QUARTO EDITIONS OF JULIUS CÆSAR.

ALTHOUGH innumerable books have been written about Shakespeare and his works collectively and individually, there are still points of interest to be noted and sections of the field which are but little known and of which little has been written. One such neglected corner contains those quarto editions of his plays which appeared after the First Folio, 1623, and before the end of the seventeenth century. It is true that their value from a literary point of view is but slight, as there is no reason to believe that any edition, folio or quarto, published after 1623, contains any new material or represents any attempt on the part of the publisher to revise or improve the accepted text. Still, they are interesting when considered as proofs of the popularity of our greatest poet at this early period; and the reasons for many editions of one play and none of another, the adaptations and curtailments which were introduced by one or another dramatist or actor to fit the needs of his particular day, are in themselves instructive to a student of the times. From a bibliographical point of view the peculiarities shown in these so-called 'Players' Quartos' are most absorbing, and it is a bibliographical point of view

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which is taken in this sketch of one of Shakespeare's greatest plays, 'Julius Cæsar.'

Why 'Julius Cæsar' was not printed in quarto before its appearance in the First Folio we do not know, but in the Stationers' Register under 8th November, 1623, it is mentioned as one of the sixteen plays in the First Folio not 'formerly entred to other men.' From the appearance of the Folio until the suppression of the theatres in 1643, few separate editions of Shakespeare's plays appear, and 'Julius Cæsar' is not among them. When the theatres re-opened under Charles II in 1660, one of the plays acted by Killigrew's company was 'Julius Cæsar,' with the following cast:—Julius Cæsar, Bell; Cassius, Mohun; Brutus, Hart; Anthony, Kynaston; Calpurnia, Mrs. Marshall; Portia, Mrs. Corbet. The first record we can find of a presentation of the piece was by Heming in 1613, though we know that it was acted at the time it was first written, about 1601. It was a favourite part with Hart, and from this time on was very popular, but still did not appear separately in print until after 1682, when Betterton and his company revived it at Drury Lane. It is to this first separate edition, with its immediate successors, that we wish to call attention.

It has generally been considered that the first edition was undated, appearing about 1680, and that it was followed by the dated editions of 1684 and 1691; some cataloguers have suggested that there was a second undated edition appearing between 1690 and 1696, but no careful collations, or descriptions have been given, and the whole

matter is passed over as of little importance. In the Shakespeare collection of Mr. W. A. White, of Brooklyn, New York, are found copies of the two dated editions and of *three* undated editions, differing slightly as to text, but set up entirely separately, and all, as I hope to show, issued between 1682 and 1691. Among the Shakespeare quartos from the celebrated Huth collection, now at the Elizabethan Club at New Haven, Conn., U.S.A., is another undated edition differing slightly from the three in Mr. White's collection, but of the same period. Here we have six different printings within the short space of nine years, truly a remarkable output even for one of the most popular of Shakespeare's tragedies, and a favourite with the greatest actor of his time, Thomas Betterton.

Why the play was reprinted so often, and what was the size of each edition, can now hardly even be conjectured. Indeed, it seems probable that there may be other editions of the same period yet undescribed, for the differences are so slight that only an actual comparison of the books, or facsimile reproductions of them, will enable even an expert to distinguish the variations in type, punctuation, etc., which show that they are distinct reprintings, and not corrections in the press. In this article we give the lined-off titles, collations and pagination, and catchwords, so as to enable the owner of an undated quarto to tell whether his copy differs in these points from those here described. In addition to noting these particulars, we have endeavoured to make clear our reasons for calling the dated edition of 1684 the first, and

for assigning all the undated editions to the period between that and 1691. It has not been possible to settle definitely the order of the undated quartos, but we have tentatively arranged them as seems most reasonable, and given to them the numbers 2-5.

QUARTO 1.

Julius Cæsar. / A / TRAGEDY. / As it is Now
ACTED, / AT THE / Theatre Royal. / WRITTEN /
By *William Shakespeare*. / (type ornament) / LONDON, /
Printed by *H. H. Jun.* for *Hen. Heringman* and *R.
Bentley* in / *Russel-street* in *Covent-Garden*, and sold by
Joseph Knight and / *Francis Saunders* at the *Blew Anchor*
in the *Lower Walk* of the / *New Exchange* in the *Strand*.
1684.

Collation: Title, one leaf; B-H, four leaves each; I, two
leaves. Two unnumbered pages, pp. 1-60. Page 8
is unnumbered, 15 is marked 51. Catchwords: Bi,
Surgeon; Ci, Thy; Di, And; Ei, My; Fi, Cry;
Gi, To; Hi, *Cassii*.

QUARTO 2.

Julius Caesar. / A / TRAGEDY. / As it is Now
ACTED, / AT THE / Theatre Royal. / WRITTEN
BY / WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE. / (type orna-
ment) / LONDON, / Printed by *H. H. Jun* for *Hen
Herringman* and *R. Bentley* in / *Russel-street* in *Covent
Garden*, and sold by *Joseph Knight* and / *Francis Saunders*
at the *Blew Anchor* in the *Lower Walk* of the / *New-
Exchange* in the *Strand*.

Collation: A-H, four leaves each. Two unnumbered pages, pp. 1, 4-18, 91, 20-40, 33-48, 57, 50, 51, 60, 61, 54, 55, 64. Catchwords: Bi, Sleek-; Ci, *Brut*; Di, *Cæf*: What; Ei, He; Fi, Then; Gi, *Bru*.; Hi, *Caff*.

QUARTO 3.

Julius Cæsar. / A / TRAGEDY. / As it is now ACTED / AT THE / Theatre Royal. / WRITTEN BY / WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE. / (type-ornament) / LONDON. / Printed by *H.H. Jun.* for *Hen. Herringman*, and *R. Bentley* in / *Ruffel-street* in *Covent-Garden*, and sold by *Joseph Knight* and / *Francis Saunders* at the *Blew-Anchor* in the Lower Walk of the / *Nuw-Exchange* in the *Strand*.

Collation: A-H, four leaves each. Pages [1]-64; pp. 46 and 47 are wrongly marked 47 and 46. Catchwords: A2, *Cobl*. Nay; Bi, Sleek-; Ci, Brutus; Di, *Culp*.; Ei, He; Fi, Then; Gi, *Bru*-; Hi, *Caffi*.

QUARTO 4.

Julius Cæsar; / A / TRAGEDY. / As it is now ACTED / AT THE / Theatre Royal. / WRITTEN BY / WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE. / (type-ornament) / LONDON. / Printed by *H.H. Jun.* for *Hen. Herringman*, and *R. Bentley* in / *Ruffel-street* in *Covent-Garden*, and sold by *Joseph Knight* and / *Francis Saunders* at the *Blew-Anchor* in the Lower Walk of the / *New-Exchange* in the *Strand*.

Collation: A-H, four leaves each. Pages [1]-64; p. 15 is marked 51. Catchwords: This is a line-for-line reprint of Quarto 3, and the catchwords are all the same, except on Di, which has '*Cal*-' correctly, instead of '*Culp*.'

QUARTO 5.

Julius Cæsar: / A / TRAGEDY, / As it is now
 ACTED / AT THE / Theatre-Royal. / WRITTEN
 BY / WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE. / (type-ornament) /
 LONDON: / Printed by *H.H. Jun'* for *Hen. Herring-*
man and *R. Bentley* in / *Russel-street* in *Covent-garden*, and
 fold by *Joseph Knight* and / *Francis Saunders*, at the *Blue*
Anchor in the Lower Walk of / the *New-Exchange* in the
Strand.

Collation: A-G, four leaves each; H, two leaves. Pages
 [1]-60. Catchwords: A2, What; Bi, *Bru.*; Ci,
 [*Afide.* / *Cass.*; Di, And; Ei, And; Fi, ACT;
 Gi, And; Hi, I shall.

QUARTO 6.

Julius Cæsar. / A / TRAGEDY. / As it is now
 Acted / AT THE / Theatre Royal. / Written by /
 WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE, / (type-ornament) /
 LONDON, / Printed for *Henry Herringman*, and *Richard*
Bentley / at the Post-House, in *Russel-street*, *Covent-* /
Garden, 1691.

Collation: A-H, four leaves each; Ai blank and lacking;
 two unnumbered leaves (the first blank and lacking);
 pp. 1-60. Catchwords: A3, Sir; Bi, Is; Ci, Upon;
 Di, *Caius*; Ei, *Cask.*; Fi, Al.; Gi, *Dash*; Hi,
Cass

By comparing these six titles we see that the
 first five differ only in type, punctuation, etc.,
 while the sixth has an entirely different imprint.
 As this sixth is dated 1691, and is practically a
 line-for-line reprint of the edition of 1684, we will
 not discuss it further than to say that although it
 was printed after the others, its slight variations
 from Quarto 1 do not throw any light on the

sequence of the undated editions. As regards the other five titles, although the differences are very slight, it is possible to decide from them to which of these editions, if any, a given title belongs. There is nothing in them, however, to assist us as to the proper sequence of the quartos; but when we compare the collations, it appears that Quarto 1 has 'title, one leaf; B to I2, four leaves each,' while all the others begin with Ai and run regularly to the end. It is a well-known fact in seventeenth century books that the first edition in a given size, set up from manuscript or from a printed book of another size, often follows this style in the collation. The text was set up first, beginning with Bi, signature A being left for the preliminary matter, which was set up later; if there was not enough matter to fill out all of A the unnecessary numbers were omitted, and if too much other signature marks, * or ¶, etc., were added. On the other hand, with the later editions, the printer had the volume before him, and knew just how much space to allow for preliminary leaves, so that the signature marks could run regularly from Ai to the end, as they do in Quartos 2-6. We know that the first of these quartos, whichever it was, must have been set up from one of the three folios already in existence, and, if we consider that of 1684 the first, the general rule holds good, otherwise we cannot account for the collation.

When we examine the form of the quartos, we find that Quartos 1-4 are all much alike, evidently set up one from another, and differing only as the

carelessness or peculiarities of the various printers caused this or that small alteration. Quarto 5, however, is entirely different; it is much better printed than the others, has a three-line note in regard to the scene at the bottom of *Dramatis Personæ* on verso title, has fuller stage directions throughout, seems from various indications in the text to have been printed from an edited rather than an acting text, as the others were, and, finally, shows more resemblance to the Fourth Folio, which appeared from Herringman's press in 1685, than do the others, which seem to have been taken from a copy of the First Folio corrected for acting. On page 3, line 2, we find 'Enter Flavius, Murellus,' etc., which agrees with the four folios; this is Murellus's only appearance, and in all the other quartos we find 'Murellus' changed to 'Caska,' who has other lines in the play, this change permitting the company to dispense with one actor. The same thing occurs on page 1, line 47, where this one reads 'Enter Caska and Cicero,' as in all the folios; in the other quartos Cicero's name is changed to 'Trebonius,' who has other lines, thus again dispensing with an unnecessary actor. But in all the quartos, owing to the carelessness of the printer, the exit of this character is not changed, and we have 'Exit Cicero,' not 'Trebonius'!

In comparing twenty-three readings from different parts of the play, we find that in Quarto 1 ten agree with Folio 1 and differ from Folio 4; while in no case do we find one agreeing with Folio 4 but differing from Folio 1. In Quarto 2, seven agree with Folio 1 as against Folio 4, while only

one agrees with Folio 4 as against Folio 1. Quartos 3 and 4 (which are undoubtedly printed one from the other) have five like Folio 1 and one like Folio 4; while Quarto 5 has only one agreeing with Folio 1 and not with Folio 4, and eight like Folio 4 and not like Folio 1. Other readings might give other results, but it seems probable that this Quarto 5, which is so different in form from the others, was not set up from them, though it appeared from the same press at about the same time, as we shall show later on.

To return now to Quartos 1-4, all much alike and all apparently issued in quick succession to supply the demand created by Betterton's fine presentation of this great tragedy in which he played the part of Brutus. In Quarto 1, page 16, line 8, we find 'Who doth desire to see you'; in Quarto 2, 'Who desire to see you' (the printer has dropped the 'doth'); Quartos 3 and 4, 'Who desires to see you' (corrected but different). Quartos 1 and 2, page 27, line 13, 'Run Lucius, and commend me to my Lord'; Quarto 3, 'Run Iu-ius, and commend me' (the 'L' is carelessly changed to 'I' and the 'c' dropped); Quarto 4, 'Run Julius, and commend me' ('Lucius' was right, but in supplying the missing letter the printer has taken it for granted that the name should be 'Julius'). Quarto 1, page 28, line 21, 'These couchings and these lowly Courtesies'; Quarto 2, 'and these lowly Conrtesies' ('u' wrongly changed to 'n'); Quarto 3, 'and these lowly Courties' (in correcting the 'n' the 'es' was left out); Quarto 4, 'and these lowly Courtiers' (again the wrong word). In

these cases Quartos 5 and 6 agree with Quarto 1. These readings establish a claim for the order in which we have arranged the quartos.

It now remains to show why it is impossible that any of these quartos could have appeared before 1682, and probable that all except Quarto 6 were published between 1684 and 1688. With the return of Charles II and the opening of the theatres in 1660-1661, two companies were formed; the first, called the 'King's Servants,' was organized by Thomas Killigrew and played from 1663 to 1682 at the Drury Lane Theatre; the second, under the patronage of the Duke of York, was managed by Sir William Davenant at Lincoln's Inn Fields, where they played from 1662 to 1671, and then removed to Dorset Garden. In 1682 the two companies combined under Charles Killigrew at Drury Lane, and the first performance given by the united company was on 16th November, 1682. On the verso of the title of each of these quartos is a list of *Dramatis Personæ* giving the names of the actors; these names are not those of the earlier presentation by the Killigrew Company before 1671, when Hart played Brutus, but include ten from Davenant's Company, five from Killigrew's, and six whom we have not been able to trace. This proves conclusively that the first edition could not have been printed until after the junction of the two companies, 16th November, 1682, and we have no reason for supposing that the play was put on at once.

We are also able to check up the dates of publication from the imprint which is common to

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Quartos 1-5. Henry Herringman was the first of the great wholesale publishers who preferred to sell most of his books through other book-stores, and we find in the Term Catalogues and from the imprints of his publications that he employed different booksellers as his agents; we have not been able to trace a single sale through 'Joseph Knight and Francis Saunders' earlier than 1684 or later than 1688, but after that date we find sales through Saunders alone, Knight having, for some reason, dropped out. We also find that H. Herringman, Sr., was publishing at the 'Anchor in Lower Walk of the New-Exchange' from 1660 to 1682, and did not turn over his retail shop to Knight and Saunders and move to Russel-street until some time in 1684. These facts, taken in conjunction with the evidence of the actors' names, would seem to limit Quartos 1-5 to the period between 1684 and 1688, and dispose finally of the generally accepted theory that the first edition appeared about 1680. When we consider the bibliographical evidence of the irregular collation of the dated quarto of 1684, and the textual evidence of the various readings given above, it seems probable, to say the least, that the order of publication was: Quarto 1, dated 1684; Quartos 2-5, undated; Quarto 6, dated 1691.

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