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SPELLING - ANALYSIS AND RALPH CRANE:

a preparatory study of his life, spelling, and scribal habits.

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RALPH CRANE'S EPITAPH

...this my Swan-like, dying Elegie.

Behold a wonder (Friend) oh stay and read,  
And make this spectacle thy President,  
Here buried lies a Man, that is not dead,  
Deaths dart was tipt with life: death then repent  
And cease to vaunt: Thou hast not made him bow,  
For (he thanks God) he never liv'd till now.

From The Works of Mercy, preface.

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## APPENDIX I : TRANSCRIPTIONS

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## INTRODUCTION

Ralph Crane first came to learned attention in recent years when Sir Walter Greg in 1925 suggested that the transcripts of Fletcher and Massinger's Sir John van Olden Barnavelt and Middleton's The Witch were in the same handwriting.<sup>1</sup> Shortly afterwards, Professor F.P. Wilson published an article showing that both these plays were the work of the scribe Ralph Crane, who professed to have had some employment with the King's Company, and who was also the scribe of Fletcher's Demetrius and Enanthe, the Lansdowne and Malone MSS. of Middleton's A Game at Chesse, and several poetical manuscripts.<sup>2</sup>

Professor Wilson recounted the sketchy details of Crane's life and examined some features of his transcript

- 1 Greg: "Prompt Copies, Private Transcripts, and the 'Playhouse Scrivener'" Lib. 4 Ser., VI (1926)
- 2 "Ralph Crane -- Scrivener to the King's Players" Lib. 4 Ser., VI (1926)

dwelling, naturally enough, mainly on the features of the dramatic MSS. Much of his work need not be repeated here, especially that on the textual features of the dramatic MSS. and the discussion of the copy from which they might be derived. On certain general points there are necessary reservations to be made in the light of more recent scholarship; fuller discussion of several questionable conclusions will be made in the final chapter.

In 1929 Professor Bald continued work on Crane but as he was more especially concerned with the editions of A Game at Chesse, he did not go as far with his examination of Crane's scribal habits as Professor Wilson would have thought necessary.<sup>3</sup> Later, however, he identified a third Crane Transcript of A Game at Chesse, the Archdall-Folger MSS.<sup>4</sup> Meanwhile, Professor Wilson himself had identified the MS. of Jonson's masque, Pleasure reconciled to virtue, as being in Crane's hand, and these attributions completed the number of known Crane transcripts.<sup>5</sup> An article by Sir Walter Greg in

3 Bald: ed. A Game at Chesse CUP (1929)

4 Bald: "An Early Version of Middleton's A Game at Chesse" MLR XXXVIII (1943)

5 Wilson: "Ben Jonson and Ralph Crane" TLS 8 Nov., 1941

1942 on The Witch, in which he drew attention to Crane's use of hyphens and the Jonsonian elision completed the examination of Crane's characteristics.<sup>6</sup>

Thenceforth it was agreed that Crane's influence was identifiable by an abundance of parentheses, hyphens, and elisions, and on this basis scholars found traces of the scribe's influence in many printed texts. Sir Walter noted especially that the Fl comedies The Merry Wives of Windsor, Two Gentlemen of Verona, Measure for Measure, The Winter's Tale, and The Tempest were characterised by an abundance of parentheses and (in some cases) by "massed entries", and so appeared to have derived from Crane transcripts.<sup>7</sup> Professor M.A. Shaaber, mainly on the evidence of parentheses, explored the not generally accepted possibility that 2 Henry IV (F)<sup>8</sup> also derived from a Crane transcript, while Greg<sup>9</sup> noted that parentheses were also frequent in F Othello. There was general discussion about these possibilities, and mainly from Sir Walter's work it became accepted

6 Greg: "Some Notes on Crane's Manuscript of The Witch" Lib. 4 Ser., XXII (1942)

7 Greg: The Editorial Problem in Shakespeare OUP (1942)

8 Shaaber: "The Folio Text of 2 Henry IV" SQ VI (1955)

9 Greg: op. cit., 115.

that the F1 comedies (but not 2 Henry IV and Othello) owed many of their peculiarities to Crane transcripts.

In recent years American scholars have added Fletcher (and Massinger's) The False One, The Maid in the Mill, The Prophetess, and The Spanish Curate (F1), and Q1 The Duchess of Malfy by Webster to the list of printed<sup>10</sup> texts which might derive from Crane transcripts. For reasons which will become apparent later, these ascriptions will not be examined here.

#### SCOPE OF THE PRESENT INVESTIGATION

It is fairly obvious that no serious work could be done on the F1 comedies mentioned above unless first there was a comprehensive survey of the extant Crane transcripts. With general information on Crane's habits and peculiarities, then the plays supposed to have been printed from his copy could be examined to see whether all or any of them demonstrated some of the same characteristics. It would be unlikely that they would reveal all of his characteristics, for most of them would be obscured, even obliterated, by the F1 compositors.

10 Hoy: "The Shares of Fletcher and his Collaborators in the Beaumont and Fletcher Canon" SB VIII, IX (1956,57). Brown: "The Printing of John Webster's Plays" SB VI, VIII (1953,55)



occurred only once or twice in the text. Secondly, the number of "characteristic" spellings is small and consequently these spellings are relatively useless in identifying Crane's influence. The smaller the number of "characteristic" spellings, the greater is the possibility that they are shared by other writers with whose influence that of Crane could then be confused. Work on spellings here is based on the proposition that only from the largest known number of spellings can a compositor's or scribe's work be identified. This point is expanded in the following chapter. Finally, this study tends to the examination of compositorial treatment of Crane's transcripts. If the compositors tolerate none of these "characteristic" spellings but change them all, then obviously they are useless when the F1 comedies come to be examined. This possibility is avoided by the intention of this investigation to obtain a list of all Crane's preferred spellings in the available texts.

This broad concept of the way in which scribal (and compositorial) spellings should be examined is the basis of this investigation. An auxiliary aim is to examine whether it is possible to describe Crane's spelling-habit statistically so that it would be relatively

Study of Crane is the first part of a trichotomous Crane--First Folio problem. The next part is the question of compositorial influence, and this is the hardest problem of the three to settle. Unfortunately, not only is the question of compositorial influence on the F1 copy extremely intricate and perplexing, but it is also largely unresolved. The established identification of some F1 compositors has been recently upset by Professor Hinman, but although he has published a general report on one compositor,<sup>11</sup> his long awaited book on the printing of the First Folio, which is expected to identify conclusively the characteristics and shares of the compositors in the Folio, has not yet been published. At first it had been hoped that the present study would complete the first survey of the whole Crane--First Folio question, but this cannot (or should not) be done until Professor Hinman's book has been published and studied by other workers in the field.

The third and final question to be resolved is whether or not Crane did prepare King's Company manuscripts for the printer, and cannot be settled without minute study of Crane's relations with the players and

11 Hinman: "The Prentice Hand in the Tragedies of the Shakespeare First Folio: Compositor E" SB IX (1957)

also of the characteristics of any other non-Shakespearian MSS. which he might also have prepared for the press. As far as is known, there is no direct incontestable evidence that Crane was engaged for this purpose, or, in fact, that he was engaged formally at all, so until his other dramatic transcripts of the 1622-25 period are studied no hard conclusion can be reached. This may appear to be unduly negative, but it is necessary to point out that there is no firm evidence that Crane's duties with the players were of the nature of an editor, or pro-editor, for the press. The assumption is often made and is passing into received opinion that Crane was engaged to prepare King's Company MSS. for publication, but all Crane wrote was that he had had "some imployment" with the King's Men. Probably the matter can be settled quite easily, as far as the available evidence permits it to be, and the question will be further discussed in the final chapter of this report.

The general intention of this investigation centres around the first question, the study of Crane's characteristics in the available transcripts. There are problems here, too. Some of his transcripts are undated. Although the dating of these MSS. will be discussed,

no advantage would be obtained from a detailed examination commensurate with the time and effort such examination would require. The undated transcripts can be placed accurately enough for most purposes, and their literary importance is not so great that further study is necessary.

It has been necessary to assume that each section of the transcripts, especially of the poetical MSS., was prepared within a short time of the other, although it is not impossible that for the larger poetical collections Crane had lumped together, say, for Harl.MS.3357, meditations transcribed in 1629, psalms from 1630, and hymns from 1631. The dating evidence of the dedications has been assumed accurate, although there is no reason why Crane should not have presented transcripts with dated dedications when in fact the MSS. had been prepared considerably earlier. Presumably, a date on a dedication would approximate the date of presentation rather than the period of preparation.

The second part of the study commences with a brief life of Crane which is included mainly as an introduction to the subject and for completeness rather than for any new light it might throw on his history. Nevertheless,

the LIFE is more comprehensive (and more accurate in light of modern scholarship) than any which might be found elsewhere. However, although some observations are made on Crane's possible relations with the authors of the works he transcribed, the subject deserves to be treated more fully than access to documents and available time have permitted here. It is likely too that examination of the transcripts will require certain reservations to be made: any such corrections will be found in the final chapter where the study will be surveyed in general.

#### SPELLING-ANALYSIS

The first portion of the study is devoted to the definition of the problems of spelling-analysis. Modern compositor determination largely depends upon a close examination of the compositor's treatment of the spellings of his copy. Although it is not possible here to perform a similar analysis, because there is no extant copy for any of Crane's transcripts, there are many problems common to the use of spelling evidence in compositor study and the spelling-analysis of Crane's transcript spellings to warrant the discussion which precedes the sections on Crane himself. Crane was a copyist, and performed functions similar to those of a compositor.

Therefore, it is important to consider what were the functions and responsibilities of a copyist in the early seventeenth-century in order to obtain a clear idea of the scribe's position. It is assumed here (with specific reservations noted in the text) that the scribal and compositorial function was essentially similar at this time. Although there remains an extensive amount of work to be done on most aspects of compositor study, far more is known about compositors than scribes, and for this if for no other reason it is helpful to survey the findings of compositor research.

As is seen later, the major characteristic of a compositor or scribe is his spelling-habit, and work on this attribute is the basis of this investigation. From time to time editors have suggested spellings which are characteristic of Crane and which may be used to identify his influence in a text. There are three important practical objections to the use of these "characteristic" spellings for Crane. Firstly, some of the suggested spellings cannot be considered Crane's preferred spellings but appear to have derived from his copy: examples from a list given in the Malone Society's Demetrius and Enanthe are heather, wheather, marck, lightes, nobeler, and there are many other words on the same list which cannot be considered reliable as they have

*P.10. bound after p.4*

simple to describe the broad characteristics of his spelling-habit, and to apply these criteria to other MSS. suspected to have come from his pen, or to printed texts suspected to have derived from his transcripts, should any be discovered. This aim will not be too vigorously pursued because it is unlikely for overwhelming statistical reasons that it can be realised. Chief of these reasons is the sparse knowledge of orthographical consistency in the early seventeenth-century period. Nevertheless it is helpful to consider the possibility of a statistical description of a spelling-pattern, and this is done in the last chapter, after Crane's spellings in the transcripts had been studied.

To sum up, then, the general objects of this study are

- (1) to examine Crane's scribal habits, and to note especially any characteristics which might later serve to identify his influence in printed texts;
- (2) to compile a list of Crane's preferred spellings so that compositorial changes might later be more exactly measured;
- (3) and otherwise to prepare the way for an examination of possible printed derivatives from Crane transcripts.



This investigation is envisaged as the first part of a tripartite examination of the whole Crane question along the lines outlined earlier in this chapter. It shall concern itself mainly with Crane's gross scribal characteristics, the chiefest of which, his spelling, is studied in greater though not exhaustive detail for the help it will later afford in the study of the printed texts.

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## THE TECHNIQUE OF SPELLING - ANALYSIS

Over the past few years there has been a considerable increase in the number of studies of Elizabethan and Jacobean texts based on some type of spelling-analysis. Many have been directed towards distinguishing the compositors in dramatic texts, some have been with determining the nature and influence on the text of the underlying copy, and yet others have attempted to elucidate lines of descent, collaboration, textual corruption, and all the other myriad facets of Elizabethan literary composition and its bibliographical study.<sup>1</sup>

Notwithstanding the increasing interest in spelling as a bibliographical aid, in only one article (and that published eighteen years ago) has there been a comprehensive discussion of a spelling-analysis technique.<sup>2</sup> For a time Professor Hinman's work was neglected, but studies published during the 1950's in the learned journals (notably the University of Virginia's Studies in Bibliography) made growing use of his work. Nevertheless, the larger and to a great extent

1 To save repetition in the forms "Elizabethan and Jacobean" and "Elizabethan and seventeenth-century", the period from the ascent of Elizabeth I to the death of Charles I in 1649 is referred to hereafter as "Elizabethan", save when more precise reference is necessary.

2 Hinman: "Principles Governing the Use of Variant Spellings as Evidence of Alternate Setting by Two Compositors" Lib. 4 Ser., (1941).

theoretical aspects of orthographical analysis have been neglected. Consequently, and because in any case Professor Hinman's excellent study was avowedly concerned with only one particular use of spelling-analysis, the present state of investigation is hardly satisfactory.

It is difficult to discover any united purpose in past studies of Elizabethan spelling. This state of affairs has been caused mainly by the lack of information concerning the copy for most Elizabethan dramatic texts, and because of this data's especially complicated nature. At the most it can be said that the general intention has been the solution of specific problems: studies have been directed towards discovering the nature of the copy-text (as in the Shakespearian F1 plays of complex provenance) or towards dividing a play or number of plays between a number of composers in order to study the printing history (as with the First Folio), or towards refining a large group of textual variants into old-fashioned spellings, misprints, and copy-spellings, and so on. Yet it is not inherently improbable that spelling-analysis can reveal much more useful information than it has so far done if the bases of orthographical study are thoroughly understood.

There is a vast difference between spelling-analysis and compositor determination on the basis of spellings, and the comparative difficulty of the former is compensated by the much greater scope and precision it gives the investigator. Unfortunately, although examples of compositor determination based on spelling are relatively numerous, there are no convincing examples of spelling-analysis. It would seem that Dr. McKerrow's caution in his Introduction about the tediousness of

such analysis has been too effective.

If it is true that the lives of exceptional men reveal by themselves little of the cultural, moral, and political level of the 'average' man of the time, cannot it also be true that exceptional and unusual spellings reveal little of the general spelling-habit. It might also follow that the more exceptional a spelling is, the less help it is in revealing the over-all spelling-habit.

Yet it has been from exceptional and unusual spellings that previous investigators have endeavoured to separate the compositorial, authorial, and scribal components of mixed texts and (by subtraction) to determine the source of other remaining, equally exceptional, spellings. This "picking-out-the-plums" procedure, more familiarly known as the study of copy-spellings, has yet to produce results commensurate with the method's claims. To obtain provable results in any form of spelling investigation, the investigator must fully appreciate the orthographical composition of his text, and he must know what he is subtracting from it. This is in fact spelling-analysis.

Spelling-analysis is directed towards discovering and isolating the different orthographical elements which comprise the whole spelling structure of the given text. It is aimed at providing the fullest possible body of information (according to the needs of the problem) about all spellings of a selected text.

To analyse the spellings of any text, it is necessary to have answers to at least two broad questions. The first is the subject of this section of the investigation: it is

what may the investigator hope to find from spelling-analysis?

As is hereinafter shown, this question may be answered from both theoretical and practical considerations. The second question is:

what procedure of analysis will reveal the orthographical constituents of the text?

This question is discussed in the next part of this investigation, which reports on the treatment of Crane's spellings. Meanwhile, it is necessary to attempt an answer to the first broad question.

#### BASIC PREMISES

If the object of spelling-analysis is to find out as much as possible about all the spellings of any particular text, the complexity of copy which underlies some texts would seem to make this aim unattainable. Professor Bowers has outlined a bewildering and complex organization of authorial, scribal, compositorial, playhouse, and printing-house influences on the copy for the Shakespeare canon, and in the face of this, only the thought that his divisions are largely speculative would encourage the investigator of spellings.<sup>3</sup>

- 3 Bowers: On Editing Shakespeare and the Elizabethan Dramatists, 11f. Sir Walter Greg in his SQ review has pointed out the factual knowledge to test Professor Bower's copy categories simply does not exist. He also has some hard things to say about his unnecessary multiplication of agents of transmission. Nevertheless, in drawing attention at least to warnings, firstly, that scholars might in many instances be taking an unwisely uncomplicated view of the copy for many texts, and secondly, that in more cases than have so far been appreciated, a scribe may have intervened between author and compositor, Professor Bowers has stimulated scholars to widen their outlook in this field. -- On the copy for F1, see also Walker: "The Textual Problem of Hamlet" RES (1951) 334.

Some influences on the copy, such as preparation of a prompt-book for publication, would not leave traces which would be amenable to spelling-analysis, and are properly left for the more minute consideration of the textual critic. Moreover, the superimposition of spelling-habit upon spelling-habit, like that of the compositor over the scribe's over the author's, results in texts of incredible theoretical complexity of spelling composition.<sup>4</sup> No spelling-analysis of any kind has been undertaken of a really complicated text, and so there are very few findings to refer to. Furthermore, no consistent body of postulates and hypotheses has been brought forward to give direction to investigation. However, despite the individual complexity of each separate text, the assumptions upon which spelling-analysis is founded are basically the same in each analysis, however complex the text.

Yet an examination of the literature dealing with forms of spelling-analysis reveals an amazing diversity of premises, many of them contradictory and most of them insecurely based on what is known of the spelling of Elizabethan texts. In a most provocative

4. Experimentation with overlapping circles denoting successive layers of transmission will support this statement. When four agents are involved in the transmission of the text there is very little chance that the effect of each of them upon the spellings can be isolated.

article Professor M.A. Shaaber states the present position:

At bottom the differences of opinion... seem to be due to starting from different premises and assigning different weights to the evidence we have.

He compares Dr. Walker's view (in his appraisal of it) of the compositor "...as a soi-disant editor..." with his own conception of the compositor as "...a workman whose job is to make a typographical copy of the manuscript put into his hands."<sup>5</sup> There is little doubt that both views may be fairly reconciled. As much as Professor Shaaber's fresh and stimulating stand may be admired, the oversimplifications that make it possible must be deplored. However, notwithstanding the questionable nature of many of his statements, he has rightly pointed out that the text might just as likely be like the copy as different from it. In efforts to differentiate one compositor from another, or one copyist from another, it seems to have been forgotten that all compositors and copyists had a common function, which was to reproduce their copy.

In order to obtain a clearer idea about the true composition of copied texts, it seems now that efforts should be concentrated upon finding the practices and obligations common to all Elizabethan compositors. Subsequent discussion on these points in this investig-

5 Shaaber: "The Folio Text of 2 Henry IV" SQ (1955) 144.

6 Rf. the quotation on this subject from Moxon, in the discussion on postulate 4.

ation is based on compositor study. Most of the general conclusions will also apply to a scribe's treatment of his text, but the scribe's influence is more fully and specifically dealt with in the second part of this investigation.

#### TERMINOLOGY

Firstly, however, it is necessary to agree on terminology. To obtain the results reported upon later certain techniques are used which are based on certain primary considerations, not only about the nature of spelling change and the function and practice of the compositor or scribe, but also about the interrelationship of the formal and semantic components of words. To serve the technical purposes of this investigation a rather radical view is taken of the nature of words. It is proposed henceforth to disregard consideration of the semantic component of the word. Hereafter, spellings are the data which are to be processed by techniques to be subsequently determined; in this investigation, to put it bluntly, a word is only as good as its spelling.

It is easy to appreciate that this shifting of nexus from semantic to orthographical value will to some extent lead to a distortion in the results, but it should not be difficult to find the areas in which such distortion might occur, and so to take especial precautions. (Homophones, such as bare, bear, for example, should require especial treatment in analysis.) Although there is no

intention to ignore completely the interrelationship of form and essence in words, it may reasonably be maintained that examination of these relationships rightly belongs to another investigation.

There is little doubt that the failure to make this change in orientation successfully has lead many scholars to the errors mentioned under Significance in this chapter, and there is little doubt that unless each word is considered primarily as a statistical datum, similar errors will continue to be made. Therefore, word shall be used here to signify "the most frequently-occurring spelling of any particular semantic particle in any particular text". That is, for example, when the third person singular of the verb "to do" is spelled do's twenty times, doos thirteen times, and does seven times, then the latter two forms are spellings of the word do's. In this group, which of the forms is the word and which the spellings may and does vary from text to text.

Furthermore, spellings are simply orthographical variants of the most popular form (the word) in which certain rearrangements, additions, deletions, and substitutions have been effected. The reasons for these two definitions will become clearer in later chapters.

It should be quite clear that any word and the spellings of it are all spellings, for the word is a spelling too. The word is separated from its other spellings simply and solely to serve as a mark of identification for all the spellings in the group: in the



example above, there are three (not two) spellings of do's. Discussion of the point in following pages will show why the modern form is not used to identify the group of spelling-variants, as would seem most natural to do.

#### MORPHOLOGICAL GROUP

This concept was introduced by Professor Hinman.<sup>7</sup> By it he means not a group of words but a grouping together of identical morphological components from many words, (which may or may not have similar morphological structures). Thus a morphological group might be based on the occurrence of ll/l in the spellings tell, call, fulfill, principall, final, smel, cansel, and fruitfull, words of obviously different morphological structures. Professor Hinman himself comments that

...we cannot at once tell whether a man who spells spear rather than spere is the man likely to spell musick rather than musique, or the reverse.<sup>8</sup>

Nevertheless, when these are associated together in groups on the basis of common morphological components, a similar assumption is made. It is that the writer who spells spear, spere is likely to spell clear as clere, or even fear as fere. As yet there are no investigational results to justify any such assumptions.

7 Morphology: NED "the branch of grammar which is concerned with the form of words (including word-formation and inflexion)."  
Morphological: "based on characteristics of form".

8 Hinman: "Principles", loc. cit., 84.

Morphological groups are used mainly for convenience of tabulation, and to bring together data which by themselves afford insufficient evidence for any valid conclusion. There are cases in which convenient tabulation is more important than giving proper weight, and proper opportunities for validation, to the components of the morphological group. At the same time, it must be borne in mind that the features of any spelling-habit which might serve to differentiate it from another are likely to be few, and difficult to isolate. This task is not made easier if vital and characteristic data are obscured for the sake of convenience. It might readily be assumed for example, that when a writer's spelling-habit reveals fifty cases of terminal -ll and fifty of terminal -l, he had in fact no preference for one form or the other in any particular case. But if the two hundred occurrences break down into two groups (shall, call, sell; cansel, hel, tel), all of which occur in the form given, invariably, a different and a much more important datum emerges. Under such circumstances no other conclusion can be reached than that the use of morphological groups is not justified for most cases, and in all cases should be regarded with caution.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Cantrell and Williams: "The Printing of the Second Quarto of Romeo and Juliet (1599)" SB (1957) 107f. provide an interesting example of this point. In tabulating the characteristics of the two(?) compositors of Q2 Romeo and Juliet they listed the occurrence of spellings ending in -ie and -y, but considered themselves obliged to exclude any, many, every, ready, and already, and

## COINCIDENCE OF POSITION

In connection with the use of morphological groups, Professor Hinman uses an appeal to coincidence of position.<sup>10</sup> If the alternative forms of the major morphological group fall on distinct groups of pages, the division of the text is corroborated by coincidence of position. Conversely, and also on the basis of the major morphological group, he would assume that one group of pages was set by one compositor, arbitrarily termed A, and that the other "significant" spellings which fell on those pages were also A's spellings. Thus, the compositorial division is made on the basis of the major morphological group and the compositorial spelling-habits are determined from the other groups and coincidence of position. Coincidence of position is evoked only in dealing with texts divided amongst a number of compositors; in these cases it is an important methodological step.

such "special" cases as Lady and body from their count. They provide no indication why these forms should be excluded, and it must be assumed that it was because both these compositors had invariably used the -y ending with each of these words. Presumably then, had the occurrences of these spellings been included in the tabulation of the morphological group, a grossly misleading result would have occurred.

A further disadvantage is that the use of such discrete masses of material restricts the reader's chance of suggesting for himself an explanation for the exceptions to the general trend which usually occur. The possibility always remains that important detail has been obscured for the sake of handy reference.

<sup>10</sup> Hinman: op. cit., 85.

# SPELLING-PATTERN AND SPELLING-HABIT:

The use of the term spelling-pattern might be questionable at this or any other stage. It is obvious that an Elizabethan writer would not have conceded a "pattern" in his spellings, but if pressed, would have allowed that he had a spelling-habit which in different details was unlike that of any of his friends. These two terms are not precisely equivalent, though in many cases in which they are used throughout this report the one might be substituted for the other without greatly affecting the meaning. Spelling-habit is the way in which any person spelled; it is usage, mostly unconscious, sometimes grotesquely self-conscious. However, spelling-pattern is the investigator's concept of an individual spelling-habit; it is a complex organization of relationships, a meaningful association of orthographical data. The two different terms are used to illustrate more than anything a difference in the investigator's attitude towards his material: he will in some cases benefit from adopting the standpoint of the contemporary writer viewing his spellings, and in such cases spelling-habit is used.

Before the principles of analysis can be dealt with, there are several incorrect concepts which must be discussed. The first of these is the problem of "significance".

## SIGNIFICANCE

The concept of significance in spelling-analysis can be considered in relation to (1) the influence and interrelationship of standardization, normalization, and modernization of spellings by the copyist, and (2) the aim and intention of the investigation, and the method of investigation employed.

### (1) Modernity and correctness; normalizing and standardizing:

From recent writings on spelling-analysis, it seems that the Elizabethan copyist "modernized", "normalized", and "standardized" the spellings of his copy. It is not necessary to consider here whether these factors did or did not influence spelling change (this point is discussed under the relevant postulates) but only the nature and utility of these concepts. Investigators have been led to ascribe varying degrees of "significance" to certain spellings which they considered illustrated the operation of these factors. As many of the postulates underlying spelling-analysis involve a correct appraisal of the nature of spelling-change during this period, these processes must be examined here more closely than has been considered necessary previously.

Modernity as a factor influencing the "significance" of spellings is a methodological concept which has proved misleading time and time again. It may generally be agreed that between the standard usage of 1590 and the commonly accepted spellings of, say, 1640

there were many changes. Also, the gradual change from one standard usage to the other may be viewed as largely influenced by the standardization of spellings in the printing-shop.<sup>11</sup> Nevertheless, to consider the complicated structure of Elizabethan and Jacobean spelling from the vantage point of some three hundred and fifty years, and to label some spellings "Elizabethan" and others "modern" is an error in method of the grossest kind. Such thinking soon leads to the false formulation:

Modern spellings -- correct but "non-significant"

Archaic spellings -- wrong but "significant"

Taking a narrow view, when the spellings of any text are analysed, all spellings in it should be considered equally worthy of investigation;

11 There is at least one attractive dissension from the accepted view. Spielmann: "Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century Spelling: A suggested Reason for its Variability" RSL Essays by Divers Hands (1947) 95, suggests that "...so far from seeking to standardize or to unify, a section at least of the printers... sought systematically, with deliberation, to multiply, to pluralise, the form of a word whether important or unimportant ...." After giving examples of Elizabethan spelling variation, he asks on page 102, "Can it be said that this licentious fluidity of spelling is owing to 'a state of misrule'? Is it not rather due to the deliberate ingenuity of diversification and love of innovation which I claim for it, not so much the idiosyncrasy of one man, but the custom of most of the printing-offices of the day?" He did not, however, venture to suggest how despite this 'deliberate ingenuity' spelling did become standardised.

the fact that some spellings have persisted in use to the present time is irrelevant. More generally, to appraise a spelling-habit against the standard usage of its time is an important aspect of spelling-analysis, but to measure it against present spelling-usage is more often than not neither necessary nor helpful.<sup>12</sup> A spelling is not more or less "significant" because it happens to be spelt in the modern fashion. In Crane's transcripts, for example, as he invariably uses the spelling theis (or y<sup>eis</sup> rarely), if a single occurrence of these appeared, it would necessarily seem more "significant" even though it is a modern spelling. Modern spelling usage illustrates an arbitrary selection of spelling-variants in the course of time, not a rigorous logical development which makes all deviations from it "incorrect" in comparison.<sup>13</sup>

12 Not even as distinguished an authority as Sir Edmund Chambers avoided this error. In William Shakespeare I, 187 he writes concerning portions of Harington's Orlando Furioso reprinted by Greg: "Of 136 variants from the modern standard Field normalises 84, alters but leaves variant 29, and keeps 23...."

13 Dr. McKerrow (Prolegomena, 109f.) points out that many of the spellings occurring about 1580-90 were to the compositor "ordinary non-significant variants": he writes "To him they would be alternative spellings just as duety -- duty, friend -- frind -- freind -- frende, heard -- hard, or man -- manne, and equally unimportant. There is an exactly equal chance of his making variations in the first group as in the second, and the fact that 'percullis' or 'eughe' or 'mushrump' might seem to a modern student odd spellings worth taking notice of, is entirely besides the point."

(Nevertheless, it is not necessary to concede that some spellings are "significant" for certain purposes, as the example above has illustrated. Such spellings might be of the class which Dr. Walker describes as being "...not only...spellings which would strike one as anomalies in any printed text but also...spellings which are anomalous in Jaggard prints...."<sup>14</sup> Professor Hinman describes neither/nether occurring in Q2 Othello (IV.iii.40) as "...a somewhat careless reproduction in a derivative text of a form that in 1623 had been considered definitely wrong."<sup>15</sup> Such inconsistencies and anachronisms are more properly the concern of the textual rather than the spelling investigator. In many cases it is only textual evidence which can determine the importance of any particular spelling.)

The use of "normalization" to describe a process of bringing into line with common usage must be distrusted; despite the use of the term normal in statistics, there are still connotations to the word which lead investigators to ascribe some quality of "goodness" or "correctness" to "normalized" texts or spellings. The question of whether certain spellings in this period were normal has no utility; at this stage of knowledge about Elizabethan orthography there is no simple answer. The most that can be claimed for any particular

14 Walker: "The Textual Problem of Hamlet" RES (1951) 333.

15 Hinman: "Nether" and 'Neither' in the Seventeenth Century" MLN (1948) 335.



spelling is that it was acceptable or otherwise.<sup>16</sup> On this basis four main groups of spellings might be postulated:

- (1) old spellings which were part of standard usage and which were acceptable;
- (2) old spellings which were not acceptable;
- (3) new spellings which successfully became part of standard usage;
- (4) and new spellings which never became acceptable.<sup>17</sup>

These categories require no elaboration, save that another intermediate group could be added:

- (5) old spellings which though not part of the standard usage (as they occurred too infrequently) remained acceptable.

It is obvious that "modernity" (implying an evaluation with respect to twentieth-century spelling practice) has no relevance to "normality" of spellings. Comparison of the treatment of certain of Churchyard's characteristic spellings by some printers shows, for

16 By 'acceptable' spellings is meant spellings which not only did the press-corrector not alter on the grounds of archaism, but also spellings which were still likely to be familiar to the Elizabethan writer or reader who did not use those spellings himself. Professor Shaaber, *op. cit.*, 138, in suggesting that "...one must remember that there is only a limited number of variant forms. There are really only two ways of spelling do -- do and doe; anything else would be decidedly eccentric." seems to have this idea of acceptability in mind; but would doo seem so very eccentric or unusual?

17 "Standard usage" is discussed together with postulates 2 and 3 in the next chapter.

example, that though the general tendency is for the respective compositors to bring the spellings into general agreement with the current standard usage, these changes might lead to what from the twentieth-century vantage point is a retrogressive spelling: e.g. 1575 yeild; 1578 yeld; 1595 yeeld.<sup>18</sup>

"Standardization" is a term preferable to "normalization"; this is not a mere quibble for the compositor resolved many types of inconsistency in his copy and this process is not covered by "normalization". Not only were spellings brought into agreement with standard usage, but authorial spelling-variants were regularised and made consistent. Whether the compositor acted according to a "rule of the house" shall be seen later. It is most likely that the spelling

18 Byrne: "Thomas Churchyard's Spelling" Lib.(1925) 247. It was also possible for the compositor to substitute an older variant for another without either modernising or standardising his text. As Dr. Walker puts it, "...we should beware of supposing that, when Jaggard A and B substituted 'murther' for 'murder', as they usually plainly did, they were expressing anything more than a preference for one spelling over another." It should not be thought that standardization in Elizabethan spelling tended towards the use of one spelling to the exclusion of other spellings of the same word. This misconception underlies Gladys Willcock's statement in Shakespeare Survey 7(1955), "Shakespeare and Elizabethan English" that "...the standardization is, even in the most carefully printed books, very far from complete. Everyone can recall how not only long new words, but the simplest and commonest, can be spelt in two or three different ways on the same page...." Spelling-variants might have been refined to one accepted form in later years, but at this time the spelling change process brought about a limitation of variants, rather than the establishment of single accepted forms of each word.

standards that the printers introduced (and/or popularised) were in any case the most frequently-occurring spellings (i.e. normal), but until the spellings of various printing-shops are compared with each other in relation to the standard usage, a more definite statement cannot be made.<sup>19</sup>

(2) Significance per se:

The concept of "significance" has proved in the past more misleading than helpful. For example, Professor Hinman's method of spelling-analysis is directed towards ascribing portions of a printed text to each of two or more compositors. Basically he is not interested in spellings which do not serve to illustrate a difference in spelling-pattern between different portions of the text. He notes:

Much of the gross evidence will be non-significant and will have to be eliminated before the testimony from significant spellings will be clear...."<sup>20</sup>

In other words, many spellings will be found to be useless in supporting the case for compositor division of any particular text, and should be discarded. Another view would take into account a factor which can be best explained by illustration from the spelling-patterns of three hypothetical compositors, M, N, and O. Say M and N are identified by three spellings which are used invariably:

19 Dover Wilson: "Thirteen Volumes of Shakespeare: A Retrospect" *MLR* (1930) 409 writes: "...expert compositors 'normalised' their authors' spelling, i.e. changed it into the spelling they had themselves learnt in the printing-house." For this to be true it must be presumed that printers consciously selected their spellings from standard usage, in order to create a 'rule of the house. Rf. postulate 4 in the next chapter.

20 Hinman: "Principles", loc. cit., 80.

M -- do, here, graunt.

N -- doe, heere, grant.

They both use two spellings of two other words indiscriminately:

M,N -- he/hee, grief/greef.

Because these last two words are of no use in differentiating M from N, the indiscriminate spellings are discarded. In Professor Hinman's terms they are "non-significant".

The proper analysis of the compositor division might be quite different. Say, for the sake of example, that in the given text there is another compositor, O. His invariant spellings are the same as N's:

O -- doe, heere, grant.

They might just as easily have been the same as M's, or a combination of both M and N's preferences, without affecting the demonstration. O's preferred spellings are obviously of no use in separating his work from N's, for the spellings are the same. The spellings which are O's invariants have in fact been discarded as "non-significant", for O invariably used these spellings:

O -- he, greef.

Only if the investigator is sure from other criteria of the number of compositors which have shared in a text can he afford to discard the main mass of spellings. Even then, such a course is probably unwise.

To conclude, the ranking of spellings on a significant/non-significant scale is artificial; "significance" is not an inherent character-

istic of words. For both spelling-analysis and compositor determination alike, it may be just as valuable to know that a compositor spelled, say, "here" indifferently as heere/here as it is agreed it is to know that he invariably spelled "go" as goe.<sup>21,22</sup>

#### JUSTIFICATION

It should be pointed out before proceeding to discuss this subject

- 21 Brown: "The Compositors of Hamlet Q2 and The Merchant of Venice" SB (1955) 37 suggests that as the quartos which he was studying share certain "significant" spellings, the spelling of their copies must have been very similar. Yet all dramatic texts of this period share "significant" spellings, and they can be sorted out, just so long as the factor which constitutes their significance has been predetermined. Sometimes texts share similar archaisms, sometimes similar rare spellings (e.g. scilens, which is both). In this case Mr. Brown has not disclosed what he means by "significant", and the reader is left with the impression that to Mr. Brown they are "spellings which tend to support my hypothesis".
- 22 McKerrow: Prolegomena (1939) 109 states "Any argument founded on spelling-variation becomes, however, at once very dangerous if we do not consider all the variations that occur between the texts but only a selection of them, those perhaps which happen to strike us as remarkable." He refers to the use of spelling to aid in determining the descent of editions, but his specific warning might well be applied to all aspects of spelling-analysis.

that apparently none of Crane's transcripts were affected by justification, although in one or two long lines, he may have used contractions for pronouns instead of the fuller forms. However, as discussion of Elizabethan spelling would not be complete without mention of its effects, these notes on Justification are included here.

Justification, the alteration of a line of copy in the printed text in order to make it fit into a certain length, may have been accomplished in a number of ways. Probably the most frequent was the use of spacing: Elizabethan compositors had three spaces of which two were most frequently used, usually between words. In cases of a line extending very nearly the full length, some compositors used the thin spaces rather than quads to justify the line. This might explain why in Jacob and Esau (1568) trēcher is found on page E2 occurring in a line apparently not justified.<sup>23</sup>

The next frequently used device was the alteration of spelling, usually by the addition or subtraction of letters, more often in terminal positions. Contractions were also used: & for and remained the most common throughout the period; the tilde, marking deletion of a nasal consonant, was very common at the beginning of the period but gradually lost favour, occurring infrequently in the Shakespeare First Folio. Compositors generally preferred

23 A further example might be acquaintaūce on page C3<sup>v</sup> of The Interlude of Wealth and Health (1557?). Rf. Hill: "Elizabethan and Jacobean Printers' Use of the Tilde" NQ (1959).

the contractions & and ŷ, ȝ to the tilde which they used only when there was little alternative.<sup>24</sup>

The effect justification may have had on spelling is strikingly illustrated by two lines from The Old Wives' Tale (1595), printed by John Danter: page E4, lines 971, 978, Malone Society Reprint:

For feare you make the gouldē beard to weepe.

For feare thou make the gouldē beard to weep.

It is presumed (as the example illustrates) that most spelling variation for purposes of justification usually involved terminal letters, more often the e, the redundancy of which was widely recognised.<sup>25</sup> From observation, letters were more likely to have

- 24 Walker: "The Textual Problem of Hamlet" RES (1951) 336 notes "...I have no doubt that variation in spelling was not the only means of justifying a line in Jaggard's printing-house. It is much to be feared that at times Jaggard's compositors transposed, omitted, added, or altered words for their convenience, especially, of course, in prose." In the absence of copy-texts these alterations are not to casually observed; fortunately, however, this type of compositorial fiddling does not immediately effect spelling-analysis. J.R. Brown's statement (op. cit., 32) that "...we must presume that the fount of type with which they were working might have predisposed compositors in favour of certain forms" is probably more acceptable as a suggestion than an assumption: there is simply not the evidence to be more certain.
- 25 Thus Pollard: "Elizabethan Spelling as a Literary Clue" Lib. (1924) remarks "...I think most printers would add an e to any possible word, or knock it out, or possibly even add or omit an u or h in a word like guest in order to help the spacing." Alexander Hume in his Orthographie remarks "We use also, almost at the end of every word, to write an idle e.", and Simon Daines (Orthoepia Anglicana) similarly comments that the e "...serves as a cipher in arithmetic, to fill up or supply a room, but only to add the greater vigour to the precedent letters..." in which he seems to acknowledge the adding or dropping of e for justification.

been omitted than added: there is not the same degree of compulsion to justify by spelling when the compositor has found that he has reached the end of the line with still one space to be filled out if he can just as easily insert a space as a letter. However, this impression would be very difficult to prove. In line-for-line, page-for-page reprints, the compositors appear to have made some effort to observe the line-endings of their copy, and in this type of text justificatory conflation of spellings is easy to detect.<sup>27,28</sup> Study of these texts should test the assumptions that are commonly made about justified spellings.

From an examination of a printed text for which the copy is extant, Harington's Orlando Furioso, it would not seem that the number of spellings affected by justification in any particular line would

- 27 In the two 1609 quartos of Pericles, one a page-for-page reprint of the other, justified lines measure (from the facsimiles) from 83mm. to 88mm., and despite this variation between quartos and from sheet to sheet, it is clear that the reprinting compositor endeavoured to observe the line-endings of his copy, primarily by varying the spacing between words (cf. B3, G4<sup>v</sup>, I2<sup>v</sup>), and then by spelling changes.
- 28 Walton: The Copy for the Folio Text of 'Richard III' (1955) notes "...on three occasions in setting a line of prose in the F text of 1 Henry IV (when) compositor B went against his normal practice by spelling 'go' as 'goe', with an 'e', despite the fact that at these points the word was spelt in his copy (Q5, 1613) in his normal manner, 'go': see 1 Henry IV, I.ii.184, II.1.42, and II.1.92."



warrant this attention,<sup>29</sup> but although for justified lines in texts for which the copy exists there is not much difficulty, for texts for which there is no extant copy, all spellings occurring in any justified line must be considered suspect.<sup>30</sup> There is, if no copy exists, no sure way of determining which spellings in any justified line are the compositor's habitual spellings, and which are departures,

- 29 Greg: "An Elizabethan Printer and His Copy" Lib. (1924) 102-119: the spelling of non-justified MS. words in the eight stanzas Sir Walter reprinted is varied in the two justified lines (lines 3.6, 5.5) only five times in twenty-six words. However, no-one would suggest that every spelling occurring in a justified line was varied; it cannot be determined which words actually have been varied unless the over-all spelling-pattern is known. It is possible that the compositor would prefer to vary only one set of words, such as monosyllables, or words frequently occurring with terminal -e's, or -our endings, and that each compositor had a certain justificatory habit. Hook: "The Two Compositors in the First Quarto of Peele's Edward I" SB (1955) 172, although basing his remarks upon a misconception regarding compositorial consistency, implies recognition of the habit-based nature of even the departures from the compositor's habitual spellings when he says that "It seems obvious that habit, not line length, dictated the spellings to be used."
- 30 Pollard (op. cit., 6) notes his impression "...that books in double columns are not as good evidence as to what may be called the printer's natural spelling as those in long lines. Conversely it must be supposed that books in verse should give truer evidence than those in prose, as (at least in all lines shorter than the longest) the printer would be uncramped by considerations of space."

typical or not, from his usual practice on account of justification. For this reason, in any spelling test whatsoever, justified spellings should be separately tabulated for closer consideration after the over-all spelling-pattern has emerged.

Some hypothetical examples will clarify the previous generalizations. When in a text "here" is found listed as heere...6, here...3j, and heer...1j, it is more probably correct to assume that the two shorter spellings are the justified forms of heere, which alone is the compositor's habitual spelling, than it would be to conclude that the compositor was indifferent to the way he spelt "here" on the basis of justified and non-justified spellings listed indifferently. Furthermore, exponents of Professor Hinman's method list occurrences of, for example, shee/she simply as shee...15/she...5, and conclude that the compositor preferred shee. However, for examples sake these spellings can be listed differently: shee...2,13j/she...3, which produces a contrary result. The compositor seems to favour she, expanding it to shee in justified lines. The two shee spellings in non-justified lines can be explained as copy-spellings, signs of compositorial inconsistency, indications of another compositor, spellings influenced by preceding justified lines, variously according to the circumstances of the case. Therefore, to avoid making assumptions for which there are no bases in fact, spellings from justified and non-justified lines must be rigorously separated.<sup>31</sup>

31 It may even be necessary to examine the text line by line to determine which spellings within the line were more likely to have been affected by justification.

## CONSISTENCY

It is generally believed that Elizabethan spelling was inconsistent, that not only was the gulf between pronunciation and spelling a great one but also the difference between one writer's way of spelling and that of another. Nevertheless, students of Elizabethan spelling proceed from contrary assumptions and must continue to do so until detailed information has been gathered about Elizabethan spelling. Much work remains to be done upon this aspect of spelling-analysis.<sup>32</sup>

Consistency within the individual spelling-pattern poses three main questions for the investigator: (1) the problem already mentioned above, whether a preference for speare implies a preference for heare, or feare, or cheare, and (2) whether a habit of spelling "spear" speare is absolute and unchanging, or represents a preference for that spelling over spere or some other variant of the same word. This second alternative implies in turn consideration of whether the ratio of one spelling to another is constant in different texts, and leads to the next problem. (3) This is whether the ratio of one spelling-variant to another spelling-variant of the same word remains constant throughout a number of texts by the same author, scribe, or compositor, and whether one spelling is consistently

32 According to the problem under consideration, consistency has two meanings: (1) in relation to internal consistency, it may be construed as 'congruency of parts'; (2) in relation to temporal consistency, the term may take an older meaning from the verb consist, to remain fixed.

preferred.<sup>33</sup>

These questions must be answered, not only in respect of each author for purposes of identifying spelling-patterns in disputed texts, but also in respect of each compositor in order to settle such problems as that of "rule of the house". Although no intensive study has been made of consistency in Elizabethan spelling, some general observations may be made here which may be helpful.

As has already been noted in connection with morphological groups, it has not been settled whether a preference for one spelling implies the author's and/or copyist's predisposition towards another morphologically similar spelling.<sup>34</sup> Similarly, it cannot be presumed that because a writer or copyist used long forms of spellings ending in consonants it is inconsistent of him also to use, say, the short forms of medial vowels. The notion of consistency has no valid application in this respect. Moreover, some explanation must be sought for the seemingly indiscriminate use of two (or more) spellings of the same word: why does a compositor or writer who

33 A compositor who spells "spear" as speare and spere, preferring the former, might drop the latter spelling in the course of time. On the other hand, a habitual spelling spere might be replaced by speare almost overnight, or preference between spere/speare might change from the former to the latter. It is important to understand the influences which cause such changes in spelling-habits.

34 Professor Hinman (op. cit., 84) takes a more positive attitude: "Some of the spellings of a sixteenth- or seventeenth-century compositor will doubtless be inconsistent with what his other spelling habits might lead us to expect. But despite occasional irregularities he will usually treat similar words in the same

who markedly favours speare yet use every now and again the spelling spere. Does this represent the intrusion of dialectal influence or an older spelling habit; what does it represent?<sup>35</sup> Consistency of spelling-habit does not appear to have concerned Elizabethan and Jacobean authors overmuch in practice; even grammarians such as Hume used variant spellings in the same text.<sup>36</sup>

way, and if we are working with a fairly extensive list of variants, grouping in accordance with morphological relationship will be generally reliable."

- 35 However, Gladys Willcock (op. cit., 19) comments, "Elizabethan books retain little dialectal colouring and even the manuscripts, showing far greater variability, do not carry many dialectal signs of place of origin or scribal history." Note, nevertheless, the mixture of Scottish and English forms (ane/one; nae/no; tuae/tuo/tuoe) in Hume's Orthographie.

Simpson: Proofreading 45 notes: "Mr. John Sergeaut in his edition of the Poems prints at the end of the volume a short list of what he calls Dryden's 'peculiar' spellings; they are nearly all Elizabethan and call for no further comment than the fact that the poet retained the forms familiar to him from boyhood."

- 36 Wheatley: ed. Hume's Orthographie (1925) 35 also notes, "Hume laments, in his Dedication, the uncertainty of the orthography prevailing at the time he writes, and yet we find him spelling words several different ways, even within the compass of a single sentence, without being able to lay the blame upon the printers; thus he writes judgement on p. 11, judge p. 8, and judg p. 33, but juge p. 18; and there are numerous other instances that it would be tedious to enumerate."

Of greater importance to the investigator is the question of whether spelling-habits remained constant over a period of time. It is not likely that they did but nevertheless analysts must work on the assumption that a spelling-pattern which distinguishes a compositor in a 1600 text will also serve to identify him ten years or so later. Dr. Walker notes cases in which the Folio compositors A and B appear to have altered their spelling-habits as their work progressed.<sup>37</sup> Notwithstanding, there must be some agreement on such a working hypothesis as:

a compositor departs from an established spelling-  
pattern only under the influence of the copy and/or  
the rule of the house.

otherwise any attempt to explain aberrant spellings other than as the result of gratuitous compositorial inconsistency would have no validity.<sup>38</sup>

37 Dr. Walker: "Compositor Determination and other Problems in Shakespearian Texts" SB (1955) 5f. writes: "...spellings common to a pair of compositors (or peculiar to one) were liable to alter, either temporarily (under the influence of copy) or more permanently (possibly in response to changing fashions). We cannot even treat the First Folio as a unit. My own differential spellings have special reference to the plays printed in 1623. Many of them (and certainly most of A's) are no use for the Comedies. Changes in habit can even be seen in the plays printed in 1623." She illustrates the point with the capitalization of heaven, and the spelling of prithce.

38 Dr. Walker's comments on "...spellings which are anomalous in Jaggard reprints..." involve this type of pre-supposition: cf. "The Textual Problem of Hamlet" loc. cit., 333.

Detailed investigation of reprints is necessary to settle the many problems associated with consistency; from such investigation more precise postulates can be laid down to cover the problem of consistency for future study.<sup>39</sup>

#### PURITY OF GROUPS

The grouping of different orthographical phenomena involves pre-suppositions similar to those made with morphological groups. "Purity" is a concept which is quite familiar to statisticians, and simply means that a measurement should measure only what it purports to measure, nothing more.

The most common observed error is to consider spellings ending in -ie and -y as forming two complementary groups, when in fact the first group measures the use of terminal -e as well as terminal -i. The use of terminal -e should be considered in relation to spellings not ending in -e, as the use of -i to end spellings was not unknown, e.g. prithie, prithy, prithi, prethie, etc. The occurrence of punctuation as well as spelling habits is sometimes recorded together, as in a recent article in which the occurrence of -d, -ed, -de, -'d, and -'de were listed and totalled.<sup>40</sup>

39 The most instructive cases to consider would naturally be reprints of the same text by the same compositor within a short time of each other. Price: "Compositor's Methods with Two Quartos Reprinted by Augustine Matthews" PBSA (1950) 269-74 notes that portion of Middleton and Rowley's A Faire Quarrell Q2 was set twice and "...the duplication was bound, seemingly in the whole edition, before the error was discovered." (270)

40 Edwards: "The Problem of Pericles" Shakespeare Survey 5 48-9

Whether the author could describe the consistency of the group is doubtful. Such a case, by no means uncommon, gives point to the observation that groups of orthographical phenomena (which are often made for the purpose of comparing the incidence of one spelling formation with that of another) must be "pure" in composition.

If groups of spelling phenomena must be "pure", then also must the processing of the data be in accordance with strict statistical method. Students of literature are properly wary of figures which purport to describe features of a literary composition, but if the characteristic lends itself to statistical treatment, then there is no reason why statistical methods should not be used.

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also lists forms which are "peculiar to one compositor": they are yeat C3v; Syr B3v; H2v (twice); togeather E3, E3v, and agen I: Mr. Edwards does not seem to have explored the possibility that they are copy-spellings.



## THE PRINCIPLES OF SPELLING - ANALYSIS

So extreme is the disorganisation which characterises present investigation into Elizabethan spelling that no more definite term than postulate can be applied to the principles which should animate it. Discussion of such postulates is necessarily incomplete and to a great extent unsatisfactory. Little systematic work has been undertaken on these more general aspects of orthography; this is surprising, for these manifestly underlie the numerous technical studies of Elizabethan compositors and printing-shop conditions. Little work has been carried out on scribal spelling, and virtually none on the orthographies of individual Elizabethan and seventeenth-century writers. It is intended here to consider the general aspects of printing change, and the connections and inter-relationships which exist between them, in order to establish some consistent picture of the nature of spelling change over the Elizabethan and early seventeenth-century period. From the postulation of principles in this manner it is hoped to get a systematic basis for the detailed investigation of Crane's spelling which follows in a later chapter.

- (1) Elizabethan spelling was fluid in character; consequently, every-one could have had his own different spelling-habit.

Sufficient data on the spelling of such Elizabethans as Munday, Churchyard, Jonson, Milton, Harvey, and Shakespeare exists for students to appreciate the diversity of Elizabethan spelling-habits.<sup>1</sup> A cursory look through any collection of manuscripts shows further the extravagant lengths to which some Elizabethans went in spelling their tongue. In no other aspect of language is Elizabethan individuality so clearly manifested as in spelling.<sup>2</sup> Some spelling-habits (such as Munday's) were based on attempts to close the gap between pronunciation and spelling; most seemed based on nothing more ordered than instinct and habit and do not appear internally consistent at all. However, as consistency is a basic attribute of human behaviour, pattern is never completely absent, difficult though it may be to isolate in manuscript texts. Theoretically, it is probable

- 1 Refer to Byrne: "Thomas Churchyard's Spelling" Lib. 4 Ser., V (1925), and "Anthony Munday's Spelling as a Literary Clue" Lib. 4 Ser., IV (1924); Darbishire: The Manuscript of "Paradise Lost" (1931); McKerrow: Introduction to Bibliography, p. 247; Greg: "An Elizabethan Printer and his Copy" Lib. 4 Ser., IV (1924) 102f.; Wilson: Shakespeare's Hand in "The Play of Sir Thomas More" (1923)
- 2 Alexander Hume writes in the dedication to his Orthography and Congruity of "...seeing such uncertainty in our men's writing, as if a man would endite one letter to twenty of our best writers, no two of the twenty without conference would agree; and that they who might perhaps agree, met rather by custom than knowledge...." Butler: English Grammar, sig. 4 tells the same story: "...many words in our language are written diversely, even at home: neither our new writers agreeing with the old; nor either new or old among themselves. Which gave occasion to Sir John Price (whether more tartly or truly, I know not) taxing our orthography to prefer his own: where he saith, that four good secretaries, writing a sentence in English from his mouth, differed all, one from another, in many letters: whereas so many Welsh, writing the same in their tongue, varied not in any one letter."

that each spelling-habit is unique; in practice, however, because texts submitted to analysis might represent only a selection of the features of any particular spelling-habit, it may be found that it is impossible to differentiate the spellings of any two particular writers.<sup>3</sup>

(2) Countervailing influences had the effect of establishing an Elizabethan "standard usage".

The first and less important of these influences was the writings and teachings of spelling reformers, phoneticians, grammarians, schoolteachers and the like; the second was the standardization of printing-house practice and style.

Although it is known that the question of spelling-reform was a pressing one amongst Elizabethans with a professional interest in language, no study has yet been made to ascertain how widespread this interest was, and to what extent the views of this group affected the community at large. Strictly speaking this might be a matter for the educationalist. Notwithstanding the lack of information on this point, it may be suggested that, as an educational system is founded upon uniformity and coherence, as as Elizabethans were formalists in

3 It should be remembered that the Elizabethans would probably not have been conscious of any pattern in their spellings; and also, that one cannot expect to find a pattern without intensive investigation.

respect to studies such as grammar (of which orthography was a part), Elizabethan schoolteachers did endeavour to standardize the variable spelling practice.

The best-known teacher of this period, Richard Mulcaster, considered that the correct way of spelling was

...a certain reasonable course, to direct the pē, to the proprietie of sound, the cōsideration of reason, & the smoothing of custom ioyntlie...,

and to support his analysis he appended a list of about 8000 common words spelt as he would have them spelt.<sup>4</sup> However, in Dr. McKerrow's opinion, his efforts "...had no visible effect on the English of its time."<sup>5</sup> Puttenham on the other hand laid much of the blame for the corruption of the language on "...men of learning as preachers and schoolemasters..."<sup>6</sup> If these could be accused by their contemporaries of having had that much effect on the language, might it not be reasonable to suspect that schoolteachers had then, as they have now, a standardising effect on English usage.<sup>7</sup>

4 Elementarie (ed. E. T. Campagnac, 1925).

5 McKerrow: review of the above, RES (1925) 336.

6 Arte of English Poesie (1589) Bk. 3, Chap. IV.

7 Alexander Hume, on the other hand, thought differently. He writes in the dedication to his Orthography: "...the printers and writers of this age, caring for no more art than may win the penny, will not pain themselves to know whether it be orthography or skaigraphy that doth the turn: and schoolmasters, whose silly brain will reach no further than the compass of their cap, content themselves with [*"I say it myself"*]...." Miss Darbishire has suggested that the grammarian and schoolteacher Alexander Gill influenced his pupil, Milton's spellings: she supports this with examples which are not, however, entirely convincing: cf. The Manuscript of Milton's "Paradise Lost", Book I p. xxxiii.

Nothing more need be done here than to mention the most prominent figures. Cheke (1555), Sainliens (1566), Smith (1568), Hart (1569), Bullokar (1580), Brondell (1605), Cotgrave, Florio (1611), Hume (1617), Gill (1619), Mason (1622), Butler (1633), DuGres (1636), Jonson (1640), and Wallis (1653) testify to a continuous professional interest in language and spelling which, if it had no immediate observable effect, at least must have drawn attention every now and again to its chaotic state, and thus contributed towards the more permanent changes effected in the printing-houses.

The precise effects of the printing-houses upon Elizabethan spelling change have not yet been traced. It appears that standardization occurred, but in what manner, at what speed, and whether with all groups of words at the same time, are questions to which answers have not been sought. If it is true that printing-shop practice did tend to standardize spelling, it would seem certain that the motive was clearness of communication rather than the arriving at a standard spelling usage. Therefore, as each person has his own opinion on how that best may be achieved, so, it may be assumed, Elizabethan printing-house spelling did not tend equally (and from printing-shop to printing-shop) towards what finally became standard English.

The effect of the professional writings and printing-shop standardization must have been to create a certain spelling "tone". Thus there must have been at any particular time a fixed range of variation.<sup>8</sup> Do and doe might be standard spellings in 1620, and deo quite unusual. Certain proof-corrections might be taken as illust-

rating this point: apart from other considerations readers of the press usually try to ensure a comprehensible text, and so on the marked proof-sheet of F1 Anthony and Cleopatra (p.352, sig.xx6<sup>v</sup>) the spelling changes their/there, and rume/rheume may be found. The F1 Lear (p.292, sig.qq6<sup>v</sup>) offers another possible example in holly/  
holy.<sup>9</sup>

It must be presumed that such changes were not fortuitous: three explanations offer themselves.

(1) The proof-corrector could have been bringing spellings which for some reason struck him as peculiar into line with his own spelling-habit. This may be correct in some cases, but they could never be isolated as there is no way of telling what the proof-corrector's spelling-pattern was. However, the proof-corrector could hardly have afforded to feel very strongly about spelling or he would in many texts have obliged the compositor to make an excessive and uneconomical number of changes.

(2) The proof-corrector could have been bringing unusual spellings into conformity with a "rule of the house". This suggests that certain spellings were barred in Elizabethan printing-houses, but as there

8 This term is discussed in later chapters.

9 For a reproduction and discussion of the Anthony and Cleopatra proof-sheet, see Willoughby: The Printing of the First Folio (1932); for Lear see Hirman: "Mark III: New Light on the Proof-reading for the First Folio of Shakespeare" SB III (1951).

is little evidence one way or another, discussion of this point must await the result of further research.<sup>10</sup>

(3) The final explanation, that the press-corrector could have been bringing certain spellings into accord with what he imagined the standard usage of the time to be, is the one which seems most likely.<sup>11</sup> It seems that when two variants were in currency he might alter the text in favour of the more common spelling. An example might be in John Day's Law-Trickes (1608) on A4<sup>v</sup>, line 8 bewteous/ beauteous, and on line 33 sattyricall/ satyricall.<sup>12</sup> This type of spelling standardization was not only carried out by the printing-house corrector, as Massinger's author-corrected plays show. In The Emperour at G3<sup>v</sup>, line 9, we find apparant/ apparent, and at I4, line 30, vaines/ veines.<sup>13</sup>

10 The "rule of the house" is more fully discussed in connection with postulate 4.

11 Dr. Willoughby (op. cit., p. 64) concurs with this conclusion.

12 See Peery: "Correction at Press in the Quarto of Law-Trickes" Lib. 5 Ser., XII (1957). In the same text the changes at A4<sup>v</sup>, 11, prou'd/ procu'd, and A4<sup>v</sup>, 12, lou'd/ loou'd must also be accounted for.

13 See Gray: "Still More Massinger Corrections" Lib. 5 Ser., V (1951) and two previous articles about the same topic by Sir Walter Greg in The Library (1924, 25). -- Although these changes might bring the spellings into agreement with the author's spelling-pattern, it may be assumed that they would not have been made unless the author felt that the spellings in the text were not standard.

It is not known for certain whether there was in fact a standard spelling usage; the assumption that there was is based on the analogy of standard speech usage.<sup>14</sup> Thus Charles Butler talks about avoiding

...approbrious Cacography and tedious Difficulty of learning...if wee writ' altogether according to the sound nou generally received....<sup>15</sup>

"Standard language" was not only a prescription (as in Puttenham's Arte, Book III), but a fact, and although contemporary writers seem to have been more concerned with the diversity rather than the agreement of spellings, it is not entirely unfounded to assume that there was a standard spelling usage. At anyone time, any two Elizabethans would have found themselves in agreement over which spellings were in standard usage and which were not.

It is not impertinent to inquire of what use in spelling-analysis is the concept of standard usage. It has been noted previously that it is incorrect to use modern spelling practice to measure "significance" or change. When compositorial, scribal, and authorial spelling-habits differ widely amongst themselves it is standard usage which forms the largest body of information against which we can measure spelling change in any text. Standard usage then is the standard against which spelling anomalies, changes, and archaisms may be

14 Sir Walter Greg ("The Elizabethan Printer...", loc. cit., p.116) has used the term "standard usage" in a similar fashion.

15 English Grammar, sig. ♦\*.



measured.<sup>16</sup>

- (3) Standard usage, however modified, was conventional rather than rational; it had little internal consistency. Each individual spelling-habit manifested a similar inconsistency.

Although the Midland dialect had become standard English, other dialects still affected the pronunciation and spelling of the language.<sup>17</sup> The efforts of the schools and advocates of language reform by this time could not impose order upon the diverse elements of the current standard usage, and the acquisition of words from the

- 16 Kokeritz: Shakespeare's Pronunciation 19 mentions the standard usage inferentially; although he more specifically refers to pronunciation, his remarks have point. He writes: "As a peculiar form of spelling which betrays the pronunciation of the perpetrator, it presupposes an orthographic norm, whether individual or more general. It is the relationship between the deviation and this norm rather than the deviation (spelling) itself that may throw light on a given phonological problem. For this reason it is essential to know not only the speller's scribal habits in general, that is, his conscious or unconscious written norm, but also his regional and social background (his spoken norm), before one can attempt an evaluation of his occasional spellings."
- 17 Perhaps a reason why one compositor spelled one way and another spelled in a different way, even in the same printing-house, was that they first came from different dialectal regions. If this was true, then despite the standardizing effects of the printing-house and the inhibiting effect of the copy, various dialectal phonological differences would manifest themselves in each compositor's spelling-habit.

Latin, and other foreign borrowings, together with self-conscious attempts to rationalise the spellings of these words, added to the orthographical diversity which is perpetuated in present-day spelling. A language of Germanic origin, strongly overlaid with French borrowings, and bolstered up in certain semantic areas with classical additions, the whole variously affected by English regional differences, could hardly be expected to demonstrate orthographical consistency, and as has been seen, examination of Elizabethan manuscripts confirms this impression.

That custom and habit rather than rule was the basis of Elizabethan spelling has long been recognised. For example, Ben Jonson writes

C Is a letter, which our Fore-Fathers might very well have spar'd in our tongue: but since it hath obtained place, both in our Writing, and Language, we are not now to quarrell Orthographie, or Custome; but to note the powers.

Further, in the same chapter at line 89, he refers to words

Which were better written without the C. if that which we have received for Orthographie, would yet be contented to be altered. But that is an emendation, rather to be wished, then hoped for, after so long a raigne of ill-custome amongst us.<sup>18</sup>

Mulcaster established a triumvirate of sound, reason, and custom, and while fully accepting the part sound played in the transmission

of the language, qualified custom's part thus

For Custom is not that which men do or speak commonlie or most, vpon whatsoeuer occasion, but onelie that, which is grounded at the first, vpon the best and fittest reason, and is therefor to be vsed, by-cause it is the fittest...I take custom to bild vpon the cause, and not to make the cause.

On the other hand, rule had not yet come into its province; he writes

It must nedes be that our English tung hath matter enough in hir own writing, which may direct hir own right, if it be reduced to certain precept, and rule of Art, the<sup>19</sup> it haue not as yet bene thoroughlie perceaued.

Consistency has been sufficiently discussed in the previous chapter not to require elaboration here. It is important for the investigator constantly to bear in mind the complex structure and composition of Elizabethan spelling. It is important too that terms such as consistency and standard usage be understood to describe general trends and influences which are not inflexible in their effect upon the overall spelling structure. For every absolute statement about spelling it is not difficult to find exceptions which might be arrayed against it.

- (4) The Elizabethan compositor (and copyist) followed the substance of his copy, but not the accidentals, including spelling.

This postulate might have been considered to be axiomatic if it were

not for the modern tendency (fostered by the conventionally-rigid nature of present-day spelling practice) to regard the spelling as contributing to the substance of the word. It has been traditionally understood that the function of the compositor is to transmit the meanings of his copy into the printed form. Because a book differs from a manuscript in many particulars, at various times the compositor of his own initiative standardized and made innovations to manuscript usage in such matters as margination, pagination, indentation, and, in Elizabethan times, spelling.

Joseph Moxon, describing the practice prevailing in 1683, writes

...by the Laws of Printing, a Compositor is strictly to follow his Copy; viz. to observe and do just so much and no more than his Copy will bear him out for; so that his Copy is to be his Rule and Authority: But the carelessness of some good Authors, and the ignorance of other Authors, has forc'd Printers to introduce a Custom, which among them is look'd upon as a task and duty incumbent on the Compositor, viz. to discern and emend the bad Spelling and Pointing of his Copy, if it be English; But if it be in any Forrain Language, the Author is wholly left to his own Skill and Judgement in Spelling and Pointing, &c. his Copy, and Correcting the Prooves.... 20

Thus the compositor could amend the spelling and punctuation of his copy at his own discretion, save that with manuscripts in a foreign language he was expected to follow the copy exactly.

Though Moxon notes specifically only "bad" spelling, there can be little doubt that the compositor actually treated all manuscript

20 Mechanick Exercises II, pp.197-8, quoted in Simpson: op. cit., p.112.

spellings which differed from his own as "bad" and so generally used his own spellings.

In respect to spelling changes, this initiative was largely lost, but not entirely, to the compositor in the nineteenth century, but until the end of that century, the compositor exercised a considerable influence over his copy spellings. Then as now the spelling was incidental to the meaning of the word; it was conventional and the compositor could exercise his freedom (together with other Elizabethans) to use his own spelling convention.

Yet although there is some conception of what the compositor did with his copy, such knowledge does not entitle the investigator to decide what he was trying to do. To gain this knowledge contemporary trade manuals, printing-house accounts, gild records, legal documents and personal papers of all kinds must be consulted. At the present stage of enquiry there is virtually no conception of the task of the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century compositor as he himself saw it. As has already been noted, Moxon provides the first specific statement on the compositor's function. The quotation above continues:

Therefore upon consideration of these accidental circumstances that attend Copy, it is necessary that a Compositor be a good English Schollar at least; and that he know the present traditional Spelling of all English Words, and that he have so much Sence and Reason, as to Point his Sentences properly: when to begin a Word with a Capital Letter, when (to render the Sence of the Author more intelligent to the Reader) to

Set some Words or Sentences in Italick or English Letters,  
&c.

It is quite obvious that the seventeenth- and twentieth-century composers enjoyed different degrees of freedom with respect to their copy, and if Moxon's testimony can be applied to a period some sixty and more years before the time of the printing habits he was describing, the compositorial function in early seventeenth-century texts appears reasonably clear.

Yet there are a number of questions about the Elizabethan compositor which may be raised. Was there agreement amongst compositorial habits, and if there was, how far was it deliberate and prescribed; was it the result of a "rule of the house"? To answer these and similar questions the printed texts (which are the results of compositorial labour) which have come down to us must be examined. Of these the most important are printed texts for which copy exists; they are mostly reprints. By comparison of one with the other, differences between compositorial practices are easy to discern. In the case of a reprint the printed copy is expected usually to influence the compositor more strongly than the words of manuscript copy, and for page-for-page reprints (a class of text which is not especially discussed here), that the reprint compositor would have used the

spellings of his copy rather than his own, for convenience.<sup>21</sup>

As past emphasis in learned studies had been in discovering differences between compositors, there is not a very large body of material to draw from to show how (if at all) compositors treated their copy in a similar fashion. Dr Willoughby discusses the reprinting of one page of F1 Troilus and Cressida in which there were 10 changes involving capitalisation, 21 involving spelling, 9 involving punctuation, 1 expansion of a speech-prefix, and 2 changes involving misprints (1 correction and 1 error), but this does not disclose much.<sup>22</sup> The difficulties encountered by Brown, and Cantrell and Williams in separating the characteristics of Robert's compositors in Q2 Titus Andronicus give some indication of how closely

21 For example, see Cauthen: "Compositor Determination in the First Folio King Lear" SB (1952) p.79. Dr. McKerrow remarks in his Introduction, p.247n., "One might have supposed that there would indeed have been some definite advantage in following the original spelling in a line-for-line reprint as saving trouble in justification". In Ben Jonson's Every Man Out Of His Humour, Sir Walter Greg has noted a reprint which "...is astonishingly exact. In half a dozen pages compared in different parts I have found no variation of reading whatever, and even minor differences of spelling, &c. are rare". (Library (1920), p.157)

22 Willoughby, op.cit., 65.

the habits of one compositor might agree with the habits of another; separation is based mainly on such psycho-  
 mechanical evidence as centring of the stage-directions.<sup>23</sup>  
 The greatest body of information about the compositors of one printing-shop comprises Dr. Walker's investigations on the work of the Fl compositors, A and B. In this case, although the intention was to isolate differences, there is a general impression of what these two compositors actually did with the copy before them. (The reader will not be encumbered here with information readily available in Textual Problems, pp.9-12.) If anything has been shown clearly, it is the necessity for intensive study to be made of compositorial habits, and especially, of habits and conventions common to all Elizabethan compositors.<sup>24</sup>

The excerpt from Moxon quoted above does encourage one to believe that there was some sort of "rule of house", but it does not reveal what form it may have taken. It

23 Williams, op.cit., 139.

24 It is regrettable that Professor C. Hinman's forthcoming book on the compositors and printing of the First Folio was not available when these notes were written. It can confidently be expected that his report will require considerable revision of the accepted views of the number of compositors who worked on the First Folio, and their distinguishing habits and peculiarities.



is possible on the one hand that there was just a commonly-observed convention, never put into written form, and on the other, that different printers had their rigorously enforced standards which were to some extent different from the rules followed by other printers.

Because printed copy is presumed to have had a comparatively greater effect upon the compositor, more can be learnt about compositorial habits from texts for which the manuscript copy exists. There are two studies which provide information on this subject, but because these cases are rare, knowledge and hopes of increasing it are small. Sir Walter Greg relates that the compositor of Harington's MS. regularised and modernised the spelling, although in some instances he did introduce spellings apparently older than the forms of the copy. Sir Walter concludes that

..it is evident that the compositors had a recognised standard of their own in the matter of spelling and to a lesser extent in punctuation, and that they adhered to this standard with very fair consistency. 25

Majorie Rushforth tells a similar story about the two Taylor MSS. published in 1645. She notes that

25 "An Elizabethan Printer and His Copy" loc.cit., 47.

...The compositor, whose spelling was more modern than Taylor's, made no attempt to follow his copy...

and that he

...reproduced all that he considered essential, the words. <sup>26</sup>

Texts for which copy does not exist (naturally of paramount importance for the textual critic) afford little help at this stage in determining the compositorial function. This has not prevented scholars from isolating certain compositorial influences in, say, certain Fl plays, but it seems clear that until some more exact view of the function of the Elizabethan compositor is obtained, this particular information is of very limited value.

Professor Bald has suggested that the compositors "...probably had certain rules to guide them and certain instructions to obey"; this may be so, but there is little contemporary evidence to support the conjecture. <sup>27</sup> The question of an Elizabethan rule of the house is very complex and despite Moxon's aid, is unlikely to be settled for some time. In the absence of contemporary writings on the printing-house, it might be possible to discover in an examination of all the activities of the

<sup>26</sup> Rushforth, op.cit., 188, 191.

<sup>27</sup> Bald: Bibliographical Studies in the Beaumont and Fletcher Folio of 1647 (1938), 94.

printing-shop indications of fixed rules governing the treatment of copy.<sup>28</sup> However, agreement amongst compositorial habits can be explained in many ways without requiring a rule of the house. Possibly the best way of settling the question would be to follow one identified compositor from one printing-shop to the other: changes in his habits, where they agreed with the habits of the other compositors of his new shop, might then reasonably be explained by the influence of a rule of the house. Dr. Walker's remarks on

...an over-all unifying preference for one kind of spelling rather than another, something which distinguishes the (Shakespearian) orthography from that of some of the quartos...

seem to suggest a rule of the house, but there would probably be agreement between the spelling-patterns and habits of any two compositors without it necessarily implying a rule of the house.<sup>29</sup> Then, if the agreement does not indicate a common standard and usage, of what use could it be in identifying different groups of compositors?

28 Note 12 suggests that the corrector's alterations lou'd/loou'd, and prou'd/proou'd in Law-Trickes would have to be explained. Might they not be explained as changes occasioned by a "rule of the house"?

29 "The Textual Problem of Hamlet" loc.cit., 334.

- (5) The compositor nevertheless adopted certain spellings of his copy-text.

It should be clearly understood that all spellings in a printed text are compositorial, and all spellings in a scribal transcript are scribal spellings, so that when copy-spelling is referred to, it is in fact compositorial or scribal versions of spellings which appeared in the copy which are being discussed.<sup>30</sup> Only in such cases as reprints, for which the copy exists, can it be surely determined whether a particular spelling has not been

30 This statement naturally excludes press-corrections. The expression "copy-spelling" has been used in the past to refer to archaic or otherwise interesting words in a printed or scribal text, which appear anomalous in their context. The presupposition is that such a word actually occurred in the compositor's "copy". However, no spelling can be called a "copy-spelling" unless the copy exists to enable the comparison to be made between it and the compositorial or scribal text. In this investigation there is no connotation of "unusualness" applied to "copy-spellings" and the term means only that this is a spelling which is common to both copy and derivative text, when there is the means of being sure; or more generally, that this is a spelling in the copy for a subsequent derivate, which may or may not be under discussion.

changed by the copyist.<sup>31</sup> In texts for which no copy exists it is pure conjecture to label any spelling whatsoever a "copy-spelling". Only the study of reprints will disclose the conditions under which the compositor accurately reproduced the spellings as well as the sense of his copy. Unfortunately research on this aspect of bibliography is wanting, and only a few general observations are possible.

Compositorial spellings will coincide with copy-spellings in three ways: (1) there will be the general agreement that exists between any two people drawing their spellings from a common vocabulary, spelling convention, and language. This might correspond to standard usage or be what may be termed the "common denominator". (2) There will be agreement between spellings on

31 Thus Mr. Brown (*op.cit.*, 34) reports on the 1600 reprint by Roberts of *Titus Andronicus*: "...it would seem that if Compositor X found -ow and -ew in his copy he did not often bother to change them to the -owe and -ewe forms. Nor did he always change honour to honor, and moue to mooue. He did not once change farewell to farwell, reuenge to reuendge, or sweet to sweete. Compositor Y did not change houre to howre and was not consistent in changing being to beeing, their to theyr, and madam to maddam. Both compositors sometimes changed sweete to sweet and -owe, -ewe to -ow, -ew, and both sometimes retained uncharacteristic forms of receau/receiue, etc...."

account of the compositor's inefficiency. (3) There will be agreement because a copy-spelling was unfamiliar to the compositor.

It is instructive to examine these categories more closely:

(1) To follow this classification the reader should see the discussion of standard usage, and the diagrams to postulate 6. Broadly speaking, it may be presumed that there will be some inevitable and unconscious agreement between any two Elizabethan spelling-habits. As this point has been made quite clear in previous discussion, it need not be laboured here.

(2) Various terms have been used to further refine "inefficiency". Although the compositor was not expected to follow the spelling of his text under usual circumstances, nothing compelled him to depart on every possible occasion from the spelling of his copy. So, when his spelling-habit agreed with the spelling in his copy more likely than not he would use it. The spellings which must be otherwise explained are those cases when the compositor departed from his settled habit in favour of a spelling known to be found in the copy-text. It has been suggested that these spellings are the result of

inadvertence.<sup>32</sup> The compositor is presumed (when he was tired perhaps) in a moment of abstraction to have reproduced mechanically the copy-spelling before him. On the other hand, it might also be true that under these circumstances the compositor adhered more strongly to his own spelling-habits. However, what the compositor was likely to have done when tired is a fruitless question and one which would be best settled by psychological experimentation. The question is how certain spellings appeared in certain texts, not what a compositor did or did not do when he was tired. It is known that certain common spellings in copy were reproduced by compositors who had different definite spelling variants for the same words. It is necessary not to determine so much what influenced the compositor to use the copy spelling but to determine whether these apparently anomalous spellings indicate the influence of revision, or a scribe,

32 For example, J.D. Wilson: "Thirteen Volumes of Shakespeare: A Retrospect" MLR (1930), 409 "...even expert compositors when tired or when they came upon a word difficult to read or to understand, might let a certain number of author's spellings through, while the inexpert compositor who clung close to his copy might let through a considerable quantity." Professor Wilson's further remarks on a similar subject (in "The New Way with Shakespeare's Texts" Shakespeare Survey 9 75) when read together with note 29 above seem fundamentally unsound.

or two different types of copy.

(3) It is likely that the compositor accurately reproduced many copy-spellings of words unfamiliar to him, such as strange names, foreign borrowings, and quotations from unfamiliar foreign languages.<sup>33</sup> These may have been words which he had not met before, or had met very infrequently, so that he had not formed a spelling-variant of his own for those words. If this is the case, the spellings of rare and unusual words in printed texts must be examined carefully, for these might reveal the nature of the underlying copy.

It is most unlikely that in a text for which the copy-text does not exist the spellings could be refined into the groups outlined below. Nevertheless, the investigator should constantly bear in mind that the spelling structure of any Elizabethan printed text is probably very complex, possibly after this theoretical organization:

33 Dr. McKerrow: "An Elizabethan Printer, etc. "loc.cit.", 254f. remarks that Elizabethan compositors "...were not all competent linguists, and Latin phrases or foreign names evidently puzzled them at times..." The compositor would probably have some difficulty in reading unfamiliar words in the manuscript, and in cases in which his text was already corrupted (e.g. Pericles 1609.II.ii. Pue Per doleera kee per forsa) it is more likely than not that the compositor further corrupted the text.



- (i) a large group of spellings of some considerable consistency, which are taken (on evidence of his work on other writings by other writers) to be the compositor's. This group will include spelling variants common to both the author and the copyist.
- (ii) authorial spellings ("copy-spellings") which, for reasons which are not particularly important, the compositor has reproduced, even though there was a spelling-variant in his own

printed, of it.

The premiss upon which any action is based is that it can be undertaken and brought to a successful conclusion. Without belief in this, it is pointless to attempt any action. Consequently, it is necessary to consider here whether it is possible to isolate spelling-patterns or traces of them corresponding to the various agents of transmission, in the various types of texts which result from their labours. In this section it is the possibility rather than the anticipated success of spelling-analysis procedures which are considered.

The two parts of the postulate above are manifestly unequal, for reason dictates that though there should usually be no difficulty (if a suitable method is evolved) in isolating the compositorial spelling-pattern (which should be uppermost, figuratively-speaking, in any printed text), <sup>34</sup> it should not be expected that it would be just as easy to isolate an authorial, spelling-pattern overlaid

34 Spelling-analysis generally proceeds upon the assumption that the over-all spelling-pattern of a text is compositorial (when it is a printed text) or scribal, this being dependent upon the correctness of postulate 4. This assumption is unreliable in those few cases in which an author imposed his own spellings upon the compositor to any great extent, through specific instructions to follow the copy spellings, supervision, or extensive corrections in proof.

with the spelling-patterns of a scribe and/or any number of compositors. 35

As has been previously seen, a spelling-pattern is an artificial concept applied by the investigator to the spellings of an author, scribe, or compositor, describing their internal consistency at the moment of investigation, in any text. Furthermore, it is presumed that the spelling-pattern will remain generally constant over a period of time. This concept is applied to a holograph text to describe its spellings. Pattern, by definition internal consistency, must exist. There is always some relationship between any authorial spelling-habit (however eccentric, chaotic, or inconsistent it may appear on the surface) and standard usage, which can be organized into a

- 35 Study of the postulate will show that it does not refer specifically to scribal spelling-patterns and scribal influence upon authorial and compositorial spelling-patterns. However, as these observations describe a two-party relationship, it covers these cases: texts shared by (a) an author and compositor, (b) an author and scribe, (c) a scribe and compositor. The general term "writers" refers to either author or scribe, and the postulate relates equally to texts derived from either. As attention is directed mainly at texts for which there were only two stages of transmission, authorial spelling-patterns underlying scribal patterns are not considered.

spelling-pattern. Consequently, the premiss that an authorial spelling-pattern can be determined from holograph must be accepted as self-evident.

In spelling-analysis there are two main problems: (i) to separate and identify the compositorial spelling factor, and (ii) to classify the spellings which remain once that has been done. In past investigations there has been a tendency to label the first group of spellings "compositorial", and to describe the second group (the "residue") as copy-spellings, scribal or authorial according to the nature of the copy. Few scholars if any have appreciated that both major spelling-pattern and the group of residual spellings falling outside it have, or could have, a very complex organization.

Without discussing at this stage the method which must be used to obtain this division, this is the situation:

When a known compositorial spelling-pattern is subtracted from the total spelling-pattern of a given text, the customary assumption is that the residual spellings represent the underlying authorial spelling-pattern where it disagrees with the compositor's.

However, the true situation may be considerably different: there should be (1) the Major Pattern (which is subtracted, and termed compositorial), which is composed of:

(a) a compositorial spelling-pattern, ideally determined from study of other printed texts closely related to the text under consideration; also

(b) that part of the authorial spelling-pattern which agrees or coincides with the compositorial pattern; and

(2) the Residue, which is composed of:

(a) additions to the compositor's spelling-pattern, spellings peculiar to the text being studied, or not previously noted;

(b) press-corrector's alterations in-so-far as the spellings used are different from those of the Major spelling-pattern. (Often they are not and therefore cannot be detected);

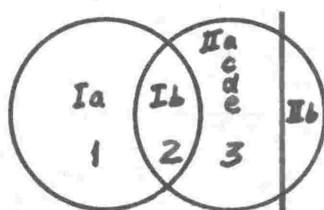
(c) the compositor's phonetic transcriptions of copy-spellings which he has not completely understood, and/or for which he had no variant in his own spelling-pattern; these spellings would be neither truly authorial nor yet completely compositorial;

(d) odd spellings in which the compositor has departed from his habitual variant for no apparent reason; and

(e) that part of the authorial spelling-pattern which does not agree with the compositorial spelling-pattern.

What is really obtained from spelling-analysis then is not a simple compositor-author division of spellings, but a highly complex organisation in which compositorial spellings are to be found in the authorial division, and authorial in the compositorial.

The situation may be represented diagrammatically thus:

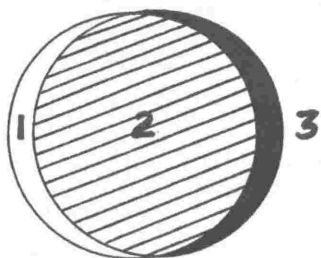


press-corrector

12 major sp. pattern

3 residual spp.

The separation of the spelling into the two main categories should be simple enough, if arduous. However, the task of further refining the second category (the Residual Spellings) is complicated to the highest degree. The Major pattern (called compositorial) can be divided into its compositorial and authorial components provided that each of these spelling-patterns has previously been determined in other related texts. A diagram will make this clear:



(Diagram II)

- 1,2 : comp. sp. pattern determined from independent text X.
- 1 : portion of comp. sp. pattern not found in 2 which may be found in another text by the same compositor.
- 3 : portion of auth. sp. pattern not found in 2 which may be found in another text by the same author.
- 2, 3: auth. sp. pattern determined from independent text Y.
- ∴ 2: major sp. pattern of text Z; agreement of X & Y comp. & auth. patterns respectively.

The Residual spellings, which do not admit of as simple separation, present a much more difficult task. From Diagram I above it may be seen that all the spellings in this category are mingled together, seemingly without relationship. Group 2a (additions to the compositor's spelling-pattern) may be isolated if other texts by the same compositor have been studied previously. Mr. J.R. Brown

has used this technique quite successfully in a recent study.<sup>36</sup> Corrector's alterations (2b), inasmuch as they are consistent and do not resemble either compositorial or authorial spellings (which is not likely) may occasionally be picked out, but the technique is impressionistic rather than systematic.<sup>37</sup> This is very much the case also with the next group (2c), save that occasionally a certain uncouthness of spelling may set phonetic transcriptions apart, especially when they occur together as a quotation from a foreign language largely unfamiliar to the copyist. Cases in which the compositor departs from a previously ascertained spelling-pattern for no apparent reason are virtually impossible to separate from the next group, the residual authorial spelling-pattern, (2d).<sup>38</sup> Subsequent

36 "The Compositors of Hamlet Q2 and The Merchant of Venice" SB (1955), 17-40.

37 There would be very little chance of isolating changes in punctuation made by the author in proof, of the nature that Simpson, op.cit., 12 notes in connection with Jonson.

38 In connection with the authorial spelling-pattern there is a corollary principle to be noted. Dr. Pollard: "Elizabethan Spelling" loc.cit., 7 notes it: "The postulate which underlies these attempts is that where we find unusually archaic or unusually modern spellings cropping up in a text the spelling of which is otherwise normal for its period, there is at least a prima facie case for examination as to whether these spellings may not be attributed to the author". Sir Walter Greg: The Shakespeare First Folio, 147 writes: "...the spelling of authors tended to be more erratic

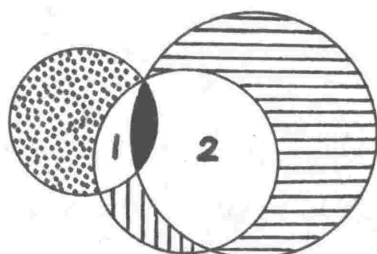
investigation might reveal that some of these spellings foreshadow permanent changes in the compositor's spelling habits, and in this event separation might be practicable if not very precise.

It should be clear by now that spelling-analysis is not a simple matter of subtraction. When a scribe intermediates between author and compositor the situation becomes one which may never be adequately resolved, and the investigator will find that the most he can do is to isolate a few of the many possible groups of spellings. There is no purpose in attempting to describe the organisation of spellings within this type of text here; the reader should find that the above outline and the diagram on the next page will convey an adequate impression of the complexity of the problem.

The possibility of successfully separating the various groups of spellings differs so much from text to text

and old fashioned than that of the prints in which their work appeared." This appears to be a very unsatisfactory principle to work with. It is not being perverse to conceive of cases in which the practice of one printing-house maintained spellings which were not only obsolete in their contemporary setting but which were also obsolete when viewed with the hindsight of "modern" times. As has already been noted elsewhere, Massinger for example felt that he had to alter the compositor's apparent to apparent.





(Diagram III)

- Auth.sp.pattern not in text X
- ▨ scrib.sp.pattern not in X
- ▤ comp.sp.pattern (Major pattern in X)
- ① spelling characteristics common to auth.& scribe; 'copyspp.'
- ② spelling characteristics common to sc.& comp some 'copyspp.'
- The common denominator - 'stand.usage'?: some 'copyspp.'

that further comment will hardly be useful. Like textual emendation, once the larger groups are isolated, spelling-analysis enters the realm of art as much as rule. It should always be possible to determine the Major spelling-pattern, but what is done with the Residual spellings depends primarily upon what is known about the copy and/or agents of transmission (hence the parallel with textual criticism), and the method used to further refine the spellings. <sup>39</sup>

The method used to refine the spellings of the manuscripts from Ralph Crane's pen will be discussed in the last part of this investigation.

39 The spelling-patterns should not be envisaged as precise units: the factor of inconsistency together with a certain procedural probable error makes it quite likely that there would be a margin of error.

- (7) A spelling-pattern isolated in one text should also be able to be isolated in any other text for which there is reason to assume the same compositor (or scribe, or author).

It seems likely that if the compositorial spelling-pattern in any work by a certain printer has been identified, that same spelling-pattern should be available in other works from the same printing-shop. It should, however, be realised that the second (or confirmatory) spelling-pattern is not in fact the whole compositorial spelling-pattern of the second work, but only that portion which happens to agree with the first spelling-pattern. With such a complex organisation as the spelling-pattern it would be very surprising if even this agreement was found and it did not indicate that the same compositor had set up both the texts. Nevertheless, it is best to analyse the second work fully to obtain a certain identification.

It has already been seen that works set up by the same compositor need not necessarily demonstrate the same spelling-pattern in detail, even when the vocabularies are identical, for the compositor may be highly variable or inconsistent in his spelling-habit. In addition, in works with dissimilar vocabularies, there will be additions to and subtractions from the compositorial spelling-

pattern. Dr. Walker's investigations have underlined this point. <sup>40</sup>

- (8) However, any spelling-pattern was liable to (or subject to) modification over a period of years (through influences discussed in the previous postulates); on the other hand, spelling-habits tended to become fixed as the individual become older.

Spelling at this time was the most variable facet of printing-shop practice, and on that account most subject to modification and standardisation. Opposed in this case, however, to the standardising influences, was the compositor's own conservatism, his resistance to change which strengthened (if familiar psychological principles are applied) as his own spelling-habit consolidated with the years. This is, of course, manifestly conjectural and inferential. The correlation between standardising influences and resistance to change has not been specifically studied in this connection. Notwithstanding, it does seem likely that a compositor would retain his

40 Work might well commence on William White's compositors, three of whose compositors have already been identified in the two 1609 Pericles quartos: cf. Edwards: op.cit.

spelling-pattern largely unchanged during his employment with one printer. Whether or not a compositor would change details of his spelling-habit upon moving to a different printing-shop cannot be determined, for this question too has not yet been studied, but it is reasonable to conjecture that when this happened there would be a gradual tendency towards conformity with the over-all practice of the new printing-shop, especially in the grosser elements of the spelling-pattern.<sup>41</sup>

On the other hand, scribes and writers generally, although influenced by the general fashion, and like the public, by the standardising influence of the printed book, were not affected by printing-shop practice as immediately as the compositor. Perhaps then scribal and authorial spelling-habits might illustrate the conservation and consolidation of spelling practices with the passage of time, but no answer has yet been sought to this question. It should not be surprising to find that although the compos-

41 A word like hee which usually occurs frequently enough to be useful in identifying compositors might be counter to the "rule" of the compositor's new printing-house. In this case the compositor would probably have to try to change his habit, and the resultant mixed forms in his texts would prove very misleading to the analyst. One can only hope that such an event did not occur.

itorial spelling-practice changed over the years through the super-imposition of various and changing printing-shop styles, the scribal and authorial spelling-habits remained quite rigid.

To this question and to the many others that have been raised there are perhaps no sure answers. The passage of the three hundred and so years from Elizabethan times has obscured many details, and the modern era has not yet provided the scholastic apparatus to use efficiently the data which have survived the years. Nevertheless, it is confidently hoped that the report on the investigation of Crane's manuscripts which now follows will help towards answers to some of these problems, and so make the truth in this field a little clearer.

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## R A L P H   C R A N E ' S   L I F E

In an important article on some early seventeenth-century MSS., Sir Walter Greg suggested that "no company of players could very well carry on without the presence among them of at least one person capable of weilding a pen with some measure of competence"; such a scribe could be identified with the 'book-keeper'.<sup>1</sup> From this slight beginning developed scholarly interest in the scribe of the promptbook of Sir John van Olden Barnavelt. When the scribe became identified as Ralph Crane and was shown to have had a hand in other dramatic manuscripts, this minor historical character assumed new importance: it became important to learn as much as possible about his life.<sup>2</sup>

- 1    Greg: "Prompt Copies, Private Transcripts, and the Playhouse Scrivener" Lib. 4 Ser., VI (1926) 149.
- 2    Materials for a life of Crane are slight: apart from Crane's own dedicatory introductions to his transcripts and the preface to his Works of Mercy (both editions), very little exists. Crane did not live in the public eye; he was a clerk and achieved importance only by dealings with important men. Professor F.P.Wilson: "Ralph Crane, Scrivener to the King's Players" Lib. 4 Ser., VI (1926) presents virtually all the known data on Crane.  
This chapter does not pretend to exhaust the possibilities of Crane's biography. During his clerkships in the state offices, the Inns of Court, and with the Jewish community, Crane must have left traces of his calligraphy, and also of his business presence, as witness to statements and depositions, and documents of all kinds. There is a fertile and potentially-rewarding field of research for scholars with

From what Crane describes of his early life in the preface to his Works it is not unlikely that he was born in London between 1565 and 1570. He claims that his father was a freeman of the Merchant Tailors' Company; if this is correct, he may have been educated at the famous school under the mastership of Richard Mulcaster, perhaps with his friend, Thomas Lodge. However, Crane passes over these years in silence.<sup>3</sup> In any event his education seems to have been sound, if one might judge from his own sparse writings, and his taste in manuscripts. Having completed his formal education, he seems to have travelled around England for some years and then entered service with Sir Anthony Ashley, who was Clerk to the Privy Council, from 1588. The next year Lodge (who had entered Lincoln's Inn in April 1578) dedicated his Scyllaes Metamorphosis to his friend, 'Sweet Master Crane', thus providing the first formal notice known of Crane's existence.<sup>4</sup>

access to the documents. However, what might have been considered most likely to have produced the greatest number of Crane remains was destroyed by fire on 12 January, 1619: this was the Westminster banquetting-hall, under which were stored most of "...the writings and papers belonging to the offices of the Signet, Privy Seal, and Council Chamber..." (Chambers: Elizabethan Stage I, 17n.)

3 John Webster, who claims in his epistle to the mayoral pageant Monuments of Honour (1624) to have been born free of the Merchant Tailors' Company, may also have been a product of the famous school. (v. Chambers: Elizabethan Stage III, 507).

4 Apart from this reference by Lodge, no-one else appears to have referred to Crane in print.

From 1596 Crane served as an underwriter in the Signet and Privy Seal Office, during the clerkship of Lewin Munck, and thence passed to serve "...the Tribe of Levi..." In the same period (1596-1618) he worked in the Inns of Court. During these years he may have met not only Lodge but also other gentlemen of the law, Francis and Christopher Davison, Joseph Bryan, William Bagnall, Thomas Carey and Richard Gipps, whose poetry he was later to transcribe for presentation. <sup>5</sup>

Of these the Davisons are the most interesting. Francis, who had been admitted to Gray's Inn in 1593, contributed a Masque of Proteus to the Christmas Revels in 1594/5. The masque was performed before the Queen at Shrovetide, 1594/5. After two years' travel to the end of 1597, nothing is heard of Davison until in 1602 A Poetical Rhapsody appeared, edited by Francis Davison and with many pieces by both himself and his young soldier brother, Walter. This collection, mainly from its association with Sir Philip Sidney's lyrical poetry, was reprinted in 1608, 1611, and 1621.

According to the DNB biographer, Francis Davison died in or before 1619. At the end of his address 'to the reader' in the Rhapsody he had made reference to "some graver work" which he had hoped to publish eventually.

5 Wilson: op. cit., 199.



This statement may refer to his verse translations from the Psalms which, however, were not published during his lifetime, nor, it seems, ever afterwards. How Crane obtained them can only be guessed. Christopher Davison's contribution to the Psalms in Crane's transcriptions is so slight that it would not be unlikely that he was another younger brother favoured, like Walter before him, by the elder Davison's patronage. <sup>6</sup>

William Bagnall has been identified as a friend of Philip Massinger from a Chancery Bill in the Public Record Office dated 6 November, 1624, in which Bagnall and Massinger appear as fellow plaintiffs. <sup>7</sup>

George Calvert, created first lord Baltimore in 1625 and later to become one of Crane's patrons, was appointed one of the Clerks of the Council in January, 1608. It is possible that during this time with the legal profession Crane first became acquainted with this patron. <sup>8</sup>

His next employment was with the King's Company:

And some imployment hath my vsefull Pen  
Had 'mongst those ciuill, well-deseruing men,  
That grace the stage with honour and delight,  
Of whose honesties I much could write,  
But will comprise't (as in a Caske of Gold)  
Vnder the Kingly Seruice they doe hold.

6 DNB V 625f. (A.H.Bullen), and Greg: Gesta Grayorum 1688 Mal. Soc. (1914) have provided these details about the Davisons.

7 Dunn: Philip Massinger (1957), 43.

8 DNB III, 721.

So he writes in the preface to The Works of Mercy (sig.A.6.).

The date at which he first started to write for the players is unknown, although it is not unlikely that the date of his first dramatic transcript, 1618, marks the first year of his association with the dramatic profession.

His first known dramatic transcript is of Jonson's Pleasure reconciled to Virtue which was performed before the King on 6 January, 1618. However, although Herford and Simpson consider that this may have been a copy made for one of the noble performers, it cannot be determined whether the transcription should be given the same date, or, in the event of it being a presentation copy, a date a little later.<sup>9</sup> However, with the prompt-book of the play Sir John van Olden Barnavelt there is a smaller margin of error, for the play was first performed between 19 and 27 August, 1619; the promptbook can therefore be more precisely dated.<sup>10</sup>

The next year, on 14 December, 1620, Crane's own

9 Herford and Simpson: Ben Jonson VII, 475; Greg: English Printed Drama II, 741. Herford and Simpson did not consider the possibility that Crane's transcription was both a performer's and a presentation copy. It may have occurred to Crane to use the opportunity of preparing the actor's copy to impress the courtly performer (and a possible patron) with his calligraphy.

10 Greg: Eng. Dram. Doc. 268.

religious poem, The Works of Mercy, was entered in the Stationers' Register.<sup>11</sup> Shortly afterwards in 1621 the first edition appeared, dedicated to Dorothy Osborne, John Egerton, and Lewin Munck.<sup>12</sup> In the autobiographical preface, Crane laments his age and penury. However, at the time it was written he was probably doing some work for the players.

In April, 1622, Thomas Middleton, the city poet, wrote his customary entertainment for the Lord Mayor's banquet. The transcript in Crane's hand remains; it is a roughly-written document in marked contrast to the beautifully-prepared Pleasure masque of four years' earlier.

If Mr C. Hoy is correct in his attribution of their copy to Crane's hand, Crane transcribed about this time Fletcher and Massinger's The Spanish Curate,<sup>13</sup> The Prophetess,<sup>14</sup> The Maid in the Mill, and The False One; it is impossible to place their transcription more exactly as they were not printed until the 1647 Folio. Mr J.R. Brown claims that the copy for the 1623 quarto of Webster's

11 STC 5986.

12 Wilson, op. cit., 197.

13 Also, see Bentley, op. cit., III, 418

14 Bentley, ibid, III, 340.

Duchess of Malfy was also prepared by Crane.<sup>15</sup> Furthermore, at some time, perhaps during the period 1620-1, Crane may have transcribed the copy for the first four and last Shakespearian comedies in the first folio: they are The Two Gentlemen of Verona, The Merry Wives of Windsor, Measure for Measure, The Tempest, and The Winter's Tale. It is further possible though not likely that 2 Henry IV was prepared during the same period.<sup>16</sup>

Crane's first dated transcript appears in 1624. It is the Archdall-Folger copy of Middleton's Game at Chess, and it is dated 13 August, 1624. Two other Crane transcripts of the play appeared in quick succession. The Malone copy was dedicated for presentation to William Hammond in December-January 1624-5; the Lansdowne copy, which was evidently not dedicated, was dated simply 1624. Middleton's The Witch, which Crane also transcribed, is placed in the period 1624-25 on evidence of the watermarks.<sup>17</sup>

About this time Crane and the players parted company.

The year 1625 was marked for Crane by serious losses.

15 Hoy: "The Shares of Fletcher and his Collaborators in the Beaumont and Fletcher Canon", part I, SB VIII; part II, SB IX. Brown: "The Printing of John Webster's Plays", part I, SB VI; part II, SB VIII.

16 See discussion of the possibility of Crane having prepared copy for some Shakespeare F1 plays in Greg: The Shakespeare First Folio, passim.

17 Rf. the Malone Society reprint: The Witch (1950), viii.

In August John Fletcher died; Crane finished the transcript of his Demetrius and Enanthe on 27 November. Thenceforth for Crane the years were to be marked off by the deaths of his friends and patrons; his own death did not seem to him to be far off.

Some time in [1625] Crane published a second edition of his Works, with the new title, A Pilgrim's New-Year's-Gift.<sup>18</sup> In the expanded preface he tells of sad events. The first, the great London plague of 1625, had left him distressed but unscathed. More disastrously for him, he had lost his employment with the King's Men. By this time Crane must have been between fifty and sixty years of age, possibly older; such an age in those times was unusual, and in a man who had to earn his own living, was usually associated with poverty and distress. Such indeed was the case:

now young ones raigne,  
 Whilst I (too old about the street  
 Worke for a Writer) no Employment meet,  
 But all dismayed, and dis-joyfull sit  
 As one had neither Pen, nor Hand, nor Wit:

Nothing is known of the circumstances of Crane's severance from the players. It may have been that he had been employed for a certain task and that when this had been completed, no further work was available. His moderate tone in the preface does not suggest that he

parted from the Company on bad terms. Nevertheless, he had a successor, though perhaps not immediately. The successor was possibly the scribe known as Jhon, whose known work falls mainly within the period 1625-30.<sup>19</sup>

Although only Bonduca (c. 1626), The Honest Man's Fortune (licensed on 8 February, 1624/5), and the revision of Massinger's holograph Believe as you List (licensed 6 May, 1631) are at present known to have come from 'Jhon's' pen, and this is slight evidence for a firm statement, it may have been more than coincidence that 'Jhon's' known career with the King's Company commenced just as Crane's ceased.

It is significant that Crane appears to have never again been in the position to prepare dramatic transcripts, despite the conciliatory references to the Company in his preface. On the face of it, then, it seems that Crane worked with the King's Men from about 1618 to 1625. The nature of this relationship with the Company, and the circumstances under which it may have terminated are still fairly indefinite. Nevertheless, some observations may be made here on the basis of received opinion which can serve as the foundation for a more detailed survey in the concluding chapter, which will take advantage of any new details gathered from study of the transcripts.

19 Bentley. op. cit., III 317.

It seems likely that it was towards the middle of the year of the plague that Crane and the players parted company. His documented acquaintanceship with Middleton dates from 1622, and as it is difficult to believe that the players would have commissioned a scribe for the private benefit of one of their playwrights, it would appear that the Game and Witch transcripts were the result of a private business arrangement between Crane and Middleton. Perhaps it is not coincidence that the only presentation copies of plays in this period are by Middleton and Fletcher. If it had been the policy of the King's Company to have had presentation copies made, one wonders why the only copies extant are by only two of their playwrights, and one scribe. It may be possible that Crane prepared two types of dramatic transcript during the 1622-25 period: the first a number of presentation copies resulting from private business arrangements with the authors, and the second, transcripts for use as printing-house copy, prepared for the Company.

The Archdall-Folger copy of the Game was prepared while the play was still running; it is dated 13 August, 1624. This does not appear, at first glance, to have been prepared for presentation as other copies were. In many places there is rough crossing-out (Crane was neat and generally made few corrections) and the overall style

of the manuscript suggests the promptbook Barnavel rather than the later presentation copies. However, if the Folger Game is not tidy enough for a presentation copy, it certainly is not a promptbook. On the other hand, the Folger copy need be nothing more significant than a hasty transcript prepared in order to take advantage of the current popular interest in the play.

It is possible, however, that it was prepared in anticipation of the "allowed book" being withdrawn on the play's prohibition. Bald: "A Game at Chesse", 21 records that the promptbook was sent to the King for him to read if he desired. The players must have been able to foresee trouble over this provocative play, and would probably have foreseen that their promptbook was in danger. The loss of this would not have crippled them for there would be the 'parts' and the 'plot', but it must have been much easier (and wiser) to have commissioned a copy to be made for their use if the promptbook was taken away. They would naturally have sought to retain a clean copy of the play to ensure eventual publication.<sup>20</sup>

The Lansdowne Game which is dated no more precisely than '1624' appears to precede the Malone copy. This is

20 In this connection it is interesting to note that the Folger Game is one of the only two dramatic transcripts by Crane which have running-titles: see the next chapter.



dedicated to Mr. William Hammond by Middleton himself, and may be dated about the new year 1624/5. The Witch transcript has been placed in the same period; Middleton's dedication to Thomas Holmes was itself transcribed by Crane. This further supports the suggestion that the relationship between them was that of playwright and scribe rather than that of Company representative and Company employee. From August Middleton was in hiding against a Privy Council warrant for his arrest and he would hardly at this time have been in a position to pay over-much attention to the niceties of transcription. Details at this stage are still not very clear, but it does seem that Crane was more likely working for Middleton than the Company.

In August 1625 John Fletcher died, and on 27 November Crane signed the dedication to his first self-identified transcript, Demetrius and Enanthe.<sup>21</sup> If Crane had been working for the players at this time, or even if the transcript had been started at the direct order of the players, Crane would hardly have been permitted in ordinary circumstances to have used Company property for his own purposes. It seems very much as if Fletcher had

21 That Crane may have been mindful of Fletcher's recent death when he wrote the dedication might be indicated by the reference to "...a Season so sad..." However, this may simply be another reference to his own misfortunes.

commissioned Crane to make a transcription for him; upon Fletcher's death, Crane simply 'converted' the play to his own use. Professor Wilson remarks

it is curious that so notable a get-penny as Demetrius and Enanthe should have been allowed to stray outside the playhouse, and should have existed in a private transcript twenty-two years before it got into print.

It is quite unlikely that Demetrius was "allowed to stray"; this matter will be more fully discussed later. <sup>22</sup>

His Pilgrim's New Year's Gift, dated [1625] from references to the plague, does not prove conclusively that Crane did leave dramatic work in 1625, but the facts that he never again produced transcripts of dramatic works after Demetrius, and that in 1626 he commenced a series of transcripts of poetical works, tend to support it. <sup>23</sup>

In the dedication to Demetrius Crane makes it clear that his life had taken a sadder turn. He refers too to a task which he had in mind, but which would require more congenial circumstances for its completion:

I know, that to a Man of yo<sup>ur</sup> religious Inclination, a deuine Argument would haue byn much more Wellcom; And such a one (good Sir) haue I vpon the Anvile for you, but it requires some=what a more Consolatorie time to fashion it...

This might refer to Crane's own religious poem, A Summary, transcribed in 1626, or to the religious verses he

<sup>22</sup> Wilson, op.cit., 207.

<sup>23</sup> The edition itself might more correctly be dated [1626].

transcribed the same year and which provided the larger share of his output in subsequent years.<sup>24</sup>

After his severance from the players, the elderly scribe must have canvassed anxiously for work. Besides assistance from previous patrons which he might have received, he was fortunate to have acquired a hitherto unpublished manuscript containing religious verse. This he transcribed in 1626. A collection of psalms was provided by some friends of the Inns of Court. The majority were shared between Francis Davison and Joseph Bryan; the Psalms were transcribed on two further occasions. William Austin, described by Corser as "...a gentleman remarkable for his piety and devotional disposition...", provided five verse meditations: these were used on three further occasions.<sup>25</sup> In addition, several hymns by Davison appeared in the same collection, and in two further transcripts. The Hymns and Meditations were dedicated on 23 October 1626 to Crane's friend, John Peirs. In the same collection appeared London's Lamentable Estate,

24 Wilson's suggestion that it might refer to an anonymous poem described by Corser is discussed in the following chapter.

25 Corser: Collectanea Poetica pt. 1, 93 described Austin further as a barrister of Lincoln's Inn, and the author of "...a little essay called 'Haec Homo, wherein the Excellency of the Creation of Woman is described,'" (STC 974), and also "Certain deuout, godly, and learned Meditations" (STC 972). Both these works were published posthumously in 1637.

a poem on the 1625 plague, which Massinger may have contributed to help Crane.<sup>26</sup>

The next year, 1627, was remarkable only for Middleton's death in July. How Crane lived over this period can only be conjectured; his next transcript did not appear until May, 1628. This was of Austin's Meditations, fulsomely dedicated to Lady Anne Cooper, daughter of the "latelie deceased" Sir Anthony Ashley, Crane's patron from earlier days. Crane, who had years before considered himself at the point of death, refers to himself as "Your old Seruant (as old in Cares, as Yeares ...)",<sup>27</sup> but in this case his appeal was probably misjudged: Anne Cooper herself died in July, only two months after Crane's dedication of his tribute. This period was indeed a gloomy one for Crane: three patrons and employers dead within a year, another, Calvert<sup>28</sup>, abroad in the Americas, and Digby away privateering. Digby returned to England in February, 1628/9, but whether he assisted Crane is not documented.<sup>29</sup>

Another transcript of Austin's Meditations might

26 See discussion of the attribution of these poems in the following chapter.

27 Dedication to Rawl.MS.D.301.

28 See page 25 of the following chapter.

29 DNB, passim.

reasonably be placed within this period. Dedicated to George Calvert, Lord Baltimore, Crane's transcript presented "...perhaps his last Oblation) ere he die..."<sup>30</sup> A further transcription of the Psalms (Harl.MS.6930) is undated and without dedication, but probably belongs to the 1628-32 period.<sup>31</sup>

A meditation in prose, The Faulty Favorite, was dedicated in January 1631 (presumably old-style) to John Egerton, Earl of Bridgewater, a patron to whom Crane had already dedicated his Works of Mercy. Crane again pleaded sickness and age, and referred to this presentation as being but one of many yearly gifts:

as long as my Infelicitated-Self shall remaine vpon this Stage of Mortalitie, (which, by a generall InVndation of yeares, and some late more speciall Assaultes (as Sicknes, Greif & Want cannot be long) You will...not refuse an Annuall Tribute, representing my Dutie in some Alacritous Service of my Pen: (Which...is not yet so much decaied as my Age (to my Ruine) makes Men beleeeue:)...

Crane upheld this last boast in the last known transcript, A Handfull of Celestiall Flowers, dedicated in December 1632 to Sir Francis Ashley, brother of his late

30 In a letter dated 20 August 1628, Austin's friend, James Howell, thanks him for "...that excellent poem...upon the Passion of Christ." This most likely refers to one of Austin's Meditations. -- There is a discussion on the dating of BM.MS.Add.34752 in the following chapter.

31 The dating of these manuscripts is discussed in the following chapters.

patron. <sup>32</sup> Crane writes:

I should also (even in Articulo Mortis) much reioyce,  
If You shall vouchsafe to call Them (for Age,  
Affliction,  
Greif and Want tell Me, it will be so) the Vltimum  
Vale, of Him that Honor<sup>s</sup> your Name...

Beyond this date, no evidence remains to suggest that  
Crane ever used his pen again. <sup>33</sup>

- 32 George Calvert died a few months before this presentation, in April, 1632.
- 33 Lee: DNB VI, 57 notes "One R.C. dedicated to him (Egerton) in an elaborate poem, a translation of Seneca." One would like to believe that this was Lodge's 1620 version (STC 22214) but this probably too early. CBEL attributes a 1635 translation of Seneca's De consolatione to Sir Ralph Freeman, which is recorded as by [R. C.] in STC (22215a). This version, on the other hand, seems too late to have been by Crane, but the association of his initials together with his favorite patron might justify a suggestion that Crane may have transcribed Freeman's translation. In that case, Freeman, who was admitted to the Middle Temple in 1606, may have been one of Crane's legal acquaintances. However, the suggestion cannot be forced. (See Bentley: op.cit., III 468). -- Furthermore, this last sentence must be read subject to reservations over the dating of Harl.MS.6930.

## CRANE ' S   W O R K S

It is useful to divide Crane's known extant works into two groups. The first comprises his dramatic transcripts, which fall within the period 1618-25. None of these were composed by Crane himself, but were by Jonson, Middleton, Massinger, and Fletcher. In this period there is only one dedication by Crane: the dedication to Demetrius and Enanthe, at the end of the period. However, Crane's own Works of Mercy with its long autobiographical preface falls within this span of years, but as it exists only in the printed editions, it must assume secondary importance in this investigation.

Other printed works which might derive from Crane transcripts of this period are the third quarto of Middleton's Game at Chesse (1625), Fletcher and Massinger's The False One, The Maid in the Mill, The Prophetess, and The Spanish Curate, which were printed in the Beaumont and Fletcher First Folio of 1647, and the first quarto of Webster's Duchess of Malfy (1623). The five Shakespearian First Folio comedies already mentioned may also be added to this list of possible printed derivatives.

The second group, spanning 1626-32, consists of poetical transcripts of works by Francis and Christopher Davison, Carey, Gipps, Bagnall, William Austin, Massinger, and Thomas Randolph. It further includes the anonymous prose meditation, The Faulty Favorite, and Crane's own religious verse, The Summary. In addition, there are five dedications written by Crane himself.

The only possible known printed derivatives from the transcripts of this period are William Austin's meditations, printed in 1637 as Devotionis Augustinae (STC 972). In this edition the three Meditations, the three Hymns, and the two Meditations on Job are printed, apparently without amendment.<sup>1</sup>

No apology need be made here for the full descriptions of Crane's unprinted manuscripts. It has not been considered necessary to elaborate the easily-obtainable accounts of the more familiar dramatic documents which have been fully described by Greg and Bald. However, besides references to these accounts, brief notes are provided to aid the memory. These notes should not be taken to replace the standard accounts, although in some cases they contain fresh material.

- 1 Advice from G.I. Bonner, assistant keeper, Department of MSS., BM.
- 2 Throughout the following descriptions, no especial reference has been made to Wilson: "Ralph Crane, Scrivener to the King's Players". Similarly, in the cases of the dramatic transcripts no especial reference has been made to Bentley: Jacobean and Caroline



GROUP I : dramatic transcripts (1618-25)

PLEASURE RECONCILED TO VIRTUE (1618)

Discussion of the Chatsworth MS. (Duke of Devonshire's Library) appears in Herford and Simpson: Ben Jonson X 573-90. So clear-cut is is Professor F.P. Wilson's identification of Crane's hand in this MS. (rf. TLS 8 Nov., 1941) that no elaboration is necessary. The text of the masque is printed in Ben Jonson VII 475-91. As it has proved impossible (the Library has been dispersed) to obtain a micro-filmed copy of the MS., the following notes and subsequent discussion have been based on Herford and Simpson's edition.

The transcript, "contemporary with the performance", is therefore dated 6 January, 1618, thus being the first known Crane transcript. According to the editors, it is a presentation copy, for performer or patron; an alternative suggestion has been offered in the preceding chapter, and supported in the next.

Pleasure Reconcild to Vertue:

(within horizontal and vertical margins) PLEASVRE | reconcild to |

Stage, (1941, 52). As Professor Bentley has leaned heavily on the sources noted in connection with the works discussed in this chapter, his excellent work is best used as a convenient summary of the current attitude to each play. He is, of course, more up-to-date with recent work than Chambers.

The descriptions were made from microfilm prints and errors may have been introduced from faulty focus and the like. The MSS. have been described in the same style as the printed material, save that the term (rule) in a printed text is replaced by (ruling) for MSS. Crane's mixture of English and Italian forms makes it difficult to arrive at consistency in dealing with his handwriting. No notice has been taken here of ligatures (the Malone Society

VERTVE.

HT) PLEASVRE / reconcild to / VERTVE.

RT) none.

Collation) 8<sup>o</sup>; (A-B)<sup>8</sup>; 32pp. Contents: TP, p.1, verso blank;  
HT and text, p.3; pp.26-32 blank.

CW) none.

Notes) (1) The pages measure 6"x4". (2) "The descriptions and stage-directions are in large English hand; the speeches are in the English, the songs in the Italian hand."

In view of the close relationship between this masque and Milton's Comus, one last comment may assist Milton scholars. Professor Simpson comments:

Comus was performed in 1634 and first printed in 1637. Jonson's masque was first printed, as far as we know, in the Folio of 1640-1. Did Milton procure a copy of Ralph Crane's 'little book'? Or was there a privately printed quarto, like that of Lovers Made Men, which has now disappeared? In whatever form Milton read it, he must have obtained his copy from a courtier, from people like the Egertons, for instance.<sup>3</sup>

Egerton was Crane's most favoured (and, presumably, most favorable)

reprints ignore them), but the ff in initial positions has been read as a capital F. The sections in italic script include words, usually names, titles, and stage-directions, in a heavy unslanted hand. These words in Crane's Roman hand have been transcribed as if they are in Elizabethan script, because Crane obviously intended to contrast these bold forms with their italic surroundings.

Parentheses are used in the following descriptions where the conventions of bibliography require square brackets; if parentheses occur in the matter to be described, they will be shown thus: ((-)).

3 Herford and Simpson: Ben Jonson X 575.

patron. It seems reasonable to suggest that this small work did end up in Egerton's library, a "...yeerely Destinate to some Corner..." as Crane later put it.<sup>4</sup>

#### SIR JOHN VAN OLDEN BARNAVELT

There is no need to repeat here the discussion of BM.Add.MS.18653 which may be readily consulted in Greg: English Dramatic Documents 268-74. Bald: Beaumont and Fletcher Folio makes passing mention. In the absence of a Malone Society reprint, the best edition is that of Miss W.P.Frijlinck, Amsterdam (1922): this, however, for purposes of spelling-analysis, is somewhat unsatisfactory.<sup>5</sup>

For this investigation, Barnavelt cannot occupy a central position. This is the only extant Crane promptbook, and although it is of paramount importance in the study of playhouse documents, it can reveal little about Crane's habits that cannot more readily be observed in his later transcripts.

Hoy: "The Shares of Fletcher and his Collaborators in the Beaumont and Fletcher Canon", part II SB IX, divides Barnavelt

4 Rf. dedication to The Faulty Favorite.

5 Miss Frijlinck's edition, although aimed at "...reproducing the original with strict fidelity on the principles followed in the publications of the Malone Society...", was printed in the Netherlands. On this account, the introductory chapters are riddled with typographical errors of every conceivable variety. It is difficult to imagine that the compositors and proof-readers were more successful with the text itself.

Conway Papers

An Invention  
performed for the Service of y<sup>e</sup> Right  
Honorable Edward Barkham, Es.  
Major of the Cittie of London: At  
his Exp<sup>t</sup> Entertainment of y<sup>e</sup>  
Aldermen his Brethren, and the  
and worthy Guests At his  
House assembled & feasted  
In the Easter Hollidayes: 1622.



Written by

The Middleton.

between Fletcher and Massinger thus:

Fletcher: I, 3; II, 2-6; III, 1, 3-4; IV, 1-3; V, 1b (from exit of ambassadors to exit of Provost), 2-3.  
Massinger: I, 1-2; II, 1; III, 2, 5-6; IV, 4-5; V, 1a (to exit of ambassadors), 1c (from exit of Provost to end).

It is on this division that samples of each author's portion have been taken for spelling-analysis.

#### A SONG IN SEVERAL PARTS (1622)

This trifle does not appear to have warranted contemporary publication, and it seems that this was its only written appearance.

Bullen: Works of Thomas Middleton VII 371-8 reprints it.

#### A Song in seuerall parts:

An InVention | performed for the Service of y<sup>e</sup> Right | honorable  
Edward Barkeham, L. | Majo<sup>r</sup>. of the Cittie of London: At | his  
L<sup>ps</sup>. Enterteinment of the | Aldermen his Brethren, and the <Ho<sup>ble</sup>.> |  
and worthie Guests: (( At his | House assembled & ffeasted <))> | In  
the Easter Hollidayes: 1622. | (triangular arrangement of three dots,  
with a dash beneath) | Written by | Tho. Middleton. | (dash)

HT) A Song | in seuerall parts: Vsshering toward | the High  
Table, a Personage | in Armo<sup>r</sup>, representing Hono<sup>r</sup>. | holding  
in his Hands a | Sheaffe of Arrowes. | (triangular arrange-  
ment of three dots, with a dash beneath)

RT) none.

Collation) (4<sup>o</sup>); pp.(2),(1-11),(12) unnumbered. Contents: TP  
p.(1), verso blank; HT and text, p.1; Finis, p.11, verso blank.

CW) Apparently none, but the edge of the MS. has been clipped in the microfilm.

In verse, some ten lines to a page.

Notes) (1) no note of publication appears in either STC or

A Song  
in Rudall parts: V. Going toward  
the Hyge Table, a Personage  
in Armo<sup>r</sup> representing Honor<sup>e</sup>  
Holding in his Hands a  
Sheaffe of Arrows.

Conway Papers.

Mean<sup>e</sup>

A hall. a hall below stand cleve  
what, are you ready

Base<sup>e</sup>



Mean<sup>e</sup>

Greg: English Printed Drama. (2) MS. in Public Record Office (State Papers Domestic, vol. 129, doc. 53). (3) MS. appears to have rotted away at bottom inside corners. A careless and untrustworthy transcript in a nineteenth-century hand is bound with it; it is useful only to the extent it provides readings for the now-illegible portions of the MS.

The "Invention" starts with a dialogue between two characters, Meane and Base; this first part finishes with a song which is not given. Honor then delivers his speech, the second song (also not given) follows, and the composition ends after further brief dialogue between Meane and Base. It is written generally in rhymed couplets of no great poetic merit.

The MS. starts in an Italian hand, with liberal admixture of Elizabethan forms according to Crane's usual practice, but from the beginning of Honor's speech on f. 3<sup>v</sup>, the Elizabethan hand is used, and the Italian only for emphasis, in the usual manner. There are neither running-titles nor catchwords; speech-prefixes and stage-directions are centred, but are neither italicized nor otherwise marked off from the prevailing hand.

#### THE "GAME AT CHESS" MSS:

The Game MSS. have been treated fully by Bald: A Game at Chess (1926), and Bibliographical Studies in the Beaumont and Fletcher Folio (1938), and little more needs to be noted than the presence of <sup>free</sup> four of them amongst the MSS. to be discussed here.

A GAME AT CHESSE (Archdall-Folger) - (1624)

Licensed by Herbert 12 June, 1624; reported to Privy Council 21 August, 1624.

(within a loose box of double ruling) A | Game att | Chesse. |  
(outside and beneath box) August. 13<sup>o</sup>. | Anno Dni. | 1624. | (flourish)

HT) A Game at Chesse. | (rule)

RT) pp.2-5 A Game at Chesse.  
pp.6-93 A Game | at Chesse.

( variants: Cheese., p.10; Chesse( ), pp.13, 47,  
51, 81, 83; Game(.), p.88.

Collation) 4<sup>o</sup>; pp.(2); 1-93,(94). Contents: TP p.(1), verso  
blank; HT and Induction, p.1.; Actus Primus. See<sup>a</sup>. Pri<sup>a</sup>.  
p.5; Finis Actus Quinti p.93.

CW) pp.5-6 yf; 55-56 vnder; 81-82 I am (I'am).

In verse. The description is from Folger MS. 7043.

This Game MS. is described by Bald: "An Early Version of Middleton's  
Game at Chesse" MLR XXXVIII (1943); it is transcript VI of the play  
and the third by Crane. Briefly, the quarto comprises of a title-page  
and ninety-three numbered pages of text. The pages have ruled margins,  
running-titles, and catchwords. The text is divided into acts and  
scenes, with speech-prefixes, act-and scene-headings, and stage-  
directions marked in italics. This transcript was made while the  
play was still running, and must be the earliest of the Crane  
Game transcripts.



A GAME AT CHESSE (Lansdowne MS.690) - (1624)

According to Professor Bald's enumeration, this is transcript number (c).

(within horizontal and vertical margins, two vertical double-rulings: the space between ornamented with scroll-like flourishes, three on each side) 1624. (six scroll-like flourishes surrounding) | (double-ruling) | A GAME | att | Chesse. | (double-ruling) | By Tho: Middleton: | (three scroll-like flourishes arranged triangularly, with two other flourishes)

HT) none.

RT) none.

Collation) 4<sup>o</sup>; pp.(6); 1-101; (102). Contents: first leaf blank; TP leaf 2<sup>o</sup>; leaf 3 blank; The Induction p.1; The Prologue, and Actus Primus, p.5; Epilogue and Finis, p.101, verso blank.

CW) p.5-6 when; 18-19 the; 52-53 hath (h'ath); 90-91 'tis  
( pp.77-78 (omitted) Why

In verse.

Except that it is a fuller version of the play than the Folger copy, this transcript has no especial characteristics. Professor Bald notes that the speech-prefixes have a margin to themselves on the left of the page, but except that Crane's practice is neater here, it does not appear to depart from his habit in the Folger and Malone Game MSS., and in the Witch and Demetrius transcripts.

A GAME AT CHESSE (EM. Malone MS.25) -(1624)

Professor Bald refers to this transcript as number (d).

(within horizontal and vertical margin, with three scroll-like flourishes above) 1624. | (flourish) | (double-ruling) | (between two sets of three scroll-like flourishes) A | GAME | at | Chesse. | (double-ruling) | By | The. Middleton | (three scroll-like flourishes)

HT) none.  
RT) none.

Collation) 4<sup>o</sup>; pp.(8); 1-69;(70). Contents: TP f.1, verso blank; dedication To the Worthilie-Accomplish'd | Mr: William Hammond in Middleton's holograph, signed T.M. and undated, f.2, verso blank; The Induction f.3., verso blank; Actus Primus p.1; FINIS and Epilogue p.68; p.(70) blank.

CW) pp.5-6 of; 18-19 what; 53-54 Affec= (Affectibus)

In verse.

This transcript represents an abridgement of the fuller text; it lacks 770 lines. Its most interesting feature is the almost total lack of stage-directions, and the "massed entries" at the beginning of the scenes. These are discussed in the next chapter.

The Malone and Lansdowne texts discussed in Professor Bald's edition are referred to by J.Dover Wilson in his review of the edition in The Library 4 Ser., XI (1931).

#### THE WITCH (1624-5?)

Bodleian MS.Malone 12 is adequately described in Greg: Elizabethan Dramatic Documents 358-9, and in the Malone Society Reprint 1948 (1950), edited also by Greg. Another recent edition is by L.Drees and H. de Vocht: Materials for the Study of the Old English Drama XVIII (1945). The transcription is dated at 1624 or 1625 on the

evidence of the watermarks. The play is divided into acts and scenes, with the few stage-directions marked (apart from the scene-headings, which are centred) on the right. This transcript has a running-title; the pagination therefore is at the top of the page, at the outer corners.

#### DEMETRIUS AND ENANTHE (1625)

There is no need to repeat here the discussion and description of Brogynryn MS.42 (which is in Lord Harlech's possession) given by Margaret McL. Cook in the Malone Society Reprint: Demetrius and Enanthe (1951). Further discussion appears in Bald: Beaumont and Fletcher Folio, and in Greg: Elizabethan Dramatic Documents 359-60.

This play, dedicated by Crane to Sir Kenelm Digby on 27 November, 1625, was printed in the Beaumont and Fletcher Folio of 1647 as The Humorous Lieutenant (Greg: Eng. Printed Drama (651)). The transcription, together with portions of the promptbook Barnavelt, is the only work by Fletcher that Crane is known to have transcribed, although recent studies by Hoy ascribe the F1 The False One, The Spanish Curate, and The Prophetess (by Fletcher and Massinger?) to Crane transcripts. Bald: Beaumont and Fletcher Folio, p.113 would add The Maid in the Mill to these. The attributions will be discussed in the final chapter.

Demetrius and Enanthe consists of seventy quarto leaves, all but seven numbered. It was the property of the King's Company; the date of composition is unknown. The preliminaries consist of a title-page (which attributes the play to Fletcher alone), ornamented with the familiar scroll-like flourishes, and a dedication to Digby of some one hundred and sixty words. The mass of the manuscript has no ruled margins as in most other Crane transcripts. There are no running-titles, but with one exception (p.72) regular catchwords. Act and scene divisions are marked, and entrances, usually one or two lines early. Speech-prefixes, speech-headings, and stage-directions are usually in italic.

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GROUP II : poetical transcripts (1618<sup>26</sup>-32)

THE WORKS OF MERCY (1621)

SR 1620 14 December; "written by T.M."

THE | VVORKES | OF | MERCY, | BOTH | (between curly brackets)  
 CORPORALL, | AND | SPIRITVALL. (close brackets) | (rule) |  
 (ornament) | (rule) | LONDON, | Printed by G. Eld and M. Flesher. |  
 1 6 2 1 .

HT) (lace ornament) | The Works of MERCIE, | BOTH Corporall  
 and Spirituell.

RT) (lace ornament) | Mercies first Worke | (ornament)  
 (ornament) | Corporall. | (ornament)

(variants: second, third, fourth, fift, sixt,  
seuenth; Spirituell.)

Collation) 8<sup>o</sup>; A-D (-D8)<sup>8</sup>. Contents: TP, A2; list of contents A2<sup>v</sup>; dedication to "The Right Honorable John Earle of Bridgewater" by Raph Crane A3, verso blank; "The Author's Preface." A4-8<sup>v</sup>; text with HT and initial (M<sup>3</sup>), A8; floral ornaments, B; "These made Paralells", C4; C4<sup>v</sup> blank; Finis D7, verso blank.

CW) A-B Mercies; B-C Mercies; C-D Euery

In verse.<sup>6</sup>

The Works of Mercy is printed in italic. Despite the SR ascription, it would be difficult to believe that Middleton had any share in it, so uninteresting is the subject and so undistinguished the style. A casual inspection reveals some spellings which it may be possible to attribute to Crane's manuscript: Land-got (A6<sup>v</sup>), sight-deprived, well-meant, darke-night, hearts-zeale (A7), cald (A8,C5), farre (B8), agen (C3,C6) stray-Sinners-soule (C5), all-obedient (C5<sup>v</sup>), Golden-Chaine (C6), cals (C7), sticks-in (D), long-suffring (D3), Thornie-Crowne, i'th'end (D4), vitious (D5), praying-loue, Toombe-stone (D6<sup>v</sup>), coarse for "course" (D7). On A8<sup>v</sup> the phrase "rowse thy self" which occurs in the poetic MSS. suggests an acquaintance with those poems much earlier than the date of EM. Rawl. MS. poet. 61, (1626).

6 This description applies only to <sup>†</sup>Huntingdon Lib. MS. 31339; it is STC 5986. Swash italics are shown in the description by red underlining.

### THE PILGRIM'S NEW YEAR'S GIFT (1625?)

STC 5987 (Anr. ed., with altered title.) The pilgrimes new-yeares-gift: or, fourteene steps to the throne of glory. 8<sup>o</sup>. M. F(lesher, 1625?).

This is the second edition of Crane's Works. The only differences are that the title-page is altered, and the "Author's Preface" somewhat expanded. The title-page is transcribed more fully in Corser: Collectanea Anglo-Poetica part IV 103, where excerpts from the Preface are given. Graves: "Ralph Crane and the King's Players" SP XXI (1924) also prints relevant extracts.

### RAWLINSON MS. POET.61 (Bodleian Library) - (1626)

The largest of Crane's transcripts is a collection of religious poems, most of which were (and remained) unpublished. The order in the collection as it is at present is different from the order that logical principles would dictate, and the order in which the items are discussed here. Consideration of the title-pages and numbering series makes this a suitable grouping. (The present order was apparently created by an eighteenth- or nineteenth-century binder). Firstly, there are Austin's Hymns and Meditations, with the separate title-page, and the dedication by Crane, dated 23 October, 1626. To this part of the MS. must be added Crane's Summary, for which the page-numbering follows on from the Meditations. The second part

Certaine  
seuine Hymnes, or Carrolles  
for  
Christmas-daie.

By Iohann witten.  
a true deuout and zealous  
Meditations, vpon  
our Saviours Passion, on  
Good-Fridaie,

Compos'd by  
W: A: Tysdale.

written

A.C.

comprises Austin's two Meditations on Job, and the Psalms of David, by Davison, Bryan, and the others. Each of these two collections has its own title-page and numbering series, but the title-page to the Meditations includes reference to the Psalms, showing that they were meant to follow the Meditations. In the present MS. they are bound together in reverse order. The last part is Massinger's London's Lamentable Estate which is unnumbered. It is preceded by a blank leaf which the binder has numbered f. 70.

It should not be presumed that Crane's dedication refers to the whole collection rather than just the Hymns and Summary. Indeed, from the references in it to "...This small Labor of mine..." one might be more correct in linking it with the eight-paged Summary rather than the whole section of forty-four pages. Both the Summary and London's Estate are peculiar in the poetical transcripts to Rawl. MS. poet. 61.

#### HYMNS AND MEDITATIONS

(within horizontal and vertical margins, a compartment of heavily-inked pillar-like horizontal and vertical rulings, then four shorter thinner similar rulings within) Certaine | deuine Hymnes, or Carrolls | for | Christmas-daie. | (triangular arrangement of three dots) | (short heavy ruling | Togeather with | diuers deuout and Zealous | Meditations, vpon | our Sauours Passion, on | Good-Fridaie. (lower rulings of compartment) | (scroll-like flourish) | Composed by | W: A: Esquire. | (scroll-like flourish to right of previous two lines) | written by | R. C: | (straight flourish) | 1626.



HT) (a) (within two vertical, and one horizontal, double-rulings) Certaine | deuine Hymnes, or Carrols | for | Christmas-daie.

(b) Diuers | deuout, and Zealous | Meditations Vpon our Sauours Passion, on | Good-Fridaie. | (double-ruling)

RT) none.

Collation) 4<sup>o</sup>; pp.(4); 1-36. Contents: TP p.(1), verso blank; dedication To his | much-esteemed | good Friend, | M<sup>r</sup>. John Peirs. | (double-ruling), dated 23 Oct. 1626, and signed Ra: Crane., p.(3), verso blank; HT(a) and text, p.1; Finis p.7; p.8 blank; HT(b) and Loquitur Crucifixus, p.9; Finis, p.36.

CW) pp.2-3 God; 13-14 In- (in-stead); 18-19 with (w<sup>th</sup>); 28-29 the (The).

#### A SUMMARY (1626)

Like London's Lamentable Estate, the Summary first appears in Rawl.poet.61 and does not seem to exist in printed form. The absence of a title-page, and the page-numbering (which follows on from Austin's Hymns and Meditations) makes this portion of the MS. appear an unforeseen, even hasty, addition by the scribe to the works by other hands which he transcribed for profit.

#### A Summarie:

HT) A Summarie, and true | Distinction, > betweene the | Lawe, & y<sup>e</sup> Ghospel. | (triangular arrangement of three dots, with a dash beneath) | by R. Crane. | (double-ruling)

RT) none.

Collation) 4<sup>o</sup>; 8pp.: pp.37-44/ Contents: HT and text, p.37;  
FINIS p.44.

CW) pp.40-41 But

The text consists of a dialogue in rhymed couplets between "Lex" and "Evangelium" on the respective functions and merits of the 'law' and the 'gospel'. The Summary is the last part of Rawl.poet.61 as it is bound at present.

#### MEDITATIONS ON JOB

(within horizontal and vertical margins, a border of scroll-like flourishes, and thick vertical and horizontal rulings) Meditations | Vpon the .1. & 13. Verses of the | 17.<sup>th</sup> Chap. of Job<: > viz. | (triangular arrangement of three dots, dash beneath not apparent) | Sepulcrum mihi solum super est: 1. | &: | Sepulcrum Domus mea est: 13. | by .W. Austen es<q> | (ruling) | Together | with diuers selected Psalmes of Dauid, | (in Verse,) translated ((after a different | manner from Those usually soong in the | Churches | by Fra: Dauison< > esq. deceased: & other Gent. | (triangular arrangement of three dots, with a dash beneath) | Manuscrib'd by R. Crane.

HT) none.

RT) none.

Collation) 4<sup>o</sup>; pp.(2), 1-22. Contents: TP p.(1), verso blank; Meditatio. 1<sup>a</sup> | (triangular arrangement of three dots, dash beneath not apparent) | Sepulcrum mihi solum super est. | Iob: Cap. 17. Ver: 1. | (double-ruling) p.1; FINIS. | (double-ruling) | Meditatio. 2<sup>a</sup> | (triangular arrangement of three dots, with a dash beneath) | Sepulcrum Domus mea est. | Iob< > cap. 17. Ver. 13. | (double-ruling), p.11; FINIS. p.22.

CW) pp.2-3 and; 10-11 wee; 14-15 Methinks (Me-thinks); 18-19 from (ffrom); 21-22 Thy (thy)

Notes) in the TP, Austen might be Austin with the dot of the i giving the effect of an e.

## PSALMS OF DAVID

(within horizontal and vertical margins within two ruled compartments, with scroll-like flourishes between) Certaine | selected Psalmes of David. | (( in Verse)) | different from Those usually | sung in the Church. | (triangular arrangement of three dots, with a dash beneath) Composed by | Francis Davison, esq.<sup>r</sup> deceased: | and other Gentlemen. (triangular arrangement of three dots, with a dash beneath) Manuscrib'd by R. Crane.

HT) Certaine | selected Psalmes of David, | ((in Verse)) different from | those usually seong in the Church. | (double-ruling)

RT) none.

Collation) 4<sup>o</sup>; pp.(4); 1-109, (110). Contents: TP p.(1), verso blank; An Index of the seuerall Psalmes, herein conteined., p.(4), verso blank; HT and Induction, p.1; Induction 2, p.3; Induction 3, p.6; 1. Psalme p.8; Finis, p.107; An Hymne, p.108; Finis, p.109, verso blank.

CW) pp.16-17 while; 26-27 through; 62-63 which; 96-97 To

Notes) (1) Pp. 33-107 are separated in the MS. by ff.19-30, which were misplaced by the binder. (2) An Hymne is by William Austin, author of the Meditations which follow this portion of the MS.

The Psalms were largely contributed by Francis Davison and Joseph Bryan, with Richard Gipps and Christopher Davison contributing two apiece, and William Bagnall and Thomas Carey one each, of the forty-nine poems.

They are remarkably free from scribal blemish. Textual points are discussed in the next chapter, but one rather prominent hiatus occurs which deserves mention here. At the end of Psalm 123, on p.78, the fourth stanza concludes with a colon, and is unsigned. It is possible that the poem ends after the fourth stanza, and that the colon is

either a scribal error or a feature of the microfilm print, but in the absence of another version of the same poem in the MS., it is difficult to say. Comparison of the psalm with the Authorised Version text shows that the poem could be complete as it stands, but the absence of the signature (together with the apparent colon) would suggest that there is another stanza to the psalm. In Harl.MS.3357 this psalm is attributed to Davison.

Furthermore, Psalm 142 (aliter) is credited to Joseph Bryan, but in view of the preceding version of the same psalm by Bryan (Bryan and Davison frequently contributed versions of the same psalm, but very rarely two versions) and the ascription of the second paraphrase to Davison in both Harl.MSS.6930 and 3357, it seems that this might be a scribal error, and that Psalm 142 (aliter) should be attributed to Davison.

#### LONDON'S LAMENTABLE ESTATE

Professor Wilson drew this item in Rawl.MS.poet.61 to the attention of Massinger scholars, on the basis of the initials of the signature. CBEL (vol.I, 631) accepts the ascription. If it could be shown conclusively that Crane transcribed any of Massinger's other works, the suggestion would not be unreasonable.

#### London's Lamentable Estate:

HT) (within horizontal and vertical margins) Londons |  
Lamentable Estate, in any | great Visitation | (ruling)

May 1628.

# Diuers

Zealous Meditations, aswell  
vpon the Sufferings and  
Passion of  
**CHRIST:**  
asalso

vpon the 17.<sup>th</sup> Chap.<sup>r</sup> of Iob. y.<sup>e</sup> 1. & 13. verser.

W. A. Eng.

RT) none.

Collation) 4<sup>o</sup>; pp. (1-11); (12) unnumbered. Contents: HT and text, p.(1); Finis Ph. M: p.(11), verso blank.

CW) pp.(5-6) ffat; (10-11) whom (Whom)

This 206-lined poem on the 1625 London plague may reasonably be dated 1625-6. This is probably its sole appearance; STC does not record subsequent publication.

RAWLINSON MS.D.301 (Bodleian Library) - (1628)

The shortest of Crane's poetical transcripts contains only Austin's five meditations. For this reason, and because Harl.MS.6930 is undated and apparently complementary, the watermarks of the above MSS. and BM.Add.MS.34752 were examined. R.W.Hunt, Keeper of Western MSS. at Bodley advises that the watermarks of Rawl.D.301 do not correspond with those of the other two: he writes "They are a crown surmounting a sheild on fols.1-2, which resembles Heawood 601, and a fleur de lis in the rest of the manuscript, which resembles Heawood 1432 but has no initials beneath it."

MEDITATIONS

(within horizontal and vertical rulings) (top left hand corner) May. 1628. | (scroll-like flourishes surrounding text) Diuers | Zealous Meditations; aswell | Vpon the Suffrings and Passion of | Christ: | as also | Vpon the 17<sup>th</sup> Chap<sup>r</sup> of Iob: V. 1. & 13. Verses. | (triangular arrangement of three dots, with a dash beneath) | (at bottom right hand corner) W.A.Esq<sup>r</sup>

HT) Diuers deuout / & zealous Meditations, Vpon our / Sauiours  
Passion, on Good-Fridaie. / (triangular arrangement of three  
 dots) / (double-ruling)

RT) none.

Collation) 4<sup>o</sup>; pp.(4); (1-45),(46) Contents: TP p.(1), verso  
 blank; dedication to "...La: Anne Cooper..." signed Raph  
Crane, p.(3); HT and Meditatio pri<sup>a</sup>, p.(1); Meditatio Secunda,  
 p.(5); Meditatio tercia, p.(16); FINIS, p.(26); Meditatio  
Quarta, p.(27); Meditatio 5<sup>a</sup>, p.(36); FINIS, p.(45), (verso  
 blank?)

CW) pp. 12-13 let; 32-33 But

Notes) (1) the pages may be numbered, but the microfilm does not  
 show the tops of the pages. (2) the Meditations are numbered  
 serially; this is peculiar to this MS.

#### BM.HARLEIAN MS.6930 (163?)

If A <sup>d</sup>Hanfull of Celestial Flowers is Crane's most elaborately  
 prepared poetical transcript, this MS. is the least. The impression  
 given by a first inspection is that it is incomplete, for it lacks  
 both dedication and title-page. In content it seems to complement  
 one of the two MSS. containing just Austin's work, for Harl.6930  
 comprises the Psalms only. However, inspection of the watermarks has  
 shown that such is not the case. The question of dating is discussed  
 in the following chapter.

#### PSALMS OF DAVID

HT) none.

RT) none.

Collation) 4<sup>o</sup>; pp.1-113,(114) Contents: An Introduction to the /

Translation of the | Psalmes, p.1; An other Introduction,  
p.4; An Introduction, to so many of the | Psalmes, as are  
of M<sup>r</sup> Fra: | Dauisens composure, p.8; Psalme.1., p.9; Finis  
p.113, (verso blank?)

CW) pp.14-15 in (In); 17-18 Resume (Re-sume); 30-31 seekes  
 (Seekes); 32-33 --- (He); 64-65 --- (Let); 73-74 two ( (( two);  
 86-87 <had> & (And); 92-93 --- (Lord)

Notes) (1) when a new page commences with a new psalm, there is no CW; when with a numbered stanza, the number is disregarded in the CW. (2) Many of the psalms have a Latin phrase superscribed; this is peculiar to this MS. (3) Finis is subscribed at the end of each psalm, before the author's initials. (4) Psalm 91 "Make the great Lord thy fort..." is omitted from this MS. (5) P.D.A.Harvey of the BM advises that the watermark is "...a stag's head, similar to C.M.Briquet: Les Filigranes (1907) nos. 15551-15555, but without name or initials...." (6) From the same advice, the area within the red margin rulings is about 130x90 mm., and the MS. is gathered in fours.

(THE MOST AUNTIENT HISTORIE - (1629) )

In his dedication to Demetrius and Enanthe Crane refers to "...a deuine Argument..." more congenial to his patron's taste, which he was in the process of preparing. This reference might be to Crane's own 1626 Summary, or to any one of his later transcriptions of religious verse. Crane provided no details other than that the poem was "deuine" rather than secular. However, Professor Wilson notes in Corser: Collectanea Anglo-poetica III 231-6 the description of a long religious poem in manuscript, dated 29 July, 1629. As this poem is not now known, the question of its authorship is hardly urgent. Nevertheless, its loss need not be lamented. Corser reprints 121 lines, and a survey of the spellings does not strengthen the



Certaine  
 Sweet Hymnes, or Carols, for  
 Christmas = Dayes.

---

Also  
 Divers most devout, & zealous  
 Meditations  
 Upon our  
 Saviours Passion, on  
 Good-Fridaie

---

And likewise  
 Two other Meditations  
 upon the 1. & 13. Verses  
 of the 17<sup>th</sup> Chap.  
 of Job: — / Vir<sup>t</sup>

Sepulcrum mihi solum super est. 3. Voc. 1.  
 Sepulcrum Domus mea est 3. Voc. 1.

ascription to Crane. Some spellings, such as begott, brightnes, farr, and cheifest seem to reveal an affinity with Crane holographs, but there are many equally convincing forms which cannot be associated with Crane: some of these are comprehention, treuth, theire/theyr, doeth, geues, and shineinge, provideing, declineing, flameing, and riseing. The whole spelling tone seems alien to Crane's work. A more intensive search for the poem and examination of it do not appear necessary.

BM. ADD. MS. 34.752 - (1631?)

The poetical MS. which follows is undated; it is similar to Rawl.D. 301 (1628) in that it consists entirely of Austin's poetry, but is unlike it in that it includes the Hymns as well as the two groups of meditations.

HYMNS

(within horizontal and vertical margins) Certaine | diuine Hymnes,  
or Carolls, for | Christmas=daye. | (ruling) | As also | Diuers most  
deuout, & zealous | Meditations | vpon our | Sauours Passion, on  
Good-Fridaie | (ruling) | And likewise | Two other Meditations |  
vpon the .1. & 13. Verses | of the 17<sup>th</sup> Chap. | of Iob: Viz |  
Sepulcrum mihi solum super est. (curly bracket). Ver. 1. | Sepulcrum  
Domus mea est (curly bracket). Ver. 13. | W:A: esq.

HT) Certaine | diuine Hymnes, or Carolls. | for Christmas-daie. |  
 (double-ruling)

RT) none.

Collation) 4<sup>o</sup>; pp.(4), 1-7, (8) Contents: dedication to George, Lord Baltimore undated, and signed Raph Crane, pp.(1-2); TP p.(3), verso blank; HT and Hymne.1., p.1; Another Hymne p.6; Finis, p.7, verso blank.

CW) pp. 4-5 who

# MEDITATIONS

HTO Diuers | most deuout & zealous Meditations, | Vpon our Sauours Passion, | on Good-Fridaie. | (double-ruling)

RT) none.

Collation) HT and text, p.1; Finis, p.25, verso blank.

CW) pp.4-5 --- (My); 8-9 Redeeme (Reedeeme); 14-15 Till (till)

Notes) on p.2, a line has been squeezed in at the top of the page.

# MEDITATIONS ON JOB

(within horizontal and vertical margins, the text surrounded by scroll-like flourishes) | (double-ruling) Meditations | Vpon the 1. & 13. Ver: of the | 17<sup>th</sup> Chap: of Iob: | (triangular arrangement of three dots) | (double-ruling) Sepulcrum mihi solum super est (curly bracket) .Ver:1. | Sepulcrum Domus mea est (curly bracket) Ver: 13. | (ruling) | by W.A. esq<sup>r</sup>.

HT) Meditations | Vpon the 1. & 13: Ver: of the | 17<sup>th</sup> Chap. of Iob: | (ruling)

RT) none.

Collation) 4<sup>o</sup>; pp.(2), 1-22 Contents: TP p.(1), verso blank; HT and Meditatio pri.<sup>a</sup>, p.1; Meditatio 2<sup>a</sup>, p.12; Finis Meditat: 2<sup>a</sup>, p.22.

CW) pp. 10-11 For (for); 20-21 for (For)

Note) According to advice from P.D.A.Harvey, assistant keeper, BM Dept. of MSS., the area within the red marginal rulings is about 130x92mm. The watermark is "...a crown, similar to E. Heawood, Watermarks (1948) no. 1082, above a design containing the initials I.P."

As noted, the MS. is undated. The dedication to George, Lord Baltimore, helps to place the MS. more precisely in the period between Calvert's elevation to the peerage on 12 February, 1625, and his death (and, perhaps, Crane's also) in 1632. Calvert, knighted in 1617 for services as one of the Clerks of the Council, was appointed Secretary of State in February, 1619. Although both honest and capable, he was not particularly successful in this position, and enjoyed neither the confidence of Parliament nor the support of the King. His Roman Catholicism further embarrassed him in dealings with Parliament during the negotiations with Spain. On 25 January, 1625, he resigned office and openly professed his religious beliefs. Upon the accession of Charles I he was unable to take the oath of allegiance as a Privy Councillor, and having been excluded from the Council, returned to his estate in Ireland. From 29 May he had severed all connections with state affairs.

Since 1621, Baltimore had been actively supporting settlement projects in the Americas, and on his retirement he intensified his efforts towards settlement of the New World. In July 1627 he visited Newfoundland, but remained only a few weeks. The following spring, however, he returned, but was forced to leave during a visit to Virginia on account of the strong anti-Catholic sentiments he found there. From autumn 1629 he remained in England, continually pressing the king for more favorable land grants. He died on 15 April, 1632, with-

out having revisited the New World.<sup>7</sup>

Without providing conclusive evidence, analysis of the transcript suggests that it falls towards the end of the 1625-32 period. It seems definite that it was transcribed after the 1626 Rawl.MS.poet.61 with which in the first place it was compared, but it cannot be determined from textual considerations whether this MS. should be placed just before or just after the 1628 Rawl.MS.D.301.

The biography of George Calvert, Lord Baltimore, and biographical references in the dedication to the transcription leave several possibilities open. Crane dedicates the MS. to

...him that well hath tri'de, and wisely showne,  
that Free-borne Mindes, all Cuntries make their owne:...

In this he appears to refer to Calvert's colonizing ventures, and one might be justified by this reference in placing the transcription more towards the 1629-32 period (when Calvert's efforts were most strenuous) than otherwise.<sup>8</sup> Certainly the transcript cannot be dated earlier than 1625 for, as has been seen, it was not until 1625 that Calvert resigned office, thus, as Crane puts it,

...leaving World's-Troubles, for  
Heauen's Contemplation;...

In the dedication, Crane refers to the respects he paid to Calvert in

7 These details are drawn from the DNB account of Calvert's life.

8 The possibility that this reference should be read to support the international character of learning and intelligence has been considered, but the alternative interpretation seems more apposite.

this fashion:

...how-ere (like Coales, & raak'd-up) they've layne  
Coverd a while, they must break forth agayne...

This would seem to indicate that Crane had had no recent opportunity to address Calvert. In fact, when it is noted that Calvert was in the Americas from summer, 1627, to autumn, 1629, save for about five months at the end of 1627, it might be conjectured that it is this period of separation to which Crane refers. It is possible, nevertheless, that the transcription was made in the later months of 1627, after Calvert's first return from Newfoundland, but an absence of but a few weeks would hardly warrant Crane's respectful simile. (There is no great reason to assume that it would take an overseas visit on Calvert's part to bury Crane's respects "like Coales", but his statement must be interpreted in the light of the known details of events.)

Furthermore, Crane refers again to his own declining years in

...presenting to (Calvert's) Eie  
(perhaps his last Oblation) ere he die...

His last known work indeed was Harl. MS. 3357, dedicated in December, 1632, only eight months after Calvert's death in April of that same year. However, too much importance should not be attached to such plaints, as they were a regular feature of Crane dedications.

In the light of biographical evidence then, BM. Add. MS. 34752 might well be placed within the period 1630-32, probably closer to the later than the earlier year.

THE  
Faulstie Favorite

---

A  
Theologicall, Usefull  
& Applicab<sup>le</sup> Ex  
position, or Medi  
tation, vpon the  
2. Verse of the 7.<sup>th</sup> Chap.  
of y.<sup>e</sup> 2. booke of Kings.

---

Manuscrib<sup>d</sup> by Raph Crane :

# THE FAULTY FAVORITE (1632)

It is not impossible that the anonymous Faulty Favorite was written by William Austin, whose other verse meditations Crane had transcribed on several previous occasions. This MS. is the only prose work Crane is known to have transcribed.

## The Faultie Fauorite:

(within a box of triple-rulings, scroll-like flourishes enclosing a smaller box of triple-rulings) THE | Faultie Fauorite | (double-ruling) | A | Theologicall, Vsefull | & Applicable Ex | -position, or Medi- | -tation, vpon the | 2. Verse of the 7<sup>th</sup> Chap<sup>r</sup> | of 9. 2. booke of Kings. | (ruling) | Manuscribd by Raph Crane:

HT) THE | Faultie Fauorite | (ruling) | A | Theologicall, Vsefull, & Applicable | Exposition, Vpon the 2. Verse of 9 | 7<sup>th</sup> Cap. of the 2. Booke | of the Kings: | The a Lord<: on whose Hand the King leaned, answered | the Man of God, and said; If the Lord would, make Windowes in Heauen, might this | thing be? | (double-ruling)

HT) The Faultie | Fauorite

Collation) (4<sup>o</sup>); pp.(8); 1-53,(54) Contents: TP, p.1, verso blank; dedication to John, Earle of Bridgwater, Lord President of...Wales, signed Raph Crane, p.(3); HT and text, p.1; FINIS, p.53, verso blank.

CW) pp. 4-5 from (From); 20-21 will (Will); 43-44 Doomb (a Doomb); 50-51 how

Notes) (1) The dedication commences with a sonnet, and continues in prose. (2) A margin for glosses is ruled about 1½" inside the outer margins.

## A HANDFULL OF CELESTIAL FLOWERS

This is the most elaborate of Crane's poetical transcripts. It is



# A Handfull of Celestial Flowers: Vizt.

1. Divers selected Psalmes of David,  
(in Verse) as they were translated from  
those used in the Church.
2. Divers Meditations upon our  
Saviours Passion.
3. Certaine Hymnes or Carrolles, to  
Christmas &c.
4. A true Pastorall Elegiac.
5. Meditations upon the 11. & 13.<sup>m</sup> Verses  
of the 17.<sup>m</sup> Chap. of Iob.

Composed by divers worthy & Learned Gentlemen. } Manuscript  
by R. C. v.

the only one of the five which has been given an inclusive title, and that this represented an especial effort to increase the attraction of the collection is shown by the contents, which are not essentially different from those of Rawl. poet. 61. The Psalms, together with Austin's Meditations and Hymns make up the larger portion of the MS., (which is BM. Harleian MS. 3357), to which has been added A Pastoral Eclogue by Thomas Randolph.

A Handfull of Celestiall Flowers:

(within horizontal and vertical triple-rulings surrounded by scroll-like flourishes) A | Handfull of Celestiall | Flowers: Viz. | 1. Diuers selected Psalmes of Dauid, | (( in Verse )) differently translated from | those Vsed in the Church. | 2. Diuers Meditations Vpon our | Sauicours Passion. | 3. Certaine Hymnes, or Carrolls, for Christmas daie. | 4. A diuine Pastorall Eglogue. | 5. Meditations Vpon the .1. & 13. Verses | of ¶ 17<sup>th</sup> Chap. of Iob. | (ruling) | Composed by diuers worthie | & learned Gentlemen: (curly bracket) Manuscrib'd | by R. Cr: / .

The TP is preceded by two leaves. On f.2 is a dedication: To | the rightly-worthie of Titles of Worship. | S<sup>r</sup> Francis Ashley, knight (&)| One of his Ma<sup>ties</sup> Serjeants at Law. &c., signed on the verso, Raph Crane., and dated Decemb: 1632. There can be little doubt that this dedication is to the whole collection. The TP is on f.3, and the verso is blank.

PSALMS OF DAVID

HT) Diuers | selected Psalmes of DAVID | (( in Verse )) differently translated from those | Vsed in ¶ Church. | (double-ruling)

RT) none.

Collation) 4<sup>o</sup>; pp.1-125,(126) Contents: HT and An Induction,

p.1; Another Induction, p.4; An Introduction | to so many of theis Psalmes, as are of | M<sup>r</sup> Fra: Dauisons Composure., p.8; Psal.1., p.9; Finis, p.125, verso blank.

CW) pp. 24-25 Strength; 51-52 0: (0); 55-56 0. (0,); 59-60 Arct: (Are); 71-72 That (Save -- a line omitted); 78-79 Eye- (Eie-)

Note) In the HT, the very definite comma appears to serve no purpose.

### MEDITATIONS

(within horizontal and vertical margins, scroll-like flourishes, enclosing horizontal and vertical double-rulings) Diuers | deuout, & zealous | Meditations: | (triangular arrangement of three dots) | Vpon our Sauours | Passion. | (two scroll-like flourishes)

HT) none.

RT) none.

Collation) 4<sup>o</sup>; p.(2), 1-33. Contents: p.(1) blank, TP on verso; Meditatio pri<sup>a</sup> | (ruling) | Loquitur Crucifixus, p.1; Meditatio. 2<sup>a</sup> | (ruling) | Christo Saluatori., p.5; Meditatio: 3:8 | (ruling) | A Parasceue for Good-Fridaje, p.21; FINIS. | (three scroll-like flourishes) W.A. Esq<sup>r</sup>., p.33.

CW) pp. 2-3 peired (Peire'd); 5-6 and (And); 23-24 still (Still)

### HYMNS

HT) Certaine | diuine Hymnes or Carrolls | for Christmas-day. | (ruling)

RT) none.

Collation) 4<sup>o</sup>; pp.34-40 Contents: HT and text, p.34; Finis, p.38; another Hymne, p.39; FINIS. and signature W:A. esq<sup>r</sup>., p.40.

CW) pp. 38-39 What.

## A PASTORAL ECLOGUE

HT) A | diuine Pastorall Eglogue: | (triangular arrangement of three dots) | (ruling) | Coridon | Thirsis (curly bracket) (curly bracket) Thenot. | Colin. (curly bracket) (curly bracket) Speakers. | (ruling)

RT) none.

Collation) 4<sup>o</sup>; pp. 41-7, (48) Contents: HT and text, p. 41; Finis and signature T. Randolph gent., p. 47, verso blank.

CW) pp. 44-45 Deepe

## MEDITATIONS ON JOB

HT) Meditations | Vpon the .1. & 13<sup>th</sup>. Verses of y<sup>e</sup> 17<sup>th</sup>. Chap<sup>r</sup>. | of Iob: Viz<sup>t</sup>: | Meditatio Prima: Ver. 2. | Sepulcrum mihi solum super est. | (ruling)

RT) none.

Collation) 4<sup>o</sup>; pp. (1-20) unnumbered. Contents: HT and text; p. (1); Finis. Med. 1<sup>mi</sup>; p. (10); Meditatio 2<sup>a</sup>. Ver: 13<sup>th</sup>; Sepulcrum Domus mea est., p. (11); Finis. 2<sup>a</sup> Medit:, p. (20).

CW) pp. (10-11) Heere; (17-18) Wee (Why)

---

## CRANE'S SCRIBAL CHARACTERISTICS

If one scribal spelling-habit was indistinguishable from another, and one scribe's handwriting was so like another hand that confusion was possible, and if, furthermore, circumstances surrounding the preparation of certain transcripts made it difficult to determine which of two or more scribes was responsible for a particular manuscript, then the very appearance of the manuscript and the disposition of its subject matter would in most cases settle questions of ascription. Although for Crane certain peculiarities of style have already been noted by many scholars, his scribal personality is expressed in many other ways. It is important to obtain a clear impression of what a Crane manuscript was like, and from consideration of the already-identified transcripts, it is possible to form a fairly precise picture of Crane's copy for the Shakespeare F<sub>1</sub> comedies, if indeed the copy was from his pen.

It has not been considered necessary to describe the scribal peculiarities of each manuscript individually here. There is no doubt that each of the MSS. discussed in this investigation does come from Crane's pen. The individual spellings and the handwriting confirm the evidence of the dedications and other bibliographical data. The scribal characteristics which are described in this

chapter are spread throughout the MSS. in a manner which strengthens their attribution to Crane, as independent inspection of the individual MSS. will confirm. The reader has opportunity to test this himself from the plates which have been already published, and from those which appear herein.

The dramatic and poetical groups of MSS. are taken separately so that any gross differences in treatment which exist might appear clearly.

#### DRAMATIC TRANSCRIPTS

##### (a) Ruling and margination:

Crane's dramatic transcripts generally have margins enclosing the four sides of the page. Only the transcripts which were prepared for purposes other than presentation were not margined, with one exception: they are the prompt-book Barnavelt, and the rough transcript of Middleton's masque, the Song in several Parts. That the other masque transcribed by Crane, Jonson's Pleasure reconciled to Virtue, is not margined supports the theory that, although prepared for presentation, it was transcribed to be used by a performer. The exception is Demetrius and Enanthe. Although this transcript appears with a dedication, the lack of margins would support the suggestion made in the chapter on the LIFE that this MS. was originally commissioned for some other purpose than to be presented

to a patron.

In their total lack of rulings the two masques are similar in style to the other playhouse document, Barnavelt. The prompt-book however does have short speech-rules. Otherwise, the transcripts are generally ruled after the act-and-scene-headings, and at the ends of acts and scenes. The act-headings and act-endings are generally marked by double-rulings. In those transcripts with stage-directions at the right-hand side of the page, there are very often short strokes leading to them, which are about the same length as the speech-rules in Barnavelt. Of the three Game transcripts, the Folger copy is the least, and the Malone copy, the most heavily ruled.

(b) Page-numbering and running-titles:

The only transcripts with running-titles are The Witch and the Folger Game; in these the page-numbers are in the top right-hand corner of the page, above the margin. The fact that both these transcripts of 1624 have running-titles might indicate that they were prepared for the press, or at a time (as has been conjectured) when Crane was preparing other works for the printing-house. The Folger Game's running-titles are apparently not taken from Middleton's MS., as the Trinity College Game in holograph shows.

The pages are generally numbered, with periods after the number, above the margin. Numbering occurs in the top right-hand or outside

corner in most numbered transcripts, but is centred in the Lansdowne Game and Demetrius.

(c) Catchwords:

The masques and the prompt-book Barnavelt have no catchwords. The other transcripts have them in the lower right-hand corners, generally above the margin. The catchwords disregard speech-prefixes, act-and-scene-headings, stage-directions, and sometimes capitals and punctuation. There are some interesting exceptions. In the Folger Game, pp. 73-4 hath (has), 81-2 I am (I'am), 89-90 why (We), 90-1 I how? (I, how?); in the Lansdowne Game, pp. 7-8 (that's, and on p. 77 the catchword has been squeezed out by a stage-direction and omitted; in Demetrius, p. 43, Scē<sup>a</sup>.

(d) Contractions:

Crane appears to have used the common scribal contractions: yo<sup>r</sup>, yo<sup>ur</sup>, Ex<sup>t</sup>, w<sup>th</sup>, yo<sup>u</sup>, yo<sup>w</sup>, y<sup>e</sup>, w<sup>ch</sup>, o<sup>r</sup>, L<sup>ps</sup>, t<sup>t</sup>, em, eis, eir, y<sup>ei</sup>, Scē<sup>a</sup>, S<sup>r</sup>, and abbreviated spellings such as labo<sup>rs</sup>, favo<sup>r</sup>d, Soldie<sup>rs</sup>, yo<sup>r</sup>self, notw<sup>th</sup>standing. In addition Crane used the tilde (very infrequently), the ampersand, and q for -que, ℓ for -es.

The contractions were used most frequently in the texts which may have been used by performers, or for performances, e.g. Pleasure reconciled to Virtue, and Barnavelt. However, as these were his first



two transcripts, the relative infrequency in the following transcripts may indicate that Crane changed his habit about this time.

(e) Scribal flourishes, etc.:

There are a number of scribal practices which can be discussed under no more definite a heading than the above. Some of these peculiarities may be characteristic only of Crane, some others may have been used by other scribes. The triangular device of three dots, and the scroll-like flourish have not been observed in other MSS., though it is not pretended that an intensive survey has been made. It is important to note that the scribal peculiarities which are described below are found occurring generally throughout the manuscripts attributed to Crane, and thus strengthen their attribution to him.

(i) The triangular device of three dots occurs in two forms, one with an oblique flourish or dash beneath, and the other without. The first form is the more common, and it is not impossible that the second group arise from the fading of the manuscripts, and obscurity from microfilming. This device seems to replace ruling in some places, as in the Song in several Parts which is not ruled at all. Examples of the device may be noted on the title-pages reproduced in the previous chapter.

(ii) The scroll-like flourishes which frequently ornament the title-pages can also replace rulings, especially at the end of a page when an act or scene ends. This type of flourish is the most

frequently-occurring type of ornament in the Crane transcripts.

(iii) A device which may have been more generally used and which may be less characteristic of Crane for that reason was the marking-off of numbers between two full-stops, e.g. .1., which occurs in the Pleasure masque, p.5.

(iv) In the Lansdowne and Malone Game transcripts and also in Demetrius, some side stage-directions are marked off with curly brackets. However, short stage-directions such as exits, which take up only one line, are introduced with short dashes.

(v) There are two other practices which have been mentioned in various studies as Crane characteristics, but as each occurs in one transcription only, these are not as helpful in identifying Crane's hand in manuscripts as has been imagined. The double-dash, =, appears only in Demetrius, and the ? has been observed only in Barnavelt of the dramatic transcripts. (Refer corrigendum on page 28.)

(f) Speech-prefixes:

The major speeches in the two masques are marked off by the character's name, in full, centred without underlining, above the speech. In Pleasure reconciled to Virtue there are some short verbal exchanges which are marked by speech-prefixes in the usual way. In the other dramatic transcripts these are found on the left of the page against the margin, with the text indented one or two centimetres. Speech-prefixes are generally in italic script, and not underlined. They occur invariably in a greatly abbreviated form, e.g. Wh.P. for

White Pawn.

(g) Stage -directions:

In the two masques the stage-directions are centred but not underlined. They are very scanty. In the other dramatic transcripts the stage-directions which occur at the beginnings of acts and scenes are centred, sometimes with underlinings. The minor stage-directions (i.e. entrances and exits) are generally at the right, mostly in bold Roman script, and two or three lines early. The editor of the Malone Society Reprint of Demetrius and Enanthe, p.viii, has remarked:

Entrances are usually, though not always, marked a line or two early. In the Society's edition of The Witch (p.xii) this peculiarity was taken to be evidence that Crane's original was the playhouse manuscript, but it may well be no more than a scribal habit, for the entrances in Crane's transcripts of Middleton's A Game at Chess...are frequently marked one or two lines earlier than those in Middleton's autograph manuscript...

The impression that this is a Crane habit seems to be correct.

At this point the "massed entries" which occur in the Malone transcript of the Game and which have given rise to the theory of "assembled texts" require to be mentioned. "Massed entries" are those stage-directions in which

all the characters in a scene are named at the beginning in the order of their appearance, later entrances and most exits being generally unmarked.<sup>1</sup>

1 Halliday: A Shakespeare Companion, 37.

Although R.C. Rhodes and Professor Dover Wilson advanced the theory in 1921 that "massed entries" and the absence of stage-directions is accounted for by the assembling of the plays from actors' parts and the "plot", McKerrow and Greg have suggested that this was an imitation of the neo-classical convention adopted by Jonson and others, of commencing a new scene at the entrance of each major character or group of characters, and of heading the scene with a list of the characters in it. It is not proposed to consider "assembled texts" fully here. Professor Bald advanced the suggestion in 1929 that "massed entries" were a Crane characteristic.<sup>2</sup> There seems to be very little possible objection which can be made to this suggestion. Professor Bald's statement was criticised in 1930 by Professor Dover Wilson, and Professor Bald replied in 1932.<sup>3</sup> The best summary of the issue and the most reasonable statement of the nature of "massed entries" and "assembled texts" has been provided by Professor F.P. Wilson in his excellent essay "Shakespeare and the 'New Bibliography'".<sup>4</sup>

One further observation may be made. The texts which show the "massed entries" are the Malone Game transcript by Crane, and the 1624 Duchess of Malfy<sup>5</sup> and the F1 Two Gentlemen of Verona, A Winter's

2 Bald: Middleton's "A Game at Chess", 42.

3 Wilson: review of the above, Lib. (1930), 105ff. Bald: "Assembled Texts" Lib. (1932), 243ff.

4 Wilson: The Bibliographical Society 1892-1942: Studies in Retrospect (1945), 111.

5 Rf. Brown: "The Printing of John Webster's Plays (1)" SB (1953), 134.

Tale, and The Merry Wives of Windsor, which have been attributed to Crane transcripts.<sup>6</sup> It must surely be more than coincidence that the only texts which show signs of "massed entries" are associated with Crane's penmanship. Further, there is no indication that other texts by other scribes have demonstrated the same peculiarity. It seems reasonable to agree with Professor Bald that "massed entries" were a Crane habit, and further, that they were possibly based on the neo-classical convention, which the scribe may have copied from Jonson (whose Pleasure masque is Crane's first known transcript).

(h) Act and Scene division:

The two masques are not divided into acts and scenes for none are necessary. However, directions like Finis .1. Song. Then Hono<sup>r</sup>  
deliuers this speech on f.3<sup>v</sup> of A Song in several Parts serve to break the masques into scene-like parts.

The other dramatic transcripts are divided into acts and scenes throughout.

## POETICAL TRANSCRIPTS

(a) Ruling and margination:

The poetical manuscripts are invariably marginated. The head-titles and the titles of the separate sections and poems are generally under-ruled. In Rawl.poet.MS.61, there are rulings after each speech

6 Greg: The Shakespeare First Folio, 157.

in the Summary and at the end of each poem in the Psalms, Hymns, and Meditations. The same practice occurs in Rawl.D.301, Add.34752, and Harl.3357. Where-ever dialogues occur, the speakers' names are underlined, as in the Meditations, Crane's own Summary, and Randolph's Eclogue.

Gloss columns for references are ruled in Rawl.D.301 and The Faulty Favorite.

One transcript, Harl.6930, has little if any ruling; this is replaced in the appropriate places by the triangular dot arrangement, and the scroll flourish.

(b) Page-numbering and running-titles:

No running-titles occur in the poetical transcripts. It seems therefore that it was not a practice of Crane to put them in texts which he transcribed, and that any of his transcripts which have them (e.g. The Witch and the Folger Game) should be carefully examined for any unusual circumstances surrounding the transcription.

The page-numbers are generally centred above the margin, with a period following. London's Lamentable Estate and the meditations of Harl.3357 are unnumbered,<sup>7</sup> and in the Faulty Favorite and Harl.6930 transcripts the numbers, with following periods, are at the

7 Possibly Rawl.D.301 is unnumbered also, but the margins are cut off in the microfilm print from which the description has been made.

outer corners of the pages.

(c) Catchwords:

The poetical transcripts, unlike the dramatic transcripts, have their catchwords beneath the right-hand lower margin. Rawl.D. 301 is the only exception.

The catchwords generally disregard the poem numbering and titles,<sup>8</sup> and in the case of the Ecologue, the speech-prefixes, when they occur at the beginning of the new page. In Rawl.D. 301 Meditations, Harl. 6930 Hymns, and Harl. 3357 Meditations and Hymns, there are no catchwords at all before the start of a new poem.

(d) Contractions:

Contractions are infrequent in all the transcripts belonging to this group. Those few that occur are the common pronominal contractions already noted in the dramatic transcripts. Thus, it would appear from examination of his transcripts that it was not a Crane practice to use contractions frequently in MSS. intended for presentation to patrons.

(e) Flourishes, etc.:

- (i) The triangular arrangement of three dots occurs throughout

<sup>8</sup> Exceptions: Rawl.poet.61 -- Hymns and Meditations pp.12-13 Christo but pp.25-6 Oh (3. Parasceue...) and Rawl.D. 301 -- Meditations f.4<sup>v</sup>-5 Christo.

the transcripts in this group. In Harl.6930 it is used (together with the scroll flourish) to replace rulings, and in Harl.3357 Hymns, the device is used in place of ruling underneath the hymn numbers.

(ii) The scroll-like flourish similarly appears throughout the poetical transcripts. In Harl.6930 and Harl.3357 Meditations it is used to replace ruling. There can be no doubt that these two scribal habits are Crane characteristics, and can be used with some confidence to identify his transcriptions.

(iii) The double-dash has not been observed in all the transcripts in this group. It occurs in (amongst others) Rawl.poet.61 and the Faulty Favorite transcript, and so spans the 1626-32 period. The double-dash appears to be another Crane characteristic. The curly bracket is found in two transcripts of this group.<sup>9</sup>

(iv) Crane's predilection for the colon is clearly illustrated in the signatures to the poems in these transcripts. They are generally signed with initials, e.g. Fr:Da:, Jos:Br:, and in London's Lamentable Estate, Ph:M:. In Harl.6930 the form of the signatures fluctuate from simple initials, J.B., to the fuller form of the name, Jo:Bryan.

The texts of these transcripts are generally in English script with italic script reserved for glosses, titles, poem-numbering, and

9 BM.Add.34752, and Harl.3357 -- Eclogue.



The Guide, that none may miss the way to It:

Upon the Top, sits <sup>2</sup>Charitie Divine:

<sup>2</sup>Obedience, on his right hand doth <sup>4</sup>shine;

Upon his Left, sits <sup>2</sup>Patience: and below

<sup>2</sup>Humilitie, her humble Self doth <sup>3</sup>throw:

This lead thee to his Arms, and to his Side:

When your hate hath cut an open Passage wide:

Come then, and if thou <sup>4</sup>knowest for thy Sin,



sometimes dedications.<sup>10</sup>

#### CRANE'S HANDWRITING

The forms and features of Crane's hand have been made familiar from plates reproduced in Wilson's article and accompanying the Malone Society reprints of The Witch and Demetrius and Enanthe.<sup>11</sup> Paleographical considerations are not important in this investigation but nevertheless it might be helpful to inspect briefly an example of Crane's work, and to note especially the forms which through irregularity of observance or obscurity of intention have presented difficulties in transcription.

The example here was taken from Austin's Meditations in A Handfull of Celestial Flowers (Harl. 3357); dated 1632, it falls at the end of Crane's known career, when he must have been over sixty-five years of age. Crane's writing did not change appreciably between 1618 and 1632.

(1) Crane used many forms of d. The first form marked is the italic form which may often be found in the middle of a word otherwise written in his English hand. Sometimes the italic form has been

<sup>10</sup> As in the dedications to Rawl.D. 301, and The Witch.

<sup>11</sup> Further opportunity to study Crane's handwriting is provided by the reproductions and transcriptions of Crane's dedications to the poetical transcriptions reproduced in the Appendices.

used to commence a word otherwise in English script; in such a case it has been read (for the purposes of transcription) as a capital letter. The second d marked is an open form which has also been read as a capital in transcription. It will be noted that this form is different from the minuscule at the end of hand, and is larger. Crane's typical minuscule for this letter is the next marked; the down-stroke making the back of the letter is separate from the body, slants markedly to the left, and is always thicker than most similar strokes in Crane's hand.

(2) These words are in the bold Roman hand that Crane has used for stage-directions in his dramatic transcripts, and for purposes of emphasis in the dedications and throughout the poetical transcripts. The over-all effect is italic, but English forms appear throughout.

(3) A more usual italic hand is seen in belowe. As Crane has intermingled italic and English forms irregularly it has often been difficult to determine what his intention was for any particular word.

(4) Forms such as this s, for example, present constant difficulty when it is necessary to decide whether Crane capitalised certain words. In form they are italic, and apparently majuscule, until compared with the bolder italic S in Self and Side. Nevertheless,

Crane's usual practice is to commence s- words with the long *f*, and so this type has been read as if it was clearly majuscule.

(5) Another difficulty (not very clearly illustrated in this example) has been to determine whether or not some particular l is majuscule. In the second example of the l (which is definitely minuscule) the foot-stroke is often exaggerated and lengthened, giving the letter a strength which often requires that it be read as a capital.

(6) This type of *f*, italic in form, is read as a capital when it occurs at the beginning of a word.

The general development of Crane's hand is shown quite clearly in the dedications which are reproduced in Appendix 1. As will be seen, his hand was well and firmly formed by the time of his first extant transcript, and apparently did not change significantly.

#### PUNCTUATION AND CAPITALIZATION

Crane punctuated his manuscripts fairly heavily and used a wide variety of punctuation marks. As well as the double-dash already remarked, he used the colon, semicolon, fullstop, comma, hyphen, dash, parentheses, curly brackets, and the combined interrogation-exclamation mark. His distinguishing feature, the widespread use of

parentheses, has been often discussed. It has not been remarked, however, that Crane also used dashes and commas frequently for parenthetical constructions, as collation of the poetical transcripts has shown. Accordingly, the relative proportion of each type of punctuation mark affects the proportion of the others, depending on the degree of substitution. Colons, commas, and semicolons were often changed from text to text, and even fullstops could replace and be replaced by interrogation marks and colons.

The proportion of punctuation marks to the number of words depends largely on the nature of the text: one would expect punctuation to be more frequent in a dramatic text which comprises mainly of short sentences of dialogue; on the other hand, this tendency could be counteracted by the relatively informal requirements of dramatic texts. Four samples taken from 1622 to 1626 indicate that Crane's punctuation was lighter in this period, but perhaps only for dramatic manuscripts. Overall, he used about 23-24 punctuation marks for every hundred words. These generalizations are based on a count of approximately 15,000 punctuation marks taken from the transcripts over the period 1622-32.

It did seem at first that it would have been possible to study how frequent each punctuation mark occurred from

year to year, and so to chart lines of development to illustrate graphically Crane's punctuation habits. This proved unwise for several reasons: (a) the MS. from which the counts were made appear to have faded, and there are many punctuation marks which are doubtful. When too it is considered that the material from which the counts were made has been photographically reproduced, it is likely that there is a more than permissible corruption in the count figures; (b) several of the MSS. from which the counts were made are undated; in particular BM.Add.34752, Harl.MS.6930, and The Witch are necessary to fill in the chart correctly, but these MSS. cannot be precisely dated. In any event, the transcripts are not spread evenly over the 1618-32 period and for long stretches the lines could only be guessed; (c) finally, it is doubtful whether the various parts of the MSS. were transcribed within reasonably close time of each other, and corruption enters the figures from this source.

Nevertheless, the chi-square test was applied to the punctuation figures taken from the meditations of Rawl.poet.61 (1626), Rawl.D.301 (1628), and Harl.3357 (1632). The only items which showed significant change were the colons, fullstops and dashes/hyphens. Apparently, colons became more frequent from 1626, and fullstops less

frequent. Dashes/hyphens decline in frequency after 1628, and it is not unlikely that some dashes were replaced by colons. The common substitution between commas and parentheses, dashes, colons, and semicolons made it impossible to indicate by this test any change in preference.

Crane's parentheses occur throughout the 1618-32 period and generally make up 10-14 percent of the total punctuation: there is no doubt that they are a Crane characteristic. The Lansdowne and Malone Game MSS., with about 17 and 30 percent of the punctuation respectively are unusual for Crane: in the Folger Game for example, the parentheses make up only about 10 percent of the punctuation, while in the Witch transcript of similar date, only about 7 percent.

Crane's use of the Jonsonian elisions, and his use of the apostrophe in general, need not be further discussed here: these Crane features are adequately covered in the Malone Society reprints of Demetrius and The Witch.

Finally, the samples used for the punctuation survey also reveal that Crane increased his capitalization over the years: from about 26 capitals to every 100 words in Song in several parts (1622) they increase to about 45 in every 100 words in Harl.3357.

## CRANE'S SCRIBAL HABITS

Comparison of Crane's practices in each group of texts, dramatic and poetical, shows that although his practice varied in some cases (e.g. the masques and the prompt-book) to suit the relatively informal requirements of manuscripts not intended for presentation to patrons, there was a definite continuity of habit from 1618 to 1632 which does make it possible to identify Crane's transcripts on the basis of their peculiarities and scribal characteristics.

Further, it is possible with reasonable confidence to conjecture a description of a typical Crane transcription. If a previously unidentified manuscript was discovered which answered in most details to the following description, there would be a very strong probability that it had been transcribed by Crane.

(1) The spelling would indicate a date roughly between the death of Elizabeth and the establishment of the Commonwealth.

(2) The handwriting, a mixture of English and Italian characteristics, would confirm the date.

(3) The pages of the manuscript would be ruled in red with margins enclosing the four sides of the page, and generally both sides of the leaf would be used.

(4) The pages would be numbered above the top margin,



with a period following the number, in the centre for there would be no running-titles.

(5) There would be regular catchwords above the bottom margin at the bottom right-hand corner; these would ignore headings to poems or scenes commencing the next page, and speech-prefixes and speakers' names.

(6) In most cases the manuscript would be well but not heavily ruled, under headings and at the ends of poems and sections of the text.

(7) In some cases (and when this occurred it would indicate that the manuscript would more suitably be given a late rather than an early date) scroll-like flourishes and triangular devices of three dots with a dash beneath, which were usually used for ornament on the title-pages, would replace rulings.

(8) The text would be largely in Elizabethan script, with a liberal admixture of names, abstract nouns, and Latin tags in italic; sometimes important headings or stage-directions would be in a bold or Roman hand.

(9) Few contractions beyond the usual pronominal forms would be used.

(10) The spelling and punctuation would demonstrate certain peculiarities, particularly the use of certain invariant spellings and a frequent use of colons and

parentheses. <sup>12</sup> Occasionally a curly bracket, a double dash, or a ? might be noted.

#### SCRIBAL ERRORS

There is general agreement that Crane was a careful and accurate copyist, but the absence of an identified copy-text makes this statement difficult to demonstrate. The analysis of textual errors in printed texts derived from previous editions is not necessarily a basis for a similar analysis in scribal transcripts derived from copy-texts presumably (for they provided his livelihood) always held in the scribe's possession. In Crane's case, it is presumed that as soon as he had prepared a transcript he presented it to a patron, and that therefore all poetical texts derived from the same copy-text. For the meditations, hymns and psalms of the poetical manuscripts, there is no evidence to indicate that this assumption is incorrect, and the transcripts are taken to be independent copies of the same text.

In the psalms, meditations, and hymns of Rawl.poet.61, BM.Add.34752, Rawl.D.301, Harl.6930, and Harl.3357 there are examples of obvious spelling mistakes (4), <sup>13</sup>

- 12 The spelling characteristics of Crane manuscripts are mentioned here, only as a criterion to complete the picture; it is discussed fully in the next chapter.
- 13 They are: throne for "thorne" in Harl.3357, f.79; accust for "accurst" in Rawl.poet.61, f.93; peckled for "speckled" in Harl.6930--Psalm 133 (alit.); and whewith for "wherewith" in Rawl.poet 61, f.45.

haplography (1), <sup>14</sup> dittography (2), <sup>15</sup> scribal misreadings of the copy (5), <sup>16</sup> omissions (11), verbal substitutions (43), rearrangements of word order (10), and 6 further cases in which it is possible that the scribe misunderstood the meaning of his text. <sup>17</sup> There are two misreadings common to all manuscripts. <sup>18</sup> There are no variants between the transcriptions of the Hymns and Meditation 1. In the psalms and meditations of Rawl.poet.61 (1626) there are 20 textual variants, in Harl.3357 (1632) there are 31. The most interesting feature of these figures is that whereas in Rawl.poet.61 Crane has substituted variants for the presumed copy-reading on 10 occasions, in Harl.3357 he has provided the

- 14 Rawl.poet.61--Psalm 137: Neighbour (and for "Neighbour Lands and".
- 15 Rawl.poet.61--Psalm 113: His Saints, his Seruants for "Ye Saints, his Seruants"; Med.3, f.91v: ...heauen, and Angells, heauen, and Earth... for "...Men, and Angells, heauen and Earth..."
- 16 Rawl.poet.61--Med.2, l.114: Grace for "Graue"; Harl.6930--Psalm 112: endamage for "endanger"; Harl.3357--Psalm 107: distant for "distaunce", and in all three transcripts, Psalm 107: hope-rest-State for "hope-reft-State", and Psalm 26: for oft Saluations for "for our Saluations".
- 17 These may be spelling-variants: of/off, to/too.
- 18 Refer to the last two examples in note 16 above.

correct reading for these but introduced 18 other verbal substitutions. However, as can be seen below, none of these suggests authorial revision.

The verbal substitutions in Rawl.poet.61 are:

Rawl.poet.61.

Med.on Job: 2: 1.32 makes  
     94 heauen decree  
     83 Wee  
Psalm: No.30 ioyfull  
     65 thou dost bles  
     56 and (heartles) be  
     aliter 133 the  
     91 if they meete  
     8 doth  
     " his

Harl.3357.

make  
 Heauens decree  
 Why  
 gratefull  
 thou didst blesse  
 all heartless, and  
 that  
 if thou meete  
 did  
 their

and in Harl.3357 are:

Rawl.poet.61.

Med.2: 1.29 mine  
     80 deeme  
     98 Speares  
Med.on Job: 85 That  
     100 this...humour  
     106 slip-by:  
     2:1.96 shall only first  
     103 before byn  
     109 eternall b.  
Psalm: no. 1 way  
     alit. 6 Greifes  
     36 oh God  
     65 Nomberles  
     93 beyond all Times  
     130 Mercie dwell  
     8 hand  
     " Winged-Troope

Harl.3357.

my  
 thinck  
 Speare  
 This  
 Theis...Humours  
 goe by:  
 shall first of all  
 to-fore bin  
 Eternall a.  
 Wajes  
 Woes  
 my God  
 manifold  
 beyond old Times  
 Mercies dwell  
 hands  
 Winged Troopes

These figures suggest that Crane became either increasingly careless, or increasingly independent of his copy over the years. Nevertheless, the number of errors in relation to the number of words in his copy is remarkably low.

Yet there is one textual substitution that is a little more adventurous:

Rawl.poet.61. (1626) with thanckfullnes:  
Harl.3357. (1632) With Thanckfullnes;  
Harl.6930. ( ? ) but them confesse,

The full text of this stanza of Psalm 107 reads:

31. Oh therefore let Men never cease  
Gods countles Mercies to expresse  
                                with thanckfullnes:  
And show, that all the World may see  
What, and how mightie Wonders he  
       for the Sonnes of Men effecteth.

Manifestly the substitution makes no great improvement, and hardly seems worthy of authorial interference. On the other hand, would a scribe be likely to make such a radical alteration, and after making it, would he disregard his own revision when making further transcripts of the text. This raises further questions about Harl.6930, for the second query can easily be answered if Harl.6930 was transcribed after Harl.3357.

HARLEIAN MS. 6930 RECONSIDERED

In the dedication to A Handfull of Celestial Flowers, Crane's last extant manuscript, he remarks:

...I call them Rarities, aswell in regard of their Vert-ous-Method, as of their In-Comunitie, (there not being three such any where extant; and not One (vnless sur= reptitiously gotten) but of my Pen:)...

The only other extant transcript of roughly the same contents is Rawl.poet.61, though it is conceivable that BM.Add.34752 or Rawl.D.301 (which are both by Austin) once formed part of similar collections. However, as they both have title-pages which refer only to the poems which are actually found in the transcripts, it seems that they were intended to be independent transcripts of Austin's work and not simply parts of a larger collection. If this is correct, it may be necessary to decide whether Crane meant by "...not...three such...", that there were two manuscripts including Harl.3357, or that there were two other manuscripts of similar nature. The point here is that if Crane meant that there were two poetry collections including the MS. that he was presenting with his statement, then the other must have been Rawl.poet.61, but if he meant Harl.3357 and two others, then it would be possible (though not likely for reasons which shall be considered shortly) that Harl.6930 formed part of the third poetry collection.

For Harl.6930 then there are two possibilities: (1) that it was part of a larger poetry collection in the same style of Rawl.poet.61 and Harl.3357, or (2) that it was not. In this event its distinctive characteristics

must be explained in another way.

The extant collections, Rawl.poet.61 and Harl.3357, were carefully reproduced transcripts intended for presentation for prospectively-generous patrons. Each had ornamented title-pages and dedications, each included psalms, hymns, meditations, and other minor compositions, each was carefully ruled and consistent in the use of rules, margination, running-titles, page-numbering, catch-words, and signatures.

On the other hand, Harl.6930 has no dedication or ornament title-page. There are two characteristics of this manuscript which are not found in the other two transcripts of the psalms. Some of the poems are prefaced by a Latin motto, perhaps taken from the Vulgate, and each poem is concluded with a Finis before the signature initials. The signatures vary considerably from the mere initials, as in J:B:, F:B: to fuller forms, Jo: Br:, Jos: Bryan and Fr: Dau. Apart from the usual margination there is no ruling, but sometimes in places where ruling might be expected, Crane has used the triangular arrangement of three dots, or the scroll-like flourish. It will be recalled that these scribal flourishes served the same function in Harl.3357 also. The page-numbering, as in The Faulty Favorite, is placed at the outer corners of the pages. In this transcript Psalm 91 is

omitted and Psalm 3 is out of numerical order.

As has been noted, Harl. 6930 shares characteristics of Crane's two last dated transcripts. The handwriting gives the impression of carelessness and lack of concentration by the scribe, but the text itself, from comparison with Rawl.poet.61 and Harl.3357 is quite accurate. With the exception of the major substitution noted above, Harl.6930 contains only 4 verbal substitutions as against the 13 in the two other Psalm transcripts. However, of the 5 places in the psalms in which the words of the text have been rearranged (surely an indication of a faulty memory), 4 occur in Harl.6930.

All this cumulative detail suggests that Harl.6930 was prepared after Harl.3357 and The Faulty Favorite, and that it should therefore be considered to be the last, possibly unfinished, transcription by the aged scribe.<sup>19</sup> The substitution in Psalm 107 may then indicate the peak of Crane's alteration of his copy-text, although his interference was never radical nor very frequent. Whether or not spelling-analysis will sustain this late dating of Harl.6930 now remains to be seen.<sup>20</sup>

It is difficult, in the absence of copy for Crane's

19 There is no evidence to support the conjecture that Harl.6930 formed, or was intended to form, part of a poetry collection, though the possibility has not been disproved.

20 In fact, spelling-analysis threw no further light



transcripts, to be certain of the degree of accuracy with which he reproduced the minutiae of his copy, but current scholarly opinion, which is supported by the general nature of his MSS., is that he was an exceptionally accurate scribe. It certainly seems that his transcripts are much more accurate than the usual printed editions of dramatic works at that time.

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Corrigendum, p.6: the? besides occurring in Barnavelt, appears three times in The Witch, and also in Demetrius, according to the Demetrius editor, p ix.

NOTE 20 continued

on the dating of this MS, and the problem is not discussed hereafter. The question of dating this MS. and BM.Add.34752 from spellings is so complicated and necessarily detailed, and the anticipated effect of dating so slight, it was felt that it was not necessary to settle the problem here.

## CRANE'S SPELLINGS IN THE TRANSCRIPTIONS

Previous chapters have outlined Crane's life and works, and the scribal characteristics by which his transcriptions can be identified. The major characteristic, his spelling, remains to be discussed, for so far little work has been done on his spelling beyond the tentative ascription of a few "significant" spellings. Had a large amount of holograph material continued to exist, it would be relatively simple to describe his spelling-pattern. However, the only extant known material from Crane's own hand is his six dedications, and his Summary. Together these provide spellings of about a thousand words, a skeleton vocabulary.

The Crane material used here totals roughly 92,000 spelling occurrences, which would seem a number large enough to provide the favoured spellings for a considerable vocabulary. However, the range of vocabulary is smaller than the size of sample would suggest because several items making up the sample occur three or four times. For example, there are three Game transcripts and these have almost identical vocabularies. This is not entirely disadvantageous, as although by this multiplication of sample material the vocabulary range is

proportionally restricted, for the spellings in the duplicated texts it affords surer validation for the ascription of these spellings to Crane.

Further, monosyllables account for a great proportion of the samples. This is a characteristic of the English language as Herdan shows: in a sample of Carlyle's works monosyllables made up 69.6 percent, and in a sample taken from Macaulay's essays, 66.2 percent; there is no reason to believe that this structural configuration had been significantly different in the early seventeenth century.<sup>1</sup> Of the monosyllables, the larger part is the pronouns and particles. Hence, much of the sample provides negative evidence only.<sup>2</sup>

The final factor which appears to limit the expectation of compiling a large Crane vocabulary from the combined samples is that the extant Crane material is predominantly religious and dramatic in character. The dramatic material shows a certain unity of vocabulary, as could be expected,

1 G.Herdan: Language as Choice and Chance (1956), table 31, et sequ.

2 Notice in the Middleton list which follows how many of the spellings are the commonest words. Am, and, her, and so on, are listed right from the beginning, but such words as understanding, redeeme, yourselves do not become listed until the fifth sorting, not because they are unusual, but because they are not common to all semantic situations.

and the two groups of samples share a great part of their vocabularies. On the other hand, large semantic groups do not occur. These are few words common to the law or commerce, or to sport or the household, for example. Consequently, it would be unwise to expect a large Crane vocabulary from this sample, and even the dedication samples of Crane's holograph material do not contribute many words to the vocabulary already taken from the dramatic and poetical samples. Where the vocabulary is small, the spelling-variants must be correspondingly small in number.

#### THE DEDICATION SAMPLE

What is here termed the dedication sample comprises seven items, the dedications by Crane to Demetrius and Enanthe (1625), Rawl. MS. poet. 61 (1626), Rawl. MS. D. 301 (1628), BM. Add. Ms. 34752 (1631?), Harl. MS. 3357 (1632), and The Faulty Favorite (1632), and Crane's own Summary (1626).<sup>3</sup> This is by no means a perfect sample for any purpose. It is very small; there are about a thousand variants, but they are found in only 3026 occurrences. Consequently,

3 The Witch dedication (1624/25?) is in Crane's hand, but was written by Middleton.

about 700 of the thousand variants do not occur often enough for it to be reasonably certain that they are preferred variants. Of the variants that do occur frequently, the greatest number are the common and generally static words already mentioned. As can be seen, the dramatic dedications do not occur at regular intervals within the 1618-32 period of Crane's known activity. Nor are the dedications regular in length; they range from Rawl.poet.61's 158 occurrences to the 1345 of The Faulty Favorite.

The sample may be sorted into three groups. The first group is the spellings which occurred often enough in the dedications for Crane to have indicated his preferred form. These words are:

a, abroad, absence, accept, acceptable, acceptance, affected, afford, age, all, alone, am, amongst, ('mongst), and (&), an, angell, any, are, as, Ashley, at, baronet, be, beades, beadesman, being, beleeeve, better, bold, both, breake, brought, but, by, byn, call, came, can, cast, Christ, Christs, comfort, commaunded, consecrated, constantly, contemplation, Cooper, could, covenant, Crane, cursse, death, deceased, deere, desire, devine, devoted, did, doe, don, doth, doubt, dutie, earth, either, encouraged, ennobled, ere, &c., eternall, evangelium, ever, every, examples, excellent, expresse, faith, fame, fashion, feare, find, first, for, forth, found, frend, from, fruit, ghospell, ghospells (ghospels), give, glorie, glorious, god, gods, gon, good, grace, great, greif, had ('de), hand, hands, has, hath, have ('ve), having, he (hee), heaven, her, here,

hereby, high, him, his, honest, honor,  
 honourd, hope, how, howres, humaine, humblest,  
 I, in (i'), inclination, industrie, into, is  
 ('s), it ('t), John, Josuahs, joy, knight,  
 know, knowing, knowledge, labour (labor),  
 Laps. (Ladiships), last, lastly, lawe (law),  
 least, leave, leaves, Lex, life, like, liquor,  
 little, will ('ll), long, lord, lordships (lps.),  
 love, madam, made, make, making, man, many,  
 (manie), mans, manuscript, maties., may, me,  
 meerely, men, mercie, mercies, Middleton, might,  
 mine, more, Moses, most, much, my, myself,  
 name, naturall, neerely, neither, never, new, no,  
 noble, none, nor, not, nothing, now, oblation,  
 observd, of (o'), o (oh), old, on, one, ones,  
 or, other, our, out, owne, peace, peece, pen,  
 perfect, pitchd, place, poore, present,  
 presentment, preserve, president, prophets,  
 prow, Raph, rarieties, readie, regard, rejoyce,  
 release, remaine, right, roiall, sacred, sad,  
 sake, salvation, same, saviour, seene, self,  
 servant, service, severall, shall, she, short,  
 should, sin, since, sir (sr.), small, so (soe),  
 some, somewhat, soule, spirit, springing, still,  
 stones, storie, streames, subjects, such, sun,  
 sweet (sweete), tables, tell, the (th', ye.),  
 that (yt.), their (thier), theis (yeis.), them,  
 then - adv. (than), then - relp., there,  
 therefore, therein, they, thinck, this, those,  
 though, three, thus, tidings, time, title, to  
 (t'), too, true, unto, up, upon, use, vertue,  
 very, vouchsafe, want, ward, was, way, which (wch.)  
 weake, well, were, what, when, where, wherein,  
 whole, whose, wise, wish, wishes, with (wth.),  
 worthie, would, yeares, yet, yoake, your (yor.),  
 you (yow.), zeal, zealous. 4

To the above variants could well be added (although with  
 less certainty) the following closely related words:

action, actions, affliction, afflictions,  
 bearer, beleaving, best, bring, bringing, calls,  
 cannot, care, cares, carefully, casting, come,  
 comes, comfortable, commaundement, commemorative,  
 commemorates, commemoration, concerning,

4 The words in parentheses are spellings also used.

consecrate, consider, considered, constant, covers, coverd, descend, descent, devotion, die, died, disjoy, disposed, disposure, end, ends, evangelism, even, evening, expressive, faithfully, famous, fate, flowre, fruitfull, garden, gardens, gives, gracious, greater, heavens, higher, hopefull, humble, humbly, instinct, intire, joyfull, late, leane, leand, learned, learning, lifes, loving, manuscript, matie., matter, matters, mens, mind, mindes, nature, natures, neere, nobler, offend, offer, offrings, orchard, orchards, others, peaceable, places, poorest, presenting, promise, promising, rejoycings, rich, richer, season, seasond, sett, setting, show, sins, smallest, stone, supporter, supporters, tender, tending, thanck, thanckfull, thanckfully, thereof, thing, thinges, titles, under, undertake, vertues, wants, whence, whereof, who, without, world, worlds, worth, writer, writers.

The above words are those which are closely related to the first group of preferred spellings, but which did not occur frequently enough themselves for a preference to be indicated. Finally in this sample is a group of words which are morphologically consistent with the words in the preferred categories, or amongst themselves. They are:

cheif, dire, drop, face, fall, fold, glad, holds, just, kind, king, land, light, must, ranck, releif, rest, shame, sing, trust, wall, worsse.

These categories are provided not only to show generally Crane's spellings, but also because there can be no great certainty in the spellings which occur only once. Although it must weigh quite heavily that Crane has used them in his own work, the spellings of the second and third groups

cannot be considered definitive. Whether or not they have been rightly preferred will become clear when the transcriptions are examined. The spellings in these groups (and the other spellings in the dedication sample which it has been unwise to categorise) are a constant reference point, but they may be displaced in the light of satisfactory numerical evidence by variants from the transcription. <sup>5</sup>

#### THE TRANSCRIPTION SAMPLES

The spellings listed above, and some of the other dedication spellings, occur again in the transcriptions, which have been grouped together according to their authorship. Again, these samples vary in size and distribution over the 1618-32 period, but these disadvantages are overcome to a large extent by the much larger samples.

In the following sections, only Crane's spellings are particularly noted. Although from sample to sample spellings occur which might reasonably be attributed to the

5 There may be errors arising from faulty processing of the data, Crane's own inconsistency and other human error which will create "ghost" preferences in the dedication sample, which is more likely on account of its smallness to be affected by this type of corruption.



copy, no especial study has been made of them. A full examination of Middleton's spellings, for example, would require much other material unrelated to Crane to be studied, and examination of the sub-scribal spellings would require a detailed treatment which is outside the intention of this study. Further, no attempt has been made to determine what changes Crane may have made to the MSS. he transcribed; this too (especially in the absence of copy-texts) is outside the purview of this investigation.

#### THE MIDDLETON GROUP

The Crane transcriptions of Middleton works have been considered first because it is the largest of the early samples. Its date is important because the MSS. which comprise the group fall close to the time when Crane may have been transcribing copy for the Shakespeare Fl. The group has further importance in that the Trinity MS. of A Game of Chess in Middleton's hand provides a direct check on the three Crane transcriptions.

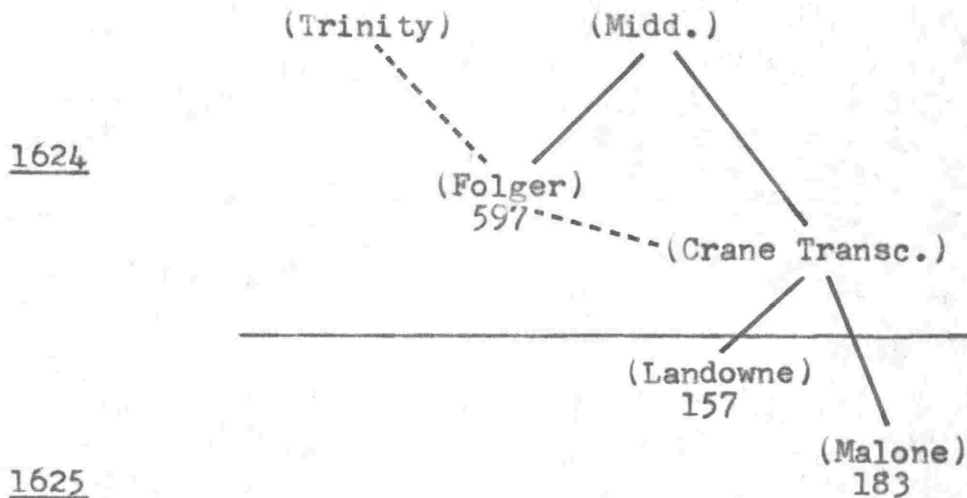
The items comprising this group are:

<u>The Witch</u> (1624/25)	16546
Folger MS.: <u>Game of Chess</u> (1624)	3213
Lansdowne MS.: " " "	3213
Malone MS.: " " "	3213
<u>Song in several parts</u> (1622)	682

roughly thirty thousand spelling occurrences.

The 'Game' MS.:

According to Bald, the Trinity Game is possibly a transcript by Middleton of his own papers.<sup>7</sup> It is a legible fair copy in a current Elizabethan hand, and presumably would not have varied much in spelling from the transcript Crane worked from to prepare his presentation copies. Bald suggests that the Lansdowne and Malone MSS. "...were copied from the same source, perhaps an intermediate transcript by Crane."<sup>8</sup> This descent of MSS. may be shown thus:



6 The Game samples are the first act, excluding the prologue (which was omitted in the Malone MS.) and speech-prefixes. The Witch sample is the whole text including stage-directions, but excluding speech-prefixes.

7 Bald: A Game at Chesse, 34.

8 Ibid, 41.

On the basis of two necessary assumptions, the Folger MS. has been collated orthographically with the Trinity MS., and each of the Lansdowne and Malone transcripts with the Folger. The first necessary assumption is that the Trinity MS. and the unknown Middleton copy for the Folger transcript were in all orthographical essentials the same. The second assumption is that, if there was an intermediate Crane transcript from which the Lansdowne and Malone MSS. were prepared, then it would have been very similar orthographically to the Folger MS. The effect of these assumptions is shown by the dotted lines on the chart. It is not intended to suggest that the Lansdowne and Malone MSS. were prepared from Middleton's Trinity MS., though if only the spellings were considered there would be little objection to this descent of MSS.

From the number of changes made between each MS. in the order shown above, it is clear that the Crane and Middleton spelling-habits were very similar (thus making few spelling changes necessary), and also, that the chart above represents a likely picture of the real descent of the Game MSS. Had the Lansdowne and Malone MSS. been transcribed from a Middleton MS. it would be reasonable to expect changes similar in number and character to those made between the Trinity and Folger MSS. The low number of

changes between each of the Lansdowne and Malone MSS. precludes the possibility that either was prepared from a non-Crane transcript (except in the likely event that the unknown copy was orthographically identical with Crane's).

It is reasonable to assume that each time a scribe transcribed his own copy, his spelling-preferences would be reinforced and any alien forms taken from the copy would be removed until finally a transcript would be produced which was wholly in the preferred spellings of the scribe. The above figures of spelling changes between the MSS. confirm this assumption. However, it is surprising to notice in the Game MSS. how persistent presumed copy-spellings are. The Lansdowne and Malone transcripts are twice removed from Middleton's copy and yet they contain spellings which can be attributed only to Middleton.

A general look at Crane's treatment in the Folger MS. of Middleton's spellings throws clearer light on his scribal habits. He almost invariably expanded abbreviations such as M<sup>r</sup>. (2), K<sup>t</sup>. (1), Q<sup>s</sup>. (2), w<sup>th</sup>. (2), w<sup>ch</sup>. (11), & (1), bl. (2) for "black", St. (2) although he sometimes used them himself, in other transcripts. He reduced the number of some Middleton's terminal contractions ('t 6, 'de 1, and 've 1) but introduced others, such as 'rt, 'em,

wilbe (3), 're (4), t' (2), th' (3), 's; he substituted his own 'lld (3) and 'll (4) for 'de and 'le respectively. The Trinity 'te which occurred only once, he expanded to to. Overall, Middleton's Trinity spellings had far more -e's in terminal positions (Crane deleted 277) and -esse endings. Crane substituted his -es preference for these almost invariably, monosyllables such as chesse being the exceptions. Although Middleton used digraphs quite frequently, as in æternallie, prævaile, Crane removed most of them in the Folger transcript, and the rest thereafter. There are many other Crane-Middleton differences, but these can be better appreciated from the list of Crane and Middleton variants derived from the spellings of the Middleton group. <sup>9</sup>

The following list is made up of words which occurred four times or more in the Middleton sample. <sup>10</sup> This number was chosen to exclude words which occurred once only in

- 9 Some words with which later variants were found to conflict were excluded to be examined separately.
- 10 Mention should be made here of a peculiarity which shall be discussed more fully in passing: on several occasions when the scribe has been confronted (apparently) with a copy-spelling spelled in his preferred fashion, he has altered it to another form which then occurs neither in the copy nor in Crane's spelling-pattern. It is difficult to settle this matter from the Game MSS. because of the misleading textual relationship engendered by the procedural assumptions which were made.

each of the Folger, Lansdowne, and Malone Game transcripts: by this it was hoped to exclude the unusually persistent copy-spellings in these MSS. It will undoubtedly exclude other Crane preferences of low frequency but they should be picked up in the other samples. Spellings for which there exists a Middleton variant in the Trinity MS. have been included regardless of their frequency.

The Middleton List.

a	
able	
about	
above	
absence	
abusd	abusde
abuse	
acknowledge	
act	actt
acquaintaunce	acquayntance
action	
actions	
actus	
again	again
against	agaynst
agen	
aire	air, ayre
all	al
alone	
already	alredy, allready
alwaies	alwayes
am	
amaze	
ambition	
amongst	

an  
 and  
 angells  
 anon  
 answeare  
 any  
 appeere  
 appeeres  
 approach  
 apt  
 are  
 armd  
 armes  
 art/'rt  
 arrowes  
 'as ( has)  
 at  
 away  
 back  
 base  
 battaile  
 be  
 beare  
 beat  
 becom  
 before  
 begin  
 behind  
 beleeeve  
 beleevers  
 benefit  
 beshrew  
 best  
 better  
 beutie  
 beuteously  
 bishop  
 bishopps  
 black  
 blessing  
 blind  
 blood  
 blush  
 blott  
 blow  
 boldly  
 boldnes  
 borne

answer, answere  
 ani, anye, anie  
 appere, appeare  
 appeares

ar  
 armed

away

battayle  
 bee

beate  
 become

behinde

beleivers  
 benefitt  
 beshrewe

bewtie  
 bewteouslie

bl.

blindd, blinde  
 bloud

blot  
 blowe  
 boldlie

bosom	bosome
bound	
boy	
braine	brayne
breath	breathe
breſt	breast
bride	
bring	
brother	
brought	
burthend	burdned
busynes	busines
but	
by	
byn	bin, ben, beene
call	
calld	cald
calls	
came	
can	
cannonize	canonize
cannot	
canſt	
care	
carefull	
caſt	
catt	cat
cauſe	
certainly	
certaine	certen
charge	
charme	
chaunce	chance
cherry	cherrie
child	
checkd	checkt
chorus	
children	
chitt	chit
choiſe	
christian	
cleere	
close	closse
closely	
come	com
cold	
comely	comlye
comfort	



comming	coming
common	
company	companie
complaines	complaynes
composd	composde
conceit	conceyt
conditions	
confes	confesse
confesd/confessd	confest
confidence	
confusion	
conscience	
corner	
could	
courage	
court	
coverd	
cozond/cozend	coosned
creation	
creature	
creed	creede
cruell	
cunning	
cuntry	cuntrie
cup	
cure	
cursse	
cursses	
curssing	
daies	
dare	
daughter	
dark	darke, darck
daunce	dance
daughters	
dead	
deale	
death	
deceivd	
deepe	deep
deere	deare
delight	
deny	denye
deserve	
designes	
desire	
destroy	destroye

devill	devil
dialls	dyalls
did	
difference	
disciples	
disease	
disgrace	
dish	
doe	do, doo
don	done
dore	doore
dos	
dost	
doth	
dobly	
doubly	doublie
doubt	
doubtles	doubtlesse
downe	
draw	drawe
drawne	drawen
dreame	
dropd	dropt
duchesse	duchess
duke	
dukes	
dutie	duty
eare	
earth	
earthes	
easily	easilie
ease	
easie	
eate	
eie	eye
eies	eyes
either	
els	else
'em/them	
employ	
encouragement	
end	
ends	
endeerd	endeerde
enemie	enimie
enemies	enimies
enough	enought
enter	

entrap	
envy	envie
ere	ere, er
ere/ever	ev'r
eternally	æternallie
even/ev'n	e'en
evill	
every	everie
especiall	espetiall
especially	espetiallie
example	
excellent	
exceed	exceede
exercise	exercize
exit/ext.	
extremely/extreamely	extreamelie
face	
facetiously	facetiouslie
faile	
faire	
faith	fayth
fall	
fame	
far	farr
familliarly/famillierly	familiarlye
fashion	
fast	
fate	
father	
fathers	
fayne	
feare	
fearefull	
feed	feede
feele	
fellow	
fetch	
fightes	fightes
find	finde
fingers	
finis	
fire	
first	
five	5
fitt	fit
fixt	
flesh	

flew	flewe
fly	flye, flie
folly	
foold	foolde
fond	
foote	foot
for	
forbeare	forebeare
forget	
forsooth	
forth	fourth
forthnights/forthnightes	
fortune	
fortunes	
forward	
found	
frend	
friends	
fresh	freshe
from	
fruit	fruite
fruitfull	fruittfull
full	
fully	fullie
furnishd	
fury	
game	
gave	
generall	
gentle	
gentleman	
gentlewoman	
get	gett
give	
given	
glory	glorie
goe	
goes	
gold	
gon	
good	
goodnes	
governor	governour
grace	
graine	grayne
grashoppers	grassehoppers
gratious	
great	greate

greatnes	
greif	greife, greefe
ground	
guilty	guiltie
habitt	habitt
had	'de
hah	
haire	hayre
half	
hand	
hands	
hangd	
happy	happie
hard	
hark	
hart	heart
has	
hast	
haste/hast	
hate	
hath	
have/'ve	
having	
he	hee
head	
heard	
health	
heare	
heaven	
heavens	
heavy	heavie
heed	heede
here	heer, heere
height	
heires	heyres
hell	
help	helpe
hence	
her	
hers	
herself	
high	
him	
his	
Hispanica	
holy/holly	holie
home	
honest	

honestie  
honor  
honorable  
hope  
hold  
hopes  
horse  
house  
how  
howre  
howres  
humaine  
hurt  
husband  
husbands

I

if  
immortally  
imposd  
imytate  
in/i'  
inducd  
indeed  
infants  
infect  
infinite  
informd  
innocence  
inocent  
inhumaine  
instruct  
intelligence  
intent  
into  
invite/invyte  
is/'s  
it/'t  
tis  
jealous  
jesuite  
jesuites  
joies  
joy  
judgement  
just  
justice  
keepe  
kept

honour

hould

howrs  
humayne

yf  
immortallie  
imposde  
imitate

inducst

informed  
innocence  
innocent  
inhumayne

envite

its  
jealous

joyes

judgment

keep

kill	
kind	kinde
kindly	kindlie
kindnes	
kings	
kingdomes	
kisse	kiss
knew	
knight	kt.
knights	knights
know	
knowes	
knowledge	
knowne	
ladies	
lady	ladie
laid	layde, layd
lame	
land	
language	
last	
lately	latelie
lay	
leape	
least	
leave	
leaprouzie	leprosie
left	
lesse	
let	lett
letter	
lies	lyes
life	liffe
light	
like	
lipps	lips
list	
litle	
live	
lives	
living	
'll/will	'le
'ld/lld/would	'de
long	
longer	
looke	
lookes	
loose	

Lord/L.

losse

lost

love

loves

luck

lust

lye

mad

madam

made

maid

maides

maine

maintaind

make

makes

mallice

man

mans

many

mark

marriage

married

master

may

me

meane

meanes

meeke

men

merit

merry

mett

midnight

might

mile

mine

mischeifes/mischeiffes

mischeif

misse

mistris

misterie

modest

modestie

monarchie

moone

more

mayd

mayds

mayntaind

malice

manye, manie

marke

Mr.

maie, maye

mee

meke

merrit

met

myne

mischiefes

mysterie

mor



morrow  
 most  
 mother  
 mothers  
 mouth  
 much  
 must  
 my  
 myself  
 name  
 nature  
 nay  
 necte.  
 need  
 neere  
 neerer  
 neither  
 never  
 new  
 newes  
 next  
 night  
 nine  
 no  
 noble  
 noblenes  
 noblest  
 nomber  
 none  
 nor  
 nostrills  
 not  
 nothing  
 now  
 nyce  
 oh  
 observe  
 of/o'  
 obedience  
 off  
 offence  
 offend  
 oft  
 often  
 old  
 on  
 once  
 one

myselfe

neede

neyther  
 nere, nevr

noe

number

nostrills

nowe  
 nice  
 o

ould

onely  
 ones  
 open  
 opening  
 opinion  
 or  
 orchards  
 order  
 ore/over  
 other  
 others  
 our  
 ours  
 put  
 owne  
 packett  
 paines  
 pallaces  
 pardon  
 parish  
 part  
 parts  
 passage  
 past  
 pawne  
 pawnes  
 peace  
 pearle  
 peece  
 penitence  
 perfect  
 perfection  
 perhaps  
 picturd  
 pittty  
 place  
 placd  
 plaine  
 play  
 please  
 pleasing  
 pleasure  
 pledge  
 ply  
 plainely  
 point  
 poore

onlie, onelie

packet  
 paynes  
 palaces

peice, piece  
 poe nitence

picturde  
 pittie

placst  
 playne  
 playe

plye  
 playnelie  
 poynt  
 pore

politique	politick
posses	possesse
possible	
pound	
powre	power
powres	
poyson	
practise	
praire	praier, prayer
pray	praie
preethee/prethee	
prepard	preparde
pretious	
pretiously	pretiouslie
pretty	prettie
prevaile	præ vaile
prevented	præ vented
prime	
princes	princesse
principally	principallie
principallitie	principalitye
privat	private
profes	professe
professd	profest
progresse	
promisd	promist
promise	
prove	proove
prowd	
publique	publick
pulld	pulde
pullse/pullsse	pulse
punishment	
purpose	
put	putt
queene	
queenes	qs.
quick	
quickly	
quight	quite
quittance	quittance
rage	
raise	rayse
rare	
raisd	raysde
rather	
read	
ready	readie

receive  
 refusd  
 religious  
 removd  
 reputation  
 resolvd  
 rest  
 returnd  
 returne  
 returnes  
 revenge  
 revenges  
 reverend  
 reverence  
 reward  
 ridd  
 right  
 rise  
 rises  
 robbs  
 rod  
 roome  
 round  
 rule  
 run  
 runs  
 sacred  
 saffe  
 saffely  
 saffetie  
 sainted  
 sake  
 same  
 sanctuarie  
 saw  
 say  
 scarce  
 sce.( scene)  
 seaven  
 second  
 secret  
 secreats  
 secular  
 see  
 seekes  
 seene  
 self  
 send  
 sent

refusde  
 relligious  
 remoovd

resolvde

rid

rize  
 rizes  
 robs

safelie  
 safetie  
 saynted

sanctuary  
 sawe

7

secret  
 secreatts

se

selfe

servant  
 servd  
 serve  
 service  
 shalbe  
 shall  
 shalt  
 shame  
 she/sh'  
 shoote  
 short  
 shortly  
 should  
 show  
 sick  
 side  
 sight  
 sin  
 since  
 sinfull  
 sir  
 single  
 sister  
 sisters  
 six  
 sleepe  
 slomber  
 small  
 so  
 sodaine  
 soldier  
 some  
 son  
 song  
 soone  
 sooner  
 sooth  
 sorrow  
 soule  
 soules  
 sound  
 sparck  
 sparckle  
 speake  
 speciall  
 speed  
 spies  
 spide

servde

shee

showe

syn

slumber

soe  
 sodine  
 souldier

sonne

sorrowe

sparke  
 sparckle  
 speak  
 spetiall

spyes  
 spied

spirit  
 spiritts  
 spread  
 spring  
 stand  
 stands  
 state  
 stay  
 steales  
 stead  
 stick  
 stepps  
 still  
 stirring  
 stone  
 straight  
 strange  
 strength  
 strike  
 strong  
 strongly  
 strumpet  
 stuff  
 subtle  
 subtletie  
 such  
 sup  
 sure  
 surely  
 surgeon  
 sweet  
 swell  
 sworne  
 take  
 takes  
 tale  
 tamely  
 taste  
 teach  
 teares  
 tell  
 ten  
 thanck  
 thancks  
 that  
 the/th'  
 thee  
 their

spirits  
 spred

streight

strenght

stronglie

subteltie

sweete

tamelie

theire

theis  
them  
themselves  
then  
there/ther  
they

thinck  
thincks  
thine  
thing  
things  
this

those  
thou  
though  
thought  
thoughtes  
three  
throat  
through  
thrust

thus  
thy  
till  
time  
times  
tis

to  
toad  
told  
tongue

too  
tooke  
toward  
transgresd/transgressd  
treacherie  
trifle

troth  
true  
trust  
truth  
truthes

tune  
twentieth  
two

twixt  
unblesd/unblessd  
uncomely

these

thinke  
thinkes

tho'

thoughts

throate

til

tong

transgrest  
trecherie  
trifle

truths

twentieth

unblest  
uncomelie

undertake	
undon	
universall	
unmatchd	unmacht
up	
upon	uppon
us	
use	
vanishd	vanisht
vertues	
vertuous	
very	verray, verie
vessell	
veyles	
vicar	
villaine	villayne
villany	villanie
violence	
virgin	
vow	vowe
voto	
wake	
way	waye, waie
warnd	
was	
water	
we	wee
wealth	
wedlock	
weepe	weep
well	
wellcom	welcom, wellcome
were	
what	
whence	
where	wher
which	wch.
white	
who	
whole	
whom	whome
whose	
why	
widow	
wife/wiffe	
wilbe	
wind	winde
wish	



wishes  
 witch  
 witches  
 with/wth.  
 within  
 without  
 witnes  
 woemen/women  
 wonder  
 won  
 word  
 work  
 works  
 world  
 worsse  
 worth  
 worthie  
 would  
 wrathe  
 writt  
 wrong  
 wrongd  
 wrongs  
 wrought  
 wyn  
 yeare  
 yeares  
 yes  
 yet  
 yond  
 yonder  
 you/yow.  
 your/yor.  
 yours  
 yourself  
 youth  
 zeale  
 zealous

weomen  
 wonddare  
 wun

worke  
 workes

wrath  
 writ

win  
 yeere  
 yeeres

youre  
 youres  
 youreselfe

---

From this list several other Crane characteristics are  
 apparent:

Crane/Middleton

<u>-que</u>	<u>-ck</u>	:	<u>politique/politick</u>
<u>-i-</u>	<u>-y-</u>	:	<u>dialls/dyalls; faith/fayth</u>
<u>-y</u>	<u>-ie</u>	:	<u>company/companie; envy/envie</u>
<u>-t'd</u>	<u>-t/'de</u>	:	<u>abus'd/abus'de; confes'd/confes't</u>
<u>-o-</u>	<u>-u-</u>	:	<u>nomber/number; slomber/slumber</u>
<u>-nck</u>	<u>-nk</u>	:	<u>thinck/thinke</u>
<u>-aunce</u>	<u>-ance</u>	:	<u>chaunce/chance; daunce/dance</u>
<u>-o-</u>	<u>-ou-</u>	:	<u>hold/hould; old/ould</u>

There are quite a few exceptions to Crane's preferences in these morphological categories, and the above details are presented only to supply a simple outline of some of Crane's more obvious characteristics.

When the combined dramatic sample list is checked against the Middleton sample, another list is obtained which throws further light on Middleton's spellings:

Combined dramatic list

assistaunce  
citties  
cittie  
drunck  
entraunce  
force  
fy  
got  
governors  
honord  
keepes  
livd  
lowe  
meet  
milke  
mindes  
needes  
ours  
oath

Middleton sample

assistance  
cities  
citty  
droonck  
entrance  
forc  
fy  
gott  
governours  
honourd  
keeps  
livde  
low  
meete  
milch  
minds  
needs  
ors.  
oth /oathe

raisd  
sodainely  
sonnes  
sword  
truly  
try  
waight

raysde  
sodaniely  
sons  
sworde  
truely  
trie  
wayght

No more note need be taken here of Middleton's spelling.

#### THE FLETCHER GROUP

This group comprises two items:

<u>Demetrius and Enanthe</u>	(1625)	3143
<u>Barnavelt</u>	(1619)	3283

making some 6430 spelling occurrences. As there is no independent material by Fletcher to check against the spellings of this sample, analysis of this group (and also of the Massinger group, in both of which the Barnavelt spellings may be irregular because of the untrustworthy edition) has been rather more rigorous than was previously considered necessary. Unfortunately, the vocabularies of Demetrius and Barnavelt are relatively dissimilar, but nevertheless a few score words may be added to the Middleton group list: these are given below.

The frequency of occurrence necessary for a spelling to be promoted to the Fletcher group list was set at three, a figure intended to reduce the possibility of accumulated copy-spellings getting on to the Crane spelling-list. This was probably too rigorous in light of the sample's smallness

and its widespread vocabulary.

### The Fletcher List

angers, beseech, bid, body, brave, commaunds, commaund, companies, conduct, consider, crave, cuntries, daylie, Demetrius, desires, ambassadors, equall, faithes, few, fight, follow, following, free, fy, gentlemen, god, growne, guard, hang, hansom, harts, itself, king, lead, Leontius, lookd, lords, masters, methincks, mightie, mortall, pay, port, presently, prince, roiall, scholler, servants, services, shake, soldiers, sport, stop, suffer, swords, temper, tongues, townes, trick, truly, want, warr, wayt, wine, yong.

The words in the Fletcher group were subsequently checked with the combined dramatic list in order to locate traces of the underlying copy. The following list gives words from the Fletcher group sample for which different variants are included in the combined dramatic list:

#### CRANE

appeere  
ask  
blow  
bosom  
bred  
busynes  
cittie  
come  
cuntry  
deere  
doe  
dore  
don  
dutie  
eate  
eie  
eies  
enemie

#### FLETCHER/non preferred

appeare  
aske  
blowe  
bosome  
bredd  
busines  
city  
com  
cuntrie  
deare  
do  
doore  
done  
duty  
eat  
eye  
eyes  
enemy

ere/ever  
 far  
 fitt  
 frends  
 glory  
 guid  
 happy  
 heires  
 here  
 her  
 honor  
 honors  
 howre  
 hoong  
 if  
 judgement  
 keepe  
 lead  
 laid  
 'll/will  
 like  
 'ld/'lld/would  
 meet  
 mind  
 mine  
 musique  
 never  
 oh  
 off  
 our  
 poore  
 port  
 saffetie  
 see  
 sin  
 sit  
 so  
 sodaine  
 speake  
 spirit  
 spiritts  
 strength  
 sweet  
 their  
 thy  
 tongue  
 very  
 warr

er  
 farr  
 fit  
 freindes  
 glorie  
 guide  
 happie  
 heeires  
 heere/heer('s)  
 hir  
 honour  
 honours  
 heure  
 hung  
 yf  
 judgment  
 keep  
 leade  
 layed  
 'le  
 lik  
 'de  
 meete  
 minde  
 myne  
 musick  
 nere  
 o  
 of  
 or.  
 pore  
 portt  
 safetie  
 se  
 syn  
 sitt  
 soe  
 suddeine  
 speak  
 speritt  
 speritts  
 strengthe  
 sweete  
 theire  
 thie  
 tounge  
 verie  
 war

wayt  
we  
were  
where  
works  
wrong  
you

wait  
wee  
wer  
wher('s)  
workes  
wronge  
yow.

#### THE MASSINGER GROUP

The samples comprising this group are:

<u>Barnavelt</u> (1619)	2811
<u>London's Estate</u> (1626?)	1447

making about 4260 occurrences.

The remarks made previously about the Fletcher group apply also to a large extent to the Massinger sample. The samples are relatively small, the vocabularies are correspondingly large, and there is no independent holograph material for proving purposes. Therefore, the process applied to the Fletcher sample has been carried out also with this group. A list of spellings which occur three times or more in the sample has been made; it contributes these new words to the lists already given:

armyes, Barnavelt, burgers, change, danger, dreadfull, forgot, grave, late, London, lordships, opposition, orange, plague, pride, reason, religion, ruyn, said, secure, Spaine, states, store, towne, Utrecht, walls, wretches.

The residual spellings show the following forms when checked against the combined dramatic list:

## CRANE

all  
 already  
 blow  
 busynes  
 bred  
 byn  
 close  
 company  
 confes  
 cuntry  
 deepe  
 doe  
 employ  
 far  
 feet  
 fill  
 fly  
 frend  
 frends  
 fully  
 fury  
 graunt  
 great  
 guilty  
 he  
 heate  
 counsell/counsell  
 councells/counsells  
 her  
 howres  
 if  
 keepe  
 lives  
 'll/will  
 musique  
 never  
 oh  
 no  
 off  
 onely  
 our  
 ours  
 pay  
 powre  
 put

## MASSINGER/non-preferred

al  
 alredy  
 blowe  
 busines  
 bredd  
 ben  
 cloase  
 companie  
 confesse  
 cuntrie  
 depe  
 do, doo  
 imploy  
 farr  
 feete  
 fil  
 flie  
 friend  
 freinds  
 fuly  
 furie  
 grant  
 greate  
 guiltie  
 hee  
 heat  
 counsaile  
 counsailes  
 hir  
 howers  
 yf  
 keep  
 lyves  
 'le  
 musick  
 nere/nev'r  
 o  
 noe  
 of  
 only  
 or.  
 ors.  
 paie  
 power  
 putt

saffetie	safetie
saw	sawe
see	se
shall	shal
she	shee
show	showe
so	soe
speake	speak
spiritts	spirits
straight	strayt
terrible	terible
thanck	thank
thinck	think
tryde	tride
warr	war
we	wee
well	wel
were	wer
works	workes

Furthermore, the two Barnavelt samples, by Fletcher and Massinger, have been added together: this gives a Crane sample of over six thousand occurrences. From this grouping another short list of words has been abstracted. This list comprises spellings occurring three times or more which were not already preferred in the Middleton, Fletcher, and Massinger group lists:

Arminian, Arminians, bold, certaine, day, held, liberties, lordship, Modesbargen, move, proceed, troope, waigh.

#### THE JONSON GROUP

The only text in this sample is Pleasure reconciled to Virtue; it is Crane's earliest known transcription, being dated about 1618. Unfortunately, it is one of the smallest



texts and its utility is considerably lessened by the relatively large vocabulary spread remarked earlier. From its 2416 occurrences, a list of words occurring twice or more has been made; words not already noted are given below:

aged, Anateus, antimasque, arts, atlas, ballad, belly, bottles, bred, cheere, Comus, crownd, crowne, Daedalus, descend, drinck, ended, feet, figure, flowres, forme, fowre, grove, haile, hill, himself, hollow, ivy, lap, law, lines, looking, maze, meet, Mercury/Mercurye, monsters, motions, mountaine, musique, panch, plump, present, probleme, quire, safely, scarce, sence, sences, shines, signes, sing, skill, taught, tread, tun, unseasonable, unto, up, upon, vertue, vice, wit.

There is no external evidence that Crane worked from Jonson's copy, although it would not be surprising: perhaps some of the following residual spellings reveal copy-influence:

## CRANE

beare  
bottles  
breake  
doe  
drinck  
earthes  
eie  
every  
fayne  
fitt  
fly  
fruit  
her  
herself  
lesse  
'll/will  
'ld/'lld/would

## JONSON/non-preferred

bare  
botles  
break  
do, doo  
drink  
earth's  
eye, ey  
everie  
faine  
fit  
flie  
fruit  
hir  
hirsself  
les  
'le/'lle/wil  
wold

mistris	misteris
more	moe
Mercury/Mercurye	Mercurie
needes	needs
oh	o
onely	only
our	or.
poore	pore
quight	quyte
right	ryte
roiall	roial
see	se
should	shold
showes	shews
spiritts	spirits
still	stil
taste	tast
thinck	think
those	thos
thought	thought
thoughtes	thoughts

### INCONSISTENCIES

During the compilation of the fore-going lists from the Middleton, Massinger, Fletcher, and Jonson samples, various anomalies have been noted. Some of these have found their way on to the lists as they have appeared here. The anomalies are mainly words for which different variants have been listed on different lists. In some cases, this might indicate a change of preference, and in others, that the copy-spellings have exerted so strong an influence on the scribe that he has departed from a previously well-established preference. It may mean that the criteria for admitting spellings to the lists were faulty, but this would explain only a few marginal cases, as most

of the anomalies, which are few, would have been anomalous in any case, regardless of their frequency of occurrence.

The texts that have been examined already are the dramatic texts, which cover the 1618-25 period. The number of occurrences from which the one thousand and more Crane spellings has been drawn is just over a half of the sample. Nevertheless, as the dramatic samples have a vocabulary different in some important respects from the poetical and religious works which follow from 1626, it would be advantageous at this point to consider the dramatic samples en masse.

This examination should accomplish three main objects: (1) it should check the words already in the individual lists, and either confirm that they are indeed Crane preferences or reveal them as further anomalies; (2) it should add further words to the list, words which have occurred too infrequently in any one text to be preferred; and (3) it should disclose whether the anomalies were caused by Crane's own inconsistency, changes of preference, procedural error, or copy-influence.

-----

When the combined dramatic samples were checked with the lists already made from each author group, a considerable number of words was added to the list of Crane

spellings. Each of these words had to occur only three or more times within the 1618-25 period, but in fact the greater number of spellings occurred four and five times, to be placed on the list. These words are not given here as the list would serve no useful purpose, but they will be found (although unidentified) in the final combined list which appears as an Appendix.

Significantly, only a very few words, having been placed on a particular list through the fulfillment of the prerequisite number of occurrences in the group, were contradicted by the occurrence of other variants in other groups. This indicates that the criteria by which these words were chosen were at least adequately stringent. Also, with only three exceptions, the words on the lists were reinforced by further occurrences in other texts. These exceptions and anomalies were so few that they have been reserved for closer consideration until after the poetical group lists, and the combined poetical group list, have been compiled. These words do not include those isolated copy-spellings already given under each author, but only those which might indicate changes in spelling-habit or gross error in procedure.

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## THE POETICAL SAMPLES

The poetical samples were transcribed from the work of Davison, Bryan and Austin, and include the miscellaneous psalms, and The Faulty Favorite. Massinger's London's Estate, although it is poetry and appears in the 1626 Rawl.MS.poet.61, has already been considered with Massinger's other work in the dramatic samples. The poetical samples cover the 1626-32 period and together comprise about 50,000 spelling occurrences.

## THE DAVISON GROUP

This group was considered first primarily because Davison is rather more important than the authors of the other poetical samples. His contribution is not the largest in the poetical sample but this group has been used as a base for the poetical group because a Davison holograph has been used as a check on the non-preferred spellings. It is the Masque of Proteus, referred to in the LIFE, dated 1594/5.<sup>13</sup> Unfortunately the approximately 1880 occurrences do not correspond very closely with the vocabulary of the psalms, and the help the text affords in

13 Gesta Grayorum 1688 Malone Soc. Reprint (1914), ed. W.W.Greg: BM.Harl.MS.541 art.9.fol.138.

indicating possible copy-spellings is slight.

The Davison group comprises the psalms of Rawl.MS.poet. 61 (1626); Harl.MS.6930 (1632?); and Harl.MS.3357 (1632): together they make up about 12,340 occurrences. Following the practice established with the previous groups, the criterion for inclusion on the group list of preferred spellings is the number of the texts in the group plus one, the intention being to exclude possible copy-spellings. The following list gives Davison group spellings which occur four or more times, together with variants of spellings found in the Masque:

## CRANE

a  
about  
acceptation  
afford  
after  
ah  
aid  
aire  
all  
alone  
alwaies  
am  
amiable  
an  
and  
are  
art  
as  
at  
away  
awe

## DAVISON/non-preferred

ayre  
al  
  
allwaies  
  
  
ase

balme	
base	
be	bee
beare	
beastes	
beate	beat
before	
behold	
being	
beyond	
bide	
black	
blessd/blest	blessed
blesse	bless
blisse	bliss
blood	
board	
bodie	body, bodje
bones	
bound	
bowles	
breath	breathe
breast	breast
bring	
build	
burne	
burry	bury
burthen	
but	
by	
calme	
can	
captives	
celestiall	
cheerefull	
christall	
come	
comfort	
compassion	
condition	
crie	cry
cries	
cup	
daies	dajes
day	daje
death	
deathes	

deere  
 defend  
 dejected  
 deliver  
 deride  
 deserved  
 desire  
 desolate  
 devowring  
 did  
 didst  
 doe  
 dolefull  
 dost  
 doth  
 downe  
 draw  
 drowned  
 dwell  
 each  
 eares  
 earth  
 eate  
 eftsoones  
 eie  
 eies  
 els  
 end  
 ending  
 endles  
 endure  
 enemies  
 envious  
 ere/ever  
 eternall  
 every  
 face  
 faint  
 fall  
 fame  
 farr  
 fashion  
 favour  
 feare  
 feares  
 feildes  
 fill  
 find

{ deare  
 { dere

do, doe, doo

ears

ey, eye  
 ejes  
 ells

eternal

fainte

far



fire  
 flowry  
 foes  
 fold  
 for  
 forth  
 fortunes  
 free  
 frends  
 from  
 fruit  
 full  
 gainst  
 gently  
 give  
 gladnes  
 glorie  
 god  
 gods  
 goe  
 good  
 goodnes  
 grace  
 graunt  
 grave  
 great  
 greatnes  
 greene  
 groanes  
 growne  
 guid  
 had  
 hand  
 hands  
 happie  
 harpe  
 hast  
 haste  
 hate  
 hath  
 have  
 he  
 head  
 health  
 healthles  
 heapes  
 heard

fier  
 flowrie

glory

grant

guide  
 hadd

handes  
 happy, happ.  
 harp

heare	
heart	hart
hearted	
heartes	hartes
heathen	
heaven	heavn
heavenly	heavnly
heavens	
heavy	
heedfull	heedefull
help	helpe
helples	
hence	
her	hir
here	
high	
him	
his	
hold	
holy	
hope	
hopefull	
hopes	
house	
how	
howre	hower
humble	
hymnes	
I	
ill	
in	
into	
ire	
is/'s	
Israell	Israel
it	
Jehovah	
joies/joyes	joies
joy	joie
Judah	Juda
just	
keepe	keep
kill	
kind	
king	
knot	
know	knowe
laid	layd

late	
lay	
layes	laies
lead	
least	
leave	
leaves	
lending	
let	lett
life	
light	
like	
lives	
living	
'll/will	
long	lonng
lookes	
loose	
lord	
love	
low	lowe
made	
make	
man	
many	
mark	marke
may	
me	mee
measure	
meate	
meates	
men	
mercie	
mercies	
merry	mery
mightie	mighty
mind	
mine	myne
mirth	
miserable	
miserie	misery
miseries	
moanes	
more	
most	
mothers	
mount	
mourned	

mournefull	
mourning	
much	
murmuring	murmuring
muse	
my	
name	
neere	neer
neglected	
neighbours	neighboures
neither	
never/nevr	nerer
night	
no	noe
none	
nor	
not	
now	
o	oh
of	
on	
one	
oppressd	oppressed
or	
ore/over	
other	
our/or.	oure
out	
owne	own
paines	
pale	paale
pathes	
pittie	pitty
pleasure	plesure
poore	pore
powre	poawr, poawre, power, powr
powring	
praires	praiers
praise	
praises	
pray	praie
pretious	
pride	
prowd	proud
pure	
quight	quite
quire	quier

rage  
raze  
reduced  
refresh  
rejoyce  
repented  
rest  
restles  
revenge  
rich  
right  
roabes  
rock  
rockey  
rod  
round  
ruynes  
sack  
sacred  
sad  
sadnes  
sake  
Salems  
save  
scorne  
secure  
seduced  
see  
seeke  
send  
servants  
shalbe  
shall  
shalt  
shame  
sheepe  
shepherd  
should  
showre  
showres  
side  
sight  
silver  
sin  
sing  
sins  
Sion

restless

rockie

se

sheep  
shepherd

Sions  
 Skies  
 sleepe  
 slowe  
 so  
 some  
 sonnes  
 soone  
 sought  
 soule  
 soules  
 sound  
 spend  
 spending  
 spight  
 staff  
 stand  
 state  
 still  
 stormes  
 streames  
 such  
 supplication  
 sure  
 sweet  
 table  
 take  
 tasted  
 tasting  
 teach  
 teare  
 teares  
 tearing  
 temple  
 tand  
 th'/the  
 thanks  
 that  
 thee/ye./yee.  
 their/yeir.  
 theis  
 them  
 then  
 there  
 therefore  
 they  
 thincking

skjes  
 sleep  
 slow

sowell

sownd

stil

sweete

thanckes, thanks

thine  
 things  
 thirst  
 this  
 those  
 thou  
 though  
 thoughtes  
 thrid ( thread)  
 through  
 thus  
 thy  
 till  
 time  
 times  
 to  
 tongue  
 too  
 tread  
 treasure  
 true  
 turned  
 tyrd  
 under  
 unto  
 up  
 upon  
 us  
 usd  
 vexed  
 view  
 voice  
 waight  
 walke  
 was  
 watch  
 way  
 wayt  
 we  
 well  
 were  
 what  
 when  
 whence  
 whereby  
 wherewith  
 which  
 who

thyne  
 thinges

thos

thoughts

tyme

tourned  
 tirde, tyred, tired

usde

veiwe

wayte, waite

wch.

whom	whome
whose	
why	
wilt	
wine	wyne
wish	
with	wth.
without	
woe	
woes	
workes	
world	
worldes	worlds
worsse	
wrath	
yea	
yet	yett
you	
your	

The most interesting feature of this list is two spellings which appear to contradict firm Crane preferences of the earlier period. One is beate, and the other is heart: there are one or two other anomalies which will be considered with more of the same kind later.

Beate is another case of the type mentioned before in connection with the Game MSS., in which the scribe apparently has had his own preferred spelling in the copy but for some reason changed away from it to another spelling. The chances are that if he has to transcribe a text where the spelling of the word is different he will revert to his old preference, but in most cases like this there is not sufficient information about the copy for certainty.



The other anomaly is more dramatic. From 1618 Crane attested his absolute preference for hart on many occasions, spread over the whole period, yet in the Davison texts, Crane uses heart ten times in each of the three texts, and hart only once. He also used hearted twice in each text, and heartes three times in each: this is a case similar to that discussed above, as Davison's 1594/5 spelling was hartes, the spelling which Crane might reasonably have been expected to prefer. However, there can be little doubt that Crane's preferred spelling changed sometime about 1626, for in the Bryan, Austin, and Faulty Favorite groups the -ea- forms (heart, heartes, heartes, heartned, hearted, heartles) occur very frequently, whereas the -a- spellings occur only seven times, in the Austin MS.

The poetical samples have not been checked with a combined list for possible copy-influence, as the absence of copy-texts, doubt about the real transcription dates, and the general insignificance of the authors make this both unwise and unnecessary.

#### THE BRYAN GROUP

This group comprises of the psalms of Rawl.MS.poet.61, Harl.MS.6930, and Harl.MS.3357; the sample consists of

about 16,650 words, and there is no proving material. The following list consists of words occurring four times or more in the texts above, extra to words already given in the Davison list; non-preferred forms are shown in parentheses:

above, account, againe, against, age, amazd, anguish, any, arme, aught, Babilon, back, balmey, bands, barren (barraine), beares (bears), bed, bent, betake, big, billowes, bird, blessing, blind, borne, both, bow (bowe), brave, bread, bright, brookes, builders, byn (been), call, care, cast, cease, cheare (cheere), children, cleave, close (cloase), confound, confounded, content, controule, could, crops (cropps), crownd (crowned), dalley, dash, daunce, daunting, declare, deedes (dedes, deeds), deepe (deep), delight, depthes, disconsolate, dismaid (dismaied), domination, doomb (doombe), dread (drad), drops (dropps), dust, eare, early, earthes (earths), encrease (encrase), even/evn, evill, exposed, extold (extolled), fast, fat (fatt), fate, feed, feete (fete), feild (field), feirce, fell (fel), fight, firmly, fixd (fixed), flee, flesh, flock, floods, flowe (flow), found, fraught, freed, fresh, frisking, frolick, gon (gone), greif (greife), greifes, grounded (ground'd), guard, guides, heartes/ hearts (harts), heaven (heavn), heavenly (heavenlie, heavnly, havnly), heavens, help/helpe (hellp), higher, hill, himself, horne, innocence (innocence), Israel (Israell), Jacobs, jawes, Jerusalem, Jordan, joyfull, judge, keepes, keeping, kings, lambs (lambes) land, lands, large, laying, leapd (leapt), lend, lesse (less), lie, lines (lynnes), lords, lost, lot (lott), loving, maintained (maintayned, maintained), majestie, maker, makes, mans, meanes, memorie, mens, might, mischeif (mischeife), miserie (misery), mountaines, mute, nations, naught, need (neede), nigh, offrings, oft, old, ones, paine, part, partaker, past, pasture, pastures, pawes, pay, peace, perish, pious, place, plagues, plotts, portion, power/powre (poawr), praires/ praiers, praisd (praised), presence, preservation, promise, protected, protection, put, (putt), raging (rageing), rams, rayne, reigneth, releives (relieves), render, requight (requite) rescue, rested, restrained (restrayned), reviving, reward, river, rowse (rowze),

rowt, rule, said, salvation, same, savour, scape,  
 sea, seas, seed (seede), seeing, seekes, seeme,  
 seeming, seene, sence, sender (sendor), sends (sendes),  
 servant, sett (set), shade, shed (shedd), shew (show),  
 shrinck, sighes, signes, sire, skip (skipp), slay,  
 snare, sole, song, sore, sorrow, spare, speed, spent,  
 sportfully, stands, stay, storie (story), straight  
 (streight), strayt, strangers, strength (strengt),  
 subjection, succour, surges, swell, swelling, swift,  
 swolne, tender, thought (thoht), throughout, timely,  
 tis, trip (tripp), trouble (troble), troubled, trust,  
 tyrants, unbounded (unbound'd), unles (unlesse),  
 uprightnes, used, vaine, valley, various, vast,  
 vertue, very, vesture, vowes, waies, wash, waters,  
 waves, weake, wealth, west, whale, whilom, wicked,  
 wickednes (wickednesse), wind (winde), windes (winds),  
 wing, withall, wonders, wonted, word, words/wordes,  
 worth, wrought.

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#### THE MISCELLANEOUS PSALMS GROUP

This small sample (approximately 2230 occurrences) of psalms in Rawl.MS.poet.61, Harl.MS.6930, and Harl.MS.3357 by Bagnall, Carey, Christopher Davison and Gipps, contributes a further short list of spellings not already listed above:

bones, dart, Davids, growes, leades, sinners, thousand.

#### THE AUSTIN GROUP

William Austin's five meditations occur in four MSS: Rawl.MS.poet.61 (1626), Rawl.MS.D.301 (1628), BM.Add.MS.34752 (16313), and Harl.MS.3357 (1632): these make up

about 18,640 spelling occurrences. For a word to have been included in the following list, it must have occurred at least four times. In this case the number of texts was felt to be a sufficient prerequisite number, as very few copy-spellings would persist through four texts. Even if some did, they would be isolated in the general survey which will complete the analysis. The following words do not occur in the three poetical lists already given:

able, abstaine, accurst, actions, admittest, adornes, alas, almost, alone, along, aloofe, amisse, angells, antiques, apostle, appall, appeare, appeares, approbation, armes, augment, ay, Babilonish, bearing, beast, become, belide, belongd, belovd, belowe, beside, best, bethinck, better, beautie, bitter, blame, bleedes, bleeding, blessed, blesd, blis, bloods, blowes, blowne, bodies, booke, bore, brag, breadth, brings, broad, broken, brought, building, burie, burried, calld, calling, callst, came, cannon, canst, carvd, catch, cause, chamber, change, chappell, charitie, cheifest, children, churchyard, claspe, clay, claymes, clings, cloth, clowdes, clutch, coarse (=corpse), coast, coffin, cold, comes, companie, comprehend, compunction, consider, constant, consumatum, contains, contest, count, course, cover, creatures, cross, crosses, crowne, crucifide, crucifix, cruell, crying, cuntrie, cure, darknes, dash, dead, debt, decay, decks, delightes, denide, depth, destroy, devine, dew, di'de, die, dies, directs, dirge, discipline, discommend, discrie, dispise, dispised, dissolve, distaste, doated, Domus, don, dove, dranck, dride, drinck, drives, drownes, dwelling, dwelt, dying, dyms, each, easely, eaten, Eli, embrace, emulation, endeavours, enemie, enim, enter, ere, erring, est, exprest, eternitie, even, everlasting, evermore, exceeding, expect, extending, extent, failes, faire, farewell, farther, fashion, fathers, fasting, father, fayne, fedd, feele, felt,

few, fills, fingers, first, fisted, fitt, fitts, fix,  
 fixed, fixes, flag, flaming, fleshly, fleyd, flowes,  
 follow, fond, food, foolish, foote, forsaken,  
 fortitude, foundation, fountaines, frowning, fruites,  
 funeralls, furrowes, gall, garments, gate, gather,  
 gave, gazing, get, getst, ghostly, gives, glorie, goes,  
 going, golden, graspe, graves, greater, greif, greifes,  
 greive, groane, grow, grym, guest, guiltles, hang,  
 hanging, hangs, hard, harme, haste/hast, hated,  
 having, heades, healed, heares, hearing, heele, height,  
 helme, hether, hetherwards, hide, hinderers, home,  
 homely, honor, horld, horrid, horse, humilitie,  
 humour, hunger, hungrie, hurt, idle, if, image,  
 immortall, impose, inclinde, ingrate, iniquitie,  
 instead, itself, jests, jew, Jhesu, Jhesus, kept,  
 killing, killst, kindred, king, kings, knell, knocks,  
 know, knowes, lance, lash, last, lastly, laugh,  
 laughing, laughter, laying, leane, learned, leaving,  
 left, length, lessen, libertie, lifes, lift, lifted,  
 litle, load, locks, lome, longs, looke, looking, losse,  
 lovd, lovers, lovst, lowd, lust, maist, masters,  
 maugre, meane, meditate, meditation, meekely, mend,  
 misse, mix, mock, monument, moone, morne, mortall,  
 mournd, mourne, moving, musick, must, nailes, naile,  
 naked, nakednes, native, nature, nay, neare, neerer,  
 neighbour, next, note, notes, nothing, obedience,  
 omnipotence, only, ope, open, opens, others,  
 ours, ourselves, pack, paid, painting, palenes, palmes,  
 parasites, passage, passe, passed, passion, patience,  
 patient, patterne, peircd, peirce, peirces, peircing,  
 penitence, perceive, perchance, perfect, perhaps,  
 phisick, picture, pilgrimes, pilot, pinde, pitties,  
 pleasd, please, plowghd, pluck, point, ponder,  
 praying, preachd, pressd, pretty, prevaild, price,  
 prison, privat, procure, prooffe, prop, prosperitie,  
 prove, purchasd, purge, purging, quake, quarrell,  
 queenes, quiet, quitt, quoff, raggs, raise, reach,  
 reaches, ready, reckon, reduce, regard, remaine,  
 remaines, remove, rend, repaire, repaires, reparation,  
 repine, report, request, retournd, riches, ridd,  
 righteous, righteousness, ring, rise, robbers, robd,  
 roome, rore, rose, roses, rote, ruddy, run, runs,  
 sadly, saies, sailors, saints, sand, sapience,  
 saving, saviour, saw, say, saying, scarce, scatter,  
 scepters, scoffs, scope, scornd, scourge, scourged,  
 scraping, seale, seate, second, seldom, self, selves,  
 seemes, sences, sepulchrum, setts, severall, shakst,

sharp, sheetes, shewes, shine, shines, ship, shorne,  
 shouldst, shrinckst, shrowd, shun, sick, sides,  
 since, sinck, Sindon, sinfull, sit, sitting, sitts,  
 skies, sleepes, slumbers, smart, soft, softer, solum,  
 somewhat, span, spard, spectacle, speech, spirits,  
 spirituall, spunge, spread, spreading, sproong, starrs,  
 stayes, stead, steepe, stepps, stick, store, stores,  
 stood, streame, stretchd, strew, strewd, strike,  
 stript, strive, stroake, submit, suertie, suffrings,  
 sun, super, sword, taken, talke, tarry, tell, telling,  
 tempest, temples, tenant, testers, thence, thereon,  
 thether, thorne, thornes, three, thrivd, throwe,  
 tide, told, tooke, top, torne, toward, trash, tree,  
 trembling, truest, truth, turne, twig, twixt, two,  
 universall, unjust, unload, untill, unwilling, vaile,  
 vaintie, verse, vinegre, virtues, wake, wakst,  
 walkd, wan, want, wanton, wants, warme, watchfullnes,  
 water, weare, weares, weather, weepe, weeping, weepst,  
 wells, went, wept, wett, whelme, wherein, whereof,  
 wheron, whip, whips, whole, wide, wife, wightes,  
 wild, willingly, wings, wise, wisely, wiseman,  
 within, wombe, worme, worne, worthie, wound, wounded,  
 woundes, wounding, wrapt, wretched, yeares, yeild,  
 yoake, zealous.

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#### THE FAULTY FAVORITE

The author of the Faulty Favorite (1632) is unknown: the analysis of spellings has not aided in the establishment of authorship, but the possibility that this religious treatise was written by Austin cannot be held disproved. The sample consists of about 3390 spelling occurrences.

There are two points of interest in the list which follows: promised occurs seven times in the text. The variant promisd has occurred seven times in texts from

1624 to 1632, and although it is not impossible that Crane changed his preference in 1632, this is more probably another example of the copy having stimulated the scribe's inconsistency. Beleive (5) conflicts with the earlier preference for beleeve which also occurs twice in this text. It would be unwise to do more than suggest that this also could be either change of preference or copy-influence.

The Faulty Favorite list of words not included in the three lists above follows: these words occurred twice and more often:

added, adversitie, affiance, Alexander, among, answere, ariseth, Asa, Asa's, ask, asses, atheist, bare, barley, basenes, begot, beleive, blessings, cannot, cittie, coffers, comfortable, common, confidence, corne, creator, creature, cunning, Daniell, deadnes, deliverance, devill, dispaire, distrust, doubt, doubting, easie, elated, except, faith, famine, famous, filled, flowre, followes, fortune, frozen, gracious, Herod, ignorance, ignorant, imagination, impossible, iniquitie, inrich, insolent, Jacob, making, knowledge, languishing, leaned, maketh, measures, miracle, miracles, mistrust, mistrustfull, money, nourished, opened, passions, peeces, people, performance, performe, phisitian, pittifull, pleasing, plentie, proceedeth, promised, promises, prophet, prosper, rate, reason, release, remember, Samaria, Saule, sighted, silver, sodaine, sould, spirit, starved, suffreth, suppose, therewith, thinck, thincks, thing, third, Thomas, thyn (= thin), touching, towards, unbeleif, use, weakenes, whether, whilst, wonderfull.

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# COMBINED POETICAL SAMPLES

The five poetical groups were checked with the combined lists, both dramatic and poetical. Once again the criteria were shown to be sufficient, and the method practical, for only a few anomalies appeared; these will be examined shortly. With these few exceptions it is fair to say that a word appearing on a dramatic group list will be found to predominate in the poetical samples in that spelling, and too will those words on the poetical group lists be found to predominate in the dramatic samples, when the words appear. As the criterion for the combined dramatic list was 3 occurrences, and the criteria for the poetical lists 4 occurrences, (except for the Faulty Favorite's 2), there is little chance that the poetical group preferences will contradict occurrences in the dramatic group. If one or two have occurred they will be words on the Faulty Favorite list.

The criterion for the combined poetical list was 3 occurrences, and some 150 words have been added to the final list of Crane preferred spellings in the Appendix.

The Crane material in existence totals an estimated 110,000 spelling occurrences. All the poetical material except the Eclogue by Randolph from Harl.MS.3357, and Austins four short hymns in Rawl.MS.poet.61, BM.Add.MS.



34752, and Harl.MS.3357 has been used: the unused material totals about 2,250 spelling occurrences. For the dramatic group the unused material totals about 15,300 spelling occurrences. Parts of the Game MSS., Barnavelt, and Demetrius and Enanthe were not used, for economy, of both money and time. It is doubtful whether the additional material would have affected results in any important manner as the material used comprises about eighty-five percent of the available data.

#### SOME INCONSISTENCIES

Considering the amount of material and the rather intensive examination of it, there are relatively few forms for which a preference was not found and adhered to consistently. A few forms for which a change of preference has been indicated, but only in one text, have been mentioned in passing: it has been suggested that they are the rationally (but not psychologically) inexplicable and shortlived changes of habit which have been stimulated by the copy. When Crane has apparently used one spelling invariably for years and then in one text changed away from it (sometimes, even despite the presence of his preferred spelling in the copy-text itself), this may indicate copy-influence or just plain human vagary. Ex-

amples of this kind have been noted in chapters 1 and 2 of this survey, and are quite familiar to anyone who has undertaken compositor analysis of reprints and similar studies. Nevertheless, familiar or not, they are disquieting, and deserve more intensive examination than it is possible to give them here.

Some anomalies which can be seen to occur between one list and the other have been rectified silently when the final list (the Appendix) was compiled. It sometimes happened that a variant would fulfil the criterion for one list, and yet an alternative variant would occur in the same sample, though not quite as frequently. Subsequently, in other texts, the preferred variant has turned out to be the non-preferred variant in the first text. In such cases as these, there has felt to be no need of elaborate discussion.

Some other anomalies are amenable to rationalisation. An aid complex of 53 occurrences (aid 45, aide 4, ayd 2, ayde 1, aied 1) shows on analysis a steady preference for aid with Bryan's influence in aide, and Middleton's in the last three variants. Similarly, a councell complex of 34 variants (council 1, councell 23, councils 4, counsell 2, counsells 1, councillors 1, counsellors 2) shows the -c- variant preferred in singular and plural, with counsell

a rare but possible alternative: it occurs in the Faulty Favorite dedication.

Fifty-nine occurrences of die/dye indicate that there was no firm preference, though die occurs 32 times. Similarly with doomb 5 and doombe 7 for "doom". Emploid 3 might have been preferred, but imploid and employd which each occur once make it impossible to be certain. Although entertainne occurs in the Faulty Favorite dedication, enterteinement 6 is preferred to entertainment 1.

The spelling feet occurs on the Jonson list, but feete 33 times thereafter: this may indicate a change of preference or observance of Jonson's principles concerning redundant terminal -e-'s, but one cannot be definite.

There is no doubt that Crane preferred her, and the hir spelling which occurs nine times in Jonson's Pleasure and twice in each sample of Barnavel might easily be attributed to copy-influence, were it not that another occurrence appears in Bryan's psalms of Harl.MS.3357 (1632). This is unlikely to be a copy-influenced spelling, yet if hir was a Crane alternative spelling, why did it not occur from 1619?

The spellings labor and labors appear only until 1626, whereas labour and labours were preferred throughout the whole 1618-32 period. There are other examples of variants

apparently dropping out of usage. For example, musique occurs 4 times in Jonson's Pleasure of 1618, and musick 7 times thereafter. Of a similar nature is promisd which occurs seven times throughout the period, but promised appears seven times in the Faulty Favorite. Both of these examples may indicate copy-influence rather than a permanent change in spelling-habit. Spellings ruine 6 and ruyne 8 are both found throughout the period, but ruyn does not recur after the Massinger Barnavel sample; this too could indicate either copy-influence or change of preference.

More straight forward is far which is preferred until around 1626 and still appears occasionally thereafter. From about 1625 farr appears, and in the later half of the 1618-32 period is preferred to far. Spiritts appears in the first half of the period, and is preferred, but after 1625 does not occur again: spirits with fifteen occurrences is preferred over the whole period. Tast occurs only once before about 1628, whereas taste occurs 16 times and is preferred over the whole period. Again, talk 5 does not occur after 1624, but talke 14 is preferred over the whole period. Walk 5 appears until 1628, but walke 24 is favored from 1618 to 1632. Yeare and yeares are preferred over the entire period, but the -ee-

variants do not occur after 1625 and are not preferred. Favor does not appear after 1626, but favour occurs preferred from 1618 to 1632. Lastly, memorie and memory occur about equally until 1626, but thereafter only memorie occurs, six times.

With other words, the change of preference is demonstrated more clearly. In the following list, the first variant gives way to the second at the date marked:

fixt 4/fixd 8	fixed 8	1626
glory 13	glorie 41	"
maintaind 7	maintained 4	"
onely 24	only 15	"
returnd 7	retournd 4	"
vertues (many occ.)	virtues 4	"
works 13	workes 21	"
meet 7	meete 7	1624
show 12	shew 13	"
turnd 3	turned 8	"

There seems to be no preference over the period for low 10 or lowe 9, set 27 and sett 31, but three of the four

appraisal of Crane's orthographical consistency, in all its aspects, but before this is attempted, there is another minor problem which needs to be mentioned.

#### EYE-RHYMES

During the course of analysis it became obvious that many of the apparently anomalous spellings should not be attributed directly to copy-influence, although some in this doubtful category might ultimately have derived from whatever copy Crane used. These spellings were eye-rhymes and occurred mainly in the psalms and meditations of the poetical sample. Unfortunately, when the material was prepared for analysis, the words at the ends of lines of poetry were not separately identified, so that when the analysis was undertaken there was no other method of telling whether or not the anomalous forms were eye-rhymes than recourse to the MSS. themselves.

Investigation of the meditations in Rawl.MS.poet.61, Rawl.MS.D.301, BM.Add.MS.34752, and Harl.MS.3357 showed that not only did the number of eye-rhymes remain generally constant from one text to another, which seemed to indicate that the eye-rhymes were scribal rather than copy-derived, but also that the same rhymes were not repeated invariably. This confirmed the scribal nature of these rhymes, for

their appearance, absence, and recurrence in the texts shows that the scribe felt quite free to use them or not. Whether in the first place the eye-rhymes appeared in the copy is another question, and the answer does not affect the general conclusion that the majority of the orthographical anomalies at the ends of rhyming lines were created by the scribe.

Some examples will illustrate these comments:

1626	pange/hang	flowres/bowres
1628	pange/hange	flowers/bowers
1630	pang/hang	flowers/bowers
1632	pang/hang	flowres/bowres
1626	malice/chalice	receave/leave
1628	malice/chalice	receive/leave
1630	mallice/challice	receave/leave
1632	malice/chalice	receave/leave
1626	toyes/joies	shame/proclaime
1628	toies/joies	shame/proclaime
1630	toies/jojies	shame/proclaime
1632	toies/jojies	shame/proclame

An interesting feature is that the first rhyme can be affected by the second, though whether this was Crane or the author one cannot be sure. An example above is receave/leave; another is doo/too in Rawl.MS.D.301 (f.8v) where the scribe has used a spelling apparently foreign to him and rare in his transcriptions: the other MSS. rhyme doe/too.

Overall these anomalies do not appear to have affected the allocation of spellings to Crane. It is only necessary

to caution that some of the non-preferred spellings in the poetical samples may be Crane's eye-rhymes.

#### THE PROBLEM OF CONSISTENCY

It will be recalled from CHAPTER 1 that there are two main aspects of the consistency problem. The first deals with "morphological" or internal consistency, and implies consideration of whether the scribe used the same morphological components for phonetically or grammatically related words; that is, if fear, spere, teare, feeres, speers, teres characterize a spelling-pattern, then quite obviously there is a high degree of morphological inconsistency. The second type of consistency is "temporal": does the spelling-habit remain the same over the years? Both these aspects of consistency are important, especially to anyone attempting to apply the results of spelling-analysis to a specific textual problem, yet there is no sure way of determining the morphological or temporal consistency of a spelling-habit without a vast range of spelling data, and this for most Elizabethan writers does not exist. Related to first aspect of consistency is the question of variant spellings: if there are a large number of alternative spellings, the spelling-habit is relatively non-consistent; if there are few variants the



spelling habit is relatively consistent.

Morphologically, the final list of Crane's spellings appears reasonably consistent, although it is difficult to be sure without a proven seventeenth-century standard to judge by. The list itself shows best its outstanding characteristics, and it is sufficient here to note the following, almost invariant terminations: -ment, -all, -full, -ell, -les, -ing, -fully, -ize, -est, -ly, -es'd, -ess'd, -rsse, and -re as in flowre, which with the comments in preceding sections give sufficient guide to Crane's gross spelling characteristics.

The second aspect, that of "temporal" consistency, had been discussed mainly in the previous sections. The number of variants for which the preference changed over the 1618-32 period was not large. This was expected for those were Crane's last years, when by seventeenth-century standards he was an old man; his spelling-habit should have been firmly fixed by that time. On the other hand, certain anomalies, notably the heart/hart change, tend to suggest that the pattern was not as static as the numbers of changed variants indicate. In any case, it would be unlikely that all the transitory elements in Crane's spelling-habit would have been pinpointed with the type of analysis procedure used here. Nevertheless, the

final impression, based mainly on the low number of changed preferences, must be that between 1618 and 1632, Crane's spelling-habits changed very little. It would be unwise to go further and apply an arithmetical value to the amount of observed temporal change.

The same applies to the last aspect, the incidence of variants in the spelling-pattern. In this analysis the intention has been to isolate preferred spellings: other non-preferred (that is, infrequently-occurring) variants may derive from the copy, eye-rhyming, procedural error, and the like, but may also include alternative Crane variants. Such a possibility stems from the preferred-nonpreferred division of spellings. However, there should be few of these, for the moment a non-preferred spelling started reappearing in different samples, it was put aside for closer examination. It can be appreciated, however, that no statistical or arithmetical value should be given to the final Crane spelling list for the reason that it is not complete: it is in effect a list of Crane's preferred spellings, not a complete Crane spelling list. Finally, now that Crane's treatment of spellings has been examined, an answer may be attempted to the general question of how closely Crane followed the copy-spellings. Once again there is no clearcut answer, and there will not

be one until the actual copy-text used for a Crane transcription is found. The small number of changes between the Trinity and Crane Game MSS. would suggest that Crane did not impose his own spelling characteristics on his copy, but this is contradictory to the evidence of other characteristics, contractions and the like, in those same MSS. If Crane had intended to follow the copy-spellings there would be considerable orthographical differences between his transcriptions of each author's work, but in fact there are not. The spelling similarity amongst the transcriptions cannot be explained solely as the general correspondence of one early seventeenth-century spelling-habit with another but only by their common transcription by a scribe who imposed his own spelling habits on his copy.

Contractions were in some ways exceptional. Crane would sometimes expand common contractions such as y<sup>e</sup>, 's and w<sup>th</sup>, but on the other hand, did introduce them when he wished, especially when he wanted to squeeze matter into the line. Some other contractions he would reproduce quite accurately: 'em in the Game MSS. is an example. There is reason to believe that contractions he did not ordinarily use himself he would follow fairly faithfully, save that when he had a variant for the unfamiliar con-

traction he would substitute it, as with Middleton's 'le. There is very little reason to believe that the contracted forms such as o'th'enemy, i'th'end which have been taken as an identifying Crane characteristic did not also occur in the texts he transcribed. They do occur occasionally in the dedications (as in BM.Add.MS.34752: i'th'name o'th'Lord) but in the psalms and meditations the same contractions (th'are, T'afflict, th'Almighties, th'infected, th'early, th'ungodlies, th'heavenly, th'Orbes, th'Aire, t'Exponge, and so on) are reproduced in each MS. and seem to derive from the metre of the copy. It is interesting to note that the same contractions appear too from one Game transcript to another. The editors of the Malone Society editions of The Witch and Demetrius and Enanthe remark on his contractions: they are frequent in The Witch but rarer in Demetrius; this variation of occurrence together with the observations above, and the general lack of contractions in The Faulty Favorite leads to the conclusion that the scribe usually reproduced the copy contractions, and for that reason they cannot be used alone to identify his hand in the transcriptions.

Crane, then, has emerged as a good craftsman, with sufficient independence to exercise his own judgement over accidentals such as spelling, yet withal, faithfull to the

copy and the intentions of the author. With the Crane spellings examined closely enough for present purposes, it is time now to consider the investigation from a general standpoint.

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## CONCLUSIONS AND COMMENTARY

It will be recalled that in the introductory chapter the Crane question was divided into three interlocking parts; They were: Crane and the transcripts, Crane and the composers, and Crane and the Players. This too is the order in which each of the three problems must be studied. It seems that thus far scholars have attempted to explain the characteristics of Crane's transcripts from the little that is known about his relationship with the King's Company, when, in fact, they should be studying the transcripts and their printed derivatives in order to define the relationship of Crane to the Company. The task of this investigation has been to survey the the first part of the total problem, that is, to examine the Crane transcripts, with the intention that what would result after the whole problem was examined would be a coherent and consistent picture of a scribe in the early seventeenth-century.

So important is the first step to the solution of the total problem that it prepares equally for each of the other two parts of the Crane question. The two chapters

on the principles and technique of spelling-analysis lay the foundation of theory and principle for the study of Crane's spelling which is covered in the later chapter on that subject. These three chapters, together with the list of Crane's preferred spellings which forms an appendix, provide the basis for the study of the possible printed derivatives from Crane transcripts, because it appears that spelling-analysis will provide the largest body of data about the nature of the copy underlying such printed texts. The way in which such study may be accomplished is indicated in the following pages.

The chapters on Crane's life, works, and scribal characteristics lead to an appraisal and reconstruction of his relationships with the King's Company and some of its individual members. There is no intention of covering this aspect of the problem in detail here. As has been suggested previously, this cannot be done until the second problem, that of the printed texts, has been investigated. It would be foolish, however, to disregard the implications of the data gathered here, and the impressions formed while obtaining it. With the necessary reservation that study is still incomplete, some observations of Crane's life derived from this study of his transcripts are made, primarily to direct attention to those broader aspects of his quasi-

dramatic career which require more intensive modern consideration.

#### THE ANALYSIS OF CRANE'S SPELLING

In the preliminary chapters the intricate organisation of spellings in printed texts was discussed, and it was suggested that working on the principles laid down there, the different orthographical components of a text could be isolated. It should be obvious that the detailed analysis of spellings recommended in the first two chapters has not been carried out on the Crane transcripts which are the subject of this investigation. The desirability of such arduous and minute analysis depends entirely upon what the investigator wishes to do with his results. In Crane's case the major object is to examine the Shakespearian First Folio comedies which are assumed to derive from his transcripts and for this purpose it is unnecessary to separate the spellings into the divisions established in the early chapters. It was felt that it was better to obtain a group of spellings which were definitely Crane's than twice that number of spellings about which it was impossible to be certain.

In fact, a list of roughly 2,200 Crane preferred spellings was obtained from analysis of about 92,000 spelling occurrences. These spellings are "preferred" spell-



ings; it is likely that there are "occasional" or non-preferred spellings which could be added to the list, or some occasionally-used alternative spellings for well-established preferences which could also be added, but only risk of corrupting the list so that it would become useless for a study of the compositor-affected F1 comedies. There has been no intensive search for authorial variants, not even in the MSS. of Middleton about whose spellings additional information would be useful. The copy-spellings of the Crane transcripts are fascinating bypaths which do not lead directly to the understanding of Crane's MSS. as compositorial copy. Consequently, the detailed analytical procedures mentioned in the early chapters have not been applied to Crane's transcripts: only the F1 comedies merit such intricate analysis.

The method of analysis used in this investigation has been based on the concept of "the range of variation"; the range of variation for any word indicates whether there are two, three, four, or more variants, or even only one variant of a particular word. Therefore, the spellings in each individual sample (in which the spellings and their occurrences were listed in alphabetical order) were sorted according to whether one, two, three, four or more variants occurred in the sample, and the preferred variant (the word)

was marked.

The minimum number of occurrences of a spelling-variant necessary to establish a hierarchy of preference amongst the variants of each spelling is indicated mathematically by the formula  $\frac{n}{2}(n+1)$ , which is identified as the formula for "the sum of the first  $n$  natural numbers". When there was only one variant of a word it had to occur only once for a preference for that particular form to be indicated; when there were two variants the variant forms had to occur at least three times for one to be preferred. When there were three variants, they had to occur together at least six times for the preference to be indicated. The series runs 1,3,6,10,15,21,....

However, it is not necessary for this type of analysis for a hierarchy to be indicated, as it is only the first preference which is required. For example, the do/doo/doe variants do not have to occur in the minimum frequency of 3,2,1 for do to be identified as the preferred form. The non-preferred forms are redundant, and as long as the preferred form in each range of variation occurs frequently enough to satisfy the minimum criterion, the other variants can be disregarded.

For any system of analysis it is necessary to identify the preferred spellings, and that is what the simple formula accomplishes. However, there is implied in its operation an

assumption which may or may not be correct. If the assumption is incorrect the spelling-lists would not therefore be invalidated, for all they do overall is indicate the most frequently occurring variants, on the assumption that they will be the scribe's, or used by both scribe and author, and the lists do not attempt to attribute the favoured spellings to any psychological principle. The debatable assumption in brief is that any speller prefers to exercise his whole range of spelling-variation rather than just a part of it, and that he will use the additional opportunities of the word's occurrence to indicate his preference for one variant over another rather than to multiply spelling-variants.

This simply means that when the spelling occurs once the investigator cannot be sure that this spelling is the preferred variant because the speller has had no opportunity to indicate his range of variation for that word. If, however, when a second opportunity offers itself, the speller uses the same variant, on the assumption that he would have used a different variant had he possessed one, it is correct to say that that spelling-variant has been preferred -- it has been preferred to any other spelling-variants of the same word which it possible for a speller to have used. In general the assumption seems not only necess-

ary but correct, because the scribe apparently did not indicate preferences in one text which he contradicted in another.

In the analysis which is reported upon in the preceding chapter, contractions such as labo<sup>r</sup> and y<sup>e</sup> have been treated as spelling-variants. Hence the the/y<sup>e</sup> variants have been taken as indicating the substitution of th by y and as such is similar to the variation in, for example, ie/ea. The nature of the choice made by the scribe in writing labour as labo<sup>r</sup> has been taken to be identical with the choice he would make in writing labor for labour. Spelling-variants are preferred from choice and which spelling-variant is preferred is determined by habit in most cases. Thus the spelling-habit is seen as a complex organisation of separate choices held together by habit. In this fabric all possibilities are equal, and there is no difference in the basic nature of the choice made when the scribe chooses between do or doe, or that or yt.

#### STATISTICAL TREATMENT OF SPELLINGS

The range of variation appears at first glance to be the best index of an individual spelling-pattern, and it does not seem impossible to put an arithmetical value on the relative frequency of one-, two-, three-, and four-variant words in an individual spelling-pattern. A modern

spelling-pattern is presumed to have a one-to-one word-variant correspondence, that is, there should be only one way of spelling each different word. Nevertheless, there is still considerable orthographical variation. However, it does not seem unlikely that anyone so inclined could measure any modern spelling-habit (which might contain such personal idiosyncrasies as intermingled English and American -our and -or forms, mixed -ise and -ize and the like) against an assumed inflexible modern standard.

On this basis it was thought that Crane's spelling-habit could be characterised by a number indicating the range of his spelling-variation found in his transcripts. Closer examination showed that it would be impossible here to carry out any valid statistical treatment along these lines, for many reasons.

The first and most telling reason is that the Crane spellings listed in the appendix do not give Crane's total spelling-pattern, that is, they do not give all the variants of all the words that Crane used. It is not even known whether it represents a fair proportion of such variants or words, or in fact, what relation does exist between the list and the hypothetical complete Crane spelling-pattern. Another major difficulty in applying the range of variation technique is lack of knowledge of the

characteristic spelling-variation in the early seventeenth-century. It is known that spelling-variation decreases towards the twentieth-century when for all practical purposes spelling is understood to be constant, but what amount of spelling-variation, measured statistically, was characteristic of each century is not known. Given a statistical characteristic for spelling-variation in the early seventeenth-century, it then becomes necessary to know exactly how great was individual variation from the mean. It would not be surprising to find that at any given time contemporaries demonstrated the same degree of variation, and that the differences amongst spelling-patterns are only qualitative, and not both qualitative and quantitative as they are now presumed to be; however, as no proper work has been done on this aspect of language, it is impossible to be sure.

Spelling-variation is a function also of vocabulary. The smaller the vocabulary, the less is the chance of spelling-variation. Similarly with the words themselves: the smaller the word, the less is the chance of spelling-variation. From this arises the difficulty when using the commoner words such as he, she, go, do to separate authors or copyists which has been broadly discussed in the early chapters: these words because they as very short show very little

spelling-variation and so are relatively useless for differentiation purposes, yet the longer words such as year, labour, abundance which can show greater and more useful variation generally occur too infrequently in any particular text to be used to differentiate spelling-habits.

In general it is not impossible to describe Crane's transcription spellings statistically. The difficulty is, however, that such description would be misleading and inaccurate in the absence of standards of comparison. Interpretation of a statistical analysis would be impossible. It would be easy to go on to show how little is known about the statistical features of language, and spelling in particular. It is unlikely, even if it desirable, that the necessary work for a statistical description of individual spelling-patterns will be carried out, for to ascribe an arithmetical value to a spelling-pattern, the spellings which make it up would have to be identified, and once this was done, few students of orthography would require to go further. Although macroscopic study of early English spelling would be of undoubted value, for his detailed descriptive aims the scholar must persist in the inductive, synthetic approach which has sufficed in the past.

Before the subject of spelling-analysis is left, it is interesting to note two vocabulary studies mentioned in



Herdan which provide a means of estimating the success of the present study in compiling a list of approximately 2,200 words from about 92,000 occurrences.<sup>1</sup> In an article by N.R.French entitled "The Words and Sounds of Telephone Conversation", about 80,000 spelling-occurrences broke down into a vocabulary of 2240 different words, of which 819 occurred only once. These figures tend to show that the analysis of Crane's transcripts has been reasonably thorough. G.Dewey in "Relative Frequencies of English Speech Sounds" notes that in a study of 100,000 words of "connected matter, no single source contributing more than 5000 words", i.e. spelling-occurrences, the first nine words in frequency of occurrence, although representing only 0.876 per cent of the vocabulary, accounted for 25.0 per cent of the occurrences: this indicates how relatively sparse the remaining material is after the easily identified (and often invariant) common words have been removed. By the time that 732 words were covered, 75.0 per cent of the occurrences had been accounted for. From these criteria it

1 Herdan: Language as Choice and Chance, 103.



seems that very few Crane preferences were left unidentified.

#### CRANE'S SPELLING IN PRINT

The question of applying the Crane spelling list to the early seventeenth-century plays suspected to derive from his transcripts is extremely complicated. Firstly, the investigator must establish for each text the compositorial spelling of each word on the list. How this is done depends in general on the amount of other material by the same compositor which can be identified: the question is discussed in PRINCIPLES. When the compositorial spellings have been identified, the investigator can match the compositorial and scribal lists for 'fit' and decide whether the correspondence is caused by a common derivation or some other factor. Only the compositorial forms of the known Crane preferences are considered. This is because the investigator, on account of the internal morphological inconsistency amongst spellings, can rely only on the spellings he has, and cannot deduce spellings from other morphologically-similar forms. If then the investigator finds that the printed text's spellings correspond with the Crane spellings to a certain extent, he must decide whether this correspondence implies that the printed text derived from a Crane transcript or that the correspondence is

simply the "common denominator" previously mentioned which exists amongst all seventeenth-century spelling-patterns. Quite likely the question will be resolved not only on evidence of correspondence but also on the evidence of certain apparently anomalous forms. In this respect the major difference from the usual "significant spellings" procedure is that the net has been cast wider and the catch assured: by using a list of over 2,200 spellings, any compositorial deviations from the compositorial to the scribal spellings should accumulate and so should provide a definitive test of the hypothesis of Crane derivation.

Mere correspondence between spelling-habits is itself not sufficient to show an orthographical dependence of MSS. as, however independent towards the spellings of his copy the compositor may have been, he must nevertheless have used some spellings favoured in his copy. If this is so, the question arises of how closely spelling-habits overlapped, and more precisely, what was the range of overlap for the vocabulary of the Crane spelling list. At this point investigation of the printed texts takes into consideration the macroscopic aspects of orthography which have already been mentioned. From this stage there is no point in continuing to outline the scope of an investigation of Crane derivatives, as discussion must become increasingly rarified and correspondingly unconvincing without concrete illustrations.

The problem of Crane's transcripts in print belongs to another study; it was mentioned briefly here to indicate the way in which the Crane spelling list should be used, although that is not its sole use. The dependence of the Shakespearian comedies already noted is almost dogma by now, and apparently no great step forward would be taken by the demonstration that the dogma rests on sounder grounds than authority and faith. The Crane spelling list will, however, be most helpful in achieving a description of the scribe--compositor relationship beyond that of textual dependence.

#### CRANE'S SCRIBAL CHARACTERISTICS

In general, the Characteristics of Crane's transcripts have been adequately summarised in the chapter on that subject. It only remains to discuss briefly here some scribal characteristics which have been suggested elsewhere as peculiarities sufficient to create strong suspicion that a manuscript has been based on a Crane transcript. The following remarks are based on the dramatic transcripts only as those are the Crane MSS. to which previous scholars have devoted the most time.

Although the Demetrius editor has noted that the double-dash, or double-hyphen, in the dramatic MSS. appears only in that play, the occurrences in the dedications and

and poetical MSS. indicate that it was a Crane peculiarity even though it occurs too infrequently to be termed a characteristic. However, for that reason alone, without taking the effect of composition into account, the absence of double-hyphens from MSS. or printed texts would not imply that they were not Crane-derived. The same observation applies to the ? which occurs in Barnavelt, Demetrius, and three times in The Witch: no other occurrences have been observed. It is not impossible that this peculiarity was picked up from Fletcher via his Barnavelt and Demetrius, for the attribute certainly does not occur often enough to be termed a Crane characteristic.

A high incidence of hyphens and parentheses appears to be more reliable indication of Crane manuscription although their occurrence in printed texts is apt to be misleading, especially in the First Folio, for one or more of Jaggard's compositors also favoured parentheses. Elided constructions such as i'th'end appear to be common in texts of the period and derive from the metre of the verse. Crane seems to have endeavoured to observe the metre in his MSS. and so these forms cannot be taken to indicate Crane manuscription.<sup>2</sup> There are no contractions

2 It would be unwise to comment upon the "Jonsonian elision" in a work based on microfilm. Fortunately the editor of the Malone Society Reprint Demetrius appears to have covered the subject adequately, and nothing further need be added here.

characteristic of Crane; he generally used the forms of his text, subject to the reservation previously mentioned that he would sometimes substitute his own familiar variant contraction for the less familiar variant of the text.

Although it is now generally accepted that "massed entries" are a Crane characteristic, it is doubtful whether their occurrence in a printed text would satisfactorily establish its Crane derivation without additional supporting evidence. The provision of a certain style of stage-direction such as "massed entries" is more an editorial than a scribal function, and although these stage-directions are attributed to Crane who naturally took a quasi-editorial role, it is possible that the massed form of stage-direction was edited into his copy. It would not in any case be impossible for non-scribal editing of non-Crane MSS. to create the impression through "massed entries" that the printed text derived from a Crane manuscript.

#### FEATURES OF THE DRAMATIC TEXTS

The dramatic transcripts may be divided roughly into two kinds: texts for players, and texts for patrons. The texts for players are the 1618 Pleasure masque, the 1622 Song in several parts, and the promptbook Barnavelt. A common roughness of transcription, paucity of ruling and

ornament, and frequent use of contractions characterise these transcripts of the 1618-22 period. The texts for patrons are the 1624/5 Witch, the 1624 Game, and the 1625 Demetrius, each with a dedication. The Lansdowne Game, a copy which does not seem to have been made for any especial purpose, and the Folger Game, a transcript prepared in anticipation of the promptbook's loss, are not dedicated, but their characteristics ally them with the presentation transcripts.

None of the presentation transcripts appears to have been intended for the printing-press. It would be reasonable to assume that printing-shop copy would have to contain running-titles to prevent the loss of separate pages of the manuscript, but the only transcripts with running-titles are The Witch, which is unequivocally a presentation copy, and the Folger Game; this might indicate that the latter transcript was prepared for eventual use in the printing-shop rather than in the playhouse, but it does not appear to have been used in either place.

It is not surprising that Crane's extant dramatic transcripts show no signs of printing-shop use, for very little sixteenth- and seventeenth-century press copy exists. However, this means that when Crane's relationship with the Company is discussed in later pages, the attrib-

utions of the First Folio and other dramatic copy to his pen will have to be taken as granted, and suitable cognizance will have to be taken of the assumption that around the 1620-23 period Crane was preparing King's Company plays for the press. These attributions cannot be treated as conclusive for the plays by Shakespeare and Webster, and the shared plays of Fletcher and Massinger have not yet been examined with full knowledge of all Crane's characteristics. Indeed, in the case of the Fletcher-Massinger plays, the copy has been attributed to Crane on the evidence of parentheses and hyphenation, and the division of the printed text between the authors has been made on the assumption that Crane followed faithfully the contractions of his copy; as has been noted, this assumption is not entirely correct. Nevertheless, it is the assumption that Crane copy underlies some seventeenth-century dramatic texts which supports the common belief that Crane was employed by the players, whereas that belief itself depends on the slightest of evidence.

#### CRANE'S RELATIONSHIP WITH THE PLAYERS

The commonly-held opinion that Crane was employed by the King's Company derives from two main sources. The first

is his own statement in the preface to his Works, and the transcripts of King's Company plays which he is known to have made, and the second source is the authoritative writings of Sir Walter Greg and Professor F.P.Wilson in 1926, and the later attribution of copy for some printed texts to Crane's pen by numerous scholars, including Greg, Shaaber, Hoy, Bald, and Williams.

In the preface to his Works, Crane writes that

.....some imployment hath my vsefull Pen  
Had 'mongst those ciuill, well-deseruing men,  
That grace the Stage...

This statement obviously falls short of a definite statement, or claim to have been employed by the King's Company, even allowing for the requirements of poetic form. It would not have been beyond Crane's capacity as a rhymester to have stated clearly that he had been employed by the Company, nor is there any apparent reason why he should have depreciated the relationship that might have existed. In fact, the tone of his statement suggests that he would like to impress the reader with a stronger association with the famous company than in reality existed, without actually stating firmly that he was one of their number.

What he does say is that he had "some" employment "amongst" the men who made up the Company, and no fairer



interpretation can be made than that some of the players commissioned him to do some work for them individually.

When Sir Walter Greg discussed the Barnavelt and Witch MSS. in 1926, he had not had the advantage (apparently) of having seen Crane's preface when he suggested that Barnavelt had been prepared "in the playhouse" by a scribe "whom once more we may reasonably enough identify with the stage-manager",<sup>3</sup> He derived his conclusion from the premise that

the Playhouse Scrivener, so far as he existed, may be roughly identified with the rather shadowy individual known as the 'book-keeper' or 'book-holder',....<sup>4</sup>

What Sir Walter apparently meant was that the book-keeper was the member of the Company most likely to have acted as the scrivener if it became necessary to transcribe copies for any purpose. Subsequently the converse was argued, that Crane (a scribe), manifestly working in some way for the Company, was therefore the King's Company book-keeper. As any student logician knows, the argument "All book-keepers were scribes, Crane was a scribe, therefore Crane was a book-keeper" is invalid.

In the same year Professor F.P.Wilson suggested that

<sup>3</sup> Greg: "Prompt Copies, etc.", 156, 154.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid, 149.

at last it might be possible to give a name to one of those hitherto elusive persons, the 'playhouse scriveners' "2)

However, if Wilson accepted Greg's identification of the 'playhouse scrivener' with the book-keeper, he was then obliged to accept the conclusion that either Crane was a 'playhouse scrivener' and therefore a book-keeper, which would probably exceed the evidence, or that Crane was not a book-keeper and that therefore a name had not been put to a 'playhouse scrivener'. However, whether in fact Crane was labelled a 'playhouse scrivener' or not is immaterial as long as the relationship between the scribe and the Company is properly evaluated. It soon became apparent that it would be unwise to make any far-reaching inductions about 'playhouse scriveners' or book-keepers from Crane's case, however tempting it might be to do so. Unfortunately, Professor Wilson never came to a firm and consistent conclusion in his own mind what Crane's function with the Company had been.

On page 203 of his article he points out that

Crane boasts of being employed by the King's players, not by the dramatists employed by the King's players...

which, as has already been noted, does not appear to be

borne out by the reference in his preface to the Works. Nevertheless, previously on page 198 Wilson referred to Middleton (and not the Company) as having "...employed him to transcribe two of his plays". Later, on page 205 Professor Wilson writes

From The Workes of Mercy we get the impression that he was not a regular employee of the King's players, but rather a casual labourer whose services as a professional scrivener were called in when occasion demanded. To call him a stage-manager or the Company's 'book-keeper' would certainly be to go beyond the evidence.

This could probably be accepted as his final and quite reasonable view had he not on page 208 stated that the transcript of The Witch "...was ordered from Crane by the author himself...."<sup>6</sup>

On page 209 he writes also that

In Demetrius and Enanthe we have a transcript presented to his patron by a professional scrivener hopeful of being rewarded for his pains".

This of course is just what the MS. is, but unfortunately for Professor Wilson's argument this statement fails to support his earlier statement quoted above that Crane was a casual laborer for the Company, called in when required.

6 It is difficult to imagine what reason Professor Wilson had for this statement for there is nothing in the dedication of the transcript to support it.

As has already been noted, Professor Wilson claims that Middleton employed Crane to transcribe two of his plays, referring to The Witch and the Malone Game, and that Demetrius was transcribed by Crane for his own financial benefit, so the only transcript left to support a Crane--Company relationship is Barmavelt. Yet Demetrius and Enanthe is used to qualify Sir Walter's date of 1630 onwards for "the practice of selling transcripts of plays to private amateurs", to "about 1625", despite the fact that the transcript was not sold but presented in hope of patronage, hardly a change in the usual practice.<sup>7</sup>

What then is the evidence provided by the dramatic transcripts for a Crane--Company relationship? In his own preface Crane never claimed to have been a member of the Company nor to have been permanently employed by them, but it may nevertheless be possible that he was a full-time employee, as a book-keeper would have had to have been. The basic issue here is whether or not Crane was the King's Company book-keeper around 1618-25. It would have been possible for him to have acted as book-keeper and also to have prepared transcripts privately for individual King's Company playwrights, so to demonstrate (as seems quite evident) that he did act in the latter capacity does not

7 Wilson: op. cit., 207.

preclude him from having been the book-keeper.

Crane's first dramatic transcript was Jonson's Pleasure masque of 1618. In an early chapter it was suggested that Crane hoped to impress a prospective patron with his penmanship, for the masque was performed before the King by a troupe of courtly performers. It would not be likely that this transcript would have brought Crane to the attention of the Company, and there appears to be no connection between the transcription of the masque, and his next transcript, Barnavelt, in 1619.

Most recent scholarly opinion has it that the MS. for Barnavelt was written out by Crane and revised for playhouse use by the prompter.<sup>8</sup> The point in question is whether the prompter's additions are in Crane's hand. Sir Walter Greg claims that

The stage-alterations, though rather roughly written, are certainly at least in part by the hand of the original scribe...

It is impossible to pronounce on the palaeographical details here, but even if Sir Walter is correct, it would seem that the only evidence which supports the theory that Crane was a book-keeper is some of the alterations.

<sup>8</sup> Bentley: op. cit., III 416.

<sup>9</sup> Greg: op. cit., 154.

Barnavelt is undoubtedly a King's Company promptbook, and from Crane's pen, but whether or not Crane prepared the transcript for the book-keeper or as the book-keeper cannot be readily determined. The MS. is not marginated, has few rulings, no running-titles or catchwords, contains speech-rules and many contractions, and is divided into acts and scenes; in these respects it is similar to the Song and Pleasure transcripts. The promptbook is unequivocally Crane's, but it does not indicate without doubt that Crane was the book-keeper, although that might be a reasonable conclusion if other evidence of Crane as a book-keeper existed.

The next Crane dramatic transcript is Middleton's Song of 1622. Crane had apparently known Middleton earlier than 1622 as the Stationers' Register ascription of Crane's Works in 1620 to "T. M." indicates: unless the Stationers' Company clerk ~~deleted~~ the initials out of his subconscious, it is not unlikely that Middleton himself supervised the registration of Crane's poem. The number of transcripts Crane made for Middleton from 1622 to Middleton's death (1627) testifies to a fairly close, perhaps friendly business relationship between the two. The Song transcription itself gives no support to the theory that Crane was the King's Company book-keeper. It was an insignificant piece written by Middleton in his capacity

of City Poet, and was hardly the players' concern. The transcription was probably made at Middleton's request.

The next transcript apparently was the dated Folger Game of 1624. Although it has been suggested in the LIFE that this copy was prepared to anticipate the loss of the promptbook, neither the suggestion nor the MS. itself helps to show that Crane was the book-keeper. The transcript does not appear polished enough to have been intended for presentation, but it shows none of the hallmarks of a promptbook. In other words, it seems to have been prepared as a reserve text rather than as a presentation copy or promptbook. The Lansdowne Game is just a copy, and provides no evidence either in support or against the hypothesis. The Malone Game of 1625, like The Witch (1624/5) was a presentation transcript. The Malone MS. is dedicated in Middleton's holograph, and the Witch dedication by Middleton was transcribed by Crane: these facts support the suggestion that Crane was working for Middleton.

It has been pointed out that the Company would hardly have hired a scribe to have made presentation copies for Middleton's personal benefit. In the dedications no mention is made of the Company or that the gift of the transcripts was made on behalf of the Company. Nor is price or purchase mentioned: in the Malone dedication

Middleton specifically refers to the MS. as a "present", and although this may have been a polite fiction, the recipient of the transcript was a friend of the author. In none of the dramatic dedications is either the Company or purchase of manuscripts even obliquely referred to, and it seems that Wilson's suggestion that the transcripts were commissioned by the Company for sale is untenable: all the available evidence shows that they were private transcripts for presentation to friends or patrons. If this is correct, it is not necessary for Crane to have been employed by the Company for him to have made the transcriptions.

The last dramatic transcript, Demetrius and Enanthe, is a somewhat special case, for it was dedicated by Crane himself on 27 November, 1625, shortly after Fletcher himself had died in August. Alone of the presentation MSS. this transcript is not marginated, and it would not be surprising if it transpired that this was one of the Fletcher plays intended for publication. It has already been suggested that the transcription of this play is in some way connected with Crane's separation from dramatic work. For some reason or other Crane was able to use this transcript of a King's Company play for his own personal advantage: this transcription marks a significant change



in Crane's fortunes.

In summary then, the only evidence of a close Crane--Company relationship is some few stage-directions noted by Greg in Barnavelt. This survey is not intended to destroy the possibility that Crane was in fact the book-keeper for the King's Company around 1618-25 but to point out that the evidence does not support the popular belief that he was. No evidence at all suggests that Crane prepared manuscripts for sale by the Company, but on the contrary, it seems most likely that he was commissioned exclusively by the playwrights as necessary.

If the attributions of First Folio, Webster, and Fletcher copy to Crane's manuscript are correct, then they must have been made within the period 1620-25. If Crane had been book-keeper at this time, would he have had time to have performed the normal stage-manager's-book-keeper's-prompter's duties, prepared some ten or more plays for the press, and made all the other known dramatic transcripts?

It is also interesting to consider why, if Crane prepared copy for the 1647 Fletcher Folio, the publication of the plays and hence the use of the transcripts was so long delayed.

Those and a myriad other questions must await further investigation. It remains now only to note that there is

no evidence besides that of the editions themselves to disclose whether Crane prepared King's Company copy for the press. This question can be resolved only by investigation of the plays concerned on the basis of what is now known about Crane's scribal characteristics. Perhaps when this has been done can a more complete understanding of Crane's last years be reached.

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## APPENDIX I: TRANSCRIPTIONS

Crane's manuscripts present several difficulties when transcription is necessary. Sir Walter Greg has mentioned several of these in his introduction to the Malone Society reprint of The Witch (p.xii). In some cases, too, the microfilm prints from which these transcriptions have been made were not altogether clear, and it is quite likely that the transcribed punctuation does not represent Crane's practice exactly. The long-s has been ignored in transcription, for reasons of convenience.

These transcriptions were prepared primarily for spelling-analysis purposes (for which it was not important to separate the various types of hand Crane used), and are here presented for the convenience of the reader. These dedications, together with The Summary, and the dedications to The Witch and Demetrius and Enanthe which may easily be referred to in the Malone Society reprints, form the basis of our knowledge of Crane's spelling-habits.

---

To his  
much-esteemed  
good Friend,  
Mr. John Peirs.

My Father having cast Me upon a Condition  
of Life, wherein it so worthily concerned Me  
to make it one of my chief Studies, and a  
work of my utmost Industry, as well careful  
to be so as provident to Purchase a  
Trena. I have here sent This small Lab<sup>r</sup>  
of mine, to tell you, that I have so, as a  
Prime-one, amongst those few I have found  
worthy of that sacred Title. And you  
better to suppress my desire still to continue  
you in that happy, and unvaried way, I  
have Committed It to remain with you, as a  
poor Image and Commemorative - Covenant of  
his Love, that will Ever be

Yours in all thankfull -  
A. C. 1626. R. C. 1626.

23. Oct.  
1626

Dedication to Rawlinson MS. poet. 61:  
"Certain divine Hymns".

To his  
much-esteemed  
good Frend,  
M<sup>r</sup>. John Peirs.

---

My Fate having cast Me vpon a Condition  
of Life wherein it soe neerely concernes Me,  
to make it one of my cheif studdies, and a  
worke of my vtmost Industrie, aswell carefully  
to Preserue, as providently to Purchase a  
Frend, I haue here s<sup>c</sup>en<sup>t</sup> This small Labo<sup>r</sup>  
of mine, to tell yo<sup>w</sup>, that I Ranck yo<sup>w</sup>, as a  
prime-one, amongst those fewe I haue found  
worthie of that sacred Title. And the  
better to expresse my desire still to Continew-  
you, in that happy, and vnwearied-Way, I  
haue Comaunded It, to remaine with yo<sup>w</sup>, as a  
poore Pledge, and Comemoratiue-Couenant of  
his Loue, that will Ever be

yours, in all thanckfull-  
Readines.

23.Oct.  
1626 }

Ra: Crane.

To the  
Honorable, and constantly-adorned Ladie,  
the La: Anne Cooper:  
Wife to the tractlie-ennobled, Sir John Cooper,  
Knight and Baronet:

And sole  
Daughter & heire to the worthie, and  
Lettie deceased, Sr  
Anthonie Ashley, Knight, and  
Baronet.

---

Good Madam.

Your old Servant (as old in Care, as Years) He that in yo<sup>r</sup> Sadiships  
absence (with his heart) honours yo<sup>r</sup> Memory, thus makes bold in your  
presence (with the same heart) to offer you his Dutie.

This, and the Argument, well suites (Madam) with You, & yo<sup>r</sup> present  
Occasion: You (in a sable habit) celebrate the Funerals of a deere  
Father, and This (in a black Out-side) comemoratts the Passion of a  
blessed Saviour: Both of them worthe yo<sup>r</sup> La<sup>dy</sup>s Contemplation: Zeale  
& Devotion guides you to the One, (Nature, & Affection to the Other: and  
in neither of theis are you deficient.

He was my Master, and though my out-ward Garment speaks not  
his death, yet my in-ward Loue sighes his departur: And more heavily should  
I be it, but that I consider, That as he was here a patient-Hearer of the

Dedication to Rawlinson MS.D.301

To the  
honorable, and constantly-adorned Ladie,  
the La: Anne Cooper:  
Wife to the truelie-ennobled, Sir John Cooper,  
knight and Baronet:

And sole  
Daughter & heire, to the worthie, and  
latelie deceased, S<sup>r</sup>  
Anthonie Ashley, Knight, and  
Baronet./.

---

Good Madam./.

Your old Seruant (as old in Cares, as Yeares) He, that in  
yo<sup>r</sup> Ladiships | absence (with his heart) honours yo<sup>r</sup>  
Memorie, thus makes bold, in your | presence (with the  
same heart) to offer you his Dutie.

This, and the Argument well suites (Madam) with You; & yo<sup>r</sup>  
present | Occasion: You (in a sable habit) celebrate the  
Funerals of a deere | Father; and This (in a black Out-side)  
comemorates the Passion of a | blessed Sauilour: Both of them  
Worthie yo<sup>r</sup> La<sup>ps</sup> Contemplation: Zeale | & Deuotion guides  
you to the One, Nature & Affection to the Other: and | in  
neither of theis are you deficient./.

Spurns of the World, So is He there, a happy Enjoyer of the Bless  
of Heaven. And had not too- too many Disasters, too- too much weak-  
my Abilities, a more ~~expressive~~ and appropriated Epitaph had attend  
his Hearse; For there lies with him many Glories of Industrious, and he  
left behind him no small Example of Pietie; fit subjects for the Pen  
of a ready-Writer, and the imitation of an honest heart.)

Your Sap is the faire and calie Braunch deriv'd from that Root. The  
Tree is false. But (to your comfort Madam) neither by the wild' Bore of the  
Furthest (any sadde or dire Accident) or the rough hand of the Henchman  
(any tyrannous Action of Death) but by a most gentle and naturall Blas  
(a timely and peaceable End) And not so much, unill he had to his  
great Joy) scene you grafted into an honorable Stock, producing many  
hopefull Branches, whose sweete Sap, will still keepe him springing. And I  
know, that (like a good Vessell) you so became the saucour of that excellent  
Liquor, where with your tenet yeares were season'd, From whence hath since  
issued so many streams of Vertue (and thereof Curtesie not the least)  
that your Sap will not riise the smallest Myte, consecrated as I this humb  
is) to His Remembrance, and good Acceptance. In w<sup>th</sup> assurance, now, and  
ever faithfully waits upon you & yours, the best Intercessions of him,  
whose Rejoycings would be great were he as strong in power to doo yo<sup>r</sup> Sa  
Service, as he is in Soule to wish you happiness:

Your good Sap<sup>st</sup> poorest Servant,  
and humblest-devoted -  
Beaues-man.

Raph Crane



He was my Master, and though my out-ward Garment speakes  
not | his death, yet my in-ward Loue sighes his departure:  
And more heauely should | I doe it, but that I consider,  
That as he was here a patient-Bearer of the  
(fol.2)

Spurnes of the World, So is He there a happie Enioyer of  
the Blessings | of Heauen. And had not too-too many  
Disasters, too-too much weakend | my Habilities, a more  
expressiue and appropriated Epitaph had attended | his  
Hearse; For there died with him many Glories of Industrie,  
and he | left behind him no small Examples of Pietie (fit  
subiects for the Pen | of a-readie-Writer, and the  
imitation of an honest heart.)

Your La.<sup>P</sup> is the faire and onlie Braunch deriu'd from that  
Roote: the | Tree is falne; But (to your comfort, Madam)  
neither by the wild Bore of the | Forrest, (any sodaine or  
dire Accident) or the rough hand of the Hewgher, | (any  
tiranous Action of Death) but by a most gentle and naturall  
Blast, | (a timely, and peaceable End) And not so neither,  
vntill he had (to his | great Ioy) seene you grafted into  
an honorable Stock, producing manie | hope full Buds, whose  
sweete Sap, will still keepe Him springing; And I | know  
that (like a good Vessell) you so retaine the Sauour of  
that excellent | Liquo<sup>r</sup>, where with your tender yeares were  
seasond, from whence hath since | issued so many Streames  
of Vertue (and thereof Curtesie not the least) | that your  
La.<sup>P</sup> will not reiect the smallest Myte, consecrated (as This

humbly | is) to His Remembrance, and yo<sup>r</sup> Acceptance; In w<sup>ch</sup>  
assurance, now, and | euer faithfully waites vpon You &  
Yours, the best Intercessions of him, | whose Reioycings  
would be great, were he as strong in power to doe yo<sup>r</sup> La<sup>p</sup> |  
Seruice, as he is in Soule to wish you happines:/.

Your good La<sup>ps</sup> poorest Seruant,  
and humblest-deuoted-  
Beades-man,

Raph Crane.

(This dedication is entirely in italic script, with the  
exception of the words underlined in red which are in the  
bold Elizabethan hand Crane sometimes used.)

To  
the right Honorable: and (in all Vertues)  
most constantly - ennobled.  
George, Lord Baltmore.

Thy Meditations, from a holy Len,  
(thy Days, and Subjects holy both) oh, when  
(by a bless'd holy grant) they came to mee,  
I did be-thinke what holy Visages be  
imp'd on them: a holier none can find,  
then to bestowe them on a pious-Mind:  
Upon a Soule, compos'd, and fortified  
both Visages of Fortune to abide:  
On him that will gaze, true, and wisely downe,  
that Freeborne Minde, all Countries make their owne:  
On him, that can to Time give dispensation,  
Leaving Worlds-Troubles, for Heavens Contemplation,  
And such, are you (great Lord!) except Thine than,  
to page & be not what I would, tis what I can:  
I wrote them, for your more Readers sake,  
in whose Commemorance, I undertake  
this bold Presentment; knowing you'll afford  
Welcome to those, that come in the name of the Lord.

Dedication to BM MS. Add.34752

To

the right Honorable: and (in all Vertues)  
most constantly-ennobled  
George, Lord Baltimore.

---

Theis Meditations, from a holy Pen,  
(the Dajes, and Subjects holy both) oh when  
(by a bless'd holy chance) they came to Me,  
I did be-thinck what holy Vse might be  
impos'd on them: a holier none can find,  
then to bestowe them on a holy-Mind:  
vpon a Soule, compos'd, and fortifide  
both Visages of Fortune, to abide:  
On him that well hath tri'de, and wisely showne,  
that Free-borne Mindes, all Cuntries make their owne:  
On him, that can to Time, give dispensation,  
leaving World's-Troubles, for Heauen's Contemplation;  
And such are you (great Lord;) Accept Theis than,  
though't be not what I would, 'tis what I can:  
Accept them, for your deere Redeemers sake,  
in whose Commemorance, I vndertake  
this bold Presentment: knowing you'll afford  
Welcome to those, that come i'th'name o'th'Lord.

Accept

Accept them like mine, for your own great Worth,  
and for the Mark of Fame by you brought forth:  
Accept them (lastly) for my Joy and Love  
of his true Heart that sends them: Who does, prove  
surely, expresser unto your noble Spirit,  
that Time, nor Absence, nor his want of Mirth  
can cast into Oblivion, nor suppress  
his bound Respect, unto your Worthiness.  
But that good-ye (like Coals, raked up) this is Lagni-  
voile and yet, they must break - forth again,  
as here they do, presenting to your Eye  
(perhaps his last oblation) as if due  
his zealous Wishes (consecrated to Heaven)  
that Comfort, and Long Life, may here be given  
to you, and yours: And when Time ends his Strife  
you may (amongst blessed Saints) wear a Crown of Glorie.

Your good Lordships  
Humblest Brader-man.



Ralph Crane.

Accept them likewise, for your owne great Worth,  
and for those Markes of Fame by you brought forth:  
Accept them (lastly) for the Ioy, and Love  
of his true heart that sends them: Who doth prove  
hereby, t'expresse vnto your noble Spirit,  
that Time, nor Absence, nor his want of Merit  
can cast into Obluion, nor suppress  
his vow'd Respects, vnto your Worthinesse,  
But that how-ere (like Coales, raak'd-vp) they'ue layne  
Coverd a while, they must breake-forth agayne,  
as here they doe: presenting to your Eie  
(perhaps his last Oblation) ere he die  
his Zealous Wishes (consecrate to Heauen)  
that Comfort, and Long Life, may Here be geaven  
to You, and Yours: And when Time ends her Storie,  
You may ('mongst blessed Saints) weare Crownes of glorie.

Your good Lordships

humblest Beades-man.

Raph Crane.

To  
the Right Honorable, and worthy <sup>and</sup> dignified  
Lord John, Earle of Bridgwater, Lord President  
of the High & royal Princeship of  
Wales; and one of the Lord of his <sup>the</sup> most honorable  
Privy-Counsell &c.

---

To you (Great Lord) this Great Lord I present  
to show the difference betwixt Great, and Good.  
He, weak in Faith, was Great, but by Descent:  
You are as Great in Virtue, as in Birth.

His King leans on his Hand, a proud Supporter  
You, on Christs Bosome Leane; yet are not Proud:  
Gods Mercies Sweeten the Mar of Good (Report)  
He strow's at both: Your Faith hath reach'd above,  
The holy Ghost holds it in so true a Vow  
He Nothing leaves reserved but his Graces;  
Your charitable Actions yet a Example;  
and Recommend unto the whole Town.

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Dedication to "The Faulty Favorite"

To

the Right Honorable, and worthelie dignified  
Lord, John, Earle of Bridgwater, Lord President  
of the high, & roiall Principalitie of  
Wales; and one of the Lords of his Ma<sup>ties</sup> most honorable  
Priuy-Counsell, &c.

---

To you (Great Lord) this Great Lord I present  
to show the difference betwixt Great, and Good;  
He weake in Faith, was Great, but by Descent:  
You are as Great in Vertue, as in Blood.

His King lean'd on his Hand (a proud Supporter)  
You, on Christs Bosome leane, yet are not Proud:  
Gods Mercies sweete: the Man of God (Reporter)  
He scoffs at both: your Faith hath both allowd:

The holje Ghost holds Him, so base, so Vile  
He Nothing leaves recorded but his Shame:  
Your charitable Actions Hee'll Compile,  
and Recommend vnto Eternall Fame.

His



His Great-ness Name for Paper was unfit:  
Your Great-ness Name in Book & Life is writ.

### Again.

I are be it from <sup>the</sup> <sup>of</sup> my deeply honoured Lord to imagine Mr.  
Marshall in Holy, as to think that this Presentment could be  
Supplied or not was but a point of Knowledge or Learning (not  
Divine or Humane) well knowing that you have many Prophets  
Prophets Children (both abroad and at home) that like fruit full  
Imbels, distill into you the Sweet & Angelicall Waters of the  
Holy Scriptures, making you Wise unto Salvation: And that you  
have ever an zealous & diligent hath provided many Sticks  
To be and Cattle for holy Men, and Messengers of God.  
Which considered, you may demand what Signes can drop from you  
to be a Cistern to advantage you in any way Sanctimonious.  
And for Matters Morall in Humane, after tending to the Making  
of you up, a perfect Lord of a Familie, or an exact Instrument  
of State, you want no Authors, or famous Writers to render  
you Amplified therein (What your own Naturall and Instinctive  
Enlightenment:) A nobler Wit of all others there needed none, by  
the excellent, publick and comendous use is made of your Courage  
Constant and Faith, by the determinate and direct pleasure  
of God, by the gracious, Royal and Loving Disposition of your  
Sovereign: and by the Delicacy and Joy of all good, honest, and

His Great-bad-Name, for Paper was vnfit:

Your Great-good-Name, i'th' Booke of Life is writ.

---

Againe

Farr be it from Yo<sup>ur</sup> L<sup>p</sup>. (my de<a>rely honoured Lord) to  
Imagine Me, a | Man so high in Folly, as to thinck that  
this Presentment should de<...>re, | Supplie, or any way  
better yo<sup>w</sup>, in point of Knowledge or Learning (either |  
Deuine or Humaine,) Well knowing that you haue many Prophets  
& | Prophets Children (both abroad, and at home) that like  
fruitfull | Limbecks, distill into yo<sup>ur</sup> L.<sup>ps</sup> Soule the  
Angelicall Waters of the | holy Scriptures, Making yo<sup>w</sup> Wise  
vnto Saluation: And that yo<sup>ur</sup> | deuine Care and zealous  
Willingnes hath prouided many Stooles, | Tables and  
Candlesticks for holy Men, and Messengers of God. | Which  
considered, yo<sup>w</sup> may demand What Liquor can drop from soe |  
broaken a Cisterne, to advantage yo<sup>w</sup> in any way Sanctimonius? |  
And for Matters Morrall and Humaine, either tending to the  
Making | of you vp, a perfect Lord of a Familie, or an exact  
Instrument | of State, Yo<sup>r</sup> L<sup>p</sup>. wants no Authors, or famous  
Writers, to Render | You Compleate therein (besides your  
owne Naturall and Instinctive | Inclination:) A nobler  
Witnes of all which there needes none, then | the excellent,  
publique and Comodious vse is made of yo<sup>r</sup> Courage, |  
Constancie and Faith, by the determinate and Decreed  
pleasure | of yo<sup>ur</sup> God; by the gracious Roiall and loving  
Disposure of yo<sup>ur</sup> | Soueraigne: and by the Alacritie and Joy  
of all good, honest, and

well

Wise & pious Men, to be benefit both to Church and Com-  
-wealth, and to go downe to your for ever present and glorious  
Fame in future time: And what could Heaven in Grace or his  
Ma<sup>ty</sup> in Trust, yo<sup>r</sup> Deerts in Love, or the Gentleness in your  
(as they have done) make yo<sup>r</sup> this resplendent Light to be one  
of that great Dominion, Seat and Inheritance of their great-  
Princes. (A poor mans Prayers are acceptable. Sacrifices in the  
of the Lord) Good Luck have you with yo<sup>r</sup> Honor. Ride on etc.  
But (O my Dutie and Joy,) transport me not too farre in this  
Argument, but leaving my Lord, to deal with this weak Relation of  
Mine, as I have knowne many do: that have had large and well replant-  
Orchards, or Gardens of their own, yet happening into a small and  
little promising part of Earth, or an other place, have found there  
some Fruit, Flower or Herbe, which they have sowne there and  
not offered, and have esteemed more the worth of it for y<sup>e</sup> holmes  
Gode: it was bred in, but re-planted it in their own rugged & barren  
The Churchlike Orchard, or Garden of Parady: have many Rivers  
and Streames in it and all sweet, and strengthened themselves full  
or profitable. O my good Lord, I am sure it thus And when  
yo<sup>r</sup> find any thing in it, as I doubt not but yo<sup>r</sup> shall we hope  
yo<sup>r</sup> will that also Fertilize, excuse the gift. But in I shall

Well disposed Mindes, to the benefit both of Church and  
Comon | -Wealth; and to yo<sup>ur</sup> owne Renowme & Hono<sup>r</sup> for y<sup>e</sup>  
present and glorious | Fame, in Futuritie: For what could  
Heauen in Grace or his | Ma<sup>tie</sup> in Trust; yo<sup>r</sup> Peeres in  
Love; or the Generalitie in Hope, <sup>do more</sup> then | (as they haue don)  
Make yo<sup>w</sup> the resplendant Light, & President | of that  
great Dominion, Seate and Inheritance of their First-borne |  
Prince. (A poore mans Praiers, are acceptable Sacrifices  
in the eares | of the Lord) Good luck haue you with yo<sup>r</sup>  
Honor: Ride on:etc. | But (ô my Dutie and Joy,) transport  
me not too farr in this | Argument; but beseech my Lord, to  
deale with this weake Oblation of | Mine, as I haue knowne  
many doe that haue had large, and well replenishd | Orchards  
or Gardens of their owne, yet happening into a small and |  
litle-promising peece of Earth of an other mans, haue found  
there | some Fruit, Flowre or Herbe, which their owne  
spacious Acres could | not afford, and haue esteemed never  
the worsse of it for the holmely | Soile it was bred in, but  
re-planted It in their owne richer Ground. | The Celestiall  
Orchard, or Garden of Paradize hath many Riuers | and  
Streames in it, and all sweet and Comfortable; None  
distastfull | or vnprofitable: ô my good Lord, Contrue it  
thus: And where | yo<sup>w</sup> find any thing in It (as I doubt not  
but yo<sup>w</sup> shall) worthie yo<sup>ur</sup> | Vse; may that little Fertilitie,  
excuse the other Barren Places:

So

So shall ye be <sup>my</sup> singular Acceptance and Favour you. Nor my devoted In-  
tercession for me. And I would to God no Age nor Climate  
(especially our own) had not given so many lamentable proofs, or  
sad Examples. And sure I wish as it were guaranteed. For I am  
confident I am that their Fidelity was then full, and a proba-  
tion of many Judgments and Afflictions this Land shall now  
see, though I patiently & uniformly, (as the Lord has promised  
and fulfilled from the first Line, both said in this tract) have  
been against adding any further in this Shame. I have  
many Ancient Provers. as Not adding with Edg. Tolit. Not  
Climbing too high. Not Playing with Saints (but that last  
can least hurt me: for Saints they were) I will therefore  
praise God for so. I am sure as may be numbered amongst best. In  
what at Abrahams Edition. I might have said a whole Citter; and  
have the rest (sure as are yet alive) to their Conversion, in Ignomie,  
and (sure as are you) to the Mercy or Justice of the Almighty.

One Post Apologie more, I desire to make in defence of this piece.  
(above all my Do. for I challenge Nothing from but only the Manu-  
scription.) That is I wish ye. It may demonstrate the more graciously  
entertain it, in regard It is a Manuscript. For I have often  
(experimentally) observed, That a small Jewell not common, hath by a  
more esteemed than a greater that may be had in every place, and by every

So shall yo<sup>ur</sup> benigne Acceptance never Repent you; Nor my devoted Pre- | -sentation dis-Ioy Me. And I would to God, no Age nor Climate | (especially our owne) had ever given so many lamentable proofes, or | sad examples of any such Lords as is here characterd; For very | confident I am, that their Infidelitie was their Fall, and a provo= | -cation of many Iudgements and Afflictions this Land hath now, & | then, though sparingly & mercifully; (as the Releif from Famine, | and Release from the Pestilence, both handled in this Tract) tasted|of: But against wading any farther in this Theame, I haue | many Ancient Prouerbs; as Not medling with Edge-Tooles; Not | Climbing too high: Not playing with Saincts (but that last | can least hurt me: for Saincts they never were) I will therefore | praise God for yo<sup>ur</sup> L<sup>P</sup> and such as may be numbred amongst those Ten, | that (at Abrahams Petition) might haue Saued a whole Cittie; and | leave the rest <e> (such as are yet alive) to their Conuersion, in Ignomie, | and (such as are gon) to the Mercie, or Iustice of the Almightie:

One short Apologie more I desire to make in defence of this poore | Labour of my Pen, (for I challenge Nothing therein, but only the Manu= | -scription) That (de Iure) yo<sup>r</sup> L<sup>P</sup> may somewhat the more gratically | entertaine It, in regard It is a Manuscript: For I haue often | (experimentally) obseru'd, That a small Iewell, not Comon, hath byn | more esteemed, then a greater that may be had in every Place, and by every | body:

But

But now (my Good Lord) give me leave (w<sup>ch</sup> I am assured pardon  
to desire to somewhat, more fully, and more fully, than I myself, and long to  
to believe, what my Soul infinitely professes to be true: That you  
same sacred, and good Spirit, that (by fasting) inspired with my  
Heart, and inspired me (from above) to say my first Prayer  
upon your heavenly Altar, has continually (like Tobias Angel) gone  
along with me; in a most ardent zeal to go up in your honour &  
Glory; stirring me (in my Morning & Evening Sacrifice, and in a kind  
of holy Rapture) to break into these short Ejaculations: (Lord remem-  
ber that good Lord: Lord love him, and prosper him: Lord accept his  
offerings: Lord make him happy in himself, and in the Fruit of his  
Lips. &c.) And then (to rest them all up) have made this Night  
and Day: That the very self-same Spirit would (upon the wings  
of a happy Wind) fly to you, Hon<sup>rs</sup> Feast, and print upon a believing  
Knowledge, the desired Effect, and Instant Communion it hath wrought  
in me: So that I promise to myself, what from my Desire presumed  
to import, That as long as my Infelicitated flesh shall remain  
upon this Stage of Mortality, (which by a generall Induration of  
years, and some late more special Afflictions (as Sickness, Ours to  
Want) cannot be long) you will (looking at this Year, and open Feast  
of the New-year (whereof the Create. of Imm<sup>ty</sup> gaunt & many  
joyful words) not refuse an Annual Tribute, representing my  
Duty in some Abundant Service of my God, which I have

But now (my Hono<sup>r</sup>able Lord) give me leave (w<sup>th</sup> yo<sup>r</sup>  
accustomed pardon) to | to descend to somewhat neerely, and  
meerely concerning myself: and vouchsafe | to beleuee, What  
my Soule vnfaignedly professes to be true: That the | same  
sacred, and good Spirit, that (by Instinct) Cooperated with  
my | Heart, and Inspired Me (now diuers yeares since) to lay  
my First Offring | vpon Yo<sup>ur</sup> heroique Altar, hath continually  
(like Tobias Angell) gon | along with Me, in a most ardent  
Zeale, to yo<sup>r</sup> L<sup>P</sup> and your honourd | House; forcing me (in my  
Morning & Euening Sacrifize, and in a kind | of holy Rapture)  
to breake into theis short Ejaculations: (Lord remem= | -ber  
that good Lord: Lord loue him, and preserue him: Lord accept  
his Offrings: Lord make him happie in himself, and in the  
Fruit of his | Loynes.etc.) And then (to close them all vp)  
haue made this Wish | their LenVoy: That the very self-same  
Spirit would (vpon the Wings | of a happie Wind) fly to yo<sup>r</sup>  
Hono<sup>rs</sup> Brest, and print therein a beleeuing | Knowledge <sup>of</sup> A  
the deere Effect and Constant Couenant it hath wrought | in  
Me: So durst I promise to myself, What here my Desire  
presumes | to Implore, That as long as my Infelicitated-Self  
shall remaine | vpon this Stage of Mortalitie, (which, by a  
generall InVndation of | yeares, and some late more speciall  
Assaultes (as Sicknes, Greif & | Want) cannot be long) You  
Will (cheifely at this Free and open Feast | of the New-yeere  
(whereof the Creato<sup>r</sup> of Time, graunt yo<sup>r</sup> L<sup>P</sup> many | Ioyfull  
ones) not refuse an Annually Tribute, representing my | Dutie  
in some Alacritous Seruiice of my Pen: (Which (I thanck

God





God) is not yet so much decayed as my Age (to my Ruine)  
makes | Men beleue:) Thereby to Inscribe yo<sup>r</sup> L<sup>p</sup> my Noble  
Mecenas, and my | poore Self, yo<sup>r</sup> Honors humblest Beadesman:  
Wherein the lower & | more delected I appeare, the more  
shall yo<sup>ur</sup> L<sup>p</sup>. by such yo<sup>r</sup> Illustration, resemble the  
glorious Sun that shines as well vpon a Mud | Wall, as the  
loftiest Turret.

And lastly (for I submissively feare I offend in length)  
knowing | that yo<sup>ur</sup> L<sup>p</sup>. in the Volume of yo<sup>r</sup> learned and  
well-stord Librarie, hath | (as I haue seene in Others)  
severall Workes; with Subscriptions to declare their  
severall Natures (as Diuinitie | he<sup>r</sup>e Historie there, &  
the like) If accordingly yo<sup>r</sup> Hono<sup>r</sup> shall | designe, such my  
yeerely Destinate to some Corner, and there vnder | fix in  
Capitall Letters, (Hono<sup>r</sup> & Bountie.) They will be no disgrace/  
at all to yo<sup>ur</sup> Librarie, But may (as Iosuahs Monumentall |  
Stones pitchd in Gilgall) remaine a Trophie to yo<sup>ur</sup> Charitie |  
Here vpon Earth, and no doubt help to Fashion Wheeles, for  
that | Chariot which (like Elias Chariot) shall (in yo<sup>ur</sup>  
fullnes of | Time) mount yo<sup>ur</sup> Soule to Heauen /And so  
here prostrates him= | -self to yo<sup>ur</sup> Noblenes.

Ian: 1631.

Yo<sup>r</sup> ho<sup>ble</sup> Lordships in all  
intire Humilitie

Raph Crane.

To  
the right<sup>ly</sup>-worthy of Titles of Worship.  
S<sup>r</sup> Francis Ashley, Knight.  
One of his Ma<sup>ties</sup> Serjants at Law. &c.

Sir,

Though yo<sup>r</sup> Profession be the Law-Temporall your  
Contemplation is the Law-Theoreticall: And to sure yo<sup>r</sup>  
Consecrated howers, comend this well-meant Dedication:  
Wherem though I call Nothing Myne-owne but only the  
Manuscript: yet giving obscurd what Cookes hand  
sometimes byn will, and thankfull friends, mildly for  
ordering and setting forth of other mens Dishes, I am  
rather encouraged to hope the like Sumptuous Varieties  
I call them ~~varieties~~, as well in regard of their Vertue-  
ous-Method, as of their In-Communitie, (their not being  
there sung, sung when extant, and not all kinds sur-  
reptitious, gotten) but of my Pen.

My humble desire is, That They may supply the  
Customary Dutie of the ensuing New-year, (They  
bringing with Them, the zealous Wishes of many happy  
Ones, to you and Yours) I would hope (even in  
Articulo Mortis) may receive, As you shall vouch safe

Dedication to BM Harleian MS.3357: "A Handfull of  
Celestiall Flowers".

To

the rightly-worthje of Titles of Worship.

S<sup>r</sup>. Francis Ashley, knight.

One of his Ma.<sup>ties</sup> Serjeants at Law.&c.

---

Sir./

Though yo<sup>r</sup>. Profession be the Law-Temporall, your  
Contemplation is the Law-Theologicall: and to such yo<sup>r</sup>.  
Consecrated howres, comes this well-meant Dedication:  
Wherein though I call Nothing Myne-owne but only the  
Manuscription: yet having obseru'd that Cookes haue  
sometimes byn well, and thanckfully esteem'd, meerely for  
Ordering and Setting forth of other mens Dishes, I am y<sup>e</sup>  
rather encouraged to hope the like Successe to y<sup>e</sup>. Rarieties.  
I call them Rarieties, aswell in regard of their Vertu  
-ous-Method, as of their In-Comunitie, (there not being  
three such any where extant; and not One (vnles sur=  
reptitiously gotten) but of my Pen:)

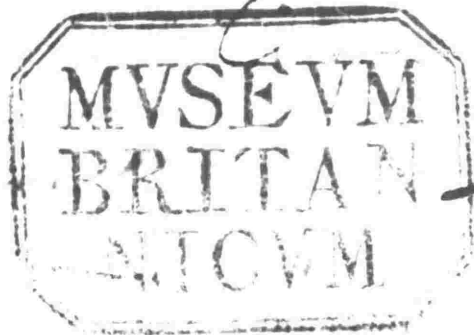
My humble Desire is, That They may supply the  
Customarie Dutie of the ensuing New-yeere (They  
bringing with Them, the Zealous Wishes of many happy  
Ones, to You, and Yours.) I should also (even in  
Articulo Mortis) much reioyce, If You shall vouchsafe

to

to see Them (for Age, Affliction, Grief and Want  
tell Me, it will be for the Ultimum Vale, of Him  
that bears your Name, Labor This (26  
Joshua's Stones, pitched in Gilead) as Memorials  
that He who came to your Release, Brethren, an  
Unfortunate Servant. Still to your Worshyp Self.

Decemb. 1633.

A most intirely-affected



Bookesman.

John Crane,

to call Them (for Age, Affliction, Greif and Want  
tell Me, it will be so) the Vltimum Vale, of Him  
that Hono.<sup>rs</sup> your Name, Leaves Theis (like  
Josuah's Stones, pitch'd in Gilgall,) as Memorials,  
that He was once to your deceased Brother an  
Vnfortunate Seruant; Still to your Worthy Self,

Decemb: 1632. /

A most intirelje-affected

Beadesman.

Raph Crane.

## APPENDIX II : RALPH CRANE'S SPELLINGS

a  
abide  
able  
about  
above  
abroad  
absence  
abstaine  
abuse  
abusd  
accept  
acceptable  
acceptance  
acceptation  
accesse  
accompany  
account  
accurst  
acknowledge  
acquaintaunce  
act  
action  
actions  
actus  
added  
admittest  
adornes  
adversitie  
affected  
affection  
affiance  
affliction  
afflictions  
afford  
after  
again  
against  
age  
aged  
agen  
ah  
aid  
aire  
alas  
Alexander  
all  
almightie  
almost

alone  
along  
aloofe  
already  
altar  
alwaies  
am  
amaze  
amazd  
ambition  
amiable  
amisse  
among  
amongst  
an  
Anateus  
anchor  
and  
angell  
angells  
angers  
anguish  
anon  
answeare  
antimasque  
antiques  
any  
apostle  
appall  
appeare  
appeares  
appointment  
approach  
approbation  
apt  
are  
arise  
ariseth  
armd  
arme  
armes  
Arminian  
Arminians  
armyes  
arrowes  
art/'rt  
arts  
as

Asa  
Asas  
ashie  
Ashley  
ask  
asses  
assistaunce  
astray  
at  
atheist  
Atlas  
attend  
attends  
aught  
augment  
auncient  
away  
awe  
ay  
Babell  
Babilon  
Babilonish  
back  
ballad  
balme  
balme  
band  
bands  
barbarous  
bare  
barley  
Barnavel  
barnes  
baronet  
barren  
base  
basenes  
battaile  
be  
beades  
beadesman  
beames  
beard  
beare  
bearer  
beares  
bearing  
beast

beastes  
 bed  
 before  
 begin  
 begot  
 behind  
 behold  
 being  
 beleeve  
 beleevers  
 beleeving  
 belide  
 belly  
 belongd  
 belovd  
 belowe  
 benefit  
 bent  
 beseech  
 beshrew  
 beside  
 best  
 betake  
 bethinck  
 betide  
 better  
 beutie  
 beuties  
 beuteously  
 beyond  
 bid  
 bide  
 big  
 billowes  
 bird  
 bishop  
 bishopps  
 bitter  
 black  
 blame  
 bleedes  
 bleeding  
 lesse  
 blessing  
 blessings  
 blind  
 blisse  
 blood  
 {bloody  
 {bloodie  
 bloods

blott  
 blow  
 blowes  
 blowne  
 blush  
 board  
 bodie  
 bodies  
 bold  
 boldly  
 boldnes  
 bones  
 booke  
 bore  
 borne  
 bosome  
 both  
 bottles  
 bound  
 bounteously  
 bowles  
 boy  
 brag  
 braine  
 braines  
 brave  
 bread  
 breadth  
 breake  
 breath  
 bred  
 brest  
 bride  
 bright  
 bring  
 brings  
 broad  
 broken  
 brookes  
 brother  
 brought  
 bud  
 build  
 builders  
 building  
 burgers  
 buried  
 burne  
 burry  
 burthen  
 burthend

busie  
 busynes  
 but  
 by  
 byn  
 call  
 calld  
 calling  
 calls  
 callst  
 calme  
 came  
 can  
 cannon  
 cannonize  
 cannot  
 canst  
 captaine  
 captives  
 care  
 carefull  
 carefully  
 careles  
 cares  
 carry  
 carvd  
 cast  
 casting  
 catch  
 catt  
 cause  
 cease  
 celestiall  
 certaine  
 certesly  
 chamber  
 change  
 chappell  
 charge  
 charitie  
 charme  
 chaunce  
 checkd  
 cheerefull  
 cheerefully  
 cheif  
 cheifest  
 cherry  
 child  
 children  
 chitt

[ the curly bracket indicates that no preference was shown; note  
 subsequently the divided bracket, thus } and { .]



choice  
 choose  
 chorus  
 Christ  
 Christs  
 christall  
 christian  
 churchyard  
 cittie  
 citties  
 claspe  
 clay  
 claymes  
 cleave  
 cleere  
 clings  
 clock  
 close  
 closely  
 cloth  
 clothes  
 clowdes  
 clutch  
 coarse  
 coast  
 cock  
 coffers  
 coffin  
 cold  
 colour  
 come  
 comely  
 comes  
 comfort  
 comfortable  
 commaund  
 commaunded  
 commaundement  
 commaunds  
 commemoration  
 commemorates  
 commemorative  
 comming  
 common  
 companies  
 compassion  
 complaine  
 complaines  
 composd  
 comprehend  
 compunction

Comus  
 conceit  
 condition  
 conditions  
 conduct  
 confes  
 confesd  
 confessed  
 confidence  
 confound  
 confounded  
 confusion  
 conscience  
 consider  
 considered  
 constant  
 constantly  
 consumatum  
 contains  
 contemplation  
 content  
 contest  
 controule  
 Cooper  
 corne  
 corner  
 course  
 cover  
 could  
 count  
 course  
 covenant  
 coverd  
 covers  
 Crane  
 crave  
 creator  
 creature  
 creatures  
 crie  
 cries  
 crops  
 crosse  
 crosses  
 crownd  
 crowne  
 cruell  
 crucifide  
 crucifix  
 crying  
 cunning

cuntrie  
 countries  
 cup  
 cure  
 cursse  
 Daedalus  
 daies  
 daignes  
 dalley  
 dame  
 danger  
 dangers  
 Daniell  
 dare  
 darknes  
 dart  
 dash  
 Davids  
 daunce  
 daunting  
 day  
 daylie  
 dazeling  
 dead  
 deadnes  
 death  
 deathes  
 debt  
 decay  
 deceased  
 declare  
 decks  
 deedes  
 deepe  
 deere  
 defend  
 dejected  
 delight  
 delightes  
 delitious  
 deliver  
 deliverance  
 Demetrius  
 denide  
 depart  
 depth  
 depthes  
 deride  
 descend  
 descending  
 descent

deserved  
 deserve  
 deserves  
 designe  
 designs  
 desire  
 desires  
 desolate  
 destroy  
 destruction  
 devill  
 devine  
 devoted  
 devotion  
 devowring  
 dew  
 dewd  
 did  
 di'de  
 didst  
 die  
 dies  
 dire  
 direct  
 directs  
 dirge  
 discipline  
 discommend  
 disconsolate  
 discrie  
 dishonor  
 disjoy  
 dismaid  
 dispaire  
 dispise  
 dispised  
 disposed  
 disposure  
 dissolve  
 distaste  
 distressed  
 distrust  
 doated  
 doble  
 {doblle  
 {dobly  
 doe  
 dog  
 dolefull  
 domination  
 Domus

don  
 dos  
 dost  
 doth  
 doubt  
 doubtfull  
 doubtles  
 doubting  
 dove  
 downe  
 dranck  
 draw  
 drawes  
 drawne  
 dread  
 dreadfull  
 dreadles  
 dreame  
 dride  
 drie  
 drinck  
 drives  
 drooping  
 drop  
 dropd  
 drops  
 drowned  
 drownes  
 drunck  
 duchesse  
 due  
 duke  
 dukes  
 dust  
 dutie  
 dwell  
 dwelling  
 dwells  
 dwelt  
 dying  
 dym  
 dym  
 dyms  
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 early  
 earth  
 earthes  
 earthly  
 ease  
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easely  
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 eating  
 eftsoones  
 eie  
 eies  
 either  
 elated  
 Eli  
 els  
 embalme  
 ambassadors  
 embrace  
 employ  
 emulation  
 enclose  
 encouraged  
 encouragement  
 encrease  
 end  
 endeavours  
 ends  
 ended  
 endeerd  
 ending  
 endles  
 endure  
 enemie  
 enemies  
 enim  
 enjoy  
 ennobled  
 enough  
 enraged  
 enter  
 enthralled  
 entrap  
 entraunce  
 envious  
 envy  
 equall  
 ere  
 ere/  
 ever  
 erring  
 especiall  
 especially  
 est  
 eternall  
 eternally

eternitie	fate	flowing
evangelism	father	flowre
evangelium	fathers	flowry
even/evn	faultie	flaming
evening	fayne	fly
everlasting	feare	flee
evermore	fearefull	foes
every	feares	fold
evill	feast	follow
example	feeble	followes
examples	fedd	following
exceed	feed	folly
exceeding	feele	fond
excell	feild	food
excellent	feildes	foold
except	feirce	fooles
exercise	fell	foolish
executed	fellow	foote
exit/ext.	felt	for
expect	fetch	forbeare
exposed	few	force
expresse	fight	forget
expressive	fightes	forgive
exprest	figure	forgot
extending	fill	forlorne
extent	filled	forme
extold	fills	forsaken
{extreamely	find	forsooth
{extremely	fingers	forth
face	finis	{forthnightes
facetiously	fire	{forthnights
faile	firmly	fortitude
failes	first	fortune
faint	fisted	fortunes
fainting	fitt	fowre
faire	fitted	fortunate
faith	fitts	forty
faithes	five	forward
falce	fix	found
fall	fixes	foundation
fame	flag	founded
{familliarly	flesh	founder
{famillierly	fleshly	fountaine
famine	flew	fountaines
famous	fleyd	fraud
farewell	flight	fraught
farther	flock	free
fashion	flood	freed
fast	floods	frend
fasting	flowe	frends
fat	flowes	fresh

fright  
frisking  
frolick  
from  
frowning  
frozen  
fruit  
fruites  
fruitfull  
full  
fully  
funeralls  
furnishd  
furrowes  
fury  
fy  
gainst  
gall  
game  
gaole  
garden  
gardens  
garments  
gate  
gather  
gave  
gayne  
gazing  
generall  
gentle  
gentleman  
gentlemen  
gentlewoman  
gently  
get  
getst  
ghostly  
ghospell  
ghospells  
giver  
giving  
glad  
gladnes  
glorie  
give  
given  
gives  
god  
godles  
gods  
goe

goes  
going  
gold  
golden  
gon  
good  
goodnes  
got  
governor  
governors  
grace  
graced  
graces  
graine  
grashoppers  
graspe  
gratious  
grave  
graves  
graunt  
great  
greater  
greatnes  
greene  
greif  
greifes  
greive  
groane  
groanes  
ground  
grounded  
grove  
grow  
growes  
growing  
growne  
grym  
guard  
guest  
guides  
guiltles  
guilty  
habit  
had  
hadst  
hah  
haile  
haire  
half  
hand  
hands

hang  
hanging  
hangd  
hangs  
hansom  
happie  
hard  
hark  
harne  
harpe  
harpes  
hart  
harts  
has/'as  
hast  
haste/hast  
hasten  
hate  
hated  
hath  
haughtie  
have/'ve  
having  
he  
head  
heades  
healed  
health  
healthles  
heapes  
heard  
heare  
heares  
hearing  
heate  
heathen  
heaven  
heavens  
heavenly  
heavy  
heed  
heedfull  
heel  
height  
heires  
held  
hell  
helme  
help  
helples  
hence

her  
 here  
 hereby  
 heritage  
 Hermon  
 hers  
 herself  
 Herod  
 hether  
 hetherwards  
 hide  
 high  
 higher  
 hill  
 him  
 himself  
 hinderers  
 his  
 Hispanica  
 hold  
 holding  
 holes  
 hollow  
 {holy  
 {holly  
 home  
 homely  
 honest  
 honestie  
 honor  
 honord  
 honorable  
 honors  
 hoong  
 hope  
 hopefull  
 hopes  
 horld  
 horne  
 horrid  
 horse  
 house  
 how  
 howre  
 howres  
 huge  
 humaine  
 humble  
 humbles  
 humbly  
 humilitie

humour  
 hunger  
 hungrie  
 hurt  
 husband  
 husbands  
 hymnes  
 I  
 idle  
 if  
 ignorance  
 ignorant  
 ill  
 image  
 imagination  
 immortall  
 immortally  
 imposd  
 impose  
 impossible  
 imytate  
 in/i'  
 inclinde  
 indeed  
 inducd  
 industrie  
 infants  
 infect  
 infinite  
 informd  
 ingrate  
 inhumaine  
 iniquitie  
 innocence  
 inocent  
 inrich  
 insolent  
 instead  
 instinct  
 instruct  
 insulting  
 inspiration  
 intelligence  
 intend  
 intent  
 intire  
 into  
 {invite  
 {invyte  
 ire  
 is/'s

it/'t  
 itself  
 ivy  
 Jacob  
 Jacobs  
 jawes  
 jealous  
 Jerusalem  
 jests  
 jesuite  
 jesuites  
 Jehovah  
 Jhesu  
 Jhesus  
 John  
 joies  
 Jordan  
 Josuahs  
 joy  
 joyfull  
 Judah  
 judge  
 judgement  
 just  
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 president  
 pressd  
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 suppose  
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 terrible  
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 thanck  
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 thanckfully  
 thancks  
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 the/th'/ye.  
 thee/ye./yee.  
 their/yeir.

theis  
 them/'em  
 themselves  
 then (adv.)  
 then (relp.)  
 thence  
 ther('s)  
 there  
 thereby  
 therefore  
 therein  
 thereof  
 thereon  
 therewith  
 thether  
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 thrid (thread)  
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yeares  
 yeild  
 yes  
 yet  
 yoake  
 yond  
 yonder  
 yong  
 you/yow.  
 your/yor.  
 yours  
 yourself  
 yourselves  
 youth  
 zeale  
 zealous

### APPENDIX III : NOTE ON METHOD

Although any other scholar wishing to perform a similar type of analysis would probably have different facilities, an account of the method of data processing used for the spelling-lists should assist the reader to appraise their worth. The system of processing used and described here is by no means ideal; academic work of this nature has no priority, and time on machines and the services of technicians was available only after more socially-urgent projects were completed. The machines used on this investigation were not the most suitable for the task. A number of different tabulators and sorters were used to do work which under more favorable research circumstances might more easily and more promptly have been done by a single machine. Fortunately, New Zealand is shortly to acquire a computer which will be capable of handling a project as extensive as the present investigation has been.

From the enlarged microfilm prints of the original manuscript material (or reprints, as noted in the text) the portions used for sampling were punched with a Keyboard Tape Perforator in word-order. Care was taken at this stage to identify words and contracted forms such as 's which might later be confused after sorting. The tapes were fed into a Hollerith Tape-to-card Converter which produced for each sample a pile of cards, each with a word on

it, in text-order. Each pile of cards was fed into a Hollerith Tabulator, and from this came the printed text of the sample, still in text order.

At this stage, before the cards were allowed out of text-order, a rigorous editing process was carried out; the cards, i.e. the printed roll, were checked against the original photocopies, and additions, deletions, misprints, possible confusions and all other corrections were noted. The cards were then sorted into alphabetical order on a IBM Card-sorter, sample by sample, and were fed again into the Hollerith Tabulator. This produced long rolls which listed and enumerated the occurrence of each word in the sample in alphabetical order. At this point the corrections were made and the sub-totals and total occurrences were adjusted accordingly; the data was now ready for evaluation.

For each sample-group, the smaller samples were interlisted on the roll of the largest sample. For Middleton, for example, the Game and Song occurrences were added to the Witch roll, as The Witch had been used in toto. Different spelling-variants and their occurrences were printed at the right-hand margin where the total occurrences for each variant could easily be read. From the sample-summary rolls the sample group lists were abstracted, following criteria individually determined for each group, as has already been described in the text. The same process was followed for the combined poetical and dramatic samples.

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## BOOKS AND ARTICLES CONSULTED

### ABBREVIATIONS

Eng. Ins. Ann.	English Institute Annual.
EETS	Early English Text Society.
Hunt. Lib. Bull.	Huntingdon Library Bulletin.
JEGP	Journal of English and Germanic Philology.
Lib.	The Library Quarterly.
Mal. Soc. Rep.	Malone Society Reprint.
MLA	Modern Language Review.
MLN	Modern Language Notes.
MP	Modern Philology.
NQ	Notes And Queries.
PBA	Proceedings of the British Academy.
PBSA	Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America.
PMLA	Proceedings of the Modern Language Association.
PQ	Philological Quarterly.
Proc. Class. Assn.	Proceedings of the Classical Association.
RES	Review of English Studies.
SB	Studies in Bibliography.
Sh. S.	Shakespeare Survey.
SPE	Society for Pure English.
SPCK	Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge.
SQ	Shakespeare Quarterly.
TLS	Times Literary Supplement.

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