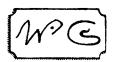
AN ANNUAL SURVEY OF SHAKESPEARIAN STUDY & PRODUCTION

14

EDITED BY
ALLARDYCE NICOLL

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STUDIES IN ELIZABETHAN AND JACOBEAN DRAMA SINCE 1900

ΒY

ARTHUR BROWN

Towards the end of his article, 'Studies in the Elizabethan Stage since 1900', in Shakespeare Survey, 1 (1948), Allardyce Nicoll considered future lines of research in this field and remarked, 'the already existent inquiries into particular, as opposed to general, problems have been seen to have yielded matter of prime interest. We need more of these, conducted with the most rigorous selectivity.' The same principle applies, I believe, to the material to be considered in this paper. A survey of the work produced on Elizabethan and Jacobean Drama (excluding Shakespeare for this purpose) over the last sixty years reveals fairly clearly a retreat from studies with the wide sweep of F. E. Schelling's Elizabethan Drama 1558–1642 or W. Creizenach's The English Drama in the Age of Shakespeare; their place has been taken, in general, by more detailed examinations of the work of individual authors, of individual plays, of distinctive dramatic forms, and by specialized studies of theatres, companies, and acting technique. Bibliographical and textual studies have placed a salutary check on fanciful interpretation and emendation, and have shown how dangerously little is still known about the essential basis of all our work—the author's text and its transmission. The half-century has, in short, tended to be a period of stock-taking, old ideas being subjected to a more critical scrutiny in the light of, for example, more detailed knowledge arising from new documentary evidence, and new ideas tending to be based more firmly on evidence as opposed to conjecture and, as a result, tending to be more limited in scope. It is a stock-taking which no one will regret; it is by no means yet approaching its end.

A purely chronological approach to the period is perhaps not the most instructive way of viewing it, since many of the newer methods and disciplines mentioned briefly in the preceding paragraph grew up and developed in parallel. I intend, therefore, to work from general to more particular works, and to treat each section chronologically within itself. This will require a certain amount of cross-reference from section to section, but will show more clearly how fruitful has been a series of specialized methods, and how from time to time their intersection has been especially productive.

I. GENERAL WORKS

Fundamental to the period under survey and to research as far ahead as one can see are two works of astonishing scope and scholarship, E. K. Chambers' *Elizabethan Stage* (1923) and G. E. Bentley's *The Jacobean and Caroline Stage*, the first volume of which appeared in 1941 and the last in 1956. Nicoll referred to the former as 'a convenient and commodious halfway house on the road of research wherein we may rest and contemplate earlier accomplishments'. Both the former and the latter are more than this, for by their accumulation and arrangement of so much basic material they form inevitable starting-points for further investigations. Ironically they

have been so successful in this respect that on a number of points they are already out of date; yet these shortcomings pale into insignificance against the steady light with which they have illuminated all aspects of Elizabethan and Jacobean drama.

Other more general studies which deserve notice are A. W. Reed's Early Tudor Drama (1926), which produced valuable documentary evidence from the early part of the sixteenth century for the importance of the 'More circle' in the history of drama; and U. M. Ellis-Fermor's The Jacobean Drama (first published in 1936, but still being reprinted), which, accepting T. S. Eliot's remark that the time had passed for estimates of the Elizabethan and Jacobean dramatists, nevertheless set out to consider 'the outstanding work of less than a dozen playwrights, chiefly in regard to certain dominant lines of thought and habits of dramatic technique'. Although at times highly individualistic and perhaps over-imaginative, this work is still stimulating, and capable of arousing that degree of either agreement or disagreement necessary for the further development of ideas. L. C. Knights' Drama and Society in the Age of Jonson (1937) is best explained by its sub-title, 'Economic and Social Background to Early 17th Century Drama', a field of research which is still being cropped to some profit. F. P. Wilson's all too brief Elizabethan and Jacobean (1945) succeeded in correcting an astonishing number of misconceptions with an equally astonishing conciseness. Alfred Harbage's works on theatres and audiences, especially his Shakespeare and the Rival Traditions (1952), may properly be mentioned here as being the source of much useful work which stretches beyond the apparent limits of his subject. Madeleine Doran's Endeavors of Art: A Study of Form in Elizabethan Drama (1954) is probably the most important of recent works in this section. She attempts a synthesis of the many studies which have been made of the various parts of the background against which the dramatists worked critical theory, rhetorical theory and education, inherited literary forms, theatrical conventions, ideas about style, and so on. She gives an extremely detailed and valuable account of the context of ideas and assumptions about literature which resulted. Not an easy book to read, it is, nevertheless, one which must be consulted again and again by scholars of this period, and her remarks about Jonson are not the least important part of her work. These, then, are the most outstanding general contributions of the period. Considerations of space have made some omissions inevitable, but I do not believe that they affect the general picture; already in works of considerable scope it is possible to see a narrowing of the subject-matter to be treated, and the results have amply repaid this discipline.1

2. DRAMATIC FORMS

It seems possible also to see an increase in the number of studies devoted to distinctive dramatic forms during this century, although this tendency began quite early. The century opened with Schelling's *The English Chronicle Play* (1902), and was soon followed by Sir Walter Greg's *Pastoral Poetry and Pastoral Drama* (1906); Greg's name will appear many times in this article, and it is significant to note how his period of activity spans our period (his last published work appearing at the end of 1959), and how his fields of activity move from one section to another. It will be some time before his full influence on Elizabethan and Jacobean dramatic scholarship during the last sixty years can be properly assessed, but it may well be found that the tendency towards examination of particular as opposed to general problems, towards the establishment of

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a solid body of evidence as opposed to conjecture, owes a very great deal to the rigid standards which he set for himself and which, as appears in his many reviews, he expected from others. F. H. Ristine published his English Tragi-Comedy: Its Origin and History in 1910, and it is perhaps fair to say that this particular genre is by no means exhausted in spite of a number of later excellent studies. The same may be said about the topics treated in the next two works, W. Smith's The Commedia dell'Arte: A Study in Italian Popular Comedy (1912), and F. S. Boas' University Drama in the Tudor Age (1914). Both topics are still capable of further development, and the former work was in fact largely superseded by Miss Kathleen M. Lea's Italian Popular Comedy (1934); yet both seem to require qualities oddly lacking in the present generation of young scholars. R. M. Smith's Froissart and the English Chronicle Play appeared in 1915, and R. Withington's still valuable *English Pageantry* in 1918–20, material from the latter being given a new lease of life in Glynne Wickham's Early English Stages 1300-1660, the first volume of which appeared in 1959. A. H. Thorndike's English Comedy (1929) was followed by the first of M. C. Bradbrook's important studies, Themes and Conventions of Elizabethan Tragedy (1935); the companion volume, Growth and Structure of Elizabethan Comedy, came twenty years later, in 1955, and was thus able to make use of the results of Harbage's and Doran's researches, though not, unfortunately, of Marvin T. Herrick's Comic Theory in the Sixteenth Century. Abandoning chronology for a moment, it is interesting to note how in 1955 Miss Bradbrook's Introduction reflects the agnosticism of present-day scholarship in this field: 'The development of Elizabethan and Jacobean drama cannot readily be plotted. Too many factors are involved. The older historians, such as F. E. Schelling, attempted some classification through the subject-matter of the plays, but only in the most general way.' She goes on to mention some recent studies of special forms, 'which depend on a new understanding of the poetic principles underlying dramatic composition', and shows how an awareness of rhetorical forms and popular traditions is, amongst other things, essential if we are to reach a better understanding of what our dramatists were attempting to do. It is also important to note her point that 'Comedy has received comparatively little attention from critics, perhaps because its ingredients are more varied and its lines of development less obvious than those of the well-marked forms of tragedy and history. Yet comedies outnumber tragedies on the Elizabethan stage by nearly three to one.' Here, surely, is a matter for serious consideration, although it is true that there are welcome signs of a growing interest in this genre.

Miss Bradbrook's statement may be exemplified by a brief mention of some of the important studies of special forms which appeared between her first and second books. Willard Farnham's Medieval Heritage of Elizabethan Tragedy was published in 1936, and happily reprinted in 1956; with a wealth of illustration and sound scholarship he made it clear beyond doubt that 'the English stage under Elizabeth was notable among the national stages of Europe in its time by being the particular, and on the whole unapologetic, heir of the medieval stage. It is only fitting that tragedy upon the Elizabethan stage should have accepted with the same particularity and in the same spirit a medieval heritage which was wider than the dramatic....' In 1940 Fredson Bowers, later to transfer his formidable energy to a different aspect of Elizabethan drama, produced his Elizabethan Revenge Tragedy, 1587–1642, and in 1943 came H. H. Adams' English Domestic or Homiletic Tragedy, 1575–1642. The earlier works on history and chronicle plays noted above were put in perspective by E. M. W. Tillyard's more specialized Shakespeare's History Plays (1944),

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but that the last word is still far from having been said on these plays is indicated by the position taken up by Irving Ribner in his The English History Play in the Age of Shakespeare (1957). This was the culmination of a long series of articles by Ribner, who, dissatisfied with many of the previous definitions of the genre, attempted to establish 'specific standards by which we may distinguish history plays from other plays of the Elizabethan era', a task not made any easier by the somewhat loose employment of the word 'history' at that time. For Ribner the essential feature involves an understanding of what the Elizabethans considered to be the purposes of history, and these he works out under two general headings: those which stemmed from classical and humanist philosophies of history, and those which stemmed from the medieval Christian philosophy of history. It will be noticed how often in this section important works have been concerned with getting back to the roots of Elizabethan drama; the tendency has been to look upon it less and less as a sudden and unpredictable outburst, and more and more to attempt to explain how and why it happened. Patient and detailed research into the sources of its inspiration is bearing fruit, and the picture now taking shape differs in many important respects from that in vogue at the beginning of the century. This section may, therefore, fittingly close with mention of another work which points to another body of material oddly neglected in the past, T. W. Craik's The Tudor Interlude (1958). Too often regarded as a rough and unworthy ancestor of the great drama to follow, the Interlude is now beginning to attract much more attention from critic and textual scholar alike, and may well repay this attention by providing the answers, or at least clues to them, to a great number of problems involving dramatic themes and their treatment, staging, and the transmission of texts.

It is convenient to mention at this point a few recent books of a more specialized nature than those included in the preceding paragraph, which may give some indication of the directions in which research may profitably be undertaken. Two volumes dealing with Comedy appeared in 1955, and suggest, however tentatively, that the warning sounded by Miss Bradbrook in that year of the neglect of this subject may have already occurred to other scholars. A collection of English Institute Essays, under the editorship of W. K. Wimsatt, Jr., entitled English Stage Comedy, included a study by R. L. Heffner, Jr. of 'Unifying Symbols in the Comedy of Ben Jonson'. Heffner attempted to define the 'unity of inspiration' which Eliot and others have found in Jonson's comedy, and to describe the dramatic devices by which it is expressed. Coming as it does in the company of essays devoted to Shakespeare, Restoration Comedy, Bernard Shaw, and T. S. Eliot, Heffner's takes on added importance in that it allows Jonson to be examined in a wider context than is usual, a method which may well be suitable for other dramatists of our period. The second work was J. V. Curry's Deception in Elizabethan Comedy, in which a great number of plays from the years 1553 to 1616 were examined from the point of view of their deliberate use of deception of one kind or another. Although this approach courts the risk of over-classification, it can throw new light upon dramatic methods which have been too much taken for granted. Baldwin Maxwell's Studies in the Shakespeare Apocrypha (1956) may be commended rather for its procedure than for its results, which tend to be largely negative; but his scrupulously fair and detailed examination of what can be discovered about the chequered history of four plays which have at various times been attributed to Shakespeare is a model of its kind. Similarly, C. L. Barber's The Idea of Honour in the English Drama 1591–1700 (1957) gives some indication of the vast amount of material still waiting to be treated from a linguistic point

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of view; it may be noted that this matter has been raised more than once by Dr Alice Walker and others in their reviews of recent editions of Shakespeare and his fellows, and it is, of course, closely linked up with the bibliographer's approach to textual problems.

3. TEXTUAL STUDIES

It is desirable to survey textual, bibliographical, and palaeographical studies next, since these seem to me to occupy a central position in the sixty years under review, and an examination of editions and studies of individual authors cannot well proceed without taking them into account. Significantly Sir Walter Greg appears very early on the scene, with his List of English Plays written before 1643 and printed before 1700 (1900), followed two years later by his List of Masques, Pageants, &c., works which were later to develop into his great A Bibliography of the English Printed Drama to the Restoration (1939-59). It is no exaggeration to say that without this remarkable piece of scholarship any significant advance in the study of Elizabethan and Jacobean drama would be impossible. Between 1904 and 1908 Greg placed us still further in his debt with his edition of Henslowe's Diary, and in 1907 with his Henslowe Papers. The new disciplines were strengthened about the same time by R. B. McKerrow's five-volume edition of the Works of Thomas Nashe (1904–10), while a new source of information was being made available by A. Feuillerat's Documents relating to the Office of the Revels in the Time of Queen Elizabeth (1908), to be followed in 1914 by his Documents relating to the Revels at Court in the Time of King Edward VI and Queen Mary. A. W. Pollard's Shakespeare Folios and Quartos appeared in 1909, R. B. McKerrow's Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers 1557–1640 in 1910, Percy Simpson's Shakespearian Punctuation in 1911, McKerrow's Printers' and Publishers' Devices 1485-1640 in 1913, E. M. Thompson's Shakespeare's Handwriting in 1916, Pollard's Shakespeare's Fight with the Pirates in 1917, and J. Q. Adams' Dramatic Records of Sir Henry Herbert in 1917. It is worth pausing for a moment to contemplate the richness of the scholarship of this kind during the first twenty years of this century, and to ask where we should be now without it. In many respects some of it may be out of date, yet these pioneer works are still consulted with a frequency which many more modern authors may well envy, and even those which at first sight may seem remote from the study of drama have all had their contribution to make to our present state of knowledge. It may be added that McKerrow's Introduction to Bibliography, through which our present generation for the most part made its first acquaintance with the intricacies of textual problems, although not published until 1927, had already appeared in its earlier form in the Transactions of the Bibliographical Society in 1914. In all these the foundations of modern textual study were well and truly laid; exacting standards were established and methods of procedure were subject to close scrutiny. Manuscripts and early printed books were no longer objects of mere curiosity, but were being examined with a knowledge and a discipline which made them reveal their own stories to the great enrichment of our understanding of what their authors intended. The study of dramatic manuscripts in particular received a further impetus from Greg's two volumes, Dramatic Documents from the Elizabethan Playhouses (1931), and, as was mentioned above, the first volume of his Bibliography dealing with printed plays appeared in 1939.

Greg's recent death was a sad loss to scholarship. Yet the methods which he, with McKerrow, Pollard and others, did so much to establish are being adapted and developed by his successors,

and if something of the original optimism of bibliographers has vanished—as it was sure to do when the complexity of the problems involved was more fully appreciated—the results so far attained have assured it of a respectable position among academic disciplines. A host of younger scholars has moved into the field, sometimes, one feels, with more enthusiasm than is strictly legitimate in the circumstances; new experiments are being tested in areas often untouched by the earlier workers, and provided that the original standards are not relaxed results in the future should be at least as significant as those we have now. Certainly under the guidance of Fredson Bowers there seems to be no reason to suspect that standards will be relaxed. In his Principles of Bibliographical Description (1949), his On Editing Shakespeare and other Elizabethan Dramatists (1955), his Textual and Literary Criticism (1959), and his many shorter articles in periodicals, he has shown himself no easy taskmaster, and his edition of the plays of Dekker (to be referred to more fully later) is a very prominent landmark in the provision of reliable texts of our dramatists. At the same time his encouragement of the research of others finds an outlet in his editorship of the annual Studies in Bibliography from the University of Virginia (which began in 1948), in which, to mention only one example, the Beaumont and Fletcher canon is receiving a muchneeded overhaul in a series of articles by Cyrus Hoy. Nor is Charlton Hinman's work on the First Folio irrelevant here, for much of the information which he is making available about the printing of Shakespeare's plays will have to be taken into account by future editors of other Elizabethan dramatists. It seems reasonable to prophesy that for some considerable time to come we shall find this aspect of our studies much more prominent than others, and this is as it should be.

4. GENERAL EDITIONS

For it cannot be said that the present state of editions of Elizabethan and Jacobean plays gives cause for satisfaction. At the beginning of the century it is true that most of the prominent dramatists were available in one form or another; but most of these old editions, whether of individual dramatists or of collections of plays, have long been out of print, and even when still accessible they are not of the quality that would allow a modern scholar to use them with confidence. This point has been made a number of times in recent years, not least by a group of scholars of the Modern Language Association of America who have considered the needs of Renaissance dramatic studies, and have emphasized the distressing fact that there is almost no important dramatist of the period whose works have been treated in the light of up-to-date textual knowledge. A few exceptions will be mentioned later. The picture is to some extent clouded by the disagreement of scholars over the kind of edition that is needed, and the claims of old-spelling enthusiasts, modernized-spelling enthusiasts, and facsimile enthusiasts will no doubt continue to be urged for a long time to come. Yet some progress has been made in the last sixty years. I shall mention first some of the more important series of plays which have been produced, and then pass to editions of individual authors.

The first volume of W. Bang's Materialien zur Kunde des Alteren Englischen Dramas, The Blind Beggar of Bednall Green (1659), appeared in 1902, and by 1914 forty-four volumes had appeared. From 1927 this series was continued as Materials for the Study of the Old English Drama under the editorship of Henry de Vocht. It is still happily in progress, although of late the volumes have not been appearing with their former regularity. In an obituary notice on Bang, de Vocht

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remarked of this series that 'it aimed at equipping scholars throughout all countries with absolutely necessary material, and especially at replacing the otherwise magnificent editions of the great English dramatists, highly desirable for literators and readers in general, by more objective texts: texts, namely, in which orthography and punctuation are *not* brought up to date; in which difficult and obscure passages are *not* replaced by what seems to be the most acceptable correction; in which even misprints and evident mistakes are *not* set right'. An austere programme, indeed, and one which would not altogether appeal to the most rigid of our present-day textual scholars! Yet at the time it was undoubtedly a healthy sign, and it is interesting to note that both Greg and McKerrow took part in the production of some of these volumes, and that Bang likewise contributed to the first volume of *Collections* of the Malone Society, of which he was an honorary member from 1906 to 1934.

The Malone Society was founded in 1906 at the suggestion of A. W. Pollard, who pointed out that 'every generation will need to make its own critical editions to suit its own critical taste, but that work of permanent utility can be done by placing in the hands of students at large such reproductions of the original textual authorities as may make constant and continuous reference to those originals themselves unnecessary'. Greg, Pollard, McKerrow, E. K. Chambers and F. S. Boas saw the new society off to a good start, and its first six volumes appeared in 1907. The story of its first fifty years has been well told by F. P. Wilson in its Collections IV (1956), and need not be repeated here. One or two points may, however, be noted. Up to 1959 the Society had published 110 volumes; of these seventy were reprints of early printed plays, thirty were editions of plays in manuscript, and ten were volumes or parts of Collections, the last being miscellaneous documents relating to the English drama. Complete texts have been provided of Greene, Peele, and Lodge, and two each of the plays of Lyly, Marlowe and Chapman have been included. The Society's principles and methods have been criticized from time to time, often, it may be suspected, by people who have simply misunderstood them; yet they have stood the test of time, the resulting volumes are generally regarded as possessing a very high degree of authority, and there seems to be little reason for any radical change in its habits for a long time to come.

It has been, and possibly still is, fashionable to speak slightingly of the work of J. S. Farmer, whose *Tudor Facsimile Texts* appeared between 1907 and 1913. It is true that the most up-to-date methods of photography were not available to him, and it is true that the volumes in the series vary greatly in quality. Yet there must be many hundreds of scholars who have uttered prayers of thanksgiving for the existence of what is still, after all, a most valuable basic tool of research. One might also add that the enthusiasts for photographic facsimiles of dramatic texts have a long way to go before they catch up with Farmer's achievement. On his edited texts it is charitable to be silent; but this should in no way detract from his merit in having seen what was required at the time and in settling down to fulfil this requirement.

It would be neither possible nor profitable to rehearse the names of all who, during the last sixty years, have produced anthologies of the plays of this period, whether they be collections of tragedies, or of comedies, or of pre- or post-Shakespearian plays. All of them have helped, it may be admitted, to circulate material widely; few, if any, of them would measure up to the standards of editing now required. Special mention may be made, however, of those works which stand apart from the general run of such collections: C. F. Tucker Brooke's *The Shakespeare Apocrypha* (1908), R. W. Bond's *Early Plays from the Italian* (1911), and J. W. Cunliffe's

Early English Classical Tragedies (1912). A much more recent venture which is bound to attract a great deal of attention is the launching of the series called 'The Revels Plays' under the general editorship of Clifford Leech. Two volumes have appeared, Middleton's The Changeling, edited by N. W. Bawcutt (1958), and Kyd's The Spanish Tragedy, edited by Philip Edwards (1959). These volumes are to be edited with the same critical standards and the same physical presentation as the well-known 'Arden Shakespeare'; they will have an editorial introduction, a text in modernized spelling, collations and notes on the same page, and a glossary. The General Editor, aware that editorial principles as far as these plays are concerned are only gradually becoming plain, has stated that there will be no hesitation in introducing modifications into the series should the necessity arise. It is also intended to keep in mind the special needs of actors and producers, especially in those sections of the volumes devoted to staging and stage history. The immediate danger that seems to arise is that of attempting too much in a single volume, but it is too early to pass judgement yet.²

5. Editions of Individual Authors

In the next two sections, those dealing with editions of individual authors and with studies of individual authors, it will be convenient to abandon a strictly chronological account and present the material for each dramatist in turn. Kyd's plays were edited by F. S. Boas in 1901, and the edition was reprinted in 1955; apart from the edition of The Spanish Tragedy mentioned above nothing else has been done. The works of Marlowe were edited by Tucker Brooke in 1910. A series of separate volumes, The Works and Life of Christopher Marlowe, began to appear in 1930 under the general editorship of R. H. Case: The Life of Marlowe and Dido Queen of Carthage, edited by Tucker Brooke, appeared in 1930, as did *Tamburlaine*, edited by U. M. Ellis-Fermor; The Jew of Malta and The Massacre at Paris, edited by H. S. Bennett, appeared in 1931; in the same year the Poems were edited by L. C. Martin; Dr Faustus was edited by F. S. Boas in 1932, and Edward II by H. B. Charlton and R. D. Waller in 1933 (second edition, revised by F. N. Lees, in 1955). The editorial methods in these volumes were similar to those of the 'Arden Shakespeare'. A revised edition of the old 'Everyman's Library' Marlowe's Plays and Poems was produced with an excellent introduction by M. R. Ridley in 1955. Dr Faustus received individual attention from Greg in 1950 in his edition of the two texts of 1604 and 1616, which is likely to remain the standard work on the play.

Ben Jonson has fared better than most of his fellows with the eleven-volume edition of his Works by C. H. Herford and Percy Simpson (1925–52). A scholarly edition of his Masque of Gipsies was produced by Greg in 1952. Chapman seems to have remained untouched since T. M. Parrott's The Tragedies of George Chapman (1910) and The Comedies of George Chapman (1914). A. Glover and A. R. Waller edited The Works of Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher between 1905 and 1912, but it is unlikely that anyone will do anything more about them until the conclusions reached by Cyrus Hoy on problems of canon and collaboration have been tested and digested. F. L. Lucas' The Complete Works of John Webster has remained the standard edition since 1927 but is now out of print, and 'present costs of republication in full', we are told, 'are prohibitive'. In 1958, therefore, it was decided to re-issue, as two separate volumes, The White Devil and The Duchess of Malfi. Allardyce Nicoll edited The Works of Cyril Tourneur in 1929, and