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## The History, Printing, and Editing of The Returne from Pernassus

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**The History, Printing, and Editing of *The Returne from Pernassus***

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirement  
for the degree of Bachelor of Arts in English from  
The College of William and Mary

by

Christopher A. Adams

Accepted for \_\_\_\_\_  
(Honors, High Honors, Highest Honors)

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Williamsburg, VA  
December, 2008

**The History, Printing, and Editing  
of *The Returne from Pernassus***

*Dominus illuminatio mea*  
*-ceiling panels of Duke Humfrey's Library, Oxford*

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*-Christopher Adams  
December, 2008*

# PART I

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## Introduction

The story goes that F. O. Matthiessen, a Harvard scholar active during the 1930s and 1940s, began waxing eloquently about a certain phrase in Herman Melville's *White Jacket*: "the soiled fish of the sea." After much discourse, he concludes that Melville alone could have created such a discordant but brilliant expression.<sup>1</sup> Little did he realize, however, that Melville never wrote the words "soiled fish of the sea"—Melville had, in fact, written "the *coiled* fish of the sea." The scholar had consulted a faulty edition and sealed his fate in the annals of literary history as the butt-end of snarky asides (Tanselle 44). His error, however, highlights the need for and purpose of critical editions—to provide the literary and scholarly community with a basis for explication. Critical editions serve as the source material for scholars working with a given text, the rock upon which interpretative houses are built.

The work appearing here is a critical edition of the third play in a trilogy collectively known as the *Parnassus* plays, whose first two entries are *The Pilgrimage to Parnassus* and *The Return from Parnassus* (sometimes referred to as *Return pt. I*). The third play, *The Returne from Pernassus: or The Scourge of Simony* made its appearance in print in 1606, though it had been written and acted in 1601. Its first performance took place in the hall of St John's College, Cambridge during Christmas festivities. The story centers around a group of Cambridge graduates who are eager to

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<sup>1</sup> "Commenting on these lines, Matthiessen says, 'But then this second trance is shattered by a twist of imagery of the sort that was to become peculiarly Melville's. He is startled back into the sense of being alive by grazing an inert form; hardly anyone but Melville could have created the shudder that results from calling this frightening vagueness some "soiled fish of the sea." The *discordia concors*, the unexpected linking of the medium of cleanliness with filth, could only have sprung from an imagination that had apprehended the terrors of the deep, of the immaterial deep as well as the physical' (Nichol 50).

make their way in the world; despite their best attempts, however, they can find no suitable employment—little has changed in the past 400 years.

The *Parnassus* plays came to my attention from Dr. Hailey, formerly of the English department at William and Mary. He pointed it out as a challenging research opportunity that could yield interesting results, as no one had examined the plays for quite some time. A series of editions appeared from the late 1800s until 1949,<sup>2</sup> when J.B. Leishman produced the first in-depth critical edition that has served the scholarly community for the past fifty years. Not until 1977, with the publication of Paula Glatzer's *The Complaint of the Poet* did the *Parnassus* plays receive a critical literary treatment. In the intervening years, however, *Parnassus* had been all but forgotten, except for minor references in articles. Now, in 2008, the plays, in their own small way, appear to be making a resurgence as English Early Modern scholars turn their attention away from the Shakespeare cannon and toward other works from the period. Two dissertations—one in 2002 and the other in 2006—were submitted, both dealing heavily with the *Parnassus* plays, and Peter Stallybrass, professor at the University of Pennsylvania, has recently submitted a paper for publication involving one of the longest scenes in *Returne*. The fact remains, though, that what critical interpretation has been done all relies on Leishman's 1949 edition. The *Parnassus* plays, particularly the third play in the series—*The Returne from Parnassus*—seemed ripe for a fresh examination.

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<sup>2</sup> Apart from the two printed editions in 1606, *Returne* appears in the fourth edition (1874) of W. C. Hazlitt's *A Select Collection of Old English Plays: Originally Published by Robert Dodsley in the Year 1744*. In the 1880s, while searching through Bodleian Library manuscripts, W.D. Macray discovered the first two plays in the *Parnassus* trilogy; he published an edition of all three plays in 1886. W.H. Oliphant-Smeaton edited the *Returne* text in 1905, a small hand-held edition. The Tudor Facsimile Texts under John Farmer produced a facsimile in 1912 of the *Returne*, accompanied by facsimiles of both the *Pilgrimage* and *Return* manuscripts.

In dealing with *Returne* and Leishman's edition, certain problems soon became apparent. *Returne* being a Cambridge play from the early seventeenth century, it contains numerous phrases in Latin—indeed, the character Phantasma speaks almost exclusively in Latin tags. Moreover, what makes *Returne* so striking—and so frustrating—is its immediacy: the Cambridge students have much to say about (and against) the literary movers and shakers of the time period—Marlowe, Marston, Shakespeare, Spenser, etc. Understanding, locating, and interpreting these attacks present a challenge to anyone trying to access the text. Textually, too—and this is where I have chosen to focus most of my work—*Returne* offers a complex story of writing, printing, and publication. *Returne* was printed twice in 1606 and a manuscript copy survives, which contains significant differences from the two printed texts. Leishman's solutions to the problems mentioned above, in some cases, only served to obfuscate the text even more, though his practices are standard for the 1940s and 1950s. All of the Latin, for instance, remained untranslated, the textual apparatus was woven into the annotations, and explanatory notes were few and far between. The challenge to editing the *Returne* text, then, was to find a way to make it accessible to a modern audience of both scholars *and* students.

In order to carry out this task, I worked with two other students to create a critical edition of *Returne*. Our edition, which appears as the third part of this thesis, sought to make *Returne* more accessible through Latin translations, explanatory annotations, and a separate textual apparatus. As is common with critical editions, a general editor (in this case our adviser, Dr. Hailey) oversaw the work of multiple editors on a single project. Kristen Quarles was the general annotations editor, and John Adams

focused on Latin annotations. My work as textual editor included determining the text to appear on the page—which edition of *Returne* should serve as the base text—making textual emendations as needed, and converting our text and annotations into an electronic format. For our copy text, we chose to use the second edition of the 1606 printed text (also known as the “B” text), as it was more widely available in facsimile form, which lent itself to easier transcription. Yet in addition to transcribing, editing, and annotating the text, research into the play’s history and printing also needed to be carried out, and the result of that work makes up the bulk of this thesis. I have attempted, as much as time and resources have allowed, to flesh out the background of *Returne*, with particular emphasis on the play as a printed, physical object. To this end I visited several libraries throughout the United States and England to exam their copies of *Returne* and to record observations of the play as an object composed of paper, type impressions, and binding materials and as an object to be owned and read, filled with annotations and bookplates and advertisement notices. In examining *Returne* as a physical object, I am placing myself squarely within the framework of Anglo-American bibliography, which emphasizes gleaning as much information as possible from the physical book in order to determine the printing and publication history of a text. However, in examining the context that surrounds *Returne*’s performance and authorial history, I also seek to participate in the growing field of *histoire du livre*—the history of the book not only as an object but also as a cultural force.

In summary, then, three sections appear in this thesis:

- **Part I:** A lengthy introduction concerning the history and context of the *Parnassus* plays, including a focus on the performance and printing of the final play in the trilogy, *The Returne from Parnassus*.
- **Part II:** A transcript of the *Returne from Parnassus* manuscript housed in the Folger Shakespeare Library, entitled the *Progresse to Parnassus*.
- **Part III:** A critical edition of *Returne*, complete with annotations and textual apparatus.

To make perfectly clear: the first two parts are completely my own work. Part I represents three years of research into the textual and contextual history of the plays. For Part II, I carried out the transcription by hand, using a scan of the manuscript, though I had the help of another person in proofreading my transcription. Part III, however, contains not only my work, but also the work of two other students: John Adams and Kristen Quarles. Even though Part III is a collaborative effort, I find it necessary to include in this thesis for three reasons. First, the material in Part I—the history and context of *Returne*—only makes sense in conjunction with the edited text. Secondly, in most instances I have chosen to quote directly from our edited text instead of Leishman’s, as it, to my mind, more accurately reflects the *Returne* text. Finally, I want the edited text (and the manuscript transcription in Part II) to be available to the scholarly community, which it will be through publication both in print and in digital form with William and Mary’s digital repository.

One of the follies of our time is to assume that, because of the mechanics of mass production and standardization, any text produced with title X is the same as any other text bearing title X. We pick up a copy of *Elements of Statistical Thermodynamics*

and expect it to contain *exactly* the same text as any other copy of *Elements of Statistical Thermodynamics*. However, we are deceived if we think this is—and has always been—the case. Early printings of *Harry Potter and the Half-Blood Prince*, for instance, contain factual and typographical errors which have been silently corrected in subsequent printings. Moreover, the way we live now features a heavy reliance upon digital forms of text that are far more ethereal than any book printed four hundred years ago. A popular Wikipedia page, for example, may have hundreds if not thousands of people viewing and editing it at any one time—the text is unstable and subject to rapid change. The challenge—and the hope—of critical editions, such as the one presented here with *Returne*, is that they will serve to ground the text in a real and material way while also making it widely available to scholars, students, and any other persons interested in discovering the thoughts, feelings, and conditions of Elizabethan Cambridge.

## ***Returne* as Play**

### **A Note on Naming**

One is hard-pressed to find an elegant solution to the naming of the *Returne*. Since W.D. Macray discovered a different play in the *Parnassus* trilogy bearing the name “The Return”, scholars have been referring to *The Return from Parnassus: or The Scourge of Simony* as *The Return pt. II*. However, every indication from the manuscript housed at the Folger Shakespeare Library as well as the internal evidence of the printed version declares that what the scholarly community has been calling *Return pt. II* should in actuality be called *The Progress to Parnassus*, or, being consistent with the spelling of the time, *The Progresse to Parnassus*. Indeed, the titles of the play are interwoven in the prologue:

In Schollers fortunes twice forlorne and dead  
Twice hath our weary pen earst laboured.  
Making them PILGRIMS [to] Parnassus hill,  
Then penning their RETURNE with ruder quill.  
Now we present unto each pittying eye,  
The schollers PROGRESSE in their misery. (61-66, capitalization for emphasis)

Leishman supports the change in name, as does Glatzer; however, we face a two-fold problem. First, scholarly precedent favors labeling the plays *The Pilgrimage*, *The First Return*, and *The Second Return*: almost all articles or books index *The Progresse* as *Return*, pt. II or some such variant. The conflicting textual witnesses, moreover, complicate the problem—the manuscript claims the title as *Progresse*, while the printed editions insist upon *Returne*. The primacy of usage of “Return” over “Progresse” can almost certainly be attributed to *Returne*’s appearance *in print*, which led to its appearance in anthologies, admission into the *Short Title Catalogue*, and entry into the scholarly vocabulary. Thus, even though Glatzer, for instance, agrees that *Progresse* is

the correct term for the third play in the trilogy, she decides that “in the interest of common usage, I retain the traditional title of the last Parnassus Play, the Second Part of *The Return from Parnassus*, or, for short, *The Second Return*” (170). Yet leaving the names the same—*Return* parts I and II—implies a conclusion that cannot be drawn: the final two plays in the trilogy are one unit coming from the same pen.<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, referring to the final play as *The Second Return* confounds the problem even more, as, unlike *The Progresse*, there is no textual witness bearing the name *The Second Return*—*The Second Return* simply being an arbitrary designation.

Not content with using a name that refers to no actual text and wishing to avoid the clumsy awkwardness of *The Second Return* or *The Return from Parnassus*, part II, I have chosen to shorten all references to *The Returne from Parnassus: or the Scourge of Simony*, to the *Returne*—with an “e”. The “first” *Return* will simply be the *Return*—minus the “e”, but since the *Return* only makes passing appearances, any confusion should be minimal. Also, any references to the *Progresse* will specifically mean the manuscript in the Folger Shakespeare Library that contains the title *The Progresse to Parnassus*.

### **A Summary of *Pilgrimage***

The *Pilgrimage to Parnassus* opens with the protagonists, cousins Studioso and Philomusus, listening to Philomusus’s father (Studioso’s uncle), Consiliodorus. Consiliodorus gives advice to the two youths, who are setting out on their way to

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<sup>3</sup> Moore Smith, according to Leishman, has already drawn this conclusion: “The point is important, because if, as Moore Smith apparently assumed, the third play had always been known as the ‘Second Part’ or ‘Last Part’ of *The Returne from Parnassus*, it would be natural to regard the two plays as forming, in a sense, one whole, and to regard all allusions to the author of the one as being also, by implication, allusions to the author of the other” (Leishman 27).

Parnassus, i.e. Cambridge. Their journey will take them through the lands of logic, rhetoric, poetry, and philosophy. On their way, they meet various characters, all dissuading them from continuing their chosen path. Passing first through the land of logic, the scholars encounter Madido, who refuses to continue his own journey to Parnassus on the grounds that “there is scarce a good taverne, or alehouse betwixte this, and Parnassas, why a poeticall spi<sup>e</sup>it muste need[es] starue.”<sup>4</sup> Contenting themselves with lofty sayings (“The harder and y<sup>e</sup> craggier is the waye / the ioye will be more full another day”), the pair continue into the land of rhetoric, where they meet Stupido—a “pulinge puritane / A moving peece of clay, a speaking ass”—who has been plodding along to Parnassus for the past ten years. After listening to Stupido denounce all forms of art and learning, they are briefly taken in by his “seeminge deuotion,” but manage to escape into the arms of Ovid-reading Amoretto in the land of poetry. Amoretto and his sensuous poetry prove to be the undoing of the scholars—they put up little resistance to his promises to “bringe you to sweet wantoninge yonge maides / Wheare you shall all youre hungrie sences feaste.” In the final act of the play, Philomusus and Studioso stumble out of the land of poetry with its accompanying enticements and into the land of philosophy. They meet Ingenioso, “shewing philosophie a faire paire of heeles.” He describes his reasons for fleeing the “griggie barbarous cuntrie”—Parnassus’s severe lack of money. Ingenioso tries to persuade the scholars from continuing any further, imploring them to “seeke for pouertie noe further,” but Philomusus and Studioso will not be turned aside. The play ends with their receiving their degrees. *The Pilgrimage*, though standard allegory and often out-shone by the more complex *Return(e)s*, contains

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<sup>4</sup> Quotations from *Pilgrimage* are from my personal transcription of the manuscript (Ms. Rawlinson D398, No. 72. Bodleian Library) available through John Farmer’s *Tudor Facsimile Texts*.

lively and original material, especially in its caricatures of Madido, Stupido, Amoretto, and Ingenioso.

### **A Summary of *Return***

Two main plots weave through *The Return from Parnassus*. The first picks up with Philomusus and Studioso, now graduated, searching for jobs in the world outside the university. They leave Cambridge without paying their bills, causing a stir among the townsmen. Consiliodorus, in a revealing look at the families of poorer scholars, is anxious for news about Philomusus and Studioso, hoping that what he has sacrificed for their education will return to him through their finding jobs. But Fortune is a fickle mistress: Philomusus finds a job as a sexton, digging graves, and as a clerk; Studioso gains employment as a tutor to a young brat. Both feel they are squandering their hard-earned education on low-paying jobs that offer no intellectual stimulation. The second plot line involves Ingenioso's attempts to squeeze money out of patrons in exchange for writing verses. He comes under the employ of Gullio, who claims to be a fearsome soldier though, according to Ingenioso, "He was neuer anie further than Flushing, and then he came home sicke of the scurueys" (840).<sup>5</sup> Gullio hires Ingenioso to write verses to his mistress—Lesbia—in the style of various poets (Chaucer, Spenser, and Shakespeare). Gullio dismisses the Chaucer-styled verses as "dull, harshe, and spiritless" (1167), and claims the Spenser-inspired verses are borne from "a very lecherous witt" (1183). The Shakespeare verses, styled after *Venus and Adonis*, however, he adores. The end of the play forewarns of the discontent so prevalent in the final play of the trilogy: Studioso is fired from his job because his tutee complains; Philomusus, called "the moste unnegligent Sexton that euer came these 40 years"

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<sup>5</sup> Citations are line numbers from Leishman's edition.

likewise finds himself out of a job (1128-1129). When Gullio's suit to his mistress fails, he blames Ingenioso's versmanship. The play ends with Ingenioso resolving to write for the press and Philomusus and Studioso deciding to leave England for "Rome or Rhems" (1560), hoping that the Catholic world will prove kinder than miserly England. A sub-plot features Luxurio, a friend of the main characters, who, like Philomusus, Studioso, and Ingenioso, is seeking suitable employment. He ends the play with a resolve to drink himself out of the world.

### **A Summary of *Returne***

*Returne* opens with a prologue featuring a dispute between Momus and Defensor about the quality of the upcoming show. Their fight resolved, Ingenioso enters, declaring "Difficile est, Satyram non scribere, nam quis iniquae / Tam patiens urbis, tam [ferreus] ut teneat se?"—"How hard it is not to write satire! After all, who is so tolerant of the injustices of the city, who is so hardened, that they can contain themselves?" (1.1.3-4).<sup>6</sup> The opening lines mark the tone of the play—a harsh, cynical satire of all that the scholar-graduates encounter. Judicio enters, and the two proceed to lambaste a book entitled *Belvedere*, which contains collected verses of contemporary poets. The two read a roll-call of the poets included and censure each one. Spenser comes off well, Jonson is ambiguously referred to as "the wittiest fellow of a brick-layer in England" (1.2.159), and Locke and Hudson are told to "let your bookes lye in some old nookes amongst old bootes and shooes, so you may avoide my censure" (1.2.129-130). The scene then shifts to Ingenioso at the shop of Danter the printer in London, where Ingenioso sells Danter a new work entitled *A Chronicle of Cambridge Cuckolds*. Also in

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<sup>6</sup> Quotations taken from *The Returne from Pernassus* ed. Adams, Adams, and Quarles i.e. the edition appearing as part of this thesis.

London are Philomusus and Studioso, impersonating a French doctor and his assistant in an attempt to make a living from gullible persons of nobility. Into these plots enter the literal embodiments of poetic fury and imagination, Furor Poeticus (modeled after John Marston) and Phantasma (who speaks almost exclusively in Latin tags). Academico appears at the beginning of Act II, the final main character in the complicated series of plots. He is hoping to receive a benefice from his former schoolmate, Amoretto, whose father, Sir Raderick, holds considerable property. Academico is too late—and too poor. Immerito (literally, “without merit”—he has had no university education), with the help of his father, purchases the living for around one hundred “thanks”—a euphemism for pounds. Act III features Sir Raderick, with the help of the Recorder, holding a sham examination of Immerito’s abilities. His lack of education becomes a virtue; his response (“Aprill, June and November...”) to “How many dayes hath September?” shows his learning in poetry; his knowledge of the Queen’s day (17 November) shows him a good subject (3.1.72-73). For his participation in simony, Ingenioso charges Furor to “cudgell” Sir Raderick with “[thwick-thwack] termes, and then...sting him with termes laid in *Aqua fortis* and Gunpowder” (3.4.38-41). Act IV contains the “scourge” scene of the play’s subtitle. Ingenioso, Furor, and Phantasm bombard Sir Raderick, Amoretto, and the Recorder with trails of invective, scouring them for their greed, affectedness, and stupidity. Sir Raderick flees the stage with a cry of “The Devill my maisters, the divell in the likenesse of a poet, away my Maisters away” (4.2.184-185). Meanwhile, their job prospects increasingly slim, Philomusus and Studioso agree to meet with Richard Burbage and Will Kempe, the famous actors of the Elizabethan stage. Barely concealing their disgust, Philomusus and

Studioso audition for Kempe and Burbage, with Burbage telling Philomusus he has the “face, and the proportion of...body for *Richard* the III” (4.4.53). The two bemoan their fate and decide to become fiddlers. Act V sees the failure of their fiddling enterprise and the reunion of all the wayward characters. Having burned all his bridges and upset a number of people with his writings, Ingenioso, with Furor and Phantasma in tow, chooses to flee to the Isle of Dogs to escape his pursuers. Academico, with no job in sight, declares his intention to return to Cambridge to continue his studies. Philomusus and Studioso, having lost any hope of finding suitable employment, decide to retire to the countryside and become shepherds, wishing to “shun the company of men, / That growes more hatefull as the world growes old” (5.4.84).

### **Date of Composition and Performance**

The *Progresse* manuscript opens with the following statement: “The p[ro]gresse to Parnassus as it was acted in S<sup>t</sup> Iohns Colledge in Cambridge An<sup>o</sup> 1601”. As there is no reason to doubt the manuscript’s assertion, and internal evidence (i.e. allusions to other plays and events) supports this date,<sup>7</sup> we can say with certitude that *Returne* was written sometime after July of 1601 and most likely performed during December of 1601 or January of 1602. Given the small-scale riots recorded in the Cambridge annals,<sup>8</sup> we can further date the performance to early December of 1601, somewhere between December 3 and December 11 (OS).<sup>9</sup> The information in the Cambridge records about the riotous

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<sup>7</sup> “The statement on the first page of the Halliwell-Phillipps MS...is confirmed both by the astrological dialogue between Sir Raderick and Immerito...and by the fact that the latest contemporary allusions are all to events of 1601 (Jonson’s *Poetaster*...Dekker’s *Satiromastix*...Kempe’s return from his ‘morrice ouer the Alpes’)” (Leishman 24). See also the note inscribed in the Mal. 207 copy related to the siege at Ostend, which began in the summer of 1601.

<sup>8</sup> For details of the riots, see the subsection entitled “University Drama at St John’s.”

<sup>9</sup> Though he argues for a January 1602 performance, Brinsley Nicholson writes a well-researched article about dating the *Returne* in *Notes and Queries* for March. 13, 1875, pg. 201-203. In an earlier note

behavior in December 1601 confirms Leishman's suspicion that *Returne* was acted twice, first in 1601 and then again in 1602. He posits his theory because of some confusion in the prologue, in which Momus says:

What is presented here in an old musty show that hath laine this twelve moneth in the bottome of a coale-house amongst broomes and old shooes, an invention that we are ashamed of, and therefore we have promised the Copies to the Chandlers to wrappe his candles in. (Prologue 20-23)

Leishman briefly considers that Momus gives this apology because the play had been written with an intended performance in 1601 but had not been performed—it had “laine this twelve moneth” hidden away. As we now know that this is not the case, Leishman's second conjecture—that the play was performed twice—appears to be correct. Momus continues: “is it not a pretty humor to stand hammering upon two [*individuum vagum*], two schollers, some whole yeare?” (Prologue 29-30). Both 1606 printed editions read “whole yeare”, but the manuscript reads “four yeare”. Both statements only make sense in the context of a play that is being shown again after the original performance in 1601. “Whole yeare” indicates that the play has “laine this twelve moneth”—that it has been an entire year since its last performance. “Four yeare” could indicate the length of time from the beginning of the *Parnassus* trilogy to the current performance. Taken together, the variant between the printed editions and the manuscript show that *Returne*, with a prologue added, is being performed in December 1602/January 1603, with the first performance of the *Pilgrimage* occurring in December 1598/January 1599.<sup>10</sup>

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(February 20, 1875), Nicholson predicts the existence of the *Pilgrimage* and *Return* based solely on a close reading of the *Returne* prologue—*Pilgrimage* and *Return* not being discovered until the mid-1880s.

<sup>10</sup> “The *Pilgrimage* cannot have been performed *earlier* than the Christmas festivities of 1598/9, for...there is an allusion to Marston's *Scourge of Villanie*, and...Bastard's *Epigrams*, both of which were published in 1598” (Leishman 24).

Thus, the *Returne* was written in 1601, performed in December of that year, and staged again in 1602 (or possibly January of 1603) with a prologue added in order to apologize for the show's previous performance. The prologue furthermore confirms the original 1601 date of performance by its referral to the rioting: "The Pilgrimage to *Pernassus* and the returne from *Pernassus* have stood the honest *Stagekeepers* in many a Crownes expence for linckes and vizards, purchased a Sophister a knock [with] a clubbe, hindred the butler's box, and emptied the Colledge barrells" (Prologue 32-34). Final evidence of the prologue's being added at a later date appears in the manuscript, which contains a "2" to the left of the first rhymed speech ("In Schollers fortunes quite forlorne & dead / Twise hath o<sup>e</sup> wearye pen earst labourd") and a small dash between the end of this speech and the beginning of the second ("W<sup>t</sup> ear wee shew is but a Christmas iest / Conceave of this & gesse at all y<sup>e</sup> rest"). That the play should contain two separate prologues seems unusual; the evidence suggesting (though not proving) that "In Schollers fortunes..." is the prologue added for the play's performance in 1602 and that "W<sup>t</sup> ear wee shew" is the prologue original to the 1601 production.

This immediately raises a problem, though, as there are four years but only three plays; as Leishman and others have suggested, it appears there was a one-year hiatus for the *Parnassus* sequence. If we believe both *whole* and *foure* to be accurate accounts of the performance history, then we can deduce that the break occurred between the *Pilgrimage* and *Return*, not between the *Return* and *Returne*, as *whole* ties *Return* and *Returne* to a one-year separation. Therefore, the dates of performance for the trilogy would be either December or January of: 1598/9 (*Pilgrimage*), 1600/1 (*Return*), 1601/2 (*Returne*).

## **The Elusive Authorship of *Returne***

“Gird your loins.”

-Stanley Tucci in *The Devil Wears Prada*

It is a truth universally acknowledged that an anonymous play must be in want of an author. Thus, one feels that walking into the speculative realm of the authorship of the *Parnassus* plays is akin to walking into a minefield, for almost anyone who has ever investigated the plays feels a need to comment on their authorship. F. L. Huntely in *Bishop Joseph Hall: A Biographical and Critical Study* directly states the crux of the issue:

Inevitably, where external proof of authorship [*sic*] is lacking, the literary scholar must argue by probability. He makes a hypothesis to stand or fall not by a chain of reasoning (which breaks at its weakest link), but rather by explaining more historical facts and literary traits than any other. The hypothesis, furthermore, is made attractive by its solving other problems that hang upon the solution of this particular one. (31)

With this disclaimer, Huntely then launches into a full-scale explanation of how Joseph Hall wrote the *Returne*. His hypothesis rests on close interplays between Marston's *The Scourge of Villanie* and *Returne*; he argues that *The Scourge* is a response to certain passages in *Returne*. His explication would have been note-worthy if he had only taken into account that *Scourge* was published in 1598—*Returne* could not have been written until at least late 1600 or 1601. Nevertheless, Huntely's point remains true: lacking any conclusive proof of authorship, scholars are left to hypothesize increasingly wild stories of Parnassian authorship drawn from enigmatic hints in the prologues of the two *Return(e)s* and shady connections among the Cambridge men and the London printers. Some scholars look for the author exclusively within the ranks of the St John's men; however, not all plays performed at a particular college were written by a member of

that college. Unfortunately, the inclusion of members from other colleges only serves to increase the number of candidates for authorship.

Huntley, despite his flawed theory, sums up the authorship question as it stands presently. I quote him at length:

Almost immediately speculation on their [the *Parnassus* plays'] authorship began, conjectures based on the charade-like hints in the prologues of the last two plays. Of the author of *The Pilgrimage* the prologue of the first *Returne* says:

Suerlie it made our poet a staide man,  
Kepte his proude necke from baser lambskins weare,  
Had like to have made him senior sophister,  
He was faine to take his course by Germanie  
Ere he coulde get a silie poore degree.  
Hee neuer since durst name a peece of cheese,  
Thoughe Cheshire seems to priuiledge his name.

So it has been argued that William Dodd, the only Cheshire name at St John's College at the time, was the author. Again, John Day, who sometimes spelled his name 'Dey', which means dairyman or a maker of cheese, has been named as the author.<sup>11</sup> It has been proposed that by 'Germany' is meant 'Holland'; and consequently that William Holland must have written the first play. One might build a better argument for John Weever of Queen's. He was well known as a witty poet; he greatly admired Shakespeare's erotic verse; and his famous epigram on Gullio is actually quoted in the first *Returne from Parnassus* (1, 959, p. 182). He may well have given his friends fears that he would never graduate because of his drinking (Germany was notorious for its lack of sobriety). And since the Weaver is the principal river in the county of Cheshire, 'Cheshire seems to privilege his name'—John Weever.<sup>12</sup> (30)

Yet even Huntley's description of the course of events is inadequate. Macray in his 1886 edition of the plays notes the presence of "Edmunde Rishton, Lancastrensis" on the outside of the *Pilgrimage* and *Return* manuscript. Macray, treading ever so tenderly on the authorship question, posits that Rishton might have had some hand in its writing (vii-viii). Moore Smith, in an article in *The Modern Language Review* from 1915, picks

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<sup>11</sup> Day has also been conjectured to be the author of *Returne* because of the appearance of an inscription on a copy now in the Folger Shakespeare Library: "To my Lovinge Smallocke J:D:" See "The 'Return from Parnassus': Its Authorship" by Bolton Corney in *Notes and Queries* for May 12, 1866.

<sup>12</sup> For further discussion of John Weever, see E. A. J. Honigmann's *John Weever: A Biography of a Literary Associate of Shakespeare and Jonson*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1987.

up Macray's conjecture. He concludes that Rishton "was probably therefore one of the actors in the *Pilgrimage* and *I Returne*" (170)—a conjecture with no real proof.<sup>13</sup>

To date, Leishman has given the most comprehensive review of the authorship question. His analysis is exhaustive, covering eight tightly-lined pages in his introduction. He splits the question into two parts: 1a. Were the plays written by the same author(s)? 1b. If so, which plays were written by which author(s)? and 2. Who are any or all of the author(s) to any or all of the *Parnassus* plays? That the questions must be phrased so vaguely indicates the ambiguity of the evidence. In relation to the second question, the Huntely quotation should serve as a guide to the history of the subject, and I will treat on further speculation in the next section. As for the first set of questions, Leishman again separates the discussion into two sections: 1. His personal "feel" or reading of the style and 2. An examination of evidence in the prologues. Leishman admits that without the evidence in *Returne*'s prologue, he would have ascribed all three *Parnassus* plays to a single author.<sup>14</sup> Glatzer disagrees with Leishman, asserting that he was mainly concerned with the textual problems of the plays and thus was ill-equipped to judge the plays based on their literary merits (Glatzer 172). Glatzer instead argues for a separate author for the *Return* and the *Returne*, with a collaboration of authors possibly writing *Returne*. All conjecture regarding part 1 revolves around a passage

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<sup>13</sup> On the outer leaf of the Rawlinson manuscript which contains the only known extant copy of both the *Pilgrimage* and *Return*, the name "Edmund Rishton, Lancastrensis" appears, along with a geometrically well-drawn picture of an eye. Edmund Rishton matriculated at St John's c1595, proceeding to his BA in 1598-1599 and MA in 1602. In 1620 he became the rector of Earnley, Sussex (Venn, III 462). He married Anne, daughter of Geoffrey Rishton of Antley (Raines 251), and his hand can be seen on the Earnley parish records, detailing the "Christinings and Burialls in the parish of Ernley cum Allmodington". The register for 1630 records: "Robert the sonne of Edmund & Anne Rishton baptized the xxijth day of August...Anne the wife of Edmund Rishton buryed the xijth day of October...Robert the sonne of the sayd Edmund and Anne Rishton buryed the xvijth day of October". Edmund Rishton himself died in 1642.

<sup>14</sup> "For my own part, I must admit that internal evidence alone would never have led me to doubt that all three plays were by a single author" (Leishman 30).

found in the prologue: “And now unlesse you know the subject well you may returne home as wise as you came, for this last is the least part of the returne from *Pernassus*, that is, both the first and the last time that the author’s wit will turne upon the toe in this vaine” (Prologue 36-39). On face value the prologue appears to support Galtzer’s view that the author of *Returne* wrote *only* the *Returne*—“both the first and the last time that the author’s wit will turne upon the toe in this vaine.” And had it not been for the manuscript, Glatzer’s view would be incontrovertible. The manuscript, however, omits the phrase “both the first and”, leaving the phrase to read: “that is, the last time that the author’s wit...”, implying exactly the opposite of the printed editions—the author *has* written about *Parnassus* before and this will be his last time doing so. Because of his belief that the manuscript is the superior text, Leishman places greater store on the manuscript’s omission and concludes that both *Return(e)s* were most likely written by the same author.<sup>15</sup> Glatzer, because of her critical understanding of the plays, point-by-point argues against Leishman’s conclusions, preferring the 1606 printed edition reading.<sup>16</sup> To inveigh in this argument would be unwise as any evidence—such that it is—remains tenuous in the extreme. Moreover, as I conclude in the dating and composition section, the prologue was not originally attached to the first performance of *Returne* in 1601; we have no assurance that the author of the *Returne* in fact composed the prologue material, throwing more doubt on the whole issue. The sad conclusion to this whole tale is that the evidence is so flimsy, leads so lacking, and the very words of

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<sup>15</sup> As Leishman was interested in the *Parnassus* trilogy as a text to edit, he spends considerable time in examining the relationship between the two printed versions of *Returne* and the *Progresse* manuscript. As my focus is on the printed objects themselves, I do not consider the relationship that the manuscript has to the printed texts. Leishman concludes that at least one transcript must have intervened between the original and both the printed editions and the manuscript, with another possible transcript between the first transcript and the manuscript. For more information on this point, see Leishman’s engaging discussion in his introduction, pg. 12-17.

<sup>16</sup> See “a. Author” in the appendix to Glatzer’s *Complaint*, pg. 332-335.

the play themselves up in the air, that scholars were best to either ignore the whole issue or not write about it until they had scoured every diary and common-place book and found the phrase, “I wrote the *Parnassus* plays.”

### A Note on Owen Gwyn

On October 16, 1605 the following record appeared in the Stationers’ Register (Arber III, 304):<sup>17</sup>

John Wright Entred for his copy vnder th[e h]andes of master OWEN GWYN and the wardens An. Enterlude called. *The retourne from Pernassus or the scourge of Simony* pugliquely Acted by the studentes in Sainct Johns College in Cambridg[e]....vj<sup>d</sup>

To register a play with the Stationers’ Company, it was necessary to have the approval of the authorities, who, by a Star Chamber order of June 23, 1586, consisted mainly of clerics associated with St. Paul’s in London (Thomas 299).<sup>18</sup> Owen Gwyn, being chaplain to the Bishop of London, had the authority to approve texts for publication.

That the *Returne* should be entered under the hand of Owen Gwyn has led to much speculation regarding Gwyn’s involvement with the *Parnassus* plays: Owen Gwyn of Denbigshire matriculated as a pensioner from St John’s College in the Easter term of 1584. He received an M.A. in 1591, a B.D. (Bachelor of Divinity) in 1599, and his D.D. (Doctorate of Divinity) in 1613. From May 16, 1612 until his death in 1633, he was the master of St John’s College and the vice-chancellor of Cambridge from 1615-1616

(Venn II, 278). In 1605 when he approved the publication of *Returne* he was chaplain to

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<sup>17</sup> To view the original entry, see Appendix I.

<sup>18</sup> “*Item* that no person or persons shall ymprint or cawse to be ymprinted, or suffer by any meanes to his knowlege his presse, letters, or other Instrumentes to be occupyed in pryntinge of any booke, work, coppye, matter, or thinge whatsoever, Except the same book, woork, coppye, matter or any other thinge, hath been heeretofore allowed, or hereafter shall be allowed before the ymprintinge thereof, accordinge to thorder appoynted by the Queenes maiesties *Iniunctyons*, And been first seen and persved by the Archbishop of Canterbury and Bishop of London for the tyme beinge or any one of them...” (Chambers 303).

the Bishop of London, Richard Vaughan—Gwyn’s relation. Despite his prominence, Thomas Baker in his *History of the College of St. John the Evangelist, Cambridge* takes an abysmally low view of Gwyn as the eighteenth master of St John’s, claiming he “adds no lustre to our annals” (198). Baker paints Gwyn as a man of no particular achievement except that which he gained through his connections to more powerful men of influence.

Because of Gwyn’s close connection to both St John’s College and the publication of *Returne*, in 1959 Marjorie Reyburn wrote an article in *PMLA* arguing for Gwyn’s authorship of all three *Parnassus* plays. Her article, though intriguing, is full of holes made apparent in a scuffle with Sidney Thomas. Reyburn opens with the statement, “Students of English drama have long been interested in the Parnassus trilogy, produced in St. John’s College, Cambridge, at the turn of the sixteenth century” (325). The statement, of course, is factually incorrect—the Parnassus trilogy was produced at the turn of the seventeenth century. But this is a minor point. Reyburn sets out as the first purpose of her paper to “introduce a new name in connection with the authorship of the trilogy” (325). She explains her reasoning:

The basis of the theory is his relationship to Richard Vaughan, bishop of London from late 1604 to 1607. A cousin, Gwyn was not only tutor to Vaughan’s son at Cambridge, but chaplain to Vaughan himself during his tenure of the bishopric of London, according to Thomas Baker’s *History of the College of St. John*. Baker fails to mention the dates of the two services, but other sources of information make them sufficiently clear. In May of 1604, while still bishop of Chester, Vaughan wrote to his ‘verie loving friende and kinsman’ Owen Gwyn, entreating ‘Cosyn Gwyn’ to act as his son’s tutor at Cambridge.<sup>19</sup> The tutorship could not have begun earlier than 5 November 1605, the date of the son’s matriculation at St. John’s. Since Gwyn could scarcely have served as chaplain to the bishop in London and as tutor to the son in Cambridge concurrently, his chaplainship must have occurred either before 5 November 1605 or in the latter part of the short time between that date and the bishop’s death in March 1607.

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<sup>19</sup> See Appendix II for the full text of this letter.

Definite support for the earlier period is provided by Baker's reference to an outbreak of the plague at Cambridge in 1605.<sup>20</sup> (326-327)

In *PMLA*, Sidney Thomas responds to Reyburn's article, taking her to task for positing Owen Gwyn's authorship of the *Parnassus* plays based upon his licensing of the *Returne* in the Stationers' Register. Because Reyburn seems to think that *Returne* was the only play that Gwyn licensed, Thomas points out that Gwyn was also the licensor to another play on 26 January 1607, entitled *The Masque at Lord Hay's Marriage* by Thomas Campion (299). Though Thomas only points out one such instance, a brief review of Arber's transcription of the Stationers' Register reveals Gwyn's name as licensor on several plays from 1605-1607. Additionally, Reyburn refers to Gwyn as "sole author of the play", though how she reaches this conclusion she fails to mention (326). Nor is her claim supported by Glatzer and others, who argue (justly) for the possibility of multiple authors. Though a profuse letter writer (Gwyn left his papers to the St John's archives), Gwyn has no other publications, and his involvement with play writing cannot be confirmed; his authorship of the *Parnassus* plays lacks any sort of concrete evidence. For Reyburn to make statements such as "Both Gwyn's character and his personal relationships support this obvious implication of his authorship" is unwise (326). If scholars are looking for a way to tie Gwyn to *The Returne*, it seems more plausible that Gwyn was merely an intermediary, a means to an end through his licensing of the play—but even these conjectures are feeble and unsubstantiated. In the interest of sound scholarship we can only set forth a series of facts: 1. Owen Gwyn attended St John's at least for some of the time of the *Parnassus* trilogy's composition 2. The plague struck Cambridge in 1605, causing its students and faculty to flee, which

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<sup>20</sup> "1605...the plague broke out that year, occasioning a recess of the heads, a dispersion of the scholars and an intermission of exercise for some time" (Baker 193).

may or may not have occasioned the movement of *Returne* from Cambridge to London

3. Gwyn, while in London, approved *Returne*'s publication. Definite conclusions to be drawn from this series are tenuous at best, foolish at worst.

Despite the numerous flaws in her argument, Reyburn brings up an important question: how did *Returne* make its way from Cambridge to London? Her citation of Baker regarding the outbreak of plague and the subsequent dispersal of students and faculty seems, on the surface at least, to offer a reasonable explanation. Why *The Returne* had not reached London before this time, or why only *Returne* was printed remains unclear.<sup>21</sup>

### **Stylometry and *Returne***

In an attempt to go around the authorship question based on stylistics, personal allusion, and tenuous theories, I investigated recent advancements made in the field of stylometrics, which uses statistical analysis to show probabilities of authorship. This method has been used to great success to identify the author of a previously anonymous *Federalist* paper.<sup>22</sup> Eric Rasmussen uses simpler mathematical methods (perhaps too reduced) to resolve (in his mind, at least) disputed authorship questions related to Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus*.<sup>23</sup> After trying to apply similar methods to the *Parnassus* plays—mainly *Returne*—it became increasingly clear that statistical analysis would be

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<sup>21</sup> A qualification should be made that we cannot conclusively deny the printing of *Pilgrimage* and *Return*. Simply because a book does not survive four hundred years later is no ground for dismissing its printing; likewise, a lack of a Stationers' Register entry should not be taken as evidence of the manuscript's printless state. However, these two facts (no copies, no entry) combined, in addition to a complete lack of references in records of the period make me highly doubt any but *Returne*'s publication.

<sup>22</sup> Mosteller, Frederick and David Wallace. *Inference and Disputed Authorship: The Federalist*. Reading: Addison-Wesley, 1964. "Methods like ours can be used for other authorship studies, and we anticipate that the cost will become relatively cheap in the future" (Mosteller and Wallace vii).

<sup>23</sup> See *A Textual Companion to Doctor Faustus* by Eric Rasmussen, specifically chapter three, "Authorship".

of little value.<sup>24</sup> Statistics tend to be most valuable when they seek to answer only a small handful of questions and make as few presumptions as possible. In the case of *Returne*, however, many assumptions must be made. Most scholars argue for one author of *Returne*; however, no clear indication exists that this is necessarily so—collaboration seems a valid option, and, given the unevenness of some of *Returne*'s verse, not entirely out of the question. That we are now dealing with the *possibility* of more than one author lessens the ability to determine statistically any particular author. In the *Federalist Papers* investigation, there were two—and only two—options for authors: Alexander Hamilton or James Madison. *Returne* does not present this dualistic choice, thus rendering statistical analysis tenuous at best. Moreover, in absence of knowing that *Returne* is the work of one sole author, even determining an internal validity (i.e. determining who wrote what scene) becomes next to impossible. Suffice it to say, then, that controlling for so many variables renders the results statistically insignificant, and we are no closer to determining authorship than before.

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<sup>24</sup> I worked with student Matthew Spino as well as Dr. Eva Czabarka (formerly of the W&M mathematics department) to untangle the intricacies of stylometry. We approached the *Returne* text from a function-word standpoint. Spino explains in his paper “Stylometry as an Extension of Stylistics, Not as a Replacement”: “For the sake of my analysis, I sought to determine whether I was dealing with a cohesive text with either a clearly defined single author or apparent multiple authors within *The Return from Parnassus*. I compared the percentage usage of function word frequencies. My words chosen were as follows: “if, from, here, for, how, in, now, out, so, some, then, this, to, which, that”. After painstakingly counting these words, I expressed each function word as a percentage of the total number of words in a given scene....When I had broken down word frequencies by scene, I was unsure of how to correct for outlying variations in word frequencies of shorter scenes, or what length a scene must have in order for it to be statistically meaningful. Arbitrarily, I decided on 400 words per scene as a cut-off point, as that seemed at least as safe as what [Eric] Rasmussen had done.... However, this becomes problematic and curtails some ways of looking at things. Perhaps a collaborator was only half-heartedly involved in a work and only wrote the shortest scenes? Every decision in this analysis brings with it a mathematical choice and limitation in analysis.”

## “Publicly acted by the Students”: *Returne* and St John’s College

### History of St John’s College

The College of St John the Evangelist, at which the *Parnassus* plays were written and performed, has a long and storied past. In 1134, the hospital of St John the Evangelist was founded on the site. Some confusion exists among historians as to the founder of the hospital<sup>25</sup> and its attendant monastic order, but in a 1753 history of Cambridge University, Edmund Carter reports that

Nigellus, B[ishop] of *Ely*, and Treasurer to *Henry* I. gave the first Reputation to this Place; for he, *A.D.* 1134, built the Hospital of the Prior and Bretheren of the Order of *St. John the Evangelist*, (according to the Rule and Institute of *St. Augustine*) in the *Jewry*; and endowed it with a Revenue of 140*l.* a Year. (242)

Though the order was blessed with sound funding, toward the end of the thirteenth century Bishop Balsham of Ely placed non-monastic scholars with the monks. This created friction between the brothers and scholars, and the scholars were eventually removed. Because of increasing internal conflict, the number of brothers was reduced so that by the end of Henry VII’s reign

this *Priory* was reduced to such Ruin, Want, and smallness of Number, that of an once flourishing and numerous Company, there remained only the Prior and two Brothers; and the Possessions both Real and Personal, were so wasted, and spent, that of 140*l. per Ann.* given them by the said *Nigellus*, there remained only 30*l.* (Carter 242-243)

Under these circumstances in 1504, Bishop John Fisher, the chancellor of Cambridge University, began a program to remove the “decayed religious house” and replace it with a college (Little 89). For support he turned to Lady Margaret Beaufort<sup>26</sup> who had

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<sup>25</sup> “Baker, whose authority on all matters relating to St. John’s has great weight with me, gives the foundation of St. John’s Hospital to Henry Frost, an honest citizen of Cambridge, in the reign of Henry II” (Dyer 227).

<sup>26</sup> “Lady Margaret, then, was daughter of John Beaufort, Duke of Somerset, grandson of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, and so of course descended immediately from Edward III. Wife, too, of Edmund

already given a considerable sum to the founding of Christ's College. Before any action could be carried out, Lady Margaret died in 1509, leaving Fisher as the executor of her will. By 1511 he had managed to secure the approval of the Pope and King Henry VIII for disbanding the monastic order and founding an academic institution on the site of the hospital (Little 90). The charter for the college of St John the Evangelist was given on April 9, 1511, accompanied by the construction of its first court, at the cost of £4000-5000 (Carter 246).<sup>27</sup> The college at first faced financial difficulties, but after adroit estate management, Fisher managed to find steady sources of income so that the fellows could be supported on a regular basis (Little 91).<sup>28</sup>

St John's, like other colleges, was headed by a master and contained a host of undergraduate and graduate students, all on various financial footing. The college had a strong reputation for scholarship, especially in Greek and religious studies (Little 91). Students were steeped in scholastic tradition filled with lectures and disputations—organized debates and declamations—“designed to show rhetorical and literary proficiency” all deeply grounded in the classics, notably Aristotle (Costello 32). In 1559 and then again in 1571, Queen Elizabeth established the main curriculum at Cambridge such that students studied rhetoric their first year, dialectics their second and third years,

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Tudor, Earl of Richmond, son of Catharine of France. Our foundress was thus immediately allied to the crown of France; in relation to England, she was mother of a king, from whom all our English kings are descended; and from Margaret, his eldest daughter, who bore our foundress's name, all the Scottish kings are descended” (Dyer 231).

<sup>27</sup> “Some other old hospital buildings were also reused, but in the main the college's first court was splendidly new built, in clunch faced with diapered red brick, as Cambridge's finest and most complete piece of late medieval collegiate planning” (Little 90).

<sup>28</sup> “It will, no doubt, be thought very strange, how so great a Number of Fellows (for at first there was few Scholars) could be maintained out of so small a Revennue, viz. that of the old House (which the Executors had redeemed) 80*l.* 1*s.* 10*d.* *ob.* the Revennues of an old decayed *moison Dieu* or Hospital at Ospring in *Kent*, given them by the King, (in lieu of near 400*l.* *per Anu.* he kept back of the Foundress's) 70*l.* with the Foundress's Estate at *Fordham* and some other little Things purchased with her Moneys, but the Maintenance, we may imagine was suited to the Revenue, only 12*d.* *per Week* was allowed in Commons to a Fellow, and 7*d.* to a Scholar” (Carter 246).

and philosophy their fourth years (Costello 41). In addition to these subjects, tutors could focus their pupils' studies in any number of areas—Philomusus and Studioso in the *Pilgrimage* travel through the lands of logic, rhetoric, poetry, and philosophy (Leedham-Green 64). The student body itself was divided into three main classifications: noblemen, pensioners and sizars, each with its own attendant rights, benefits, or responsibilities:

Noblemen paid high fees, but were entitled to proceed to their degrees without, or with only an empty formality of, examination. Pensioners and sizars, save for fees, were of equal footing in the eyes of the university....Pensioners were students who paid the college fees for their board and lodging, and sizars those who, for lack of money, earned their keep by performing more or less menial tasks, such as waiting at table, cleaning the courts or, later, assisting in the library. (Leedham-Green 63)

The student authors of the *Parnassus* trilogy, then, would have found themselves, by 1598, part of a college nearly ninety years old, surrounded by a several-hundred year old scholastic tradition. They were highly proficient in Latin and were well-schooled in the art of argumentation. In this background of tradition and scholarship, they were free to create the ambitious *Parnassus* trilogy.

### **St John's during *Parnassus***

On December 22, 1595, Richard Clayton became the new master of St John's. Previously the master of Magdalene College, he came to St John's upon the death of the old master, William Whitaker. According to Baker's account of the history of St John's, Clayton's mastership was marred by a decline in learning in exchange for the construction of a new court:

It was Mr Bois' observation that about this time, as the college began to rise in buildings, so it declined in learning; which was certainly very true, for the master not long after his coming hither having brought them the agreeable news

of a new court, they were so overjoyed or so overbusied with architecture, that their other studies were intermitted and the noise of axes and hammers disturbed them in their proper business. (Baker 190-191)

The construction of the new court began on October 2, 1598 at an expense of £3400—this would later grow to £3665. Baker claims that the whole affair was “difficult and troublesome” and ended in a lawsuit. However troublesome, the building was completed in 1602, its construction covering nearly the whole time of the writing and performance of the *Parnassus* trilogy (Baker 191-193).

Despite the troubles associated with the building of a new court, St John’s was a wealthy and populous college with an economically diverse student body. By the early 1600s, St John’s had around 300 members, making it the largest college in the university of 1500-2000 members (Costello 7). Though St John’s would later gain a reputation for being a bastion of wealth and privilege, at the time of *Parnassus* its “numerous members who were the sons of noblemen and landed gentry were well balanced by the large number of more humbly born men whose fathers were artisans, farmers, or poor clergy” (Little 92). The *Parnassus* trilogy, especially the *Returne*, reflects this varied state, showing the growing stress that integration with the wealthier students places on the likes of Philomusus and Studioso. As Harbage states in *Shakespeare and the Rival Traditions* (and which Glatzer quotes in her book-length treatment of the *Parnassus* trilogy):

It is impossible to overestimate the effect of a university degree upon an individual’s social attitudes in the period under scrutiny. In earlier times the universities had belonged to relatively humble folk destined for religious orders, and Chaucer’s unassuming Clerk of Oxford was their ideal product; the aristocracy had received their education in the manor house and in the saddle. But in the mid-sixteenth century the nobility and landed gentry had begun sending up their sons, creating at Oxford and Cambridge a privileged and glamorous class. Something like the ‘gold coast’ of our modern universities was

created, with its unsettling effect on the more susceptible of the students from families of lower rank. Confusion in values, and a certain amount of snobbery, are the inevitable products of such a situation. (98)

It is out of this background—students who view their educational privilege as a guarantee to financial privilege (or at least modest success)—that the tension in the plays arises.

Despite the economic stability of St John's for much of its existence, the college had undergone considerable religious turmoil since its founding and would see more in the future. During the Reformation, St John's, like most colleges of the time, underwent severe upheaval, with several waves of ejections. Carter writes that "more Fellows were ejected in Q. *Mary's* Reign, than perhaps from any other Society in either University; so upon their return under Q. *Elizabeth*, they brought back with them the same Principles...and were no where more noted for their Zeal" (247). During the second-half of the sixteenth century, St John's witnessed the surging rise of Puritanism throughout England; however, by the late 1590s Puritanism had been supplanted enough to be harshly satirized in the form of Stupido the Puritan in the *Pilgrimage*. St John's remained a haven for Royalist sentiment until the 1640s, when it underwent Parliamentary purges, which resulted in the ejection of twenty-nine fellows and the master (Little 92).

### **University Drama at St John's**

Almost since its founding, St John's College had a history of dramatic performance, with plays beginning as early as 1521. In 1578-1579, it saw one of the more ambitious performances on a university stage: *Richardus Tertius*—a three-part drama of over

10,000 lines with the same student, John Palmer,<sup>29</sup> playing the central character (Nelson 61). Performances were carried out in the college's main hall, and visitors to St John's today can view the hall mostly as it appeared at the turn of the seventeenth century, though it was expanded in the 1860s. Nelson writes that the "original hall was 29' 6" in width by approximately 60' in length...substantially larger than Queens' College hall" (66). St John's has lengthy records detailing the college's expenditures related to dramatic performances—most are small fees for the set up and tear down of the stage, the purchase of candles,<sup>30</sup> the payment of musicians, and the decoration of the hall (Nelson 66-67). Most intriguing, however, are the payments made for the repairing of glass in the hall in the years 1597-1598 and 1601-1602 (Nelson 67).<sup>31</sup> College records indicate the cause of the window-breaking in 1601: a small-scale riot between the members of St John's and Trinity colleges. That such a disturbance should break out was not unusual for the time of year. Christmas celebrations—of which the *Parnassus* plays were a part—tended to be boisterous affairs, presided over by a Lord of Misrule;<sup>32</sup> the revelries associated with dramas fit into the broader scope of the Christmas

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<sup>29</sup> Matriculated as a pensioner at St John's in 1567; BA 1571-1572; MA 1575; DD 1595. Died June 1607, a prisoner for debt (Venn III, 300). As for his dying in poverty: "The leading actor...later Bishop of Peterborough, is deemed by his enemies to have been spoiled for life by identifying too closely with the title role which he has played with such evident natural ability" (Nelson 61).

<sup>30</sup> "The Pilgrimage to *Pernassus* and the returne from *Pernassus* have stood the honest *Stagekeepers* in many a Crownes expence for linckes [i.e. candles] and vizards" (*Returne* Prologue 32-34).

<sup>31</sup> Records for the mending of glass in other years also exist: "Glass was mended after plays at St John's in 1568-9, 1575-6 (connection with plays uncertain), 1578-9, 1594-5, 1597-8, and 1601-2; stagekeepers are mentioned in the latter year. In 1578-9 and 1594-5 nets were hung over the hall windows, perhaps in a failed attempt to forestall breakage" (Nelson 67).

<sup>32</sup> "All 'persons of worship' including Lieutenants and Sheriffs of counties, and even bishops, appoint a Lord of Misrule to manage the merriment of the Twelve Days. At the inns of court and at the universities, Misrule is usually elected on St Thomas's Day....He then chooses officers for his Court of Misrule such as Marshal, Master of the Game, Constable, and Chief Butler....On each of the twelve days of Christmas, his rule runs from evening until breakfast the next day. His duties consist mainly of presiding over the feasting, games, and dancing. At supper, the courtiers of Misrule are cried in to the hall with silly names like Sir Francis Flatterer, Sir Randall Rakabite of Rascall Hall in the County of Rakehell, Sir Morgan Mumchance, or Sir Bartholomew Balbrech of Buttocksbury" (Secara). Appropriately, in the *Progresse* manuscript, the Sir Raderick character is named Sir Randall.

festivities: “In their performance at Christmas, the plays were part of a larger festive occasion marked by inversion, misrule, small-scale rioting and an institutionalized, carnivalesque holiday ritual of window breaking” (Higbee 95). Depositions<sup>33</sup> show the cause and nature of the fighting, which began in early December:

Chute [of Trinity appeared. It is alleged] that he & abowte twentye more; did beate mr Binlesse<sup>34</sup> into St Iohns Colledge. / Chute [confesses] that he & others did cast stones, and that he himselfe flange none but those *which* were put into his hands by others....[And on the twelfth of February 1601<sup>35</sup>, Chute appeared, and the lord decreed that the said Chute will pay 30 s] towards the repayreinge & amendinge of the glasse windowes broken in St Iohns Colledge, And mr Hill of Trinitye Colledge did *promise* and vndertake that the same xxx s shalbe paid to the effecte aforesaid vppon or before Easter even next comeinge, & did paie 4 s. 2 d. (Nelson 1168/386)

In response to the provocations by the students from Trinity, St John’s students retaliated by breaking the windows in Trinity College<sup>36</sup> as well as challenging the Trinitarians to a fight:

Sir Thomson<sup>37</sup> haveinge a drawn sworde in thone hande & a short Clubbe in thother *without* a visor on his face; abowte .8. of the clocke in the eveninge; dyd come *within* the Barrs or rayles of Trinitye Colledge *within* .6. or .7. paces of or from the Colledge gate there, & said openlye thus or the like in effecte viz. come the prowdest of you oute. (388)

Of particular interest in this altercation is the way in which Sir Thomson appears: as a stagekeeper, thus indicating that at the time of the incident—7 or 8 in the evening—a

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<sup>33</sup> The depositions are in a mixture of English and Latin. Nelson provides translations of the Latin, which, for the ease of understanding I have incorporated into the quotations using [brackets]. The format for the citation is (Vol. 2/Vol. 1).

<sup>34</sup> Peter Byndles? Matriculated as a sizar in St John’s 1584; MA 1592; B.D. 1600 (Venn I, 152).

<sup>35</sup> Until 1752, when England changed to the Gregorian calendar, the new year started on March 25. In modern terms, the fighting began in December of 1601, and the appearance before the court took place in February of 1602.

<sup>36</sup> “daniel Bell [of John’s appeared] accused by mr dr Ratcliffe for breakeinge Trinitye Colledge glasse windowes” (Nelson 378/1169).

<sup>37</sup> Anthony Thompson, matriculated as a pensioner in St John’s c1596; BA 1600-1; MA 1604; fellow 1603 (Venn IV 222).

performance was underway.<sup>38</sup> The fight eventually calmed down and, as witnessed by the college records, was dealt with by the college administration.<sup>39</sup> This incident, unhappy though it was for those involved, provides circumstantial evidence for the prologue of the *Returne*, which mentions the unrest associated with an earlier performance of *Returne*.<sup>40</sup>

In the university drama tradition, plays were mostly written and performed in Latin and featured romantic storylines. That the *Parnassus* trilogy is written in English indicates not only a break from tradition, but also an opening up of the stage to a non-university audience—the *Returne* is *publicly* acted at St John’s.<sup>41</sup> The play’s being open to the public would not be unusual, given the performance of *Club Law* the year before, in which the Cambridge town leaders were invited to watch themselves publicly humiliated on stage. That the play is in English is also an indication that it could reach a wider audience. Despite the play’s vernacular, almost every scene contains Latin references and much of the poetry depends on an extensive knowledge of Greek and Roman sources. Casts were all male, with younger students (who could still be in their mid-teens when they entered Cambridge) taking on female roles.<sup>42</sup> No extant cast list

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<sup>38</sup> “[John Barrie, the second witness, seventeen years of age, deposes] that he knoweth Sir Thomson. / Sir Thomson came as a Stadgekeeper, & as he thinkethe with a scarfe over his face, but he knewe Sir Thomson well by his voyce....And this he saithe was done abowte .8. of the Clocke or between .7. & .8. of ye clocke in ye eveninge” (Nelson 389).

<sup>39</sup> “Mr Hills [of Trinity] promised mr Billingsley & mr Binlesse that the glasse windowes of St Iohns Colledg (*which nowe are broken*), by reason of the last hurlye burley there) shall be amended, with as convenient speede as maye be” (Nelson 390).

<sup>40</sup> See section “Date and Composition of Performance” for the implications of this evidence.

<sup>41</sup> For a wider discussion of academic stage tradition, the use of English, and *Club Law*, see Glazter 21-25, especially her quotation of Thomas Fuller on pg. 24.

<sup>42</sup> The Puritan influence in Cambridge seems to have led to opposition to this practice. A J.O. Halliwell-Phillipps scrapbook of clippings in the Folger Shakespeare Library (W.b. 137) contains the following excerpt from an 1875 critical edition of the works of Ben Jonson: “It appears from Hawkins, that many difficulties were encountered at Cambridge, (which then abounded in Puritans,) in procuring proper persons to act the parts of Surda, Rosabella, &c. solely from the unwillingness of the students to put on a female dress, which, they affirmed, it was unlawful for a man to wear. The worst is, that when women

survives for any of the *Parnassus* plays; however, cast lists do survive for three plays performed in the years directly before the *Pilgrimage: Hispanus* (1596-1597?), *Silvanus* (1596-1597), and *Machiavellus* (1597-1598). All three plays exist in manuscript copies housed in the Bodleian Library. Of the eighteen names listed in the cast for the three plays, eight of the students performed in at least two of the productions, with Francis Rollenson and John Grace appearing in all three [See Appendix III]. The cast lists show a reasonably solid core of actors at St John's,<sup>43</sup> testified to in a letter from Roger Parker to Owen Gwyn in January of 1614 (OS): "The tyme was when St Johns had the best actors and teachers in all the Vniuersitye and I dowbte not but they have as good nowe" (Parker, "Notes" 12).<sup>44</sup> It is not unlikely that some of the students who performed in *Hispanus*, *Silvanus*, or *Machiavellus* also performed in one or more of the *Parnassus* plays. From such a tradition of stage performance and a committed student body, there should have been little trouble finding persons enough to fill the more than twenty rolls called for in the performance of *Returne*.

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appeared in female characters, the objectors were not a jot better satisfied than before" (Cunningham 503). This clipping was placed directly above a cut-out from leaf A2<sup>r</sup> of *Returne*, with the words "Actresses" and "Boys conning parts" written upon it. Knight, too, notes the Puritan influence on Cambridge theater: "Puritan objections to stage-playing, and their own observations of student misconduct, prompted the university authorities to forbid student attendance at plays performed outside the universities. This ban was implemented increasingly forcefully throughout the 1570s and 80s, and remained in force throughout the reign of James....Even if students could not watch professional plays within the towns of Oxford and Cambridge, they were still able to travel to London to the theatre" (Knight 7, 20).

<sup>43</sup> Of the names in the cast list, one could not be traced in Venn (Thomas Wilkington) and another, John Anthonye, appears to come from Magdalene College.

<sup>44</sup> For the full text of the letter, see Appendix II.

## **The Printing of *Returne***

Three texts bear witness to the complex and convoluted printing history of *Returne*.

Two editions were printed in 1606, bearing the same title page, and an undated, though contemporary manuscript survives in the Folger Shakespeare Library. In his editorial commentary, Leishman calls the two editions A and B, with A referring to the edition whose collational formula is A-H<sup>4</sup> I<sup>2</sup> (or easily discernable by the capital I in ‘Iack’ of ‘thou scuruie Iack’ on A2<sup>f</sup>), and B referring to the edition whose collational formula is A-H<sup>4</sup> (featuring a lower-case i in ‘iack’ of the same phrase). For ease of discussion, I will use Leishman’s A and B nomenclature, though keeping in mind that it presupposes a primacy of A over B, lending subconscious weight to Leishman’s assertion that A is the first edition. In order to examine the printing of *Returne* and to determine what kind of relationship, if any, exists between editions A and B, it will help to divide the discussion into three parts: first, an overview of *Returne*’s publication history; second, an analysis of the paper that appears in both editions and finally an examination of *Returne*’s type setting.

### ***Returne* and its Publisher**

The Stationers’ Register entry for October 16, 1605 reads as follows:

John Wright Entred for his copy vnder th[e h]andes of master OWEN GWYN and the wardens An. Enterlude called. *The retourne from Pernassus or the scourge of Simony* pugliquely Acted by the studentes in Sainct Johns College in Cambridg[e]....vj<sup>d</sup>

*Returne* represents one of Wright’s first publishing efforts—he opened shop at Christ Church gate in 1605, in which year he was responsible for only one publication—*The true chronicle history of King Leir, and his three daughters*. According to entry dates in

the Stationers' Register, Wright continued to work in London until 1640, publishing roughly six to eight (known) works a year. In the early years of his publishing business, he worked closely with George Eld, who printed nine of Wright's fourteen ventures for the period 1605-1607—*Returne* is the first witness of their printer/publisher partnership [See Appendix IV]; Eld himself had only begun his printing career in 1604, marrying the widow of printer Richard Read (Jackson, III 58). On June 5, 1606, perhaps shortly after or during the printing of *Returne*, Wright entered another university play into the Stationers' Register—*The tragedie of Caesar and Pompey, or Caesar's Revenge*, "Priuatly acted by the Students of Trinity Colledge in Oxforde", which Eld likewise printed.

In addition to publishing university dramas, a review of entries into the Stationers' Register as well as records in the *STC* show Wright had something of a thirst for Early Modern "true crime" productions. Entering the work into the Stationers' Register on August 12, 1605, Wright wasted little time securing the rights to *The Just Judgement of GOD vppon Cicelie Norrington who vnnaturally murdered her owne children. Executed at Sandwiche 20. Julij 1605* (Arber III, 298). In 1607, *Two horrible and inhumane Murders done in Lincolneshire, by two Husbands vpon their Wiues* appeared in print, complete with a woodcut depicting a man strangling his ailing wife and another man looking on as his wife burns in the fireplace.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> Wright's publishing choices reflected a growing trend in Early Modern society for sensationalist and timely news reporting. A current (September 2008-January 2009) exhibition at the Folger Shakespeare Library entitled "Breaking News: Renaissance Journalism and the Birth of the Newspaper" charts the rise of printed journalism and includes one of Wright's later "true crime" publications.

## ***Returne on Paper***

The extensive analysis and description of paper as bibliographic evidence has now long been in use, starting with Allan Stevenson’s research in the 1950s and 1960s.<sup>46</sup> David Vander Meulen pioneered the description of unwatermarked paper,<sup>47</sup> and now his former student, R. Carter Hailey has shown that paper analysis techniques possess great ability to further our knowledge of hand-press printing and resolve previously perplexing mysteries.<sup>48</sup> The application of these techniques rests on a basic understanding of the papermaking process. Before the advent of machinery in the 1800s, paper was a handmade object created by dipping a mould into a vat of pulp, known as *stuff*. The mould consists of an outer wooden frame with inner supporting ribs, running vertically along the shorter end of the mould. A fine wire mesh covers the mould, allowing water to drain out when removed from the vat of stuff. The mould has two identifiable sets of wires—wirelines, a fine mesh of thin wires that run horizontally across the length of the mould, and chainlines, thicker wires that tie the supporting ribs to the mould. When handmade paper is held up to a light, the imprints of these wires are easily discernible. For purposes of bibliographic research, since the mould itself is a handmade object—no two are exactly alike—the ribs *for each mould* will bear a unique spacing pattern. Since this pattern is reflected in the chainline imprint on the paper, it is possible to measure the spaces between the chainlines in order to create a “fingerprint” for each mould. Moreover, because many moulds of the era bore a sewn-on wire design, creating a watermark, the combination of chainline spaces and watermark form a highly

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<sup>46</sup> Most notably, see “Watermarks are Twins.” *Studies in Bibliography* 4 (1951-52): 57-91.

<sup>47</sup> See “Identification of Paper Without Watermarks” by David Vander Meulen, *Studies in Bibliography* Vol. 37:1984, pg. 58-81.

<sup>48</sup> For Hailey’s application of paper analysis, see his article in *Shakespeare Quarterly* “The Dating Game: New Evidence for the Dates of Q4 *Romeo and Juliet* and Q4 *Hamlet*” Vol. 58 (2007): 367-87.

accurate description of any given mould. When describing paper, however, researchers must keep in mind Allan Stevenson's remark: "Watermarks are twins." The production of paper in the hand-press period was a two-man process involving a *set* of moulds. The *vatman* would dip the first mould into the stuff, give the mould a shake to lock the fibers, and pass the mould to the *koucher* (rhymes with *moocher*), who would hand a second mould to the vatman. While the vatman was dipping the mould, the *koucher* would roll the paper off the mould using a sheet of felt, preparing the mould to be used again. In any given day, a paper-making team would be able to produce 2000 sheets of paper, each mould being dipped around 1000 times. Such constant strain on the moulds led to short lives—rarely more than a year; the sewn-on wires for the watermarks lasted six months (Gaskell 63). Important to the description and identification of paper, then, is the idea that two moulds were in use to form one stock of paper—each sheet of paper has a twin. By looking at multiple copies of a work, it is possible to create a composite model for each mould and to accurately pair one mould with its twin.

Paper analysis has proved a boon to the explication of *Returne's* printing history, showing that A and B are more intimately connected than previously thought. A's gatherings A-F consist of a widely mixed stock of relatively clean paper bearing watermarks with pot and grape designs. No definite pattern can be seen in the watermark distribution, though certain gatherings do have higher instances of certain watermark; B's gatherings B-E consist of paper bearing hand watermarks [See Appendix V].<sup>49</sup> Notable, however, are A's gatherings G-I and B's gatherings A, F-H, all of which are printed upon the same stock of paper—a muddy, unwatermaked paper

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<sup>49</sup> Upon seeing the sharply pointed gloves of the Elizabethan age at Shakespeare's house in Stratford-upon-Avon, I would be tempted to call some of the watermarks gloves rather than hands.

characterized by a darkness in tone, numerous production errors, and an abundance of fine hair. That the two separate editions contain the same paper stock indicates the closeness of their printing and likewise removes any doubts that either A or B bears a false imprint.

### **Printing Order**

The major topic of debate surrounding *Returne* relates to its printing history, specifically its printing order. John Wright and George Eld printed two editions of *Returne* in 1606. Historically, most editors and cataloguers assign the first edition to A and the second edition to B, though a note in Yale 1977 2397 lists dissenting opinion: “It is to be remarked that so competent an authority as Miss Bartlett regards this as the first (see her book, *Mr. William Shakespeare*).”<sup>50</sup> Either assignation, however, does not accurately represent the complicated truth of the *Returne*’s printing. Leishman spends little more than a paragraph on the topic, but concludes that A is the first edition and B the second:

B differs from A, not only in make-up, but in several other particulars, all of which seem to indicate that it is a later edition. The arrangement of the matter on the page is frequently improved by spacing and by the addition of the speaker’s name, where this has been omitted, and there is a general tendency to normalize spelling: e.g., of what are now archaic uses of *y*, *-ie*, and *-ye*, such as ‘scurvie’, ‘payre’, ‘miserye’, ‘prayses’, B (I give the results of a rough count) normalizes 84, retains 70, and introduces 14, making no change after l. 1586 (A, F4<sup>v</sup>; B, F4). With regard to errors, major and minor, it is very much the usual story: B corrects 32, but introduces 28. (11)

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<sup>50</sup> The book referred to is *Mr. William Shakespeare: Original and Early Editions of His Quartos and Folios* by Henrietta C. Bartlett, published in 1922 in New Haven by Yale University Press. Bartlett gives no reasoning for her ordering of editions.

Leishman asserts A's primacy over B based on the normalization of spellings and the improvement of spacing,<sup>51</sup> an unstable foundation at best. As it is, I agree with Leishman's conclusion that A is, in fact, the "first" edition—this will become a muddy term—though for different reasons and, hopefully, with more demonstrable proof. This proof rests in the note Leishman makes—"making no change after l.1586 (A, F4<sup>v</sup>; B, F4)"—the type, it seems, has gone static, which, in fact, it has—almost all of the final gatherings of *both* A and B are printed from the same settings of type. Beginning on (A) G1<sup>r</sup>, the two texts coincide; however, all (A) G2<sup>v</sup>/(B) end-G1<sup>v</sup> to end-G2<sup>r</sup> is a different typesetting. The texts realign at the start of (A) G3<sup>r</sup>/(B) end-G2<sup>r</sup> and continue until the middle of (A) I<sup>r</sup> / (B) start-H4<sup>v</sup>. The following example from (A) G1<sup>v</sup> and (B) G1<sup>r</sup> will suffice to show the same typesettings in both texts:

(A) G1<sup>v</sup>

*Ing.* So ho maister Recorder, you that are one of the Diuels fellow commoners, one that sizeth the Deuils butteries, finnes and periuries very lauishly : one that are so deare to *Lucifer*, that he neuer puts you out of commons for non paiement : you that lie like a summer vpon the finnes of the people : you whose vocation serues to enlarge the territories of Hell, that (but for you) had beene no bigger then a paire of Stockes or a Pillorie : you that hate a scholler, because he descrites your Asses eares : you that are a plague stuffed Cloake-bagge of all iniquitie, which the grand Seruing man of Hell will one day trusse vp behind him, and carry to his smokie Warderobe.

*Recor.* What frantick fellow art thou, that art posselt with the spirit of malediction ?

<sup>51</sup> Though Leishman claims B has superior spacing, B (A-H<sup>4</sup>) has a half-sheet of space less than A (A-H<sup>4</sup> I<sup>2</sup>)

*Ing.* So ho maister Recorder, you that are one of the Diuels fellow commoners, one that sizeth the Deuils butteries, finnes and periuries very lauishly : one that are so deare to *Lucifer*, that he neuer puts you out of commons for non paiment : you that liue like a sunner vpon the finnes of the people : you whose vocation serues to enlarge the territories of Hell, that (but for you) had beene no bigger then a paire of Stockes or a Pillorie : you that hate a scholler, because he deserues your Asses cares : you that are a plague stuffed Cloake-bagge of all iniquitie, which the grand Seruing-man of Hell will one day trulle vp behind him, and carry to his smokie Warde-robe.

*Recor.* What frantick fellow art thou, that art posselt with the spirit of malediction ?

Notice the spaces have been removed from “him , and” in A and changed to “him,and” in order to fit “Warde-robe.” onto one line. Other than this change, notice the similarities of curvature in “one” on the third line, “enlarge” on the sixth line, “fellow art thou ,” on the twelfth line, as well as the misprinting “u” in “lauishly” on the third line.

Once it is clear through typographical evidence that the final gatherings of A and B are in fact the same settings of type, using basic recension techniques favors B as the second edition, as the tide of correction is toward B and away from A. Not including changes in punctuation, which, given the history of punctuation in the era, I term “neutral” changes, there are thirteen corrections in the AB texts. Two differences read correctly in A; eleven differences read correctly in B. For a complete list of differences for (A) G1<sup>r</sup>-H4<sup>v</sup>/(B) F4<sup>v</sup>-H4<sup>f</sup>, see Appendix VI. On two occasions, B corrects A’s mistaken “the” to “they”, first on (A) G4v (ln 14) and then on (A) H1v (ln

9).<sup>52</sup> B also corrects three speech headings and one metrical issue. However, the situation is complicated by one instance in which A contains the correct reading while B's reading is clearly wrong, though I intend to show that this is in fact a case of B purposefully *incorrecting*. On (A)G2<sup>r</sup>/ (B)G1<sup>v</sup>, A reads "*superos, Acheronta mouebo.*"<sup>53</sup> and B reads "*superos, Cheronta mouebo. (credit.*"

A (STC 19309) G2<sup>r</sup>:

*Inge. Nay do not draw, leaft you chance to bepille your  
credit.  
Furor. Flectere si nequeo superos, Acheronta mouebo.  
Fearefull Megara with her snakie twine,*

B (STC 19310) G1<sup>v</sup>:

*Inge. Nay do not draw, leaft you chance to bepille your  
Furor. Flectere si nequeo superos, Cheronta mouebo. (credit.  
Fearefull Megara with her snakie twine.*

From merely a correction standpoint, B's reading would seem wholly in the wrong; however, context must be considered. "(credit." appears on the line because it could not fit in the line above: "Nay do not draw, leaft you chance to bepisse your"—in A, the problem of the dangling "credit" was solved by simply moving it onto a line of its own. However, in B the printer seems to have shortened the line by changing *Acheronta* to *Cheronta* and then tacked on "(credit" in order to gain the extra line. This instance reveals a major factor in almost all of the changes—not necessarily corrections—

<sup>52</sup> The *Pilgrimage* and *Return* scribe had a peculiarity of writing "the" for "they." The presence of this same peculiarity in the A text could indicate the copy from which the compositor was working was either written by the same scribe or by a scribe from the same geographic location. See Leishman's discussion of the scribe's tendencies, pg. 7 of his introduction. Note his assertion that these "peculiarities...recur neither in the MS. nor printed texts of the Second Part of *The Returne from Parnassus*" (7).

<sup>53</sup> *Flectere si nequeo superos, Acheronta movebo*—"If I cannot move heaven, I will raise hell." This phrase appears, among other things, as the epigraph for Freud's *The Interpretation of Dreams*.

between the A and B printings in the final gatherings: space. Not including corrections, there are over thirty differences between the two printings; nearly half—fourteen—all show the printer's intent to save space in the B edition.

The paper and printing evidence leads to a theory of how Eld printed *Returne*. The shared paper stock shows that Eld printed A's gatherings A-F, if not in that order, then at least as a unit, though the regularity of the running title pattern points to a set printing order. He switched paper stocks beginning with the G gathering, and during the printing of the remaining gatherings received word to print a second edition. Attempting to save himself the hassle (and paper) of printing the extra I sheet, after finishing off the sheets for the first edition, he shifted the standing type remaining from the G and H gatherings into their new forms for the second edition. Eld then printed the re-arranged type as gatherings F through H as well as the title page, before switching paper stocks again to finish off the remaining B through E gatherings. That both A and B share the same title page should not be unusual, since Eld seems to have used a standardized format for his title pages in his early works, replacing titles and publication data when needed. Thus the title page would be left standing while the remaining pages of the prologue would be redistributed. This version of events covers all of the known facts related to *Returne*'s printing: the shared stock of paper in the final gatherings; the same, though shifted, settings of type; and B's shortness of a half sheet as compared with A.

### **Variants in the *Returne* Text**

Writing in the Bodleian Library's copy of Malone Q14, Leishman records one variant:

'Malone Q14 I have only discovered one difference between this [text] and that of th other copy of th first edition, Malone 207: on sig. F, l.3 th "comipendum"

of Malone 207 has been corrected to “compendium.” In Malone’s copy of th 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (224,4), Sig. E4<sup>v</sup>, it appears as “compendum”. J.B. Leishman, 27/9/43

*Returne*, on the whole, is a stable text. I found no significant alterations among the nineteen copies that I collated, except for minor corrections in the C gathering of the first edition. For a list of copies collated, see Appendix VII. Much time would have been saved, however, had I first examined the control copy for the second edition. As mentioned in “Reader Response to *Returne: Returne* and its Editors,” the Huntington Library copy 69028, which was scanned for the Early English Books Online project and became my control copy, contained many changes in punctuation that, on the scan, were indistinguishable from letterpress. When I finally examined the copy (the Huntington Library was my last research trip), I discovered that what had appeared to be letterpress was actually pen ink. The re-punctuator of the Huntington copy was active mostly in the D and E gatherings, making changes on B1<sup>r</sup>, D3<sup>v</sup>, D4<sup>v</sup>, E2<sup>r</sup>, E4<sup>r</sup>, E4<sup>v</sup>, and possibly F2<sup>v</sup>. Of the first edition copies, only two exhibited variants. I chose against collating Mal. 207—in which Leishman notes the reading of “comipendum”—since the binding was poor, and I feared the volume would not survive the collation. The Newberry copy, however, exhibits the “comipendum” variant. A table of changes in the first edition copies follows:

Copy	Sig.	Line	Copy Reads	Control Reads
HD 183*	C1 <sup>r</sup>	6	ratp	rapt
HD 183*	C1 <sup>r</sup>	18	on by and night	on day and night
HD 183*	C2 <sup>r</sup>	2	type shift	
HD 183*	C2 <sup>r</sup>	18-19	Theod. A vous...Iaques, ...Burg.	Theo. A vous...Iaques, ...Burgesse.
HD 183*	C2 <sup>v</sup>	5	euery trade yet	euery trade, yet
HD 183*	C2 <sup>v</sup>	12	<i>Mossy</i> [indented]	<i>Mossy</i> [flush left]
HD 183*	C4 <sup>r</sup>	CW	Amor.	Amor. Why
HD 183*	C4 <sup>v</sup>	20	The eryl [damaged type]	The verye
HD 183*	C4 <sup>v</sup>	23	type shift	

Mal. 207	F1 <sup>r</sup>	3	comipendum	compendium
Newberry	F1 <sup>r</sup>	3	comipendum	compendium
Newberry	F1 <sup>r</sup>	33	Phan. Calami	Phan. Calami.

In addition to the corrections listed above, on D2<sup>r</sup>, line 13, some copies read “blow th ” while other copies contained the missing “e”—“blow the”. On E3<sup>r</sup>, line 11, some copies exhibited “t me” instead of “time”, the “i” dropping out or failing to print. Likewise, Folger 19309 copy 2 exhibited some damaged type on I<sup>r</sup>, line 29 “schollers”, with the “er” showing signs of damage.

The second edition copies contain only three alterations, all of them printing errors. The control copy appears to read “show” on D2<sup>v</sup>, line 1, with all other copies reading “shew”, but this may be an inking problem. On F4<sup>v</sup>, line 4, the control reads: “that the ay case” with the other copies supplying the missing letters: “that they may case”. Finally, H1<sup>v</sup> reads: “to the stoole”, though different copies show various degrees of damage to this phrase, some reading “to the o ole” and others reading “to th coole”.

## **“A Critticks Marginall”: Reader Response to *Returne***

### **Buying and Selling *Returne***

Several of the *Returne* copies contain records—from collectors and libraries—regarding the sale and purchase of the play. From penciled-in notes to clippings from sales catalogues, one can track the increasing value of *Returne* as a commercial object.

The Bodleian’s Mal. Q14 contains two penciled-in notes detailing its sales history. The first note (on the inside front cover) gives a date of June, 1870, listing the price paid at £4.10.0. The second, undated and on the leaf opposite the title page, reads: “This formerly belonged to Crawford and sold at his auction in 1852 for £3.12.0 afterwards at £4.15.0. Now worth £7.7.0”. A note in Harvard’s copy (14434.76.182\*) confirms the price: “Crawford’s copy (the last sold) fetched £3.12.0”. The Folger Shakespeare Library’s copy of the second edition (Folger STC 19310) bears a comparable price, containing a clipping setting its value at £6 0 0, though it is unaccompanied by any date.

A brief mention should be made of the manuscript of *Returne* housed at the Folger, for it contains a notable record of purchase from J.O. Halliwell-Phillipps, the avid collector. He purchased the manuscript on June 20, 1883 at the Towneley sale (the manuscript contains the bookplate of Joannis Towneley de Towneley). According to his hand-written note, he commissioned his agent to bid up to “fourty guineas” for the manuscript, but “no one at [the] sale understood its value”, and he was able to purchase the manuscript for £7.15.0.

The Ashley copy in the British Library (Ashley 2302) contains some of the more perplexing pricing information, as the information is divorced from the copy to which it

refers. The Ashley copy is a remarkable *unbound* and uncut copy of the first edition, whose slipcase bears the book plate of Thomas James Wise, the infamous bookseller and forger.<sup>54</sup> Inside the slipcase are two loose cuts from catalogues, the first referring to a copy bound in red morocco by Rivière (possibly Beinecke copy 1977 2397). The second cutting, much smaller, refers to a copy in “full polished morocco, double gold lines on sides, inside gold dentelles, OF THE GREATEST RARITY. £310 0 0”. Though these clippings do not match the Ashley copy (nor, for that matter, any other of the British Library copies of *Returne*), notes in other copies refer to the Ashley copy. A pencil note in Harvard’s second edition (14434.76.182\*) remarks on the presence of “An uncut copy at Sothebys [apx] 1904 £106”. Another pencil note in the copy in the Chapin Library at Williams College (Williams STC 19309 Vault) gives the same information: “Excessively rare. A uncut copy sold for £106”. The information appears again in the Elizabethan Club’s copy (Eliz 159): “Excessively rare an uncut copy sold by auction for £106”. All this is to say that the Ashley copy, the only uncut copy I know of, most likely sold at auction in 1904 for £106. This price, however, shows a substantial increase in price from previous sales (perhaps why so many notes in other copies remark on its sale). Indeed, not two years earlier, *Book-Prices Current* for October 1901 to July 1902 lists the sale of an unbound copy of *Returne* for £31 (Jaggard 596).

The increase in price continues in the post-1900 years. The St John’s copy (AA.6.69) contains a note on the recto of the front free endpaper: “Sold at Hodgson’s,

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<sup>54</sup> His bookplate reads, ironically: ‘BOOKS BRING ME FRIENDS | WHER’ER ON EARTH I BE, | SOLACE OF SOLITVDE | BONDS OF SOCIETY!’ In a personal interview, Nicholas Barker (who continued the investigation into the Wise forgeries in *A Sequel to an Enquiry into the Nature of Certain 19<sup>th</sup> Century Pamphlets*) notes that Wise had a history of buying multiple copies of a work, keeping the best, and selling the others.

London, lot 452, sale 28 February—1 March 1946. ‘The Property of a Lady’. Bought by Blackwell, Oxford, £100.0.0, and from them by me, 25 March 1946. H.G.” Finally, of the copies containing pricing information, the Beinecke’s copy (1977 2397) stands out in terms of expense. On two small, folded sheets tucked inside the volume is a type-written description of the play and the price for this copy: “\$1750.00”.

The information regarding year and pricing is summarized in the chart below, sorted by year (then by price, if year is unknown):

<b>COPY</b>	<b>YEAR</b>	<b>PRICE</b>
Bod. Mal. Q14	1852	£3.12.0
Bod. Mal. Q14	1870	£4.10.0
Folger STC 19310	Unknown	£6 0 0
Folger V.a.355 (MS)	1883	£7.15.0
HEH 69028	Unknown	£8.10
BL Ashley 2302?	1901/2	£31.0.0
HD 14434.76.183*	1904	\$100
BL Ashley 2302?	1904	£106.0.0
Unknown	1907	£7 <sup>55</sup>
Unknown	1912	\$22.50 <sup>56</sup>
Unknown	1922	£210 <sup>57</sup>
Yale 1977 2397?	1922	£250
StJ AA.6.69	1946	£100.0.0
Unknown	Unknown	£310.0.0
Yale 1977 2397	Unknown	\$1750.00

Though the sample group is small, and drawing any firm conclusions would be inadvisable, one may note that *Returne*’s price as a collector’s object has been erratic, though generally curving upward in the space of little under a hundred years (1852-1946). If J.O. Halliwell-Phillipps’s estimation of the true worth of the manuscript can be taken into account, then he was certainly decades ahead of his time, as *Returne* prices

<sup>55</sup> This copy (“title mended and some leaves stained”) appears in *Book Prices Current XXI* from a June 14, 1907 sale of Percy Fitzgerald’s library (Jaggard 618).

<sup>56</sup> From the Hoe sale on November 11, 1912. This copy in levant morocco contains a “small worm-hole through last 3 leaves” (Livingston 557).

<sup>57</sup> The two copies from 1922 (both second editions) appear in a high-end sale catalogue from the Bernard Quaritch firm, which reprints the *Returne* title page. In addition to offering two copies of *Returne*, the catalogue contains two complete sets of the Shakespeare folios, priced at £17,500 and £5,250.

stayed under £10 for nearly half a century. Curious, then, are the comparatively low prices in 1907 and 1912, as well as the £100 paid for the St John's copy, which seems out of place after Quaritch demands over £200 in 1922. Copy condition as well as the manner in which copies were sold (for example, by lot in a large estate sale) could have influenced the price.

### ***Returne as Personal Property***

Of the copies examined, four contain contemporary hand-written inscriptions. Three (Bodleian Mal. Q14, CUL Syn.7.60.215, and Harvard 14434.76.182\*) contain only signatures (though Bodleian Mal. Q14 contains two different signatures), while Folger STC 19310 contains a gift inscription. In the Bodleian Mal. Q14 copy, the title page contains the signature of "Samuell Stillingfleete"; the final page, under "FINIS" contains the signature of "Thomas | Thomas lovedaye" (with "lovedaye" possibly being "loredaye" or "foredaye"). *Alumni Cantabrigienses* has no record of a Thomas Loveday(e), though others with the same last name have been recorded. Thomas Loveday(e)s appear throughout the national archives of England.

Samuell Stillingfleete presents a more promising lead. *Alumni Cantabrigienses* does not record a Samuel Stillingfleete attending Cambridge; however, three entries appear in which sons of Samuel Stillingfleete are named—George (baptized 1635), John (baptized 1631) and Edward (baptized 1635). Edward—the seventh son—after attending St John's (admitted at age fifteen) went on to an illustrious career in the clergy (Venn, III 163). Ambrose Heal, in the June 8, 1940 issue of *Notes & Queries*, inquires about Stillingfleete:

Samuel Stillingfleete.—Information is sought as to the calling followed by Samuel Stillingfleete. His trade-card fails to give any indication of the kind of business he was engaged in. The inscription reads:

Samuel Stillingfleete at the signe of the Sampson and Lyon in the Strand over against the new exchange. But now at the same signe in St. Jameses market.

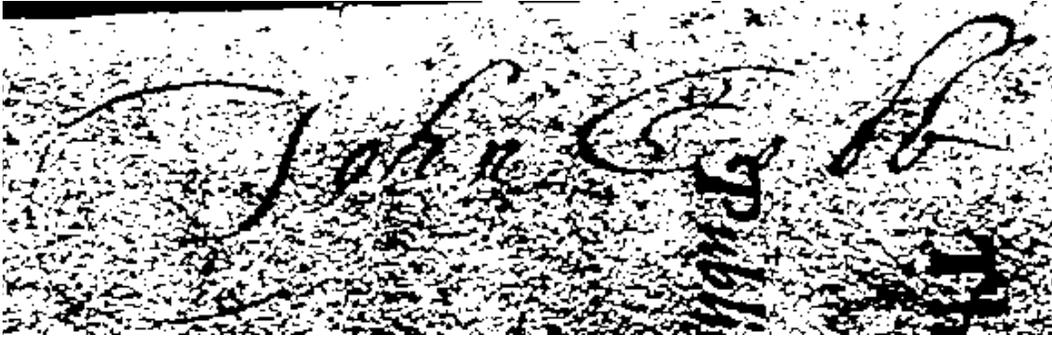
The engraving of his shop-sign represents Samson rending the lion. The style of the trade-card suggests a date of about the year 1700—possibly a little earlier. There has been an idea that Samuel Stillingfleete was a bookseller, but I have failed to trace him in Arber's 'Term Catalogues,' in Plomer's 'Dictionaries of Booksellers and Printers' or in any other records of booksellers' imprints available to me. It is perhaps just worth noting that the father of Edward Stillingfleet, Bishop of Worcester (1689-1699), was named Samuel Stillingfleet (407).

P.E. Jones replied to the query in the July 13 issue of the same year:

Samuel Stillingfleete (clxxviii 407).—According to the Poll Tax returns of 1692 Samuell Stillingfleet, widower, was living in the parish of St. Alphage in the house of John Bushell, attorney. As a lodger he appears without a trade. In 1695 he was assessed originally as having an estate of over £600, but this was deleted and he paid the normal rates as a widower between 1695 and 1698. As only half a year was received from him for 1698/9 it appears he left the parish (or died) towards the end of 1698 (the taxing year was from May—May). (33)

A Stillingfleete referred to as a gentleman appears in the English national archives in the 1740s—perhaps the grandson of the Samuel who fathered George, John, and Edward.

The third single signature is that of John Cobb, appearing on the title page of the Cambridge University Library copy (Syn.7.60.215). The signature appears perpendicular to the text, running up the left hand side of the page. Though the image is grainy, one can view the signature on the EEBO scan of the second edition of *Returne*, in which gatherings A through D are reproduced. *Alumni Cantabrigienses* contains three records of a John Cobb(e) attending Cambridge, though nothing of sufficient evidence to link the signature on the CUL's copy of *Returne* to one of these men.



The final signature reads “Phil Moyot” (or possibly “Moyol”), about whom I am unable to find any information.

Of the pre-1800 inscriptions, only one includes more than a simple signature. The Folger Shakespeare Library’s copy of the second edition of *Returne* (STC 19310) bears the following under “*Cambridge*” on the title page: “To my Lovinge Smallocke J:D:” An 1866 article by Bolton Corney in *Notes and Queries* mentions the inscription and conjectures that the “J:D:” are the initials of the English dramatist John Day (387). He supports his conjecture with three arguments: that John Day went to Cambridge; that a play known to have been written by Day (*The Travailes of the Three English Brothers*—STC 6417) was printed by George Eld for John Wright in 1607, the year after *Returne*; and that the signature, “with due allowance for the difference between a running hand and a formal address,” matches other known Day signatures (387). This article from *N&Q* has since been pasted onto the inside front cover of Folger STC 19310. Corney’s assertion winds its way through the stream of *Returne* editorial discourse, with William Henry Oliphant Smeaton using the “J:D:” to support his own claims of Day’s authorship in his 1905 edition (Smeaton xxx). Smeaton goes so far as to place a picture of Caius College, Cambridge—the college Day attended—at the front of his edition. The hype about this particular inscription and its import as to the authorship

of the plays meets an ignoble end, however, in Leishman's pert dismissal: "Bullen, in the Introduction to his edition of Day's works, shows the manifest absurdity of all the steps in this hypothesis" (33).

Whether or not Day authored *Returne* remains to be discovered; though this is not my field of expertise, the inscription in Folger STC 19310 matches (or appears to match) other Day signatures.<sup>58</sup> The most that can be concluded from this fact—if it is true in the first place—is simply that John Day at one point owned a copy of *Returne* and inscribed the copy to his (presumed) friend Smallocke. That being said, I can find nothing about this "Smallocke" to whom the book is inscribed. No Smallocke (nor the spelling variants Smallock or Smollock) attended Cambridge during the period 1500-1752 (the range of the first part of *Alumni Cantabrigienses*) nor did anyone with that name attend Oxford for roughly the same period. Thus the mystery of JD will remain so, and we can confidently say no more than that someone with the initials JD gifted a copy of this quarto—an interesting note in and of itself that a play quarto could serve as a gift.

### ***Returne* and its Bindings**

As a symbol of each copy's value, owners throughout the years have bound their copies in simple but luxuriant bindings. A piece of paper in Ashley 2302 records a copy in "*red morocco, inside border, g.e. by Rivière*". Another sheet of paper inside Beinecke copy 1977 2397 describes the copy as "*crimson levant morocco, gilt edges, by Riviere*." Robert Riviere was a famous bookbinder in London whose firm operated from around 1840 until 1939. Catering to high-end collectors, the Riviere Bindery (later Riviere and Son) made a name for itself through its "excellent workmanship" and "good taste"

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<sup>58</sup> I compared the inscription in Folger STC 19310 with Folger W.a. 124, which contains color photographs of Day's signatures on folios 29, 31, and 82.

(Fletcher). Of the copies examined, nineteen were individually bound, two were bound in volumes with other plays, and one copy (British Library copy Ashley 2302) remained unbound. The bindings of the singly bound copies exhibit the high value placed on the text as an object, most being covered in green or red morocco with simple gold tooling and stamping. A few featured 1/4 leather spines with marbled boards. The two copies in volumes were bound in standard brown leather bindings. See Appendix VIII: A Census and Description of Copies for detailed binding information.

### ***Returne in the Library***

One of the more amusing notes appears in Malone Q14—an anxious librarian writes in pencil, running sideways up the page: “Not to be disposed of as a Duplicate”. Copies of *Returne* began entering school or public libraries as early as 1800, with Eton College Library’s acquisition of its second edition copy. Many copies, however, shifted from private to public (or semi-public) ownership beginning in the early 1900s, when many large collections were broken up and purchased by wealthy collectors (Huntington, Folger, etc.). Their private libraries opened to scholars in the 1920s and 1930s. All of the *Returne* copies examined were held in public-access libraries, though the online ESTC does list a copy (or possibly copies) in private collection(s).

In the Folger 19309 copy 1, a square label entitled “Record of Exhibition” records this copy’s participation in an exhibition from April 11, 1985 to October 28, 1985. For the exhibition, the copy was opened to G3v and G4r, the end of Act IV, in which Burbage and Kempe appear. A similar label appears in the Folger’s manuscript copy of *Progresse*, showing two records of exhibition for October 4, 1979 to September 6, 1982 and February 6, 2002 to June 10, 2002. In both instances, the Folger exhibited

the manuscript on folio 22, which likewise contains the Burbage and Kempe characters and the “Now is the winter of our discontent” quotation from Shakespeare’s *Richard III*.

Elaborating on the use of *Returne* in one of the Folger Shakespeare Library’s exhibitions, Georgianna Ziegler, the Head of Reference at the Folger, writes:

[The exhibition in which *Returne* appeared] was on the Kemble Family of actors, and the topic of that particular case was “King Richard III on the Stage: The Early Years.” There is no large catalog [for the exhibition], merely a small brochure with summaries of the various cases. For this one it says:

King Richard III On The Stage

“The year 1985 marks the 500th anniversary of the Battle of Bosworth Field, in which the brief reign of King Richard III came to its violent end. Theatre-goers through the years have witnessed two popular versions of Richard’s rise and fall. These versions are represented by the first edition of William Shakespeare’s play printed in 1597 [displayed here] and by the 1700 first edition of Colley Cibber’s adaptation of Shakespeare’s text [also displayed here]. In addition, engravings and caricatures depict the following illustrious actors who portrayed King Richard III from the mid-1590’s until 1850: Richard Burbage, David Garrick, J.P. Kemble, George Frederick Cooke, Edmund Kean, and Junius Brutus Booth. Case 11 [this case] contains a copy of the First Folio printed in 1623, the first collected edition of Shakespeare’s dramatic works.”

The Folger’s use of this section of *Returne* reflects the great interest of many readers.

Many copies contain marks in the margins or underlining for the Kempe/Burbage audition scene (4.4). Likewise, several copies contain notes in the preliminary pages regarding the play’s references to Shakespeare.

### ***Returne* and its Editors**

In addition to the many areas already discussed, by far the most interactive way in which readers have engaged the text of *Returne* lies in editorial commentary and correction. Some readers, such as in Harvard 14434.76.182\*, made only nine emendations, all of them in the B gathering. Conversely, the Malone copy at the Bodleian (Malone 207) features some thirty notes and corrections spanning the entirety

of the play. At one point, the owner of Huntington 128960 cut the leaves of the play apart and pasted the loose leaves into empty paper frames, creating large margins around the text. The owner then copied into the margin notes from *A Select Collection of Old English Plays* by Robert Dodsley, edited in 1874 by W. Carew Hazlitt, in which *Returne* appears. Appendix IX contains transcriptions of some of the lengthier marginalia, including that found in Huntington 128960.

The way in which readers made corrections likewise differs from copy to copy. Some readers prefer to make their changes directly into the text—marking out words and re-punctuating as they see fit. Huntington 69028—a second edition copy—exemplifies the troubles with electronic imaging of texts. This copy serves as the Early English Books Online (EEBO) scan of the second edition (Huntington 69112 is the EEBO copy of the first edition). At some point, a previous owner of this copy of *Returne* selectively re-punctuated certain passages, changing commas into semicolons and periods into commas. Because the “editor” made changes using ink, the marks appear as printed matter in the EEBO scans. When compared with other copies, it appears as if Huntington 69028 contains a variant state of punctuation; however, upon examination of the actual object, the true nature of the “variants” is readily apparent.

In addition to this type of “direct” editing—marking the text as it appears on the page—editors and readers also make notes at the front of copies explaining textual matters, conjecturing dates, or pointing out key passages. The lengthiest note on dating appears in *Mal. 207*, in which the author attempts to set limits on the date of the play:

The time when this play was written and probably presented, is very nearly ascertained by two passages in it. In Act iv. sc. 1. Sir Rad. says, --your land is forfeited, and for me not to take the forfeiture were to break the Queenes law. In Act ii. sc. 3, we have “[he’s as glad as if he] had taken Ostend.” In Act iv. sc. 2.

the same person <sup>^(Sir Rad.)</sup> says—“What have we her[e]?—three begging soldiers. Come you from Ostend or from Ireland [?]” The Siege <sup>^wch was</sup> of Ostend <sup>^(the h??d of the ?)</sup> began June 25, 1601, and ended Sep. 10. 1604.—The play therefore certainly written between June 25, 1601 and March 26, 1602-3, when the Queen died.

Other front-end notes concern the appearance of Shakespeare’s name in *Returne*. Both Eliz. 159 and Chapin 19309 contain the same hand-written note copied (though not faithfully) from *The Hawkins Library* (1887), a catalogue of books to be sold from the library of General Rush Christopher Hawkins:

On page 10.50.52 are allusions to Shakespeare and quotations from his works. This play was evidently written by a strong friend of the great Poet and a pronounced hater of Ben Johnson. Though this work has no literary merit, it is nevertheless, worthy of [respect], if for no other reason, than that its author, was one of the first who discovered and recorded an appreciation of the supreme grandeur of Shakespeare’s poetry. R.C.H.<sup>59</sup>

Almost all of the notes mentioning Shakespeare assume *Returne* highly values Shakespeare and his work, perhaps wishing to see the estimation of their own time reflected in the estimations of Shakespeare’s contemporaries.<sup>60</sup> Stated directly in this quotation, too, is the belief that *Returne* has value *only* because of its allusions to Shakespeare and other dramatists. By underlining, marking, and even indexing<sup>61</sup> *Returne*’s references to Early Modern playwrights and play actors, readers have

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<sup>59</sup> *The Hawkins Library* catalogue was published by Leavitt & Co. in New York in 1887. The quotation above appears as a hand-written note in the Eliz. 159 copy. The Chapin copy contains the following variant: “The Poets of the time are treated with much severity in this play. Contains allusions to Shakespeare & quotation[s] from his works, & was evidently written by a strong friend of Shakespeare & a pronounced hater of Ben Jonson. The author was one of the first who discovered & appreciated the supreme grandeur of Shakespeare’s Poetry.”

<sup>60</sup> *Returne* presents, at best, an ambiguous stance on Shakespeare. *Judicio*’s censure is as follows: “Who loves [not] *Adonis* love, or *Lucre*’s rape? / His sweeter verse contains hart-[throbbinge] life, / Could but a graver subject him content, / Without love’s [lazy] foolish languishment” (1.2.165-168). The conditional praise, combined with the scholars’ later disgust with Burbage, Kempe, and *Richard III*, reveal that the late Victorians read much of their own admiration into the *Returne* text.

<sup>61</sup> The copy of *Returne* at the Victoria and Albert Museum (which I did not examine, but saw a scan of), contains an index to various phrases used throughout the play in addition to brief glosses to the Shakespeare passages. CUL Syn.7.60.215 contains a hand-written index focusing solely on the dramatists and actors appearing in the text.

managed to construct an interpretation of *Returne* that rests on its allusions outside of itself. Categorical denials of *Returne*'s literary merits—such as the one appearing in the Hawkins quotation—have contributed to the view that *Returne* exists as a collector's item rather than as a meaningful literary creation.

Though most editing of *Returne* involves corrections and underlining, in the Eton College Library's copy (STR 170) a different kind of editing—censorship—appears. The Eton College Library's copy of the second edition is bound into a volume with four other plays entitled "Plays XIII" and bequeathed to the College in 1800. The copy features extensive underlining in ink as well as multiple examples of words crossed out and replaced. Instances of the phrase "good faith" and "faith" have been inked out, such as on D1<sup>r,v</sup>. On E3<sup>v</sup> "A pox" and "plague" have been inked over and "out^" placed in its stead. In the phrase "Or by this light, Ile" on E4<sup>v</sup>, "this light" has been crossed out and "elfe^" inserted. In Prodigio's speech on F2<sup>v</sup>, instances of "pox" and "plague" have been replaced with "out^". In this instance, we see changing social mores in regard to oaths and swearing. Apparently the censor found even the mild oaths related to religion too strong to be retained.

A final note in Mal. Q14 shows *Returne* in the process of becoming a modern edition. J.B. Leishman, the editor of the 1949 edition of the *Parnassus* trilogy, writes:

Malone Q14 I have only discovered one difference between this [text] and that of the other copy of the first edition, Malone 207: on sig. F, l.3 the "comipendum" of Malone 207 has been corrected to "compendium." In Malone's copy of the 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (224,4), Sig. E4<sup>v</sup>, it appears as "compendum". J.B. Leishman, 27/9/43

Leishman must have discovered this information from his own word-by-word collation of the copies, a painstaking process. His textual notes would first appear in *The Review*

of *English Studies* as an article entitled “The Text of the Parnassus Plays.” This article would later morph into part of his introduction to *The Three Parnassus Plays*.

## **The Economies of *Returne***

Having examined the *Returne* as an object of economic value and how its readers have handled, used, and occasionally abused their copies, I would now like to examine the economic systems *internal* to the play, that is, explicate how the characters within the play handle their economic situations and how the Cambridge playwright(s) and audience view the world around them. *Returne* is ripe for such explication, as its critical fields have lain fallow for so long. Indeed, Paula Glatzer—the only author of any significant published work on the *Parnassus* trilogy as a literary text—notes how even Leishman focuses almost exclusively in his annotations on the textual problems of the plays and not on their literary merits.<sup>62</sup> Important, too, is to flesh out meaning in *Returne* apart from its value as an allusive object. In so doing, I intend to focus on one particular theme throughout *Returne* and to show how the economic relationships within the play exemplify larger tensions within Early Modern society.

*The Returne from Parnassus*, though obscure and over 400 years old, is hardly out of date. The problem that its scholars face—unemployment upon graduation—still plagues university graduates today. Indeed, one of *Returne*’s great contributions to university drama (or drama of the university) is to explore how the university itself contributes to the scholars’ trials, creating a distance between themselves and their

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<sup>62</sup> “Leishman was not basically concerned with literary analysis. As a pioneer, his primary task was the editing of the text, followed by a presentation of the historical background, including identification of topical allusions. These demands for attention to external matters are especially heavy in *The Second Return*, with its two contemporary texts and its wealth of historical material. As a result, Leishman’s notes to the play are almost exclusively textual and historical; he offers virtually no critical commentary on *The Second Return*” (Glatzer 172).

fellow citizens. To the scholars, their experience at Cambridge is similar to a baptism or a metamorphosis, creating an entirely new creature with new ideas, prejudices, and tastes. The scholars buy into the university economy—its reliance on words and wit and classicism—at the expense of conventional relations with the rest of the world, the vast majority of which was illiterate. We must keep in mind the gross disparity between the collegiate play actors and the society in which they lived. This tiny percentage of the population have read—in the original languages—the best of Western thought; conversely, much of the population around them scratches Xs for names,<sup>63</sup> exemplifying the tension between those who are still aural learners—those who learn by listening, and those who learn visually—by reading. *Returne* probes the scholars’ social positioning in context of a wider society—Sir Raderick and Amoretto reflect the wealthy, landed upper class; the Recorder shows the thoughts and attitudes of the learned, though not scholarly, class; the Pages represent the bottom of the social sphere, servants to the wealthy. From their education, the scholars feel themselves entitled to a place in the social stratum, as advisers, poets, and free artists to the wealthy class. Upon realizing their university educations do not guarantee them positions of prestige, the scholars’ disillusionment is extreme.<sup>64</sup> Ingenioso, with the aid of the literal embodiment of his poetic imaginings—Furor Poeticus and Phantasma<sup>65</sup>—carries out the “scourge”

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<sup>63</sup> The parish register for Earnley *cum* Allmodington, 1625, where Edmund Rishton, a St John’s graduate, was rector:

Robert R Stokes his marke

William X Warners marke Churchwardens

<sup>64</sup> “The central character type [the melancholy academic] of the period is a discontented young man who is disgusted by the world, and shuns academic withdrawal, because his institutional experience has so sharply disappointed him” (Knight 111).

<sup>65</sup> “As we saw in *Pedantius* and *Love’s Labour’s Lost*, well-worn Latin citations—the kind that were copied into common-place books and inserted into *florilegia*—always betoken a character’s lack of inventiveness. It is typical of the cynicism of *The Second Part of the Return* that a figure that conventionally symbolized imaginative force can only quote Latin tags” (Knight 138).

of the play's subtitle against Sir Raderick, Amoretto, and the Recorder. The scourge takes the shape of a hail of words—the only way in which the scholars know how to attack. Yet *Returne* remains ambiguous about the effectiveness of the scholars' chosen method; their attempts at revenge are “impotent” and “powerless” (Higbee 128). In its satire of characters in the play, *Returne* presents a bitter, though not entirely defeatist, view of the world outside the university as well as a tenuous rejection of the scholars' chosen economy of words.

*The Returne from Pernassus* concerns itself with “Schollers fortunes twice forlorne and dead,” a melancholy opening to a play filled with harsh satire, scorn, and desperation. Philomusus and Studioso have returned to England from an unsuccessful trip abroad only to find themselves in equally dire straits at home. Their eagerness and innocence of journey found in the *Pilgrimage* have been replaced with hardship and cries of woe, so much so that the scholars come across as flat, their long lamentations adding a refrain to an otherwise narratively disjointed dramatic structure—their bemoanings a constancy amidst the frantic stage action:

Yet now we find by bought experience  
That where so ere we wander up and downe,  
On the round shoulders of this massy world,  
Or our ill fortunes, or the world's ill eye,  
Forespeak[s] our good, procures our misery. (1.4.17-21)

Neither “Rome or Rhems” or London can offer them protection from ill fortune and misery. Their economic situation throughout the entire play will not improve: they will cheat only to be cheated. Every indication in the play shows that Cambridge itself—the place of learning and the arts—has wrought the scholars' undoing. Cambridge has separated them from their class with little hope of finding them a place in a new societal

sphere. The scholars have eaten from the fruit of the tree of knowledge, and now they cannot be content to return home, nor are they content to stay where they are. They have bought into a new system where merit earned is merit of the mind. The ability to use and manipulate words—in English, Latin, and Greek—becomes the currency of this system, conferring upon its holders prestige and credibility. In the university system, the university man—his knowledge and education—is king. Outside of the university, however, his skills are maligned and undervalued (and perhaps, the play might argue, valueless). Cambridge has taught the scholars not only how to think, but *what* to think. In one of the strongest ironies of the *Returne*, Philomusus and Studioso refuse to join the “common” trade of acting, even though Philomusus and Studioso are themselves being portrayed by actors at a university. The play’s extensive knowledge of the London theatre likewise belies its own tension between what it declares to be good—i.e. university poetry and art—and what it finds compelling—i.e. popular drama and literature. The scholars’ attitude toward the popular stage shows their own inability to reconcile their university economy with the rest of the world’s.<sup>66</sup>

In the audition scene with Burbage and Kempe (4.4), the two most famous actors of the Elizabethan stage,<sup>67</sup> the scholars’ university-taught prejudice plays a central role. The actors’ choice of *The Spanish Tragedy* and *Richard III* for audition materials marks them as lowbrow. From the distance of modernity, it is hard for us to imagine the contempt involved in this scene, but if the harshness with which Gullio is

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<sup>66</sup> “This clownish epilogue [to *Pilgrimage*] serves to point to the great irony of university training: students were well trained to be dramatists and perhaps even players for the public stage, but they were equally well trained to view these occupations as clownish, beneath their dignity” (Higbee 111).

<sup>67</sup> “For honours, who of more report, then *Dick Burbage* and *Will Kempe*? He is not counted a Gentleman that knowes not *Dick Burbage* and *Wil Kempe*” (4.4.16-18).

criticized for his slavish devotion to Shakespeare is any indication (in *Return*),<sup>68</sup> Burbage's and Kempe's association with *The Spanish Tragedy* and *Richard III* is less than flattering. As Glatzer notes, "That these plays were the best of their kind did not prohibit negative criticism; on the contrary, their box-office popularity and their artistic success made them even more vulnerable. In 1600, it was decidedly fashionable, in sophisticated theatrical circles, to ridicule *The Spanish Tragedy*" (292). Immediately after Kempe and Burbage leave the stage, Philomusus declares, reflecting his sophisticated prejudice:

And must the basest trade yeeld us reliefe?  
 Must we be practis'd to those leaden spouts  
 That nought [do] vent but what they do receive?  
 Some fatall fire hath scorcht our fortune's wing,  
 And still we fall, as we do upward spring. (4.4.63-66)

He charges the "basest trade" with being nothing more than an exercise in mimicry. Yet the scholars do not escape unscathed, either. Kempe makes a valid point when enticing the scholars to join the acting trade: "It is not better to make a foole of the world as I have done, then to be fooled of the world, as you scholars are?" (4.4.13-14). Kempe sees the scholars' pursuit as futile and misinformed: the scholars are fighting a contradictory, and thus losing, battle: they seek money to survive, while simultaneously eschewing the means whereby to gain it. Ultimately, unable to bear the disgrace of the lowly acting trade, Philomusus and Studioso decide to join a band of fiddlers: "Better it is mongst fidlers to be chiefe, / Then at plaiers' trencher beg reliefe" (5.1.7-8), prefiguring a more underworldly rendition of this same sentiment by some sixty years.

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<sup>68</sup> Ingenioso commenting on Gullio in *Return*: "Why, who coulde endure this post put into a satin sute, this haberdasher of lyes, this Bracchidochio, this Ladye munger, this meere rapier and dagger, this cringer, this foretop, but a man that's ordained to miserie? Well madame Pecunia, onc more for thy sake will I waite on this truncke, and with soothinge him vpp in time will leaue him a greater foole than I founde him" (Leishman, ln 1211-1217).

Though the scholars direct their contempt at Kempe and Burbage, the real vitriol of *Returne* is reserved for Sir Raderick, his son Amoretto, and the Recorder. The scholars speak from a position of youth, with all its incumbent expectation and idealism. Having put faith in their learning and their intellects, they expect a return—and their claims seem legitimate and sympathetic, though perhaps naive. If anything, they suffer from the same disease that many university graduates of the modern era suffer from—an expectation of immediate success. The crass commercialism of buying a living comes as a shock to Academico, an idealist. He feels a just claim to the living because he is most qualified for it:

Academico: Faine would I have a living, if I could tell how to come by it.

Echo: Buy it.

Academico: Buy i[t], fond Eccho? Why, thou dost greatly mistake it.

Echo: Stake it.

Academico: Stake it? What shall I stake at this game of Simony?

Echo: Money

Academico: What, is the world a game, are livings gotten by playing?

Echo: Paying.

Academico: Paying? But say, what's the nearest way to come by a living?

Echo: Giving....

Academico: Yet for all this, with a peniles [=penniless] purse will I trudge to his worship.

Echo: Words cheape. (2.2.3-38)

In this clever scene, the Echo twists Academico's words, encouraging him to join the "game of Simony" with a financial stake. Academico ultimately rejects the Echo's suggestions, promising to "trudge to his worship" even though he has a "peniles purse." The Echo, too, has no faith in this scholar's choice of mind over matter, twisting "worship" into its final commentary: "Words cheape." With idealism shattered and no money to speak of, Academico—and later Ingenioso—can do nothing but employ mockery and satire against their foes. The scourge scene features a bombast of spleen,

with Sir Raderick and company ridiculed for their manners, their learning, and—most of all—their attitude toward the scholars. In this mockery, the play becomes edgy, even socially dangerous in the enclosed context of the college. Sir Raderick is a nobleman, and Amoretto is a nobleman’s son, stupid and condescending toward learning.

Cambridge must have been teeming with such figures, who might have seen themselves portrayed in the lewdness and stupidity of Amoretto (though if the character of Amoretto is any indication, they would have been too obtuse to notice).<sup>69</sup>

The scourge opens with Ingenioso’s charge to Furor to “fire the Touch-box of your witte” (4.2.8); Furor’s initial volley elicits almost no response from Sir Raderick: “Why, will this fellowe’s English breake the Queene’s peace? I will not seeme to regard him” (4.2.21-22). Amidst this rain of words, Amoretto and the Recorder carry on a complicated conversation related to inheritance law—more than one hundred lines go by before Amoretto takes any notice of his abuser. Once he is engaged in conversation, he fights back with snide remarks of his own: “Maister Recorder, is it not a shame that a gallant cannot walke the streete quietly for needy fellowes, and that, after there is a statute come out against begging?” (4.2.121-123).<sup>70</sup> The thrust of the attack then falls on the Recorder, whom Ingenioso describes as “a plague-stuffed Cloake-bagge of all iniquitie” (4.2.135). As the attack escalates, Amoretto asks, “Father, shall I draw” only

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<sup>69</sup> Publicly mocking fellow college-mates did not seem to be taboo. In 1600, Robert Allott edited a volume entitled *Englands Parnassus, or, The choysrest flowers of our moderne poets*, a collection of poetry and writings from poets of the time period. Though the DNB posits (but does not definitely support) a different Robert Allott as editor of *Englands Parnassus*, the “other” Robert Allott was a student at St John’s, matriculating in 1592, BA 1595-1596, MA and fellow in 1599. He became “a celebrated physician” and later a benefactor to the College (Venn I, 23). *Englands Parnassus* was published under the same scheme as *Belvedere*, the work so aptly dismembered by Ingenioso and Judicio in 1.2 of *Returne*. For evidence of the coterie of Allott, Weaver, Nicholas Ling, and Valentine Simmes, see *John Weever: A Biography of a Literary Associate of Shakespeare and Jonson* by E. A. J. Honigmann, pg. 21-41.

<sup>70</sup> See the note on page 60 of the *Returne* edition: “The 1597 Act for the Punishment of Rogues, Vagabonds, and Sturdy Beggars included ‘all persons calling themselves Scholars going about begging’”.

to be told, “No sonne, keepe thy peace, and hold the peace” (4.2.162-163). With Raderick’s injunction against swordplay, he prevents Ingenioso and crew from gaining any real victory by choosing to dismiss them as any real threat. Amoretto is correct when he says, “Thanke my father for your lives” (4.2.190)—Raderick has the power to arrest Ingenioso, though he chooses not to. Though Sir Raderick exits the stage uttering one of the more amusing lines in the play—“The Devill my maisters, the divell in the likenesse of a poet” (4.2.184)—he seems to escape any real consequence of his actions. The words that Ingenioso, Furor, and Phantasma hurl at him are simply that—“words, words, words”, to borrow *Hamlet*’s phrase (2.2.210). Their ineffectiveness calls into question the entire nature of the scholars’—namely Ingenioso’s—chosen profession. Ingenioso enters the stage, praising Juvenal’s biting satire. In satire, Ingenioso sees a way toward healing and improvement: “So surgean-like thou dost with cutting heale, / Where nought but lanching can the would availe” (1.1.7-8). In the scholars’ economy, words are their trade goods—Ingenioso can barter his *Chronicle of Cambridge Cuckolds* for “forty shillings and an odde pottle of wine” (1.3.9-10). But when confronted with Sir Raderick, the words have little power and even less effect; the scourge might have gained some moral victory in the eyes of the scholars, but it does little to alter their circumstances.

The Recorder rejects the scholars’ economics of words with a simple dismissal: “But we may give the losers leave to talke: / We have the coyne” (3.2.68-69).

Ultimately, his vision holds true—Sir Raderick, Amoretto, and the Recorder, though ridiculed, still retain their positions, and the wheel of fortune does not turn against them. At the end of the play, the scholars are still broke, still disheartened, and still rejected—

the ambiguous promise of the idyllic “downs of Kent” serves only to cover over their bitterness; the audience has little hope that the scholars will find satisfaction in their chosen profession. Not only does the Recorder outright reject the scholars’ economics of words, he also reviles the scholars because of the age gap between himself and them. The Recorder speaks from a position of age; he despises the scholars in part because he recognizes their (presumed) obliviousness to the sacrifices of their elders:

He whose thin sire dwell[s] in a smokye roufe,  
Must take Tobacco and must weare a locke;  
His thirsty Dad drinke in a wooden bowle,  
But his sweete selfe is serv’d in silver plate.  
His hungry sire will scrape you twenty legges,  
For one good Christmas meale on New yeare’s day,  
But his mawe must be capon crambd each day.  
He must ere long be triple beneficed,  
Els with his tongue heele thunderbolt the world  
And shake each peasant by his deaf-man’s eare. (3.2.18-27)

The Recorder can only see the selfishness of the scholars—their need to be “triple beneficed” to satisfy their worldly lives. He contrasts the “thirsty Dads” who drink from “wooden bowle[s]” with their scholler-offspring, who are served with “silver plate[s].” From the Recorder’s perspective, we can see the truth in his statement—Philomusus and Studioso *do* come across as spoiled and whiny, their rhymed iambic verses echoing a sense of entitlement throughout the entire play. But this is the discord of *Returne*: the character given to expose the scholars’ folly is himself a foolish character.

The Pages offer the most complex look at the socioeconomic structures found in *Returne*. Amoretto’s Page and Sir Raderick’s Page both recognize the inferiority—morally and intellectually—of their respective masters; however, instead of siding with the scholars in their mutual derision of Amoretto and Sir Raderick, the Pages stake their own ground, mocking both their masters and the scholars. Their ridicule is not “gently

laying on” but rather “fetch[ing] bloud” (1.1.6). Because of their position as neither scholarly nor noble, they can play both sides of the economic divide, showering criticism with a liberal tongue. In the same scene (2.6), Amoretto’s Page berates scholars, describing them as “one that cannot make a good legge, one that cannot eate a messe of broth cleanly, one that cannot ride a horse without spur-galling, one that cannot salute a woman and looke on her directly” (28-31). Scholars, in other words, are socially inept. Yet when Amoretto leaves the stage, his Page, *solus*, proceeds to mock him:

Is not my Maister an absolute villaine that loves his Hawke, his Hobby, and his Grey-hound more then any mortall creature? Do but dispraise a feather of his haw[k]e’s traine, and he writhes his mouth, and swears—for hee can doe that onely with a good grace—that you are the most shallowe-braind fellow that lives.... Well, let others complaine, but I thinke there is no felicity to the serving of a foole. (2.6.66-74)

A few scenes later in 3.3, the Page has a similar monologue describing Amoretto’s incompetence in reading foreign languages.<sup>71</sup> The Page’s quickness to make fun of his master draws on a long history of servant/master motifs. But instead of the Page serving only a servant/master role, he also has a larger satiric function involving satirizing not only his master but also the scholars. That he should have this double function makes him more of a Fool—as the Fool from *King Lear* or *Twelfth Night*—than simply a disgruntled servant. In response to the fiddler’s demand for payment, Sir Raderick’s Page replies: “For that, Ile give Maister *Recorder’s* law, and that is this: there is a

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<sup>71</sup> “My maisters, I could wish your presence at an admirable jest. Why, presently this great linguist, my Maister, will march through Paule’s Church-yard, Come to a booke binder’s shop, and with a big Italian looke and spanish face aske for these bookes in spanish and Italian. Then, turning through his ignorance the wrong ende of the booke upward, use action on this unknowne tongue after this sort: first looke on the title and wrinkle his brow, next make as though he read the first page and bites a lip, then with his naile score the margent as though there were some notable conceit, and lastly, when he thinkes hee hath gulld the standers by sufficiently, throws the booke away in a rage, swearing that he could never finde bookes of a true printe since he was last in [*Padua*], enquire after the next marte, and so departs.” (3.3.35-49)

double oath, a formall oath, and a meteriall oath. A materiall oath cannot be broken; the formall oath may be broken. I swore formally: farewell, Fidlers” (5.2.40-43). The Pages, too, represent the middle ground between the “high” characters (Amoretto, Sir Raderick, the Recorder) and the scholars. Sir Raderick’s Page has learned from the Recorder, taking the Recorder’s twisted definitions and employing them for his own use, the result being that the scholars-turned-fiddlers are dispossessed not by Amoretto’s or Raderick’s greed, but rather by the Page’s quick wit. Philomusus finds it easier to bear this loss at the hands of the Page, who escapes his censure: “Farewell good wags, whose wits praise worth I deeme. / Though somewhat waggish, so we all have beene” (5.2.44-45).

Glatzer claims *Returne* never quite succeeds, in part because of its fractured structure. The scholars receive sympathetic treatment, and yet they too are objects of satire. In regard to their attitude to the public stage, Higbee writes: “My reading of these scenes pursues a claim made forty years ago by M.C. Bradbrook: the play’s ‘mixture of admiration, envy and scorn for the common stages cannot be reduced to final coherence’ (*Rise of the Common Player* 272)” (Higbee 135). The mixed messages of *Returne* and its probing of the Elizabethan social structure reveal a scholarly culture in transition: the university system must reap its own harvest. Though Academico and the other scholars often laud Cambridge, they seem to be lauding an image, an ideal—one that ignores their present realities. In its artists and poets, Cambridge has created a generation of social climbers in a society that does not allow them to succeed: the common players, the actors, the *popular* artists may, through their monies, “with mouthing words that better wits have framed, / ... purchase lands, and now Esquiers are made” (5.1.18-19). Apart from the internal reality, *Returne* represents the struggle of the

university to assert itself against popular drama *via* drama. But as Frederick Boas explains in *University Drama and the Tudor Age*: “When once academic drama abandons academic ideals, it decrees, sooner or later, its own end. It will always be outmatched when it meets popular drama on the latter’s terms. Thus the *Parnassus* trilogy is, in curious wise, both the most brilliant product of the Tudor University stage and a signal that academic drama would find it increasingly difficult to maintain its distinctive character in the days to come” (346).

## **Conclusion**

Whether or not we agree with Boas that the *Parnassus* plays indeed represent “the most brilliant product of the Tudor University stage”, we must still consider the trilogy and *Returne* in particular as a unique cultural product offering insight into the thoughts, feelings, and questions surrounding the Early Modern university. *Returne*’s own uncertainty concerning its sometimes-critical, sometimes-sympathetic portrayal of the scholarly community offers a look into the changing social values and increasing social problems surrounding the university system of Early Modern England. *Returne*’s keen interest in the world of the London theater belies its supposed revulsion of popular contemporary drama. And yet, in the history of *Returne* as a received object, many of these nuances have been lost or overshadowed by *Returne*’s role as commercial property. Many collectors and readers have interacted with the text—and have been willing to pay high prices for it—not because of any perceived inherent literary value, but because of the play’s external references—to Shakespeare, Jonson, the “war of the theaters,” and so forth. But even this view of *Returne* does not do it full justice; the play

exists not only as a literary and collector's object, but also as a printed one. Its printing history—like its ultimate commentary on its scholar characters—is not straightforward. The play's multiple paper stocks, shared paper stocks between the first and second editions, as well as shifted and reset type reveal its previously unnoticed complicated printing history. In examining *The Returne from Pernassus* and its companion plays from several angles, we find a work that grounds itself strongly in the world of Early Modern Cambridge and London, complete with its cast of contemporary characters, both in the play (Kempe, Burbage) and outside of it (John Wright, the publisher, and George Eld, the printer). In *Returne*, both as an object and as a text, then, we see its pilgrimage through hands, through time, through places, progressing through history as a marker of a particular age and perspective while also informing the histories of all who have interacted with it.



## Appendix II: Letters to Owen Gwyn

*Richard Vaughan to Owen Gwyn, May 1604 from Eagle, xxi 1900, 153-154.*

*Salutem in Christo.* Cosyn Gwyn I am encouraged by Mr Dr Cleyton your Master and perswaded by my good kynsman Mr Holland to place my soone in the same Colledge where I layed the foundations of that poore estate which I now enioye. And because myne acquayntance is worne out and knowe not any to whose custodie I would rather committe my sonne, then to your selfe, both in regards of consanguinitie and the good reporte which you beare. These are heartily to pray you (if you may conveniently) to take him for your pupill, or yf your studies, and occasions will not permitte, to vse your credite to commende him to such a one as may take some paynes with him beyng yet rawe, and not so forward as I could wishe. I have longe kept him at his bookes, but his conceyte, and apprehension is slowe, his memory frayle, and his mynde not so devoute to studye, nor so willynge to followe the same vnlesse by strict discipline he be helde in, and spurred thereunto. I do not expecte he should prove any great Clerke (though slow wittes do often prove deepest) but my desyre is he should add somewhat to that he hath, that he may prove fitte for ciuill companie, and for some purpose in the commonweale *ne aut frustra, aut infoeliciter natus videatur*. And that he may the better attayne to that I most desyre, I have resolued that he shall begynne, where I ended namely in the Schollers commons, esteemyng it daungerous to giue him any head, whose head I would haue alwayes kept vnder the girdle of discipline, the marrow of all good learninge aud pietye. And although I am farre from Cambridge, yet doo I leaue the observing of my sonne to my brother, who is nearer hand so that he shall see all his wants supplied. If I presume to farre vpon you it is not my manner to offende in that kynde over often, and I deserve the lesser blame, because both my auncient friende your discreete governor, and allso my Cosyn Holland have drawen me therevnto. If you shewe me any kyndness herein you shall much bynde me vnto you and I will endeavour by all meanes to requite your kind affection And so referring my suite to your fauorable respecte I cease and rest ever

Maij, 19<sup>o</sup>, 1604

your very assured friende  
and lovyng kinsman  
RIC. CESTREN.

*Roger Parker to Owen Gwyn, January 1614 from Eagle, XX, 1899, 12.*

*Salutem &c.* Good Mr Dr Gwyn, the Erle of Shrewsbury is now in London, and therefore if yowe have not moved hym agaynst the Kinges comminge to Cambridge, nowe yowe maye conveniently doe it, for the Kinges comminge is deferred till the vijth of March next, against which tyme I heare that many Lordes wilbe there, and therefore trynitye Colledge maketh great provision for the well performance of all thinges and therefore have sent for all their auncient good actors that so theyr commedies may be answerable to the expectations. The tyme was when St John's had the best actors and teachers in all the Vniuersitye and I dowbte not but they have as good nowe. Yet if I were worthy to advise yowe I would send for some or moste of these that they may bothe advise with yowe and see the actors, and geve them theyre assistaunce. I hope yowe will not take my complaint in evill parte, for it proceedeth from my wellwishinge of your welldoinge. I pray yow therefore pardon me and geve me leave to contynewe my suite for my nephewe this bearer, at your next election and I shalbe ready in any service I can to deserve this ffavour and so with my harty commendacions to yourselfe and Mr Deane of Pawles I commende yowe to the grace of God and will ever rest

your loving ffrend

ROGER PARKER.

Greeke Streete, London  
Januar: 5: 1614

### Appendix III: Cambridge Plays Cast List

Names of Persons Appearing in *Hispanus* (H), *Silvanus* (S), or *Machiavellus* (M)  
(Date = matriculation; unless otherwise noted, all names are from St John's College)

Anthonye, John	(M)	BA Magdalene 1599-1600?
Audaly, John	(H & S)	c1596, pensioner
Casse, Edmund	(H & S)	c1595, pensioner; BA 1599-1600, MA 1603; Fellow 1601
Grace, John	(H, S, & M)	c1595, pensioner; BA 1600-1, MA 1604; Fellow 1602
Heblethwayte, Thomas	(H & S)	c1594, sizar
Lane, Robert	(M)	c1593, pensioner; BA 1596-7, MA 1600, BD 1608; Fellow 1598
Martiall, Hamlet	(S)	BA 1599-1600; MA 1603; BD 1610
Myllwarde, John or Matthias	(M)	c1594, sizar; BA 1597-8 (John) BA c1595?; MA 1598; BD 1605 (Matthais)
Newman, Robert	(H)	1594, pensioner; BA 1597-8; MA 1601; Fellow 1601
Newton, Robert	(H & S)	c1592, sizar; BA 1595-6; MA 1599
Pollard, Michael	(H & M)	c1593, sizar; BA 1596-7; MA 1600
Rollenson, Francis	(H, S, & M)	c1591, sizar; BA 1594-5?; BD 1606; Ordained deacon 1599; university preacher
Smith, Abraham	(M)	c1596, sizar; BA 1600-1; MA 1604
Staniland, Nicholas	(M)	c1594, sizar; BA 1598-9; MA 1602
Stanton, Lancelot	(M)	c1595, sizar; BA 1599-1600; MA 1604
Wiburne, Nathaniel	(H & M)	1589, pensioner; BA 1593-1594; MA 1597; BD 1605; Fellow 1594; Senior proctor 1603
Wilkington, Thomas	(H)	?
Worship, William	(H)	c1592, sizar; BA 1595-6; MA 1599; BD 1606; Fellow 1598

**Appendix IV: John Wright's Extant Published Works, 1605-1607**  
*Appearing in the Short Title Catalogue*

**Entries for:**

- 16 July 1605—"The vertuous Lyfe and memorable Death of Sir Richard Whittington mercer sometymes Lord Maiour of the honorable Citie of London  
12 August—The Just Judgement of GOD vppon Cicelie Norrington who vnnaturally murdered her owne children. Executed at Sandwiche 20. Julij 1605  
—A godly newe ballad contening a Warninge for Churles and Drunckardes selected out of Holy Wrytt fitt for this present age.

**1605**

- 15343—King Leir, assigned 8 May 1605 (Stafford for Wright)

**1606**

- 4339—The tragedie of Caesar and Pompey or Caesars revenge 4<sup>o</sup>, Eld for Wright [1606?] Entered 5 June 1606  
6553—The most cruell and bloody murther committed by A. Dell, foure yeeres since. On the bodie of a childe, A. James. With the severall witch-crafts, of Johane Harrison and her daughter. 4<sup>o</sup>. Purfoot for Firebrand and Wright  
19309—Parnassus, entered 16 October, 1605, Eld for Wright  
19310—Parnassus, entered 16 October 1605, Eld for Wright  
23030—A spectacle for usurers and succors of poore folkes bloud, Whereby they may see, Gods revenge, upon oppression. With a horrible murther. 4<sup>o</sup> G. Eld for Wright, Entered 21 November  
25264?—Newes from Bartholmew fayre 4<sup>o</sup> Entered by Richard West to John Wright 16 July

**1607**

- 1466-6a—The divils charter: a tragaedie contening the life and death of pope Alexander the sixt. 4<sup>o</sup> Eld for Wright, entered 16 October; Two issues  
3671-1.5 (sold)—A murmurer, R Raworth sold by J Wright Entered 6 March  
4340—The tragedie of Caesar and Pompey or Caesars revenge 4<sup>o</sup>, Eld for Wright [1606?] Entered 5 June 1606  
4768—Two horrible and inhumane murders done in L[in]colnshire, by two husbands upon their wives: the [one] five and twenty yeares since, the other in June 1604; V Simmes for Wright Entered 2 February 4<sup>o</sup>  
5884.5—Miracle upon miracle. Or a true relation of the great floods in Coventry, in Lynne, and other places, on the 16. and 17. of Aprill 1607 4<sup>o</sup>, Eld for Fosbrook and Wright Entered to Wright 14 May  
6417—The travailes of the three English brothers. Sir Thomas Sir Anthony M<sup>r</sup>. Robert Shirley; by John Day; Eld for Wright; 4<sup>o</sup> Entered 29 June  
14688—The pleasant conceites of old Hobson the merry Londoner, 4<sup>o</sup>, Eld for Wright (another edition with additions appeared in 1610)  
25263—The court of conscience or Dick Whippers sessions 4<sup>o</sup> Eld for Wright, Entered 6 August

## Appendix V: Watermarks and Chainline Spaces in *Returne* Paper Stocks

I obtained chainline measurements by following general procedures outlined in David Vander Meulen's essay "Identification of Paper Without Watermarks" in *Studies in Bibliography*. I used a clear plastic ruler to measure chainline spaces along the gutter of each gathering. As both editions of *Returne* are in quarto (4to or 4<sup>o</sup>) format, I measured either the first and second or third and fourth sheets of each gathering to obtain a measurement of the entire sheet. Numbers before } represent one of the sheets followed by its continuation after {, i.e. A1<sup>v</sup> numbers}{A2<sup>r</sup> numbers. In presenting these number strings, I have attempted to align them as closely as possible with one another so as to simplify comparing each individual chainline measurement. My entire data set I kept as an Excel spreadsheet and have only excerpted certain number strings for this paper in order to illustrate my points. Watermarks were drawn by hand, eyeing carefully where marks fell within the chainline. The images presented here are scans from the original drawings.

An investigation of first and second editions of *Returne* reveals that the same unwatermarked paper stock appears in both editions. St John's AA.6.69 (2<sup>nd</sup> edition) and Williams 19309 (1<sup>st</sup> edition) demonstrate this point, with the same sheet of paper appearing in St John's H gathering as well as in the Williams G gathering.

StJ H: 9 |25 |26 |25.5|22 |25.5|24 |23|1}{7 |25|25|22|25 |26 |25|25|2

Wlm G: 1.5|25.5|25.5|25 |22.5|26.5|23.5|21 |}{10|25|25|23|25.5|25.5|24|14

In British Library C34B38 G (2<sup>nd</sup> edition), Harvard 19309 14434.183\* H (1<sup>st</sup> edition), and Yale Eliz 159 G (2<sup>nd</sup> edition), the same sheet appears. Note that even though the first half of Eliz 159 G is obscured, the second half fits the pattern.

BL G: 16|24 |25.5|25|23|25 |24|7}{3|25 |25|25|23|25 |27 |22

Hd H: 21|24.5|26 |25|24|25.5|26|2}{24 |25|25|22|26.5|27 |24

Elz G: unclear |}{21.5|25|25|23|25.5|26.5|25|5

Because the paper is unwatermarked, it is difficult to say with certainty how many actual paper moulds are involved. I am wary about analyzing the larger unwatermarked paper data too deeply, as the paper stock itself was generally of such poor quality that accurate measurements were hard to make. I present here only enough data to demonstrate my main point—that the first and second editions *do* share the same stock of paper.

In addition to chainline measurements from unwatermarked paper, I have included selected watermarks with their chainline measurements to demonstrate the technique of chainline measurement and analysis. The images of *GRAPESI* are drawings of the *same* watermark found in two separate copies. Note that the Harvard copy (14434.183\*) image reveals more of the watermark than the Williams College copy (STC 19309). The blank space between the top and bottom of each image

represents the area of the watermark hidden by the fold in the paper. The blank space is not to scale. Despite the discrepancy in watermark appearance, one can demonstrate that both images come from the same paper mould using the chainline measurements. Discounting the beginning and ending numbers of each data string (as must be done because the edges of individual copies have been cut to different sheet sizes), the chainline measurements never differ by more than a single millimeter. Compare Harvard 14434.183\* (upper) and Williams STC 19309 (lower):

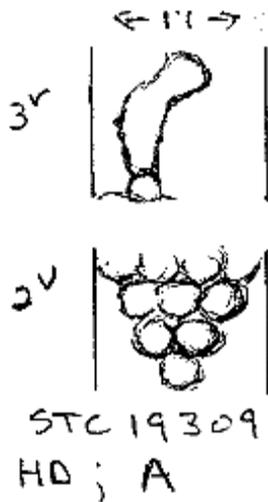
18.5|19.5|19.5|19.5|20|18.5|18.5|18.5|19.5|1 } { 18.5|18.5|20.5|19.5|20|17 |19.5|19|20

20 |19.5|19 |19 |20|18.5|18.5|18.5|18.5 } { 13 |18 |20.5|19.5|20|16.5|19 |19|20|7

*GRAPES2* shows a watermark divided along the chainline. This watermark appears in two copies, both in the D gatherings of Huntington 69112 and Harvard 14434.183\*.

Watermark designs of hands appear solely and exclusively in the second edition of *Returne*. HAND1<sup>a</sup> and HAND1<sup>b</sup> reflect the concept of watermark twins. Of the five exemplars for HAND1<sup>a</sup>, I have highlighted the numbers that show the relevant alterations in wide and narrow spaces. Though perhaps difficult to tell from the images, both HAND1<sup>a</sup> and HAND1<sup>b</sup> exhibit a shorter, squatter hand with one finger crossing over the chainline. Notice, too, how each hand is a rough mirror of the other.

I have included the final three images (POT1, HAND2, and HAND3) as general examples of watermark designs throughout the first (POT1) and second (HAND2, HAND3) editions of *Returne*.



**GRAPES1: 2 exemplars**

Harvard STC 19309 14434.183\* A (left—drawing by R. Carter Hailey)

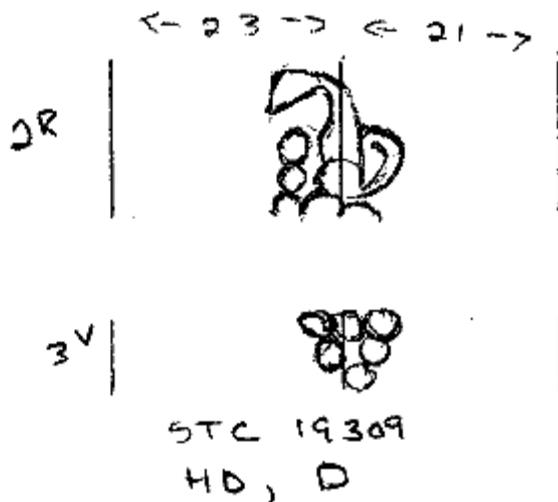
18.5 | 19.5 | 19.5 | 19.5 | 20 | 18.5 | 18.5 | 18.5 | 19.5 | 1 }

{ 18.5 | 18.5 | 20.5 | 19.5 | 20 | 17 | 19.5 | 19 | 20 }

Williams STC 19309 A (right—drawing by the author)

20 | 19.5 | 19 | 19 | 20 | 18.5 | 18.5 | 18.5 | 18.5 }

{ 13 | 18 | 20.5 | 19.5 | 20 | 16.5 | 19 | 19 | 20 | 7 }



**GRAPES2: 2 exemplars**

Harvard STC 19309 14434.183\* D (above—drawing by R. Carter Hailey)

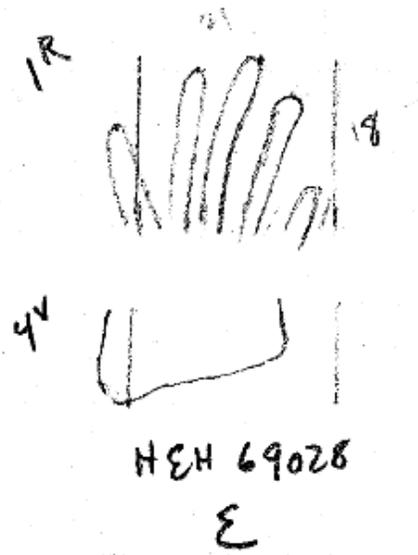
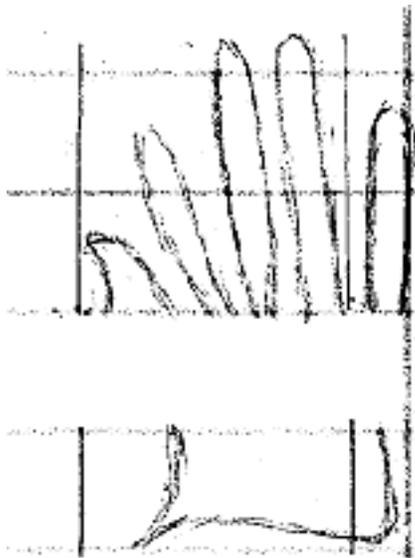
2 | 21 | 20 | 23 | 23 | 20 | 20.5 | 22.5 | 22 }

{ 3 | 20 | 22 | 21 | 23 | 21 | 19.5 | 22 | 22 }

Huntington 69112 D

6 | 20.5 | 21 | 23.5 | 24 | 20.5 | 21 | 22.5 | 24 | 2 }

{ 3 | 20.5 | 23 | 21.5 | 22.5 | 21.5 | 20.5 | 22.5 | 23 | 7 }



**HAND1<sup>a</sup>: 5 exemplars**

Bodleian Mal. 224(4) E

16 | 19.5 | 23 | 22 | 19.5 | 22 | 21 | 24 | 5 }

{ 5 | 22.5 | 20 | 23 | 20 | 23 | 22 | 22.5 | 14

St John's AA.6.69 E

3 | 21 | 19 | 24 | 23.5 | 19 | 21 | 22 | 24 | 3 }

{ 2 | 22 | 20.5 | 23 | 20 | 23 | 21 | 23 | 21 | 4

British Library 161.a.65 E

21 | 21 | 22.5 | 23.5 | 20 | 23 | 21 | 19 }

{ 2 | 22 | 20 | 24 | 20 | 23 | 21 | 20 | 17

British Library G11212 C

15 | 19 | 24 | 23.5 | 20 | 23 | 21 | 24 }

{ 4 | 22 | 20 | 23 | 20 | 22 | 21 | 22 | 8

Folger STC 19310 E (*left—drawing by R. Carter Hailey*)

6.5 | 21 | 19.5 | 23.5 | 23.5 | 20 | 22 | 21.5 | 20 }

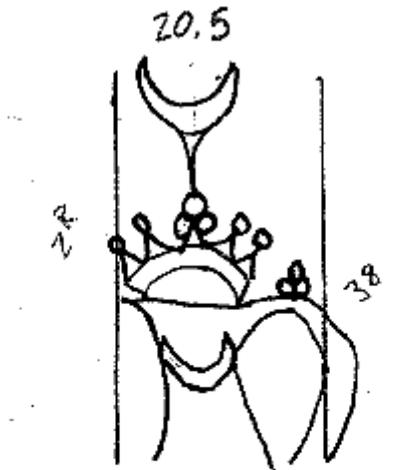
{ 1 | 22.5 | 20 | 23.5 | 20.5 | 23 | 21 | 23 | 21.5 | 4

**HAND1<sup>b</sup>: 1 exemplar**

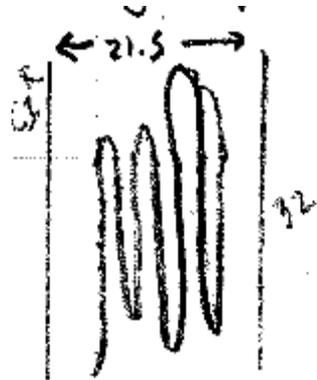
Huntington 69028 E (*right—drawing by the author*)

12 | 21.5 | 22 | 21.5 | 22.5 | 21 | 23.5 | 21 | 24 | 2 }

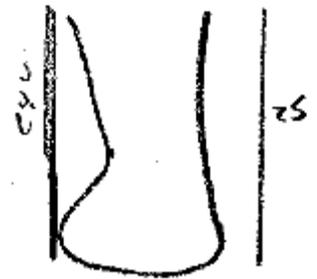
{ 1 | 24 | 22 | 22 | 21 | 24 | 23.5 | 22.5 | 22 | 11.5 | 3



STC 19309  
Williams; D, E, F

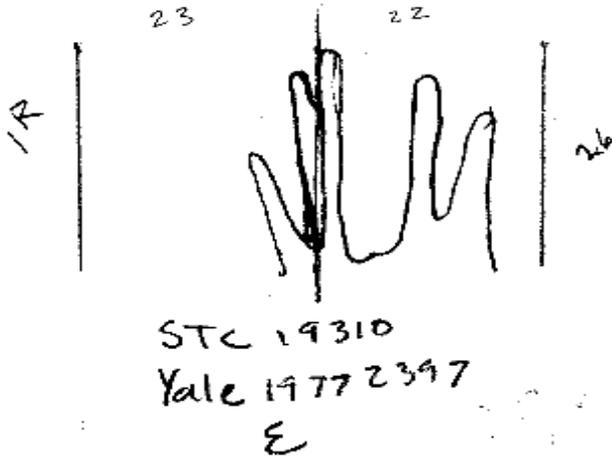


STC 19310  
Houghton C



*POT1* appearing in Williams 19309 gatherings D, E, F. Crescent shapes were common on pots appearing in watermarks throughout first editions of *Returne*. Drawing by the author.

*Hand2* appearing in Harvard STC 19310 14434.76.182\* gathering C. Long, slender fingers were typical of hand designs throughout second edition watermarks. Drawing by the author.



STC 19310  
Yale 1977 2397  
E

Unlike most hand designs, *Hand3* from Yale 1977 2397 gathering E breaks significantly across the chainline. Drawing by the author.

### Appendix VI: A and B Differences After G1<sup>r</sup>

A/B	A	ln	B	ln	Comment
G1r/F4v	liberallity:	19	liberality :	21	
G1r/F4v	Queenes or no. Phan	26-28	Queenes Phan... (or no	28-29	(3 lines to 2
G1r/F4v	Nunc Dic	28-29	Nunc Dic	29-30	(D spacing
G1r/F4v	I can giue is	31	I can giue, is	32	
G1v/F4v	smokie Warde- robe	15-16	smokie Warde-robe	17	
G2r/G1r	holde the peace	11-12	hold the peace	11	(e removed
G2r/G1v	your credit	13-14	your ...(credit	12-13	
G2r/G1v	Acheronta	15	Cheronta	13	(A correct
G2v/G1v	All of G2v is diff type setting		End of G1v-End of G2r diff type setting		
G2v/G2r	aud	32	and	25	
G3r/G2r	Act.4.Scen.3.	1	Act. 4. Scen, 5	31	(A correct
G3r/G2r	Start same type	2+	Start same type	2+	
G3r/G2v	Take heart these	25	Take heart, these	20	
G3r/G2v	M. Phil. and	28	M. Pil.	23	
G3r/G2v	Otioso well met.	28	Otioso, well met,	23	
G3r/G2v	from dâ- / cing	31-32	from / dancing	26-27	
G4r/G3r	but also.../.../chaire	2-4	but also.../...chaire	32-33	
G4v/G4r	the dye	14	they dye	6	(B correct
H1v/G4v	our instruments	6	our instrument	32	(B correct?
H1v/H1r	The tune.	9	They tune.	1	(B correct
H1v/H1r	Adew	17	Adiew	9	
H1v/H1r	breast/bl/Stud.	21-23	breast / Stud	13-14	
H1v/H1r	griefe:	24	griefe,	15	
H2r/H1r	he comes	6	he comes,	33	
H3r/H1v	Sir Rad.	11	S. Rad. pag.	1	(B correct
H2v/H2r	Iack of Beare	15	Iack of Beere	5	(B correct?
H2v/H2r	Dear friend	34	Studi. Deare friend	24	(B correct
H3r/H2r	scrippe.	4	scrippe,	31	
H3r/H2v	besids,	12	besides,	2	(B correct
H3r/H2v	place/bl/Act.../bl/ Enter/bl/Inge	17-23	place/bl/Actus/bl/ Enter/Inge	7-12	
H3r/H2v	Furor and Phantasma	27	Furor & Phantasma	16	
H3r/H2v	mea si... /bunt	28-29	Mea si...valebunt	17	
H3v/H2v	Phil, Stud. Furor, Phant 2		Phil. Stud. Furor. Phant.	25	
H3v/H3r	What...Cit-/ty	21-22	What...Citty	6	
H3v/H3r	We...by/none	23-24	We...none	7	

H3v/H3r	shephards...to admire	26	shepheards...t'admire	9	(B correct?)
H3v/H3r	woefull...rinde:	31	wofull...rinde	14	
H3v/H3r	The woods...weele/ blesse	34-35	fall, (blesse	16	
H4r/H3r	But say whether	2	But say, whether	19	
H4r/H3r	parasites	18	Parasites	35	
H4r/H3r	gal,	19	gall,	36	(B correct?)
H4r/H3v	and Phantas- / ma?	21-22	and Phantasma?	1	
H4v/H3v	fluctus./bl/Inge	10-12	fluctus./Inge	25-26	
H4v/H3v	So shall	20	Stud. So shall	34	(B correct)
H4v/H4r	repayest	36	repayrest	13	(B correct)
Ir/H4v	Start of H4v(B) (mid-Ir) to end is different type				

Note: bl = blank line; / = line break

## Appendix VII: A List of Collated Copies

The following copies were collated using a Hailey's COMET collator. The control copy for first edition texts was a scan of the Huntington's copy (69112) from University Microfilms International, reel 1180:18; the control copy for the second edition texts was a scan of the Huntington's 69028 acquired through Early English Books Online. In order to damage the books as little as possible, I placed the scans on my laptop and adjusted the collator mirrors such that the *Returne* copy did not need to be opened more than 120°.

### First Edition—8 copies

- Bodleian Mal. Q14
- British Library Ashley 2302
- Folger 19309 copy 1
- Folger 19309 copy 2
- Folger 19309 copy 3 (fragments)
- Harvard 14434.76.183\*
- Newberry 19309 (collation by R. Carter Hailey)
- Williams STC 19309 Vault (partial collation)

### Second Edition—11 copies

- British Library 161.a.65
- British Library C34 B38
- British Library G.11212
- Bodleian Mal. 224(4)
- Cambridge University Library Syn. 7.60.215
- Folger 19310
- Harvard 14434.76.182\*
- St John's College Library AA.6.69
- Tudor Facsimile Texts (Dyce collection at the Victoria & Albert Museum)
- Yale Eliz. 159
- Yale 1977 2397

**Appendix VIII: A Census of Examined Copies**  
*The Returne from Pernassus*  
1606, 1st and 2nd Editions

1. Library: Bodleian

Call Number: Mal. 224(4)

Edition: 2

Binding: 1/4 leather, gold-stamped/tooled spine; rebound 1927

Inscriptions: Corrections in margins

2. Library: Bodleian

Call Number: Mal. Q14

Edition: 1

Binding: Handsomely bound in morocco, gold stamped with flower and acorn design

Inscriptions: Leishman note; signature of Samuel Stillingfleet; signature of Thomas

Lovedaye; pricing notes; library notes

Provenance: Samuel Stillingfleet; Thomas Lovedaye; Crawford

3. Library: Bodleian

Call Number: Malone 207 Vol 50

Edition: 1

Binding: Bound in a collection titled "Old Plays Vol 50"; boards in poor condition

Inscriptions: Lengthy note on dating the play; significant corrections in margins

4. Library: St John's College Library

Call Number: AA.6.69

Edition: 2

Binding: Voluptuously bound in red leather, two gold frames around edges, inside turned corners stamped in gold with leaf and star design

Inscriptions: Notes by "H.G." from 1946: 1. Sale and purchase information 2.

Comparison with Trinity College copy 3. Locations of other copies

Provenance: Blackwell, Oxford; H.G. (Mr Gatty?)

5. Library: Cambridge University Library

Call Number: Syn.7.60.215

Edition: 2

Binding: 1/4 leather with marbled boards

Inscriptions: Signature of John Cobb; index of references to persons appearing in the play

Provenance: John Cobb; J.[L]. Foster 1845, Cambridge Free Library, CUL 1956

6. Library: Eton College

Call Number: STR 170

Edition: 2

Binding: Bound in volume titled "Plays XIII" with light gold tooling around frames;  
bound with four other plays  
Inscriptions: Many of the oaths have been crossed out  
Provenance: Bequeathed 1800

7. Library: British Library  
Call Number: Ashley 2302  
Edition: 1  
Binding: Bound with string, uncut; in blue leather slipcase;  
Provenance: Thomas James Wise

8. Library: British Library  
Call Number: C34 B38  
Edition: 2  
Binding: Orange-tan leather with two gold frames and small shield design in center  
cover

9. Library: British Library  
Call Number: 161.a.65  
Edition: 2  
Binding: Red cloth boards; blind stamped in center front cover with crown and initials;  
recovered in 1938

10. Library: British Library  
Call Number: G 11212  
Edition: 2  
Binding: Bound in smooth leather with double gold ruled frames; center has gold-  
stamped shield and oval  
Inscriptions: Title and brief description in ink; \$4 signatures penciled in  
Provenance: Thomas Grenville

11. Library: Folger Shakespeare Library  
Call Number: STC 19310  
Edition: 2  
Binding: In 1/2 green leather with marbled boards; title and date gold-stamped on spine  
Inscriptions: "To my Lovinge Smallocke J:D."; paragraph concerning date; JOH initials  
Provenance: J:D., Smallocke, J.O. Halliwell-Phillipps

12. Library: Folger Shakespeare Library  
Call Number: 19309 copy 1  
Edition: 1  
Binding: Green goatskin binding by F. Bedford; triple-ruled gold frame, title in gold on  
spine; star and leaf in fold-ins on inside covers  
Inscriptions: "William Kensayder is intended for Marston"  
Provenance: Frederick Locker; E.D. Church

13. Library: Folger Shakespeare Library  
Call Number: 19309 copy 2  
Edition: 1  
Binding: Red goatskin binding; triple-ruled gold frame; inside turned corners with star and leaf alternating pattern; title and date on spine  
Inscriptions: Faint inscription on title page
14. Library: Folger Shakespeare Library  
Call Number: 19309 copy 3  
Edition: 1  
Binding: Brown goatskin and marbled paper boards  
Inscriptions: Pricing information  
Provenance: Warwick Castle Shakespeare Library
- (Fragment) Library: Folger Shakespeare Library  
Call Number: W.b. 137  
Edition: 1  
Binding: Fragment appears in a volume titled "Actresses"  
Notes: Clipping measures 111 x 52 mm  
Provenance: J.O. Halliwell-Phillipps
15. Library: Houghton Library, Harvard  
Call Number: STC 19310 14434.76.182\*  
Edition: 2  
Binding: 1/4 leather with marbled boards; title and date in gold on spine  
Inscriptions: Sale and pricing information; signature of Phil Moyot?  
Provenance: Phil Moyot?; William August White; bequeathed 1928-1929
16. Library: Houghton Library, Harvard  
Call Number: STC 19309 14434.183\*  
Edition: 1  
Binding: Green leather, triple-gold ruled front and back with small flower in each corner; title date and place in gold on spine with floral pattern  
Inscriptions: Edition information  
Provenance: Purchased by G.D. Smith from Frederickson's sale; William August White 1904; bequeathed 1928-1929
17. Library: Chapin Library, Williams College  
Call Number: STC 19309 Vault  
Edition: 1  
Binding: Red leather with title, place, and date on front cover and on spine  
Inscriptions: Contains same inscription regarding Shakespeare as Eliz 159  
Provenance: Winston H. Hagen
18. Library: Beinecke, Yale University  
Call Number: Eliz 159

Edition: 2

Binding: In brown leather with double gold-ruled frames on front and back covers; title, place, and date in gold on spine

Inscriptions: Contains same inscription regarding Shakespeare as Chapin STC 19309; \$4 signatures penciled in

Provenance: Thomas Dring, bookseller; Elizabethan Club

19. Library: Beinecke, Yale University

Call Number: 1977 2397

Edition: 2

Binding: Bound in red leather with title and date in gold on front cover and spine; "crimson levant morocco, gilt edges, by Riviere"

Inscriptions: \$4 signatures penciled in

Provenance: Bequeathed by Normal Holmes Pearson 1932

20. Library: Huntington Library

Call Number: 69112

Edition: 1

Binding: Bound in tan leather, blind stamped on front and back cover with three-line frame and snowflake design in each corner; stamp of lion holding an arrow (pointed downward) with a crown over head in center of front and back cover; spine stamped in gold

Provenance: Bridgewater Library

21. Library: Huntington Library

Call Number: 128960

Edition: 2

Binding: 1/4 bound dark blue leather and navy cloth

Inscriptions: Contains extensive notes in the margins

Provenance: Kemble-Devonshire copy

22. Library: Huntington Library

Call Number: 69028

Edition: 2

Binding: Binding signed by J. Mackenzie

Inscriptions: William Holgate; Robert Hoe; Henry E. Huntington 1911?

## Appendix IX: Notes and Edits Appearing in Copies

HEH—128960 (2nd Ed.)

<b>Leaf</b>	<b>Mark in Text</b>	<b>Notation</b>
A4r		(upper corner was torn off, so ‘hand’ has been written in in ‘Iuuenall in his <i>hand</i> )
	<u>furens</u>	<u>ferreus</u>
	<u>lanching</u>	<u>lancing</u>
A4v		(upper corner torn off, hand written in ‘In which I would new fostred finnes combine,   Not knowne earl’ (‘l’ in ‘like a great’ written in hand b/c torn off earlier)
	<u>vtensilies</u>	<u>utensils</u>
B1r	<u>soure</u>	<u>soar</u>
	<u>Beluedere</u>	<u>Belvedere</u> , or The Garden of the Mu.ses-[p <sup>ub</sup> ] 1660. in which are quoted Sentences out of the following Poets, Spenser, Constable, etc. digested under a Common-place
B1v	<u>swifter</u>	<u>sweeter</u>
B2r	<u>S.D.</u>	<u>Samuel Daniel</u>
	<u>Constable</u>	<u>Constable</u> was esteemed the first sonneteer of his Time.
	<u>D:</u>	<u>Daniel</u> .
	<u>Lodge</u>	<u>Lodge</u> was a Physician as well as a Poet, and eminent, in his Day, for writing elegant Odes, &c.-he was Author of two Plays.-
	<u>Watson</u>	<u>Watson</u> was contemporary with, and an Imitator of, Sir Philip Sidney, in the pastoral strain of Sonnets.
	<u>Draytons</u>	<u>Drayton</u> is said to be the Authour of The Merry Devil of Edmonton; and, probably, that Play, in which there is the Character of a boisterous [Host], is here alluded to.
	<del><u>Iud. John Dausis.</u></del>	(‘ <u>John Davis.</u> ’ hand written after ‘a hot-house.’ ‘ <u>Iud.</u> ’ written at the start of ‘Acute’
	<u>John Dausis</u>	<u>John Davis</u> of Hereford-the work here alluded to seems to be his Scourge of Folly.
	<u>sooping</u>	<u>sweeping</u>
	<u>Locke and Hudson</u>	<u>Locke</u> and <u>Hudson</u> were the Bavius and Maevius of that Time
	<u>John Marston</u>	<u>John Marston</u> , a bold and nervous writer in Queen Elizabeth’s Reign – the work here censored was, no doubt, his Scourge of Villanie, three Books of Satyrs. 1590.
B2v.	<u>Marlowe</u>	<u>Marlowe</u> was an excellent Poet, but of abandoned Morals, and of the most impious Principles; a complete Libertine, and an avowed Atheist: he lost his Life in a riotous Fray; for, detecting his Servant with his Mistress, he rushed into the Room with a Dagger in order to stab him, but the Man warded off the Blow by seizing Marlowe’s wrist, and turned the Dagger into his Master’s Head. – Marlowe languish’d some time of the wound, and then died, before the year 1593. <u>A. Wood.</u>

	<u>Churchyard.</u>	<u>Churchyard</u> wrote Jane Shore's Elegy in The Mirror of Magistrates. 4 <sup>to</sup> . 1586.
B3r	<u>Thomas Nashte</u>	<u>Nash</u> , says Isaac Walton in his Life of Hooker, was a Man of sharp Wit, and the Master of a scoffing, satyrical, merry Pen.
	<u>stocke</u>	<u>Stocke</u> .-Stocco, a long Rapier, -Ital.
	<u>gag tooth</u>	<u>Gag.tooth</u> . a Tusk.
B4r	<u>thanked</u>	<u>thatched</u>
	<u>for</u>	'fore
B4v	<u>gracis</u>	<u>gyaris</u> [note: the Collection of Old Plays reads 'gyris']
	*Richard.	*Richard. Hy a un homme, avec le bonnet de nuit sur la tête et un urinell en la main, qui veut parler avec maistre Theodore.   Jaques. Fort bien.   Theodore. Jaques, a'bon heure.   <u>Exeunt</u> .
C1r	<u>skibbered</u>	<u>sky-bred</u>
C2r	<u>for...for</u>	<u>fort-fort</u>
C4r	<u>poser</u>	<u>Poser</u> , the Bishop's examining Chaplain, so called from <u>apposer</u> . In a will of James the first's Reign, the Curate of a Parish is to appose the Children of a Charity school.
D2r	<u>Caches</u>	<u>Raches</u> —A Rache is a Dog that by scent hunts wild Beasts, birds, and even Fishes,-the Female is called a <u>Brache</u> .
D3v	<u>rauished</u>	<u>vanished</u>
E2v	<u>thacked</u>	<u>thatched</u>
F2r	<u>breake</u>	<u>take</u>
F3r	<u>mooted</u>	<u>To moot</u> is to plead a mock cause; to state a Point of Law by way of Exercise, a common Practice in the Inns of Court.
F3v	<u>facility</u>	<u>fecundity</u>
F4r	<u>come off</u>	<u>To come off</u> is equivalent to the modern Expression <u>to come down</u> , <u>to pay Sauce</u> , to <u>pay dearley</u> , &c. -See Merry Wives of Windsor. Act 4. 5.6. The Host says. "They (the Germans) shall have my Horses, but I'll make them pay. I'll sauce them. They have had my House a week at Command; I have turned away my other Guests; they must <u>come off</u> ; I'll sauce them."
G2r	<u>craboun</u>	<u>carbine</u>
	<u>Gramercy</u>	<u>Gramercy</u> -Grand merci, great thanks, Je vous remercie, I thank you.
G2v	fellow*	*Poetaster Act 5.5.3
	<u>Sellengers Round</u>	<u>Sellenger</u> - corrupted from St. Leger—a favourite Dance with the common People.
G3r	<u>kne</u>	<u>cue</u> - [q <sup>re</sup> ] ?? 9 something??
	<u>sice kne</u>	<u>size cue</u> - [q <sup>re</sup> ] a un upon the word <u>cue</u> , which is a hint to the Actor to proceed in his Part, and has the same sound as the Letter q, the Mark of a Farthing in College Buttery. books;-to <u>size</u> means to battle, or to be charged in the College accounts for Provisions

G4v	<u>Sooping</u>	<u>Sweeping</u>
H2r	<u>thacked</u>	<u>thatched</u>
H3v	<u>cluttish</u>	<u>sluttish</u>
	<u>trus</u>	<u>trusty</u>
H4r	<u>masty</u>	<u>mastiff</u>
H4v	<u>feeling</u>	<u>feeling</u> [note that 'Select Collection' reads 'seely']

Malone 207, Vol. 50 (1st Ed.)

Original	Margin Correction	Markings made in Text
which a clubbe, and now crie, O friends,	with/  +A parody on O eyes, no eyes, [???] Span. Trag.	[ <del>which</del> a clubbe, and now, crie <sup>+</sup> , <u>O friends, no friends</u>
Sly my Then ( )	Anthony/x x i.e Antony Mundy, [crossed out words] the [???] of <u>Belvidere</u> .	<u>Sly my</u> Then (^)
I heare is <i>Nos Gallia</i> -bred thnked roofes, force life, loathing sinne for doomed gale deliuer send <i>gracis</i> and Ile Seate, Iambicke verse. Passe the before <i>his state</i> Mossy barbarians I tooke of a horse be, her nose is like honour me: earth wroting swelling vents the quantitie of <i>Ignorance</i> the Forasmuch...but also downe vent but Then at plaiers strange this mimick Returning neare to tongs the pen men day, dogges When that y our	d [deletion sign] Galli/ thatched/ life-loathing , fore/ gaol-delivery/ gyaris/ sate/ death. thee [in the other ed.] staffe/ [so the other ed.] Mo[s?t?] like/ 'a talks ---/ d rooting/ bladder/ qualety thy/ probably taken from some play. d a/ these ne'er/ pe[nn?n-?]men and/ d	I, here <i>Nos Gallia</i> <u>thanked</u> life-loathing sinne, <u>for</u> <u>gale deliuer</u> <i>gracis</i> and <u>Seate</u> <u>verse</u>  <u>state</u> <u>Mossy</u> <u>I tooke</u> be; <u>her nose if like</u> [comma x-ed] not yet; honour me: <u>wroting</u> swelling^vents <u>quantitie</u> <u>the</u>  <u>downe</u> at^plaiers <u>this</u> <u>neare</u> pen-men [- splotched] day,^dogges ÿ

Mal. 224(4)—2<sup>nd</sup> ed.

A2v expence:

vizards,

[margin] with A/

<sup>^</sup>which a clubbe,

A3r our [margin] your/ +

[in between last line & text block; referring to ‘Or make some sire’ line?]:

‘: Perhaps alluding to Patient [Grewill?]. | a comedy; 1603.

[after block] ‘+ So the other copy, printed in the same | year, but a different edition. See | it is vol. 50.’

B1r flores-poetarum

[margin] ‘In the M | copy | floref.’ [f possibly long s? t?]

B1v { But I pray...

{ be proud...

[at bottom of page] ‘These [??] lin[es] are at top of next page in the M[u]s | copy.’

D1r a show that you

[margin] x

F2r to take the for-

[margin] x

F3v S. Rad. Why

[margin] x

F3v you from Ostend

[margin] x

Harvard—STC 19310 14434.76.182\* (2nd edition)

B1v sweeter

| *Ing.* A swifter Swan

B2r Samuel Daniel

| *Henry Constable, S.D. Thomas Lodge,*

B2r Daniell

| hony dropping *D*: doth wage

B2r Ruffian

| Me thinks he is a Ruffin in his stile

B2v buskined

| was happy in his buskine mu e, [**in this copy the s did not print**]

B2v unhappy

| Alas vnhaypy in his life and end

B2v Benjamin Johnson

| *B.I.*

B2v lazy

| loues foolish languishment.

B3r tea[r]me

| vpon tearmes to serue the turne, with their

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