

## THE SHAKESPEAREAN FOREST

*The Shakespearean Forest*, Anne Barton's final book, uncovers the pervasive presence of woodland in early modern drama, revealing its persistent imaginative power. The collection is representative of the startling breadth of Barton's scholarship: ranging across plays by Shakespeare (including *Titus Andronicus*, *As You Like It*, *Macbeth* and *Timon of Athens*) and his contemporaries (including Jonson, Dekker, Lyly, Massinger and Greene), it also considers court pageants, treatises on forestry and chronicle history. Barton's incisive literary analysis characteristically pays careful attention to the practicalities of performance, and is supplemented by numerous illustrations and a bibliographical essay examining recent scholarship in the field.

Prepared for publication by Hester Lees-Jeffries, featuring a Foreword by Adrian Poole and an Afterword by Peter Holland, the book explores the forest as a source of cultural and psychological fascination, embracing and illuminating its mysteriousness.

ANNE BARTON was the author of *Essays, Mainly Shakespearean*, *Byron: Don Juan*, *The Names of Comedy*, *Ben Jonson, Dramatist* and (as Anne Righter) *Shakespeare and the Idea of the Play*, as well as many essays and introductions. In 2000, she retired as Professor of English at the University of Cambridge, where she was a Fellow of Trinity College; she had previously been a Fellow of New College, Oxford, and Girton College, Cambridge, and was a Fellow of the British Academy. From the 1960s onwards, her work had a profound influence on the Royal Shakespeare Company and the performance and academic study of early modern drama more generally. Anne Barton died in 2013.

HESTER LEES-JEFFRIES is University Lecturer in English at the University of Cambridge, and a Fellow of St Catharine's College.

PETER HOLLAND is McMeel Family Professor in Shakespeare Studies at the University of Notre Dame.

ADRIAN POOLE is Emeritus Professor of English Literature at the University of Cambridge, and a Fellow of Trinity College.

# THE SHAKESPEAREAN FOREST

ANNE BARTON

*Emeritus Professor of English, University of Cambridge  
Fellow of Trinity College*



**CAMBRIDGE**  
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge University Press  
978-0-521-57344-3 – The Shakespearean Forest  
Anne Barton  
Frontmatter  
[More Information](#)

## CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom  
One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA  
477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia  
4843/24, 2nd Floor, Ansari Road, Daryaganj, Delhi – 110002, India  
79 Anson Road, #06-04/06, Singapore 079906

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.  
It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of  
education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

[www.cambridge.org](http://www.cambridge.org)  
Information on this title: [www.cambridge.org/9780521573443](http://www.cambridge.org/9780521573443)  
DOI: 10.1017/9781139015257

© Anne Barton 2017

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception  
and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements,  
no reproduction of any part may take place without the written  
permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2017

Printed in the United Kingdom by Clays, St Ives plc

*A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library.*

ISBN 978-0-521-57344-3 Hardback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of  
URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication  
and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain,  
accurate or appropriate.

Cambridge University Press  
978-0-521-57344-3 — The Shakespearean Forest  
Anne Barton  
Frontmatter  
[More Information](#)

---

*To James Carley*

## Contents

<i>List of Figures</i>	page viii
<i>Foreword by Adrian Poole</i>	xi
<i>Editor's Note by Hester Lees-Jeffries</i>	xv
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	xvii
1 Into the Woods	i
2 Staging the Forest	21
3 The Wild Man in the Forest	48
4 'Like the Old Robin Hood of England'	70
5 The Forest and the City	93
6 Let the Forest Judge	116
<i>Afterword: Anne Barton (1933–2013) by Peter Holland</i>	138
<i>Further Reading</i>	159
<i>Index</i>	183

## Figures

- |   |  |         |
|---|--|---------|
| 1 | Inigo Jones, design for <i>Britannia Triumphans</i> (1637).<br>Photo: Courtauld Institute of Art. © Devonshire Collection,<br>Chatsworth. Reproduced by permission of Chatsworth<br>Settlement Trustees.                   | page 26 |
| 2 | Inigo Jones, design for <i>Salmacida Spolia</i> (1640). Photo:<br>Courtauld Institute of Art. © Devonshire Collection,<br>Chatsworth. Reproduced by permission of Chatsworth<br>Settlement Trustees.                       | 26      |
| 3 | Inigo Jones, two unidentified masque designs. Photo:<br>Courtauld Institute of Art. © Devonshire Collection,<br>Chatsworth. Reproduced by permission of Chatsworth<br>Settlement Trustees.                                 | 27      |
| 4 | Adriaen van der Venne, Interior of a circus, from <i>Tafereel<br/>van de Belacchende Werelt</i> (The Hague, 1635). © The Trustees<br>of the British Museum. All rights reserved.   | 37      |
| 5 | Lincolnshire, from Michael Drayton, <i>Poly-Olbion</i> (1612).<br>Reproduced by kind permission of the Syndics of Cambridge<br>University Library.   | 41      |
| 6 | Henry Peacham, 'Silvius', from <i>Minerva Britanna</i> (1612).<br>By permission of University of Glasgow Library, Special<br>Collections.  | 50      |
| 7 | Albrecht Dürer, <i>The Knight, Death, and the Devil</i> (1513).<br>The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick<br>Fund, 1943 (Accession Number 43.106.2). All rights reserved,<br>The Metropolitan Museum of Art. | 52      |
| 8 | Hans Burgmair, <i>The Fight in the Forest</i> (c. 1503). Ailsa Mellon<br>Bruce Fund, Image © 2005 Board of Trustees, National<br>Gallery of Art, Washington.   | 54      |

*List of Figures*

	ix
9 Alexander the Great burning a wild man, from <i>Le livre et la vraie histoire du bon roy Alixandre</i> . BL MS Royal 20 B XX, By permission of the British Library.	55
10 'The Masquerade of Valentine and Orson' (1566), after Pieter Brueghel, <i>The Combat between Carnival and Lent</i> . The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1926 (Accession Number 26.72.45). All rights reserved, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.	58
11 Middlesex, from John Norden, <i>Speculum Britanniae: An Historical and Chorographical Description of Middlesex and Hertfordshire</i> (1723). Reproduced by kind permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library.	98
12 Hertfordshire, from John Norden, <i>Speculum Britanniae: An Historical and Chorographical Description of Middlesex and Hertfordshire</i> (1723). Reproduced by kind permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library.	104
13 Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher, <i>Philaster</i> (1620). RB 60604, The Huntington Library, San Marino, California.	111
14 Middlesex and Hertfordshire, from Michael Drayton, <i>Poly-Olbion</i> (1612). Reproduced by kind permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library.	113

## *Foreword*

*by Adrian Poole*

*The Shakespearean Forest* had its genesis in lectures, first the Northcliffe lectures at University College London in 1994, then the Trinity College Clark lectures at Cambridge University in 2003. Anne Barton gave many distinguished lectures throughout her long career and received many honours. She did not share Falstaff's scorn for honour (or honours); indeed she relished it (and them), including the Fellowship that Trinity conferred on her in 1986 after her return to Cambridge. Having retired from her University Chair in 2000, she was particularly pleased by the invitation to develop material that had gone into the earlier set of lectures, on a subject so close to her heart. It is not unprecedented for a Fellow of Trinity to take up the Clark lectureship, but it is rare. In 1953 G. M. Trevelyan, recently retired from being Master, delivered his reflections on 'A Layman's Love of Letters'.

We owe the Clark lectures to the generosity of William George Clark (1821–78), Fellow of Trinity College from 1844 until his death, serving as public orator of the University and as Vice-Master of the College. His most enduring achievement was the Cambridge Shakespeare (1863–6), co-edited with John Glover, then with W. Aldis Wright, first published in three volumes (1863–6). The subsequent one-volume Globe edition (1864) was for many years the standard edition of Shakespeare across the world.

Clark's bequest was designed for lectures 'on some aspect or period of English Literature'. They were inaugurated in 1884 when Sir Leslie Stephen spoke on 'Addison and Pope'. For the first dozen years, lecturers were appointed for three-year periods and required to deliver twelve lectures a year. In 1897, they became in principle an annual affair, though there has been the occasional gap, notably the six years from 1915 to 1921. Stephen was followed by other late-Victorian luminaries, including Edward Dowden and Edmund Gosse, whose 1885 publication *From Shakespeare to Pope* (based on lectures delivered the previous autumn) attracted notoriously hostile attention from John Churton Collins for its slipshod

scholarship. (Henry James said that Gosse had ‘a genius for inaccuracy’, and James was a *friend*.) The interwar years boasted some speakers whose names still reverberate powerfully, such as T. S. Eliot (‘The Metaphysical Poetry of the Seventeenth Century’, 1926)<sup>1</sup> and E. M. Forster (‘Aspects of the Novel’, 1927), and other significant figures, including Walter de la Mare and Harley Granville-Barker. Since 1945, there has been a stream of eminent scholars and critics, including G. Wilson Knight, F. R. Leavis, I. A. Richards, Geoffrey H. Hartman, Jerome McGann, Christopher Ricks, V. A. Kolve, Helen Vendler, Frank Kermode and Mary Carruthers; and of writers, some no less distinguished for their creative than for their critical work (and vice-versa), including C. Day Lewis, Robert Graves, Louis MacNeice, L. P. Hartley, Stephen Spender, William Empson, Donald Davie, Tom Stoppard, Toni Morrison, John Hollander, Adrienne Rich, Seamus Heaney and Paul Muldoon. Many of the lectures have resulted in or contributed to subsequent publications such as Muriel Bradbrook’s *Shakespeare the Craftsman* (1969), David Piper’s *The Image of the Poet* (1982) and Geoffrey Hill’s *The Enemy’s Country* (1991).

In recent years, topics have ranged liberally beyond the confines of English literature as Clark, Stephen and Gosse and their late-Victorian audiences would have understood them to encompass ‘Irony and Solidarity’ (Richard Rorty, 1987), ‘Grace, Necessity and Imagination’: Catholic Philosophy and the Twentieth-Century Artist’ (Rowan Williams, 2005), ‘Imaging Colour’ (Elaine Scarry, 2007) and ‘Becoming Freud: the Psychoanalyst and the Biographer’ (Adam Phillips, 2014). The lectureship has provided hospitality for scholars and critics with bases in disciplines other than literature and languages other than English, reflecting the permeability of boundaries and the readiness to cross them that characterizes the condition of work in the humanities in the late twentieth- and early twenty-first centuries.

Nevertheless, in the course of well over a century of Clark lectures, there has been a continuing emphasis on recognizably traditional ‘aspects’ of English literature, amongst which Shakespeare has recurred with unsurprising frequency. Anne Barton’s lectures on ‘The Shakespearean Forest’ take their place in a lineage that includes her mentor Muriel Bradbrook (1968), and contemporaries and colleagues including

<sup>1</sup> In his edition of Eliot’s *The Varieties of Metaphysical Poetry*, the Clark lectures at Trinity College, Cambridge, 1926, and the Turnbull lectures at the Johns Hopkins University, 1933 (London: Faber and Faber, 1993), Ronald Schuchard has a helpful Appendix (II), listing the Clark lecturers and their subjects from 1884 to 1993, pp. 319–22.

Barbara Everett ('Getting Things Wrong: Tragi-comic Shakespeare', 1989), Stephen Orgel ('Imagining Shakespeare', 1996) and Quentin Skinner ('Shakespearean Invention', 2012). Further back in time, though not necessarily thereby exempt from Anne's capacity for incisive judgment, we find lecturers turning readily to Shakespeare in the decades before World War I, and again in the quarter-century from 1925 onwards, including John Middleton Murry ('Keats and Shakespeare', 1925), W. W. Greg ('The Editorial Problem in Shakespeare', 1939), John Dover Wilson ('The Fortunes of Falstaff', 1943) and F. P. Wilson ('Marlowe and the Early Shakespeare', 1951). Other well-known Shakespeareans who chose not to speak specifically or exclusively on Shakespeare include E. M. W. Tillyard (1960), G. Wilson Knight (1960) and L. C. Knights (1971).

Anne Barton was not the first woman to give the Clark lectures. In 1932, Virginia Woolf was invited to do so, but declined, so the honour went to Helen Darbishire in 1949 when she spoke on 'The Poet Wordsworth'. Nor was Anne the first woman Fellow of Trinity (as she had been the first woman Fellow of New College Oxford). Nevertheless, as a senior figure from outside Cambridge, her admission to Trinity's Fellowship in 1986 was of historic importance. Her intellectual and personal authority helped pave the way for a significant increase in the number of women Fellows in the 1990s and beyond.

Trinity had to work quite hard to get her. In 1984, she took up the Grace 2 Chair in the Faculty of English, but it was two years later before she became a Fellow of the College. This hiatus was required by a University rule then governing the number of professors from outside its Fellowship that a College could appoint. There was a way round this quota if the College was prepared to wait for two years and lodge the immigrant in a virtual antechamber, or as Anne herself called it, in *purdah*. Trinity found a convenient holding station on the Hills Road for Anne and another exotic professor from outside Cambridge in the same boat, an electrical engineer named Alec Broers. Rumour had it that Anne entertained the future Vice-Chancellor by reciting Shakespearean sonnets over the breakfast counter. Rumour is probably false, but it is something of which Anne was perfectly capable.

Between 1986 and 2003, Anne was a big presence in College life. She was always a charismatic teacher and she remained so until near the end, not suffering the foolish or indolent gladly, if at all, but inspiring the eager and impressionable. Like many others, I had myself been one such youth, back in the late 1960s, sitting at her feet on the Sidgwick Site, and listening to

her rapid, impassioned, beautifully cadenced lectures. After retirement from her University Chair, and more particularly after the Clark lectures three years later, Anne did not much move out of her elegant rooms in Trinity's Nevile's Court, but she continued to teach, to entertain friends and colleagues from near at hand and all over the globe, to write for the *New York Review of Books* and to work on *The Shakespearean Forest*.

It is wonderful that through the commitment of Hester Lees-Jeffries and the encouragement of Sarah Stanton, it has now been seen through to completion.

## *Editor's Note*

*by Hester Lees-Jeffries*

Anne Barton had completed the bulk of her work on *The Shakespearean Forest* by 2005. Poor health, and in particular her failing sight, prevented her from finishing it. The files were passed to me in early 2014; it took some time to establish the relationship of the electronic versions and the many printouts, some annotated. It became clear that Chapters 2–6 were essentially revised and complete, albeit with some missing references, loose ends and the occasional overlap. What appears here as Chapter 1 is a composite, with some reordering, of the original introduction and a discarded additional chapter, some of which had already been incorporated elsewhere in the book. I have made very few additions, and done very little re-writing, in the main text, although I have reordered a little in places; accordingly, some traces remain of the book's origins in lectures. I have added more material in footnotes, on occasion amplifying a point there rather than in the main text, as well as glossing, or translating. All such additions and other changes have been made silently.

Although I have updated some references to works being discussed at length with a view to consistency and accessibility (all quotations from Shakespeare's plays are from the Riverside, from Jonson's works from the *Cambridge Works of Ben Jonson*, and from Lyly's plays from the Revels editions, where possible) I have not attempted to update references more generally. I have checked them where they seemed unlikely or incomplete and if necessary, found other editions. Rather than adding further critical material to footnotes, I have added a substantial bibliographical essay, which surveys at least some of the considerable literature on the forest and related subjects in early modern literature which has appeared since c. 2003.

Anne Barton retired from the Faculty of English in Cambridge in 2000, at the beginning of the second year of my PhD. Mine was the last cohort to attend the Faculty's Renaissance Graduate Seminar in her beautiful rooms at Trinity, where a strict hierarchy of seating operated (speaker in an

armchair by the fire; senior members of the faculty on the sofa and various other chairs; graduate students on the floor, mostly behind the sofa, and sometimes in the cats' bed). They could be intimidating, but there was always a sense of occasion. Even before I had arrived, Anne had been kind: in those almost pre-email days, she was the only member of the Faculty to write back when I approached her as a possible supervisor. It may have helped that I had been taught as an undergraduate in New Zealand by one of her former doctoral students, and that my MA thesis supervisor there had, like Anne, been supervised as a doctoral student by Muriel Bradbrook. My 'registration viva', in the summer of 2000, must have been one of her last official Faculty undertakings, but she remained in touch and continued to take an interest in my work, and to lend me books. She employed me as a research assistant when she was preparing the Clark lectures, on which this book is largely based; she wrote references for me through two rounds of research fellowship competitions (no small undertaking, in the days before online application systems). When I was appointed to my first teaching post in 2006, she invited me for dinner and cooked, although she could barely see, and (typically) invited as the other guest the current chair of the English Faculty. She was my first patron in Cambridge, in the best sense. To my shame, we lost touch in her last years, through illness and the usual early career pressures. I did not know her well. The work I have done in preparing this book for the press is not a labour of love, but rather of profound gratitude – not simply for what Anne did for me, but for the work she has left us, and for her example as a scholar, critic, writer and teacher.

I am grateful to Adrian Poole for his foreword here, and for trusting me with this work (and passing on the files), to Peter Holland, for his afterword and for his encouragement and advice at many stages (including copies of the comments he had made on the manuscript in 2004), to Emily Hockley at Cambridge University Press and especially to Sarah Stanton, who has been both wise and patient in seeing *The Shakespearean Forest*, finally, through the press.

## *Acknowledgements*

Thanks to University College, London, and Trinity College, Cambridge and to Justine Williams, Peter Cochran, Caroline Gonda, Teresa Grant, Alison Hennegan, Peter Holland, Hester Lees-Jeffries, Adrian Poole, Barbara Ravelhofer and Sarah Stanton, and to the Cambridge University Library. (AB)

*These acknowledgements are based on a short, undated note among Anne Barton's papers; no doubt other names would have been added. Trinity College provided generous assistance with the costs of the illustrations and other research expenses. Robert Macfarlane gave generous and invaluable advice about further reading. Ezra Horbury prepared the index. (HL-J)*

A version of Chapter 3, 'The Wild Man in the Forest', appeared in *Comparative Criticism* 18 (1996), pp. 21–54.

All quotations from Shakespeare's works are from the *Riverside Shakespeare*.

Extracts from *Black Venus* by Angela Carter, published by Vintage, are reprinted by permission of The Random House Group Limited.

Extract from 'The Most of It' by Robert Frost from *The Poetry of Robert Frost*, edited by Edward Connery Lathem and published by Jonathan Cape. Used by permission of the Estate of Robert Frost and The Random House Group Limited.