswolds. He was "not well" early in the year (12 February 1873; LOA 200:10). Towards mid year, looking forward to seeing Halliwell (13 May 1873; LOA 199:37), he was "off to the famous Cotswolds" (17 May 1873; LOA 203:20). On the next day he was "moody melancholy" (18 May 1873; LOA 202:27). A few weeks later he longed for the meeting: "I have had a bad fit of the blue devils without a soul to speak to" (4 June 1873; LOA 230:75), he confided. The next day he wrote again, alone, waiting for Halliwell (5 June 1873; LOA 230:64). Since they were together in June, there is no exchange of letters. But the exhilarating experience is

evident in letters written by Halliwell to his friends. Of J. W. Jarvis, the bookseller, he asked whether Jarvis "*cannot* [...] *contrive to find business there*" [at Broadway], where he and Staunton will be, for "we three could have a glorious tramp over the Cotswold" (3 June 1873; Folger Y.d.5[13]). To T. F. Dillon Croker he wrote from Broadway of his trip with Staunton to Stratford: they were "as jolly as sandboys [...] how long can jollity last in the world, and would there be any without B. and S." (12 June 1873; Folger Y.c.1211[36]). Back in London a few days later, in another letter to his good friend Croker ("Crow"), he mentions that Thomas Wright ("Tom") and "*probably*" Howard Staunton are to "have a dine with me today at 6" and invites William Kingston Sawyer and Croker to "drop in after dinner," adding characteristically, "I can't very well ask you to dine, enough not being provided & Sunday an uncomatible [come-at-able] day" (15 June 1873; Folger Y.c.1211[37]).

The remaining letters in 1873 are uneventful: a note of thanks (16 February 1873; LOA 200:35), an offer of a cast of a medallion (24 March 1873; LOA 200:33), an expression of disappointment at having missed seeing Nicolaus Delius (2 April 1873; LOA 199:4), a chatty letter about this-and-that (18 April 1873; LOA 202:32). Only two further letters at the end of the year have some professional substance. Staunton objected to his name having been used without his consent by F. J. Furnivall in a New Shakspere Society prospectus and his having been listed as one of the Vice Presidents without his sanction. "Let me know," he asked Halliwell, "whether you have been taken by surprise like others" (8 December 1873; LOA 216:44). And a few days later, "very much annoyed at this *coup d'état*" of Furnivall's, though making "ample allowance for his peculiarly impulsive nature," Staunton exploded: "But really, that any man should attempt to form a Society by appointing himself Director, Naming Vice Presidents, Committee – more, printer, publisher &c &c and then publish a prospectus with 20 mens' [*sic*] names attached to it without asking their owners' sanction, is too bad. He appears to deem it the most natural thing in life & thinks my objection to it the height of impertinence." It is little wonder that Staunton could,

with strong understatement, "suspect that it will cause a serious difference between us" (12 December 1873; LOA 134:22).[52] (Halliwell heartily agreed, turning down both Committee membership and Vice Presidency in a letter to Furnivall [8 December 1873; LOA 69:17] and repeating his rejection emphatically [10 December 1873; LOA 77:4 and 16 December 1873; LOA 69:41].) And one further letter of interest is Halliwell's response to Staunton's premonitions of 2 December 1873 (LOA 77:9): "I am very sorry to hear your talking with so much dread of winter, & only trust that your unfavourable anticipations may not be realized," he wrote, hoping "to have the pleasure of seeing [him], & try to cheer [him] up a few." And, on a subject seemingly no longer critical but never forgotten, he continued, "Amongst the objections to the Perkins folio were strong ones as to stage directions referring to trees on the stage, directions, which, it was stated, proved the notes to have been made after the Restoration. But I occasionally find such directions in earlier plays. An instance came across me the other day in reading the Gentleman of Venice, 1655, – 'the pieces of armour hung upon several trees.' Yet I can hardly believe that trees were introduced into London theatres so early. What say you?" (10 December 1873; LOA 32:41).

The eleven letters written by Staunton in the first half of 1874 contain little that is of substantive importance. On a mistaken allusion of Shakespeare, he held the probable "young Juvenal" to be Nashe and not Lodge (4 February 1874; LOA 130:20); he was pleased Halliwell "thinks well" of his "jottings anent the old stage signs" (8 April 1874; LOA 110:25); he was willing to give the annual meeting of the Trustees of the Shakespeare Museum and Birth Place "publicity if there is enough in the matter to make up a paragraph" (trusting that Halliwell is "none the worse for that inordinate quantity of Claret we swallowed the other night") (25 April 1874; LOA 130:17*): these are the most prominent professional utterances. In three further letters he is chatty (28

[52]A violent controversy involving Furnivall, Swinburne, and Halliwell erupted a few years later. For convenient summaries see Spevack, pp. 498-521 and Benzie, pp. 197-209.

April 1874; LOA 130:9) or regretting that he cannot attend a meeting in Stratford (2 May 1874; LOA 130:23), or remarking on a Venetian penny paper in the English language, "Whose speculation can this be?" (00.00.00; LOA 225:17).[53]

The remaining five letters to Halliwell are an extremely personal record of his physical and mental decline: he is suffering from a "mental sea-sickness wherein one feels to die were to be happy" (24 May 1874; LOA 110:8); he has had a "severe attack of bronchitis attributable to the infernal state of drainage here [...] poisoned at night with the horrible stenches (plural) which poured in at my head [...]. I have had a very narrow escape – a run-away knock at Death's door" (00.00.00; LOA 116:33)[54]; he is gloomily ill (6 June 1874; LOA 116:34); he is ill and helped by roving (17 June 1874; LOA 116:36): "I started away from the whirl and worry of Babylon to wander about the country"; he has to go somewhere to "tranquilize" his mind (00.00.1874; LOA 130:17). (Considering these letters it is difficult to understand the view found in the *DNB* that he died "suddenly" from heart disease on 22 June 1874.)

Staunton was missed. On 24 June 1874 (LOA 130:3) C. M. Ingleby wrote to Halliwell: "So poor old Staunton has departed! I have lost no time in applying to Disraeli for a pension on the CL for Mrs Staunton." On 26 June 1874 (LOA 216:26) Howard Furness uttered his regrets; months later he expressed "terrible shock" at Staunton's death and asked for a photo (31 January 1875; LOA 169:13). The *Athenaeum* eulogy (27 June 1874, pp. 862-63) eulogized him as the "keenest Shakspearean critic we have had since Sidney Walker." F. W. Cosens seems to sum up the general opinion: "Alas poor 'Staunton' [...] he was certainly one of the most witty, entertaining, & well instructed men it was ever my good fortune to meet" (2 January 1875; LOA 158:2). He was

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[53]This undated letter (the opening page or pages are deleted) may be assigned here because the letters in Volume 225 of the Edinburgh collection are devoted mainly to 1876.

[54]The contents of this undated letter imply that it was written in 1874, along with similar dated ones.

certainly all this to Halliwell, whose only extant remark on Staunton's death was his reply to J. W. Jarvis's request for a photo: that he has only a bust of "poor dear old Staunton" (1 July 1874; Folger Y.c.1240[14]).

5. Samuel Weller Singer

The eighteen letters in the Edinburgh collection from Samuel Weller Singer to Halliwell extend over only five years, beginning in 1853 and ending in 1858, the year of Singer's death. Born in 1783, Singer was thirty-seven years older than Halliwell. He was elected fellow of the Society of Antiquaries in 1825, when Halliwell was five years old; his first edition of Shakespeare was published in 1826, when Halliwell was six. By the time Halliwell established a reputation for himself, in the early 1840s, Singer had already had behind him, *inter alia*, a career as bookseller and as librarian to the Royal Institution, an extensive number of reprints of English literature, and an attempted Anglo-Saxon dictionary – all activities of obvious mutual interest. Halliwell and Singer were brought together, however, by further common interests and pursuits, mainly and more specifically when the years of the correspondence are taken into account, by John Payne Collier and his Perkins folio and by the editions of Shakespeare they were preparing. The correspondence as a whole is a record of a straightforward, polite, and cordial relationship.

Almost half the letters are concerned in one way or another with Collier. Singer was one of the first to challenge *Notes and Emendations*, reacting immediately in 1853 with *The Text of Shakespeare Vindicated from the Interpolations and Corruptions Advocated by John Payne Collier*. "I am much gratified," he wrote in his first letter to Halliwell, "that my very hasty Examination of Mr. Collier's Notes meets with your approbation. It would have been more effective perhaps if more time had been bestowed upon it, but I was anxious that some check should at least be offered to the mischief which might arise from the pretensions set up for this very suspicious MS annotator

by incompetent judges" (28 May 1853; LOA 47:46). Halliwell responded positively, it would appear, since in his next letter Singer thanks him for *The Grimaldi Shakspere* (1853), an anonymous burlesque of the Collier affair (attributed by Jaggard to F. W. Fairholt), which "caused me and mine a hearty laugh. I was goose enough," he admits, "to take the announcement seriously! and wondered what it could be. It will do more in the good cause of stemming the tide of corruption than a more serious refutation of the Corrector." And along with the other pamphlets from Halliwell he mentions having "just received Dr [Nicolaus] Delius's Examination of Collier [*J. P. Collier's alte handschriftliche Emendationen zum Shakspere gewürdigt*, 1853, which] seems to treat the whole as *worthless*, and certainly does not spare Collier in his remarks, which are quite as severe as any thing that has yet been said [...] but I am incredulous about what he says about not having seen any of the polemics against Collier. I rejoice that he joins in the war. Grimaldi is however a better auxiliary" (1 October 1853 [in Halliwell's hand]; LOA 47:3).

Like many others, Singer did not charge Collier with falsifications. "On turning to Collier's notes on this play [*LLL*]," he wrote almost two years later, "I was again struck with the coincidences of his own suggestions in 1842 [when Collier's first edition began appearing] with the MS. corrections e.g. *large* house for *charge* h. [*LLL* 5.1.83]." Following up Richard Grant White's argument that some stage directions – in *LLL* 4.3.20, "*He get him in a tree*" – "prove the late date of the corrections," he is certain "that the book is a fabrication to a great extent, and I should be better pleased to place it to the account of Steevens than a more recent falsifier. He was fully capable of it, and clever enough for all its suggestions. I have not seen the [here the letter breaks off, the last page(s) deleted]" (31 May 1855; LOA 48:56). In fact, Singer was inclined to be more open on the matter of emendation. In favoring the quarto reading "knitteth souls" in *MND* (1.1.172), he goes on to urge Halliwell "not to be so servile a follower of the old text as to reject what Mr Collier calls the *self-evident* emendations, or we shall leave it to a coming age to give us a readable text." And, always aware of other editorial

undertakings, he continues: “I have reason to think Mr Dyce will not be very straitlaced [In an earlier letter Singer had expanded the same construction: “Mr Dyce is less disposed to the strait-laced adhesion to palpable errors of the old copies than when he commenced printing” (18 June 1855; LOA 97:47)], and had I my text to print once again there are still many things I should correct” (10 August 1855; LOA 54:26).

Singer was indeed producing a new Shakespeare, having announced to Halliwell on 12 January 1855 (LOA 48:63) that a new edition of the Chiswick Shakespeare would be ready in a few months and on 1 October 1855 (LOA 54:51) that “Wittington [the publisher] is very nearly ready with the Shakespeare,” later remarking, “I am glad you like the aspect of the 1st vol” and explaining, “with regard to the life and the Essays, I did not interfere with my friend [William Watkiss Lloyd], indeed we agreed to differ” (7 January 1856; LOA 54:59).

As early as 1853 it emerges that Singer was not merely working on an edition but was always aware of the competition, which he tended, on the surface at least, to regard more as collegial than rival. In commenting on Delius’s “Examination” of Collier, he mentions *en passant* that Delius is “preparing an Edition of Shakespeare, the text in English, the notes & illustrations in German” (1 October 1853; LOA 47:3). More interesting is his first mentioning, in the same letter, of his edition along with the editions of Collier, Dyce, and Halliwell. Dyce, who turns out to be the one most often measured against, “seems quite delighted to find your text of the Tempest agrees in most particulars with his own, but he complains of being nearly driven out of his wits by the task he has undertaken. I should have thought it would have been easy work to him. I differ from him in some readings he has given & yet I have no reason to doubt but that his text will be a very good one. I regret that we are not to have his notes. [Both Collier and Dyce withheld their notes.]” The recurring triangle is then invoked: “I doubt not that there will be in the main great conformity in the texts of all three editions – Yours, Dyce’s, & mine, as we seem to have the same views. I think however you will have the advantage, long preparation, energy, & great industry

must give. Had I foreseen the labour my revision entails I should have shrunk from it but being fairly embarked the voyage must be made." Not only is the triangle established, but also the hierarchy: Halliwell first, then Dyce, then Singer. From having said he would like to read Halliwell's "Essay on the formation of the text, and inquiry into Elizabethan idiom [in Volume 1, pp. 265-303, of his Folio Shakespeare]" (29 August 1853; LOA 47:7), he goes on to: "I feel quite sure that I can teach *you* nothing, and my book will have no pretension but that of a mere popular guide to the young & unitiated reader of the poet" (11 May 1854; LOA 99:5). "I hope," he continues to Halliwell a few months later, "your comprehensive & magnificent book proceeds to your satisfaction between your labours and those of Mr Dyce we may expect that little will remain to be done toward a settlement of the text" (6 September 1854; LOA 100:16). Dyce, he further informs Halliwell, has completed three of six volumes, but will cancel and reprint "much that he has done" (28 September 1854; LOA 98:29). Nine months later, Dyce "is printing his fourth volume, and told me he was so dissatisfied with what he had done at the outset, that he purposed reprinting his first volume at his own cost" (18 June 1855; LOA 97:47).

The situation was not static, however. Some years later, after the appearance of Dyce's edition in 1857 and as the suspicions regarding Collier's role in the Perkins folio were peaking, Singer wrote:

I have been amusing myself with looking through Mr Dyce's notes and must say that upon the whole they disappoint me. Not a word of Aesthetic or explanatory elucidation! and obsolete crude attempts at emendation noticed *ad nauseam*. I am glad he has availed himself of your labours in the earlier volumes without the pugnacious opposition that meet his friend Collier and Mr Knight everywhere. For my own part I think I escape wonderfully, perhaps even more than I deserved to do. One good result will be that the worth of Collier's MS. Corrections must now be more duly estimated.

After commenting on a number of readings, he continues:

You will oblige me very much if you will indicate to me any notices of Mr Dyce's book which may appear. The Editors of the Spectator and the Examiner are, I believe, his friends, but which says The Athenaeum? Mr Collier not being spared on any occasion to mention him (1 February 1858; LOA 153:20).

At the same time he returned to Collier's emendations: "I am quite of your opinion in respect to Perkins, yet I think we ought not to suffer the pages of Shakespeare to be overwhelmed with nonsense, with impunity, and without notice. There are some readings of then *old* 'cor. fo. 1632' which I regret having adopted, but on most occasions I had other authority for so doing [...]. I am every day finding fresh instances of the *escapades* of Collier" (9 June 1858; LOA 72:1).

Singer's conflict with Collier, which had started a number of years earlier, flamed again in 1858:

[W. J.] Thoms has just announced to me that I am to be severely punished for having travestied some lines of Lord Brooke in an article in N&Q in the No for April the 10th [pp. 289-90] this to be treated as a criminal *falsification*. I have replied to him that I should delight in seeing his correspondent display his *wonderful sagacity* in discovering that a prose travesty is a *falsification*! I believe that this intended onslaught is from one whose anger having his best judgment *Coll*ied leads him astray to his own injury (3 June 1858; LOA 72:26).

Singer, evidently upset, ends his next letter to Halliwell, "Thoms has made a mistake I think in noticing the attack upon the travestied lines from Lord Brooke. He should have let the *writer* expose himself. There can be no mistake about who he is!" (9 June 1858; LOA 72:1). A week later, perhaps surprised at the identity of the writer, Singer notified Halliwell:

You have no doubt seen the sixpenny attack upon Mr Thoms and your humble servant by the Revd Mr [W. R.] Arrowsmith [The Editor of "*Notes and Queries*" and His Friend, Mr. Singer, 1858]. I am sorry for the annoyance it must occasion to Mr Thoms, which if he had

followed my advice would have been avoided; but as for my own part I rather enjoy my share of the banter, as the spirit in which the whole is conceived renders it harmless. I am especially pleased to see that this acute tho' irascible *man of peace* takes the same view of Collier's old commentator with me, and, notwithstanding the compliment, Collier will not be very well pleased, after what he has recently said and done in his Shakespeare, at this confirmation of my view.

Still, Singer was obviously irritated that the travesty had been misunderstood: "I am at a loss to conceive how any rational being could feel annoyed by what I said about 'Idolators of the folio' or suffer themselves to use splenetic and illiberal invective unbecoming a gentleman and a christian minister on such a trifling occasion." In fact, Singer was more than irritated, he was deeply moved: "The state of my health of late has given me salutary warnings," he continued, "not to indulge in literary amusements which may lead to a disturbance of that tranquility necessary to my advanced period of life." And, as always, almost in awe of Halliwell:

> You will I know excuse me for troubling you with this piece of egotistical explanation, the motive being that I may not suffer in your esteem from this furious attack which represents me as capable of colleaguing & complotting to "suborn witness in favour of an illiterate hypothesis," and of "seconding falsehood with falsehood." Charges which could be satisfactorily disproved if it were not better to treat them with silent contempt (16 July 1858; LOA 72:58).

Halliwell's response brought relief. "I am much gratified to find that you take a liberal view of my misdemeanour in jocosely attacking the too servile devotion to the folio, as I know that you carry your just appreciation of it very judiciously quite as far as reason dictates" (24 July 1858; LOA 72:61). He was not so relieved, however, as not to repeat both his hope that Thoms will not be damaged and his justification for advising Thoms as he did.

The remaining matters of the correspondence are of relatively little moment. There are about half a dozen or so readings which Singer proposes or asks about: the most prominent being his

conjectures "clam'rously" for "demurely" (*Ant*. 4.9.30) (11 May 1854; LOA 99:5 and again 6 September 1854; LOA 100:16); "insanire" for "infamie" (*LLL* 5.1.25) (31 May 1855; LOA 48:56); and "two" for "twenty" (*Tim*. 2.1.7) (18 June 1855; LOA 97:47). There is also the opinion that the monument bust of Shakespeare is the "only *true effigy* of the poet for Droeshout's head is no doubt but an indifferent representation of the picture from which it has been taken; as *all* the engravings hitherto given from the Bust have been" (1 October 1855; LOA 54:51). And finally there is the fact that he is "pleased with Sidney Walker's book [*Shakespeare's Versification*, ed. W. N. Lettsom, 1854]" (6 September 1854; LOA 100:16).

In all, Singer's letters to Halliwell reflect the man and the relationship: courteously professional and modestly sincere. There is a high moment, albeit controlled, in the last letter, written a few months before his death. Having announced that Halliwell "will shortly see that I am about to dispose of the few MSS and autographs I possess, as a preliminary to the sale of what few rare & curious books I have" (16 July 1858; LOA 72:58), he is a week later "obliged" by Halliwell's "kind offer respecting the sale of [his] MSS" – most likely an offer of counsel – but states that it is his "intention to leave them to their fate" in the auction at Sotheby's. His listing of the "articles [he] should not like to see sacrificed" – such as "[Francis] Kynaston's version of Troilus & Cressida [...] [Thomas] Fairfax's Demonology [...] Lot 159 Malone's note books at Oxford [...] and the letters of the commentators of Shakespeare" – is touching. His final paragraph combines a kind of elegiac farewell to them with the growing confidentiality of his relationship, bookman to bookman, to Halliwell: "I have felt the pressure of increasing years much of late, and as my son is not much devoted to literary pursuits, I have thought it best to put the few curiosities I possess out of danger of perdition by neglect, though perhaps a posthumous sale would be more successful" (24 July 1858; LOA 72:61).[55]

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[55]Five Singer sales at Sotheby's in 1860 – on 20 February, 11 April, 16 and 24 May, and 8 November – of 10,630 lots fetched £4369.11.0.

6. Charles Knight

The correspondence between Charles Knight and Halliwell is meagre, quantitatively and qualitatively. The four letters in the Edinburgh collection from Knight are spread over a period of twenty-five years, from 1841 to 1866. Halliwell's sole mention of Knight is in a letter to F. W. Fairholt in 1852. This is surprising since the prolific Knight, as publisher and editor of The Pictorial Shakespeare (1838-41), The Library Edition (1842-44, later entitled The National Edition), among numerous others which emanated from his publishing house, was in direct competition with Collier, Dyce, and Halliwell himself, as he was with his biography of Shakespeare. In addition, a review, perhaps by Halliwell himself in his own journal, *The Archaeologist* (no. 5, January, 1842), harshly disapproved of Knight's Pictorial Edition as lacking "any original information": "All the 'illustrations' are taken from the *variorum* edition, *without, in most cases, the slightest acknowledgment*, although some of them are very ingeniously transposed, and thus, *locis mutatis*, may pass for original" (p. 198).[56] Furthermore, Knight was in the forefront of those who attacked Collier with his *Old Lamps, or New? A Plea for the Original Editions of the Text of Shakespeare: Forming an Introductory Notice to the Stratford Shakespeare*, an inexpensive revised edition in 1853. And, of course, Knight was himself subject of an unfriendly treatment by Alexander Dyce in his *Remarks on Mr. J. P. Collier's and Mr. C. Knight's Editions of Shakespeare* (1844).

None of this is referred to in the exchange. And until such time as concrete information is available it is idle to speculate why the

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[56]Knight's edition seems to have served as a foil to Halliwell's early Shakespeare publications. Aside from an occasional agreement, Halliwell most often criticized Knight outright: as, for example, in *An Introduction to Shakespeare's Midsummer Night's Dream* (1840), pp. 45, 66; *The First Sketch of Shakespeare's Merry Wives of Windsor* (1842), pp. xiv, xviii, n. j, xix, n. k; *The First Sketches of the Second and Third Parts of King Henry the Sixth* (1843), pp. xvii, xxi, xxix-xxx, xxxviii-xxxix.

few letters, appearing at fairly crucial times, manage to avoid crucial issues. Instead, in his first letter of 17 December 1841 (LOA 17:80), Knight thanks Halliwell for sending him a copy of *On the Character of Sir John Falstaff* (1841) and mentions that, contrary to Halliwell, he believes Shakespeare did write *Henry the Sixth*. The manner in which he differs, however, gives a certain flavour to the relationship. After quoting Halliwell as having "pronounced ex cathedra" that "few would be guilty of ascribing that drum and trumpet play, called the first part of Henry VI, to his pen" (p. 13), Knight announces: "I have the distinction of being one of the guilty few, and I assure you I am not ashamed of it." And then he chuckles on: "I have nothing new just now to beg your acceptance of, in return for your play, but a paper in what I fear you will find other heresies." In his second letter, written on 18 October 1847 (LOA 33:13), in the year after Halliwell had had his "affair" with the British Museum, Knight sends two works Halliwell may wish to consult and informs him that he does not have a copy of "[Robert Bell] Wheler's Guide [to Stratford-upon-Avon, 1814]." In a third letter (22 February 1849; LOA 34:54) he asks for Halliwell's assistance to "obtain a situation" in the Westminster Fire Office for the son of one of his employees, having seen Halliwell's name amongst the directors but not aware that it was Halliwell's father who was director. And in his last letter of 22 January 1866 (LOA 105:92), in the year following the completion of the sixteen-volume folio Shakespeare, Knight informs Halliwell that he will go to Somerset House "to inspect what is indeed a curiosity in common with Shakspeare's first folio."

In Halliwell's edition there is extensive and respectful citation of Knight's edition. And Halliwell did credit Knight with being the only critic to speak "with respect" of his idol Edward Capell.[57] Halliwell's sole reference to Knight in his entire correspondence seems to occur in a letter to F. W. Fairholt (30 November 1852; Folger W.b.67[52]). It is brief but substantive: "You will be

[57]See *A Few Words in Defence of Edward Capell, Occasioned by a Criticism in the Times Newspaper, December the 26th, 1860* (1861), p. 9.

surprised at *Knight's* blunders in the 'Life'. They are fearful, & one cannot say he has the genius of *Macaulay* to compensate for the loose style he adopts." Although this assertion loses some of its impact since it was written some ten years after the first appearance of Knight's *William Shakspere: A Biography*, it does nevertheless say something about Halliwell's methods and aims. "You have tumbled nicely into his [Knight's] trap," he continues to Fairholt. "Just take the first eight lines of your account of the birthplace in the 'Home of Shakspere' [...] four undeniable blunders in 8 lines are enough to frighten any one [...] no reasoning founded on such attestations can be worth having." Anxious about the accuracy of his own *Life of Shakespeare*, Halliwell calls on Fairholt to help him in his endeavour "to obtain accuracy, & bid defiance to art!" Behind this assertion are numerous imponderables: blunders, however unknowing, attributable to a reliance on Collier's forgeries (to which many fell prey), as well as competition among personalities, editions, and Lives of Shakespeare, being among the prominent ones. Their resolution, however, is another story.

7. Richard Grant White

Although the correspondence between Richard Grant White and Halliwell extended over thirty years, from 1852 to 1881, it consists of only twelve letters from White: one in 1852 and 1853, four in 1854, one 1858, 1869, 1870, and three in 1881. White is mentioned only once in a letter by Halliwell in 1865 and three times in letters to Halliwell in 1853, 1876, and 1884. Nevertheless, common scholarly interests and a cordial colloquial tone are clear enough to help define person, point of view, and relationship.

Since both men were at work on their editions of Shakespeare in the 1850s and 1860s, it is not surprising that the early correspondence to 1858 – seven of the twelve letters – should be concerned with them. It attests to a lively mutual interest in each other's work and involves an exchange of material, information, and opinion. In his first letter White mentions to Halliwell the

sheets of his *Measure for Measure* (6 June 1852; LOA 48:37). In his second, he thanks Halliwell for sending his "interesting pamphlets upon this Collier matter" (23 November 1853; LOA 230:87).[58] He also indicates that he has had the "pleasure of examining carefully your first volume of the folio edition. Allow me to congratulate you upon its magnificent appearance, & as far as an hour's reading would enable me to judge, upon the excellence of the introductory matter & the purity of the text." White seems, in fact, to have "examined" the second volume as well, since he comments on it in his next letter (30 April 1854; LOA 56:48): "The second volume of your Shakespeare has reached us, & commands universal [here the following leaf has been excised]." What he had seen, however, was what he thought was Halliwell's edition. For, in what is evidently a response to Halliwell, he explained, in an elaborate eight-page letter, why he had used some material from the "Folio edition" without acknowledgment: unaware that it was not Halliwell's, he had been using the "cheap," unauthorized Tallis edition by Henry Tyrrell and published by John Tallis & Co.[59] At any rate, White is quick to offer his sympathies at the "shabby treatment" Halliwell had

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[58]In 1853 Halliwell produced three such pamphlets: *Curiosities of Modern Shaksperian Criticism*, *Observations of the Shakespearian Forgeries at Bridgewater House*, and *Observations on Some of the Manuscript Emendations of the Text of Shakespeare, and Are They Copyright?* "Until they reached me," White wrote, "I had seen nothing of what had appeared in the controversy, except your first pamphlet upon 'who smothers her', Mr. Singer's & Mr. Dyce's books, & two of the Blackwood papers." The letter is a copy in Halliwell's hand.

[59]Published in London and New York over a number of years from 1850, this edition went through various forms: in three or four volumes, six "divisions" or fifty-two parts, with some minor rearrangements of material, and with more or fewer illustrations or with tributes to William Charles Macready. The introductions and notes to *Tmp.*, *TGV*, *Wiv.*, *MM*, and *Err.* (introduction only) are signed "J.O.H." All the rest are by "H.T.," as is the "Life" (in a histories volume). The title page of the first volume assigns all to J. O. Halliwell, as well as an "introductory essay on his phraseology & metre," which does not appear in any of the volumes. The edition was disowned as a piracy by Halliwell.

received at the "hands of these publishers, & trust[s] that you will not consider the edition I am looking after an aggravation of your wrongs," continuing (perhaps disingenuously), "I do very little to it [...]. I could not afford to *edit* the edition for five times the sum which the publishers wish to pay" (14 December 1854; LOA 48:67).

There is nothing ambiguous about White's attitude toward the Folio Shakespeare. "I have been pressed to death with work, as I still am indeed," he wrote four years later, "or I should have written to you ere this various things I have to say about your superb edition of Shakespeare, the forthcoming of every volume of which I anticipate with eagerness" (13 December 1858; LOA 74:21). But he did not go into the "various things"; instead, he continued "hastily" for three pages "about a personal matter." Upset that the *Athenaeum* "slanders" him "when it says [13 November 1858, pp. 612-13] that I show 'ill nature' towards my fellow Shakespearian editors in England, & write in a 'derogatory' style of 'all the five'," he was concerned that Halliwell see, in the edition of the comedies:

> The respectful & I believe the kind manner in which I have always mentioned your name & your labors, even when I have differed with you, if I ever have, – until then I beg, & I trust, that you will receive my assurance as equally worthy of credit with those of the writer in the Athenaeum, although you may know him & you do not know me except on paper. The kind manner in which you have mentioned my humble labors in Shakespeare's Scholar in your great work has not escaped my attention.[60] I thank you heartily for it, & believe me, sir, I would not requite it so shabbily as would be the case were the Athenaeum's charges true.

White's anxiety about offending his British colleagues and,

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[60]In his notes to *MM*, for example, Halliwell mentions White a number of times: Act III, n. 88 (White has "correctly observed"), Act IV, n. 1 (White has "well observed"), Act V, nn. 14, 42 (White "suggests"), and p. 237 ("The subject has been discussed at length, and with great ability, by Mr. R. G. White").

obviously, enhancing (if not defending) his own work and reputation – already evident in his announcement to Halliwell of his forthcoming *Shakespeare's Scholar* (1854) in his very first letter (6 June 1852; LOA 48:37); in his mentioning in his third that he is preparing it (30 April 1854; LOA 56:48); and in his sending, in his fourth, a presentation copy with hopes for Halliwell's "good opinion" (24 June 1854; LOA 53:30) – extended to others as well: "I have even refused," he continued in the letter of 13 December 1858, "to write a review, for the Atlantic Monthly, of Mr Dyce's edition, because I don't think it fair for editors to review one another under the shelter of a newspaper or periodical." And as if this were not enough, he adds, "& I was troubled because some articles on the Library of Old Authors in the Atlantic (which I did not write or know anything about) were attributed to me." Collier also received respectful treatment. Reacting to "direct misrepresentation," White protested, "I do *not* use the Perkins folio emendations in anything like 'a hundred' cases. I do *not* abuse the old corrector [of Collier's Perkins folio]; but the contrary, as much as possible." It was not "the opinion of this article [which] can, or ought, to do my work little or no harm," he oddly concluded, "they do not trouble me; but its misrepresentations, which will probably be believed, do."

There is, to be sure, a certain amount of special pleading in all this passion. Furthermore, White did not always treat Alexander Dyce with utmost kindness in the preface to his edition of 1857-66: Dyce's was the only edition he singled out for disagreement. In *Shakespeare's Scholar* (p. xxxi) he opposed the "antiquarian style of editing [...] especially when it tempts a man of Mr. Dyce's taste into such needless displays of reading of worthless books as abound in his otherwise admirable recent publication, in which instance upon instance from old volumes in all modern languages is heaped upon Shakespeare's text without illustrating it." And in 1853 Henry Stevens was alerting Halliwell that "Perkins is beginning to be understood in America. The truth is there is no Athenaeum there to defend him. How do you like the Articles in Putnams Monthly [October 1853, pp. 378-402 and November

1853, pp. 532-42[61]]. They are I believe written by a Mr. White, a young American writer. Do you know him?" (29 December 1853; LOA 50:51). White, in fact, appears to have made the most of the Collier matter: in addition to the articles in *Putnam's*, which he incorporated into his *Shakespeare's Scholar* (pp. vii-xxxix, 33-81, 481-504), he also covered much the same ground in articles in *The Atlantic Monthly* (October 1859, pp. 512-19; September 1861, pp. 257-80) and in his edition of Shakespeare (I,1865:cclxxx-ccxcvi; II,1859:1-6). C. M. Ingleby was outspoken about White's motives. Writing to Halliwell ostensibly in response to White's revised edition (three volumes, 1883), he asserted: "Gr. White does not stick at anything which can serve his turn. His Riverside Edn. is one long moult to Shakespeare – & it is well he was restricted in the notes or we shd have had more & worse" (2 February 1884; LOA 275:74). What Halliwell may have said of the first edition in the review he announced to W. H. Dixon that he would do (24 October 1865; Folger Y.c.1213[62]) remains a matter of speculation, for the review does not appear to have been identified, perhaps not even written.

Still, it is difficult to say it would have been unfriendly. For the few remaining letters from White to Halliwell show no trace of friction. On the contrary, they confirm the picture to be derived from the earlier letters and a note added by Halliwell to a letter from Samuel Timmins (31 October 1876; LOA 241:21): "Grant White also called on me in London about this time. A very agreeable chatty man. He dined with me at Tregunter Road." In 1869 White invited Halliwell to America and, of certain interest to a bookman, informed him as well that the library of Thomas Pennant Barton, containing an extensive collection of Shakespeareana, was to be kept together and given to "some library or college here" (9 December 1869; LOA 135:33).[62] His

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[61]Both articles are unsigned. White claimed, incidentally, that the first part of his review was actually prepared for the July issue and written (mostly) before the various other attacks on Collier had appeared.

[62]The Barton collection was sold by his widow after his death on 5 April 1869 for $34,000.

next letter (20 February 1870; LOA 143:21) was characteristically all charm and chat and personal. After acknowledging the receipt of "kind gifts which arrived in due time & in perfect order," White turns to compliments: *An Historical Account of the New Place, Stratford-upon-Avon* (1864), "though not yet read with the care which the interest of its subject demands [[…] though] looked through […] & dipped in here & there," led him to congratulations "on the thoroughness of your researches & the truly exhaustive character of your monograph." In addition, Halliwell's catalogue (most likely, *A Catalogue of a Small Portion of the Engravings and Drawings Illustrative of the Life of Shakespeare, Preserved in the Collection Formed by J. O. Halliwell*, 1868)

makes a poor fellow's mouth water. I have a collection of that sort myself made at some expense of money & more of time & trouble, but I can't hold a candle to you. I should like well to spend a day or two of mingled admiration & envy in your library. I suppose that you will let the saints into that paradise, & also that among the saints you would reckon me whom you have so kindly remembered in the dispensation of your bounty.

The flattery was not confined to Halliwell's works. Even the postage stamps on the envelopes of the volumes, costing nine shillings, elicited a frothy reaction: "I had no thought of that when I suggested your sending by post. A shilling or so among friends one don't mind, but to *ask* a man to send you a present & to pay two dollars & a half for it is too much – particularly when one is a 'repudiating Yankee' & the other a 'bloody Britisher'." And then the letter continues, but dated 21 June, and in quite a different tone. For White explains that he had been "attacked by bilious remittent fever – miasmatic – & had hardly recovered when I had a severe relapse, on my recovery from which I forgot all about this letter." After further details, from which Halliwell "may see that I was not unmindful of you & your very kind attention," he is "sure that you will accept my excuse in the same spirit in which you wrote your letter [as yet unidentified] to which this is so tardy a reply." And then a return to the charm: "Since I began this letter

Dickens has died & Disraeli has published a novel [evidently *Lothair*, 1870]. I would rather that Dickens had lived & that Disraeli had burned his manuscript. But you I suppose care for no literature of a later date than 1623."

Eleven years later, in 1881, three further letters cement the relationship. In two, White came to the defence of Halliwell in his controversy with F. J. Furnivall, who had attacked Halliwell (Swinburne had dedicated his *Study of Shakespeare* to him in 1880). From characterizing the Furnivall affair as "very deplorable & quite unreasonable" (he has "had some experience of the same sort with others, myself") in the first letter (21 February 1881; LOA 283:24), he escalates to being "wholly with" Halliwell (who had sent him a copy of his *Memoranda on the Tragedy of Hamlet*, 1879) in not believing that the Q2 of *Hamlet* represents a "rewritten Hamlet." "Bosh" is his verdict on those who do. And, expanding, "I am with you too in your feeling about the whole race of philosophical esthetic Shakespeare critics, particularly the German ones, – Gervinus at the head of them." His verdict: "Confound them all." With a flourish to Halliwell's daughter – "I recollect feeling that if I were a bachelor I should have tried to persuade her to run away from you," inserting with utmost diplomacy (considering Halliwell's elopement and its unhappy consequences), "with your consent" – and "with best respects & kind regards to all your family," he closes (6 April 1881; LOA 244:13).[63] In his final letter (12 September 1881; LOA 246:15) White continued his effusiveness in responding to Halliwell's *Outlines*, which he had "read with very close attention, & with great satisfaction," being "most heartily with you in your views of Shakespeare's art & manner of working." After interrupting himself with mention of two articles he was preparing, and which he hoped will "please" Halliwell or "at least meet with your approval," he continues, "The body of notes [...]

[63]Since both Harriet and Charlotte Halliwell were married before White's visit to England in 1876, he must have meant either Ellen or Katie, most likely the former, who had been referred to as the "very loving child" by H. H. Furness in 1871.

gives the work great value; makes the book indeed the most valuable on its subject in all Shakespearian literature." After a swipe at the New Shakspere Society and "so much of the Shn. criticism of the last few years [which] seems to me so finical. It monsters nothings [...]. How the divine William would laugh at it, were he here! Would he were, that some of these trouble tombs & trouble texts might get their deserts," he again thanks "my dear Mr Halliwell Phillipps; and heartily wishing that I could again see you & yours in England, or here."

8. Horace Howard Furness

The correspondence between Horace Howard Furness and Halliwell began in 1870, the year in which Furness issued a prospectus announcing his variorum edition of Shakespeare. The Edinburgh collection contains fifty-six letters from Furness and two from Halliwell. Spread over sixteen years – the last one from Furness is dated 29 April 1886 – they cover a rather small range of Shakespearean concerns but reflect, with perhaps one exception, a relationship that was apparently immensely cordial, given Furness's unabashed enthusiasm and buoyancy.

That about a third of all the letters were written in 1870-71 is noteworthy,[64] for Furness followed the prospectus, as announced, with the publication in 1871 of the first play, *Romeo and Juliet*. Furness's Shakespeare, as it turns out, is directly or indirectly the main subject matter of the whole correspondence. It may be divided into three subdivisions. The first, accounting for the initial four letters, concerns Furness's attempt to establish the validity of his edition against the charges of William Aldis Wright, the editor of the Cambridge edition (1863-66). The second, accounting for almost half of the total, deals in the main with Furness's desire to acquire Shakespeare texts for his variorum

[64]Two undated letters – 9 February 00 (LOA 76:15) and 00.00.00 (LOA 169:12) – may be assigned to 1870 and 1871 respectively, both on the basis of their content and other dated letters nearby in the same volume.

edition and indeed almost anything connected with Shakespeare. To the group may be counted a dozen or so letters in which Furness acknowledges, with effusive thanks, the receipt of various publications by Halliwell. And the third, accounting for almost a quarter of the total, is taken up with reports by Furness on the progress of his editions of the individual plays and of his wife's concordance to the poems.

The first group, four letters written within five weeks in the early spring of 1870, and perhaps the most substantive and informative of the whole correspondence, does much to portray Furness as more or less of a dynamic fledgling – when he began work on *Romeo* in 1866 he was thirty-three – in the business of editing Shakespeare and indirectly of course his relationship to the by then internationally renowned Halliwell.[65] In the first letter (8 March 1870; LOA 159:36) – interestingly enough all four letters are copies, the whereabouts of the originals unknown – Furness, reacting to the fact that "in the Athenaeum for Jan. 29th [1870, p. 161] Mr William Aldis Wright complains that in the forthcoming variorum of Romeo & Juliet I am about deliberately to appropriate the hardwork embodied in the textual notes of the Cambridge Edition," has decided to do his own collation. Employing the set of quarto facsimiles Halliwell had sent to the Shakespeare Society of Philadelphia, he was "a little shaken" in his "faith in the absolute perfection of [...] your Facsimiles" on finding "so many discrepancies" between the Cambridge textual notes and the facsimiles, indeed "between the former and the earlier editors." With notable diplomacy, not wishing to "expose either myself or yourself towards whom I feel very grateful for placing within my reach these invaluable Qq." and yet not able to "impute error to them [the Cambridge editors]" since "they had before them the original copies," Furness is "emboldened" to ask

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[65]The correspondence between Furness and Wright on this controversy is reproduced in *The Letters of Horace Howard Furness*, ed. H[orace]. H[oward]. F[urness]. J[ayne]. (2 vols., Boston, 1922), I:159-72. The matter is also dealt with in James M. Gibson, *The Philadelphia Shakespeare Story* (New York, 1990), pp. 61-68.

whether Halliwell "would take the trouble to assure [him] that in the points at variance" his facsimiles "are beyond a doubt correct." He then lists seventeen instances, mainly of accidentals, with the hope that Halliwell confirm the correctness of the readings lest his, Furness's, "labour is in vain, or that it may be sneered at for not being from the original copies." At any rate, he has sent a reply, although he does not "expect that the Athenaeum will insert it on account of its length."

A week later Furness wrote again (15 March 1870; LOA 230:37) – having comforted "'our mutual friend' Mr. [A. I.] Fish [first Dean of the Shakspere Society of Philadelphia]" that although the previous letter was addressed to West Brompton "any letter bearing the superscription of your name would be delivered to you in any part of England" – listing four more "errors" in the Cambridge edition. In asserting that "all these discrepancies are very trivial. And yet they are not so in an edition which affects perfection," Furness begins to lay bare his deeper fear of inferiority and perhaps that of his fellow Americans in competition with English colleagues.[66] "Mr. Wright I imagine," he continues revealingly, "looks superciliously upon my work and cannot believe any scholarly thing can come out of America." And Furness goes even farther in displaying his insecurity: Wright "may therefore at some future day deny that I have made any corrections in the Cambridge ed." Moreover, this stance is not at all mollified by Furness's assertion that he "may have unduly magnified" the importance of the matter.

Furness's fears, however, proved to be unfounded in this instance at least. In his next letter (4 April 1870; LOA 230:40) he is triumphant. Halliwell, who had answered the first letter promptly on 21 March, had given Furness "precisely the assurance" he needed. Further, a letter from Wright informed him that his "reply has appeared in the 'The Athenaeum' [19 March 1870, pp. 388-89, with a list of errors Furness had found on the Cambridge edition] whereat I am much astonished as I had not the least idea that the journal would open its columns to so long

[66]For Richard Grant White's similar feeling, see above, p. 87.

a screed." And most important, Wright's letter "affords me the liveliest satisfaction: in the kindest manner he offer[s] to verify for me any doubtful readings of the Quartos & Folios." In such a situation it is no wonder that Furness can magnanimously admit, "It is a great relief to me to find a friend when I had reason to expect a foe. Nothing is to me more odious than literary quarrels." But the wound might not yet be healed. For although his "first impulse is to destroy the long list of some eighty or ninety errors, omissions and misprints (not in the collation of the Qq. & Ff. but in the earlier editors) that I have gathered in the textual notes of the Cam. edition in Romeo & Juliet alone," "perhaps," he ponders, "I had better send it to Mr. Wright to be used by him should occasion demand another issue of his edition." And for good measure, and with restored confidence, he can not only express his "high appreciation of the judiciousness of [Halliwell's] selection [in his folio edition] from the manifold readings" – "I think you have combined the excellences of both Dyce & Collier" – but can also list the "chiefest points" in which he disagrees, adding diplomatically, "but these are mere spots in the sun."

The last letter from Furness on this subject (16 April 1870; LOA 230:1) reveals that the wound was open again, although he is not to mention Wright again in the remainder of his correspondence with Halliwell.[67] And, more important perhaps, it begins to establish the direction and to some extent the substance of the relationship between Halliwell and himself over the next sixteen years. Unable to "understand the quality of that gentleman," Furness reacts to the printed reply of Wright after the "most courteous & friendly letter" he had received, "wishing me every success and offering to assist me in any way in his power": "what was my surprise therefore to find [...] the most unexpected imputations on my editorial honesty, coupled with doubts as to whether I knew what collating was &c. &c." Although repeating

[67]He did, however, continue an extensive and quite personal correspondence with Wright which lasted until 1912. On 29 July 1912, just two weeks before his death on 13 August, Furness wrote his last letter to "You dear, blessed, darling old boy" (*Letters*, II:275-77).

his hatred of literary quarrels – he "will none of them" – he has been "forced" to his "exceeding regret" to "offer to the public, the list of Errata in the Cambridge edition."[68] Support is essential, and becomes one of the mainstays of Furness's relationship with Halliwell. From the beginning he must have assumed that Halliwell knew Wright and might assist and perhaps mediate. At this point, however, Furness enlists Halliwell otherwise: "If I have to print this list shall I say that many of the citations of the Quartos have been verified by you, or shall I refer to you simply as a Shakespearian scholar, widely known?" is the close of the letter.

That need for support is also apparent in Furness's reference to the death of Thomas Pennant Barton, whose library is "boxed up for sale, undivided. Its price is sixty thousand dollars," although Furness has learned that "it could be purchased for very much less if it were to remain in this country."[69] This news – also of the possible purchase by James Lenox in the quartos, of which there were twenty-two – was doubtless of more than casual interest to Halliwell the Shakespearean and bookdealer. Essential to Furness, who admits that when he "was in England some fifteen years ago the Quartos & Folios possessed no more interest for me than the Ramayana or Markabhavata (if that's spelt right)," and whose trouble with Wright was based to a large extent on his lack of original texts, was acquisition – be it of facsimiles,

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[68]In his letter to Wright of 4 April 1870 (*Letters,* I:170) he claimed to have found "some twenty or thirty noteworthy discrepancies." And in his letter to the *Athenaeum* of 14 May 1870, pp. 643-44, he mentioned "upwards of forty instances" in the Cambridge collation of *Romeo* and "double that number" in the collation of editions from Rowe to Dyce. The matter was also cited by E. W. Ashbee in the preface (pp. 8-10) to the forty-eight volume *Collection of Lithographic Facsimiles of the Early Quarto Editions of the Separate Works of Shakespeare* (1871), which Halliwell supervised.
[69]Richard Grant White, himself a collector, also mentioned this to Halliwell. See above, p. 89. Furness's offer of $15,000 for the Shakespearean portion of the Barton collection was unsuccessful; it went for $34,000. A partial summary of Furness's early purchasing efforts is given by Gibson, pp. 78-83.

be it of originals. Whatever the exact psychological motivation – that is, beyond the obvious one – acquisition was perhaps the major theme of his entire correspondence with Halliwell. And as such cases often are, professional motivation is always inseparable from personal.

At least half of the letters from Furness in the Edinburgh collection are concerned, directly or indirectly, with the acquisition of Shakespearean material or with expressions of gratitude for Shakespearean literature sent by Halliwell. Thanks for the quarto facsimiles and the folio Shakespeare (16 April 1870; LOA 230:2) are followed by his inquiring as to how he might obtain another copy of the folio edition (14 October 1870; LOA 76:17 and 25 November 1870; LOA 230:33); by his desire to acquire (an unspecified) Boydell, Halliwell's folio edition with plates on India paper and quarto facsimiles, and "some of the MS of [his] present work" on Shakespeare (6 December 1870; LOA 171:15); by his sending of £210 for the quartos (with thanks for the *H5* quarto) and his wish to purchase through A. R. Smith the first, third, and fourth folios (27 January 1871; LOA 169:11); by his wish to "know if you sell your library," with the obvious flattery of "peradventure you might rather like to have some few of the volumes go where they would be valued and honoured for their former owner's sake" (27 August 1871; LOA 133:9); by his disappointment at not having "snatched" Halliwell's collection of early and choice rarities "eagerly at any figure within two or three thousand pounds if that had been sufficient" (14 January 1872; LOA 76:39); by his having "got [from Sir William Tite's library] merely the Hamlet Quartos, & two or three books, Bullokar's Expositor & Florio's World of Words," with the comment, "I don't like buying at auction so far away. And yet the Quartos should be pounced on whenever you get a chance" (26 June 1874; LOA 216:26); by his thinking of buying Halliwell's Old Grange at Broadway (31 January 1875; LOA 169:13); by his interest in a fragment of the famous mulberry tree (15 June 1884; LOA 279:9); even, albeit indirectly, by his expression of "sincerest sympathy" for Halliwell's losses in the Pantechnicon fire (24 March 1874; LOA 130:15). Furness's reaching out, as it were, is illustrated too

in his wishing to have photos of Dyce, Singer, Collier, and Sidney Walker (15 September 1870; LOA 76:7) and of Staunton and Halliwell (31 January 1875; LOA 169:13).[70]

Concomitant with the action of requesting is that of expressing gratitude for things received. In addition to the responses upon receipt of the quarto facsimiles and folio edition already mentioned, Furness sent thanks for *Pericles* (10 March 1871; LOA 168:27); for the "fragmentary Richard the Third" (14 January 1872; LOA 76:39); for *Pericles* and the "Introductory Volume" (5 February 1872; LOA 188:26); for the *Illustrations* (31 January 1875; LOA 169:13); for the *Nest of Ninnies* (30 April 1876; LOA 225:28); for the *Handlist of Parcels* (9 April 1876; LOA 281:70); for the *Catalogue of Shakespeare-Study Books* (5 June 1876; LOA 232:75); for the *Hamlet* notes (10 March 1880; LOA 244:40); for the third edition of "The Brief Review" (3 May 1885; LOA 299:14) – as well as looking forward to another volume of the *Illustrations* (6 April 1879; LOA 244:34).

Furness reciprocated, of course, with considerable and amiable generosity. In addition to his variorum edition and other Shakespearean items, he sent other works which he felt might be of interest, like "Waring's Work on Drainage" – i.e. George Edwin Waring, *The Sanitary Draining of House and Towns* (1876) – (17 July 1874; LOA 283:3) and "a copy of an experiment in the application of Composite Photography to the Portraits of Shakespeare by my oldest boy" (28 July 1885; LOA 291:62). And characteristic of the man in the indivisibility of the professional and personal, as well perhaps of his need to remind the English (*pace* Wright and others) of the particular identity of America and Americans, was his sending native American items as gifts to his English friend. With loving details making evident his liberality

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[70]Gibson, p. 82: "Everywhere around the room [the front room of the second floor of 222 West Washington Square] hung framed photographs of Furness's Shakespearian friends: Clark, Wright, Halliwell, Ingleby, Timmins, Collier, Norris, Hudson, Cohn, Keightl[e]y, Corson, Hart, Ulrici, Kemble." The room was described by one visitor, so Gibson, p. 81, as not merely a library but "an English news room & a Shakespearean shrine."

and pride, he sent across the Atlantic maple syrup (6 April 1871; LOA 160:37), American Indian articles, like a feather fan for Mrs. Halliwell and a pair of moccasins and a moose hair bracelet for Ellen and Katie (14 August 1872; LOA 176:29 and 16 March 1873; LOA 76:40), two clay figures of Northern soldiers of "our late rebellion" (22 February 1874; LOA 130:22), and some buffalo haunches (16 March 1873; LOA 76:40 and 9 April 1875; LOA 176:43). And he even gave much space to describing the game laws pertaining to prairie fowls ("Perhara Fowls in the Western pronunciation," he comments) (26 June 1874; LOA 216:26).

The relationship is further defined and strengthened by Furness's regular reports on the progress of his variorum edition, accompanied by his concern about its reception. He is happy to say that his fellow Americans Richard Grant White and H. N. Hudson have responded favorably to his *Romeo* (10 March 1871; LOA 168:27); is anxious to know whether Staunton has received it (00 June 1871; LOA 133:8); is pleased to send Halliwell a copy of his *Macbeth* (16 April 1873; LOA 130:8); is delighted to write that Lippincott has pronounced *Macbeth* "a great success, commercially" and is planning a second edition since five hundred copies are not enough to satisfy the demand (23 June 1873; LOA 130:14); is at work on *Hamlet* (11 January 1874; LOA 216:38); has finished *Hamlet* (9 April 1876; LOA 281:70 and 3 April 1877; LOA 232:51); has sent *Hamlet* to the printers "and the air hurtles with proofsheets" (30 April 1876; LOA 225:28); can report that *Lear* is underway (15 February 1880; LOA 244:21), as is work on *Othello* (8 November 1885; LOA 286:79), which he has sent to the wrong address (29 April 1886; LOA 292:38). These reports are interlaced with mentions of his wife's work on her concordance to the poems, which she was finishing (16 March 1873; LOA 76:40 and 16 April 1873; LOA 130:8) and of the fact that Halliwell's being "pleased with it" was "really a source of great entertainment" to her (26 June 1874; LOA 216:26). And Furness is more than flattered at the suggestion that she do a complete concordance, coyly responding that it would take about fifty-four years to complete (29 November 1874; LOA 230:17).

Furness's letters in the Edinburgh collection seldom deal in

any detail with matters of general concern to Shakespeareans. There is no more than a mention of Peter Cunningham's Revels Book forgery (17 September 1885; LOA 294:73)[71] and only a slight reference to the Pigsbrook affair (which was to be so traumatic for Halliwell): "I can conceive of no lungs so tickle o' th sere as not to expand with heartiest laughter over Swinburnes fun poked at the 'New Shakspere Society.' I hope no one laughed longer or heartier over it than Furnivall" (30 April 1876; LOA 225:28). Only one utterance seems to go beyond the jovial and routine. After acknowledging with "thanks heaped up, pressed down, and running over for these 'Outlines of the Life of Shakespeare'," and affirming that "it is a most timeous word, greatly needed just now when so great a tendency is abroad to exalt trifles and ignore facts [[...] for] it is the alleged paucity of the details of his life that is one of the strongholds of those who would rob Shakespeare of his fame," Furness is for once reflective and without pathos:

I grow so weary of the attempts to extract Shakespeare's inner life from his works. If his inner life is there recorded it can possibly be discovered and eliminated, but were it really there, his works would cease to be the miracles that they are. It is because it is not there that the dramas stand alone in literature, with not a character in them from Doll Tearsheet to Hamlet that is not itself with no trace of William Shakespeare in it. And to say that when the Poet was sad and gloomy he wrote a tragedy & when he was merry he wrote a comedy, seems to me, childish, besides being generally false to human nature; the reverse would more likely be the case. When will people cease measuring Shakespeare by themselves! Has the world never yet digested Aesops fable of the frog and the ox? But I am gabbling like a tinker when I meant merely to thank you warmly for your book (30 December 1881; LOA 285:43).

Gabbling was, as a matter of fact, a major trait of Furness's. He was unembarrassed by it. On the contrary, for whatever psychological need or reason, he enjoyed chatting in his letters,

[71]See below, n. 74.

and he did it often and with the same florid assertiveness as his penmanship. “I’d like to have a long gossip with you,” he proclaims (30 May 1880; LOA 245:2). And there is hardly a piece of correspondence without some element of chattiness. A good dozen or so letters to Halliwell may be classified as that-and-that letters: cheerful and gregarious but strangely never more than gossipy.[72] Furness’s letter of 26 November 1871 (LOA 76:38) is so typical of the man, the style, and the stance as to warrant complete quotation. “Dear Mr. Halliwell,” he wrote even at the beginning of their correspondence:

Seldom, if ever, have I met with more exquisite urbanity than was contained in your last letter to me, anent the Reed-birds. A friend thrusts upon your table a dish of game utterly abhorrent to all Christian palates and an abomination to all Christian mores land instead of roundly resenting it you gently suggest that you hope the friend will not be “vexed.” Zounds! my dear Sir, had you broken over my head, not a vial, but a demijohn, of wrath, all good epicures would have smiled approval, and all good Americans would have pronounced their national verdict of “sarved him right.” Faugh! the thought of “high” reed birds makes my gorge rise – little delicate tid-bits of plumpness, that should be sweeter than new-mown hay. But never mind, as I am now living under the Presidency of Gen. Grant I shall prove my loyalty by emulating his characteristic obstinacy and try again next year if it take a ton of ice to ensure their soundness. By the way, was there any ice left in the box when it reached you? There ought to have been a plenty, for the Steward of the Steamer was heavily bribed to have the box kept in the Steamers ice box across the ocean. Please present my remorseful respects to Mrs. Halliwell for having introduced to her table such unsavory morsels. Can you spare me another of printed lists of the Quarto Facsimiles such as you once sent me? My copy has got unaccountably mislaid. Do let me know the

[72]Among the others are 9 February 00 (LOA 76:15), 24 March 1871 (LOA 133:6), 00 June 1871 (LOA 133:8), 19 September 1871 (LOA 133:7), 11 May 1873 (LOA 76:16), 11 January 1874 (LOA 216:38), 26 June 1874 (LOA 216:26), 17 March 1878 (LOA 239:65), 7 May 1879 (LOA 245:28), 30 May 1880 (LOA 245:2).

result of your trial of a sea-gull – it is certain that nothing will be "very tolerable and not to be endured" after the reed birds. Believe me very sincerely and remorsefully yours, Horace Howard Furness. It has just occurred to me to send with this to "your very loving child Ellen Halliwell" (I quote from her letter that you sent us) a photograph of our little boys, taken a few weeks since at our place in the country.

A few letters – at times humorously, at times almost somberly – approach the intimacy that might be achieved by two who had never met and were separated by the Atlantic Ocean. "If Queen Victoria doesn't Knight you for it [the fifth edition of the *Outlines*], refuse to pay your taxes, and abolish her" (17 September 1885; LOA 294:73) is at one end of the scale. "I don't doubt but that your long rest has been eminently necessary" (6 April 1879; LOA 244:34) is about the middle. And at the other end might be Furness's thanks, "most sincerely," for Halliwell's "kind words of sympathy" at the death of Mrs. Furness (17 December 1883; LOA 284:35); his sadness that Staunton "passed to his rest, 'hid in death's dateless night'," with "the poor bruised hearts that are left behind" (26 June 1874; LOA 216:26); his "terrible shock" at Staunton's death and desire for a photo of him (31 January 1875; LOA 169:13), as well as the numerous affectionate references to his boys and Halliwell's family.

Only at one point, at the very end of the correspondence, however, is there the kind of tension which lends depth to the relationship and further defines it. As at the beginning, in the conflict with W. A. Wright, this episode consists of four letters written by Furness within a very short period, between 25 December 1885 and 21 March 1886. Furness's florid prose is still very much in evidence, but is somewhat mollified by his obvious fear not merely of contradicting the great authority of Halliwell but also of losing, as he opens the first letter (25 December 1885; LOA 292:6), his "dear old friend of aforetime." In working on *Othello*, Furness had apparently rejected the validity of "Malone's scrap of paper" relating to the date of the performance of the play and, "read[ing] between the lines of [Halliwell's] last note,"

detected that he was "much vexed."[73] Furness's defence of his position is understandable perhaps but not necessarily admirable. He appeals first to the heartstrings: "Now this mustn't be. You & I will not drift apart if I can help it." And with almost theatrical pathos he continues: "Who is there, but you, left of the bright lights that shone when I first ventured to peep forth timidly twenty years ago. Dyce, Knight, Staunton, Keightley, Collier – all gone – I feel chilly and very old – and cling to you all the more tenaciously." This Falstaff-like rendition of *ubi sunt* – "We have heard the chimes at midnight" – weighs more heavily than the explanation that he "could not remember any irrefragable authority as to name or date for this scrap of Ms." or that "in writing to you last doubtless I expressed myself clumsily" or "in the meantime, I'll reread my conclusions anent the Revels book and send them to you, if you'd care for a minute to see 'em. My impression is certainly vivid that your authority for that Malone scrap was not as adamantine as all the rest of the foundation of your 'Outlines'."

Furness's next letter (16 January 1886; LOA 292:16) borders on fawning even if his windy prose is disregarded. "You see before you a most humble penitent. Be my ghostly confessor & let me tell you my sins" is the opening, but the content is much the same: haste and overwork and fear of offending, for although "the whole subject is one which is to me as nothing, in comparison with the regret I should feel if I should say anything which could annoy you. And here comes in my penitence that I have by this time, given you the trouble of looking over rough notes which after all I shall not use in the shape in which you see them. Will you forgive me?" Halliwell apparently did, for in his next letter (14 February 1886; LOA 289:30) Furness proclaims, "What a relief it

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[73]As a matter of fact, Halliwell was quite blunt. "I cannot believe in Malone not straining every nerve to see the original of an *Shakespearean* document, whatever he might have done in other cases," he wrote to Furness on 15 October 1885, an attitude strongly repeated in a letter of 10 December 1885. Both letters are found in Special Collections, Van Pelt-Dietrich Library, University of Pennsylvania.

is to me to know that our relations are not, in the diplomatic phrase, 'strained'." And in the following one (21 March 1886; LOA 293:37) he can assure Halliwell that he has indeed modified his views.[74]

A precise evaluation of the relationship is difficult since the Edinburgh collection contains only two early letters from Halliwell to Furness. Both are formal, as is to be expected at the outset of the correspondence. In the first (21 March 1870; LOA 154:30) Halliwell, responding to Furness's letter of 8 March about the discrepancies in *Romeo* between the facsimile and the Cambridge textual notes, educates Furness: "You must bear in mind that hardly any two copies of the same edition are precisely similar, our old printers being constantly in the habit of correcting the forms after small impressions of the play had been issued, keeping the whole play in type." And in the second (2 January 1871; LOA 181:2), also responding to Furness's requests mentioned earlier, he acknowledges the receipt of sixty guineas for the folio Shakespeare and remarks that facsimiles of the quartos can be ordered. Moreover, the entire Folger Shakespeare Library collection has only one reference by Halliwell to Furness. In a letter to F. G. Fleay he mentions that he has received two volumes of Furness's *Hamlet* and remarks, "You amuse me rather by noting as a 'few differences' about Hamlet absolute variations in our views on all the main points" (14 July 1880; Folger Y.c.1222[11]). But despite the one-sidedness of the letters that exist – and it is clear that many others are mentioned – and despite the fact that Furness's prose flourishes may raise some questions about his intentions and indeed real self, Furness's

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[74]On 3 February 1886 Halliwell sent a no-nonsense detailed list, A-H, in which he reiterated his position. In the typescript of his section on the dating of the performance of *Othello*, Furness entered the individual letters in the margin and made necessary modifications. Both the letter and the typescript are in Special Collections, Van Pelt-Dietrich Library. The whole matter, including Peter Cunningham's involvement, is discussed *in extenso* by Furness in his variorum edition of *Othello*, pp. 344-57, which concludes, "Accepting the date of 1604, I began with a reliance on time, and a trust in Halliwell; there we may safely remain, 'enshelter'd and embay'd'."

letters to Halliwell do span some sixteen years. And although Halliwell was not one to dwell long on pathos and sentimentality, it is fairly certain that he regarded Furness with affection, urging him twice in 1880 to visit him in Brighton and insisting in a letter of 25 March 1880, "If you don't make use of me in every way you possibly can in this country I will never forgive you." And whereas his notice of the planned variorum edition in *The Stratford-on-Avon Herald* (Friday, 24 March 1871) is formal though favourable – "a work of sufficient merit and value to demand a place in the library of every Shakespearean scholar" – his praise of *Othello* in a letter of 14 May 1886 is unbounded: "Pray accept my warmest thanks for your admirable & marvellously able work – a glorious book in every way, with most important contributions to *our* literature." And in what may well be his last letter to Furness, written on 23 July 1888, a few months before his death, Halliwell confides, "Old age is telling on me dreadfully, &, though *apparently* pretty well, feel that my former energy is gone for ever."[75]

Still, it is interesting to note, even without knowing exactly how to deal with it, the position of Halliwell in one of Furness's frequent remembrances of things past. Eleven years after the death of Halliwell, in a letter of 28 January 1900 to W. J. Rolfe ("My dear boy" is the salutation), Furness summoned up phrases of the past – "ever since I edited *Othello* I gabble like a tinker" and "I feel chilly and grown old" – and recounted: "Dear me! how old I am! Dyce and Harness died when R. and J. [*Romeo and Juliet*] was going through the press. But I had most kind notes of encouragement from Charles Knight and Keightley, and with Collier and Staunton I corresponded on most familiar terms for years – so also Halliwell."[76] With that added "so also Halliwell" the full story does not end, but perhaps remains to be told.

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[75]Both letters and the cutting from the *Herald* are in Special Collections, Van Pelt-Dietrich Library.
[76]*Letters*, II:54-6.

9. William James Rolfe

The only Shakespearean editor, and an American at that, to receive special mention in Halliwell's crowning achievement, *Outlines of the Life of Shakespeare*, was William James Rolfe. In the Memorandum of the editions of 1885 and thereafter, Halliwell thanked "Mr. William J. Rolfe of Boston, U.S.," along with four Englishmen – H. P. Stokes, J. Challenor Smith, Herbert A. Evans, and C. M. Ingleby – "all of whom have kindly furnished me with substantial corrections." This reserved tribute from one colleague to another was matched by the tone of Rolfe's response:

I feel honored by your complimentary reference to me in the note appended to the preface, but I cannot help feeling that I hardly deserved it – the help I had given you was so insignificant. I can, however, sympathize with the gratitude you feel to those who send you even the *smallest* corrections; for I have taken pains in my own prefaces to ask such favors from readers and friends, and I am always thankful for everything of the kind I get (25 November 1885; LOA 289:32).

There are only seven letters from Rolfe to Halliwell in the Edinburgh collection, and none at all from Halliwell to Rolfe, although his responses are cited by Rolfe. Since, however, it is unlikely that Halliwell would not keep all of Rolfe's letters, it is noteworthy that his gratitude is based on the contents of so sparse a correspondence. In fact, of the seven letters, only four – one each in 1882, 1883, 1885, 1886 – deal with the *Outlines*.

Two earlier ones, both in 1873, and one in 1884, have other concerns. In the first of the two early ones Rolfe reports that not having had the "privilege of examining" the "great" folio Shakespeare in connection with his edition of George L. Craik's English of Shakespeare or in the preparation of the "little Shakespeare books for the Harpers," he had "been trying to induce the Trustees of the Boston Public Library to get the work, but the Great Fire has compelled them to deny themselves the pleasure of buying it at present." Rolfe therefore suggests that if

Halliwell "meet with any Boston man in Europe who wants to do something for the Free Library in his native city, I wish you would give him a hint on this head" (14 March 1873; LOA 83:3). The same would apply to "friends of Harvard abroad," since Harvard (which had awarded him an honorary M.A. in 1859) had also suffered losses in the same Boston fire. The second letter (21 April 1873; LOA 143:7*) continues the subject. Having referred to Halliwell's reply to Charles Langdon Sibley, the Librarian of Harvard College, Rolfe encloses Sibley's reply (not in the Edinburgh collection) and adds that he himself had suggested that "some Boston tourist" might make a gift of the edition since he "had the impression that twenty or more copies of the edition were in [Halliwell's] hands unsold." Rolfe's explanation seems to imply a response from Halliwell that no copies were available.[77] It also indicates Rolfe's desire to keep on good terms with Halliwell, perhaps because of another possible setback apparent in the opening of his first letter. Or could it be simple modesty and not disappointment at not having had a reply that caused Rolfe to write?: "Some days ago, I mailed you a copy of my last edition of my 'Craik's *English of Shakespeare*,' which I thought might interest you. If you cannot find a place for it in your own library, please transfer it to Henley Street."[78] The third letter (22 October 1884; LOA 298:27) is very much in the tradition of scholarly exchange. Rolfe politely informs Halliwell that he has asked his publishers to send a set "in the improved form" of his now

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[77]Indeed, in a letter to Rolfe of 26 March 1873 (in the Houghton Library at Harvard) Halliwell wrote that it was "extremely unlikely that any will be found at the bookselling for sale. Russell Smith tells me that he lately had an order for 4 copies & could not get even one, at least that was the case some little time ago. I have not a single copy left, or would have given a copy to Harvard with pleasure." (Harvard's copy was entered on 17 April 1902 as a gift of the Saturday Club of Boston.) The matter was a delicate one. Halliwell was always very concerned about being fully subscribed and having subscriptions cancelled.

[78]This is a somewhat puzzling statement since in his letter of 26 March 1873 Halliwell wrote, "I had the great pleasure of receiving your pretty edn. of Craik with many thanks, duly acknowledging the same at the time."

complete edition of Shakespeare (40 volumes, 1871-84): "I beg that you will accept it with their and my compliments."

The four remaining letters are much longer and contain what is perhaps the most detailed and substantive questioning done by any of the other Shakespeareans in the Edinburgh collection. They make clear why Halliwell chose to "honor" Rolfe in the Memorandum which he added to the Preface of the *Outlines* in 1885. In the early 1880s Rolfe was himself preparing a *Life* of Shakespeare to "fill out the forty booklets" of his edition, and so Halliwell's work, for which Rolfe is grateful, came "most opportunely" (15 December 1882; LOA 261:27). With characteristic (and almost sly) modesty, Rolfe admits that he "shall have little to do but 'pry' from you – giving you due credit of course for my pickings and stealings." And yet with equally characteristic directness, he does not hesitate to question and criticize. Although confessing that he has "not had time to read it carefully as yet, but [has only] dipped into it here and there with much satisfaction," and beginning with a seemingly casual "by the way," he asks:

> Have you not made a slip on page 259, in implying that the two lines (27, 28) of XXI. are in the first edition of *The Passionate Pilgrim*, though not in [Richard] Barnfield? You do not say this in so many words, but one would infer it from what you *do* say. I have just been looking over [C.] Edmonds's reprint [Isham Reprints, 1870] of the 1599 *P.P.* and the two lines are not there. I am inclined to think, as he does, that the editor [apparently the printer, Nicholas Ling] of the [*England's*] *Helicon* added them to fill out what seemed to him an incomplete or abruptly-closing piece.

Rolfe presses on with his criticism, varying his approach slightly. "Will you be so kind as to tell me when the midnight scene in the church, mentioned on page 173, took place, and who were the prime movers in it?" The answer is provided by Rolfe himself: "I do not happen to know of any plan for disturbing the grave except that of poor mad Delia Bacon; but the reference cannot be to *that*, as Hawthorne says [in *Our Old Home*] that she went *alone* to the

church." Varying his approach again, Rolfe criticizes an omission by Halliwell: "I have been asked who was the rector of Stratford at that time, but could not ascertain. Very likely you can inform me." Still, rousing himself: his "friend [Justin] Winsor's 'Halliwelliana' [a bibliography published in 1881] is a record of which any man may well be proud – one at which we Yankee dabblers in the Shakespearian lore cannot help looking at with mingled wonder and envy. May you be permitted to add many *strata* to the noble monument before the cap-stone has to be put in place!"

His own edition, Rolfe then reports, is nearing an end: "Thirty-five volumes (each containing one play) are already out, and two are now printing. I have sent the volume of the *Poems* to the printer, and am now at work on the *Sonnets*. The 'little books'," he continues, not merely proud of his own accomplishment but doubtless providing information to Halliwell as editor of Shakespeare and as bookman always interested in sales and the American market,[79] "have been received with much favor, and the sale is now some 35,000 volumes a year. When the edition is complete, the publishers anticipate a greatly increased demand for it." Of similar interest to both men is the opening page and a half in which Rolfe reports of the "barbarous imposition" of a so-called "free and enlightened [United States] government" in imposing a twenty-five percent customs tax on the appraised value of books. In this instance, he complains, the officers rated the value of the book – "its market value, not its real worth," he hastens to add – too high, leading to further delays and annoyance. Nevertheless, Rolfe the Yankee is full of admiration for a "wonderfully cheap" work, inferring that Halliwell "made the price low, in order that we poor fellows who want it may be able to get it."[80]

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[79]For Alexander Dyce's interest in the American market, see above, p. 51.
[80]Half of Rolfe's notice in his column "Shakspeariana" in *The Literary World* (24 February 1883, p. 64) is devoted to his enthusiasm about the "absurdly low price of 7 shillings, 6 pence, or $1.87 in our money (say $2.50, after adding the custom-house swindle)" of the *Outlines*. Strongly impressed, Rolfe again lauds the low price in his notice of the second

A half year later Rolfe responded with "a thousand thanks for the new edition [the third] of the 'Outlines'" (15 May 1883; LOA 259:73). Once again, although he has only "dipped into it while cutting the leaves," he is nevertheless already "astonished to see how much [Halliwell has] done to it in the brief time that has elapsed since the former edition appeared." And once again, he opens his criticism with the studied casualness of a "By the way." First he questions Halliwell's accepting "as trustworthy the references in the *Accounts of the Revels* to the acting of *M. for M.* (p. 182), the *Winter's Tale* (p. 200), and the *Tempest* (p. 201) [when] all recent authorities [he has] seen state that these records are *forgeries*." Rolfe then mentions that the "only intimation to the contrary is Furnivall's foot-note in the 'Leopold' [edition] *Introduction* (p. xxi), where he says that you [Halliwell] speak of having seen a transcript of some of them before [Peter] Cunningham was born."[81] Two questions on the authority of the record are followed by Rolfe's pointed, "Would it not have been well to add a *note* on the subject?" And the point is sharpened, as it had been in the previous letter, by the shrewd chuckle of "It would certainly be useful to Yankee readers." "By the way" is then followed by the more assertive "I see that you omit the *notes* on the authorship of *Henry VIII*." Since to Rolfe this implies that Halliwell is "less positive in the opinion that Fletcher wrote a considerable portion of the play," he confirms that he preceded Halliwell in being "compelled to yield" to the views of James Spedding.[82] And Rolfe is "interested" in the added comments on *Pericles*, though he "cannot help seeing more of Shakespeare's hand in the play than [Halliwell's] decision that it was merely

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edition (30 June 1883, p. 213), of the fourth edition (7 March 1885, p. 85), of the fifth edition (12 December 1885, p. 478), of the sixth edition (26 June 1886, p. 222), and of the seventh edition (23 July 1887, p. 238).

[81]Surely one of Furnivall's typical exaggerations, for Cunningham was born in 1816, four years before Halliwell.

[82]Speddings' article of 1850 – "The Several Shares of Shakespeare and Fletcher in *Henry VIII*" – was reprinted in 1874 in the Appendix, pp. 1-18, of the *New Shakspere Society Transactions*.

retouched by him implies." But these are "random remarks on the book," he closes characteristically, which he hopes "soon to have the pleasure of reading," thus adding dimension to what he had already said at the beginning of the letter: "I shall take much pleasure in noticing the book in the *Literary World*."

The next letter in which Rolfe deals with the *Outlines* (25 November 1885; LOA 289:32) follows pretty much the same pattern, with perhaps one small modification. Once again, Rolfe is grateful to have received a copy of the latest edition (apparently the fifth, forwarded by Professor Hiram Corson); once again, he has looked through it as he cut the pages and has been "struck [...] with the additions and improvements [...] made in the work." And once again he "shall soon refer to it in the *Literary World*." Evidently delighted that his previous suggestions have been observed, Rolfe accepts the "complimentary reference to [him] in the note appended to the preface" with pleased modesty: "I hardly deserved it – the help I had given you was so insignificant."[83] And then back to business. Again, he is "interested" in Halliwell's having cleared up the matter of the "forged entries in the Accounts of the Masters of the Revels," commenting: "It is curious that a forgery should be based upon fact – or, rather, should be *made up* of fact." In addition, he encloses a cutting (not in the Edinburgh collection) from the *Literary World* of 14 November 1885 (p. 410) in which he criticized a "little point" in Halliwell's "premonitory note" concerning the difference between "Old and New Style": "'twelve days' is incorrect, though it would have been all right if the Calendar had not been reformed." Rolfe follows with another of his shrewd questions: "Does not the omission of Anne Hathaway's name from her father's will – if Richard Hathaway *was* her father – call for some comment or explanation?" As before, Rolfe provides it himself in a longish paragraph and then adds, "This matter puzzles *me*, but I am not sure that it has attracted any attention from the critics. Can *you* throw any new light upon it?" And finally, expressing a view

[83]In his notice of the fifth edition (12 December 1885, p. 478) Rolfe, with evident pride, quoted the entire prefatory note.

which almost certainly did not accord with Halliwell's, Rolfe admits that although "[Edward] Dowden's 'periods' [in his *Shakspere: A Critical Study of His Mind and Art*, 1875] may be somewhat arbitrary divisions in the poet's career [...] there can be no doubt as to the tone and spirit of the latest plays [...]. They are full of charity, generosity, and magnanimity." Therefore, he concludes, "whatever [...] the facts concerning the early married life of William and Anne, I most profoundly believe that they were happy together after his return to Stratford." And in a further attempt to enter the mind of Shakespeare – not exactly Halliwell's province – Rolfe adds a vertical postscript in the margin of the first page of his letter: "Shakespeare's giving up writing in the latter years of his life is another thing that seems inexplicable to me. What do *you* think of it?"

Rolfe's last letter two months later (22 January 1886; LOA 289:34), although not a response to a new edition of the *Outlines* but to Halliwell's "kind note" (not in the Houghton or Edinburgh collections) to Rolfe's previous letter, follows the established pattern. Instead of remarks derived from his cutting the pages of a work or just dipping into it, Rolfe answers with great detail (in the longest letter of the correspondence), although admitting, "I cannot at the moment lay my hand upon [the note], though I remember its contents very well." His memory is impeccable. First, "as to the calendar question, I must still think you are in error." "All authorities" and "any man versed in astronomy [...] will sustain [Rolfe's] view, and will say that [Halliwell] should change 'twelve' to 'ten'." Second, responding to Halliwell's not being "sure as to her [Anne Hathaway] being the daughter of Richard," Rolfe considers the question important and hopes Halliwell "will take the earliest opportunity of settling it."[84] Third, while believing as "firmly" as Halliwell can in Shakespeare's

[84]In his notice (26 June 1886, p. 222) of the sixth edition of the *Outlines*, Rolfe made sure to quote from a Halliwell letter of 3 June 1886: "Chiefly owing to your anxiety on the subject, I have worked up in it my enormous collections on the Hathaway families – by 'working up' I mean condensing them into an intelligible summary."

"'perfect' dramatic power," Rolfe nevertheless "cannot help believing that, if his home life had been unhappy when he wrote those latest plays, the plays themselves would have been different" since Shakespeare "was *human*, and his choice of subjects, as well as his treatment of them, must needs have been affected – unconsciously, if not consciously – by his personal experiences and feelings."

In a concluding and conciliatory gesture Rolfe turns again to his own work and makes known his view that the "Gunther autograph" was "probably copied from the will," judging from its "close resemblance to the *third* one on the *will*." Until his view has been appraised by the "New York people [i.e. the Shakespeare Society of New York]," Rolfe urges Halliwell to "of course consider this *confidential*." And he reassures Halliwell that although Mrs. Caroline W. H. Dall's book, *What We Really Know about Shakespeare* (1886), finds some fault with him, and cannot spell his name right, "there was never a 'clumsier' piece of work than she has given us."

Apparently satisfied that a direct and sound relationship exists, Rolfe assures Halliwell that he "shall *try* to see [him]" on his next visit to England, for "nothing could give me more pleasure." For his customary "Respectfully yours" he now substitutes a "Faithfully yours."

10. William Aldis Wright and William George Clark

The correspondence between William Aldis Wright and Halliwell in the Edinburgh collection began in 1876 with a letter from Wright, continued with another from him in 1879, and then was concentrated in 1880-81 with seven letters from Wright and one from Halliwell. Since Wright's Cambridge edition of Shakespeare was completed in 1866 and Halliwell's folio Shakespeare in 1865, and there were no startlingly new or controversial editions to attract wide attention, other Shakespearean topics occupied them. And from the dates of the letters it is not surprising that Shakespearean politics was central – namely, the New Shakspere

Society and its "Champion," as F. J. Furnivall was referred to by Wright.

Since there are only ten letters in all between them, it is relatively simple to describe them and the relationship they portray. Four deal exclusively with Wright's thanks for publications Halliwell had sent him and a few comments derived from a usually cursory "dip" into them. The rest, longer and certainly more spirited, deal in the main with Furnivall. Wright's thanks for Halliwell's *A Catalogue of the Shakespeare-Study Books,* 1876 (16 April 1876; LOA 227:40), for the *Memoranda on the "Midsummer Night's Dream*," 1879 (9 November 1879; LOA 248:43), for the second edition of *New Lamps or Old?*, 1880 (18 June 1880; LOA 256:50), for the *Memoranda on "Love's Labour's Lost*," 1879 (22 June 1880; LOA 248:3), and for the *Outlines of the Life of Shakespeare*, 1881 (14 July 1881; LOA 251:71) establish a relationship which was at once professional in the scholarly exchange of opinion and also of increasing cordiality. From the first brief response in which, in a birdlike neat script, he seemed to venture to comment – "If I were a book collector I should be inclined to envy you the possession of so many rare and curious works but my madness has not yet taken that form & therefore without envy I thank you most sincerely" – Wright proceeded a few years later, in a somewhat bolder script, to add more than the obligatory or automatic frill to his expression of thanks. Responding to the *Memoranda on the "Midsummer Night's Dream*," he commented approvingly on the "parallelism between the Fairys song and the Faery Queen," saying it "must 'give pause' to those who argue for an earlier date [...] than 1596." Still, for his "own part" the evidence "would have more weight if it did not occur in a song" since "we know so little about the songs which Shakespeare brings in to his plays." Until it can be proved that the song is older than the play, Halliwell's "argument holds good" – Wright adding a statement of critical position which signalled a strong bond with Halliwell at a time when Furnivall was rampantly challenging the older establishment: "& it [the argument] has the great advantage that fact always has over theory."

In his very brief response to the *Memoranda on "Love's Labour's Lost"* half a year later – Halliwell's "benefits come faster than my acknowledgements" – Wright provided information about his own activities, another aspect of the correspondence: "The relation between the quartos and folios of Richard III is occupying me just now and I do not see my way to a satisfactory solution." Wright's final letter – and the last of pure thanks – although opening with the customary excuse of being so busy that he has "only had time to cut the leaves [of the *Outlines*]" (as in the previous letter he had only "just dipped into [the *Memoranda on "Love's Labour's Lost"*] in the midst of other work"), continued his habit of commenting on some point and then posing a larger question concerning a critical stance. Accepting Halliwell's "curious point [...] about the editions of North's Plutarch which Shakespeare did not use" – "I have entered [it] in my Coriolanus" – Wright asked: "Might he not have had access to the ed. of 1579?" From this now accepted view he proceeded to the larger matter: "The whole question of the variations in copies of the same edition of 17th cent. books is worth looking into," adding a further bit of information about his own work, "My attention was called to it in editing Bacon's Essays from the ed. of 1625."

The remaining five letters of 1880-81 focus on Furnivall and the unrest emanating from his managing of the New Shakspere Society and inciting the Pigsbrook affair. In them Wright displays more than mere sympathy with Halliwell's position; he demonstrates his own irritation with Furnivall's behaviour towards him as well as others and finally his growing realization that no compromise with Furnivall is possible. Wright's thanks (3 January 1880; LOA 250:31) for Halliwell's "protest against the new lights of the Shakspere Society" – his *Which Shall It Be? New Lamps or Old? Shaxpere or Shakespeare?* (1879) – combines the main elements of Wright's correspondence with Halliwell's: gratitude, an appraisal of a particular issue, a more general critical strategy – and, Furnivall being his irascible self, a more temperamental assertion of his own feelings. Furnivall's intransigent spelling of Shakespeare's name, "Shakspere," irritated Halliwell, who propagated "Shakespeare" from the very

beginning of his career. Wright's rejection of the "new lights" – "They are great at teaching their grandmothers" – is based not on emotion but, as was his wont, on his own careful study of their "cheval de bataille," the signature on Shakespeare's will. Independent as always, Wright came to differ with the "greatest weight" of the "opinion of Sir Frederic Madden in matters of paleography," acknowledging that "at the British Museum the latest view is that there are traces of an 'a' in the last syllable," and having "long thought that the symbol following 'k' is the abbreviation for 'es' and not simply 's'." For the moment at least he concluded, "But as I love peace and quietness I shall just hold my tongue about it all." Although conceding that Halliwell had been "treated [...] with scant courtesy," Wright asserted his "rule," which "is to have nothing to do with them and I find that I get on better with them & their Director in consequence."

This position, however, became difficult to sustain. In his next letter (18 June 1880; LOA 256:50) Wright's thanks for the second edition of *New Lamps or Old?* (1880) were followed immediately by his commitment "to continue to spell Shakespeare as I wish it to the last in spite of or rather in consequence of what Furnivall and his company say." Moreover, stung personally, he termed Furnivall a "nuisance" for the "ridiculous preface to the facsimile of the Hamlet of 1604 in which [pp. ix-x, n.3] he attacks me like an angry monkey." Although Wright had "warned him to keep his hands off me and to go his own way which is not mine [...] he will not be persuaded." Levelling his aim at Furnivall, he questioned ("curious" is his understated adjective) the attempt to "reproduce Shakespeare in the 'old spelling'," but found that "it is impossible to make Furnivall understand that the spelling of the books of that time was the spelling of the printers and not of the authors." At any rate, Wright concluded, with angry exasperation: "The modern Bottom feels too confident of his own ability to play many parts to allow of his being instructed in any."[85]

In his longest letter (8 February 1881; LOA 252:3) Wright gave

[85]In 1880 Furnivall issued a circular – "Proposed Edition of Shakspere in Old Spelling" – to the members of the New Shakspere Society.

up the attempt to counter Furnivall's criticism, not caring to "read any more of his ejaculations" evoked by Wright's expression "'sign-post criticism' which has penetrated even his rhinoceros-hide of self conceit and ignorance."[86] He vowed to "take no notice of any thing he may do or say believing him to be half mad and wholly contemptible." Although "no admirer of Swinburne's whose own language is none of the choicest," he could not condone Furnivall's language in the note on Swinburne in the facsimile of *Love's Labour's Lost*.[87] Strengthening his bond with Halliwell, Wright aligned himself with those who "would mark their sense of the impropriety of Furnivall's proceedings by withdrawing publicly from the [new Shakspere] Society." That action came swiftly. A week later Wright informed Halliwell that as soon as he had received Furnivall's "offensive rejoinder" to Halliwell's "remonstrance,"[88] he "at once requested the Secretary to remove his name from the list of members." And he concluded this brief, hard-hitting note: "The Committee can no longer plead that the quarrel is a private one of which they have no cognisance, for he cons[t]itutes himself the Champion of the Society" (17 February 1881; LOA 252:26). Halliwell, obviously moved by Wright's strong expression of sympathy and "valued support,"

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[86]A sample of Furnivall's "ejaculations" from the infamous footnote (pp. ix-x, n.3) of his "forewords" to the facsimile of the second quarto of *Hamlet* (1604): "Men who dub our school the 'sign-post' one, who write inane and feeble allegories to show that the labourers at Shakspere should remain mere labourers, and never strive to become gardeners, much less, scientific botanists [...] must not be surprised if we call their school the 'woodenhead' one, and treat it with the contempt it deserves, when it steps outside the province which it has wisely declared that it is alone fit for."

[87]In a letter of 24 March 1881 (LOA 244:23) William Griggs, the photo-lithographer, informed Halliwell that "personally I will not continue to be the means of diffusing anything that will give pain to you or others. I have not only cut out all pages referring to you, but Mr. Swinburne as well."

[88]The "Co." of Pigsbrook & Co. was issued in two editions in 1881; the second and enlarged one was the response to Halliwell's "remonstrance," *A Letter from Mr. J. O. Halliwell-Phillipps to the Members of the New Shakspere Society with a Copy of a Correspondence on the Extraordinary Language Used under the Apparent Sanction of that Society,* 1881.

answered immediately (and thought it fit to keep a copy of this, his only, letter to Wright in the Edinburgh collection), condemning Furnivall as "singularly incorrigible," and stressing that "were it not indeed that he means to be offensive, his utterances in his incomprehensible Hamlet preface would be simply ludicrous" (19 February 1881; LOA 252:28). Furnivall being the man he was, there were of course numerous further irritations.

In one further letter a few months later (9 July 1881; LOA 251:19) the split with Furnivall was complete on all fronts.[89] "Furnivall," Wright informed Halliwell on the same day as he had received a note from him asking where to send a copy of his *Outlines*, "I hear is proposing to found a Browning Society – for what purpose who can tell? He has not asked me to join." The bond between Wright and Halliwell, on the other hand, was confirmed, since Halliwell's note of 9 July 1881 and then another of 12 July 1881 – both in the library of Trinity College Cambridge – do not name Furnivall. Instead, the concern is with the mundane matters of scholarly exchange: where to send the copy of the *Outlines*, whether to use the title "Mr" or "Dr" in the address. As for the Browning Society, it was "really the funniest idea that ever was originated." More to the point of his researches, Halliwell returned to the "singular labyrinth [which] surrounds the history of some of the plays": "Last autumn, [he] had positively printed a book in which I had proved, to my then satisfaction, that the Contention & True Tragedie were written by Marlowe. Then I altered my notions, & cancelled the book, & now fancy that both are mere jumbles of the perfect plays. I shall be very anxious to know what view you ultimately take, but as you

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[89]In an amusing letter years later, a friend, H. H. Furness, wrote from London: "Dearest Wright: Sh – Sh – not a word! I never imagined that you would divine my secret. I am *in hiding*. Don't tell, but I have just murdered Furnivall! and left him in his gore. I bribed his servant to conceal his body for three days, and by that time I shall be on the ocean and safe." (*Letters*, II:143.)

admit, vol. 5., p. xii [of the Cambridge edition], internal proofs of Shakespeare's composition in both, this is so far in favour of my theory, or, rather, I ought to say, the old theory of the last century." A few years later Halliwell recommended Wright to be successor to Collier as Trustee of the Shakespeare Birth-Place Trust (15 March 1884; LOA 287:46).

Although only slight mention of the Cambridge edition is made in the correspondence, Halliwell did, of course, take an interest in it. A brief early exchange with W. G. Clark, the joint-editor, illustrates that he took it very seriously (unlike Dyce, who had written that it was a "*mumpsimus* edition with hieroglyphical notes" [8 May 1863; LOA 96:45]). On 31 October 1863 (LOA 95:61) Halliwell wrote to Clark to acknowledge his receipt of a copy of Clark's letter to the *Times* of 21 October 1863 (actually, 10 October 1863, p. 10), to admire the accuracy of the edition, to agree with "respect to the metre" with Clark's protest against the "deprecating dogmatic assertions on the subject" made by the reviewer, who "though a very clever writer cannot have paid deep attention to [it], or he would hardly have said that the old eds. do not use the *st* termination in the 2nd person singular," and to "express [his] own high estimate of [this] important work." Clark was grateful, for he did "value highly the commendation of one so well-qualified to judge of the merits of the question in dispute." And with notable collegiality, he expressed his "great pleasure to think that I have never met any thing but kindness and courtesy from any contemporary editor of Shakespeare" (5 November 1863; LOA 86:2). A few day later, in the *Athenaeum* of 14 November 1863, Halliwell (identified by the Athenaeum Indexing Project) contributed an anonymous review (pp. 640-42) of the first two volumes of the Cambridge Shakespeare. Judicious and discriminating, it integrated the work into the chain of important editions and recognised the excellence of the plan "so well carried out, that we have no hesitation in saying that it is likely to be, when completed, the most useful one to the scholar and intelligent reader which has yet appeared" (p. 641). A half year later, in a response to a letter from Halliwell requesting information about a "missing" volume 3 and the existence of

Shakespearean quartos and folios in the Pepsyian Library in Cambridge, Clark again sounded the note of good-spirited cooperation that marked his and Wright's relationship with Halliwell. After thanking him for the "interest" he took in "our work," Clark was "especially glad to know that you regard us not as intruders and rivals, but as fellow-labourers in the same field, which is wide enough for all" (23 May 1864; LOA 87:37).

Part Two

Other Friends

11. Frederick James Furnivall

The correspondence between Frederick James Furnivall and Halliwell in the Edinburgh collection consists of ninety-five letters from Furnivall, twenty-seven from Halliwell directly to Furnivall and fourteen in which he is mentioned, and as part of a larger context the whole of Volume 247, forty-four letters which Halliwell collected and described as "relating to Furnivall's attack on me."[90] Doubtless because of Furnivall's insistently vigorous personality, as well as crucial issues in the nature and direction of Shakespeare scholarship, the exchange is perhaps the liveliest and most penetrating of the whole collection. Most noteworthy is the fact that Halliwell saw fit to have copied so many of his own letters to Furnivall, thus establishing a rapid-fire give-and-take atmosphere not otherwise to be found. Of the sixty-five letters written by Halliwell between 1872 and 1879, the period which covers their exchange in the Edinburgh collection, forty-one deal directly or indirectly with Furnivall. The letters from Furnivall to Halliwell span the period from 1857 to 1879.

These dates are not without significance. The thirteen letters

[90]Included in the count of ninety-four are two ghosts: letters from Furnivall listed in Halliwell's handwritten index to volumes 234 and 256 but not found in those volumes. In one interesting instance, LOA 256:70 is indexed as LOA 256:39, according to Halliwell's handwritten "My letter about the Dedication." Since he saw to the binding of the volumes, and the numbering of the individual letters was added by a later hand, Halliwell must have changed the order for some reason or other. It is impossible to say whether the deletion of letters 37 and 38 is related.

from Furnivall between 1857 and 1870 – which imply responses from Halliwell but not found in the Edinburgh collection – reflect one important aspect of the entire correspondence: Furnivall's reporting on or, in the main, requesting information and assistance for projects on which he was working. Direct in approach and cordial in tone, they indicate a relationship between friendly professionals with similar interests. They also begin to give an outline of the energetic, many-sided career of Furnivall. Thus in his earliest letter (Friday, 00 August 1857; LOA 63:27) the thirty-two-year-old Furnivall was asking dating questions of Halliwell in connection with his "Dictionary scheme" with Herbert Coleridge, which was adopted somewhat later by the Philological Society, of which he became honorary secretary in 1853. (Although Furnivall became editor in 1862 on the death of Coleridge, he continued collecting material even after the project was taken over by James Murray in 1876 and named *The New English Dictionary*.) Furnivall in the 1850s and 1860s – in fact throughout his life – was committed to the revival and reprinting of early English literature, like Halliwell, Collier, and others. In his early letters to Halliwell he asked for information about the Hampole MS. in Eton (10 July 1866; LOA 118:8), for the location of the Porkington MS. (13 December 1866; LOA 122:16), and for aid in getting access to the Oesterley collection (29 April 1868; LOA 136:31). Not surprisingly, Halliwell's first three letters to Furnivall contained an offer of help with the MSS. of the Thirlstane House Library (11 March 1872; LOA 208:22), an admission that he has no influence in "gaining [Furnivall] access" to the collection (18 March 1872; LOA 194:19), and information about the Hoccleve MS. which might be gathered from Sir Thomas Phillipps's own printed catalogue of his books. Unable to give "replies to any questions about the Thirlstane House Library" because of his strained relations with his father-in-law, Halliwell nevertheless referred Furnivall – with a personal and confidential touch based on a by then fifteen-year-old acquaintance and belying the rather formal salutation "My dear Sir" – to John Fenwick, Phillipps's son-in-law, "begging" him, "however, kindly not to mention my name; for although we are on friendly terms

with the present owners of the library [the Fenwicks], yet considering the silly clause in Sir Thomas's will [forbidding Halliwell and his wife, as well as all Roman Catholics, from entering the house], Mrs Phillipps & myself do not consider that it would be decorous in either of us to introduce *anyone*, or to make any literary enquiries respecting the books" (2 April 1872; LOA 206:24).

Other letters from Furnivall in this early period concern his editing (with J. W. Hales) of *Bishop Percy's Folio Manuscript: Ballads and Romances*, 1867: he informed Halliwell that he needed a cast of the woodcuts for the ballads (20 November 1866; LOA 118:20); that the "Copier is at p. 280 of the Percy Ms., & I have about £300 [in subscriptions] promised" (13 December 1866; LOA 122:16); that he needed several more ballads (18 March 1867; LOA 118:24); and the like. The quest for information, opinion, and assistance in his dealing with early texts persisted throughout Furnivall's correspondence: be it a question about the Captain Cox tract (12 August 1870; LOA 173:13), which he edited for the Ballad Society in 1871; be it his assertion that he had seen the "only English copy of Chaucer's Mother of God" (2 April 1873; LOA 215:41), doubtless in connection with his founding of the Chaucer Society in 1868 and his issuing of the poem in *A Parallel-Text Edition of Chaucer's Minor Poems* (LVII, Parts II:6, 1878); be it his being sure that he "can trace Chaucer's progress, match his changes & development as also his decline" and urging Halliwell to do a similar "critical examination of Shakespeare's genius, showing his increase in power, the growth in choice & treatment of subject, the change from complete line to broken line (like Bathurst), the characteristics of his 3 Periods – if 3 be the right number – &c" (27 August 1873; LOA 215:35); be it his asking for a loan of a copy of Francis Meres's *Palladis Tamia* for a reprint, guaranteeing "freedom from damage" (11 December 1873; LOA 215:44); be it his admission of knowing nothing about draining (12 October 1874; LOA 215:8); be it his (repeated) request for the Norden plates of the views of London and Westminster (20 November 1875; LOA 197:7, 22 November 1875; LOA 197:16, etc.); be it his request and then thanks for the loan of

a copy of Norden's map of Westminster for his edition of William Harrison's *Description of England* (1877-81) (1 November 1878; LOA 239:26, 6 November 1878; LOA 239:27); be it his desire to see Halliwell's printed collection dealing with actors (2 January 1879; LOA 239:21).

Furnivall's quest for information and opinion extended to Shakespeare, intimately bound up with his announcement of the formation of the New Shakspere Society in 1873, a watershed in the development of Shakespeare studies and in the relationship between Furnivall and Halliwell. Not unusual is the continuation of individual questions on particular projects on which each which each of them was working. Furnivall looked to Halliwell for opinions: "Why shouldn't John S. be Wm's eldest brother, born before the Stratford register begins?` (10 March 1874; LOA 215:48); "Have you ever workt *Edw. III* carefully? [Richard] Simpson, [Frederick Gard] Fleay, & I say that only E.'s lovemaking to the Countess of Salisbury is Sh.'s. Collier says the whole Play is. That's absurd" (4 April 1874; LOA 130:7); "Have you ever gone into the *Sonnets* questions? The thing I find hardest in them is the change of tone in the middle ones from earnestness to absolute trifling & playing with the subject" (2 January 1879; LOA 239:21); "I think that Oberon's last speech looks like an aim at something before the play as well as in it, & that the suggestion & *acting* of the *M.N.Dr.* were for an Elizabethan marriage – possibly a triple one" (18 October 1879; LOA 244:6). Furnivall was acute enough to know that, as far as Shakespeare was concerned, he had in Halliwell a captive audience and respondent. "It's all very well," he confidently asserted late in their correspondence, "saying that you want to keep off Shakspere, but he's more part of your real *life* than anything else, & you know it" (1 November 1878; LOA 239:27).

Furnivall was always interested in Halliwell's undertakings and encouraged them. He urged him to publish his "Documents at once" (12 February 1874; LOA 223:40); to "send us a dozen of your tidbits, & see whether we won't put 'em in type soon" (2 November 1874; LOA 216:23); not to "get irritated then. Damn me as much as you like. Relieve your mind thus, & then just print

your book as fast as you can, & set all our mistakes of fact straight" (5 May 1879; LOA 251:77); to be persuaded to "do a permanent & handy Shakspere book – none of your 25 copies or folios, – but '*The Documents of Shakspere's Life*': *all* the authentic Documents, with any slight comment needed, but nothing else" (14 September 1879; LOA 244:5). Halliwell was a responsive correspondent. Although busy – "I do not see my way clear to a gossip just at present" – he was nevertheless trying to buy a copy of Meres "at any fair price [...] and make The [New Shakspere] Society a present of it" (9 January 1874; LOA 32:7). "Tell me what you want," was his offer, "from any of my copies of North's Plutarch & you shall have them" (19 June 1874; LOA 116:35). Further, he revealed that "a copy of the 1592 edition of Greene's Groatsworth of Wit [is] in the library of Sir John Fenn" (26 November 1878; LOA 233:3). He offered advice on research: "I know no one else whose studies would enable him to search the Record Office for the fact you want with any fair chance of success. There are of course many record students far more accomplished than myself but none with the very long training on the one particular subject, without which a result is not to be expected" (12 March 1879; LOA 250:17).

Interspersed with, if not enveloped in, these professional inquiries and responses are personal and domestic details and phrasings which are lively and vigorous, going beyond the customary casual salutations of "Dear Furnivall" or "Dear F" and "Dear Halliwell" or "Dear H" or the closings "Yrs. ever" or simply "Yours/Yrs." In introducing his remarks on meticulous researching just quoted, Halliwell began his letter with "I am not disposed to desert my birds & trees for dusty parchments." In stressing the need for careful and systematic researching – "the discovery of a new fact about S. is of as much use to a Shaksn reputation as the finding out of a new planet is to an astronomical one" – Halliwell could not resist what may be a twitting reference to Furnivall's journalistic activities: "If I mistake not, I know of a certain gentleman whose Chaucerian reputation has been greatly increased by his name being seen in newspapers every week in connexion with Chaucerian discoveries" (16 February 1874; LOA

32:13). In turning down a request from Furnivall, he retorted: "According to your peculiar theory I shall be a wretched doginthemanger old hoss if I do not offer these collections to you merely because you have elected to write on the same subject. It is a funny notion if I state your views correctly. Do enlighten me, there's a good fellow" (8 April 1876; LOA 228:21).

For his part Furnivall was even more open and revealing and personal. Having visited Stratford, he "*must* write to say that if some giant avenger hasn't wrung your neck, you really are a good fellow for clearing that New Place & keeping it all in such nice order. I forgive you all your sins for this, & say 'Bless you, my child'!" (6 July 1874; LOA 215:13). He was "glad" Halliwell had "got hold of something good. You deserve it; tho' you are such a wicked old codger" (4 April 1874; LOA 130:7). His acceptance of one of the many invitations from Halliwell is typical of the man and the relationship: "I hope to turn up on the 19th – 'Sunday, April 20th', you say, but my almanac has it 19. It's not a Working Men's Reading night; & so, if I shouldn't put you out, I'll come later, say between 5 & 6, & have a bit of cold beef at your dinner. 'Like the fellow's impudence', you'll say, 'asks himself to dinner, as he asks for my Shakspere finds'. I wish you lived near Regents Park" (4 April 1874; LOA 130:7).

Furnivall's numerous commitments – "a set of 8 lectures" for the "Oxford Ladies on Anglo-Saxon & Early English up to Chaucer's time" (12 October 1874; LOA 215:8), a lecture "on Elizabethan Literature (of which I know nothing [...]), edit Shakspere (of whom you'll say I know less), and finish off Robt of Brunne [*Handlying Sinne*], & Chaucer's Canterbury Tales," as well as "writing a Chaucer Review [...] & [having] a Shaksp. Lecture (gratis)" for the Sunday Shakespeare Society (16 December 1874; LOA 215:25), and the like – did not prevent him from being personally involved in Halliwell's family circle. His letters are full of references to Halliwell's household and especially his daughters. "I've no doubt you'll enjoy the party no end," he wrote on one occasion. "It must be pleasant to you to see your girls & their friends amusing themselves, tho' the upset of the house before & after *is* a bore" (5 January 1874; LOA 215:9).

He was "glad to hear that the girls are enjoying themselves. They saw too few young folk in town – were like colts in a stable. Hope they'll get nice husbands, who'll love 'em & make 'em happy" (24 September 1874; LOA 215:4). Ellen was his favorite. On a visit to Stratford he mentioned: "By the way, there's a little thorobred chestnut at the Golden Lion which is just the thing to carry Ellen. *Very* quiet & temperate she is. 5 years old. Taylor asks 70 for her, but 'd take 60, I should think. She goes well in harness. Mind you tell Ellen" (7 July 1874; LOA 215:7). There is little need to stress the fact that Furnivall's own daughter, Ena, had died in infancy in 1866. The attraction of youth is enough of a reason, as Furnivall explained later in the year, when he lamented that he was unable to join Halliwell on the Isle of Wight: "Would that I could thus renew my youth! But alas I *must* stay in London for the present. Had I a sound right ancle [*sic*], instead of a sprung-sinewed one, I should enjoy heartily a waltz with your girls – the deux-temps was a weakness of mine – but now, disabled, I must be content to fancy them whirld round by elegant Wightians who whisper all sorts of pretty things to 'em" (16 December 1874; LOA 215:25).

Striking are the openings of the letters: most often, immediate and colloquial, spirited and spunky. From Furnivall: "You don't understand my chaff, I'm sure. You poke me under the ribs, & I give you a stir in return" (17 December 1873; LOA 215:43); "Really you 're too provoking. Here's a good punch in the eye for you" (7 July 1874; LOA 215:7); "What is coming to you in your old age? Breaking out into Verses & Dances!" (16 December 1874; LOA 215:25); "Don't be savage" (26 October 1875; LOA 218:33); "You mistake. I'm not half such a 'mean customer' as you are" (22 November 1875; LOA 197:16); "What perverse inferences you draw!" (12 May 1879; LOA 244:4). Even Halliwell, normally formal and correct, was drawn to counter in his own fashion: "Pardon me! – but I really am at a loss to understand what I have said or written to warrant the insinuation that I am 'touchy'" (10 December 1873; LOA 77:4); "You deserve to have your ears well pulled for making false accusations" (10 April 1874; LOA 116:19); "All right, old boy! I see now we are at one on the Gervinus question" (13 January 1875; LOA 248:50); "Do I understand you

rightly? Take this question" (8 April 1876; LOA 228:21); "I am not disposed to desert my birds & trees for dusty parchments" (12 March 1879; LOA 250:17).

These characteristic openings are playful and muscular. They reflect a tension which characterizes a powerful and yet strenuous bond. Both men were energetic; both were prolific doers. And if Furnivall was the more extrovert, a restless organizer and reformer with a highly developed sense of social action, and if Halliwell was the more introvert, by the 1870s apparently content with solitary and patient researches in record offices and the often anonymous and secretive dealings of the book trade – yet the two men met and mingled in what was the focal point of their personal and professional lives: archaeological philology and especially Shakespeare. In 1873 Furnivall announced the formation of the New Shakspere Society. Just a bit too young to have played an important role in the first Shakespeare Society, which began in 1840, he set about with the amazing zeal that motored all his literary and social activities not merely to re-establish credible Shakespeare studies but indeed both to re-form and reform them. In doing so, he took on the older establishment – Collier, Staunton, Halliwell, and others – and he took them head on. He was almost fifty, to be sure, and not far behind in years from, say, Halliwell. But, as was his wont, he was determined to change things to his taste. The year 1873 was a watershed in Shakespeare studies. For Furnivall and Halliwell it was the beginning of a relationship which grew in intensity and passion as the 1870s proceeded, reached a climax toward the end of the decade, and then exploded and disintegrated. The two men, who had been so entangled, were torn apart, painfully and with recriminations. The New Shakspere Society ceased to exist a few years later.

The story of the New Shakspere Society is too well known to require much in the way of re-telling here. In outline, Furnivall irritated many important personalities – among them Howard Staunton and Halliwell – by naming them Vice Presidents without their knowledge or approval. Further, he exalted a "new" and "higher" criticism, based mainly in statistical and metrical

studies, which sought to establish a fixed chronology of the Shakespearean corpus and therefrom to discover the mind of the poet at various stages of his career. There crystallized a conflict between two essentially irreconcilable points of view: one, embodied in the *Shakespeare Commentaries* of Georg Gottfried Gervinus and championed by Furnivall, who first supplied an introduction to the English translation in 1874; the other, by Algernon Swinburne in his *Study of Shakespeare* of 1880, which was fatefully dedicated to Halliwell. Charges of abuse and mud-slinging, of vile and obscene language, were levelled against Furnivall from many sides: the so-called Pigsbrook affair erupted into a pamphleting war and a public scandal and led to the demise of the New Shakspere Society.

The amazing thing is that in the turbulence from 1873 to the end of the decade the bond between Furnivall and Halliwell seems not merely to have survived but to have been strengthened, as it were, through exercise and tension. The domestic touches – invitations, dinners, greetings to family members, mutual visits – continued, of course. But something approaching confrontation, the pressure to justify one's position, and the mutual admiration – often apparent, sometimes just below the surface – of person and accomplishment: all tended to invigorate and perpetuate a relationship which was not static but marked by the kind of camaraderie that only mighty opposites might share.

The importance of confrontation may be measured not merely by the number of letters written, nor merely by their frequency within short periods: Furnivall, for example, dashed off letters to Halliwell on 4, 7, 9, 11, 15, and 17 December 1873; Halliwell retaliated on 8, 10, and 16 December 1873. What is even more striking, and indicative of the significance (if not the passion) Halliwell attributed to the exchange, is the fact that he had so many copies made of his letters to Furnivall – more than to any other correspondent in the Edinburgh collection. The result is a vivid record of their interaction, instead of the one-sided picture which a massive collection of letters addressed only to Halliwell presents. A few examples are worth quoting *in toto*, as they touch on crucial matters and reveal personality.

For one thing, there was Furnivall's peremptory naming of Halliwell as a Vice President of the New Shakspere Society:

Relying on what Staunton said, & on your uniform kindness to me, & your devotion to Shakspere, I've put you down on the enclosed, & now ask you to let your name stand. Always try [truly] yrs F.J.F. Can you get me any good names? (4 December 1873; LOA 215:45). I'm very sorry that you won't be on our Committee. But I shall put you down as a Vice-President whether you will or not. *That* you must be content to endure. About Gervinus I can't agree. The spirit of the man is deep & noble. Some bosh, & much Germanism, I admit. But where else 'll you match that book as a whole? Very glad to hear about *Impacient Povertie*; & I *shall be* very glad to have a Shakspere fight with you, & let you knock all the knowledge you can into me (7 December 1873; LOA 215:46).
All right. I take your name off tho' no one but I is responsible to the Prosp written in the 1st person, & signed by myself. Shakspereans are touchier folk than I fancied. Our friend A[lgernon]. S[winburne]. is a regular powder barrel. Please tell me the bits in the Prosp that you specially object to (9 December 1873; LOA 69:20).

Halliwell did not hesitate to reply:

Pardon me! – but I really am at a loss to understand what I have said or written to warrant the insinuation that I am "touchy". If I were not afraid of being considered impertinent, I should decidedly say, judging from the tone of your last note, that the boot is on the other leg. A person cannot be touchy unless he is offended or displeased at something unnecessarily. Now I am neither in the slightest degree offended nor displeased at any portion of your prospectus, nor can I imagine how any one can be. What I did say, & what I now repeat, is that no one can honestly join a Committee of a Society when he does not agree with the sentiment contained in the Prospectus upon which that Society is proposed to be founded. "Dat is all, my Lort", as one of the Lichborne Witnesses observes (10 December 1873; LOA 77:4).

Unruffled, Furnivall responded on the next day:

I forget what I said about touchiness; but what ever it was, it was meant more for our friend Staunton than for you. And indeed I oughtn't have meant it at all for you, seeing that you said you 'd have a long Shakspere chat & fight with me, which is just what I want; because I'm only a learner – tho' one on the right method, I hope. – And I hope you 'll give me lots of information & good advice. Also, can & will you lend me a *Meres* to reprint? We can guarantee freedom from damage. Further, will you suggest any other books for reprinting? I think of starting with Meres, the Digby MS Mysteries, & Harrison's England. In critical work, probably a translation of [Gustav] Rümelin's book [most likely, *Shakespeares Individualität und Bildungsgang*, 1874], besides such Papers as we can get. Won't you write us a Paper? Sincly yrs F.J.F. I wish you 'd tell me the bits of the Prosp that you don't like. I've altered 2 bits: changed *wooden* on p. 1, & inserted a clause on p. 2 (11 December 1873; LOA 215:44).

And again:

You 've exactly described the position. We'll chaff & pitch with one another no end, & then eat a bit of mutton together, or drink a cup of tea, for, as a tee-totaller of 32 years standing, I can't drink your bowl of punch. But in aesthetics, if we don't "bust you all round the town, my chicken," or knock you into a cockt hat, all the lot of you old fellows, my name's not F.J.F. "Come on!" as soon as you like. Now just look at this last letter of yours – cocksure as if you 'd been at Shakspere's elbow: "not a dozen lines left" &c. – pure gammon, my dear Sir. "*Must* have been written after the T.G. of N." You really have your A.B.C. to learn. You must estimate chaps & faithful workers haven't a fixt principle or a canon of criticism among you. And yet you 're as sure that you know all about it as if you 'd been S.'s amanuensis. I'm ashamed of you! (15 December 1873; LOA 215:36).

Halliwell was quick to retort on the next day:

Go on & prosper, my dear Boy! So that you don't put me upon the Shakespeare Committees, of which I have had quite a sickener, so far as I am concerned you shall have it all your own way with your aesthetics & your canons. In the mean while nothing remains for a harmless drudge like myself but to go on collecting facts, which I only

hope won't interfere with your canons, or perchance you'll be giving me a topper over the brain basket. You astonish me with the intelligence that you have been a teetotaler 32 years, but I am more amazed at the fact that you 're alive to tell the tale. Do take a glass of stout of a day, there's a good fellow, or you'll go into the elm before your time & no mistake. Yrs. ever J. O. Phillipps P.S. Your notes are so sharp & neat I wish to goodness you 'd write on better paper, so that one can preserve 'em better (16 December 1873; LOA 69:41).

Furnivall then ended this bout with an immediate reply on the next day:

You don't misunderstand my chaff, I'm sure. You poke me in the ribs, & I give you a stir in return: But don't think that I for a moment undervalue the great worth of the work you 've done for Shakspere, or that I haven't deep respect for the devotion you 've shown to him & his fame. No more faithful follower has he ever had than you. But as you 've exhausted your line – or will have when your new book is out – I want to work in another line, not yet rightly taken up in England, as I think. There are a good many roads to Stratford, & we 'll wish one another a pleasant journey along our different ones (17 December 1873; LOA 215:43).

For another thing, there was the crucial matter of the direction of Shakespeare studies. Although already touched upon in the previous exchange, it was gone into in more detail early the next year, focussing more specifically on the discovering of Shakespeare's mind by determining, statistically, the chronology of the plays. Central is the German influence, especially of Gervinus, on Furnivall. Two clashes of personalities and issues are noteworthy. One heated up in the midst of a letter from Halliwell in the spring of 1874:

You say I do not deserve hanging but merely torturing. Am sorry to observe that you merit both. A nice dance you led me last night! for it was all owing to you that I spent the evening in the perusal of some of Gervinus. The case is far worse than I had thought. Any clever London Newspaper-leader writer could do the whole thing far better, & with

less palpable error, for I do not believe that any Englishman would fall into such direful blunders, blunders that a superficial reader – the individual who is generally spoken as "the general reader" – may well pass over unnoticed, the writer's consummate arrogance enabling him to trusel his work with the appearance of the profoundest critical knowledge (24 March 1874; LOA 69:4).

Stung, Furnivall retorted on the same day:

I *like* your impudence about Gervinus. You just write, on any one play, a comment that shows half the thought, & breath of scholarship, that his comment on the same Play does. Try it, & see what you make of it. Clever London newspaper leader writer, be bothered! Such men have no insides. G. has. But as to the blunders of fact, such Gervinus may make, does, no doubt. You just put me down a list of all you 've noticed, & they shall be corrected in the cheap edition now reprinting. That will be helping, instead of grumbling only. I certainly hope we shall get a book on Shakspere within 3 or 4 years, that shall be closer, & more definite in criticism than Gervinus is, but, if my judgment is worth anything, G. is the best book on Shakspere as a whole, & will *always* have value, whatever books follow it. If you can show its shallowness, write a Paper on it for N.Sh. Soc. & we 'll give in if we can't defend him against you. I hope you 'll send me your Letter on the Roman Plays [91] by Friday. Thanks for dates &c. Yours F.J.F. Correct any slips in enclosed, please (24 March 1874; LOA 215:31).

The conflict regarding Gervinus and what he stood for continued, always a constant source of irritation and yet alliance

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[91]Mr. Halliwell's "Hint on the Date of Coriolanus and Possibly Other Roman Plays," *Transactions of the New Shakspere Society*, pp. 367-70, was read by Furnivall at the seventh meeting on 26 June 1874. He reported immediately: "Your 'Hint' was very well received at the New Shakspere Society last night. No one had a word to say against it, but all felt that a new & very valuable bit of evidence had been brought forward by you. Your modest way of putting it was also felt as a most favourable contrast to [name deleted by Halliwell] ignorant dogmatism [...]. A cordial vote of thanks was passt to you for your *Hint*. May you give us some more of 'em" (27 June 1874; LOA 215:10).

between the two men. It was not the only one. Despite the exchanges of information and the lending of texts, there were barriers resulting not solely from ethical principle[92] or ideological differences but from professional rivalry. A typical instance was the question of copyright, a constant theme in the careers of Halliwell and his friends.[93] The matter became acute when Furnivall asked Halliwell to send him his Norden's plates for use in his edition of William Harrison's *Description of England*. An interlude in late 1875 shows the growing intensity of the irreconcilable. Halliwell began:

Most assuredly I shall not allow any one the use of either blocks or casts of my engravings, & if a copy is made of a single one of them I shall at once apply for an injunction against the publisher or printer. Even in the case of mere facsimiles it will generally be easy to ascertain if mine or other copies are used in a reproduction. It is my intention to protect the copyright of my new work to the utmost extent the law will allow, & I shall spare no expense in doing so. Considering that I intensely disliked, as you well know, the spirit in which the New

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[92]An interesting and amusing example is Halliwell's comment on one of Furnivall's Socialist undertakings:

There are different views held as to the best methods of befriending the working man. It may be a good & innocent thing in itself to throw museums & picture galleries open on Sundays, but I am one of the many who believe that if this thin edge of the wedge once gets in it will ultimately lead to the downfall of that great palladium of one day in seven for rest, the worst thing for the working classes that could be imagined & equally bad for every one else. Stratford-on-Avon appears to be the oddest place in the world for the National Sunday League to select for a Sunday excursion. Every place of Shaksperian interest is closed on that day excepting the Church. The excursionists may of course attend the service if they please, but they will not be able to examine the Church afterwards or inspect its numerous objects of interest. If you wind up with a Shakspearian address, you will have to deliver it in one of the streets & perhaps get locked up for obstructing the Queen's Highway. Never mind – I'll bail you out (19 June 1874; LOA 116:35).

[93]See, for example, above, pp. 22, 55, 61, 68, and n. 16.

Shakspere Society was instituted, it strikes me that I have treated it kindly & even liberally from the first, certainly always recommending persons to join it whenever I had a chance; but I do not intend to allow the Society to appropriate my plans & labours with impunity (19 November 1875; LOA 222:14).

Furnivall did not flinch, replying the next day:

The noble savage in his war-paint – & registering his letter, too! Now don't be angry – drink a bottle of claret, & feel amiable towards all mankind. There's more than 1 map of Shakspere's London in the world: & I shall do what you did: find out that which suits me best, & have it copied. But if in your book you want A. Boorde's Englishmen [Andrew Borde, *The Fyrst Boke of the Introduction of Knowledge*, edited by Furnivall for the Early English Text Society (Extra Series, No. X) in 1870] to illustrate what Shakspere says of fashion, Harrison's rogues [*The Rogues and Vagabonds of Shakespeare's Youth* was edited in a somewhat different makeup by Furnivall and Edward Viles in 1869 for the Early English Text Society (Extra Series, No. IX) and reprinted with added illustrations for the New Shakspere Society in 1880], or any other cut we 've got, you 're welcome to it as the day. Certainly you 've treated us well hitherto. Why not go on doing so? But you, like the rest of men, have 2 sides to your character; & now you 're showing your bad one (20 November 1875; LOA 197:7).

Furnivall's cajoling and in his next letter mock scolding – "Confound you, you old curmudgeon, we 'll have the map whether you like it or not" (22 November 1875; LOA 197:16) – seem to have had the effect of increasing Halliwell's indignation:

Having either mislaid or destroyed your last note, I have only my recollection to depend upon in answering it, so if I am misinterpreting you in any way in this I must ask you kindly to excuse me. The registering of my previous letter as of this arose from my anxiety that they should not miscarry & you, by any possibility hereafter taken in any way by surprise, it being my determination to protect the copyright of my new work & of every engraving in it to the utmost extent the law will permit. If I can prove that a single one of my

engravings has been used in any reproduction, & under the new Act I believe interrogatories are sanctioned, I will at once apply for an injunction. A little reflection will show that, apart from this being in harmony with my own feelings in the matter, it is my duty to take this action. My book is an expensive one, & purchasers might reasonably complain if I sanctioned the reproduction of any part of it in other quarters. It happens that two London collectors have to my knowledge bought the work for the sake of the London plans & views alone. It will I think be generally conceded that any attempt, after this statement, to appropriate my designs would be an act of intense discourtesy. Although very willing as I have shown to assist the New Shakspere Society in my humble way in any direction which will not clash with the design of my own book, you know very well that I am working altogether independently of the Society & have no more idea of pirating its labours that [*sic*] allowing it to appropriate mine. Subject to these reservations, I have every good wish for the Society as well as a most friendly regard for your own talents & zeal, however greatly I differ from you on various important Shaksn topics (26 November 1875; LOA 223:30).

It is difficult to measure the exact temperature of these exchanges. They continued, with varying intensity, throughout the 1870s. Whether arguing or placating, protesting or jesting, as they intermingled the personal and the professional, the two men were drawn together or, perhaps, found it impossible to separate. In the midst of their various disputes, Halliwell could invite Furnivall to dine with him and his family. Furnivall could say, after being turned down in his request for the Norden plates, "Thank you for your kind invitation. But on the whole I 've come to the conclusion that we do better at arm's length, each grinding away at his own tools." He could plead being personally disappointed: "When I come to you as a personal friend, & ask for a thing that I think any friend 'ud give me for a public work – as in the instances of that plate, – & New Place Sunday, & you refuse, I kick. Hence if we keep apart, I shan't ask things of you as a friend, but shall get 'em for myself when I want 'em, & also think pleasantly of you pioneering away." And then, with a showy sigh, he can conclude: "So, take kindest remembrances to your girls:

their faces come smilingly across me now & again" (18 July 1876; LOA 197:33). After vowing not to ask again "after the lesson you gave me about the Norden plates" (26 August 1876; LOA 236:13), he did indeed ask for a loan of Norden's original map of Westminster (1 November 1878; LOA 239:26) and, when his request was finally granted, responded: "It's *immensely* kind of you to lend me such a nice copy of Norden's Map, & I'll behave divinely – for a week at least – in consequence" (6 November 1878; LOA 239:27). Even in late 1879 Furnivall could balance genuine gratitude and prankish delight by informing Halliwell that "our Meeting tonight passt you a vote of thanks for your M.N.D. paper [*Memoranda on the Midsummer Night's Dream*, *A.D. 1879 and A.D.* 1855], & your gift of 25 copies to us; but in the Meeting of 30, there was not one person who agreed with you" (17 October 1879; LOA 244:8).[94] He could irritate Halliwell by boasting, "We New folk believe our main positions impregnable; at any rate, we 're game to answer every challenger," and then as a final touch conclude, "Kindest regards to your wife" (30 October 1879; LOA 268:21). He could respond sympathetically and enthusiastically to Halliwell's second marriage: "*Well done you*! I *do* congratulate you *heartily* on the double event, 1. your marriage, & 2. your return to your old work. Marriage was oftenwise a necessity for you. A man of your temperament, having had so many years of married life, could not have gone on in singleness, with no companion for failing days when they come, & no sharer of daily pleasures & troubles. You 've done the wisest thing I 've known you to do" (17 July 1879; LOA 246:1). And he could at the same time be embroiled in his war with Swinburne. (Halliwell, in fact, included in the Edinburgh collection a printing of Furnivall's "Mr. Swinburne's 'Flat Burglary' on Shakspere. Two letters from The 'Spectator' of September 6th & 13th 1879 " with handwritten comments by Furnivall [LOA 283:42].)

But the elasticity of the relationship stiffened and snapped a short time later. Whether the break was caused by the

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[94]It is interesting to compare the reception of an earlier paper by Halliwell. See above, n. 91.

accumulation of years of strain or whether it was solely the result of the dedication to Halliwell by Swinburne of his *Study of Shakespeare* and Furnivall's feelings of personal betrayal, it is hard to say. Here too a brief and bristling give-and-take exists. Furnivall began quietly enough:

During a famous 15-mile walk that my wife & boy & I took with some friends on the Epsom Downs, I heard, with some surprise, that Swinburne's new book on Shakspere was dedicated to you – & by your leave, as I suppose. If this is so, I hope you did not know what the book was to contain. But the contents are advertised & among them are S.'s paper on Edw. III, & that parody on a meeting of our New Sh. Socty which appeared in the *Examiner* [1 April 1876, pp. 381-83[95]], both containing as bitter & personal insults to that Socty in general & me in particular, as S. can write. Every one who reads Shakspere criticism knows the intent & purpose of both articles; & if you deliberately sanction the dedication of the Reprints of them to yourself, you sanction contents & purpose, & go out of your way to approve & adopt a deliberate insult to a body of gentlemen & ladies, of whom some at least have hitherto considered themselves friends of yours. It is not easy for me to believe that you wish to do this. But having heard of the matter, I will not lose a post without bringing it under your notice, leaving you to take such action on it as you see fit (2 November 1879; LOA 245:5*).

Halliwell's immediate response was brief and chilly:

You surely are under some singular misapprehension respecting the significance of dedications, I never heard before of the dedicatee of a book sharing in the remotest degree in either the honours or responsibilities of its contents, nor can I believe that the members of the New Shakspere Society, to which, notwithstanding my aversion to its platform, I am most friendly disposed, can on reflection entertain

[95]In the Appendix as "Note on the Historical Play of King Edward III," pp. 231-75, and "Report of the Proceedings on the First Anniversary Session of the Newest Shakespeare Society," pp. 276-309. Especially nasty are n. 3 on pp. 264-65 and the Note on p. 275.

such an unprecedented notion.

Furnivall's prompt reply is his last in the Edinburgh collection:

Your note surprises me. The well-known rule about Dedications is, that the purport of the book is stated in the Dedication, & an offer made to lay its contents before him, if he wishes to see it. This is of course what [Thomas Alfred] Spalding did, when asking Browning to accept dedication of his book on *Elizabethan Demonology* [1880]. It is also well known that the acceptance of a Dedication implies sympathy with the author's object. *A fortiori* is this the case when a book is avowedly a partisan one, & *a fortiori* when a large part of it has been published before, & is known to be an insolent attack on a particular set of gentlemen & ladies. In the present case, you & every one know that that little drunken cad Swinburne has written 4 articles with the express purpose of ridiculing & insulting the ladies & men of my Society, & myself; & yet you want to say that your acceptance of the Dedication of the reprint of these articles does not imply any sympathy with their object, or responsibility for them! The thing is too patently absurd for argument. I do say emphatically, that I shall take the appearance of your name as dedicatee of Swinburne's book as an intentional sharing of the repetition of the insults against my friends & me that the articles contained, & as stopping all intercourse for the future between us. The present is a special case – that of a known reviler of Gladstone, reprinting 4 insulting against him, & John Bright accepting the Dedication of them, & then saying that he was in no way responsible for the book. Bright would sooner cut his hand & tongue off than do such a thing (5 November 1879; LOA 246:4).

Whereas Furnivall's distress is apparent in his repetitiveness, Halliwell's is obvious in the cold brevity of what is his last communication to Furnivall (8 November 1879: LOA 256:70):

Your experience of dedications entirely differs from mine, & you must allow me to retain my opinion that the Dedicatee is in no way responsible for the contents of the author's works. Indeed, were it otherwise, no person in his senses would accept a dedication. If people are foolish enough to think that I endorse all that Mr Swinburne says, merely because the book is dedicated to me, I really can't help it.

This is the end of the correspondence between the two men in the Edinburgh collection. The final and not very admirable quibbling is perhaps an indication of how painful the situation was. At any rate Halliwell saw fit to include cuttings on the Pigsbrook affair (LOA 266:8,9) and to collect letters referring to the affair, mainly in 1881, from Dowden, Swinburne, Spedding, Collins, Griggs, and forty-five further letters – the whole of Volume 247 – which "relate entirely to Furnivall's attack on me," as he commented in his handwritten index: a collection which can only be regarded as an abiding testimony to his deep disappointment and distress.[96]

12. Edward Dowden

Halliwell's correspondence with Edward Dowden was not extensive. In the Edinburgh collection there are only four letters to Dowden and twenty-four from Dowden. These are complemented by four to Dowden in Trinity College Dublin and one in the Folger Shakespeare Library. Dowden was perhaps the most intellectual of Halliwell's Shakespearean correspondents: he alone was – or went on to be – concerned with the theoretical and aesthetic component of literature, a biographer of contemporary poets, an engaged admirer of American and Continental literature, a poet, and, as Irishman resident in Dublin, inescapably involved in the politics of the Irish Literary Renaissance. That the letters are relatively few, however, and that all but one are dated in the 1880s is an indication of the relatively limited personal relationship of the two scholars. The two never

[96]In the Folger Shakespeare Library collection, mentions of Furnivall in Halliwell's letters are among the three most frequent (along with those of his collaborator, F. W. Fairholt, and his longtime friend, Thomas Wright). From 1879 to 1888 they exceed all others by far. One such, in a long letter written shortly before his death, Halliwell revealed another emotional aspect of the conflict to Henry Benjamin Wheatley: "Furnivall in 1881 reached the climax of offence in an attempt to prejudice my own daughter against me" (16 November 1888; Folger Y.c.1297[17]).

seem to have met, despite Dowden's repeated wish to accept Halliwell's repeated invitations. But, however restricted their focus, the letters do reflect matters of a personal character and wider professional interest.

By 1880 at sixty and rusticated in Hollingbury Copse Halliwell was perhaps the doyen of the Shakespeareans with a vast history of publications, while Dowden at thirty-seven, albeit first appointee and already thirteen years professor of English in Trinity College Dublin, had only recently achieved renown with his *Shakspere: A Critical Study of His Mind and Art* (1876). The initial contours of their relationship are explicit in Dowden's first letter, dated 9 May 1874 (LOA 116:26), to Halliwell:

I feel very much indebted to you for your kindness in giving me one of the Copies of your Fragment from the "Illustrations of the Life of Shakespeare." It was valuable to me (beyond its intrinsic value) as a pleasant surprise, & as a token of goodwill from one who has worked so long & well on Shakspere Study to one who is comparatively a beginner [...]. The lectures which I have delivered on Shakspere here also have been well attended. These will be published in the Autumn when I hope you will allow me to send you a copy of them.

Dowden's personal ingenuousness is matched by that of his description of the state of Shakespeare study in Dublin:

There is now much interest awakened here in Shakspere study. We have a University Shakspere Society just started & flourishing well – & there will be a branch of the "New Sh. Society" founded in connection with our "Alexandra Women's College" [at which he had been professor from 1866-7].

The book Dowden was referring to, which was to establish him as a leading and not uncontroversial Shakespearean, with its positivistic and transcendental interpretation of mind and art, was not, however, a subject of the letters. Instead, the letters of the 1880s, clothed with the polite expressions of gratitude for the exchange of works and mutual respect, concentrate on

immediately pressing details of work Dowden is engaged in, on the one hand, and with larger politico-personal issues, on the other. The two areas are, in fact, not separate but with considerable passion interrelated. Thanking Halliwell for a copy of his *Memoranda on the Tragedy of Hamlet* in a letter of 14 January 1880 (LOA 255:35), Dowden is characteristically respectful and cautiously diplomatic: "This volume contains much that interests me, a good many things new to me, some things I cannot fully accept, & nothing I am not greatly pleased to have read. The last three lines on p. 78 [i.e. "Those who have lived as long as myself in the midst of Shakespearean criticism will be careful not to be too certain of anything."] seem to me full of wisdom & of warning, & I will try to make them my own." This assurance does not mean that Dowden is not prone to certainty. One recurring matter in the letters of 1880-1, which account for half of the entire correspondence, is apparently trivial: Dowden's reading "sallied" in Hamlet's soliloquy beginning "O that this too too solid flesh" he explains in a letter of 11 January 1881 (LOA 257:21):

> It was that the compositor in setting up Quarto 2 may have found it convenient & helpful to have by him a copy of the printed Quarto 1; if his MS was ill-written a glance at the first Quarto would often save a minute. And here his eye may have caught the *sallied* of Quarto 1, & his hand mechanically have repeated what his eye was occupied with. This I know is all hypothetical but I do not see any improbability in the hypothesis – while many reasons I think might be urged against your view.

A day earlier, however, he had replied to what must have been Halliwell's request for information, "I know I made some suggestion about 'Sallied', but I cannot remember in the least what it was [...]. I only remember I felt doubtful whether my suggestion was a wise one or not. But I thought if it was not someone would be sure to point this out" (10 January 1881; LOA 256:13). Halliwell's response was immediate and cordial. On 14 January 1881 (Trinity College Dublin MSS 3147-3154a/281) he

wrote: “Pray accept my best thanks for your suggestion in explanation of *sallied*. It seems to be the only possible one, & I am glad to have it, having in vain tried myself for any theory that will hold. On closer examination I find that the one I put forth in my little book on Hamlet will not do at all.” Dowden’s apparent tentativeness is surprising since, in his review of the first four of William Griggs’s facsimiles of Shakespeare’s quartos,[97] he had already proposed *sallied* with almost the same words, rejecting Halliwell’s “inference” in the *Memoranda* (p. 25) that “the text of 1604 was in existence in the previous year, and that some portion of the 1603 edition was taken over from the MS. of that text.”

Also embedded in Dowden’s letters is another and more significant variant spelling. Responding specifically and promptly on 26 January 1880 (LOA 250:81) to Halliwell’s *Which Shall It Be? New Lamps or Old? Shaxpere or Shakespeare?* (whose preface was dated 4 November 1879), Dowden is lighthearted: “If the spelling of proper names were now unsettled I should, after reading your last charming paragraph, address you as Dear Mr Halliwell-Fill-lips.” Loath to “forfeit” an invitation to view the treasures in Halliwell’s bungalow, Dowden “would gladly write ‘Chaxpur’”: “It would not be until a Summer’s noon that I would admit the *e*, holding out strenuously till dusk against the *a*, by which time between ‘sack & wine & metheglins & drinkings & swearings & starings, pribbles & prabbles’ I should doubtless be ready to see two *e*s & as many *a*s, so that the quarrel might have to recommence in the morrow.” Dowden does not deny that there is a problem: “Seriously, however, it is a matter of rejoicing that you introduce – besides accurate observation & scholarship – good humour, & only a pleasant mischievousness into the great debate.” And, adroitly, he does not swerve from his position: “I like ‘Shakspere’ chiefly because I can say ‘I err with Shakspere’.”

The spellings of the variant reading and of the name are not unrelated. They are, to be sure, subjects of interest to all Shakespeareans, who are delineated by the nature of their response. Dowden’s characterization of Halliwell’s is self-

[97] *Academy* 18:441 (16 October 1880), 270.

revelatory as well. However much he may enjoy the atmosphere of the grand debate, he "will not renounce it [Shakspere] until I have sworn upon the bottle to be thy true subject & kissed thy foot 'thou wondrous man'." Dowden will have his cake and eat it too, if only "for the sake of seeing your [Halliwell's] treasures, (surely among Shaksperean things of note the owner is the best & most notable)." Dowden doubtless admires Halliwell; he also finds him useful. Having ended his letter with a mention that he had been asked to write a "little preface for Shakespeare's [*sic*] Sonnets," in a continuation (LOA 250:83) written on the same day he goes right to it:

I think a Bibliography of the Sonnets & Shakespeare's Sonnets' literature would be a good item in the preface. Are there any rarities on the subject which I am likely to overlook or to be unacquainted with? Have you any advice to give as to what portrait ought to be etched – a (comparative) novelty would be desirable & I wished for portraits of Southampton & Herbert (not that I think there is good reason for connecting either with the Sonnets). But if it be a Shakespeare – what portrait? Query Marshalls portrait to 1640 Ed. of Sonnets?

The preface to the sonnets remains a topic. Dowden's wily diplomatic stance is evident in his letter of 22 June 1880 (LOA 257:11): "In the edition of the Sonnets which I am prefacing I shall spell 'Shakespeare', as the name on the title page of the ed of 1609 is so given, but I shall assert my right in general to be inconsistent at least as far as to the two forms 'Shakspere' & 'Shakespeare'. Even ambiguity could not tempt me to 'Chaxpur'." And he was apparently successful, eliciting in a letter of 14 January 1881 a very detailed description by Halliwell of his copy of Lintott with Farmer's collations and notes, some inserted slips, along with his assurance that "of course anything further I will supply with the greatest pleasure" (TCD MSS 3147-3154a/281), a "Facsimile of a Poem in the Passionate Pilgrim, as it appears in an unique Manuscript written about the year 1595" (9 February 1884; TCD MSS 3147-3154a/549), and, in response to Dowden's request of

31 March 1883 (LOA 267:9), Halliwell's generous offer of made-to-order help: "I can only say that I consider it a privilege to add my mite of goodwill. Mr Aldis Wright I presume is not a candidate, for he would have a prior claim to any one. – & if he is not, I do cordially hope you will be successful. My difficulty is with the form. I must entreat you to frankly say if you would prefer something different to the enclosed – & the kind of difference" (7 April 1883; TCD MSS 3147-3154a/430). And again on the same day (TCD MSS 3147-3154a/431): "You will, I hope, allow me to offer you my cordial wishes for your success in your candidature for the Clark professorship, just the very post for you with your widespread knowledge of English literature & genial mode of treating your subjects. Although you will have so many more important well-wishers than myself, you will have none that will hear with greater pleasure of your accession to it." Not to mention a renewal of an earlier invitation of 14 January 1881 to Hollingbury Copse or in London, "at whichever place I may happen to be, few things would give me greater pleasure than to have you on a visit."

Evident in the renewed invitation and indeed casting a kind of shadow over the entire relationship is F. J. Furnivall, friend of Dowden and foe of Halliwell. In asking for the testimonial as "an expression of goodwill," Dowden does not neglect to add: "Beside the weight your name carries, I am anxious to make it (indirectly) evident that I have never taken any part in wounding our veteran Shakespearian, Halliwell-Phillipps, although I do not feel it a duty to separate myself from the New Shakspere Society." And in a gesture of courtesy, he continues: "But, pray, remember that if you are indisposed to comply with my request, I shall in no wise misunderstand you, nor think it at all unfriendly." Halliwell is equally courteous: "You really need not give a thought about the now antique subject you mention, & if you favour me with a visit to my quaint bungalow, appearing as the hundred V.P.'s of the New S. S. rolled up into one, the fact will not impair the pleasure of my receiving you or the heartiness of your welcome." At issue was Furnivall, the New Shakspere Society, and the turbulent Pigsbrook controversy – the details of which are too well known

to require rehearsal here.[98] Although the storm had all but spent itself by the middle of the 1880s, it was not forgotten by the friends who sent letters of sympathy, by Dowden, who attempted to bridge the gap of divided loyalties, and by Halliwell himself, who seems to have welcomed Dowden as a means of affirming his fairly battered stability and self-confidence.

That gap was the subject of their entire correspondence. None of Dowden's letters in the Edinburgh collection is without a direct or indirect reference to Furnivall. From the beginning Dowden's insistence on the spelling of "Shakspere," not to mention his outright defence of his right to do so, even to err in doing so, and his association of the New Shakspere Society with "much interest in Shakspere study" are obvious examples. A less obvious connection to Furnivall is his recurring attention to and pride in his reading "sallied." In Dowden's review of Griggs's first four quarto facsimiles, Furnivall is mentioned prominently for his "superintendence" of the series and more extensively as author of the forewords of the first and second quartos of *Hamlet*. Dowden's appraisal of Furnivall's contribution is directly followed by his rejection of Halliwell's "inference" that "some portion of the 1603 edition was taken over from the MS. of that text." This is not to say that Dowden sets Furnivall against Halliwell, any more than in his treatment of the facsimile quarto of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* he sets J. W. Ebsworth against Halliwell although he finds that Ebsworth's introduction "shows conclusively against Mr. Halliwell's that Roberts's text [...] was taken from Fisher's quarto." Rather, it illustrates Dowden's inescapable pairing of Furnivall and Halliwell. At times it may be indirect but not invasive, as in his referring to Halliwell-Fill-lips, with its subtext side-glance at the word-formations that marked the Pigsbrook affair. Or, as in the same letter of 26 January 1880 (LOA 250:81), it may be a witty, low-key response to a matter of concern to Halliwell: "I had not the ill-fortune, as I am told it is, to see my friend Furnivall's letter to *Daily News*. Though he takes an inch from Shakespeare's name he doesn't like an ell to be taken from

[98]See above, n. 52.

his own name." Most often, however, whatever the immediate scholarly subject of his letter, and in an obvious response to Halliwell's general disquiet, Dowden does not avoid mention of Furnivall and a frank assessment of him. In a letter which deals mainly with "sallied" and the date and spelling of the name Lintott (10 January 1881; LOA 256:13), he adds, in the manner of a coda: "I deplore Furnivall's way of speaking of those from whom he differs. But I don't think he means to be as discourteous as his words look. To me he has always been a kind friend." Dowden's frequent use of "But" – apparently his favorite conjunction – or some other means of coordination, whether in connection with "sallied," the spelling of Shakespeare's name, the edition of the Sonnets, or the request for a testimonial, is the sign-post of his equipoise.[99] It is not that Dowden shies away from controversy. He can be playful and yet remain carefully balanced, as in his answer (10 February 1881; LOA 254-76) to Halliwell's letter of 14 January 1881: "It pleased me not a little to think you found something in my suggestion about *sallied*, & that possibly it might be mentioned with your approval – elevated 'on a prong of your dung-fork' I might perhaps to say in the New Shaksperian style. But I fear some better theory may since have occurred to you & so defrauded me of my little distinction." Dowden's use of "dung-fork" is of course more forward than his earlier of "Fill-lips," for it is of the vocabulary of the Pigsbrook affair. But it is as much Dowden's way of defusing the situation as his direct and unflinching effort at explanation and mediation. He continues:

I let Furnivall know that this kind of critical amenity is not to my liking. I went even further, & in my notice of Griggs's quarto facsimile in the *Academy*, I had a condemning sentence on the "Pigsbrook & Co." & "dung fork" passages. Of this comment I thought it right to inform Furnivall, as a good & old friend of mine, before its

[99]Characteristically, in his Arden edition of *Hamlet* (1899) Dowden reads "solid" but in his note acknowledges Furnivall's defence of "sallied" of the quartos, modifyingly suggesting its retention if it is explained as "sullied," and mediatingly has "some reason to think that *sallied* may be right."

appearance. He considered it unfair, & having effected my main purpose by my private expression of feeling, I withdrew the comment from my proof, thinking it might only stir up more bad blood. Furnivall has so many odd outbreaks in what he writes – most of them innocent freaks of style – that he goes over the borders in all directions in word & phrase more readily than another. This does not justify, but goes to account for his words of offence. His constant & hearty kindness to me personally makes me willing to see his faults in the most favourable way I can. Still I see & can lament the fault.

Halliwell was not pleased, however. He shot back immediately on 20 February 1881 (LOA 254:7): "You will, I feel sure, kindly excuse my asking you to be reticent in any references to me in your letters to Furnivall." He is "necessarily surprised to find that Furnivall in a new issue of his Pigsbrook pamphlet has attributed my abandonment of what he again calls my 'dung-fork non[s]ence of sallied' to his ridicule." Halliwell is so upset that he adds a copy of the statement, should Dowden not have seen it, in which Furnivall, having been told of Halliwell's change of opinion by a friend, avers that his ridicule of Halliwell "has done him good," and concludes, "the 'friend' alluded to being yourself."

Despite Dowden's unfortunate act and Halliwell's agitation, there is no break in their correspondence. In fact it increases in intensity, each drawn to the other for the immediate purpose of self-justification. Without hesitation Dowden answered on 22 February 1881 (LOA 254:12). "I wrote to him a letter which was meant as a plea for peace, or at least moderation [...]. It did not occur to me that your change of opinion was known to me alone, nor indeed that it might not be known to everyone interested in the relation of the two Quartos of Hamlet. Furnivall's inference that your change of opinion is connected with his ridicule is all his own, not mine nor remotely suggested by me." Dowden goes even farther than self-justification. For one thing he admits the "needlessness of this sorry feud" and that Halliwell "could not be very friendly to the New Shakspere Society, & its methods of study, in particular the study of verse-tests." For another, he seems to affirm his position as middleman between Halliwell and

Furnivall. "Never suppos[ing] you stood godfather for all Swinburne's silly insolences," he is "glad to think" that the "first offender [...] was not Furnivall but Swinburne, & though his Billingsgate was the Billingsgate of genius at times, for extravagance of insolence it had not been surpassed." But aware of the hopelessness of "this sorry feud," he can only conclude, "I mean to stand aloof, having failed in any degree to do any good."

Dowden drew an immediate and angry response from Halliwell. On 26 February 1881 (LOA 247:75) he rejected Dowden's "view [...] of the present deplorable controversy [as] utterly incomprehensible," and insisted that Furnivall's publishing the quarto facsimiles as if it had the sanction of the New Shakspere Society was intolerable, likening his action to the inconceivability of such behavior by the Speaker of the House of Commons, indeed "a case impossible in the range of civilization with any Society but that of the New Shakspere." Halliwell may be extravagantly indignant but he does not mention Dowden, apparently in need of another's ear and response. And Dowden is not inclined, after all, to deny Halliwell both. Answering the next day (27 February 1881; LOA 254:58), he admits: "I must make frank confession that I did not remember the fact of the Committee's approval of the issue of quartos under F's superintendence, & when I wrote, I thought only of his use of the title 'Director'." Interestingly, however, his focus is not on taking sides of Halliwell or Furnivall but on the Committee and on the necessity for moderation: "I should be as slow as possible to admit that general approval of a project, *uncontrolled by the Society,* involves responsibility for all the details of its carrying-out," a "dangerous precedent," however "desirous as it may be individually to express dislike for F.'s words." Halliwell does not "dream of making the honorary officers of the Society responsible for language printed without their knowledge, but their responsibility does arise – & a heavy responsibility it is in respect to what is neither more nor less than a literary outrage – if these officers, now that their attention is drawn to Mr Furnivall's disgraceful language, do not demand an immediate & public withdrawal as a condition of the retention of their names in their several offices" (1 March 1881; LOA 254:80).

Though not assuaged – at least for the moment – by Dowden, Halliwell nevertheless finds in him, if not an active ally, then at least an outlet for his rage. In turn, Dowden offers reassurance, sensing that underlying Halliwell's outrage is insecurity: "Surely you may regard the incident with composure. Your work is on a sure foundation, is positive, solid & made to endure" (2 March 1881; LOA 252:60). And, ever the mediator, he stresses balance: "I do not defend Furnivall. But I recognize the unfairness of talking of Furnivall as if he had made himself a literary Pariah, & looking upon language from Swinburne equally scurrilous as if it were an innocent foible. No one who accepts Swinburne can reasonably lift up the heel against Furnivall." Further he offers a mollifying perspective: "I hope Shakespeare knows nothing about us. If it were a 'New Milton Society' this mode of warfare would be more appropriate: – 'buffoon, mountebank, hired pedant, nobody, rogue, wretch, idiot, sacrilegious, a slave worthy of rods & pitchforks, savage beast, apostate, devil, O most drivelling of asses.' These are Miltonic 'survivals' of the time when our crocodilian ancestors tore each other in their slime." And he offers as well, with suitably mild irony, the balm of generosity: "But you, & I think I myself, have 'free souls', are Pharisees of politeness, & say our thoughts (at least I try to do so) in good form & so make them all the more efficiently hurtful." And, in a lovely defusing gesture of reconciliation, Dowden slides smoothly from controversy to coordination: "I want to ask you for a Shakespearian portrait, & in order to ingratiate myself into your favor I shall spell the great name with an *e* & *a* throughout this epistle. The portrait is your own carte-de-visite. If you like, mine shall go as an exchange."

The letter containing Halliwell's response is not extant but may be reconstructed from Dowden's of 22 March 1881 (LOA 252:58). He appears to have been successful in his attempt at mediation: "I write on the moment – just as I receive your letter. It has moved me much by its goodness of spirit, its kindness to myself, & by the thought of the pain you have so needlessly been caused. Yes, let the Furnivall matter drop between us." Still, as always, Dowden displays his characteristic equipoise: "My only

remaining care is that I should not be supposed either by you or by Furnivall to have taken that cowardly part of trying to keep in with both sides, to be of the family of John Bunyan's Mr Facing-both-ways." As ever, he is eloquently the man-in-the-middle, the master of "but":

Furnivall has been too old & kind a friend for me now not to adhere to him in spite of a fault that I lament. But may I not also, without any dishonesty, say how truly I value the kindness of you – a veteran & master in Shakespearian study – to me who though not young am a beginner compared with you, & how if I thought myself as a member of the Society really responsible for discourtesy to you I should willingly make the humblest apology in my power.

It was not long before the storm subsided; in the early 1880s the New Shakspere Society was in sharp decline. The dozen or so letters from Dowden from 1883 to 1886, in the last few years of Halliwell's life, portray a stable and uncomplicated collegial relationship free of controversy and qualms. Halliwell sends copies of his work, Dowden responds admiringly and gratefully and sends word of his work on Griggs's facsimile of *The Passionate Pilgrim* and on his life of Shelley. There is the mutuality of requests for information. Halliwell: "When I am as young as you are & am as old as I am, or vice versa, I'll do as much for you" (25 January 1886; LOA 289:56); Dowden: "I was very glad to be able to do anything on your behalf" (27 January 1886: LOA 300:44). There are exchanges of scholarly concerns and encouragements. A meeting is always wished for, an invitation to the Wigwam is ever fresh. But, for one reason or other, as Dowden says, "I am thoroughly foiled in this wish of mine for the present. Better luck next time! With many thanks for your invitation & your instructions how to reach the unattainable Shakespearian wigwam" (2 May 1884; LOA 280:71). For the man-in-the-middle the Shakespearian wigwam was indeed unattainable. The two men never seemed to have met.

13. Sidney Lee

Like Dowden's, Halliwell's correspondence with Sidney Lee was relatively slight. In the Edinburgh collection there are only nine letters from Lee and the draft of one reply from Halliwell; Bodley has five letters from Lee and two from Halliwell's second wife; the Folger Shakespeare Library none at all. They are spread over a period of eleven years: those from Halliwell from 1880 to 1888, from Lee from 1884-1886; the two from Mrs. Halliwell are from 1891, two years after Halliwell's death. Given the fact that both men were prolific letter-writers, many may not be extant. Still, the spread itself is not the only evidence of a steady professional relationship. A cordial one may be deduced from the benevolent temperament of Halliwell, settled in his wigwam, willingly offering information, and generously inviting guests to Hollingbury Copse, in the last decade of his life. That cordiality was accentuated by the politeness of the young Lee.

For at the beginning of their correspondence Halliwell was sixty, an established figure in the world of scholarship, Lee was twenty-one, still an undergraduate at Balliol but set on launching a career in the world of letters. What drew them together was Shakespeare, Lee's first love, as it were. On 2 September 1880 (LOA 257:16) he asked Halliwell for the loan of a copy of his *Shakespeare Memoranda on Love's Labour's Lost, King John, Othello, and on Romeo and Juliet* (1879) "for a day or two" since he himself was going to publish an article on *Love's Labour's Lost* in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, saying it "would be very ridiculous for me to go over ground you have already traversed" and adding that "I should have been glad to have submitted to you the proof of my article but the only copy I had of it is at present in the printers's hands." The letter is interesting for a number of reasons. For one thing, there is the self-confidence of the twenty-one-year-old student in approaching the grand old man of Shakespearean scholarship and the forwardness of his enclosing his card. For another, Lee's response to a review of Halliwell's work in the *Athenaeum* is a sign of his professional engagement, as is his wish to coordinate his own work with Halliwell's. And the

adjective in the title of his article "A New Study of 'Love's Labour's Lost'" may hint at more than a presumptuous attention-getting gesture, for Lee describes it to Halliwell as "chiefly from an historical point of view," an indication that his orientation accords with Halliwell's: rational observation and documentation rather than personal or aesthetic criteria. The intertwining of the personal and the professional is evident in Lee's next letter of 6 February 1881 (LOA 254:18). The salutation of the earlier letter, "Dear Sir," having given way to "Dear Mr. Phillipps" and the closing adding "With kind regards to Mrs. Phillipps," it may be assumed that there had been contact in the intervening five months. Moreover, the motivation for the letter is Lee's enunciation of concern: "I very heartily sympathy with you in the controversy into which you have been driven by the coarse treatment you have received at the hands of the New Shakspere Society's Director. I feel it difficult to understand how any one man could so far forget his self-respect as to use such language as Mr. Furnivall has used towards you." To be sure, Lee was one of many who offered support to Halliwell in the Pigsbrook affair or resigned from the Society because of Furnivall's domineering behavior. And there may be a certain piquancy in Lee's position because in the following year he was to be recommended by Furnivall for a position as sub-editor of the new "Biographia Britannica" or, as it came to be known, the *Dictionary of National Biography*. But there is no reason to doubt the sincerity and durability of the relationship.

Although the next extant letter is three years later, of 27 April 1884 (LOA 280:48), its very opening confirms that durability: "Your letter gave me great pleasure. I have heard of you from time to time from friends who had paid you visits, & I was gratified to learn that you had not forgotten me." Doubtless flattered, Lee pours forth with a description of his "very pleasant post as Mr. Leslie Stephen's assistant editor [of] a work that will be, I hope, of great use to all manner of men." Doubtless happy, he outlines his "daily movements," mornings at home or in the British Museum, afternoons "from 3 onwards at 75 Waterloo Place," where, with obvious pride, "I could always see you, should you

ever honour me with a call." And with genuine sympathy the now twenty-four-year-old offers an understanding and comforting response to what has been the self-revelations of his aging correspondent:

I am sorry to hear that you believe yourself to have lost something of your old spirits. I have such a vivid recollection of your geniality that I confess I can only imagine you to be very occasionally seriously depressed, & not even yourself could make me believe that you are less genial & kind than you were. I knew that you have at times been subject recently to annoyance at the hands of crotchety people, but I trust you din't allow that to affect you very much.

And, going beyond the earlier insertion of his card, Lee proposes cheerfully: "It would give me very great pleasure if I might invite myself to lunch with you at Brighton on Sunday – my only free day." Tactfully continuing: "I hope you won't think I am taking too much freedom in making this request, but I should very much like to see you again."

Halliwell's response of 20 May 1884 (Bodley MS. Eng. misc. d.177, fol. 291) shows personal concern: "I can hardly tell you how provoked I am – and next Sunday we shall be askew & all no how. – I am most deeply vexed to put you off but it can't be helped – we leave this the first thing next Monday – shall be in the tiresomes of packing – added to which our right hand indoor servant is very ill – altogether I am sure you will see it can't be helped." And after his signature there is a remark which illustrates their relationship further: "Have you Bowman the player in your list for B [in the *DNB*]. You will know that I do not ask this with a view to *my* contributing a memoir: I have already more to do than my strength will bear, but I should be glad to see some one else do it." Lee answered immediately on 21 May 1884 (LOA 280:75): "Many thanks for your kind letter. I quite appreciate your present condition, & of course only wrote on the chance of it being convenient for you to have me next Sunday." If there was no personal meeting there was at least a meeting of interests. Regarding Halliwell's *Hand-list* [*of the Drawings and*

Engravings Illustrative of the Life of Shakespeare, Preserved at Hollingbury Copse] as an "invaluable present," Lee asks for Halliwell's help with a short book he has undertaken "in illustration of the series of modern drawings placed in [his] hands by Messrs Seeley & Co." Admitting his "inability to do justice to Stratford lore even in the few pages which [he has] to devote to it," he asks for a meeting before it is finished since Halliwell is the "best existing treasure-house of Stratford knowledge" – and with a safety-valve to his persuasiveness, "perhaps if I did see you, conversation on that subject might not be the best thing for you." Halliwell's exact response is not known but it is safe to say that he was ready to help, given his agreement in the draft of a letter of 28 August 1884 (LOA 279:31[v], the letter itself is in Bodley MS.Eng.misc.d.177, fol. 293) to a request of Lee's of 27 July 1884 (LOA 271:31) to reproduce the map of Stratford from his *Historical Account of the of New Place*, more likely attributable to Halliwell's innate generosity than to Lee's florid flattery: "It would not become me to say in working through your books about Stratford prints of the town documents how much I have admired the detailed thoroughness of your work. As I have taken occasion to say in my essay, Stratford is indeed fortunate in having attracted the services of so eminent a topographer as Mr. Phillipps." Permission to publish is granted immediately (28 July 1884; Bodley MS.Eng.misc.d.177, fol. 293). Even Lee's "reluctant," embarrassed, and apologetic further request of 2 August 1884 (LOA 279:56) that Seeley be permitted to take an electrotype of the block of the map is also granted, leading Lee to acknowledge Halliwell's "generous" and "immediate reply" and, by way of gratitude, to promise, "I shall be anxious to see your new book & shall watch for its appearance" (29 August 1884; LOA 279:59) and, a few months later (28 November 1884; Bodley MS.Eng.misc.d.177, fol. 295), to send thanks for a copy of Halliwell's "new" book.

Halliwell's work served Lee's own work as Shakespearean and biographer as well. From the very beginning of his career he defined his critical position as "chiefly from an historical point of view" and accordingly his practice was to search out, assemble,

and present rational and documented data. He willingly incorporated the results of Halliwell's researches into his own work, admitting, for example, that the chapter "Shakespeare's Career" in his *Great Englishmen of the Sixteenth Century* (pp. 261-87) was based to a large extent on the documentary information collected in Halliwell's *Outlines of the Life of Shakespeare* and in "The Future of Shakespearean Research"[100] advocating "archaeological research" in the manner suggested in Halliwell's pamphlet of 1884 *Memoranda, Intended for the Use of Amateurs, Who Are Interested in the Pursuit, to Make Searches in the Public Record Office on the Chance of Discovering New Facts Respecting Shakespeare and the Contemporary Stage*. And since their work was intertwined it was natural for Lee to react to Halliwell's troubles. As he sympathized with Halliwell's distress in the Pigsbrook affair, so did he react to Halliwell's troubles with Stratford. In a letter of 19 March 1885 (LOA 298:45):

I was delighted to see your well-known handwriting in the packet that arrived here last night, although its contents must prove distressing to all who know in any way what Stratford owes to you, still I am glad to know something of the cause of the deplorable breach between yourself & the Stratford records. Hitherto I only vaguely knew of it: I met Mr. Flower at Stratford last summer & he vaguely told me something which was not intelligible to me, & the editor of the Athenaeum just lately informed me that you had been treated with scant respect – by those who might have been expected to be grateful to you. I hope these bothers do not affect seriously your health or spirits.

And to intensify his concern Lee seems to have added (for it is above the line of the standard close,"With kind regards") "& hearty sympathy."

This intertwining of personal affection and professional interest did not exclude criticism. Halliwell was always grateful

[100]*The Nineteenth Century and After* 59 (May 1906), 763-78.

for Lee's sympathy, aided and respected his work. But in the role of mentor he did not avoid pointing out what he regarded as errors. The one or two documented instances are so pregnant as to be regarded as instances of others in a relationship which ripened as the years went by. In a letter of 16 October 1886 (Bodley MS.Eng.misc.d.177, fol. 297) Halliwell comments on Lee's article on Richard Burbage for the *DNB,* finding it an "able paper" and congratulating him on the "excellent manner in which [he has] done [his] work," and adding, "You will hardly think that I am taking too much on myself in saying this, having collected for a biographical notice of that individual for over 30 years." Still, "feeling that you would like to know this," he does not hesitate to admonish Lee: "I write now, however, in the hope that you will take an opportunity of removing an injustice you have inadvertently done the late Payne Collier. So far from the licence of 27 March, 1619, being in any way 'suspicious', you will find it at the Record Office amongst the Bills of Privy Signet." Responding immediately on 18 October 1886 (LOA 295:37), Lee is "gratif[ied]" by Halliwell's remarks because "I, with all sensible men, hold you to be *the* authority on the theatrical side of Elizabethan history [whose] notes on Burbage & [...] collections will, I trust, see print before long." And, "as for the correction which [Halliwell] point[s] out":

I am very sorry that I should have fallen into the error, & I will remedy it should we have to reprint the volume, which is not impossible in the course of a few years. Payne Collier did so much for Elizabethan subjects that it is certainly important to leave in him all the honours one justly can. Should you think the matter one worth calling attention to in the Athenaeum, I should not resent your correction. I say this because unfortunately some time must elapse before the correction is made in the book itself.

Halliwell's outspokenness, which reflected his trust in Lee, extended to Lee's other activities. Five months before his death, in a letter to Lee of 7 August 1888 (Bodley MS:Eng.misc.d.177, fol. 299), he asks to be "kindly" excused from Lee's "obliging wish"

that he join the Marlowe General Committee: "I have such an inflexible aversion to be on Councils that I am unable to attend." Which topic leads him to give voice to an opinion:

You will I feel sure pardon the expression of a hope that the proposed monument to the poet may not find a resting-place in the locality of his violent & untimely death. Few will desire to be ocularly reminded of one of the most deplorable events in our literary history. Would it not be placed with more graceful judgment in the city of his birth-place, amidst so many of the antique & interesting relics of the past that still remain to vividly recall the surroundings of his youth.

And to offer an assessment of Marlowe scholarship, a new sample of his research, and an edifying dictum:

Let us hope that the occasion may bring forth something new respecting Marlowe's life. I do not reckon that anything of import has fallen in my way, but it may be just worth noting that on examining the Deptford register I found that the surname of the wretched individual who killed the poet was Frazer, spelt in the MS. *Frezer*, not Croker, as stated by all the editions. This correction may of course be valueless, but, as you will know, accuracy in matters of trivial detail occasionally lead to results of biographical value.

It is not without a certain heartbreaking irony that Lee's admiration of Halliwell, who, as biographer of Shakespeare, "deserves well of his country," should be dampened at the moment when it might have been enhanced. There seem to be no further letters between the two. But it was a happy and proper chance that Lee was to write the article on Halliwell for the *DNB*. Lee knew Halliwell and was indebted to his work. Still, the article which appeared in 1890, a year after Halliwell's death, was not without controversy. In reporting Halliwell's exclusion from the British Museum library some forty-five years earlier for purportedly stealing – "improperly abstracted" was the official wording – manuscripts from Trinity College Cambridge which eventually found their way into the British Museum library, Lee stated that the exclusion was "not rescinded." The statement was

immediately criticized in a review of 16 May 1891 in the *Athenaeum* and elsewhere. More painfully, it led to the last and brief exchange of letters between him and the Halliwells. On 18 February 1891 (Bodley MS.Eng.misc.d.177, fol. 300) Halliwell's "deeply grieved" widow objected that he "might have related the circumstance without casting a slur upon the character of a man incapable of a dishonourable action," cited the original letter of Henry Ellis and the order of the British Museum authorities in which it was clear that if Halliwell applied for admission it would "be granted in the usual manner," and suggested "as a slight reparation of the mischief caused by its incorrectness [he] should write for publication in the Athenaeum an explanatory statement based on the above extracts." And as if this were not enough, she turned the screw, as it were, in a P.S.: "I may also mention that the Honorary Freedom of the Borough of Penzance *was* conferred upon my late husband on July 25th 1888, notwithstanding his inability to receive it personally."

Lee's response is not extant, but it can be at least partially deduced from Mrs. Halliwell's answer of 6 March 1891 (Bodley MS.Eng.misc.d.177, fol. 303) to his "kind letter." "Sure" that Lee "would do what he could in the matter" and "agree[ing] that it would not be advisable to run the risk of any controversy by trying to rectify the mistake in any literary paper," she nevertheless continued to take exception to his remark that Halliwell's "defence proved satisfactory to his friends," since it "so evidently implies that it did not so generally." More grave was her charge that Lee had not read the "Pamphlet mentioned" [*Statement in Answer to Reports Which Have Been Spread Abroad Against Mr. James Orchard Halliwell* (1845)]. There is no further correspondence. Eventually Lee did substitute "readmission would be granted him if application were made" for "not rescinded." No more.

14. Frederick Gard Fleay

Halliwell's correspondence with Frederick Gard Fleay was not

extensive. There are only fourteen letters from Fleay in the Edinburgh collection and seventeen from Halliwell in the Folger. But they cover the same period, from 1874 to 1884, are often paired in statement and response, and thus present a compact and focussed picture of their relationship.

It was Shakespeare studies that brought them together. The first letters of 1874 coincide with Fleay's joining Furnivall's New Shakspere Society, to which he was to contribute numerous papers. Although his own major Shakespearean and Elizabethan publications did not precede his membership Fleay was evidently active and known enough to be on Halliwell's mailing list. His first letter of 8 May 1874 (LOA 110:16) acknowledges with "best thanks" the receipt of Halliwell's "Burbage document" and, comme il faut, with the assurance that it "will be very useful in my future work." Characteristically, Fleay tends to integrate Halliwell's views into his own work, combining flattery of Halliwell, as it were, with the security of his support. "In glancing over it," he continues, "my eye was caught by the beginning of 'Felix & Felismena' on which story I was at work when the book arrived for a paper on the 2 Gent. of Verona. I have had occasion several times to quote your opinions in this paper always I am happy to say as the ground of my own which are founded in them." A needy schoolmaster and apparently always something of an outsider (despite his remarkable participation in four triposes – mathematics, classics, moral science, and natural science – he did not receive a fellowship at Trinity College Cambridge; his use of metrical tests for determining authorship was sharply rejected; his application for a University Professorship was unsuccessful), his seeking of recognition and acceptance becomes the dominant feature of his relationship with Halliwell. And, as becomes apparent, Halliwell, albeit generous and gregarious, maintained a disciplined distance from Fleay. In announcing that he was sending Fleay a copy of the first part of his life of Shakespeare, Halliwell defined his position: "I merely mention it now to say that I do not expect you will agree in my estimate of the metre test for the chronology – but anyhow I am sure that we shall always agree to differ pleasantly" (12 October

1874; Folger Y.c.1222[1]). Fleay's response was immediate (13 October 1874; LOA 250:57) and characteristic. First he offers help, describing his attempts to find instances and explain the etymology of "fye-marten," a term which the lexicographer Halliwell noted for "Glossary" (as he did for Fleay's "recollection of having met with it before. It means a 'foul marten'" [7 October 1874; LOA 250:61]). There follows the expression of profound thanks – "I do not know how to thank you enough for your present of a book which my limited means must have kept out of my reach but for your kindness" – as prelude to a defining of the focus and results of his method[101]: "I certainly do not think metrical tests of any value when they come into collision with higher evidence in chronology: I have used them almost entirely to decide *authorship* for which they are infallible. If I had means to publish my investigations I could I think shew this. The point in your new book which is to me most interesting is the date of the building of the Globe: as it entirely confirms conclusions I had reached from quite indirect evidence & gives me confidence in the accuracy of my work."[102] Heartened but not undeferential, he takes up the "hint" in Halliwell's letter: "In the only cases that any

[101]Between March and June of 1874 Fleay had used metrical tests to determine authorship in seven papers given before the New Shakspere Society, as well as "confirmations" based on metrical tests of papers by James Spedding on *Henry VIII* and Samuel Hickson on *The Two Noble Kinsmen*. In the *Chronicle of the Life and Work of William Shakespeare* (1886), his long section IV, "The Chronological Succession of Shakespeare's Plays" (pp. 175-254), is based entirely on external evidence.

[102]Halliwell always questioned Fleay's method even when reassured by Ingleby, who wrote on 3 July 1881 (LOA 244:26): "The first few lines of the Essay shew that Fleay never contemplated making the inquiry more than ancillary to the aesthetic criticism; just as time is wholly subservient to the external evidence of authorship & date. While I am *very far* from accepting Fleay's conclusions I think the inquiry quite legitimate, & well worth pursuing to the issues arrived at. We are now able to see the whole thing in a focus, & judge for ourselves what is its worth." In a letter to Ingleby of 27 October 1882; Folger C.a.11[49] Halliwell, noting that Fleay does not put run-on lines in his tables, suggested that "perhaps [Ingleby] rightly think[s] they are of no use whatever as tests either of date or authorship."

differing not pleasantly has occurred to me: I have offered to make every concession possible consistent with the honor of a gentleman & to take the first step in any way that can be supported. I do not think between men working for one end that any jealousies or differences would exist if they would act on the 'put yourself in his place' principle." As a gesture of scholarly collegiality Fleay adds a P.S. with information on the "collateral forms" "fie" and "fay."

Fleay's finding concurrence of Halliwell's and his own results is the subject matter of his next response (21 December 1874; LOA 182:24) to Halliwell's "kind present": "I am delighted to find in it historical confirmation of Shakspere's playing in 1594 etc – as I had asserted the same thing in an article now in type (written in August printed in November) on *internal evidence* only. The date of Blackfriars building also confirms my conclusions on other evidence." As for "differing pleasantly" it is hard to overlook Fleay's satisfaction in concluding, "The confirmation of my theories in your own work on Romeo & Juliet is also pleasant to me," and generously promising, "I will read the book completely & should I find any error of press (which I do not expect) will inform you duly." Fleay's perceived concurrence, underlined by his suggesting a meeting with Halliwell (21 December 1872; Folger Y.c.1222[2]), is furthered in his next letter of 20 February 1875; LOA 158:24): "I have finished reading your 'Illustrations' with much pleasure. I have sent several communications on kindred matters to the Athenaeum, but though they always set them in type they never appear. I fear the large mass of material I have accumulated on our dramatic & poetic literature from 1350 to 1650 will have no chance of publication but if I can be of any use to others especially to you from whose works I have derived so much help it will be a gratification." Halliwell's "pleasure in seeing" Fleay for lunch (24 March 1875; Folger Y.c.1222[3]) is modified by his politely tactful resistance to Fleay's offer of help: "It is very kind indeed of you offering me Shaksperian assistance but I am not young & it will be quite as much *or more* as my strength will bear to use my own immense mass of notes, so I would not on any account add to them excepting what I can still

occasionally glean from matter-of-fact records." Apologetic and deferential, Fleay responded immediately (26 March 1875; LOA 158:14). Making Halliwell's "personal acquaintance" will enable him, he writes, "to correct the impression you seem to have received that I meant to offer to contribute matters to be added to your own. Pray do not think I had any such presumption. I am far too ill persuaded that my scarcely mentioned studies in Elizabethan literature would be 'stained' by juxtaposition with those of one from whom I have learned more than any other except Malone. I only meant if there were any subordinate work such as tabulating or arranging matter already accumulated in which I could be of use that I shall be happy to be so."

The personal meeting seems to have brought the two a bit closer together. In his response to Fleay's "kind Letter" of 24 September 1875 (no longer extant) and thereafter Halliwell replaces his customary salutation, "My dear Sir," with "Dear Mr. Fleay," Fleay his with "Dear Mr. Phillipps" or "My dear Mr Phillipps" or "Dear Halliwell" or "My dear Halliwell." Still, the cautious critical distance remains. Congratulating Fleay on the "marked ability" of his recent article (1 November 1875; Folger Y.c.1222[5], Halliwell nevertheless adds, "whether I agree with you or not after my own study of the subject." Thanking Fleay for a copy of his *Shakespeare Manual* (17 April 1876; Folger Y.c.1222[6]), Halliwell "suspect[s] it is a clever valuable & useful book, but of course it requires study to appreciate it, & there are numerous points on which we shall differ." The relationship is, however, warm enough for Fleay to ask Halliwell 16 May 1876; LOA 222:37) for a "few lines of testimonial for the Professorship of English Literature & Modern History at Bristol University College," to indicate its direction – "I have as high testimony as can be to powers of teaching & speaking: but any additional evidence as to critical & literary faculty would be of the greatest service, especially from as high an authority as you" – and, in a following letter (21 May 1876; LOA 222:35), to stress urgency – [sentence underlined] "Can you let me have your testimony by return of post" – and to repeat the focus: "Any thing you can say as to my general knowledge & culture will be specially acceptable.

Many documents that I have received though I fear quite beyond my deserts in laudation dwell too *exclusively* on Shakspere."

Fleay's effort was unsuccessful, however, and he seems to have given up all hope of a university career. That there are no letters from him to Halliwell until 1880 does not mean there was no correspondence. Three letters from Halliwell indicate that the relationship was continuing and increasingly personal. On 8 December 1876 (Folger Y.c.1222[7]) Halliwell informed Fleay that he had bought twelve acres near Brighton and wanted to build a house there while keeping his town house, "so for the rest of my life I shall be a kind of pendulum between London & Brighton – a *pretty long swing*." And responding to C. M. Ingleby's having told Fleay that he was unwell, Halliwell confessed that "I have fairly good health, but my power of enduring head work is so impaired I have definitely abandoned all literary pursuits," reaffirming what he had written to Ingleby (4 October 1876; LOA 240:31) and George Wright (18 October 1876; LOA 233:1) and made evident by the fact that in 1877 and 1878 he published nothing at all. This is not to say that Fleay was one of Halliwell's inner circle. But the few remaining letters testify to a harmonious relationship, personal but not without that certain critical distance that separates scholars of differing orientation and stature. They portray the increasing energy of the active Fleay and the reflections, professional and personal, of a benevolent fellow-worker in the vineyard of scholarship. On 14 February 1877 (Folger Y.c.1222[8] Halliwell thanks Fleay for his "very interesting & able" edition of Marlowe's *Edward II*. Two years later, on 31 March 1879 (Folger Y.c.1222[9]), he agrees with Fleay's advising him not to overwork: "at my age I am hardly likely to return to that. It is just possible that I may put my voluminous collections into order some day, & that will be all. If I die without doing this, they will all go into the waste basket, being written on innumerable slips & unusable by anyone but myself." On 7 January 1880 (LOA 250:77), having received Halliwell's *Memoranda on Hamlet*, Fleay characteristically finds that "we are almost in perfect accord," but asserts, "whereby hangs a tale." He had sent manuscripts to Parker Norris for his *Register* and now

one, “almost identical in matter” with Halliwell’s is in the hands of W. J. Rolfe. Flustered, Fleay is quick to list the “few things” – i.e. five differences and four “I note as erroneous.” But, anxiously, he reiterates the “almost exact unanimity between your opinions & my own.” Halliwell’s response (14 July 1880; Folger Y.c.1222[11]) mirrors his consistent critical distance and his benign tolerance: “You amuse me rather by noting as a ‘few differences’ about Hamlet absolute variations in our views on all the main points.” For his part, albeit granting that Halliwell is the “soundest living Shakespearian critic,” Fleay disagrees pleasantly (9 January 1880; LOA 253:47): “Many thanks for your renewed kindness in sending me the Mdsr N. Dr. [*Memoranda on the Midsummer Night’s Dream* (1879)] notes. Yet I am ungrateful enough to say that I never felt so little inclined to agree with you as on reading them. I do not see a vestige of reason for giving up my own view that the play was written at Xmas 1592 & carefully revised (in part rewritten) in 1600. Nor do I agree at all about the inconsistency of time in this play.” And yet he cannot but admit error and still maintain his critical position: “On the other hand I agree with shame that I read the Fleire [a play by Edward Sharpham] as I thought carefully & did not seize the Thisby allusion. That fact is I never do good work but in my own room. Many of these smaller matters are new & useful to me: but after reading your Hamlet notes I am disappointed at finding in these of the MND a tacit assumption that a play must have been written at some definite date & never subjected to serious alteration after – & this too from the soundest living Shakespearian critic.”

The remaining thirteen letters add relatively little of new substance to the relationship. But they do chart the industry of Fleay and, in his reactions, reveal Halliwell’s temperament and condition. Referring to a previous letter (no longer extant), in which he had given an example “to show the importance of careful acknowledgement,” Halliwell continues his role as mentor by illustrating his own error (17 March 1880; Folger Y.c.1222[10]): “A very curious instance is in a new fact in Shakespeare’s life discovered by me many years ago. In printing it I made a hideous blunder. Dozens of others have since used it – e.g. Dyce,

Staunton, Neil, Furnivall &c. – in no single instance has the discoverer been named, *in no single instance has his blunder been suspected*!!!!" Having received a copy of Fleay's *Folklore of Chaucer*, he assures him that he has sent him copies of all his publications, ruefully informing him (14 July 1880; Folger Y.c.1222[11]), "A little work just completed on Love's Labour's Lost &c. will be sent you in due course, & *will be the last*. I shall probably still continue to collect materials, but at my age pursuing these studies purely as a matter of recreation, I do not find that printing works in that way, so I shall give it all up. Younger people will do the needful." Reacting to Fleay's work on Shakespeare as a player, on which Halliwell has much unedited material, he somewhat resignedly confesses: "That list of *Strange*'s players I look upon as one of my best discoveries, but I see that [Samuel] *Neil* gives you the credit of it." In fact Halliwell's polite responses to Fleay's work tend to be less interesting in themselves than as the expression of his physical and mental state: Responding to Fleay's *Spelling Reformer*, a subject that does not interest him, "I am too old to go in now for a new spell at spelling" (18 September 1880; Folger Y.c.1222[12]); thanking Fleay for a tract on the Actor Lists, he will study it carefully when he is feeling better – "I have been so oppressed by the heat" – and has more time (10 August 1881; Folger Y.c.1222[14]); commenting on Fleay's paper on the Theatres, "I can see at a glance that it will be very interesting" (10 July 1882; Folger Y.c.1222[15]); aware that a list Fleay mentions is in the Record Office, "but my papers are in such confusion I cannot give the reference" (3 October 1884; Folger Y.c.1222[16]). The spark in Halliwell's expression of thanks for another copy of the *Spelling Reformer* (16 March 1881; Folger Y.c.1222[13]) is not so much for the work itself as for its "sly hit at *Furnivall*." Halliwell, who had received a letter of sympathetic support from Fleay after sending him his *Copy of Correspondence* [with Robert Browning] (5 February 1881; LOA 247:35), "having observed, during a recent visit to London, the general contempt & ridicule which surround him & his N.S.S.," can "feel now quite easy on the subject."

In the one remaining letter from Halliwell (1 October 1884;

Folger Y.c.1222[17]), the last of the correspondence, he gives Fleay some information on a list of players. Two of the remaining four from Fleay add little to the picture: a request for an examination of Halliwell's unique copy of a 1600 quarto of *Richard III* (12 July 1882; LOA 270:13); an acknowledgement of the receipt of the third edition of the *Outlines* with the remark that he had made his notes in the margin of the second, which he had collated with the third (31 October 1883; LOA 274:70). Only in the last two and the last but one from Halliwell is there an element beyond the routine exchange of queries and answers. On 2 October 1884 (LOA 282:28), after asking for the location of the "*official list* of the Queen's company in 1588," which is mentioned in the third edition of the *Outlines* but not in his copy of the second, Fleay broaches the manner of the publication of the *Outlines*: "By the way is it quite fair to purchasers like myself of yr book at its original price of 1½ florins to insert these new scrips in subsequent editions & not reprint them separately for those who bought the older ones?" Ruffled, Halliwell was prompt to reply (3 October 1884; Folger Y.c.1222[16]) that he had never heard "that an author was called upon to supply purchasers of old editions with the matters of new ones – it would be a troublesome business & put practically a stop to improvement & alteration," and refuting Fleay directly: "You seem to be under an error as to the price of my Outlines, the publishing price of which has never exceeded 7s.6d. – to be got with disct. off for about 5 shillings & 8d. or thereabouts." Fleay's response (7 October 1884; LOA 300:48) was immediate and characteristically conciliatory, but also displaying pleasant disagreement: "I fear I expressed myself carelessly in my letter. I did not mean that authors should supply new matters to purchasers of old Edns but that they should in prefaces or otherwise 'indicate' what new matter was inserted. It is too bad to have to collate every new edition when one has carefully annotated an old one." And firm: "as to the price my copy is marked 'published at 31/6' inside the cover by the bookseller of whom I bought it." And sensible: "But all this is only self explanatory. The real point of this letter is the list of the Queen's men in 1589 [*sic*]." And also by this time with the self-confidence

that comes of having published a number of books, "for the most part misbehaving and mischievous," as A. H. Bullen described Fleay's *Chronicle History of the Life and Work of William Shakespeare*: "When I received the book I at once wrote to tell Fleay that if I had the least suspicion that he intended to speak of you [Halliwell] in terms of disrespect, I would certainly not have given him the introduction to Nimmo [the publisher]" (1 July 1886; LOA 290:29).

Although there are no further letters between the two men, as late as 1886 Fleay was still of concern to Halliwell, who, in a letter to Ingleby of 23 January 1886 (Folger C.a.11[112]), confided: "If there be any personal antagonism between us it is solely on his side. I can safely assert that I have never either written or printed or spoken anything against Mr. F. You have correctly hit the right nail on the head when you conjecture that if I had spoken of him in my Outlines in connexion with his theories he might have been more indignant at my criticism than he is now at my silence." For his part, Fleay, who had profited considerably from information given him by Halliwell, did not hesitate to pleasantly disagree with him very shortly after his death. In an unpublished manuscript, an address entitled "On Certain Modern Shakespeariana" (Folger S.b.81), he praised the "late Mr Halliwell Phillipps" as the "most generally esteemed of all writers on Shakespearian matters" but did not fail to note the weakness of a Halliwell who "attempts the higher duties of the biographer or historian" due to his "absolute inability to coordinate his materials." That "inability," it should also be noted, was communicated to Fleay by Halliwell himself on 31 March 1879 (Folger Y.c.1222[9]), quoted above.[103]

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[103]Fleay seems to contradict himself, however. In his *Chronicle*, p. 3, he considered Halliwell's *Outlines* a "treasure-house of documents [...] these having been excellently well collected and arranged." But he could not resist adding his old complaint – "it is greatly to be regretted that they are not published by themselves" – and topping it: "apart from hypotheses founded on idle rumour or fallacious mis-reasoning. I do not know of any work so full of fanciful theories and '*ignes fatui*' likely to entice 'a deluded

Apparently Fleay had to assert himself in a world which he felt did not accept him and from which he isolated himself. His relationship with Halliwell was not easy, nor for that matter was his life. But if he could be discontented and contentious it cannot be denied that he was not dedicated to what he considered the essentials of scholarship: impatient search and painstaking diligence. The sharp questioning of his metrical tests posed by his contemporaries was fairly soon mollified by E. K. Chambers, who felt that Fleay's "own theories were ingenious if kaleidoscopic, but who called attention to many features of the texts, both stylistic and bibliographic, which are still receiving study,"[104] as well as by a generation of computer and stylistic studies of the second half of the twentieth century. And it must be remembered that Fleay's *Chronicle History of the Life and Work of William Shakespeare* (1886), its attention to the public career and the facts of the private life of Shakespeare founded on Halliwell's documentation and, without troubling consequences, dedicated to Browning, as well as the works he produced after the death of Halliwell – *A Chronicle History of the London Stage, 1559-1642* (1890) and *A Biographical Chronicle of the English Drama, 1559-1642* (2 vols., 1891) – testify to his recognition of the direction and value of Halliwell's "archaeological" efforts, however much he may have criticized the "hypotheses founded on idle rumour or fallacious mis-reasoning,"[105] and underline his allegiance to the aims of enlightened Shakespearean scholarship.

15. Algernon Charles Swinburne

It is a measure of the circumference of Halliwell's activities that

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traveller out of the beaten path into strange quagmires'."

[104] *William Shakespeare: A Study of Facts and Problems* (2 vols., Oxford, 1933), I:208.

[105] Fleay, *Chronicle*, p. 3. With what may be a similar sense of late satisfaction Fleay even thanks Furnivall, with whom he had quarrelled, for "some wholesome criticism of my earlier work" (p. 5).

he had little to do with major or even minor literary figures. His society consisted mainly of societies, its members "amateurs" and, with the exception perhaps of Dowden and W. A. Wright, other non-academic scholars or those who no longer were at home at university. His correspondence was with the foot-soldiers of Victorian letters, those whose mission was to study and propagate rather than to muse and create. It was not a matter of Halliwell's personal disposition, although he was as domestic as he was busy. Rather, it was his archaeological concentration on the unearthing and examination of the artefacts of literature and history. If his earliest collection was called *The Archaeologist and Journal of Antiquarian Science* (1842), it is little wonder that he named his latest work *Outlines of the Life of Shakespeare*, a monumental collection of information burgeoning into seven editions from 1881 to 1887. That it was called *Outlines* and had no index is an indication not only of its cumulative nature but also of its intellectual focus. It was not inimical to art, but it was only on its perimeter. Among the some 15,000 letters to Halliwell in the Letters of Authors of the Edinburgh Collection only two leading literary figures, Browning and Swinburne, are represented, the former with but one letter to Halliwell (27 January 1881; LOA 247:3), the latter with thirteen letters to and four from Halliwell between 1876 and 1882. In the Folger there are but two letters from Halliwell to Browning and three to Swinburne. It was Shakespeare that connected them. But it was not so much archaeological curiosity or aesthetic fervor as professional and personal irritation that was their motivation. It was not as poet who wrote, but Browning as President of the New Shakspere Society and Swinburne as author of studies of Elizabethan literature and notably his *Study of Shakespeare* (1880).

Although their correspondence does not seem to begin until 1876, Halliwell was evidently known to Swinburne, who in a letter to Furnivall of 13 February 1868, quotes "two thrilling lines" in the "Lamentation of boys burning pricksong" as "cited by Mr.

Halliwell for the Shakespeare Society."[106] And in a letter of 31 December 1875 Swinburne indicated more specifically to Andrew Chatto that he was "interested by what you tell me of Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps' view on my studies in Shakespeare, and should like to see what he has written on the metrical tests."[107] Not surprisingly, the word must have gotten to Halliwell, who, doubtless pleased, wrote to Swinburne, in a letter of 15 January 1876 (LOA 217:35): "Mr. Chatto tells me that you would like to see what I have written on the metrical tests. Before referring to my few remarks on the subject I find that they are not so decisive as I had thought they were, but, nevertheless, at the risk of boring you with a work probably too antiquarian for your tastes, I venture to say that it will gratify me very much if you would permit me to send for your acceptance a copy of the book in which they appear." And, in gestures of scholarly intercourse, Halliwell alludes to harmony – "It is not unlikely that I may have been precipitate in observing to Mr. Chatto that my observations on the subject coincided in principle with yours" – and to literary references to embellish his delay in not having yet read Swinburne's work: "The fact is that being, in common with a certain eminent joiner, 'slow of study,' the reading of your papers is reserved for some leisure days in which I shall be able to peruse them with close attention & care. At present I have only had just those hasty glances which make me, like Oliver Twist, wish for more." Halliwell did not wait long to come up with a copy of his *Illustrations of the Life of Shakespeare* (1874), which "kind offer" Swinburne acknowledged just three days later (18 January 1876; LOA 217:8), grateful to have the opportunity to compare his own notes on Shakespeare's meter with Halliwell's and "sincerely glad if my opinions or observations should coincide with yours in principle or in detail." The scholarly fraternity was immediate. Four days later on 22 January 1876 (LOA 189:38) Swinburne expressed his "sincere gratitude" for Halliwell's "splendid

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[106]In *The Swinburne Letters*, ed. Cecil Y. Lang (6 vols., New Haven, 1959-1962), I:291.
[107]Ibid., 3:98.

present" in terms beyond the customary platitudes: "I have scarcely yet had time to do more than glance here & there into the rich treasure-house you have opened to me, but even this enables me to anticipate what hours of pleasure & of profit I may expect in the study of its contents. No subject has ever interested me so much as that of your book, & I certainly never before received so magnificent a means of furtherance to my study of it." His motivation was not simply one of personal but just as likely one of factional satisfaction. As he confided to John Morley on 13 February 1876: "My last published notes on Shakespeare in the Fortnightly Review[108] have procured me another good thing besides the enmity of the scholiasts [...] in the shape of a gift from Mr. Hallliwell-Phillipps of his splendid folio on matters connected with the life and work of Shakespeare, with which I have as yet only played, not grappled, but see much of real interest in it."[109]

While there is no reason to doubt the sincerity of Swinburne's interest in Halliwell, it is undeniable that Swinburne was seeking in Halliwell not only support for his Shakespearean work but also an ally in his conflict with Furnivall. The letters of this period are doubtless to be understood in the context of the discussions of the use of meter to determine the order and authorship of Shakespeare's plays, the aim of the New Shakspere Society and the concern of Shakespeareans at home and abroad, especially in Germany. For Swinburne the focus was not so much on Fleay, whose metrical analyses had dominated the Transactions of the New Shakspeare Society in 1874, as on the bullying certainty of its director. In his letter to Morley, mentioning the "enmity of the scholiasts" as a "good thing" which he procured with his notes on Shakespeare, he remarks parenthetically, "on whom I am writing a burlesque 'Report on the Newest Shakespeare Society'." A short time earlier Swinburne had published "'King Henry VIII' and the Ordeal by Metre,"[110] an attack on Furnivall and the scholiasts, who

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[108]"The Three Stages of Shakespeare," *Fortnightly Review* 19:109 (January 1876), 24-45.
[109]*Swinburne Letters*, 3:139-40.
[110]*Academy* 9:193 (15 January 1876), 53-4.

measure verse by finger and not by ear, and about the same time in his article in the *Fortnightly Review*, "The Three Stages of Shakespeare," had attempted to illustrate the "notorious truism [...] that we cannot safely presume to determine by mere evidence of style the actual date of any single work by a great master" and to conclude: "To a probable or plausible conclusion we may be guided by such evidence; to a certitude we can never be."[111]

In the largest cluster of the correspondence, between 1879 and 1881, Swinburne's mixture of admiration and employment of Halliwell is dominant. It is evident in Swinburne's letters to others. On 20 July 1879 he wrote to Theodore Watts: "I am now reading for the first time Halliwell's reprint of a comedy [John Day's *Humour out of Breath*] (date 1608) illustrative in several passages, it seems to me, of my own remarks on certain points of metre and phraseology in the earlier plays of Shakespeare. This sort of thing is just what would be worth while noting in the interest of real (not sham) Shakespearian students."[112] On 19 August 1879 he asked his publisher Andrew Chatto for Halliwell's full publishers' or private address.[113] The next day he sent an "urgent inquiry" to Watts, asking for the "full and proper address of Mr. Halliwell [and] the date of his second change of name by dropping the late appendage of Phillipps [...] to whom I have written a very gracious dedication of my book in recognition of three things: his services to Shakespeare and all Shakespeareans (*not* Sham); his cordial and most courteous letter of appreciation and recognition, to a total stranger, on the appearance of the first instalment of my book; and his accompanying gift of a splendid copy of his privately printed 'Illustrations'."[114]

For all his modesty about his reputation and for all his avowals against titles, Halliwell was pleased and proud to receive honors. From the beginning of his career he advertised his associations in lists of societies of which he was a member; on his wife's

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[111]Ibid., p. 54.
[112]*Swinburne Letters*, 4:76.
[113]Ibid., 4:82.
[114]Ibid., 4:83-4.

gravestone his name was followed by F.R.S; the testimonials he had received from Stratford were glazed and framed and hung prominently in his study. That Swinburne chose to dedicate his *Study of Shakespeare* (1880) to him was enormously flattering. Swinburne was, after all, a major personality in English letters and doubtless (along with Robert Browning) the most illustrious figure with whom Halliwell was ever to be connected. His relationship with Swinburne could not be termed personal. In the 1870s they courteously exchanged information and opinion, after Halliwell had sent Swinburne a copy of his *Illustrations* and had complimented him on the first installments of his studies of the text of Shakespeare. Recalling these events in a letter to Halliwell of 23 September 1879 (LOA 253:56), Swinburne cautiously and with elaborate ceremony approached the matter of the dedication of his new book, "then begun & since postponed by various interruptions [...] now completed & in the press":

> Disliking as I do the appearance, & disapproving the custom, of dedications 'by permission', I do not (after the usual form) solicit your leave to inscribe my 'Study of Shakespeare' to you in token of obligation and respect; nor on the other hand would I take upon myself to dedicate the book without notice or warning to an elder & a better Shakespearean scholar than myself.

Swinburne did not avoid a "word of warning" – that he was continuing "with some vigour of expression" his attack on "certain German commentators or critics of Shakespeare, but more especially on their English disciples of the 'New Shakspere Society'," and hoping that the "attacks" have the "good fortune to commend themselves to your good opinion." Halliwell answered immediately and elaborately (preserving a copy, as was his wont with important matters) that the "proposed dedication [...] coming from you [...] is [...] the greatest compliment I have ever received, & although I feel that I am not deserving of it, laying claim to little more than being an earnest student with an endeavour to keep within the bounds of common sense criticism, the temptation to receive it is irresistible, & if you do so honour

me I can only accept the distinction with gratitude" (25 September 1879; LOA 255:33). In his immediate reply – the work was after all in the press – to Halliwell's acceptance, Swinburne described his dedication: "I have simply placed your name at the top & mine at the bottom of a few sentences expressing my reasons of general & also of personal gratitude which have together made it proper that the book should be inscribed to you, without any common epistolary flourish of elaborate address & signature" (27 September 1879; LOA 255:31):

To
James Orchard Halliwell-Phillipps

That a sample or excerpt given from this book while as yet save in design unfinished should have found such favour and won such approval at your hands as you then by word alike and action so cordially expressed, is reason enough why I should inscribe it with your name: even if I felt less pleasure in the reflection and the record that this little labour of a lifelong love had at once the doubly good fortune and the doubly grateful success, to be praised by those who have earned the praise and thanks of all true Shakespearean scholars, and dispraised by such as have deserved their natural doom to reap neither but from the harvest of their own applause or that of their fellows. It might be hard for a personally unbiassed judgment to strike the balance of genuine value and significance between these two forms of acknowledgment: but it will be evident which is to me the more precious, when I write your name above my own on the votive scroll which attaches my offering to the shrine of Shakespeare.

Algernon Charles Swinburne.

Although Swinburne's admiration of Halliwell was doubtless genuine, and even allowing for his characteristic rhetorical flourish, it is difficult not to suspect that Swinburne was seeking an ally and that Halliwell was being lured ("temptation" was his word) into a contentious position that he would otherwise have avoided. His praise of the work was for him uncharacteristically lavish: in his "honest opinion" it was a book in which "greater powers of genius are displayed than in any other work on the

subject," and the extent of his submissiveness is glaring in the closing words of his letter to Swinburne: "If you feel that you can tolerate for a few hours a very dull person, unendowed with the slightest powers of conversation, I should feel so very much gratified & flattered by a visit whenever you happened to be at Brighton, & at least there will be some Shakean curiosities that cannot fail to interest you" (1 January 1880; Folger Y.d.329[11]).[115]

When Furnivall urged him to disclaim the dedication, Halliwell could not. Trapped, he could only stiffen up and, defensively, argue pitifully that he "had never heard before of the dedicatee of a book sharing in the remotest degree in either the honours or responsibilities of its contents," suppressing the fact that Swinburne had written him on 1 December 1879 (LOA 257:49), "I trust the printers & publishers will soon at last enable me to send you the completed study which while yet incomplete was distinguished by your approval." He may not have even comprehended the full extent of what was to occur when he wrote to Francis Bedford: "It is a serious evil to me having through no fault of my own got into anything like even a small literary squabble, as I seem to have done. I find as I get into the last stage of life a wish for quiet & to be friendly & kindly to everybody, & take the most generous view of everything" (29 January 1880; Folger Y.c.1191). But, and inevitably, the conflict escalated. The fiery Furnivall spat flames and bad language in every direction. The apprehensive Halliwell responded rigidly and, cornered (as it were), struck back with a number of public letters and pamphlets. That both men were personally and deeply hurt is easily measured not merely by the intensity of their assaults but by its level. The main topic of the paper war was profane language and bad manners: Furnivall slung foul mud and Halliwell countered with prim respectability.

For Halliwell the result was not a happy one. But it does not seem to have markedly disturbed his relationship with Swinburne, who expressed his "sincere thanks" to Halliwell for a

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[115]As often in such important matters Halliwell kept a copy of the letter (LOA 253:1).

copy of *Which shall it be? New lamps or old? Shaxpere or Shakespeare?*, "delighted to find [his] own constant conviction as to the orthography of Shakespeare's name supported on such high authority as that of your learning & maintained by such conclusive reasoning as that of your argument" (1 December 1879: LOA 257:49). On 3 January 1880; LOA 256:52) he responded to Halliwell's "kind and gratifying letter" of 1 January 1880 (Folger Y.d.329[11], copy at LOA 253:1), after more or less apologizing for having answered a day later than by return post, to express somewhat self-approvingly "what sincere and cordial pleasure was given [him] by such an expression of opinion from one who can speak on the subject in question with such unsurpassed authority as yourself" and then to accept with "greater pleasure" the invitation to inspect Halliwell's "treasures" and in fact to bring along "something hitherto unknown in old English (pre-Shakespearean) literature," adding, with notable composure, that he had given permission to Furnivall "to make copious extracts from it in one of the publications of his Early English Text Society." Unbroken is Swinburne's intertwining of scholarly exchanges and scholarly controversy. Thanking Halliwell for a copy of his *Memoranda on the Tragedy of Hamlet* (26 January 1880; LOA 255:33), "in which you assuredly have made assurance doubly sure, & taken a bond of fact," Swinburne is flatteringly and self-servingly quick to assert: "I wish I had been fortunate enough to fall in with the newspaper articles in which we unfortunate Conservatives of Shakespearean orthography are held up to the divine wrath of the New-Chaxpurian Radical. If any of the latter brood be susceptible of conversion or capable of cure, your hand alone should have power to exorcise the spirit of ignorance & the devil of impudence – which latter hyperbolical fiend in particular so sorely vexes some at least of that many-headed horde upon whom I fancy your too hospitable invitation would be alike in all points wasted." Continuing too is the exchange of and gratitude for publications and news. On 14 June 1880 (LOA:257:63) Swinburne is thankful for the "fresh and much valued gift" of *Memoranda on Love's Labour's Lost, King John, Othello, and on Romeo and Juliet*, "for the cordial gratification I have received

from the kind expression of your opinion on the subject of my poems, & your equally kind communication of the late Mr. Dyce's," and for the fraternity of scholars: "Very few things could have given me more pleasure, as there are very few men of our time to whom I feel that I owe so much at once of enjoyment & of guidance as to yourself & to him."[116]

Most persistent in the exchange of publications is the Pigsbrook affair. "Much obliged" by the gift of Halliwell's *Copy of Correspondence with Robt. Browning, president of New Shakspere Society, Relative to Language Used by Mr. Furnivall in Speaking of Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps*, Swinburne comments that "it will be too long remembered with astonishment by those who have not before known anything of the Founder & Director of the Sham Shakespeare Society at the incredible insolence of that incomparable blackguard, & by all admirers of Mr. Browning's genius with far greater & more unspeakable amazement & regret that he should for one moment longer permit his name to be polluted by association with one which it is degrading for a gentleman to pronounce, to transcribe, or to remember." For his part Swinburne sends "herewith a small volume of poems just published, in the assurance that they will be kindly received as evidence at least of my gratitude as a student of the divine poet whose name such dunghill dogs as this unmentionable Founder would defile if they knew how to spell it" (6 February 1881; LOA 252:11). Halliwell's response (12 February 1881; LOA 254:88) is almost a mirror of Swinburne's. Gratitude: "It is, I believe impossible, to find a house where the presentation copies of your works are more highly valued and treasured than they are in this & I need not express how grateful I am for them." Shared weights: "Your kind present deserved earlier acknowledgement, but since

[116]Relative is Swinburne's admission to Lady Jane Henrietta Swinburne (*Swinburne Letters*, 4:149): "It is a great pleasure to me always that anything I do should find favour in the sight of old people [...] and I have had great good luck (I think] in that line and especially of late – beginning with Hugo himself, and going on with Trelawny, Halliwell-Phillipps, and Collier – the Patriarch of the whole tribe."

its receipt I have been overwhelmed by the correspondence involved by my exposé of that little charlatan Furnivall." Emphatic concurring details and sympathy: "The manner in which my protests against Furnivall's conduct have been received prove clearly that public opinion is very strong against him. My only reaction & a great one in the matter is – to find that my temperate indictment against that wretched literary rowdy should have brought out a pamphlet in which his insolence to me is but subsidiary to a violent & disrespectful personal attack on you, for which the latter deserves to be heartily trounced in the Law Courts."[117] A few days later (20 February 1881; LOA 252:40), Swinburne sends Halliwell a fourth copy of his letter (also dated 20 February 1881; LOA 252:42) to Browning in which he threatens to break with Browning should he not break with Furnivall, and, seeking support for a letter which "is in no sense private," considers Halliwell "more than welcome to show or send to any persons whom [he] may think it might interest." Swinburne was following Halliwell, who had himself printed and circulated the *Copy of Correspondence*, an exchange of letters with Browning dated 26, 27, and 31 January and a letter to the members of New Shakspere Society dated 4 February 1881.[118]

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[117]In a letter to A. B. Grosart of 18 February 1881 (*Swinburne Letters,* 4:195) Swinburne quotes Halliwell's last phrase, substituting "soundly" for "heartily."

[118]The original letters to Browining are in Folger Y.c. 1195 (1,2); the letter from Browning of 27 January in LOA 247:3. In the first Halliwell protested against Furnivall's preface to his facsimile of the second quarto of *Hamlet* in which he was described as a "leading member of the firm of Pigsbrook and Co." and some of his observations "denounced as 'porcine vagaries,' and others as being promulgated 'on the prongs of a dung-fork'," and objects to the "phraseology of Billingsgate" (in which, naturally, he is not versed), the "offensive vulgarities," the "disreputable language." In his response of the next day, Browning was "doubly sorry that there should have been reason for [Halliwell's] writing," explaining that he "never saw the Preface," that his "position with respect to the Society is purely honorary," and that should [he] ever attend [any one of its meetings], [his] first impulse will be to invoke the spirit of 'gentle Shakespeare' that no wrong be done in his name to a member of the brotherhood of students

Although the fire of Pigsbrook was still raging, it is surprising that the few remaining letters between Swinburne and Halliwell make little of it, returning instead to the exchange of tame scholarly concerns. Controversy is reduced to a tamely tolerant differing of opinion. In a letter to Swinburne of 26 March 1881 (Folger Y.d.329[12]) Halliwell, having altered his views on the Henry VI plays, admits: "I am now differing from you, but am greatly mistaken if you mind honest differences of opinion when *not* expressed in Furnivallese!!" Two days later (28 March 1881; LOA 255:49) Swinburne replies in kind. "Gratified" by a reference to himself in a sheet Halliwell has sent, he nevertheless "shall be sorry if I find you hereafter arrayed against the believers in Marlowe who would assign to his hand the superb lines in question." Swinburne's next letter, of 27 June 1881 (LOA 244:45), replicates the cordial tone of fraternal laborer in the vineyard of scholarship. Responding to Halliwell's gift of his *Outlines of the Life of Shakespeare*, which he will study "thoroughly," he will correct an error ("if ever my Study gets into a third edition") on the appearance of *Troilus and Cressida*, his having "taken on trust the mendacious assertion of the first publisher as to its never having been acted." And moreover: "I need not assure you of my gratification on finding my opinion as to Fletcher and *King Henry VIII*. cited & approved by such authority and in such a complimentary manner." Much the same is found a year later in Swinburne's letter of 18 August 1882 (LOA 269:29), a response to Hallliwell's of 4 August 1882: "trust [that] the suffering of which you there speak is now alleviated or removed"; as before, thanks for a "double gift" of the second edition of the *Outlines* and the "valuable & curious little pamphlet on the Tempest [*Memoranda on Shakespeare's Tempest*], with its singularly interesting frontispiece"; and, as always, respectful, "It seems to me that your interpretation of the verses given on p. 302 of the Outlines must

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combining to do him suit and service." In his response of 31 January 1881 Halliwell "apologizes" for his oversight in regard to Browning's position but continues his criticism of the way Shakespeare has been "mistreated" and vows to publish this correspondence.

almost certainly be correct: but I should hardly have ventured to offer you my opinion on the matter, had you not in your last note solicited an opinion from your correspondents." Halliwell's last letter to Swinburne in the Folger collection (7 July 1883; Y.c.1287) contains, as always in their correspondence, his thanks for the *Century of Roundels*[119] – "I [...] cordially congratulate you on this, one of your most charming works" – and, as ever, his regret that Swinburne did not have time to visit him this spring.

Remaining are only scraps but still testimonies of Swinburne's regard for Halliwell and the enduring nature of their relationship. Writing to A. H. Bullen on 13 June 1882, he is "curious to see" *The Costly Whore*, "which according to Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps 'has considerable merit'."[120] On 23 January 1883 [*sic* for 1884] he asks J. A. Symonds, "Have you read Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps's pamphlet on the orthography and heterography of the name which is above every name? If that does not reclaim you from heresy by the proof (to me conclusive) that the bard's pothooks were meant to spell Shakespeare – not Shakspere – you will too surely die in a sanbenito."[121] And in a letter to Sidney Lee of 5 November 1888, just two months before Halliwell's death, Swinburne reiterates his lasting regard for and bond with Halliwell: "I [...] am very glad that Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps is of the same opinion as I am – or rather, I should say, that I have the honour of seconding the opinion of so illustrious a scholar on a subject of peculiar interest, and one on which his opinion is of such exceptional value."[122]

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[119]In a letter of 1 July 1883 to Theodore Watts, *Swinburne Letters*, 5:28, concerning the distribution of the *Roundels*, Swinburne asks, "Did we remember Halliwell-Phillipps? If not *ditto* [send a copy] for him."
[120]*Swinburne Letters*, 4:278.
[121]Ibid., 5:48.
[122]Ibid., 5:255. Both agreed with Lee that the memorial for Marlowe be located in Canterbury not Deptford.

16. Clement Mansfield Ingleby

The correspondence between Halliwell and Ingleby was considerable. The Edinburgh collection contains 162 letters from Ingleby, eight from Halliwell, and nine from others in which Ingleby is mentioned; the Folger has 124 letters from Halliwell and two to others in which Ingleby is mentioned. This may not be surprising since both Shakespeareans were of about the same age – Halliwell was born in 1820, Ingleby in 1823 – and both died within two years of each other, Halliwell in 1888 and Ingleby in 1886. Both were at Trinity College Cambridge in the 1840s, both married in their twenties, both had four children, both left London in their later years, Halliwell to Hollingbury Copse in Surrey, Ingleby to Valentines in Ilford. As may be derived from their time span, both were the bookends, as it were, of Shakespearean scholarship in the nineteenth century. But while the number of letters alone indicates a more than passing relationship, their content serves mainly to add only touches to the concerns and personalities of the day. Halliwell was a literary professional while still a teenager, a Fellow of the Royal Society and the Society of Antiquaries at age nineteen. Ingleby became a partner in his father's law firm in 1850 at age twenty-seven and but for a few articles did not become a full-time Shakespearean, so to speak, until he left the firm in 1859. That asymmetrical situation is evident in the dates of the letters. In the Edinburgh collection those from Ingleby are from 1867 to 1886, from Halliwell from 1876 to 1884. In the Folger, with the exception of one of 1852, Halliwell's letters to Ingleby are from 1871 to 1886. As time went by, the correspondence increased as Ingleby's career flourished and the overlapping of specific interests became more pronounced. There may of course be other letters elsewhere from Ingleby but since Halliwell was meticulous in collecting, indexing, and binding his correspondence, as well as making copies of many of his own letters, it is likely that the correspondence in the two named collections is representative of the relationship of the two men.

Halliwell's "exceptional" letter of 14 October 1852 (Folger

C.a.15[1]), fifteen years before the correspondence resumes and takes full shape, exemplifies the early asymmetry of the two careers. In 1852 Halliwell was established enough to publish a prospectus of a new edition of Shakespeare in twenty folio volumes. Obviously engaged but not yet known in Shakespearean quarters, Ingleby sent a "kind letter" (no longer extant) evidently meant to encourage Halliwell to broaden the base, as it were, of subscribers to the project. Halliwell's response is typical of his confidence and integrity. Pledged to print no more than 150 copies, he answered that "the demand for the Shakespeare is much too great to render it at all necessary to coax public libraries, & I would rather not have it pressed against their will." And his courtesy is apparent in his wish that Ingleby give his regards to the Mr Browne whom Ingleby has mentioned. By the time of Ingleby's next letter (14 December 1867; LOA 124:41) Ingleby's career had undergone a sea-change. In 1859 he published *The Shakspeare Fabrications* and in 1861 *A Complete View of the Shakspere Controversy*, in effect exposing the forgeries of John Payne Collier, the senior and leading Shakespearean of the day. It is difficult to explain why there appears to be no direct correspondence between Ingleby and Halliwell during the Collier affair, although it may be inferred from Halliwell's complex relationship with Collier that he preferred to keep a low profile until the matter had been thoroughly investigated and resolved. In any event he was certainly not disengaged and not uninformed. In a letter of 21 August 1859 (LOA 78:16) his closest friend and mentor, Thomas Wright, wrote: "I don't think C. will bring an action against Ingleby or Smith this time, because it could hardly fail to bring himself into more harm than good. But Russell Smith is unwise to run a risk of this kind." And he called Halliwell's attention to a review of Ingleby's pamphlet in the *Athenaeum*: "rather roughly done, and very bitter against the B. Museum – and they say that the pamphlet is ill-composed, but they don't say that it is libellous. The Athenaeum people evidently do not believe in the authenticity of the marginal notes." And in a letter of 27 July 1860 (LOA 80:56) Halliwell's faithful lithographer, E. W. Ashbee,

apologized for the delay in answering Halliwell's letter because he was "very much occupied, principally in completing some facsimiles from the Perkins folio at the D. of Devonshire's Solicitors and also extracts from the Ellesmere folio at Bridgewater House. These plates are for a book now preparing by Dr. Ingleby, but though I mention to you now, it is desired not to be made known at present." To these and other details Ashbee adds the temperature of the matter: "This order was recommended to me by Mr. Staunton, who has on several occasions shewn me much kindness. I was therefore not in a position to refuse it, though otherwise I should never have sought to be mixed up in the discussion."

Whatever the reasons for the gap in the correspondence, the change in Ingleby is evident in his directness and professionalism, not to mention the collegiality which may be presupposed although fifteen years have passed without a letter. Ingleby begins on 14 December 1867 (LOA 124:41) without a customary flourish:

A Shakespearian critic, on the other side of the earth, has written to ask me concerning a certain proof leaf of the fo. 1623, (numerous of which had flown thither) said to have been found by you, & exhibited at the Soc: of Ant: Not being able to answer the questions put to me, I applied to Mr C. Knight Watson; but he simply confirmed the report: so I venture to "go to head quarters", & ask *you* about it.

He plunges forward:

If a facsimile of this leaf have been made I should be glad to possess it; & in case you cannot furnish me with that I should be grateful for a copy of it, or a description of the corrections made therein.

And he reveals the topic which continues to concern him deeply, falsification – his literary reputation based, after all, on his earlier exposure of Collier and continuing with *Was Thomas Lodge an Actor?* (1868). Commenting on a draft of a pamphlet he had sent to Halliwell, "in which I am sure you will be interested," Ingleby considers it "a valuable note of warning to say the least" and

credits Dr Kingsley for the clue to its discovery. If there is no extant response from Halliwell, the warning is verified by Alexander Dyce, who in a letter of 6 October 1868 (LOA 137:18) confessed: "To my great annoyance Dr Ingleby informs me, that an entry concerning Marlowe [in Henslowe], which I quoted from Collier's ed. of Sh. is a decided forgery!!"

Finally in the 1870s the number of letters between the two Shakespeareans increased, motored not only by common pursuits and personal affection but pronouncedly by open controversy. For one thing Halliwell confided his state of mind and body. On 31 January 1871 (Folger C.a.23[26]), he declined Ingleby's invitation to Valentines: " I am such a mere bookworm & so utterly unfitted for Society I have a great disinclination to bestow my tediousness anywhere." In his next letter (30 November 1871; Folger C.a.23[25]) after deciding on which of two Revels' manuscripts in which Cunningham found his "Shaksperian notices" was genuine, he nevertheless somewhat self-effacingly conceded, "My opinion is of small value against one of Sir Thomas Hardy's [deputy keeper of the Records Office and editor of documents for the Rolls Series]," hoping that Ingleby will settle the matter. In the next letter, a year and a half later (29 May 1873; Folger C.a.23[27]), again asking Ingleby whether there are any sixteenth-century Court Rolls with a reference to the Tarltons in Ilford, he confessed: "My life is waning, & no day ought now be spent without making an effort to find out something about the old actors & the stage." A measure of his condition is his "P.S. When you attack Dr [Alfred James] Carver [master of Dulwich College] could you not sleep here & I drive you over next morning?" Halliwell's depression becomes a recurrent feature of his successive letters. "My nerves are in such a state," he writes on 17 September 1876 (Folger C.a.11[5]), "I avoid at present any sort of literary work or even light reading." On 3 November 1876 (Folger C.a.11[6]) he means "to give up literary pursuits" and informs Ingleby, "You will never see the 2nd Part of the Illustrations. Although a large portion of it was printed I have had the types broken up." On 13 March 1877 [Folger C.a.11[7]) he confesses he has not the "mental energy to continue my literary pursuits,"

complaining of "constant annoyance – analogous to *flea-bites*." On 23 June 1877 [Folger C.a.11[8]) he thanks Ingleby for his book [*Shakespeare: The Man and the Book*], although he has "given up literary pursuits in favor of the happier garden." In his next letter (22 January 1878; Folger C.a.11[9]), however, he does admit to having looked at it, although "I am not reading anything now except newspapers & natural history books." On 22 October 1878 (Folger C.a.11[11]) more of the same: "I have been in such a queer mental condition." And in the last letter of 1879 (27 December 1879; Folger C.a.11[16]) there has been "so much depression of spirits" that "*This letter* wlll be my *sole* day's work today!!"

In his letters of the 1870s Ingleby responded directly and indirectly to Halliwell's depression. Alone their steady flow is testimony of his concern for Halliwell's well-being. Nothing could be more direct and forceful, more concerned personally and professionally, and indeed self-defining, than his response of 8 November 1876 (LOA 231:5) to Halliwell's intention to give up literary pursuits. It is worth quoting in full:

Had your letter of the 3rd instant simply announced your intention of committing that injury upon the literary world instead of pronouncing a *fait accompli*, I should have written to you incontinently to ask for a reprieve in the name of sanity, justice & common sense. But yr announcement knocked the wind out of me; & I felt, & still feel, as one who is profiting of the grateful shelter of a widespreading & umbrageous old tree, under a clear blue sky & a summer Sun, & who suddenly, without the warning of cloud, sees the trunk severed by a lightning stroke.

I seek in vain for any adequate cause for such a rash act of destruction: nothing which can evoke my sympathy while that act provokes my indignation. Why should you break up the types, & destroy the innocent offspring of your maturity; & so deprive the world of an inestimable benefit? If not too late do, in the name of duty, restore the book to its *status quo* & if your failing health will not permit you to finish it, let the world have the fragment.

Or, in another tone, Ingleby can pursue the sweet comfort of correspondence, writing on 12 March 1877 (LOA 232:34):

The last letter I had from you gave me great uneasiness: which has not been allayed by yr silence: not that there was anything for you to write about. Nevertheless, I shall be glad of a line to say how the world wags with you – & whether we shall meet at Stratford in May. The Winter has used us well – & I'm deeply grateful to Cosmos for such a mild season – I don't care for the "Icy fang" now – for it can't last long; & the sun is comforting.

These concerns are complemented by more than the obligatory compliments to the wife and family or the pleasure of visits. To be sure, there are conventional phrases: "We shall be very pleased to see you here again," Halliwell wrote to Ingleby (24 February 1876; LOA 226:18). "It seems an age since we met." He can be mellower. He sends an invitation to Ingleby, for "you promised to introduce your daughter to my sole remaining unmarried daughter Katie, a dear little thing, a favourite of everybody's" (13 March 1877; Folger C.a.11[7]). The invitation to father and daughter is repeated on 1 March 1878 (Folger C.a.11[10]. Despite the fact that he has "workmen in" and cannot offer Ingleby a bed and must suggest a hotel, nevertheless "My daughter would-be delighted to give your daughter a bed. In a wooden bungalow like this all the ladies' bedrooms are together & kept for ladies only. The gentlemen's quarters are not yet ready." Halliwell repeats the invitation once again, also in behalf of his daughter and can now offer Ingleby a bed too (22 October 1878; Folger C.a.11[11]) and then once again, most cordially, on 4 November 1878 (Folger C.a.11[12]). To cap his pleasure at the visit Halliwell confides, "It was very good of you to put up with my unceremonious ways here so goodhumouredly." Halliwell was always the willing and cordial host but his inclusion of Ingleby's daughter is strikingly rare, his guests being mainly fellow Shakespeareans alone or occasionally with wives.

These personal interactions were inseparable from professional ones. Halliwell may begin a letter with a cordial wish to see Ingleby again – "It seems an age since we met" – but then turn immediately and animatedly to matters of scholarship and its idle gossip in a letter he deemed so important that he retained

a copy (24 February 1876; LOA 226:18). "What the deuce do you mean by my being Shaksperian [*sic*] adviser to the Athenaeum? Two or three times in the course of as many years Mr Maccoll has asked me if some conjectural emendations were new or admissible & that is positively all. I have never been asked either directly or indirectly in any way respecting its Shaksperian management or reviews of any kind. In fact I have not written an article for any journal for over 5 years, having long definitely retired from that branch of the literary business." And then in the same letter he returns to the small scholarly details that fasten their relationship. "Have you finished with the wood-block of the FS. of Cope's letter & which I find I sent to Allen on 2 June, 1874? If so, would you very kindly direct him to return it to me? I should not like it to be used in any work but yours & my own." And it is such relatively small searches and findings – whether Shakespeare was a proprietor in either the Globe or the Blackfriars (31 January 1871; Folger C.a.23[26]); whether "there are any 16th c. court rolls containing a reference to the *Tarltons* in Ilford" (29 May 1873; Folger C.a.23[27]); whether the Hatfield MS becomes accessible (22 March 1874; Folger Y.c.1238[1]); whether there is a reference to Shakespeare in the "Teares of the Muses" (17 September 1876; Folger C.a.11[5]); whether Shakespeare's manuscripts "were existing at Abington Hall and that Shakespeare's granddaughter took them there" (22 January 1878; Folger C.a.11[9]) – which form a considerable portion of the correspondence and serve as a kind of mortar in the construction of their relationship. There were other contributing features too, information about works in progress, for one. Responding to Halliwell's "inquiry," Ingleby "beg[ged] to say that it is *designed* that *Shakespeares Prayse* shall be ready by March 1. 1873" and goes on to describe the "onerous" work of collation. which "inflects on me a regular Museum headache," and his being "baffled with some extracts, which I cannot get at first hand" (1 December 1872; LOA 212:18). "My book *Sh: the Man & the Book*," Ingleby wrote on 12 March 1877 (LOA 232:34), "is simply a collection of ten papers, most of which have been printed before – & some (I dare say) you will not think worth reprinting. Be that

as it may I am glad the collection is made." Naturally, the announcement of works preceded the sending of them, and Ingleby was of course anxious to have Halliwell's response and certainly delighted to learn from him that "Parts of Part I are deuced clever" (31 November 1879; Folger Y.d.11[50]).

Another mortaring feature was the transmission of news and opinion. For Halliwell, rusticated in Hollingbury Copse, Ingleby was a source of news from the literary world, such as his mentioning that he had heard about "poor [W. G.] Clark" whose "career offers a curious parallel to that of Sidney Walker" (15 November 1878; LOA 241:49) or often asking whether Halliwell had read a certain number of the *Athenaeum* or reporting (30 December 1879; LOA 257:23) that he had received as a gift from Karl Elze his "little vol: of notes on Shakespeare" and noting, "It is very interesting: but of course I dissent from some things." Such and similar more or less commonplace communications were overwhelmed by news and opinion concerning Halliwell's and the Shakespearean community's great and traumatic encounter with Furnivall, the New Shakspere Society, and the Pigsbrook affair. Not a one of Halliwell's major correspondents was spared; not a one relieved of an opinion. Sides were drawn, as described earlier. Ingleby was no exception. He allied himself with Halliwell fully and without hesitation. Furnivall galvanized them.

A hint of Halliwell's engagement with Furnivall came early. In the midst of a letter to Ingleby of 31 January 1871 (Folger C.a.23[26]) concerning Shakespearean miscellanea Halliwell breaks in: "You quite excite my curiosity about what you call 'the Tite-Furnivall row & its result.' I have not at present heard a single word on the subject, & am dying to know about it." Halliwell's relationship with Furnivall was complex even before the Pigsbrook affair and its results. A major part of his correspondence with Ingleby was a platform for the expression of his deep personal and professional depression. "Furnivall," he wrote to Ingleby on 30 October 1875 (Folger C.a.11[3]), "is disappointed rather than angry with me because (although I fully admit his Socy has done some very good work) I will not bow

down before its ridiculous pretensions or in any way encourage that very childish manifesto – 'the Founder's Prospectus.' But personally I like Furnivall very much, & no one appreciates his great talent & pure motives more." From Ingleby Halliwell received ready sympathy. It might be direct and forceful, as in his swift reply to Halliwell's intention to "give up literary pursuits." It might be indirect and soothing, as in his small talk in a letter of about the winter giving way to a comforting sun, to which evidently buoyed up the complaining Halliwell to wish that Ingleby's daughter might meet his "dear little thing." Or it might be encouraging, as in his offer to propose Halliwell for membership in the Athenaeum Club, which "great kindness" Halliwell, however, could not accept (25 November 1878; Folger C.a.11[13]).

Ingleby was not simply a sympathetic bystander. Halliwell's letter to him of 3 December 1879 (Folger C.a.11[15]) contains one of the most explicit renditions of his conflict with Furnivall:

I have all along wished to be as friendly as possible with him & with the NSS, saving a desire not to be guilty of countenancing the Founder's Prospectus, which I regard as silly & mischievous – but now I have fallen under His Royal Highness's displeasure in this way. Swinburne offered to dedicate his new book to me, & of course I could not refuse so high a compliment. F. hears of this, & because said book contains some animadversions on the NSS. displeasing to said F., said F. writes to me to say that he will drop my acquaintance if I don't withdraw the dedn. In the whole course of my literary experience I never knew such dictatorial insolence. Of course I shall not dream of withdrawing the Dedn. & the whole thing is unwarrantable, F. himself having lately put in my hands a printed paper containing a most disgraceful attack on Swinburne's personal character. I am too indignant to write calmly, & I find he is making enemies in all manner of directions. It is a great pity, for he is clever, very ready, extremely active & has undoubted enthusiasm, but that is no excuse for his kicking every one all round the shop.

And it receives a swift response from an outraged Ingleby, who, in a letter of 4 December 1879 (LOA 244:3), reports having had

but one *fracus* [*sic*] with Furnivall, & that went to Arbitration – & the award was in my favour. The paper wh: F wd not print *is* in type with a 'speech' of F's (which he did not deliver t.u.) in which he speaks of my paper as a 'base & treacherous attack on Sh's fair fame.' At my remonstrance he has modified this language so that quarrel is healed. Now F. writes me annoying letters on the *Centurie of Prayse* alleging that 'No mind seems to have designed the lines of search' – & he wishes that he had been there to supply the deficiency. I have now done with F – at least for the present – & unless he seeks a fresh cause of quarrel we shall not cross. Of course you did right not to submit to F.'s dictatorship in that matter.

Obviously shaken, Ingleby adds a PS. "Forgive bad writing, I cant do better this morning."

Ingleby's alliance with Halliwell extends, in fact, even to their ambiguous attitude towards Furnivall. They may break with Furnivall but somewhat unwillingly, acknowledging his talent as well as his temper. One of the many who are leaving Furnivall, Ingleby, "having fulfilled my engagements with Furnivall," writes to Halliwell on 30 December 1879 (LOA 257:23):

I shall do no more for him or his Society. His brusque & thick-skinned brutality annoys me so much that I mean to shun it for the future by avoiding all occasion of contact with him. Like you – I have never had a downright quarrel with him: tho' he did his best to provoke one with both of us.

"Oh no we never mention him," Halliwell wrote to Ingleby on 27 April 1880 (Folger C.a.11[19]) – "his name is never written – ever since a certain donkey wrote to say he would drop my acquaintance if I did not withdraw a dedication, I never mention his name in print or MS or bother my head about his nonsense." Despite such avowals Halliwell's and Ingleby's correspondence in the 1880s is replete with references to Furnivall. Pigsbrook continued to dominate and continued to infect other scholarly concerns. In a gesture of black humor Halliwell informed Ingleby in a letter of 11 June 1880 (Folger C.a.11[20]), "I am amusing myself just now by destroying nearly all my immense MS.

collections of the plays, not wanting them after my death to be travestied used & misrepresented by an insolent lunatic." And in another: "Perhaps, however, I ought not to complain of him, for he is rapidly weaning me from the love of my once favourite studies & by putting a stop to further printing of Memoranda &c. is saving me a good lot of money" (16 October 1880; Folger C.a.11[23]). Still another: "The enclosed note of Miss Toulmin Smith's is a regular muddle which I regret not to be able to illuminate, having made an inflexible rule not merely to have anything to do with Mr. F. J. Furnivall, but to carefully abstain from entering into any correspondence in which that illustrious personage is in any way however remotely or minutely implicated. How silly Miss Toulmin Smith is to have anything to do with him" (5 December 1880; LOA 256:54).

Ingleby will have something to do with both of them, for his *Shakespeare's Centurie of Prayse* (1874) was republished as *The Shakespeare Allusion Book* with added material by them. Halliwell sending extracts as well was an occasion for Ingleby to thank Halliwell for his and to add, "Of course Furnivall sent me his last, &, like a veritable cobbler, he will stick to it," and to report, "The good ship N.S.S. seems to be going to pieces: Wright, Grosart & Timmins have already resigned, the second having caught the infection & flared up like another director [...]. I am in correspondence with Browning on the condition of H.M.S. N.S.S. which, it is feared, will go to pieces on the Pigsbrook Rock" (16 February 1881; LOA 246:26). Although a loyal ally and, while a member of the New Shakspere Society, an important source of information, Ingleby was not always in agreement with Halliwell, even with regard to Pigsbrook. "Browning's view of the case is quite illogical," he wrote to Halliwell on 21 February 1881 (LOA 246:20). "He is an intellectual poet, quite innocent of logic, It is pity, for the `poor scholar' F. is quite touching." Ingleby was also independent on another subject which concerned them both, Furnivall's preface to a facsimile of the 1604 quarto of *Hamlet*. Halliwell held that the "first sketch theory is untenable" (7 January 1881; Folger C.a.11[26]), to which Ingleby replied on 12 January 1881 (LOA: 246:6): "If I understand yr conclusion, as to

'the first sketch' by Sh. of Hamlet, more or less represented by the Q 1603 I am quite against you. But so difficult do I find the investigation, that having (1) written my own essay – intended for Part II of *Sh. M & B* & (2) read the Harness Prize Essays, I have pitched my essay into the drawer reserved for unfinished articles, & doubt whether I shall not exclude it after all."

Although Furnivall was to dominate their correspondence, with Ingleby acting as sympathizer of Halliwell, fellow victim of Furnivall, and conveyer to Halliwell of the opinions and actions of other participants in the New Shakspere Society's turbulence, the scholarly exchanges did continue. Ingleby, in fact, was not satisfied with simply boosting Halliwell's morale with pleas and platitudes. He was actively engaged in assessing Halliwell's emerging *Outlines of the Life of Shakespeare,* the first edition of which appeared in 1881. Responding to Halliwell's comments on Spedding's use of metrical peculiarities to determine authorship (20 July 1881; Folger C.a.11[33]), Ingleby, on 21 July 1881 (LOA 246:11), offered direct and substantive advice, for "after recent correspondence with a lot of faultfinding & faultmaking critics, it is refreshing to correspd with one who is both sensible & courteous." "*Inprimis*" he starts right in,

let me ask you to add pp. 84 & 59 to yr index p. 191 'Metrical tests', the former containing yr admission that Sh. late in life conformed to the fashion of *much* use of final extra syllable: the latter to the most humorous passage in yr book. In the next place, please look at Sh. M & B pt. II p. 41-42 for my assertion of the order of evidences which is very like your own: & at p. 62-63 for Fleay's assertion that the order of percentages need not coincide with time-order – which I see agrees with yr views [...].
So you see that we are all at one as to objective evidences being the most important thing. Subject to these the qualitative evidences may be relied upon, merely as secondary: & subject to these are the quantitative: which are therefore the least important: though still worth working out.

After referring to Spedding and Spalding, Hickson and Hertzberg,

Fleay or Furnivallo Furioso, Ingram or Inglebon's Clement, he finds

one thing is assumed: & that is a thing that *we* all believe ourselves to see in *Hen VIII* as much as in *Pericles* or *Timon of Athens*: viz. that the speeches of *Hen VIII* are of two colours & textures, far beyond what is found in any undisputed work of Shakespeare: & that these differences do not correspond at all with the speaker or occasion. That being so, we hold it probable that there are two hands in it – or that it was written by Sh. at two very widely divided periods of his literary life. The latter is soon seen to be untenable: & then the former is assumed; & then, only, comes in the attempt to assign certain speeches to Fletcher. In my opinion, there is nothing in this procedure deserving your censure.

And so the correspondence continues, with news of mutual undertakings and exchanges of information, and reports of who's in and who's out, with concern and advice about health and family, and with Halliwell's increasing gratitude -- "You can hardly do me a greater favour than telling me of my blunders – if I don't hear of them I shall never get at exactness that I so much desire" (11 August 1882; Folger C.a.11[43]) – and dependence – "Such questionings are of the utmost importance to me, & I shall be glad of any more – being too apt to take things for granted" (26 August 1882; Folger C.a.11[46]. News of the outside world becomes increasingly welcome to the rusticated Halliwell. One instance was Ingleby's letter of [no day] February 1882 (LOA 259:3) from Scotland reporting, as Halliwell had requested (20 February 1882; Folger C.a.11[41]), on the collection which Halliwell had bequeathed to Edinburgh University library. "It is pleasant to hear that what I have sent you was of service," it began:

I found the books forming the Halliwell Collection in a transition state. Some were in the old quarters, some temporarily placed in another room; and some already occupying the shelves in the new-room. They are tenderly cared for by [John] Small: indeed my only fear is that they are too well looked after: or that after the Senate have

given their authority for the use of the cased books by students engaged in a special inquiry, unforeseen obstructs are interposed, & there are experienced great difficulties in using the books, at all. [Samuel] Neil asserts that your collection is almost useless under the present restrictions.

Halliwell's reply (8 March 1882; Folger C.a.11[42]) is cheerless:

With reference to my Shakespeare collection & its being so little used, there are probably few such students at Edinburgh. At all events, few or none of the leading writers there belong to their Shakespeare Society – but that perhaps may be because the President is not a man they care to *kneel* to!!!

While the fires of the Furnivall furnace were not forgotten but were subsiding, Halliwell and Ingleby were also drawn closer together in their function as Trustees of the Shakespeare Birthplace Trust. It was a time of exhilaration and frustration, beginning with high hopes and ending with bitter disappointment. Halliwell and Ingleby shared the problems. One was the resignation of the librarian, Bruce Tyndall, who had been recommended by Halliwell in connection with his plan to reorganize the library and museum. The matter was complex, but it was clear that it was but one of many instances of conflict between the Trustees and the Executive Committee composed of local authorities. Halliwell felt compelled to come to the aid of one he felt to be unfairly treated. He shared his anger with Ingleby: "For two years the Misses C [hattaway, the custodians], used to extol Tyndall to the skies, but the poor fellow managed to offend them, & since then ----!! That he was ever other than conscientious about the money is an insinuation that is most discreditable to the person [...]. A *more* honourable man than Tyndall *never* lived" (9 May 1883; LOA 287:69). He mentions other factors too, including what may have been Tyndall's "distracted state of mind," but nothing warranting throwing the blame put on him. Even his diagnosis to Ingleby of the conflict, while correct, falls short of its intensity: "It is a case exactly of this, A insults B and B in consequence writes a strong letter about A, whereupon A turns

round on B & says you're a pretty sort of fellow to write a letter like that – why you deserve to be insulted" (23 May 1883; Folger C.a.11[59]).

In his letter to Ingleby in defense of Tyndall (quoted above) Halliwell did find it "a tremendous comfort [...] to find that you will assist the Com[mitte]e in advising them about the [descriptive] Calendar [of the Records], & I am sure you will see your way clear to recommending a good calendarist." Well intentioned, the project was overshadowed by a conflict between Ingleby and the city fathers, one into which Halliwell could not avoid being drawn. In 1883 Ingleby proposed that Shakespeare's grave be opened, unleashing a volley of indignant protests and vehement denunciations. Although he felt that Ingleby had been "wantonly grossly & out of the mark insulted" (5 September 1883; Folger Y.c.1238[2]), Halliwell nevertheless opposed the undertaking in a temperately worded public letter of 1 September *To the Mayor and Corporation of Stratford-on-Avon* and an honest explanation to Ingleby: "feeling that if I did not move in the matter now at this critical stage silence would be misinterpreted into consent, &, having so many intimate friends in the Corporation, such implied consent might possibly do something towards carrying a motion in favour of a step which I feel certain would afterwards be regretted" (2 September 1883; Folger C.a.11[66]). Ingleby took Halliwell's opposition gracefully. "Your dignified & gentlemanly protest gave me far more pleasure, than annoyance at your opposition" (6 September 1883; LOA 267:27). Obviously hurt but ever civil, he went on to explain the "misrepresentation" of the position of the Vicar of Stratford and to express his puzzlement of the conduct of the Mayor of Stratford, who "has been *orating* as if I had been secretly manoevering to resurrectionize Shakespeare's remains at dead of night, & the Corporation had found me out!" "Meanwhile," he continued to Halliwell, "will you kindly write a line to any of the Aldermen whom you happen to know well, expressing your opinion as to what ought to be done, & what undoubtedly will have to be done – viz *retractation*." Having responded – "Tell me what you propose to do. If I can be of the least service in the

denunciation I need not say you have only to say the word" (5 September 1883; Folger Y.c.1238[2]) – Halliwell did send letters denouncing the "coarse & offensive" maligning of Ingleby. But Ingleby's attempt to "set matters right" did not succeed and the project was abandoned.

Like Halliwell, Ingleby was also interested in autotyping, and Halliwell offered to make available some of the negatives he had already produced and was careful to mention the restrictions – e.g. autotyping allowed only in Stratford – and the necessity of approval by the mayor (4 October 1883; Folger C.a.11[67]). On the same day (Folger C.a.11[68]) he enclosed a letter to help Ingleby get permission to do selected leaves from the diary of Thomas Greene in the museum. Not unexpectedly, there was resistance, notably from Charles Flower: "My autotypes," Ingleby informed Halliwell, doubtless aware of the production fees, "must be *all* or none" (12 October 1883; LOA 276:43). While Ingleby continued to seek approval – on 20 December 1883; LOA 276:11) he was lamenting that the S. P. C. of the Stratford Town Council "have rescinded the Resolution conceding me permission to autotype Greene's Diary: & have appointed a Record Committee. So we are as we were" – and the Tyndall affair was still brewing, Halliwell was having his own problems with the autotyping and, once again, with Flower. What followed was a blistering battle of words, letters, pamphlets, newspaper articles, appeals, soft and stern, by friends and colleagues. Neither Samuel Timmins's attempt at mediation if not reconciliation (5 January 1884; LOA 287:29), nor Ingleby's appraisal, "I really don't think the game (as *bird*) worth the powder, nor (as *play*) worth the candle" (29 February 1884; LOA 287:73), could controvert Halliwell's rigid position. "Kindly recollect that the Committee's statement was censorious against me, & absolutely demanded a vigorous exposure," he answered Ingleby, "it is nothing to the rodding I could give them" (2 March 1884; Folger C.a.11[80]).

For Halliwell it was not a simple private quarrel, "though it turns on semi-public affairs," as Ingleby had judged in advising Halliwell not to be "so vehement, or so sarcastic" (29 February 1884; LOA 287:73). For Halliwell it was a cause, a battle against

the unjust and oligarchical, personified in "His Imperial Majesty Charles the Third of Stratford" (12 January 1884; Folger C.a.11[78]). As it turned out, it was a battle which was not about his being charged with not obeying the rules for autotyping or not so much against Charles Flower or the ignorance and greed of some citizens of Stratford; it was more even than an attempt to defend his personal dignity and professional accomplishments. Halliwell's greatest obstacle was his unattainable dream of protecting what *was* – Stratford in the lifetime of Shakespeare. A breach with contemporary Stratford was inevitable. "The more I think of it," he wrote to George Boyden (1 October 1887; Folger W.b.90[81]), "the more I see the impossibility, even under the most encouraging conditions, of my taking in the future any active part in the Shakespearean deliberations of your town." What had begun with passion and high expectation – "Only fancy my working again at the Record Office as hard as ever," he had exclaimed on 24 April 1880 (Folger C.a.11[18]) to Ingleby in planning a visit to Stratford – ended in bitter disappointment covered over with sad resignation: "I've nothing to gain from S.O.A. & can better support the real Shakespn interests as an independent critic," he confessed in a letter to Frederick Haines (10 May 1888; Folger W.b.90[103]).

The troubles both Halliwell and Ingleby were having in Stratford did not deter them from pursuing their exchange of information and support on various other projects. In the 1880s Halliwell was producing the crown of his career, *Outlines of the Life of Shakespeare*, issuing a new edition each year from a first in 1881 to a seventh in 1887, along with some sixty-one other publications. Although the battles in Stratford accounted for a large portion of their correspondence and energy, the development of the *Outlines* was a constant theme. As Halliwell admitted to Ingleby even after three editions had already appeared, "All my own notes are on tens of thousands of unsorted slips in 8 large drawers, impossible of reference – I work on one subject at a time. My Outlines are merely beginnings" (22 December 1883; Folger C.a.11[76]. With his customary passion for precision, a constant complement to Halliwell's copiousness,

Ingleby did not hesitate to put questions or point out corrections, which suggestions Halliwell cheerfully greeted, "not [being] such an old noodle as to dislike owning to error" (29 October 1884; Folger C.a.11[89]), doubtless encouraged by Ingleby's assessment of the fourth edition as a "monument of scholarship and learning" (13 August 1884; LOA 274:34). And the correcting of errors was not all, for there was also the scrutinizing and discussion of the structure and reception of the work. Halliwell's bare two-page indexes to the first five editions were a constant source of irritation to many, especially Ingleby, who badgered Halliwell for years about their inadequacy, causing Halliwell to concede:

Your previous complaints about the want of an index to Outlines did not fall on heedless ears. I had not intended to say anything about it, but astonish you in the 5th ed. as with a display of fireworks! When you next come here you will see a folio volume of MS. Index in preparation & being done in a careful manner, but I need not say that I shall be most thankful for your suggestions. It is no easy matter to decide on some of the entries, & there are many that I shall be anxious to consult you about (3 September 1884; Folger C.a.11[88]).

A year later, he was still at work. "I felt that I could not even bring myself to copy out & arrange the elaborate index I have so nearly completed," he assured Ingleby. "It [the 5th edition] is now all done & off my mind, & I must try & not think of it or its subject for a few months" (19 June 1885; Folger C.a.11[107]). In the sixth edition of 1886 he replaced the two-page index with a detailed fourteen-page Biographical Index.

For his part Halliwell took an active and encouraging interest in Ingleby's work. Although not given to hyperbole, on 14 January 1882 (Folger C.a.11[38]) he encouraged Ingleby to keep working on his "engrafted-in-your-nature Shakespeare Studies," ranking among the "two most able & valuable books in the whole range of Shakespeareana – Malone's Enquiry & your Shakspere Controversy." On 20 June 1883 (Folger C.a.11[62]) he praised Ingleby's "marvellously able book [...] Shakespeare Hersomething very hard word indeed. I forget how to spell it." Ingleby's *Centurie*

of Prayse he considered a "book of enormous use" (27 May 1884; Folger C.a.11[84]), referring to it as a "glorious volume" [...] one of the most important Shakespeare books truly ever published [...]. You have opened new views & new ideas for sensible discussion" (16 May 1885; Folger C.a.11[105]). And both supported each other with a common and steady interest in the matter of forgery. On 20 March 1878 (LOA 241:39) Ingleby informed Halliwell that he was to read a paper to the Royal Society of Literature on the Ireland forgeries. Commenting on the fact that the invaluable Malone's *Enquiry* and Ingleby's *Shakspere Controversy* "should both spring from the perpetuation of forgeries," Halliwell urged Ingleby to look at forgery in the Revels' manuscripts in the Record Office (14 January 1882; Folger C.a.11[38]). On 25 May 1883 (Folger C.a.11[60]) he mentions the "erroneous idea," based on the "abominable forgeries of Chetwood," that Thomas Greene was a Stratford poet. On 19 June 1885 (Folger C.a.11[107]) he informed Ingleby that he wants to discuss another forger, and on 8 July 1885 (Folger C.a.11[108] that he wants to show Ingleby the "forgery papers."

Inseparable from such professional matters was the increasing concern with health. Halliwell's letters to Ingleby in the 1880s are confessional, at once a portrait and an outlet: In one of his "impossible-to-study moods [...] the least brainwork makes me irritable & depressed – *though I carefully refrain from saying anything about it here,*" he confided to Ingleby in a letter marked "*Private*" (2 August 1883; Folger C.a.11[64]). Because of his depression he was "practically confined to the house & copse" (11 April 1885; Folger C.a.11[102]). Suffering from "something very like nervous exhaustion," he was compelled to wind up the fifth edition of his *Outlines* very hurriedly, hardly able to copy out the laboriously compiled index (19 June 1885; Folger C.a.11[107]). Added to the many anxious references to mental and general health are also mentions of specific ailments. There were the constantly recurring headaches that plagued Halliwell over the years (2 March 1884; Folger C.a.11[80]). Ingleby's "life is a burden to me" (22 March 1885; LOA 285:10) is specified three days later:

"The left eye is, I fear, permanently injured" (25 March 1885; LOA 298:76). Suffering from an attack of gout, Halliwell chuckles to Ingleby: "the first time in my life that I have ever felt that I belonged to the fashionable world!!" (27 November 1885; Folger C.a.11 [109]). Two months later he called it a "most *goutrageous* nuisance" (24 January 1886; Folger Y.d.5[69b]). His anxiety about Ingleby's health led Halliwell to mention having just had a "severe attack of muscular rheumatism" (26 July 1886; Folger C.a.15[5]), which, despite the good derived from his having been "ordered away for change [...] has left traces not easily to be obliterated" (16 September 1886; Folger C.a.15[7]). Bringing them even closer together was their sharing the same illnesses. Commiserating with Ingleby's rupture, Halliwell reported: "I am obliged to be bandaged up similarly (for hydrocele not for rupture) & found it insufferable at first, but after *various alterations* & going to a first-class surgical instrument maker (Weiss in the Strand) I can now walk as well with it as without it" (20 October 1883; Folger C.a.11[70]). "Like you," Ingleby wrote to Halliwell (17 September 1886; LOA 296:55), "the rheumatism, which I thought I had wholly dislodged has reappeared." The harmony of the two men of very different qualities and similar interests was based not a little on their age. Over the years the mutual concern about each other's health was a way of mutual support and encouragement. Commenting on Ingleby's health, Halliwell urged him to "Recollect that the slightly creaky people as a rule live the longest, while the exercise of your vigorous & logical intellect will in itself tend to prolong life" (14 January 1882; Folger C.a.11[38]). Commenting on Ingleby's health and his own, he philosophized cheerfully: "What a life of ups and downs this is! And anyhow there are always the Downs here!" (28 May 1885; Folger C.a.11[106]). It is only in this context that the depth of their relationship can be understood. Having mentioned that his rheumatism "fortunately [...] is slight, & is confined to the right shoulder," Ingleby confided: "I have regained a good deal of my lost strength, & dine out every day. But the urethra & bladder trouble is very far from being got rid of. I still suffer a great deal, & in one respect I think I have gone back a little. *Time* only will

affect a cure, or anything like it. Indeed, I do not expect ever to be right again." And yet he continues: "I am just now looking over the Junius question – Like all who have done so – I think I have spotted the key to the intricate problem. But as a late mathematical tutor used to say 'I may be wrong, and I probably am! But in my *own* mind I am assured' etc etc. I shall give N. & Q. the benefit of my little speculation" (17 September 1886; LOA 296:55).

Moved, Halliwell added in his own hand, "His last letter to me. He died on the 26 Sept. Alas!" Ingleby's daughter, Rose, thanked him for joining in "our bitter sorrow" and asked for his help in collecting a volume of his verses (2 October 1886; LOA 296:55) and advice on collecting his essays (16 October 1886; LOA 300:22). He offered to assist with Ingleby's library, but Rose replied that "we do not contemplate parting with my father's books" (10 October 1886; LOA 295:40). What Halliwell actually wrote in joining in the "bitter sorrow" is not known. But in reply to a request from Lucy Toulmin Smith, who had heard of the death of his "old friend," for "anything you would like to express on his writing or character that [she] might quote," having been asked to say a few words at Ovingdean near Brighton, Halliwell added a sketch of his reply (2 October 1886: LOA 297:15):

As you anticipated I followed my oldest Shaksn friend yesterday to his grave in the pretty little retired churchyard of Ovingdean, – a friend whose uniform kindnesses during many years I shall ever remember with gratitude, & whose many noble qualities endeared him to a large circle. He was I need not say one of the acutest workers in Shakn criticism, his success in that department being distinguished by an infinite love of truth & fairness.

Truth and fairness marked their relationship too. And it is with dignified respect for them that he strongly urged Ingleby's son, Holcombe, to let Samuel Timmins write Ingleby's biography:[123]

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[123]Timmins's sympathetic appraisal had appeared under the auspices of the Shakespeare Society of New York as "In Memoriam: C. M. Ingleby,"

It has often been remarked that, as a rule, a person's biography is least satisfactorily drawn up by a relative, & that the nearer the kinship the more unsatisfactory the result. If you will kindly forgive the remark – you have asked for candour – your ably-written paper does not seem to me to be an exception. There are several things that would I think be better omitted altogether most unquestionably the account of your Father's withdrawal from the NSS – a matter now forgotten & making too much of a mere nobody – also the legal mistakes – also other anecdotes; & above all I feel sure that on reflection you will see that it does not do him perfect justice. It is the old story – a son wishing to appear before the public as an unbiassed biographer not saying as much as one who has no fear of accusation of partiality (6 July 1887; Folger W.b.84[41]).

A full biography never appeared. Instead, citing as sources a biographical sketch in the monthly local magazine *Edgbastonia,*[124] Timmins's memoir, and private information, Holcombe authored the *DNB* article which appeared in 1891. Halliwell's urgent appeal may well have had an effect, for there is no trace of the contentiousness which Halliwell feared might not do "perfect justice" to the person and memory of his treasured old friend.

Shakespeariana 3:36 (1886), 543-47.
[124]3:25 (May 1883 [erroneously in the *DNB* as 1886]), 64-68.

AFTERWORD

Halliwell's seventeen friends were but a fraction of his correspondents.[125] They were important, to be sure, but a comprehensive history of Shakespearean scholarship in the nineteenth century would also have to give some measured attention to the foot soldiers, those who gave shape and volume to the societies and the propagation of their activities. Among them certainly might be the council members of Collier's Shakespeare Society: Thomas Amyot, John Bruce, Thomas, Campbell, G. L. Craik, Peter Cunningham, William Harness, W. J. Thoms, Thomas Wright, and A. H. Bullen. And to such active members of Furnivall's New Shakspere Society as Richard Simpson, John Ingram, James Spedding, Benjamin Nicholson, William Spalding, and E. A. Abbott, not to mention a dozen or so of its sixty-six vice presidents, including as well others from Europe and the United States. Not to be overlooked too are representatives of the book trade, such as booksellers, and printers like John Russell Smith and E. W. Ashbee. And Shakespeare being the magnet he was, poets and critics who were not principally Shakespeareans, such as Coleridge and Matthew Arnold, must have a place beside Swinburne and Browning.

Still, from the Shakespearean constellation of Halliwell and his seventeen friends certain outlines of Shakespearean scholarship emerge. With few exceptions the major Shakespeareans during the reign of Victoria were members of one or the other Shakespeare society and inescapably influenced if not dominated by the powerful founders, Collier and Furnivall. There

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[125]In the Edinburgh collection alone there were 263 who wrote eight or more letters to Halliwell.

were quarrels and dissension, to be sure. But even the scandals evolving from Collier's forgeries and Furnivall's irascibility could not dim the aims and accomplishments of the societies. In fact. it is not without a certain irony that Collier's fatal fascination with old texts should coincide with his society's role as book-publishing club, issuing between 1841 and 1852 reprints and editions of forty-three early plays and treatises (not including two announced as in preparation). "Reprints for ever!" was his avowed motto. And it is not surprising that Furnivall, founder of the Early English Text Society, should consider the publication of texts a prime objective of his New Shakspere Society and publish six series of relevant Shakespearean material: Plays, Originals and Analogues, Allusion Books, Shakespeare's England, English Mysteries, and Miscellanies. Both societies were reflecting the century's lust for exploration or, more precisely perhaps, literary archaeology, the discovery of textual artefacts considered exemplary of the nation's history and culture. And if that might be deemed patriotic, so too would be their propagation and dissemination. Societies and clubs flourished countrywide. The minutes of the discussions of their members, professional and amateur, were often published.[126] In short, networks were constituted, letters were exchanged, opinions were put forward and challenged. The members, in a word, were ready and willin'.

At least if the abundance of editions of Shakespeare is a criterion, Halliwell's was one; of his seventeen friends, there were eleven more. Together, these were but a minute particle of nineteenth-century editions, albeit a striking sum when one remembers that English literature as a school or university subject did not exist officially until the last quarter of the century. For this reason or others, editions of Shakespeare were more or less personal matters. Halliwell and friends agreed on certain elements, especially the importance of the early texts, quartos and the First Folio, and hence their engagement in the production of

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[126]See, for example, Philippa Levine, *The Amateur and the Professional: Antiquarians, Historians and Archaeologists in Victorian England, 1838-1886* (Cambridge, 1986).

facsimiles of pertinent early texts. But in their own editions they were individual and independent. There were no agreed-upon theoretical guidelines. In their correspondence there is mainly discussion of certain readings or sources, but relatively little in the way of editorial criteria or principles. Dyce's response to the appearance of the first volume of the groundbreaking *Cambridge Edition* (ed. W. G. Clark and W. A. Wright, 9 vols., 1863-66) was not untypical: "I was in terrors at the *Cambridge Shakespeare*, till I saw the first vol., and found, to my great pleasure & utter astonishment, that it presents an almost uncorrected text, – wretched in the extreme. In fact, it is a *mumpsimus* edition with hieroglyphical notes" (8 May 1863; LOA 96:45). Equally not untypical, Halliwell's contrary opinion – "it is likely to be [...] the most useful one to the scholar and intelligent reader which has yet appeared" – is not just an expression of his relief that his own edition, also in nine volumes, had little to fear, but, willy-nilly, an acknowledgment of the freedom, so to speak, of editors. As Clark put it in thanking Halliwell for his interest, he was "especially glad to know that you regard us not as intruders and rivals, but as fellow-labourers in the same field, which is wide enough for all" (23 May 1864; LOA 87:37). Imperative was mainly the editor's duty to reproduce and judiciously add relevant touches based on genuine literary archaeological data. Competition was expected and accepted; criticism was never failing and not always tame.

Further, it might be said of both societies that they were as much note- or essay-publishing journals as book-publishing clubs. Their focus was in many ways similar to that of the letters of Halliwell's Shakespearean constellation. "From first to last, *The* [*Shakespeare Society*'s] *Papers* were a popular expedient for the accumulation and dissemination of short scholarly ana [...]. In every volume [of the four-volume series, thirty-eight authors of ninety-two articles] contributed their bibliographical skills and their typographical and historical knowledge to clarify passages in Shakespeare."[127] In essence Collier's club was anticipating for Shakespeare studies a kind of *Notes and Queries* – which,

[127]Stoler, pp. 207-209.

incidentally, appeared a few years later, in 1849, edited by W. J. Thoms, a founding member of the society – dedicated to questions of canon, readings, allusions, and such-like. The contributions were not read or discussed, but, as Collier made clear in the preface, were printed "to afford a receptacle for papers illustrative of our early drama and stage, none of which, by themselves, would be of sufficient length and importance to form a separate publication." Furnivall went farther. His impatience with the world around him, his obsessive desire to set things right, led him to organize societies and to do them properly and differently. Unlike Collier's *Papers*, which were not a record of the society's transactions, Furnivall's *Transactions*, amounting to four weighty volumes consisting of papers read and discussed from 1874 to 1892, constituted a kind of journal of Shakespearean matter – in effect, the first of its kind in England and, given Furnivall's admiration of German scholarship and organization, a hint of an attempt to match the *Jahrbuch* of the Deutsche Shakespeare-Gesellschaft, whose first number appeared in 1865. That Furnivall considered the *Transactions* as a periodical *cum* society party-line is evident in his prefatory announcement that its "comparatively new line of Shaksperian study" may "suggest to the management of our Branch Societies some things perhaps to imitate and some things probably to avoid." Its discussions and reports constituted as well a kind of debating club and as such a forum of national dimension.

It is not too much to say that the two societies and their members accounted for the bulk, development, and propagation of Shakespeare scholarship in England in the nineteenth century. Literary archaeology, the gathering and evaluation of textual artefacts, was persistent and unending: Halliwell's seventh and last edition of the *Outlines of the Life of Shakespeare* (1887), its scholarship covering much of the reign of Victoria, had no satisfactory index – for him the last stone could perhaps never be turned over. This may appear static but was in effect the fundament for the dynamics of the last quarter of the century. Like all other disciplines, but only later, Shakespeare scholarship under Furnivall responded to the existential reverberations of

Darwinism and the positivistic pressures of science, industry, and empire. However Furnivall's "new line" is defined and whatever its limitations, what is undeniable is that it shook up Shakespeare scholarship. Only wisps of the substantive upheaval are to be found in the correspondence of Halliwell's Shakespearean constellation. Much is submerged in the personal irritations and quarrels which fill the letters. But the upheaval is there nevertheless, despite attempts at reconciliation, one of which was Dowden's *Shakspere: A Critical Study of His Mind and Art,* appearing just a year after the first *Transactions*, and for many the most important work of the last quarter of the century.

Whether or not the coexistence of the two approaches amounted to "an earlier manifestation of what we now call the 'two cultures'," [128] is moot. What is clear is that by the end of the reign of Queen Victoria the two great Shakespeare societies were gone and not replaced. There was no noticeable development of the institutionalization in England of Shakespeare studies which Furnivall sought in his unabashed emulation of Germany's national Shakespeare-Gesellschaft. Instead, there was in 1906 a constitution of the broader-based English Association, which seems to have absorbed the prominent Shakespeareans of the day, A. C. Bradley, F. S. Boas, Israel Gollancz, and Sidney Lee having been among its founders. Of Halliwell's Shakespearean constellation only five were still alive: Swinburne, who died in 1908, Fleay in 1909, Furnivall in 1910, Dowden in 1913, and Lee in 1926. The "higher criticism," misunderstood but passionately exhorted by Furnivall, did not find fertile soil in England.[129] In the first quarter of the twentieth century it was Lee who may be said to have been the most eminent Shakespearean of the day. But he was vulnerable. As representative of what might be called an old school, especially for his work on and facsimiles of the First Folio in 1902 and five quartos in 1905, he came under attack from a

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[128]Aron Y. Stavisky, *Shakespeare and the Victorians* (Norman, Oklahoma, 1969), p. viii.

[129]See Marvin Spevack, "Furnivall, Gervinus, and the Germanization of the New Shakspere Society," *The Shakespeare Newsletter* (Spring 2002), 3-4.

new troop of bibliographers, including W. W. Greg, R. B. McKerrow, and A. W. Pollard, who brought with them if not a more scientific then surely a more refined methodology. Whether they were somehow a derivative of the one of the "cultures" of the last quarter of the previous century or whether the appearance of A. C. Bradley's luminous *Shakespearean Tragedy* in 1904 was also one is likewise moot. And what of the younger Shakespeareans active in the last quarter of the old century who rose to prominence in the new, such as the academics, like E. K. Chambers, or the theater-practitioners, like Harley Granville-Barker? Be all that as it may, what is undeniable is that Halliwell's Shakespearean constellation, like the world itself, was in revolution,[130] gone but hardly to be forgotten.

[130]For a general overview, see *Shakespeare in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. Gail Marshall (Cambridge, 2012). For one rendition of the revolution see Gary Taylor, *Reinventing Shakespeare: A Cultural History, from the Restoration to the Present* (New York, 1989), especially Chapters 4 and 5; for another, Hugh Grady, *The Modernist Shakespeare: Critical Texts in a Material World* (Oxford, 1991), especially Chapter 1, "Modernizing Shakespeare: The Rise of Professionalism"; and, for still another, Howard Felperin, "Bardolatry Then and Now," in *The Appropriation of Shakespeare*, ed. Jean I. Marsden (New York, 1991), pp. 129-144.

A Shakespearean Constellation: J. O. Halliwell-Phillipps and Friends

Marvin Spevack

The history of Shakespeare scholarship in the nineteenth century has not been written. But there can be no doubt that its sustaining force was an irrepressible and burgeoning national consciousness. England boomed. It celebrated its heroes and venerated the greatest of them all, Shakespeare. Shakespeare scholarship flourished across the nation. Editions of the complete works abounded. There were ambitious Shakespeare societies and scores of local clubs. Stratford-upon-Avon was resurrected, refitted, and consecrated. Much of the activity is evident from the perspective of James Orchard Halliwell-Phillipps, whose fifty-year literary career may be said to constitute the bookends of Shakespearean scholarship in the nineteenth century. He was a center around which many satellites revolved and intercommunicated, revealing personalities of individuals, the nature of the relationships, their critical dispositions and politics, and in effect constituting in nuce the dimension and surge of Shakespeare scholarship of the age. It is the purpose of this archival research to make available detail and color for the comprehensive narrative that remains to be written.

ISBN 978-3-8405-0078-7 EUR 15,50
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