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**Performing Consumption and Consuming Performance: A 17th
Century Play Collection**

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**Submitted for the qualification of Doctor of Philosophy in English
Literature**

University of Sussex

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Declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis has not been and will not be, submitted in whole or in part to another University for the award of any other degree.

Signature:.....

Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I would like to thank my supervisor Professor Mat Dimmock, whose advice, guidance and persistent faith in my ability to complete this thesis have been invaluable. I would also like to thank my secondary supervisor Professor Margaret Healy who has supported my academic endeavours throughout my time as a postgraduate. I am also grateful to all of the Sussex CEMMS staff and doctoral students who have helped and supported me over the years.

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During my studies I have crossed paths with a number of scholars working on either plays in the volumes or the Percy family and their wider circle. I am grateful to Dr Daniel Starza-Smith, Dr David McInnis and most of all to Professor Robert Alexander for their extremely valuable insights.

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UNIVERSITY OF SUSSEX

MARIA KIRK

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN ENGLISH LITERATURE

PERFORMING CONSUMPTION AND CONSUMING PERFORMANCE: A 17th CENTURY

PLAY COLLECTION

Summary

This thesis explores the relationship between performance and consumption in relation to play collection in the 1630s, and also examines the wider contexts of performance and consumption in that decade. It proposes that the 1630s were a decade characterised by particularly self-conscious performances of consumption, and that this environment contributed directly to the beginnings of the collection of books for display purposes. A focus on the Petworth collection and its original collector is maintained throughout the thesis, which weaves together the material and literary content of the collection.

Using material evidence from the volumes themselves, this thesis demonstrates that the collection was purchased in 1638 by the 10th Earl of Northumberland through an agent who assembled the collection specifically for the Earl just prior to his purchase of it. It also demonstrates, again using evidence from the volumes themselves, that the purchase was partly informed by principles of education, personal taste and a consideration for family history, but that the overwhelming motive was the drive to consume and to perform that consumption. Using the literary content of the collection to explore representations of performed consumption, this thesis tracks the development of the conceptualisation of consumption on the stage from the wariness about dangerous consumption in the late Elizabethan period to the much more open, and yet still rather complex, attitudes of the 1630s. Finally, the thesis discusses some other kinds of public, performed consumption, including a procession by Northumberland and an entertainment with which he was connected, exploring the explicitly social elements of performance.

The Petworth play collection is at once anomalous and typical as an example of mid-17th century book collection, and it can be used to illustrate and map the multitude of issues, concepts and attitudes which surround performance, consumption and collection in the 1630s, and beyond.

Abbreviations

EEBO – Early English Books Online

ESTC – English Short Title Catalogue

DEEP – Database of Early English Playbooks

DOI – Digital Object Identifier

JSTOR – Journal Storage

MS - Manuscript

PHA – Petworth House Archive

URL – Uniform Resource Locator

Further notes

All images of the Petworth playbooks taken by the author and included with permission from The National Trust. All other images used with permission.

Stable URLs are given for online sources, primarily from JSTOR and EEBO, or if these are not available then DOI numbers are given instead.

All early printed books, except for the plays themselves, were accessed via EEBO. In some cases, EEBO copies of some of the Petworth plays were also consulted; stable URLs are provided in the bibliography for these editions only. All stable URLs given for EEBO access via Jisc Historical Books.

Contents

Declaration	i
Acknowledgements	ii
Summary	iii
Abbreviations	iv
Notes	iv
Contents	v
List of figures	vii
List of tables	viii
 Introduction	 1
• Petworth and the Percy family	8
• The play collection	15
• Playbooks, sammelbände and composite volumes	17
• Methodology	23
• Consumption, performance and collection: Defining some terms	25
• The content of the thesis	33
 Chapter 1: Consuming Collection	 37
• The shape of the collection and the “missing” plays	47
• The purchase of the plays	53
• The organisation of the collection	58
• Authorship	60
• Theme and genre	70
• Date	74
• Marks and annotation	80
• Conclusion: methods of construction	98
 Chapter 2: Performing Collection	 103
• Collecting in the 1630s: art and architecture	111
• Learning to collect	115
• Composite volumes as collections	124
• Collecting in the 1630s: books	129
• Play collection and popularity	140
• Conclusion: the purpose of the collection	144
 Chapter 3: Performing Consumption on the Theatrical Stage	 151
• Allure and danger	158
• Intoxicants on the stage	169
• Communities of consumption	180
• Hospitality and morality	188
• Consuming books on the early modern stage	202
• Conclusion: performance, consumption and communication	209
 Chapter 4: Consuming on the social stage	 210
• The entertained audience	214
• The gift of feasting and the hospitable host	220

• Procession and publicity	226
• Performance and drama in the 10 th Earl's library	239
• "To the Reader": Books as entertainment and the imagined audience	245
• Conclusion: deliberate consumption, deliberate performance	252
Conclusion	255
• Belonging: the collection and the library	255
• The 1630s: a time of change	262
• Conclusion: the Petworth collection and its place in history	268
Bibliography	270
Appendix 1: List of plays in the Petworth collection by volume	285
Appendix 2: List of plays in the lost volumes	311

List of figures

Chapter 1

1.1	Annotation on <i>King Lear</i>	43
1.2	Percy crest on volume 10	44
1.3	Play list for volume 1	48
1.4	1690 catalogue listing plays by volume	49
1.5	Detail of 1690 catalogue showing omission of most plays in volume 12	50
1.6	Detail of 1690 catalogue showing pencil ticks and zeros	51
1.7	Crossed out author name ("by John Lyly") on <i>Loves Metamorphosis</i>	82
1.8	Crossed out author name (John Lyly) on <i>The Woman in the Moon</i>	82
1.9	Pre-emptive copying of worn lines on <i>The Two Noble Kinsmen</i>	84
1.10	Alteration of 0 to 6 on <i>Wine, Beer, Ale and Tobacco</i>	84
1.11	Asterisk on <i>The Broken Heart</i>	86
1.12	Ownership mark "Rich Crashawe" on <i>A Woman Never Vext</i>	87
1.13	Ownership mark "Rich Crashawe" on <i>The Love of King David and Fair Bethsabe</i>	87
1.14	Ownership mark "Judith Cundel" on <i>What You Will</i>	88
1.15	Ownership mark "Elizabeth Wallor" on <i>Two Wise Men and All the Rest Fools</i>	89
1.16	Number annotation on title page of <i>Poetaster</i>	89
1.17	Number annotation on title page of <i>A Looking Glass for London and England</i>	89
1.18	Number annotation on title page of <i>The Revenger's Tragedy</i>	89
1.19	Possible "bundle" price on the title page of <i>Parasitaster</i>	91
1.20	Restoration on <i>Parasitaster</i>	93
1.21	Restoration on <i>Parasitaster</i>	93

Chapter 2

2.1	<i>Henry Percy, 9th Earl of Northumberland</i> (1602)	106
2.2	Nicholas Hilliard, (c.1595). <i>Henry Percy, 9th Earl of Northumberland</i>	107
2.3	Anthony Van Dyck. <i>Henry Percy, 9th Earl of Northumberland</i>	108
2.4	Anthony Van Dyck. <i>Henry Percy, 8th Earl of Northumberland</i>	109
2.5	Anthony Van Dyck (1638). <i>Algernon Percy, 10th Earl of Northumberland</i>	111
2.6	Annotation on <i>The Broken Heart</i>	135
2.7	Annotation on <i>The Picture</i>	135
2.8	Annotation on <i>Othello</i>	146
2.9	Annotation on <i>Othello</i>	148
2.10	Annotation on <i>Northward Hoe</i>	149
2.11	Annotation on <i>The Miseries of Inforced Marriage</i>	149

Chapter 3

3.1	Annotation on <i>Doctor Faustus</i>	152
3.2	<i>Doctor Faustus</i> title page	159
3.3	<i>Old Fortunatus</i> title page	159
3.4	Peter Paul Rubens, <i>The Judgement of Paris</i> , c. 1636	167
3.5	<i>A Looking Glass for London and England</i> title page	170

3.6	<i>Technogamia</i> title page	170
3.7	<i>Wine, Beer, Ale and Tobacco</i> title page	170
3.8	<i>The Great Duke of Florence</i> title page	181
3.9	<i>Aristippus</i> title page	181
3.10	<i>Loves Maistress</i> title page	189
3.11	<i>The Lady of Pleasure</i> title page	189
3.12	<i>The Elder Brother</i> title page	203
3.13	<i>A Contention for Honour and Riches</i> title page	203
Conclusion		
5.1	“Old Plays” label on volume 2	256
5.2	Previous catalogue numbers on volume 4	258
5.3	Remnant of catalogue stamp	259
5.4	Unknown cataloguing system on volume 3	259

List of tables

Chapter 1

1.1	Contents of volume 8	38
1.2	Contents of volume 12	38
1.3	Binding groups	59
1.4	Plays by Shirley in volumes 4 and 6	66
1.5	Contents of volume 7	66
1.6	Contents of volume 1	67
1.7	Contents of volume 4	68
1.8	Contents of volume 10	68
1.9	Contents of volume 16	70
1.10	Contents of volume 6	75
1.11	Contents of volume 9	75
1.12	Contents of volume 11	75
1.13	Contents of volume 2	76
1.14	Contents of volume 5	76
1.15	Contents of volume 14	76
1.16	Contents of missing volume 3	77
1.17	Chronological organisation and binding groups	78
1.18	Quartos with numbers written on title page	90

Introduction

When John Taylor, the self-styled “Water Poet”, wrote his 1636 travel guide to England, he observed that Petworth in West Sussex was “a pretty Market-towne, where the Earle of *Northumberland* hath a goodly house, and is an honourable and bounteous housekeeper”.¹ The house to which Taylor refers is Petworth House, owned for the majority of the 17th century by the 9th, 10th and 11th Earls of Northumberland - Henry (1564-1632), Algernon (1602-1668) and Josceline (1644-1670) Percy respectively - and was acquired towards the end of the century by Charles Seymour, the 6th Duke of Somerset, following his marriage to the 11th Earl’s daughter.

The “honourable and bounteous” hospitality extended by Algernon Percy, 10th Earl of Northumberland (incumbent at the time of Taylor’s writing) would have been extended to many visitors in the mid-17th century, as was the custom for aristocratic gentleman with country houses. Petworth was the Earl’s main residence, though his household also spent time at his London residences including Syon House in Brentford and Northumberland House (also known as Suffolk House) in the Strand. The “goodly house” observed by Taylor was a medieval manor house, extensively remodelled by the 10th Earl, his father the 9th Earl and his grandfather the 8th Earl. Visitors in the 1630s, as today, would have found themselves on the doorstep of the house almost as soon as they entered Petworth town from the north or east. The house and its inhabitants loomed over the town: visible, conspicuous, with the Earls frequently in residence (though not ever-present) and involved, both by tradition and practice, with the running of the town itself. Beyond the house were areas of parkland allowing for

¹ John Taylor, *The honorable, and memorable foundations, erections, raisings, and ruines, of divers cities, townes, castles, and other pieces of antiquitie within ten shires and counties of this kingdome* (London: Printed for Henry Gosson, 1636). <<https://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/eebo-99848757e>> [accessed 01 Nov 2012] fol. A3^r.

plentiful hunting of deer and rabbits, and surrounding the house itself were formal gardens dating largely from the time of the 8th Earl of Northumberland (1532-1585), the first of a long line of Percys to live full time in the southern residence following his enforced move there by Elizabeth I from the northern seat of Alnwick Castle. The gardens were used and enjoyed by many visitors. Writing in the 1620s Sir Robert Sidney, son-in-law of the 9th Earl and brother-in-law to the 10th, described a walk around the house taking in a bowling green, “the Birch Walk” and “the Garden where the Roses are”.² Further features included a fountain, kitchen garden, and tennis courts; the gardens and grounds were evidently designed and maintained with practicality, leisure pursuits, and aesthetic pleasure in mind.³

A visitor to the 10th Earl’s household at Petworth would have likely been entertained in the Great Chamber, as Sidney was in the 1620s. The manifold purposes and effects of such entertainments are drawn together in a complex web of consumption and performance. Hospitality, as Felicity Heal points out, was an important concept in early modern England with a long history dating back to the medieval period, rooted “both in the Christian idea of harbourousness and in the sense of obligation to give food and lodging that was part of knightly culture”.⁴ A key part of such hospitality was the provision and consumption of food and alcohol, serving as a symbolic - even ritual - act of provision of sustenance by the host, but also as a facilitator to sociability and conviviality in part through the psychoactive qualities of alcohol. Tobacco, too, would have played a part in the entertainments at Petworth,

² *Letters and memorials of state* Ed. Arthur Collins (London: Printed for T. Osborne, 1746) pp. 124-125. <<https://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/eccoi-1732600301>> [accessed 08 Feb 2016].

³ Gordon Batho, ‘The Percies at Petworth’ in *Sussex Archaeological Collections* Volume 96, 1957. pp. 1-27, p. 11, p. 17.

⁴ Felicity Heal, *Hospitality in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), p. 5.

particularly as smoking had been a favourite activity of the 9th Earl. While the host provided hospitality through consumption, the guest played his own part too, in Thorstein Veblen's words, "[consuming] vicariously for his host at the same time that he is witness to the consumption of that excess of good things which his host is unable to dispose of singlehanded, and [also being] made to witness his host's facility in etiquette".⁵ The conspicuous consumption to which a 17th century visitor to Petworth House would have been both witness and party to was not limited to food and drink. Jeremy Wood has suggested that the 10th Earl may have kept his art collection in the 1630s at his rented London residence Dorset House where "they would have been an important part of the public face that [he] turned toward the court", but it is also likely that at least some of the collection - made up of paintings that he had purchased and commissioned himself along with those inherited from his father - would have hung on the walls at Petworth.⁶ Certainly, the 9th Earl kept his paintings there, and no doubt some would have remained from his collection at least to decorate what was his son's main home for most of the 1630s. The 10th Earl's art collection was an astute display of his carefully cultivated taste as this description of his collection, written by John Evelyn after visiting Northumberland House in the 1650s, makes clear:

I went to see the Earle of Northumberlands Pictures, whereoff that of the Venetian Senators was one of the best of Titians & another of Andrea de Sarta, viz, a Madona, Christ, St. John & an old Woman &c: a St. Catharine of Da Vinci, with divers Portraits of V. Dyke, a Nativity of Georgioni: The last of our blessed Kings, & D: of Yorke by Lilly: A rosarie of flo: by the famous Jesuite of Bruxells & severall more:⁷

⁵ Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007). pp. 53-54.

⁶ Jeremy Wood, 'Van Dyck and the Earl of Northumberland: Taste and collecting in Stuart England' in *Van Dyck 350* Eds. Susan Barnes and Arthur K. Wheelock (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 1994) p. 294.

⁷ John Evelyn, 'Kalendarium, 1650-1672' in *The Diary of John Evelyn, Vol 3* Ed. E.S de Beer. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1955. Oxford Scholarly Editions Online, 2012) p. 217. <DOI: 10.1093/actrade/9780198187509.book.1> [accessed 08 Feb 2016].

The 10th Earl's art collection displays his appreciation of established masters such as Titian, but also his patronage and support of more recent fashionable and contemporary artists including Anthony Van Dyck and Peter Lely, both of whom he commissioned to paint for him. Amongst those paintings commissioned by the 10th Earl were images of himself, his wife and his children, and also posthumous paintings of his recent ancestors including the 8th and 9th Earls. The 10th Earl's life at Petworth was integrated with, and in some ways defined by, his father and grandfather, not least in that all three men had made the south, rather than the north, their home.

One important way in which the 10th Earl's life at Petworth overlapped with his fathers' was in his library and book collection. One of the many rooms in the house was a library, housing a large collection of books belonging to the 9th and 10th Earls, as well as mathematical instruments and globes. The 9th Earl kept the majority of his library at Petworth with further books at Syon House. This was most probably also the case for the 10th Earl, who built on and developed his father's collection. By the beginning of the 18th century private libraries and museums were found in the gentlemen's houses all over the country.⁸ This relative golden age of private collection was beginning to taking shape in the early to mid-17th century, and indeed had its roots in a much older tradition.⁹ A 17th century visitor may have been able to appreciate not only the 10th Earl's taste in art, but also his collection of books. Certainly, reading was a pastime at Petworth not just for the Earl but for his guests; in

⁸ Ken Arnold describes early museums as being "quite common" by the end of the 17th century. There were at least 100 private collections and six institutional museums in England at the time (*Cabinets for the Curious: Looking Back at Early English Museums* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2005) p. 13).

⁹ Susan M. Pearce's detailed history of collection traces the European tradition of collecting back to ancient cosmologies and prehistoric burial hoards, and identifies the early modern period, and particularly the 17th century, as the point at which collection became a self-conscious activity with a defined and recognised purpose: to use objects as "material witnesses to the truth of historical narrative, concrete assertions of the moral which can be drawn from the stories themselves". (*On Collecting*, (London: Routledge, 1999) p. 116.)

1635 George Garrard, a visiting friend of the Earl, found himself unable to take advantage of the bowling green due to wet weather and instead sought entertainment in “reading tales out of a chronicle” to the Lady Northumberland and her midwife.¹⁰ The books in the library would likely have been consulted, loaned out or perhaps even gifted to the 10th Earl’s acquaintances and fellow bibliophiles like Conway, or the Earl’s Sussex neighbour the Earl of Arundel.¹¹ It was not until the 18th century that the library fully realized its potential as a social space, but the 17th century library can certainly be characterized as moving towards such a function.¹² The library, like the rest of the house, was a space in which consumption could be performed.

Today, Petworth House is owned and managed not by the Percys, but by the National Trust. Nevertheless a modern visitor will still find themselves immersed in the culture of collection and display. The current house is largely the design of its owner in the late 17th and early 18th century, Charles Seymour, known as “The Proud Duke”. During Seymour’s ambitious rebuilding process, much of the original manor house was levelled and, while the new house incorporated some parts of the old, the layout was very much changed. The current grounds were designed in the 1750s by Lancelot ‘Capability’ Brown at the behest of Seymour’s great-nephew and eventual heir, Charles Wyndham, 2nd Duke of Egremont.¹³ While the manor house once owned by the 17th century Percys and their medieval ancestors no longer stands, a visitor to the house today will still find within the largely 18th century house a number of the same

¹⁰ The Earl of Northumberland to Lord Conway. SP 16/535 f.197. Aug. 30 1635 Accessed via *State Papers Online*, Gale, Cengage Learning, 2016.<<http://go.galegroup.com.ezproxy.sussex.ac.uk/mss/i.do?id=GALE|MC4326082238&v=2.1&u=sussex&it=r&p=SPOL&sw=w&viewtype=Manuscript>> [accessed 08 Feb 2016].

¹¹ See page 249 (chapter 4)

¹² See Clive Wainwright ‘The library as living room’ in *Property of a Gentleman: The Formation, Organisation and Dispersal of the Private Library 1620-1920* Eds. Michael Harris and Robin Myers (Winchester: Saint Paul’s Bibliographies, 1991) pp. 15-23.

¹³ Christopher Rowell, *Petworth House* (London: National Trust, 2002) p.4.

artworks, artefacts and architecture that a 17th century visitor would have seen. Alongside the paintings by Turner and Constable are some of the 10th Earl's Van Dycks and Lelys; in the North Gallery sits a globe made by Emery Molyneux once belonging to the 9th Earl; and in the Somerset Room an early 15th century manuscript copy of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* is on display. Traces of older architecture also remain; the most striking of which is the 14th century chapel which is incorporated into the present house. Recent archaeological work in the grounds around the park has yielded further insights into how the medieval manor house would have appeared prior to the remodelling in the 1680s. Trenches were dug to the north east of the current house to uncover evidence of the lost north wing of the manor house; finds included building materials and decorations such as glazed fishscale roof tiles, lead from windows, and moulded plaster and cornices with Tudor rose designs, and also artefacts such as bowls, glass and smoking pipes.¹⁴ An exhibition showing some of the more important finds from the excavation can currently be seen in the old servants' quarters of the estate. In the summer of 2014 visitors would have been able to immerse themselves even further into the early modern culture of Petworth House by viewing an exhibition displaying some of early modern printed play texts, designed as a companion piece to a production put on at the house comprising of the performance of several extracts from early modern plays. This recent production was perhaps a somewhat more illustrious performance than Garrard's recitation of chronicle histories, but nonetheless it followed in his footsteps by performing early modern texts at the house. The legacy of consumption, performance and collection at early modern Petworth can

¹⁴ I am grateful to Tom Dommett, National Trust Regional Archaeologist for West Sussex, for this information.

still be seen today.

The plays on which the production and exhibition were based were drawn from a collection of early modern printed quarto plays which currently reside at the house, and have done since at least the 1690s. The quartos date from the late 16th and early 17th century and are bound together, in groups. The volumes were owned by the 10th Earl and were likely kept in the library at Petworth since their purchase in the late 1630s, although since no catalogue exists from this period there is a possibility they were kept in the 10th Earl's library at Syon. Regardless of their 17th century home, these hard backed, leather bound volumes gilt stamped with the Percy crest were evidently designed with display of some sort in mind - whether they were arranged in a shelf or in a cabinet, or taken out of a closet or chest to be shown to visitors.

It is this collection of plays which forms the backbone of the thesis, and, through them, I present an analysis of early modern concepts of and attitudes to performance and consumption in relation to collection and material culture. The play collection has a dual function in this study; it is both the material representation of a collection, and a textual record of social attitudes. In analysing these volumes as a collection, I examine the relationship between the collection and its first owner, Algernon Percy the 10th Earl of Northumberland. This relationship was informed by, and is representative of, early 17th century concepts of performance and consumption. Collection is an intersection where performance and consumption meet and are manifested through material culture. Later in the thesis I step beyond collection and explore further material intersections of performance and consumption in a wider cultural context, drawing on the plays themselves to illuminate some of the issues and conclusions. The thesis discusses performed consumption in the 1630s, and

demonstrates what the intention and purpose of this consumption was, how it was conceptualised by those performing and witnessing it, and what forms this performed consumption could take. I argue that performing consumption in the 1630s was an especially self-conscious practice, designed to communicate certain messages (as conspicuous consumption always is) but, crucially, that this performed consumption was overtly recognized and acknowledged as such by those performing it. This self-consciousness in relation to performed consumption directly contributed to the development of book collection and the displaying of collected books in libraries as a deliberate and organised activity.

Petworth and the Percy family

The 10th Earl of Northumberland could lay claim to a long and illustrious lineage dating back to the Norman Conquest. The Percys were an extremely prominent family in the medieval and early modern periods; their fortunes fluctuated from the dizzy heights to some rather gruesome lows. They have fascinated historians since at least the 18th century; in 1750 Arthur Collins published *An History of the Ancient and Illustrious Family of the Percys*. This was followed by William Peiris' *Chronicle of the Family of Percy* in 1845, Edward Barrington De Fonblanque's *Annals of the House of Percy* in 1887 and Gerald Brennan's *A History of the House of Percy* in 1902.¹⁵ In particular, the sprawling, multivoluminous work of De Fonblanque remains near-definitive today to those studying the Percys, spanning almost a millennium and containing a decent amount of information on each of the prominent Percy family members. As is

¹⁵ Arthur Collins, *A History of the Ancient and Illustrious Family of the Percys* (London, 1750); Edward Barrington De Fonblanque, *Annals of the House of Percy* (London: Richard Clay and Sons, 1887); Gerald Brennan, *A History of the House of Percy* (London: Freemantle and Co., 1902).

sometimes the case with older historical works, however, adequate sources and references are not always given, and consequently the accuracy of some of anecdotes can be difficult or even impossible to confirm.

The last two decades have seen something of a resurgence in interest in the Percy family. Alexander Rose's *Kings in the North* gives a detailed account of the medieval Percy dynasty but does not extend to the time of the 9th and 10th Earls.¹⁶ Richard Lomas' *The Fall of the House of Percy* similarly covers the fortunes of the family in the medieval period, specifically the late 14th century.¹⁷ Lomas has also written *A Power in the Land: The Percys* which, like De Fonblanque and the other early biographers of the family, covers a much wider timeframe and provides a comprehensive and thorough history of the entire dynasty.¹⁸

By far the most important 20th century biographer of the early modern Percy family was the late Gordon Batho, author of a number of works focussing on the 8th, 9th and 10th Earls. These articles include 'The Percies at Petworth' which describes the developments, both planned and finished, at Petworth house during the time of the 8th and 9th Earls, 'The Education of a Stuart Nobleman', on the 10th Earl's childhood education, and 'The Library of the Wizard Earl'. The latter in particular has been an important resource for this thesis.¹⁹ In his article on the 9th Earl's library, Batho made huge steps towards deciphering the catalogue numbers present on some of the 9th and 10th Earl's books, but which no longer relate to an extant catalogue, and the article gives great insight into the organisation of the library during the 17th century before

¹⁶ Alexander Rose, *Kings in the North* (London: Phoenix, 2003) pp. 86-87.

¹⁷ Richard Lomas, *The Fall of the House of Percy* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2007).

¹⁸ Richard Lomas, *A Power in the Land* (East Linton: Tuckwell, 1999).

¹⁹ Gordon Batho, 'The Percies at Petworth'; 'The Education of a Stuart Nobleman' in *British Journal of Educational Studies* Volume 5, Issue 2, 1957. 131-143; 'The Library of the 'Wizard' Earl: Henry Percy Ninth Earl of Northumberland (1564-1632)' in *The Library* s5-XV Issue 4 (1960) pp. 246-261, p. 256.

the oldest extant catalogue compiled in 1690. Together with Stephen Clucas, Batho edited an edition of *The Wizard Earl's Advices to his Son*.²⁰ He also wrote on 'The Finances of an Elizabethan Nobleman' - that nobleman being the 9th Earl - and produced an edited edition of the household papers of Henry Percy.²¹

Batho was by no means alone in his fascination with the 9th Earl, and Henry Percy's name looms large over most literature on the Early Modern Percys - as it no doubt would have done over the 10th Earl during his lifetime. The whimsically named "Wizard Earl" certainly captures the imagination - a scholar with a particular interest in science (hence the name), subject of a miniature by Nicholas Hilliard, owner of an impressive private library, and patron to intellectuals such as Thomas Harriot.²² The 9th Earl's intellectual interests are a popular topic for discussion; Hilary Gatti, like Batho, has written on the content of the 9th Earl's library - specifically with regard to the works of Giordano Bruno.²³ Aside from his intellectual pursuits, Henry Percy is also notable for his rather spectacular fall from grace - once favoured courtier of Elizabeth and even a potential suitor to Arabella Stuart, in 1605 the 9th Earl found his fortunes gravely reversed when he was imprisoned in the Tower of London after being implicated in the Gunpowder Plot.²⁴ Although there is no concrete evidence pointing to his explicit involvement, the main issue appears to have been his having dinner with his cousin Thomas Percy - a key conspirator - on the eve of the plot. However, his

²⁰ Gordon R. Batho and Stephen Clucas, *The Wizard Earl's Advices to his Son* (The Roxburghe Club, 2002).

²¹ Gordon Batho, 'The Finances of an Elizabethan Nobleman' in *The Economic History Review*, Volume 9 Issue 3, 1957. pp. 433-450; *The Household Papers of Henry Percy, Ninth Earl of Northumberland* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1962).

²² Mark Nicholls, 'Percy, Henry, ninth earl of Northumberland (1564–1632)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/21939>, accessed 2 Feb 2014].

²³ Hilary Gatti, 'Giordano Bruno: The Texts in the Library of the Ninth Earl of Northumberland' in *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, Volume 46, 1983. pp. 63-77. <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/751114>> [accessed 19 Dec 2013].

²⁴ Lomas, *A Power in the Land*. pp. 128-9.

historic correspondence regarding Catholic tolerance with the future James I in the latter days of Elizabeth's reign coupled with his willing employment of his Catholic cousin invariably rendered him untrustworthy in the eyes of the King. Additionally, the Percy family's history of Catholic rebellion would no doubt have been a mark against the 9th Earl – his father the 8th Earl, for example, apparently committed suicide by way of a bullet to the heart after his involvement in several Catholic plots.²⁵

Notwithstanding the long and somewhat chequered history of the Percy family, more recent events involving his father no doubt informed the 10th Earl's social and political movements. It is not for nothing that Lomas titles his chapter on the early modern Earls at Petworth (8th, 9th, 10th and 11th) 'The Political Tightrope'.²⁶ The fraught, rebellious and often violent history of the Percy family, still in very recent memory for the 10th Earl, especially after the gunpowder plot and his father's imprisonment, would certainly have affected his attitude to and relationship with King and court.

After the 9th Earl's death in 1632, Algernon Percy became the 10th Earl of Northumberland. The 10th Earl, though a less popular subject for study than his father, has nevertheless attracted some attention from scholars. As well as the aforementioned article on his education by Batho, the 10th Earl is the subject of two pieces by Jeremy Wood focusing on his artistic interests - one exploring his patronage of Van Dyck and the other his architectural activities.²⁷ Largely remembered as a serious naval man and as a prominent parliamentarian in the run-up to the civil war,

²⁵ Lomas, *A Power in the Land*. pp. 124-5.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 125.

²⁷ Wood, 'Van Dyck and the Earl of Northumberland'; 'The Architectural Patronage of Algernon Percy, 10th Earl of Northumberland' in *English Architecture Public and Private* Eds. John Bold and Edward Chaney (London: Hambledon Press, 1993) pp. 55-80.

the 10th Earl primarily allied with, and at one point became leader of, the peace party. Later, he was vehemently opposed to the regicide and withdrew from parliament during the Civil Wars and protectorate.²⁸ He is, however, notable for his social and cultural interests as well as his political movements. As the Wood articles both show, the 10th Earl was evidently interested in, and willing to spend his money on, material and artistic pursuits. Until now, his library and book collecting activities have been somewhat neglected, and, unlike those of his father, have not been the focus of any previous major study.

The Percy family in the 17th century extended beyond just the two Earls, and the 10th Earl had several other prominent relations. His sisters Lucy Percy Hay and Dorothy Percy Sidney are the dual subjects of Lita-Rose Betcherman's *Court Lady and Country Wife* which draws some interesting parallels and contrasts between the lives of the two women who married into rather different kinds of wealth and society.²⁹ An edited edition of the correspondence of Dorothy Percy Sidney published in 2010 reveals much about the 10th Earl's older sister and her friends, family and acquaintances. There are several letters to and from the 10th Earl in the collection.³⁰

William Percy, brother to the 9th Earl and uncle to the 10th, was a minor poet and playwright. A number of scholars in the early 20th century published articles on Percy, but his work is generally little read or indeed known today. Percy's interest in drama has prompted at least one scholar to suggest that he may have been the owner of the Petworth plays, although this now seems unlikely based on the evidence

²⁸ George A. Drake, 'Percy, Algernon, tenth earl of Northumberland (1602–1668)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008. [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/21923>, accessed 2 Feb 2014].

²⁹ Lita-Rose Betcherman, *Court Lady and Country Wife: Royal Privilege and Civil War - Two Noble Sisters in Seventeenth-Century England* (Canada: Harper Collins, 2011).

³⁰ *The Correspondence (c.1626-1659) of Dorothy Percy Sidney, Countess of Leicester*, Eds. Michael G. Brennan, Noel J. Kinnamon and Margarey P. Hannay (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010).

presented in the subsequent chapters. Six of Percy's plays are still extant, though only one exists in a modern critical edition; *Mahomet and his Heaven* edited by Matthew Dimmock. The play, as the title suggests, is particularly notable for its depiction of Islam.³¹

The 10th Earl's son, Josceline, inherited his title at the 10th Earl's death in 1668, but Josceline died only two years later in 1670 leaving no surviving male heir. As Josceline was the 10th Earl's only son, he was the last of his line to be titled Earl of Northumberland and the title became extinct. Petworth and all the Northumberland estates passed to the 11th Earl's daughter Elizabeth, Baroness Percy. Elizabeth married the "prominent courtier and politician" Charles Seymour, 6th Duke of Somerset in 1682.³² Seymour's major rebuilding of and renovations to Petworth House were mainly responsible for its appearance today. Algernon Seymour, 7th Duke of Somerset, who shared a name with his great-grandfather the 10th Earl, was the 1st Earl of Northumberland under a new creation of the title, and also the 1st Earl of Egremont. It is at this stage that Petworth, and the plays, became separated from the Percy name and from the Earls (later Dukes) of Northumberland. After Algernon Seymour's death the new title of Earl of Northumberland passed to his son-in-law Hugh Smithson, husband of Seymour's daughter and heir also named Elizabeth. Smithson changed his name to Percy on inheriting the title of Earl of Northumberland, and was later created Duke of Northumberland.³³ The current incumbent 12th Duke of Northumberland, Ralph Percy, is descended from this line of the family. Algernon Seymour's title of Earl of Egremont, along with Petworth, passed to his nephew Charles Wyndham. While the

³¹ William Percy, *William Percy's Mahomet and his Heaven: a critical edition* Ed. Matthew Dimmock (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006).

³² Lomas, *A Power in the Land*. p. 153.

³³ Lomas, *A Power in the Land*. p. 161.

title Earl of Egremont eventually became extinct, Petworth has remained in the Wyndham family and is currently owned by Max Wyndham, 7th Baron Leconfield, 2nd Baron Egremont.

Petworth house itself has been the subject of a number of writings, including the aforementioned 'The Percies at Petworth' by Batho. *Petworth Manor in the Seventeenth Century* by Hugh Archibald Wyndham, 4th Baron Leconfield is particularly useful for information about the finances and estate management of the house and town.³⁴ The other Percy residences include Syon Park, which remains open to visitors today and was owned by the family during the 17th century, and the now demolished Northumberland House. Alnwick Castle was the family seat and the primary residence of the Earls until the late 16th century, when the 8th Earl was removed from the Council of the North and instructed by Elizabeth I to live at Petworth. His heirs followed suit. Elizabeth's reason was primarily the 8th Earl's supposed involvement in the Ridolfi plot, but the family's historic involvement in rebellion and violence would no doubt have contributed to the Queen's wish to keep the Earl within easy reach and away from the volatile north.³⁵

This thesis contributes to the ever growing body of work on the Percy family. Through the lens of the 10th Earl's relationship with his play collection, I examine how he was both an exemplar of and exception to the culture of material consumption and performance in which he lived. This provides an instructive contrast to the substantial body of work on the 9th Earl's literary and intellectual pursuits, allowing for conclusions to be drawn about the developing nature of library and collection from father to son,

³⁴ Hugh Archibald Wyndham, *Petworth Manor in the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press: 1954).

³⁵ Lomas, *A Power in the Land*. p. 124.

revealing developments, inherited traits, and intriguing divergences reflecting both the passage of time and the idiosyncrasies of both men. I also present the first full length, systematic study of the Petworth plays, adding a much needed analysis of this dramatic sub-collection to the existing literature on the library.

The play collection

The Petworth play collection contains around 148 quarto plays, individually printed and bound into 16 volumes in groups of between 6 and 11. The most common number of plays in a volume is 10: seven out of the 16 volumes contain 10 plays. I have given the number of quartos in the collection as around 148 since there are some complicating factors which affect the precise number of plays in the collection. The most important is the presence of some two-part quartos which were printed together but presented separately in the collection – either by being bound in the wrong order, or simply listed as two plays rather than one in the contents list of each volume. Some two part plays are completely lacking a first or second part. Other two part plays printed together are listed as one. The number 148 is based on the plays as listed in the 1690 catalogue, and in the contents list at the beginning of each volume (excluding volume 12, which, for reasons unknown, has no such list).

The plays themselves are currently in the possession of the National Trust, and have been since 1952 when they were included in a settlement to the Treasury relating to taxes payable at the death of the 3rd Lord Leconfield. The house itself was donated to the National Trust by the 3rd Lord Leconfield in 1947.³⁶ While this has allowed the volumes to remain in their traditional home they are somewhat artificially separated

³⁶ Rowell, p. 4.

from their kin. The plays, as evidenced by a late 17th century catalogue, were once physically a part of the library, however the 1947 settlement did not include the majority of the library and the plays are now stored separately. Today, what remains of the library is in the possession of Petworth's current owner Max Wyndham, 2nd Lord Egremont.

Before this study began, the play collection was considered to be the work of both the 9th and 10th Earls of Northumberland, acquired over the first part of the 17th century and then bound at some point after 1690. However, neither archival evidence nor the evidence from the physical volumes bears this out. The idea that the plays belonged to both the 9th and 10th Earls, like the suggestion that the plays were owned by the 9th Earl's brother William Percy, can be ruled out with relative certainty in light of the evidence presented in here. Although many of the quartos are annotated (some heavily so) none of these annotations seem to be in the hand of either the 9th or 10th Earl. Additionally, nearly all of the annotations appear to have been made prior to the plays being bound, and they are in a wide variety of different hands. The confusion about the binding date arises from the recording of the collection in a catalogue of the Petworth library compiled in 1690. In this catalogue the plays are listed separately, which may have initially suggested that they were not bound. However, the plays do have brackets around each group which corresponds to the volumes, and within these brackets they are listed in their current order, so it seems extremely likely they were already bound by this point. Additionally, National Trust binding consultant Professor Nicholas Pickwoad has established that the bindings undoubtedly date from the mid-17th century.³⁷ This date makes the bindings roughly contemporaneous with the

³⁷ Nicholas Pickwoad (npickwoad@paston.co.uk). (10 Dec 2012 Email to M. Kirk (m.kirk@sussex.ac.uk))

purchase of the plays. The first chapter discusses the purchase in detail, and I will show that the collection was likely purchased by the 10th Earl “in bulk” - that is, as a whole, bound collection rather than individually, quarto-by-quarto, and prior to binding. This obviously has ramifications for how we consider the plays as a collection, and the Earl as a collector.

The annotations on the volumes can help to establish when they were bound, demonstrating that much can be learned about the collection from the volumes as material objects. A better term to use in place of annotations is the rather more neutral “marks”, since annotation implies a direct reference to the text, and many of the marks are seemingly unrelated to the plays that they are written on. The marks fall into the following key categories: names, copied text, restoration, catalogue numbers, unrelated marks, and miscellaneous related marks. Since this study is concerned with the collection of the plays rather than specifically with the reading of them, all of these kinds of marks are equally important to the analysis. Alongside the marks left by readers, owners, and perhaps even sellers, other material aspects of the volumes such as the bindings and the physical organisation of the plays within each volume are of interest.

Playbooks, *sammelbände* and composite volumes

The Petworth plays are a particular kind of book collection, in that the plays are collected not only into a group of 148 plays, but also “collected” together within their bound volumes. The modern concept of a “book” is of a complete, self-contained item that is fixed by the author, publisher, printer - indeed, by everyone except the end user. As Jeffrey Knight puts it, the early modern “notion of text... has been difficult to

reconcile with our own bibliographic and editorial standards”.³⁸ Volumes made up of two or more separately printed texts were common in the early modern period. There is some variation around the use of the term *sammelbände*, but generally the term is used to describe separately printed quartos which are bound together and sold by a publisher. There may be multiple copies of the same *sammelband*, with the same arrangement of texts. I have opted to use the term “composite volume” to describe the volumes, as it has a less specific meaning, referring to a volume made up of two or more separately printed texts. Some studies on *sammelbände* do not make the distinction, however, or use the term in a more flexible way.

Until relatively recently, the study of *sammelbände* and composite volumes as books in their own right has been largely neglected. Knight’s recent book *Bound to Read* in particular has opened up the study of various kinds of compilations, instigated by readers and writers alike. It draws attention to the “embodied practice” inherent in book production, arguing that both readers and writers approached the composition of a book as a customizable, unique activity; “Models of literary production in the period were to a perhaps surprising degree predicated on the possibility that a text could be taken up and joined to something else”.³⁹ While the creation of a book was a matter which concerned the readers as well as the writer, likewise the physical assembly of *sammelbände* and composite volumes was of concern to writers as well as readers. The status of a book as essentially “malleable and experimental” permeated

³⁸ Jeffrey Knight, ‘Fast Bind, Fast Find: The History of the Book and the Modern Collection’ in *Criticism* Volume 51. Issue 1. (2009). pp. 79-104. p. 96. <<http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/criticism/v051/51.1.knight.html>> [accessed 13 Nov 2012].

³⁹ Jeffrey Knight, *Bound to Read: Compilations, collections, and the making of Renaissance literature* (Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 2013), p. 8.

the entire industry.⁴⁰ Knight's study also offers some insightful literary interpretations of composite volumes, disputing the received wisdom that they have little or no internal organisation and demonstrating that in some cases there is "a rubric for interpretation in book form that we can begin to theorize [which is not] fully determined by the criteria of author, genre and textual autonomy that would guide later forms of assembly".⁴¹ In a similar vein, Alexandra Gillespie's work explores the composition of early 16th century *sammelbände* in manuscript and print.⁴² This new - or rather, rediscovered - way of reading compiled volumes is still something of an emergent form in book history, and the focus on the internal organisation of the Petworth volumes in chapter 1 will certainly engage those working in the field.

Work on composite volumes in general occupies a space somewhere in the overlap between research on the book trade and research on library history, and to varying extents involves more traditional literary analysis. Research on the 17th century book trade has greatly informed parts of this thesis, and some of the research presented here - particularly the archival evidence and the analysis of the physical volumes - will be of interest to book historians and contributes something new to field, namely the suggestion that collectors like the 10th Earl may have employed third parties to build collections for them. The place of playbooks in the early modern book trade has been much debated, and in the last three decades significant advances have been made in the field. Much recently scholarship was prompted by and responds to Peter Blayney's influential 1997 paper "The Publication of Playbooks", which set out

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 4.

⁴¹ Ibid., p. 68.

⁴² See Alexandra Gillespie, "'These proverbes yet do last': Lydgate, the Fifth Earl of Northumberland, and Tudor Miscellanies from Print to Manuscript' in *The Yearbook of English Studies* Volume 33 (2003) 215-232 <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/3509027>> [accessed 06 Feb 2014]; and 'Poets Printers and Early English Sammelbände' in *Huntington Library Quarterly* Volume 67, Issue 2 (2004) pp. 189-214 [accessed 13 Nov 2012].

the roles of printer, publisher and bookseller, and also presented evidence to explode “the old, unfounded myths” surrounding the publication of early modern playbooks; namely that the industry was rife with piracy perpetrated by unscrupulous publishers, and that “plays in quarto - especially important plays in quarto - must have sold like hot cakes”.⁴³ Blayney’s argument for the relative unpopularity of playbooks is largely based on the fact that “fewer than 21 percent of the plays published [between 1583 and 1642] reached a second edition inside 9 years”, indicating that playbooks generally took many years to return the publisher’s initial investment.⁴⁴ More recently, Farmer and Lesser have argued for a different approach. While agreeing that “the myth of piracy is false” and acknowledging Blayney’s work as groundbreaking and necessary for prompting a reassessment of the popularity of playbooks, they argue that “the “myth” of playbook popularity happens to be true”.⁴⁵ Farmer and Lesser posit that rather than considering playbooks a marginal, unsuccessful and relatively unimportant element of the book trade, they should be regarded as operating under “different structures of popularity”; advancing a new theory of what popularity may mean in relation to the book trade in this period.⁴⁶ Blayney, it should be noted, has rejected this reassessment and stands by his original stance of the relative unpopularity of playbooks.⁴⁷ Pointing to different indices of popularity - market share, reprint rates and profitability, as well as editions which were the central focus of Blayney’s study - Farmer and Lesser argue that playbooks were indeed a relatively successful and integral part of the book trade,

⁴³ Peter W. M. Blayney ‘The Publication of Playbooks’ in *A New History of English Drama* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997) pp. 382-422. pp. 383-384.

⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 389.

⁴⁵ Farmer, Alan B. and Lesser, Zachery. ‘The Popularity of Playbooks Revisited’ in *Shakespeare Quarterly* Vol. 56, Issue 1 (2005) pp. 1-32. p. 4. < <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3844024> > [accessed 04 Jan 2014]

⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 27.

⁴⁷ Peter W.M. Blayney, ‘The alleged popularity of playbooks’ in *Shakespeare Quarterly* Volume 56, Issue 1. 2005. pp. 33-50. <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/3844025>> [accessed 04 Jan 2013]

and, while not exactly “selling like hot cakes” to use Blayney’s phrases, were “middling-cost, middling-profit, lower-risk publications - an appealing profile for speculators”.⁴⁸ The relative popularity of playbooks is important when considering the activity of collection.

If playbooks sold relatively well, as Farmer and Lesser have suggested, then it can be assumed that owning them and integrating them into a library was not an especially uncommon activity. The early modern period saw an increase in private individuals building and curating their own libraries, however the place of playbooks within those libraries is by no means straightforward. The often-quoted Thomas Bodley excluded playbooks from his public library at its inception, calling them “riffe-raffe” and “baggage books”, hinting towards the status of playbooks as cheap, unimportant and disposable.⁴⁹ While this is sometimes taken as confirmation that playbooks were not particularly favoured by the elite at the beginning of the 17th century, Heidi Brayman Hackel has shown that they were regularly included in early modern private libraries, even as Bodley himself rejected them.⁵⁰ Lesser also argues that Bodley’s opinion may never have been representative of most gentlemen’s thinking. Playbooks and other borderline ephemeral works like pamphlets and ballads were indeed found in many 17th century libraries, and his comments are more likely to indicate “a disjunction between how people thought they ought to feel about playbooks and how they actually behaved” or that Bodley’s lack of interest in playbooks was because they were more “recreational” than “scholarly” and therefore

⁴⁸ Ibid. p. 27.

⁴⁹ Heidi Brayman-Hackel, “‘Rowme’ of Its Own: Printed Drama in Early Libraries’ in *A New History of Early English Drama* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997) pp. 113-30. p. 113.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

had no place in his scholarly library.⁵¹ In terms of the 10th Earl's library at least, playbooks were something of an anomaly. His father, as Gordon Batho has shown, was not especially interested in either drama nor indeed works in the vernacular.⁵² Whether or not they began the century as especially vilified, by the time the 10th Earl sought out and purchased a collection of playbooks, they had certainly undergone something of a renaissance in terms of form, status and role in society.

A further issue relating to the purchase of playbooks raised by Farmer and Lesser is what they term the "Caroline paradox", a situation where, in the years between 1629 and 1640 "judged by reprint rates, plays seem to have become less popular... yet according to two other indices of popularity - editions per year and market share - plays were at least as popular as ever".⁵³ Furthermore "in terms of both consumption and production, the Caroline book trade was thus fundamentally split", since the two markets - one for new editions, one for reprints - were handled by two different groups of publishers "with very little overlap between the two".⁵⁴ Farmer and Lesser tie this change in the structure of both the popularity of playbooks and of the market to the development of a distinction in purchaser motivations; first editions purchased by customers seeking a novelty, something new, current and relevant, "the latest play performed in the theatre, a desire that was temporarily and quickly superseded by other new playbooks". Second edition purchasers, however, were more interested in classics - "most of them dating from around the turn of the century".⁵⁵

⁵¹ Zachery Lesser, 'Playbooks' in *The Oxford History of Popular Print Culture: Volume One: Cheap Print in Britain and Ireland to 1660* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011) pp. 520-534.

⁵² Batho, 'The Library of the 'Wizard' Earl'. p. 256.

⁵³ Alan B. Farmer and Zachery Lesser, 'The Popularity of Playbooks Revisited' in *Shakespeare Quarterly* Vol. 56, Issue 1 (2005) pp. 1-32. p. 7.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

This idea of the creation of a canon of classic plays is intriguing and certainly pertinent to the Petworth collection, which contains newly published plays, reprints, and first editions of plays up to 40 years old at the time of purchase. An analysis of the contents of each composite volume has some interesting implications for the “Caroline paradox”. The contents of each individual volume seem to reflect the circumstances of their purchase: that is, all the plays in one volume were probably purchased at the same time. Given that the plays in each volume appear to have been purchased together, and given that the purchase was made during the Caroline period, the analysis in chapter 1 of plays within individual volumes reveals some intriguing food for thought in relation to the proposed “paradox”: some volumes conform to expected patterns, containing exclusively second-hand and reprinted editions, while others challenge it, containing new plays and reprints of “classics” alike.

Methodology

Although this thesis is much indebted to research on the book trade, and particularly to work on early modern playbooks, it is not a study of the economic conditions, market and playbook trade in its own right. There is a distinct lack of evidence with regard to the acquisition of individual quartos, since they came into the possession of the 10th Earl through a bulk purchase. This obviously does not readily allow for a reconstruction of how and where they were initially purchased, some of this can be discerned or at least theorized, but a large amount of assumption and speculation is involved. Secondly, for the purposes of this study I am interested in the provenance of the volumes and individual plays *only* insofar as this can provide insights into the act of collecting. An investigation into the purchase histories of each of the plays in the

collection might be possible if evidence exists and is uncovered in booksellers' accounts showing sales to the person from whom the 10th Earl purchased the collection - Sir John Borough - but this kind of research is beyond the scope of this study. Although some evidence and speculation will be presented concerning the "past lives" of the quartos, this study is ultimately more concerned with the 10th Earl of Northumberland's relationship with his collection, what that can reveal about cultures of consumption and performance in the 1630s, and how Northumberland himself acquired the plays, rather than how they were acquired by the person who sold them to him. While it does not argue for any kind of reassessment of the playbook market, the work presented here does demonstrate that playbooks were considered, at least by one collector, to be "collectible". It also introduces and describes a hitherto rarely considered method of acquiring playbooks in this period - that is, the purchase and assembly of a collection through a third party.

Although the material histories of the volumes are vitally important to this study, the content of the plays themselves cannot be ignored. A book as object is made up not just of the paper, leather, ink and board but also of the words and ideas within it. In the third chapter of the thesis I focus on representations of consumption, collection and performance in the plays within the collection to support and enhance the conclusions drawn from the material elements of the study. The plays contain valuable information about the society in which they were written and collected, information which can apply directly to the discussions of their collection, performance and consumption. They also represent a link between the collection and its collector. While the collection appears to have been purchased in bulk and there is no evidence that Northumberland was a meticulous and avid reader of each individual play, his

reasons for purchasing them were, I shall show, very likely to have been influenced to some extent by his interest in drama and the theatre. In reading and analysing the plays we can interrogate ideas about collection, performance and consumption which would certainly have been familiar to the 10th Earl. In other words, for a full analysis of the collection the myriad ways in which the plays themselves have been engaged with by authors, readers, and collectors must be taken into account. Consequently, this thesis blends literary analysis with book history and the study of material culture, along with archival research on the letters and accounts of Northumberland, in order to present an analysis of the collection itself, and to explore what it can reveal about the wider cultures of collection, consumption and performance in which it was constructed, purchased, and used.

Consumption, performance and collection: Defining some terms

The purpose of my research is to examine the Petworth play collection, and collection more generally, as an intersection between performance and consumption, and to build on this analysis to explore the wider culture of performance and consumption in the 1630s. As performance and consumption, alongside collection, are the key concepts explored in this study, at this point it is useful to turn briefly to some of the past and current thinking relating to them, and also to explain how I have defined and used the terms. There is, of course, significant overlap between the three terms, especially in the way that they were understood and conceptualized in the 17th century. The terms and ideas cannot be fully defined or described here, but they will be explored in much greater detail in the main body of the thesis - in the case of performance and consumption predominately in the latter two chapters, and, in the

case of collection, mainly in the second chapter, “Performing collection”.

The term “performance”, like consumption, has a number of related but somewhat distinct meanings. At its most basic, a performed action is one which is done in the knowledge that someone else is witnessing it. Theatrical performance, as J.F. and Karen Woodward put it, is “a *system*, a *structure* of signs”, and indeed we might apply this to performance of any kind.⁵⁶ Umberto Eco describes theatrical semiotics in particular as a “‘square semiosis’... an object, first recognized as a real object, is then assumed as a sign in order to refer back to another object (or to a class of objects) whose constitutive stuff is the same as that of the representing object”.⁵⁷ Performance is, of course, not simply a province of the theatrical - many things can be performed, and for a variety of different reasons, and other kinds of performance involve this “square semiosis” to varying degrees. Performance, like consumption, is a word which never ceases to loom large in our minds when we try to conjure up images of the 17th century.

Two distinct kinds of early modern performance can be outlined, both of which relate directly to the particular kind of material culture with which chapters 1 and 2 are concerned: playbooks. These objects embody both theatrical performance in that they are documents recounting the staging of a play - explicitly so in many cases, for they advertise on their title pages when, where and by whom they were performed, and they are also objects which are a kind of performance themselves, the performance of acquisition, of wealth, of collection, and of consumption. In both cases, the performer wishes to communicate something to those who see the performance through their

⁵⁶ J.F. and Karen Woodward, ‘For a Semiotics of Theatre’ in *SubStance* Vol 6. No 18/19 (1997), pp. 135-138. pp. 135.

⁵⁷ Umberto Eco, ‘Semiotics of Theatrical Performance’ in *The Drama Review: TDR* Volume 21, Issue 1. (1977) pp. 107-117. p. 111. <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/1145112>> [accessed 09 March 2012].

material and non-material choices. I will demonstrate that the volumes, bound and stamped, were intended to be part of a library lacking in this kind of drama, and that they were purchased, at least in part, to be part of a collection that was not entirely private - that is, it could be, and was, seen by others.

Collection is usually, although not entirely, rooted in the world of the material. The study of material culture has taught us that things have meanings, and that these meanings are produced and developed by the interaction of those things with other things, with us, and with the world in general. A book collection is an interesting kind of thing, or group of things, because it is a collection of culturally produced consumption goods, and also because it is a partially enclosed system of relationships, that is, it is a set of objects which relate to each other in a formally defined system. A commodity, Igor Kopytoff asserts in an important and still very influential essay from the late 1980s, "is a thing that has a use value and that can be exchanged in a discrete transaction for a counterpart, the very fact of exchange indicating that the counterpart has, in the immediate context, an equivalent value".⁵⁸ It must, according to Kopytoff, "not only be produced materially as [a thing] but also culturally marked as being a certain kind of thing".⁵⁹ The way in which the Petworth collection was purchased does in fact mark it as a particular kind of thing – it reframes it from a gathering of individual objects into a new, discrete, interconnected web of things. One of the goals of this thesis is to situate the Petworth play collection within the context of recent and current thinking on consumption, performance and collection - in the early modern period and more generally.

⁵⁸ Igor Kopytoff, 'The cultural biography of things: Commoditization as process' in *The Social Life of Things: commodities in cultural perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988) pp. 64-94. p. 68.

⁵⁹ Ibid. p. 64.

Although consumption is an issue in any society, the 17th century was a particularly important time in the history of consumption of certain kinds of goods. Tobacco, coffee, and other new luxuries gripped the public imagination and opened up new ways of socializing; overseas trade blossomed and luxury goods became more widely available; what Veblen would later term “conspicuous consumption” permeated society.⁶⁰ An important aspect of consumption, and one which is particularly relevant in the 17th century, is the physical consumption of food, drink, and that most “newfangled” consumables: tobacco. The 17th century was a time of especially heightened consumption of all kinds, and is characterized by a shift in attitudes towards it, as Linda Levy Peck notes, “demand for new goods and openness to other cultures challenged the negative identification with the foreign, the popish, and the decadent”.⁶¹ Throughout the 17th century there exists a particularly strong link between the eating of edible consumables and the acquisition and use of non-edible objects. It is tempting to try to delineate “literal” and “metaphorical” consumption - that is eating and drinking vs. the purchasing and acquisition of goods. The reality, especially in the early modern period, is much more complicated. This is evident from the persistent use of the food metaphor in relation to the acquisition of both material culture and intellectual knowledge. Denise Gigante has explored the notion of taste characteristic of the 18th century and onwards “understood in its fullest sense as a gustatory mode of aesthetic experience [as] a way out of abstraction and into a robust sensibility that flourished in the period known as Romanticism”.⁶² This association is a bodily one, where “taste is etymologically related to touch, and in the era of sensibility

⁶⁰ Veblen, 2007.

⁶¹ Linda Levy Peck, *Consuming Splendor: Society and Culture in Seventeenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005) p. 3.

⁶² Denise Gigante, *Taste: A Literary History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005) p. 16.

the skin became an expanded organ of assimilation, the subject interface by which human beings touch and taste the world of sensory reality".⁶³ While Gigante focusses on a slightly later period, this bodily connection between the touching hand, the tasting tongue and the engaging mind is one which we can easily see developing in the 17th century. The various kinds of material culture presented in here - predominately the plays themselves, but also the food prop and the social drink in later chapters - can easily be seen as prototypes for this picture of consumption. Consumption can be defined as a sensual experience which engages and unites the senses, and in doing so responds to certain social structures in relation to goods and the market.

Collection as a kind of consumption is explored in detail in this thesis, particularly in the first two chapters. As a hobby or pursuit for its own sake, collection was in its relative infancy in the 1630s. The activity itself was by no means new, for as Susan M. Pearce points out, "the accumulation of objects, first principally of stone and then of metal, witnessed by finds of burials and other deposits, is one of the most striking features of ancient society in northern and central Europe".⁶⁴ Pearce characterizes the shift in collecting in the early modern period not as a change of habits and methods of collecting so much as a change to the way in which people thought about and conceptualized it, and used their collections to think about and conceptualize the world. The modern concept of collection has its roots in the early modern periods, where "material must be observed and arranged in order to yield up its inherent knowledge, and important material must be preserved in order to

⁶³ Ibid., p. 11.

⁶⁴ Susan M. Pearce, *On Collecting: an investigation into collecting in the European tradition* (London: Routledge, 1999) p. 58.

continue to demonstrate the truths that are asserted”.⁶⁵ Early modern collection, then, is not just performative in that it is a display of wealth, but also because its key function is associated with observation, and the display and performance of knowledge itself.

This idea of the display of knowledge has a particular resonance for a book collection like the Petworth plays. A book collection is one which needs to be considered from both a material and a literary point of view. There are parallels and intersections between material culture and the literary or, more broadly, the linguistic. As Pearce puts it, “both mean something to their own societies; words and objects are pointless if they do not carry intelligible meaning”.⁶⁶ Marjorie Swann’s *Curiosities and Texts: the culture of collecting in Early Modern England* employs this pattern of analysis, and her work identifies texts “both as physical objects and as vehicles of representation” as being “vitally important to the negotiation of meanings of collections and collectors in early modern England”.⁶⁷ This tension between the material and the literary takes on a particular significance when it comes to printed drama; a medium associated with the physical even before it makes its way onto the printed page. I situate the assembly and purchase of the Petworth collection within both the burgeoning field of book collection and the development of drama - printed and otherwise - in the early-to-mid 17th century. Swann’s work shows that “modes of textuality and authorship were shaped by sixteenth- and seventeenth- century collecting practices”, and this certainly appears to have been true of dramatic works.⁶⁸

⁶⁵ Pearce, p. 116.

⁶⁶ Pearce, p. 14.

⁶⁷ Marjorie Swann, *Curiosities and Texts: the culture of collecting in Early Modern England* (Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), p. 9.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

Though the play collection is the main focus for the study, it must be located within its original home of the wider library, a collection within a larger collection of books. A key touchstone for this thesis has, unsurprisingly, been Gordon Batho's investigation of the library of the 9th Earl of Northumberland, the future iteration of which the Petworth play collection was integrated into. Batho identifies the "Wizard Earl", as he was known as having "long been recognized as outstanding among the English virtuosi of the early seventeenth century", and describes both his library and his collecting habits.⁶⁹ Though, as noted earlier, the 9th Earl was apparently not concerned with drama. I will show that the apparent difference in attitudes to printed drama between father and son was likely not just a divergence of personal opinion, but was influenced by and illustrative of larger cultural shifts in attitudes to consumption, performance and collection.

Batho's study of the 9th Earl's library is clearly very relevant to a study of the 10th Earl's play collection, but it is useful to look at other early modern libraries and book collectors to put the collecting habits of both Earls into context. The anthology *Property of a Gentleman: The Formation, Organisation and Dispersal of the Private Library 1620-1920* contains several useful essays relating to 17th century book collection, and also maps out the turns that book collection took in subsequent centuries.⁷⁰ Of particular interest in this collection of essays is T.A. Birrell's 'Reading as Pastime: the place of light literature in some gentlemen's libraries of the 17th century'.⁷¹ This explores the libraries and collecting habits of a number of 17th century collectors, including the 2nd Viscount Conway, a collector of play quartos (among other

⁶⁹ Batho, 'The Library of the 'Wizard' Earl'. p. 250.

⁷⁰ *Property of a Gentleman: The Formation, Organisation and Dispersal of the Private Library 1620-1920* Eds. Michael Harris and Robin Myers (Winchester: Saint Paul's Bibliographies, 1991).

⁷¹ *Ibid.* pp. 113-131.

things) and friend of the 10th Earl of Northumberland. David Pearson, prominent librarian and author of *Provenance Research in Book History* and several important articles exploring 17th century private book collection, notes “the extent to which books were acquired as status symbols, as expressions of social standing, as decoration, or as things to give away and create a memorial for posterity, rather than as things to read are all areas deserving more exploration”.⁷² While Birrell insists that his subjects are *readers*, not collectors, giving the definition that “if a man buys a book for any other purpose than reading it, or intending to read it, he is a collector, not a reader”, Northumberland’s relationship to his books is not necessarily so easy to define.⁷³ The Petworth play collection offers some intriguing insights into this issue of the role of books beyond reading, since the volumes were acquired by someone who was evidently interested in reading books and attending plays, but also bear many signs of having been intended for a purpose beyond reading. The bulk purchase of the plays, for example, coupled with the fact that there are several duplicate quartos within it indicates that Northumberland did not intend to treat all of the playbooks as “things to read”. From this point of view, Northumberland is perhaps better defined as a collector rather than a reader.

Readers are often identified and analysed through the marks they leave on their books, as demonstrated in studies of marginalia and annotation such as William H. Sherman’s *Used Books: Marking Readers in Renaissance Books* and Jason Scott-

⁷² David Pearson, ‘The English Private Library in the Seventeenth Century’ in *The Library* Volume 13, Issue 4 (2012), 379-399. p. 387. See also *Provenance Research in Book History* (London: British Library, 1998) < <http://library.oxfordjournals.org/content/13/4/379> > [accessed 28 May 2013] and ‘Patterns of Book Ownership in Late Seventeenth-Century England’ in *The Library* Volume 11, Issue 2 (2010), pp. 139-167 < <http://library.oxfordjournals.org/content/11/2/139> > [13 Nov 2012].

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 113.

Warren's 'Reading Graffiti in the Early Modern Book'.⁷⁴ As mentioned earlier, the Petworth collection has plenty of annotation and marking, but none of this appears to be the work of the 10th Earl. As a reader, he is materially absent from his books. Despite the lack of annotations from the 10th Earl, the annotations and marginalia on the volumes can be used to uncover the social history of these books, in some cases it can be used to chart their progression from one collection to another. Far from being irrelevant, the inscriptions of previous owners can in fact reveal much about the collecting habits of their final purchaser.

The content of the thesis

This thesis as a whole sets out to delineate the relationship between performance and consumption in relation to play collection in the 1630s, and also the wider contexts of performance and consumption in that decade. It proposes that the 1630s was a decade characterised by particularly self-conscious performances of consumption, and that this environment contributed directly to the beginnings of the collection of books for display purposes. The study begins with two chapters focussed predominately on the Petworth play collection itself, then widens in scope to include the staging of consumption in dramatic literature of the period and the preceding decades, and finally moves onto discussing the social roles that performance and consumption played in the 1630s. A focus on the Petworth collection is maintained throughout, weaving together the material and literary content of the collection.

The first chapter discusses how collection functioned as an act of consumption

⁷⁴ William H. Sherman, *Used Books: Marking Readers in Renaissance Books* (Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008); Jason Scott-Warren, 'Reading Graffiti in the Early Modern Book' in *Huntington Library Quarterly* Volume 7, Issue 3 (2010) pp. 363-381. < <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1525/hlq.2010.73.3.363> > [accessed 02 Aug 2012].

in the 1630s, focusing on the purchase, binding and organisation of the Petworth plays. It deals with the acquisition of the collection, how it was assembled and by whom. This chapter, more than any other, is concerned with the volumes as material objects and physical evidence. It explores what we can learn about the collection, and about collection as a concept, from the volumes themselves. A major source of information about these volumes are the marks that are found on many of the quartos. Most of these marks clearly date from before the collection was acquired and bound, so cannot tell us very much about the reading habits of the 10th Earl. They are, however, very useful in determining some of his collecting habits. The annotations reveal much about the “past lives” of the quartos, and also how they came to be together in their current incarnation.

The second chapter, entitled “Performing collection” describes how the collection was treated once acquired, and begins to delve into why the 10th Earl purchased it. It explores the relatively new activity of private collection in the early 17th century, discussing how the concept of collection and the identity of collectors developed. In doing so it looks at the history of collection within the Percy family; referring to a miscellany written by the 10th Earl in his childhood as well as exploring his interest in art collection. This chapter also investigates the library of his father the 9th Earl and some even earlier material, addressing the question of how books were defined, conceptualised and treated by the 10th Earl and his ancestors. This chapter also addresses whether and how collectors can be defined in relation to period, and whether or not Algernon Percy himself was one. Although the term collector does not seem to have been in use (at least in its current sense) in the 1630s, the concept of a private collector certainly was.

The third chapter, “Performing consumption on the theatrical stage” looks at various methods of staging and representing consumption in dramatic performance, predominantly among the plays in the collection. This chapter uses the literary content of the collection to explore the representations of performed consumption in some of the plays in the collection. It explores the changes in how these ideas are conceptualised and represented on the stage, contrasting some of the earlier plays in the collection with those written during the 1620s and 1630s.

The final chapter, “Consuming on the social stage”, focusses on some other intersections between performance and consumption in the wider social context. It centres around two specific performances of consumption: the 10th Earl’s induction into the Order of the Garter in 1635 which he celebrated by putting on a lavish feast and procession through London, and the royal entertainment at Oxford in 1638, which was attended by the 10th Earl’s friend and employee George Garrard, and commemorated in a manuscript later owned by the 10th Earl – an edition of William Cartwright’s *The Royal Slave*, a play which was performed at the entertainment. This chapter explores playgoing and, to some extent, collection as social activities, and includes an analysis of what is known of the 10th Earl’s playgoing habits. It also considers the library itself as a kind of stage, thinking about the 10th Earl’s library and the play collection’s place within it, and also the extent to which playwrights considered their audience to be readers and collectors as well as playgoers.

The conclusion brings the argument back to the Petworth plays, considering the play collection in light of the performed consumption (on and off the dramatic stage) described in the preceding two chapters, and examining how they have been treated and conceptualised as a collection from the 17th century to today. It seeks to

situate the play collection, and collection in general, in the wider context of the 1630s, the 17th century, and beyond.

Chapter 1: Consuming collection

The collection of play quartos at Petworth is not particularly well known today, and is mainly sought out by scholars collating extant copies for specific plays and editions. Consequently it is rarely seen or considered as a collection; indeed, editors are sometimes surprised to find that the play they are interested in is part of a composite volume. Composite volumes were a common feature of early modern libraries, with many consumers opting to make their own “custom anthologies” and becoming actively involved not only with “the physical appearance of texts but also in the internal organisation of the texts in bindings”.⁷⁵ In theory, the organisation within the volumes of the Petworth collection should offer an insight into the interests of the collector: the 10th Earl of Northumberland. The reality is rather more complex. An initial analysis of the organisation and contents of two very different volumes in the collection can provide an idea of how the collection was constructed, what kinds of methods may have been used, and what kinds of plays can be found within.

The first of these two volumes, volume 8, is made up of nine plays. The volumes in the collection include varying numbers of plays, ranging from six to eleven; nine is fairly typical. Several things are immediately noticeable in terms of the organisation of this volume. The date range is rather narrow, with all the publication dates falling within a six year period in the 1630s, and the plays are arranged chronologically. Another notable feature of this volume is that five of these plays were written by the same playwright, James Shirley.

⁷⁵ Jeffrey Knight, *Bound to Read*. p. 4.

Name	Author	Year of publication
<i>Changes or Love in a Maze</i>	James Shirley	1632
<i>The Bird in a Cage</i>	James Shirley	1633
<i>The Two Noble Kinsmen</i>	John Fletcher and William Shakespeare	1634
<i>The Knight of the Burning Pestle</i>	John Fletcher and Francis Beaumont	1635
<i>The Elder Brother</i>	John Fletcher	1637
<i>The Example</i>	James Shirley	1637
<i>The Tragedy of Romeo and Juliet</i>	William Shakespeare	1637
<i>The Royal Master</i>	James Shirley	1638
<i>The Duke's Mistress</i>	James Shirley	1638

Table 1.1 Contents of volume 8

Volume 12, however, shows a much wider range of dates, with a span of over 30 years, and indeed a greater variety in terms of authorship. As with volume 8 the plays are arranged in chronological order of publication.

Name	Author	Year of publication
<i>The Love of King David and Fair Bethsabe</i>	George Peele	1599
<i>Parasitaster Or The Fawn</i>	John Marston	1606
<i>What You Will</i>	John Marston	1607
<i>The Miserieis of Inforced Marriage</i>	George Wilkins	1607
<i>The Atheist's Tragedy</i>	Cyril Tourneur	1611
<i>Richard III</i>	William Shakespeare	1612
<i>Technogamia</i>	Barton Holyday	1618
<i>The Wedding</i>	James Shirley	1629
<i>A Woman Never Vext</i>	William Rowley	1632
<i>All's Lost By Lust</i>	William Rowley	1633

Table 1.2 Contents of volume 12

John Marston and William Rowley both appear more than once, with two plays each in the volume, but the range of authors is much wider than that of volume 8; in volume 12 there are ten plays by eight different playwrights. One noticeable feature in

terms of authorship is that both contain plays by Shakespeare. Composite volumes containing Shakespeare's works are relatively rare today, usually having been dismantled during the intervening centuries in order to "rescue" the play deemed most significant. Jeffrey Knight describes Shakespeare plays found in composite volumes as having been "almost systematically extracted, decontextualized, and clothed anew in material configurations that reflect little history of ownership or use".⁷⁶ The Petworth collection, however, contains 10 early editions of plays by Shakespeare including first editions of *Richard II* (1597) and *Othello* (1622).⁷⁷

Shakespeare is not, however, the most popular author in the collection. That role belongs to James Shirley: there are fourteen of his plays in seven of the volumes. Of the nine plays in volume 8, five plays were written by Shirley, one by Shakespeare and three by John Fletcher; one by him alone, another in collaboration with Francis Beaumont, and the other in collaboration with William Shakespeare.⁷⁸ The fact that there are nine plays by only three playwrights (four including Beaumont) certainly suggests deliberate grouping or purchasing.

Shirley's plays are inflected with Caroline sensibilities, but the others in volume 8 are Jacobean or Elizabethan in terms of style and date of composition. Fletcher and Shakespeare's *The Two Noble Kinsmen* (1634) was first performed in 1613; *The Knight*

⁷⁶ Jeffrey Todd Knight, 'Making Shakespeare's Books: Assembly and Intertextuality in the Archives' in *Shakespeare Quarterly* Volume 60, Issue 3. 2009. pp. 304-340. p. 313. <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/40468419>> [accessed 23 May 2014]

⁷⁷ The collection also includes the "Pavier quarto" edition of *King Lear* (1619, labelled as 1608 on the title page – see page 83 (chapter 1) for more details), 3rd editions of *Love's Labour's Lost* (1631) and *Henry V* (1619, also one of the Pavier quartos labelled as 1608 on the title page), a 4th edition of *Hamlet* (1625), 5th editions of *Richard III* (1612) and *Romeo and Juliet* (1637), and a first edition of *The Two Noble Kinsmen* by Fletcher and Shakespeare (1634). It also contains the 3rd edition of *The Troublesome Reign of King John* (1622) which is attributed to W. Shakespeare on the title page, but now considered apocryphal.

⁷⁸ *The Elder Brother* is usually attributed to Fletcher and Massinger, although only Fletcher's name appears on the 1637 quarto. For a discussion of the authorship see Cyrus Hoy, 'The shares of Fletcher and his collaborators in the Beaumont and Fletcher canon (II)', *Studies in Bibliography*, volume 9 (1957), pp. 143-162. p. 148. <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/40371200>> [accessed 08 Feb 2016]

of the Burning Pestle (1635) was into its second edition, the first appearing in 1613 after the 1607 production. *The Elder Brother* had not appeared in print before, but given that Fletcher died in 1625 the parts written by him at least were certainly set down long before the 1637 edition. *Romeo and Juliet*, first published in 1597 and performed in 1595, was evidently a particularly popular play, appearing in at least six editions before the 1637 edition found in the collection.⁷⁹ In volume 12, by contrast, the dates of first performance and first publication span a similar range to the dates of the editions. All of the quartos collected in the volume are first editions, with the exception of Shakespeare's *Richard III* which was in its fifth edition at the time the quarto in volume 12 was printed. In volume 12, the majority of the plays are Elizabethan or Jacobean, with the exception of Shirley's *The Wedding*, which was first performed and presumably written in 1626, very early on in Charles I's reign.

Generically and thematically, volume 12 is very mixed; featuring history, tragedy, comedy, allegory and biblical drama. The subject matter is similarly varied; from the domestic tragedy of George Wilkins' *The Miserie of Inforced Marriage* to the satirical courtier-in-disguise plot of *Parasitaster*, the murderous schemes of D'Amville in *The Atheist's Tragedy* to the bawdy city comedy of *A Woman Never Vext*. Volume 8 is much more cohesive in terms of theme and genre, to the extent where most of the choices seem quite deliberate. The five plays by Shirley are all fairly typical of his output and indeed much Caroline drama - gentle comedies of manners dealing with court life and the artifice surrounding it. Although it is a comedy, *The Bird in a Cage* echoes *Romeo and Juliet*, also in the volume, as it concerns a nobleman's daughter prevented from marrying the man she loves. The ending even features poison and

⁷⁹ All performance dates taken from *Database of Early English Playbooks*. Ed. Alan B. Farmer and Zachary Lesser. Created 2007. <<http://deep.sas.upenn.edu>> [Accessed 10 April 2014].

faked death, although in this case the resolution is a happy one. Fletcher's *The Elder Brother* (1637) also fits well with the Shirley plays, being a comedy concerning nobles, love rivalry and inheritance. Almost all the plays in the volume concern love and life at court, or at least in high society, and the complications that arise from these themes. The exception is *The Knight of the Burning Pestle* which, while still a comedy, instead satirizes the emerging citizen class of the early 17th century.

The editions in volume 12 were printed between 1599 and 1633. Despite their writing and first production dates, all of the editions in volume 8 were published in the 1630s, between 1632 and 1638. The quartos in both volumes are arranged in order of their printing date, and this is also the case for a further eight volumes in the collection. Two of the plays in volume 8 were published in 1638. This is the latest publication date found anywhere in the collection, and is especially relevant as the collection seems to have been acquired by the 10th Earl in 1638. Therefore, the three 1638 quartos in this collection would presumably have been bought new rather than second hand. This may also have been the case for some of the quartos printed in 1636 or 1637, which could have sat unsold for a period of time in the bookseller's shop. The only quarto in volume 8 which is almost certainly second hand is *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, this quarto shows some evidence of prior annotation.

As I have outlined, unlike volume 8 the plays in volume 12 span a wide range in terms of date and authorship. What unites the quartos of volume 12 is to some extent related to their age: the majority of the plays have been previously owned. Since the plays in volume 12 date from between 1599 and 1633, five years before the collection was purchased, presumably none of the quartos within were purchased as new. With the exception of *The Atheist's Tragedy* (1611), *All's Lost By Lust* (1633) and possibly *The*

Miseries of Inforced Marriage (1607), the quartos all show evidence of previous ownership in the form of marks and annotations.⁸⁰ The annotations are in a variety of hands and were clearly made before the volume was bound, as evidenced by the fact that the edges of many annotations have been cropped by the binder (see figure 1.1). Two of the quartos bear the same ownership mark and evidently came from the same previous collection.

These two very different volumes can provide insights into the collection as a whole. Volume 8 indicates that the person constructing the collection had novelty, fashion and popularity in mind when selecting plays. Volume 12, however, suggests the opposite: for these volumes the collector has taken a somewhat opportunistic approach, building a volume of mostly older plays in second-hand quartos, some from the same previous collection, with an apparent disregard to, or at least a much looser approach to, consistency of authorship, genre or theme. Taken together, the volumes pose a question: which of them can be held up as a model for the construction of the collection, and which is the anomaly? The rather contradictory answer is that both volumes are at once representative and anomalous.

Evidence can be found in the wider collection to support a theory that volume 8 reflects the overall makeup of the collection: there are a significant number of plays by Shirley throughout the whole collection, comedy is the most prominent genre, and over half of the quartos in the collection were printed in the 1630s. Conversely, an argument can be made for volume 12 as representative: there are a

⁸⁰ *The Miseries of Inforced Marriage* is an exceptional case as some of the annotations were made several decades after the collection was bound. This is discussed in chapter 2, p 43.

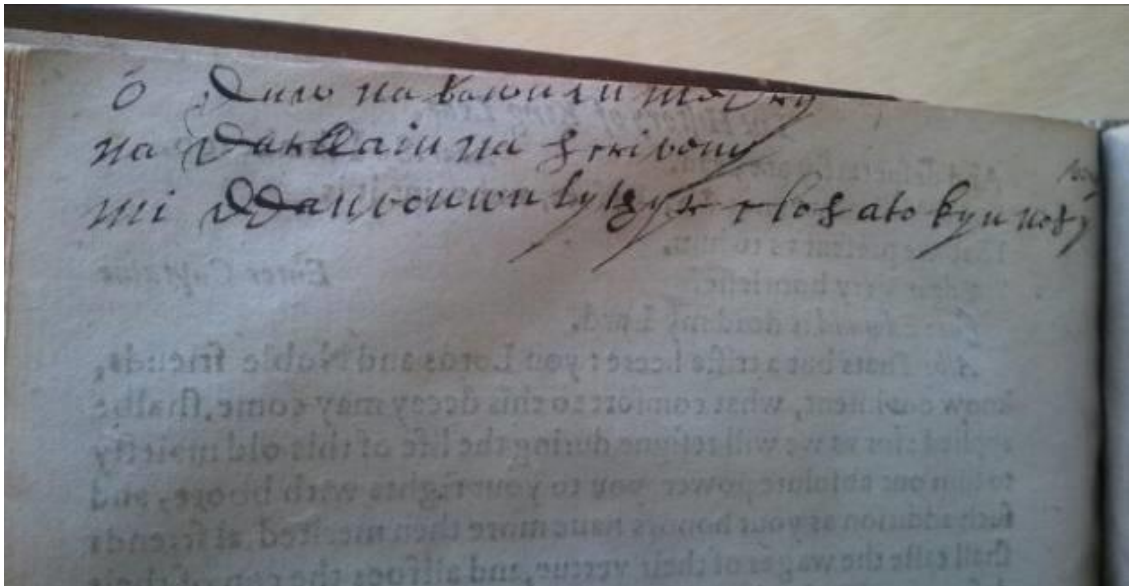


Figure 1.1. Annotation on *King Lear* in volume 14. By permission of The National Trust.

significant number of older, second hand plays in the collection, many of them evidently from a range of previous owners, and, while over half of the quartos were printed in the 1630s, that still leaves a large number which were printed before, with some dating back to the 1590s. In general, the construction of the collection appears to have been a largely haphazard endeavour, but certain volumes suggest coherence, organisation and selectivity. The assembly method combines the apparently deliberate purchase of new material with the opportunistic acquisition of second hand books, some in duplicate. Taken with other evidence from the collection itself, the life of the 10th Earl, his archives, and the wider social contexts of performed consumption in which the 10th Earl and the assembler of the collection were operating, these apparently conflicting methods of collection can be reconciled to produce an intriguing model of one particular approach to collecting in the 1630s.

The construction of the Petworth play collection has never before been



Figure 1.2. Percy crest on volume 10. By permission of The National Trust.

examined in an in-depth study, though some scholars have offered suggestions about its ownership and acquisition. The volumes in which the quartos are bound are gilt stamped with a crest used by both the 9th and the 10th Earl, although more usually associated with Algernon. This alone suggests that he was indeed the original owner (see figure 1.2.) Gordon Batho briefly mentioned the collection in his article on the 9th Earl's library, suggesting that it had been purchased by the 10th Earl. Edward Miller addressed the issue of ownership more fully in a short article for the *National Trust Yearbook 1975-6*.⁸¹ Miller suggested that the collection was most likely to have been assembled by William Percy, playwright and younger brother of the 9th Earl. Miller's

⁸¹ Batho, 'The Library of the 'Wizard' Earl' (1960); Edward Miller, 'A Collection of Elizabethan and Jacobean Plays at Petworth' in *National Trust Yearbook 1975-6: Studies in art history and history conservation relating to properties in the care of the National Trust*. (National Trust, 1977). pp. 62-64.

theory is largely based on literary and biographical evidence concerning the interests of William Percy, “a poet and amateur dramatist”.⁸² Percy’s own plays were written to be performed by children’s acting troupes, and Miller argues that Percy’s interest in such companies is reflected in the “high proportion of the Petworth plays... associated with the Children of Paul’s, the Children of the Revels, and other boys companies”.⁸³ He also suggests that the content of the collection “[reflects] the taste of the generation coming to maturity round about 1600”, and that based on this evidence “it would seem highly probable that at least the majority of these plays were acquired by poor William Percy and, at his death, passed into his nephew’s library at Petworth”.⁸⁴ This is certainly a reasonable hypothesis, and it is cited by Lukas Erne in his recent book *Shakespeare and the Book Trade*.⁸⁵ However, I have uncovered sufficient evidence to rule out the possibility that William Percy collected the plays, namely the record of a substantial amount of money paid for “playbooks” in the accounts of the 10th Earl in 1638. William Percy was not part of the 10th Earl’s household at the time of the purchase: as Miller himself notes, he was living “obscurely in Oxford, [drinking] nothing but ale”, so it is unlikely that the purchase was made by Northumberland on his behalf.⁸⁶ It is also debatable whether the proportion of plays by children’s companies really is “high”, as only seventeen of the quartos specifically mention performance by children’s companies on the title page, with a further seven having been performed by

⁸² Miller, p. 62.

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ Lukas Erne, *Shakespeare and the Book Trade* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013) p. 211. Erne briefly discusses the play collection, and refers to this PhD project in a footnote (although he states that the volumes were bound after 1690 as was once thought – this has proven not to be the case). Erne also suggests that the copy of *King Lear* is the 3rd edition from 1655, but it is actually one of the 1619 “Pavier Quarto” editions, dated incorrectly as 1608 (see page 83 (chapter 1) for more on the Pavier Quartos).

⁸⁶ Miller, p. 63.

a children's company without it being recorded on the quarto.⁸⁷ This does not seem to be a particularly high proportion, given the relative popularity of children's acting companies in the early 17th century.

Although Miller's central argument looks less convincing in light of the evidence presented here, the article does raise some interesting issues with regard to the collection and its owner. Miller's reasons for rejecting Batho's earlier assertion and dismissing Algernon Percy as a probable candidate for the collector are all quite logical. He states that the 10th Earl was an "austere and upright supporter of the parliamentary cause ... [who was] unlikely to have been greatly invested in a type of literature so harshly condemned by the majority of his political associates" and that the early dates of some of the plays "would also seem to indicate a collector of an earlier generation".⁸⁸ In some ways it *is* rather surprising to find that the 10th Earl was the one to have acquired them, and the age of some of the quartos certainly raises questions about the relationship consumers of drama had with older material. In this chapter I will offer some explanations as to how this apparently unlikely play collector came to acquire the volumes, and the next chapter will explore the specific motivations behind such a purchase for Northumberland himself.

⁸⁷ Those naming children's companies on the title page are: *Antonio's Revenge*, *Mulleasses the Turk* and *Parasitaster* by Marston (1602, 1632 and 1606), *Eastward Hoe* by Chapman, Jonson and Marston (1605), *The Fountain of Self Love* by Jonson (1601), *Love's Metamorphosis* by Lyly, *Northward Hoe* by Dekker and Webster (1607), *Michaelmas Term* and *The Phoenix* by Middleton (both 1607), *Humour out of Breath* by Day (1608), two copies of *Ram-Alley* by Barry (1611 and 1636), *The Dumb Knight* by Markham and Machin (1633), *Cupid's Whiligig* by Sharpham, *The Two Maids of Moreclacke* by Armin (1609) and *Cupid's Revenge* by Beaumont and Fletcher (1630). Those which do not mention a company on the title page, but which were performed by children's companies (according to DEEP) are: *What You Will*, *Histrion-Mastix* and *The Insatiate Countess* by Marston (1607, 1610 and 1613), and *May Day*, *Sir Giles Goose-Cappe*, *The Widow's Tears* and *The Conspiracy and Tragedy of Charles, Duke of Byron* by Chapman (1611, 1636, 1612 and 1625). For details of the specific companies as well as further bibliographic details of the editions, see Appendix 1.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 62.

The shape of the collection and the “missing” plays

The Petworth plays have been catalogued a number of times since their acquisition, and the early catalogues in particular can give some indication of the original shape and organisation of the collection and its place in the library. Each volume, except volume 12, contains a handwritten list of the plays contained with it at the front (see figure 1.3). The earliest extant catalogue of the Petworth library, named *Catalogus Librorum Bibliothecae Petworthianae*, dates from 1690.⁸⁹ The plays are listed in the correct order for each volume, numbered accordingly, and each group of plays is surrounded by a bracket which corresponds to the contents of a volume, confirming that they were indeed in their present bindings by at least the late 17th century (see figure 1.4).

Volume 12 does not have its contents listed in full in the 1690 catalogue (see figure 1.5). It was apparently initially left out and added later as an afterthought. Only the first play in the volume is listed, and appears to have been written into an existing gap. This volume also stands apart from the others in that it does not contain a handwritten list of the plays. However, the binding is contemporary with the other volumes, so it is more likely to have been overlooked during the cataloguing rather than added to the library later. The lack of both a list of plays and inclusion in the catalogue raises the possibility that the lists were written in at the time the collection was catalogued in 1690. However, since volume 12 has no flyleaf the reason for the omission of the list could simply be that there was nowhere to write it.

The organisation of the plays within the volumes has not changed since they

⁸⁹ West Sussex Records Office, Petworth House Archives (hereafter WSRO, PHA), MS. PHA 5377. The plays are listed on pages fols. 46^v - 48^v.

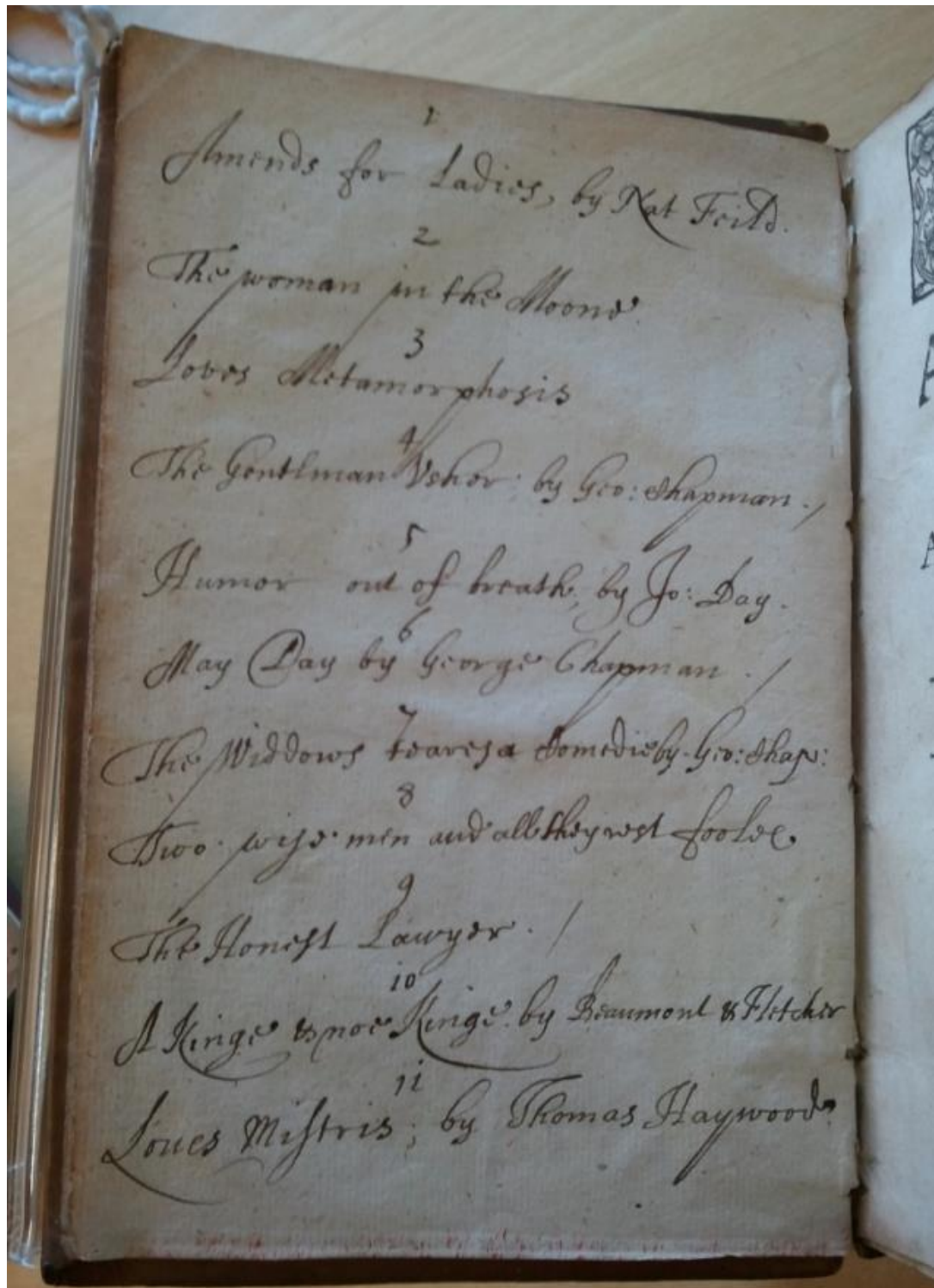


Figure 1.3. Play list for volume 1. By permission of The National Trust.

were bound in the 17th century, but the order of the volumes as listed in the 1690 catalogue does not match their current arrangement; at some point the volumes were assigned a sequential number (Volume 1, Volume 2, etc.) by which they are known today. The current designations are the numbers by which I will refer to them

Figure 1.4. 1690 catalogue listing plays by volume. MS. PHA 5377. fol. 46^v. By permission of the Earl of Egremont.

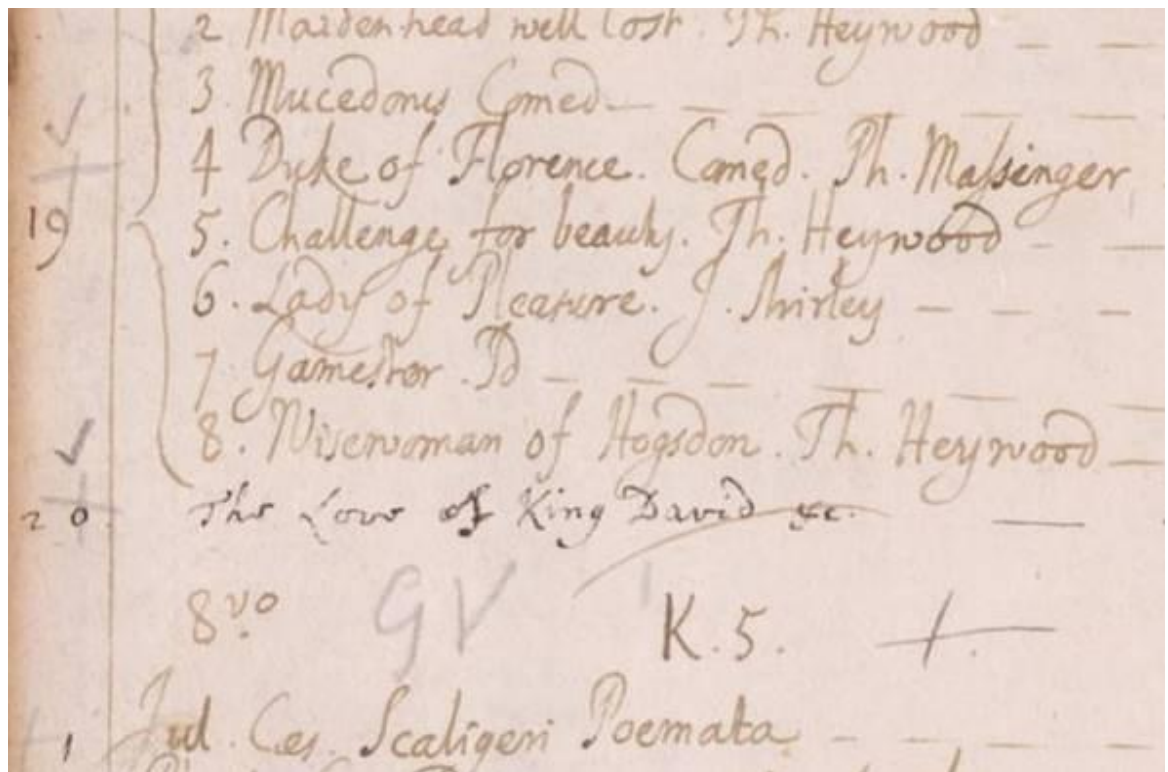


Figure 1.5. Detail of 1690 catalogue showing omission of most plays in volume 12 (originally listed as volume 20). MS. PHA 5377 fol. 48^v. By permission of the Earl of Egremont.

throughout this thesis. The 1690 catalogue does give a number to each of the volumes, but they are not consistent with the numbers they bear today. More interestingly, the 1690 catalogue lists 20 volumes of plays, and the current collection consists of only 16.⁹⁰ The missing volumes left the library at some point in the 18th century; three of them had apparently disappeared by the time the library was catalogued again in 1780 and the fourth at some point after that. In the 1780 catalogue there is an entry for “Plays: Collect. Of Old Quartos 17 vols”, indicating that at this point three of the original volumes had left the collection.⁹¹ As well as this entry, the catalogue lists some (although not all) of the plays as individual entries, and it is possible to identify from those that are included which volumes remained in the library at this time. These are the 16 still in the collection today, and “volume 13” from the original numbering. A later catalogue dated in the records as “late 18th early 19th century” entitled A

⁹⁰ See appendix 2, ‘Plays listed in the 1690 “Libri Poetici” which are no longer in the collection’.

⁹¹ WSRO, MS. PHA 5379. fol. 148^v.

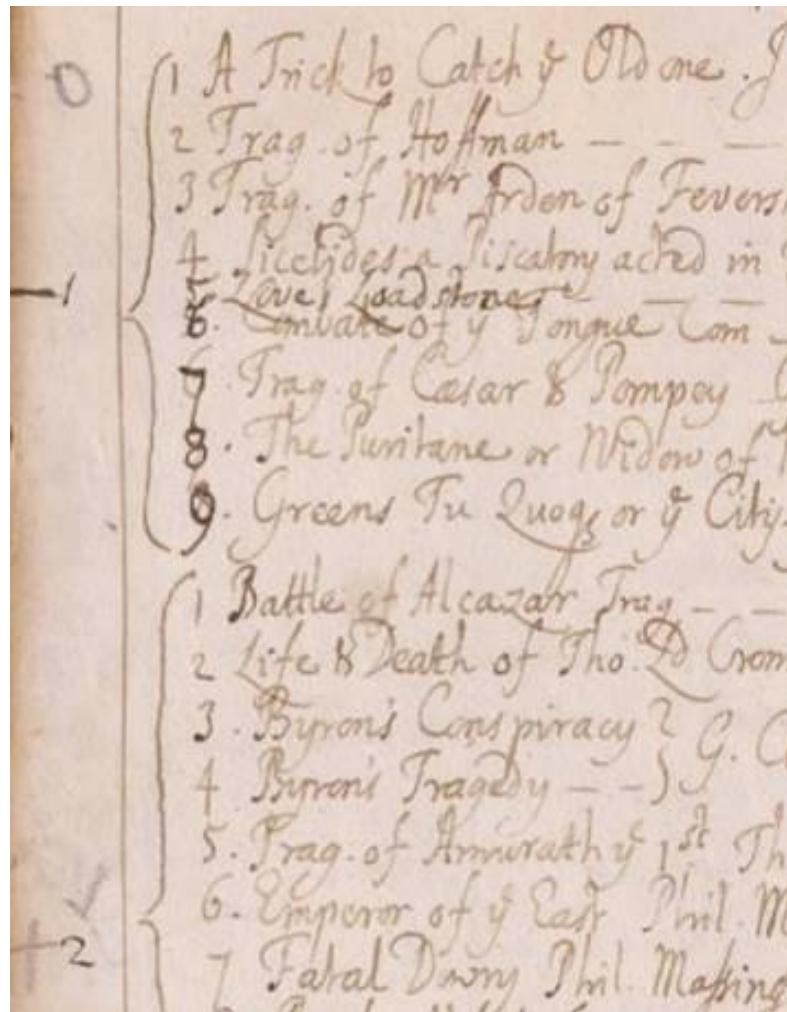


Figure 1.6. Detail of 1690 catalogue showing pencil ticks and zeros, indicating that volume “1” is missing. MS. PHA 5377 fol. 48^v. By permission of the Earl of Egremont.

Catalogue of Lord Egremont's Books in the New Library, Petworth lists “Collection of Old Plays 16 vol small quarto”, but gives no further breakdown.⁹² This indicates that the original “volume 13” had also disappeared by this time. The 1690 catalogue was apparently used as a guide for at least one of these later catalogues, since a pencil tick or “O” has been put next to the volumes, presumably indicating that the volume is or is not in the collection (see figure 1.6). This most likely relates to the 1780 catalogue since the tick indicates that volume 13 was still present at the time. It is safe to assume

⁹² WSRO, MS. PHA 6271. fol. 16^r.

that the missing volumes were a part of the original play collection rather than a later addition since they are interspersed throughout the other volumes in a numbered sequence. There is nothing in the catalogue to mark them as different from the other volumes (other than the late addition of volume 12); they are clearly part of the group. In terms of content, date, authorship and internal organisation there is again nothing that makes them stand out from the others.

I have not been able to locate the missing volumes, nor is there any obvious explanation for why they were sold, borrowed or otherwise taken from the library. It is likely that even if the quartos still exist they are no longer in composite volumes, and there is no specific record of them leaving the library for any reason. Nevertheless, these volumes and plays are important to the study of the collection. It is impossible to know anything for certain about bindings or annotations on these volumes, but the plays do still need to be considered, in so far as it is possible, as part of the larger collection. There are some duplicate plays (in one case a triplication) within the collection that are revealed by looking at the records of these additional volumes. The plays in the missing volumes also give an insight into the prominence of certain playwrights within the collection. The 1690 catalogue gives dates for the majority of the lost plays, and those that do not have dates supplied all existed in at least one edition printed in or before 1638 so they do not contradict the assumption that this was the year in which the collection was assembled and bound. Without being able to physically see the lost quartos it is impossible to be completely sure that all the plays in the collection were printed in or before 1638, but there is no evidence to suggest otherwise. The missing plays do, however, increase the date range of the collection in terms of its start: of the quartos still in the collection the earliest were printed in 1590

(*The Serpent of Division* and *Tragedy of Gorboduc*) but one of the lost volumes contained George Gascoigne's *Glass of Government*, published in 1575.⁹³

The purchase of the plays

In the absence of a catalogue dating from the time of the acquisition of plays, all of the evidence for the purchase of the plays comes from the 10th Earl's household accounts. In his study of the 9th Earl's library, Gordon Batho draws heavily on household accounts to detail the collecting habits of the Earl. There are records of payments for bindings as well as book purchases. The records are detailed enough for Batho to suggest that the 9th Earl "commonly spent £50 a year on books and was obviously a good customer of many of the leading booksellers of the London of his day".⁹⁴

Unfortunately, this kind of archival evidence concerning the purchase of books, and particularly plays, is comparatively scarce in the 10th Earl's accounts. There is, however, one record of particular significance dating from 1638. This fits with the date range of the collection since there are no plays in the extant volumes that were printed after 1638, and according to the 1690 catalogue this is also the case for the missing volumes. The "playbooks" record has been previously documented and identified by Robert J. Alexander, who conducted an extensive investigation into the records contained in Percy family manuscripts at Alnwick.⁹⁵ Alexander notes several occasions when money was spent at playhouses as well as a record which refers to

⁹³ *Gorboduc* and *The Serpent of Division*, written by Thomas Sackuyle and Thomas Norton, and John Lydgate respectively, were published together (London: Printed by Edward Allde for John Perrin, 1590).

⁹⁴ Batho, 'The Library of the 'Wizard' Earl'. p. 256.

⁹⁵ Robert J. Alexander, 'Some dramatic records from the Percy household accounts on microfilm' in *Records of Early English Drama*, Volume 12, No 2 (1987), pp. 10-17.

money paid “to Mr Buroughes for playbookes vj li iiij s vjd”.⁹⁶ The Mr Buroughes in question is identified as Sir John Borough or Burrowes. Borough does seem to be the most likely candidate and payments to him are recorded elsewhere in the accounts for unspecified services, although his name is spelled as “Burrowes” and he is referred to as Sir rather than Mr. This sort of variation is not particularly unusual in this kind of manuscript text. An antiquarian and Garter King of Arms and herald whom Algernon Percy would have certainly crossed paths with, not least through their mutual involvement in the Order of the Garter, Borough would no doubt have been present at Northumberland’s installation, and there are several references to him in the accounts relating to the occasion. Money was paid to him both “for fees due to ye Kings Servants” and “for the painter of the Harrals”, as well as money being given to “Sr Jo Borough man”.⁹⁷ Both men sat in the 1624, 1625 and 1626 parliaments - the young Algernon Percy, not yet an Earl, as MP for Sussex in the first two years, and then for Chichester, and Borough sat as MP on Arundel’s interest for Horsham, another Sussex town.⁹⁸

The amount paid for the 1638 “playbookes” demonstrates that a significant number of them were purchased in this transaction. The amount, 6 pounds, 4 shillings and 6 pence, seems to have been a reasonable price for 190 plays (that is, those in the

⁹⁶ Ibid p. 16.

⁹⁷ The Archives of the Duke of Northumberland at Alnwick Castle (subsequently ‘Alnwick Castle’), DNP:MS 14. f. 329r. *A Copy of an Account of Mr Heron’s Disbursements for the Installment of Algernoun late Earl of Northumberland, at Windsor 1635*. Mr Heron, 1635. Available on microfilm at the British Library. Microfilm 285.

⁹⁸ Alan Davidson, ‘Percy, Algernon (1602-1668), of Petworth, Suss.; later of Northumberland House, Westminster’; ‘Alan Davidson and Andrew Thrush, ‘Borough (Burgh, Burroughes), John (1583-1643), of Old Palace Yard, Westminster’ both in *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1604-1625*, ed. Andrew Thrush and John P. Ferris. Cambridge University Press, 2010: online edn. [<http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1604-1629/member/percy-algernon-1602-1668> accessed 04 September 2013; <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1604-1629/member/borou gh-john-1583-1643>, accessed 04 November 2013].

collection today as well as those in the missing volumes) in the late 1630s. This works out to just under 8 pence per play. Francis R Johnson's 1950 study remains the definitive work on the subject of the pricing of quarto plays in the late 16th and early 17th century, and he proposes an average price of 6 pence for a new quarto play in the 1590s.⁹⁹ James Raven advises "huge caution" with regard to the any generalisations about the pricing of books, and Johnson himself notes that they "rarely occur in contemporary book lists".¹⁰⁰ However, Johnson's proposed average prices are useful for the purposes of this study as they allow some insight into whether or not the price paid by Northumberland for "playbooks" is a realistic amount for the number of quartos in the collection. Raven asserts that printed books in general increased in price in line with inflation during the mid-Tudor to the mid-Stuart years, but Johnson states the price of playbooks specifically stayed fairly static until 1635, at which point the price of all books increased significantly by at least 40%.¹⁰¹ A 40% increase would take the price of a quarto play up to about 8 pence. Compounding the uncertainty around average prices for playbooks is another complicating factor: many of the plays in the Petworth collection are second hand. The price of second hand material is even more difficult to gauge than new material; Matthew Yeo states that "prices seem to have been set by the bookseller on a case-by-case basis...no fixed rule seems to have been applied for the sale of older stock".¹⁰² The five plays printed in 1638, and the ten from 1637 were probably sold as new rather than second hand, as were at least some of those printed earlier in the 1630s. The remainder can be assumed to be second-hand,

⁹⁹ Francis R. Johnson, 'Notes on English Retail Book-prices 1550-1640' in *The Library*, Volume s5-V, Issue 2, 1950. pp. 83-112. <<http://library.oxfordjournals.org/content/s5-V/2/83>> [accessed 25 April 2013].

¹⁰⁰ James Raven, *The Business of Books* (Bury St Edmonds: St Edmonsbury Press, 2007), p. 50; p. 91.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p. 50; Johnson, pp. 91-93.

¹⁰² Matthew Yeo, *The Acquisition of Books of Chetham's Library 1655-1700*. (Leiden: BRILL, 2011) p.109-110.

especially those that are annotated. Johnson's study generally focuses on newly published books or reprints, and not on resold books, but he does touch on second hand prices and refers to one inventory listing the second hand values of books where they are generally valued at less than half the price they would fetch new.¹⁰³ This would take the estimated 1638 average quarto price down again to around 4 pence per play.

Taking this all into account, an average price of 8 pence per play seems like a rather high figure, albeit not an impossible one. The most likely explanation for this is that Northumberland purchased the plays in their bindings. This would be consistent with his father's approach to book binding; the 9th Earl "frequently bought his books ready-bound".¹⁰⁴ Establishing a price for the bindings is difficult; quarto plays are not mentioned on a 1619 list of book binding prices.¹⁰⁵ The closest analogue is probably a quarto Bible, for which the price of binding in "fillets" is 1s 10d. Using this figure, the cost of binding 20 quartos would be 21s 8d. Subtracting this from the original figure leaves £5 2s and 10d. Dividing this by 190 gives a new average price per play of 6.5 pence per play. This price is certainly more in keeping with the average prices of the date, though still slightly high. As these calculations are based on averages and estimates, however, the margin for error is rather wide.

The purchase of what can be described as a ready-made collection of plays, complete with bindings, is a rather intriguing notion. Although there is no evidence of direct correspondence between Northumberland and Borough regarding the plays or

¹⁰³ Johnson, p. 87.

¹⁰⁴ Batho, 'The Library of the 'Wizard' Earl'. p. 252.

¹⁰⁵ Anon. *A Generall note of the prises for binding of all sorts of books*. Imprinted at London, 1619. <<https://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/eebo-ocm33143133e>> [accessed 25 April 2013].

anything else, the Earl was not adverse to asking others to buy books for him. In a letter to his brother-in-law Robert Leicester, he makes the following request:

There is a French booke that I have seene, but can not gett in England; your Lordship shall do me a favor to appoint me of your ser=vants to buy it for me, the title of it I send here in this little paper.¹⁰⁶

Likewise, Borough is known to have purchased this kind of material for others before – specifically he purchased manuscripts for his cousin Sir Robert Cotton in 1626, and both books and manuscripts for Arundel.¹⁰⁷ This suggests that Algernon Percy “commissioned” the construction of the collection, and the unaccounted money could well have been a commission paid to Borough for his trouble. While it is unknown whether or not this method of collecting books was widely practiced or unique to the Borough/Northumberland relationship, collection by way of a third party was certainly common in the art world since, as Linda Levy Peck points out, “buyers depended on agents abroad, especially ambassadors and merchants, to supply the luxury goods they desired”.¹⁰⁸ It has been suggested that such an indiscriminate approach to book collection was not unusual; T.A. Birrell proposes that the avid play collector Edward Conway, a close friend of Northumberland who spent part of his retirement at Petworth, regularly purchased large numbers of new plays “like newsbooks, on a standing order”.¹⁰⁹ On a larger scale, Yeo’s study of Chetham’s library illustrates how books were sourced by a group of trustees for a large public library. The trustees relied

¹⁰⁶ Alnwick Castle, DNP:MS 14, f. 257v. Letter from Algernon Earl of Northumberland to Robert Earl of Leicester, London Dec. 19. 1639. Available on microfilm at the British Library. Northumberland Archives, Microfilm 285.

¹⁰⁷ S. A. Baron, ‘Borough, Sir John (d. 1643)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2011 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/2913>, accessed 28 May 2013]; Davidson and Thrush.

¹⁰⁸ Peck *Consuming Splendor*, p.172.

¹⁰⁹ T.A. Birrell, ‘Reading as Pastime: the place of light literature in gentlemen’s libraries of the 17th century’ in *Property of a Gentleman* eds. Myers, Robin and Harris, Michael (Winchester: Saint Paul’s Bibliographies, 1991). 113-131. p. 124.

on a single book-seller to acquire all of the (mostly-second hand) material for the library which was, according to Yeo, common practice for “provincial buyers in this period”.¹¹⁰

Neither of these scenarios fully match that which has been suggested for Northumberland. He did not purchase on the same scale as Conway, and his bulk purchase was a one-off and not a regular arrangement. Unlike the Chetham trustees, Northumberland cannot really be called a provincial buyer: despite his main residence being located in the country he spent considerable time living in London throughout the 1630s. Furthermore, as this chapter will show, he was evidently not concerned about duplication and, on the whole, does not appear to have laid out specific criteria for the plays, although he may have had some input or preferences. These other examples of bulk acquisition show that the model of buying multiple books through a single seller was employed by more than one collector in the mid-17th century. It is unclear whether actually having a collection professionally assembled by someone else was a particularly common occurrence in the early modern period, but the evidence of the Petworth collection does at least illustrate that it was an available option. An examination of the volumes themselves offers further insight into the methods and circumstances of this particular collection’s assembly, and explore whether or not there is any consistent method to the organisation of each volume.

The organisation of the collection

As discussed at the beginning of this chapter, the Petworth play collection as a whole does not initially appear to be organised in any meaningful or systematic way. Many

¹¹⁰ Yeo, p. 83.

aspects of the collection do not look like the work of a discerning collector; for example the presence of duplicate plays, or incomplete “sets” such as Heywood’s “Ages” plays, of which there are only three out of four in the collection.¹¹¹ However, there are a few elements that indicate a process of selection. There are a number of different ways of examining organisation, or lack of it, within the collection: bindings, authorship, date (of publication and writing), subject matter or theme, genre and, probably most importantly, annotation and marks on the volumes, or indeed the lack of them.

Although the bindings of the volumes look alike, and all bear the Percy stamp, there are a number of differences in the techniques which show that the volumes were not all bound by the same binder. The bindings have been examined by National Trust consultant and binding expert Professor Nicholas Pickwoad, and he has determined that the bindings are certainly mid-17th century, and also that the specific binding methods of the volumes vary, and fall into four distinct groups.¹¹² These groups, based on Professor Pickwoad’s findings, are shown in the table below:

Group	Characteristics	Volumes
1	Sewn on 3 tanned supports with single-fold endleaves	10, 12, 14 and 16
2	Sewn on 3 tanned supports with outside-hook endleaves	3, 7, 13, 15
3	Sewn on 4 alum-tawed supports, with double-fold endleaves	1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 8
4	Sewn on 4 alum-tawed supports with single fold endleaves within an outside hook	9 and 11

Table 1.3. Binding groups

There are a number of possibilities as to how the collection came to be bound in these separate groups. It is probable based on the price paid for them that the plays were

¹¹¹ The collection contains *The Silver Age* (1613) in volume 1, *The Brazen Age* (1613) in volume 4 and *The Iron Age* (1632) in volume 7. *The Golden Age* is not found in any of the volumes, nor was it in the lost volumes.

¹¹² Pickwoad, 2012, December 10th (via email).

already bound by the time they came into the 10th Earl's possession, so it is unlikely that Algernon Percy selected them for binding in these groups after purchasing them. There are several possible explanations for this: the plays may have been delivered as an entire collection to one binding workshop where a group of binders worked on them, or they may have been purchased in four separate "batches" and then bound accordingly by different binders either at different workshops or at the same place by different people. The volumes may even have been delivered individually to either one such binding shop or four separate binding shops simultaneously, in either case being worked on by different binders each time. The organisation of individual volumes indicates that the plays within each volume were purchased as bundles, and consequently the latter scenario is most likely to have been the case. There are several kinds of organisation evident in the volumes which support this bundle theory.

Authorship

An obvious pattern to look for in the collection as a whole and in individual volumes is grouping by author. Books compiling authors' works in collection were printed and published in this period, such as Lyly's *Six Court Comedies* (first printed in 1632), which was at one time part of the Petworth library, although it is no longer there today.¹¹³ There are no single-author composite volumes to be found in the Petworth collection, but there are several playwrights whose work is prominent throughout the collection as a whole, suggesting a deliberate attempt by Borough to acquire their work. Thomas Heywood and James Shirley in particular are very well represented. Since the probable purchase date of the collection was 1638, it is significant that the collection contains,

¹¹³ WSRO PHA 5377, f50r

or once contained, almost all of James Shirley's plays written in or before 1638, excluding *The Wittie Fair One* (1633) and the 1634 masque *The Triumph of Peace*. For a collection of this size to contain 15 out of 17 of a particular playwright's works is certainly suggestive of an interest in that writer.¹¹⁴ The 1690 catalogue also reveals that a 1646 edition of Shirley's poems was later added to the library.¹¹⁵ This volume is unfortunately no longer in the collection, so it cannot be established with certainty that the volume belonged to the 10th Earl and not to Somerset, but the date of the edition indicates that it was most likely purchased by the former.

Shirley was a popular playwright in the 1630s, receiving patronage from Queen Henrietta Maria as well as from a number of other nobles.¹¹⁶ The playwright was a valet to the queen, and the works he produced were generally performed in private shows for select members of the Court rather than large public performances.¹¹⁷ Eight of the fourteen plays by Shirley in the collection today were, according to their title pages, performed at a "Private House" either in Drury Lane or Salisbury Court. Shirley's plays were consequently accompanied to some extent by connotations of exclusivity and proximity to the monarchy. As Cyndia Susan Clegg has demonstrated, playwrights and publishers generally envisaged their readers as "elite males", although the actual readership of drama was likely much wider.¹¹⁸ Sandra A. Burner links the popularity of Shirley to an overall improvement in the reputation of playwrights as authors, fuelled by this attitude and by the book trade itself, since "the cost of purchasing these

¹¹⁴ 14 of the 15 remain in the collection today, *The School of Complement* (1631) was in a missing volume, volume 10 by the 1690 catalogue numbering.

¹¹⁵ MS. PHA 5377. fol. 45^r.

¹¹⁶ Sandra A. Burner, *James Shirley: A Study of Literary Coteries and Patronage in Seventeenth Century England* (Lanham: University Press of America, 1988).

¹¹⁷ Ibid. p. 86.

¹¹⁸ Cyndia Susan Clegg 'Renaissance Play-Readers, Ordinary and Extraordinary' in *The Book of the Play* ed. Marta Straznicky (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2006) pp. 23-38. p. 29.

quartos and folios reflected the audience of the theatre, mostly the educated and well-to-do private theatre-goers".¹¹⁹ Indeed, this may help to explain the significant jump in the price of printed play quartos and other printed material in the 1630s identified by Johnson.¹²⁰ Shirley's plays deal with court life and the artifice surrounding it. Burner identifies his most common themes as "the interests, pastimes, gestures [and] speech of the Court".¹²¹ *The Bird in a Cage*, probably Shirley's most famous work, is entirely concerned with the workings of a court. The heroine Eugenia is shut up in a tower by her father the Duke who forbids her from marrying the courtier of her own choosing. The problems faced by the characters are specific to their social class, as Eugenia herself points out her issues stem from the fact that she has a Duke for a father and it is "the condition of a Princess" which makes her "a prisoner". For Eugenia, being "borne so great" is a "misfortune", as she is unable to "injoy/ The ayre" like the "common man and woman".¹²² Social constraints, in Eugenia's case the physical ones too, may yield material rewards, but restrict freedom of emotion and reduce opportunities to engage with the world.

Later in the play, Shirley gently teases his audience when Fulvio and Orpiano, two nobleman, criticize a young courtier for his prioritization of style over substance. Fulvio describes a courtier "that will not misse a hayre of his Complement, when he is to appeare before his Mistris". This vanity does not just extend to meticulous and time consuming grooming, however, as he goes to compare dressing to "[putting] himselfe upon the Racke" while his tailor "skrewes and wrests his body into the fashion of his

¹¹⁹ Burner, p. 87.

¹²⁰ Johnson, p. 93.

¹²¹ Burner, p. 87.

¹²² James Shirley, *The Bird in a Cage*. (London: Printed by B. Alsop, T. Fawcett for William Cooke, 1633) <<https://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/eebo-99852523e>> [accessed 08 Feb 2016] fols. B3r-v.

doublet".¹²³ The likening of restrictive fashions to instruments of torture would surely have amused a courtly audience, some of whom would no doubt have dressed in such a way themselves. Fulvio calls the young man a "Foole" and Orpiano agrees, saying of the well-dressed but empty-headed young nobles that "the benefit of youth and good clothes procur'd their places, and ignorance and impudence have maintayn'd em".¹²⁴ Northumberland himself was not above this kind of court gossip. In a letter to his sister, Dorothy Sidney, written in December 1639, he is almost gleeful in keeping her abreast of the latest developments:

The King and Queene have begun to practice their maske, a companie of worse faces did I never see assembled, then the Queen hath gotten together upon this occation; not one new woman amongst them, my Lady Canarvan conditioned before she would promise to be of the maske, that it should not be daunced upon a sunday, for she is growne so de=vout by conuersing with my Lo: Pow=is, and the Doctor; that now she will neither dance nor see a play upon the sabath. I assure you, their Ma.^{sties} are not less busie now then formerly you haue seene them, att thelike exercise¹²⁵

This anecdote reveals a number of things - not least that seeing plays and performing in masques was considered a serious business at court. The Lord Powis in question is Percy Herbert, 2nd Baron Powis, and the religion to which he was apparently so devout was Catholicism. Herbert was a known Catholic, as was Lady Canarvon's husband Robert Dormer, 1st Earl of Canarvon.¹²⁶ Northumberland's complaints about the faces of the women in the Queen's masque reveal a man engaging in court gossip, informing his sister of the aesthetics of the current court situation, bemoaning the effect of dour religious conviction on them, and lamenting the absence of any "new" women to

¹²³ Ibid., fol. B1^v.

¹²⁴ Ibid.

¹²⁵ Alnwick Castle, DNP:MS 14:fol. 249v. Letter from Algernon Earl of Northumberland to Dorothy Sidney, Dec. 5. 1639. Available on microfilm at the British Library. Northumberland Archives, Microfilm 285.

¹²⁶ Ian William McLellan, 'Herbert, Percy, second Baron Powis (1598–1667)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/68255, accessed 5 Sept 2013].

impress or be impressed by. Northumberland eventually ends by chiding himself on the perceived frivolity of his news, saying “When I consider how foolishly I have prated to you all this while, I can not but think it high tyme to end my letter”.¹²⁷

During the late 1630s, while the 10th Earl was cultivating his courtly relations, James Shirley was also involved in high society, becoming associated with Thomas Wentworth, the Earl of Strafford and Lord Deputy of Ireland. In 1636, Shirley travelled to Ireland on the same ship as Wentworth, and he stayed there for four years, returning in 1640.¹²⁸ The exact extent of Shirley’s involvement with Wentworth is unclear, but it is known that Wentworth certainly gave entertainments at Dublin Castle, and it is possible that the playwright was involved in their production. One of Shirley’s plays written during his time in Ireland, *The Royal Master* (1638) was performed for Wentworth - the title page states that it was “acted in the new Theater in *Dublin*: AND Before the Right Honorable the Lord Deputie of Ireland, in the Castle”. The play’s epilogue is a poem dedicated to Wentworth.¹²⁹ In it, Shirley praises Wentworth’s family and also his government of Ireland, finishing the poem by saying:

And may not heaven your life translate,
Till for your Royall Master, and this Ile,
Your deeds have fild a Chronicle,
In all thats great, and good, be bold,
And every yeare be coppie of the old¹³⁰

Shirley links the Lord Deputy’s social and political life - his “deeds” - explicitly with the language of writing and book production. He mentions not only a “Chronicle”, but also suggests that Wentworth’s life is a series of “coppies” of such deeds. This suggests that

¹²⁷ Alnwick Castle, DNP:MS 14:fol. 250r. Letter from Algernon Earl of Northumberland to Dorothy Sidney, Dec. 5. 1639. Available on microfilm at the British Library. Northumberland Archives, Microfilm 285.

¹²⁸ Burner, p. 115.

¹²⁹ James Shirley, *The Royal Master* (London: T. Coates, 1638) <<https://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/bl-003371055>> [accessed 08 Feb 2016].

¹³⁰ Ibid. fol. I3v.

the relationship between the playwright and the Lord Deputy was specifically a textual one - hinting that Shirley may have been employed or patronised by Wentworth with regard to the writing of plays and entertainments.

Northumberland himself had strong links with the Earl of Strafford; Wentworth was one of his closest allies at court, a patron and sponsor of sorts who helped him secure his position as Lord High Admiral in 1638.¹³¹ It seems a distinct possibility that the number of Shirley's plays in the collection, and the book of poems later added to the library, indicates that Northumberland was interested in the writer's work, and this interest may have been sparked not only by Shirley's popularity at court, but by his connection to Northumberland's influential friend Wentworth.

There were two copies of Shirley's *The Royal Master* printed in 1638, one for sale in Dublin and the other for sale in London, of which the latter is in the Petworth collection. The Petworth copy is found in volume 8. The number of Shirley's plays in volume eight, along with the small date range (1632-1638), suggest some sort of deliberate selection with regard to this volume at least. One explanation for the different binding groups is that Borough purchased the plays within each group together, then had them bound accordingly after sorting and organising them to some extent. Volume eight and the others in its binding group provide evidence against this, however. Binding group three is the largest of the groups, containing volumes 1, 2, 4, 5, 6 and 8. Had the plays been purchased in this large group, some of the choices for the volumes are rather unusual. For example, within volumes 4 and 6 there are five other plays by Shirley.

¹³¹ Drake, 'Percy, Algernon. 10th Earl of Northumberland'. DNB.

Title	Year of publication	Volume
<i>The Gamester</i>	1637	Volume 4
<i>The Lady of Pleasure</i>	1637	Volume 4
<i>The Traitor</i>	1635	Volume 6
<i>Hyde Park</i>	1637	Volume 6
<i>The Young Admiral</i>	1637	Volume 6

Table 1.4. Plays by Shirley in volumes 4 and 6.

There is nothing about these quartos to mark them apart from those in volume 8 - they are likewise unannotated, they fall within the same date range for printing, cover the same kinds of courtly subjects and are generally in the comic genre, with the notable exception of *The Traitor* (1635) - a rare example of a Shirley tragedy. Had all of these quartos been purchased at the same time and sorted into appropriate volumes, Borough would presumably have grouped all of the Shirley plays together.

Volume eight is not the only volume that contains several plays by the same playwright. Of these, perhaps the most interesting is volume 7, which not only contains four plays by Philip Massinger but also sees them grouped together within the volume, unlike the Shirley plays in volume eight which are spread throughout.

Title	Author	Year of publication
<i>The Scornful Lady</i>	John Fletcher	1635
<i>The Four Prentices of London</i>	Thomas Heywood	1615
<i>Ram Alley, or Merry Tricks</i>	Lording Barry	1611
<i>Cupid's Revenge</i>	Beaumont and Fletcher	1630
<i>The Tragedy of Hamlet</i>	William Shakespeare	1625
<i>The Iron Age</i>	Thomas Heywood	1632
<i>The Roman Actor</i>	Philip Massinger	1629
<i>A New Way to Pay Old Debts</i>	Philip Massinger	1633
<i>The Picture</i>	Philip Massinger	1630
<i>The Maid of Honour</i>	Philip Massinger	1632

Table 1.5 Contents of volume 7.

Unlike volume 8, in which the plays are arranged chronologically, the only grouping

evident here is the four plays by Massinger at the end of the volume. In this case, the four plays in volume 7 are the only plays written by Massinger in the binding group (also including volumes 3, 7, 13 and 15), but there are a number of other playwrights whose work appears in more than one volume across the binding group; such as Marston in volumes 13 and 15, Shakespeare in volumes 7, 13 and 15, and Heywood in volumes 3, 7 and 13. Volumes 1, 4 and 10 reveal similar trends with one or more authors being prominent. Volume 1 contains the only two plays by Lyly in the collection, as well as three plays by George Chapman and two by Beaumont and Fletcher. There are several plays by Chapman, and Beaumont and Fletcher, elsewhere in the collection, but they are concentrated here:

Title	Author	Year of publication
<i>Amends for Ladies</i>	Nathanial Field	Not visible on title page (actually 1618)
<i>The Woman in the Moon</i>	John Lyly	1597
<i>Loves Metamorphosis</i>	John Lyly	1601
<i>The Gentleman Usher</i>	George Chapman	1606
<i>Humour Out of Breath</i>	John Day	1608
<i>May Day</i>	George Chapman	1611
<i>The Widdows Tears</i>	George Chapman	1612
<i>Two Wise Men and All the Rest Fools</i>	Beaumont and Fletcher	1619
<i>The Honest Lawyer</i>	S.S	Not visible on title page (actually 1616)
<i>A King and No King</i>	Beaumont and Fletcher	1625
<i>Love's Mistress</i>	Thomas Heywood	1636

Table 1.6. Contents of volume 1

Volume 4 contains four plays by Thomas Heywood and two by James Shirley:

Title	Author	Year of publication
<i>The Brazen Age</i>	Thomas Heywood	1613
<i>A Maidenhead Well Lost</i>	Thomas Heywood	1634
<i>Mucedorus</i>		1634
<i>The Great Duke of Florence</i>	Philip Massinger	1636
<i>A Challenge for Beauty</i>	Thomas Heywood	1636
<i>The Lady of Pleasure</i>	James Shirley	1637
<i>The Gamester</i>	James Shirley	1637
<i>The Wise Woman of Hogsden</i>	Thomas Heywood	1638

Table 1.7. Contents of volume 4

Almost all of the plays in this volume were published in the 1630s, with the exception of Heywood's earlier work. The volume itself is entirely free from annotations, which could indicate that most of the plays were purchased new, and perhaps even deliberately sought out. A final example of possible organisation by author is volume 10, which contains plays written by Dekker, Shakespeare and Jonson - some in collaboration with other writers.

Title	Author
<i>The Whore of Babylon</i>	Thomas Dekker
<i>The Tragedy of Othello</i>	William Shakespeare
<i>Poetaster</i>	Ben Jonson
<i>Northward Ho</i>	Dekker and Webster
<i>Second Part of the Honest Whore</i>	Thomas Dekker
<i>The Wonder of a Kindgom</i>	Thomas Dekker
<i>Love's Labour is Lost</i>	William Shakespeare
<i>The Troublesome Reign of King John</i>	William Shakespeare
<i>Cynthia's Revels</i>	Ben Jonson
<i>Eastward Ho</i>	George Chapman, Ben Jonson and John Marston

Table 1.8. Contents of volume 10

These groupings by authorship appear to be evidence not so much of

organisation, but of purchase history. In volume 7, the Massinger plays indicate grouping, especially since the volume is not organised chronologically, but the two Heywood plays in the volume are not bound adjacent to each other, and volume 10 shows no evidence of an attempt to keep plays by the same author together. Borough may have deliberately purchased four Massinger plays as well as a bundle of 6 others, which he then delivered straight to the binder without organising them further, to be bound in the same, or at least a similar, order to that in which they were purchased. Unless multiple volumes showed the grouping of particular authors together, which they do not, it is unlikely that the kind of organisation seen in volume 7 is the work of Borough.

The sale of printed material in groups has been identified and noted in several studies. According to Knight, “texts of similar size or works printed by the same shop were frequently bundled together, creating volumes of consistent form but inconsistent content”.¹³² Michael Mendle has noted that collected groups of used smaller items were often sold in this way, such as “separate pamphlets of one or a few sheets, with the cut pages of each title held together by nothing more than a knotted thread”.¹³³ Some of these bundles remained in their groups, like the Petworth plays, within the libraries they found their way into: David Pearson notes that “it is not uncommon to find, towards the end of book auction catalogues of [the seventeenth century], sections of bound or unbound pamphlets sold in groups”.¹³⁴ What the Petworth volumes show is that this bundling practice was employed by second hand

¹³² Knight, ‘Making Shakespeare’s Books’, p. 321.

¹³³ Michael Mendle, ‘Preserving the Ephemeral: Reading, Collecting, and the Pamphlet Culture of Seventeenth-Century England’ in *Books and Readers in Early Modern England* eds. Jennifer Andersen and Elizabeth Sauer (Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011) pp. 201-216. p.204.

¹³⁴ David Pearson, ‘Patterns of Book Ownership in Late Seventeenth-Century England’ (2010), p. 156.

booksellers as well as those selling new books and second-hand ephemera: rather than a bundle of works that arrived from the same printing workshop, the sellers of these play quartos seem to have grouped plays which had arrived from the same source - a probate sale perhaps, or another collector selling their own books. Lucy Lewis suggests that booksellers may have used *sammelbände* as part of their marketing strategy, putting together multiple copies of the same collection as a way of “shifting stock” that “remained unsold in the booksellers’ shops for a reasonably long period after printing”.¹³⁵ The Petworth volumes often reveal traces of past arrangement, either in the bookseller’s shop or in another collection, and these vestiges of organisation are not exclusive to authorship, but extend across a range of other systems, including ownership, date, theme and genre.

Theme and genre

In terms of the whole collection, there is no particular theme which stands out as particularly prominent. On a smaller scale there some volumes which contain a few thematically linked plays, and one volume in particular where links can be observed between all of the quartos within it.

Title	Author	Year of publication
<i>The Battle of Alcazar</i>	George Peele	1594
<i>The True Chronicle History of the whole Life and Death of Thomas Lord Cromwell</i>	W.S.	1613
<i>The Conspiracy and Tragedy of Charles, Duke of Byron</i>	George Chapman	1625

¹³⁵ Lewis, Lucy. ““For no text is an island, divided from the main”: Incunable *sammelbände*.” In *Light on the Book Trade: Essays in honour of Peter Isaac*. Ed. Barry McKay, John Hinks, and Maureen Bell. (London: British Library, 2002). pp. 13-26. p. 20.

<i>The Courageous Turk or Amurath the First</i>	Thomas Goffe	1632
<i>The Emperor of the East</i>	Philip Massinger	1632
<i>The Fatal Dowry</i>	Philip Massinger and Nathan Field	1632
<i>The Broken Heart</i>	John Ford	1633
<i>The Jew of Malta</i>	Christopher Marlowe	1633
<i>The Tragedy of Orestes</i>	Thomas Goffe	1633
<i>Catiline: His Conspiracy</i>	Ben Jonson	1635

Table 1.9. Contents of volume 16.

Volume 16 contains the work of a variety of playwrights. There are two authors who are represented more than once in the volume: Phillip Massinger, whose work is seen in several volumes, and the relatively obscure Jacobean playwright Thomas Goffe, who penned two of the plays in volume 16 – *The Courageous Turk* (1632) and *The Tragedy of Orestes* (1633). Goffe’s entire output totals only three plays. The other one – *The Raging Turk or Bajazet the second* (1631) – appears elsewhere in the Petworth collection, although not in this binding group. There is also another copy of *The Tragedy of Orestes* elsewhere in the collection. Whether or not the presence of all Goffe’s plays is significant is not clear since the number is so small, but it is possible that, as with the Massinger plays in volume 7, Borough selected this bundle based on the presence of the Goffe plays within it.

Several other authors are represented in volume 16 and there is no clear evidence of chronological organisation, however the plays in the volume are linked by theme and genre. All of the plays in the volume have something of a historical element to them. They all concern historical characters or events, ranging from the distantly mythological to the very recent, and from primary subject matter to prominent backdrop. Several of the plays have a classical setting: Ford’s *The Broken Heart* (1633)

is a tragedy set in classical Greece, Goffe's *The Tragedy of Orestes* takes the Greek myth of the same name as its subject, and Jonson's *Cataline his Conspiracy* (1635) is a Roman tragedy. Another group focuses on much more recent history: Peele's *The Battle of Alcazar* (1594), *The Life and Death of Thomas Cromwell* by W.S. (1613) and Chapman's *The Conspiracy and Tragedy of Charles, Duke of Byron* (1625), which concerns the rise and fall of the would-be independent leader of Burgundy who was executed for treason in 1602, only 6 years before the play's initial publication. Marlowe's *The Jew of Malta* (1633) also falls into this category, since it takes as its setting the 1565 siege of Malta by the Ottoman empire. The remaining plays have less recent historical settings: Goffe's other play in the volume, *The Courageous Turk*, tells the story of a medieval Ottoman emperor, while Massinger's *The Emperor of the East* (1632) concerns a Byzantine Emperor, and *The Fatal Dowry* (1632) is set against the backdrop of the Burgundian wars fought in the late 15th century. There are a number of other connections between the plays: both *The Fatal Dowry* and *The Conspiracy and Tragedy of Byron* are both set in and relate to Burgundy; *The Battle of Alcazar*, *The Jew of Malta* and *The Courageous Turk* all concern the Ottoman empire; and there are two plays explicitly about political conspiracies, as noted in their titles. Several of the plays are about battle and warfare. All of the plays are tragedies, or at least histories with a tragic ending.

Several other volumes show glimpses of this kind of organisation. Volume 14, for example, contains three plays concerned with British kings (mythical or otherwise) - Shakespeare's *Henry IV* (1632) and *King Lear* (1608), and Samuel Rowley's *When You See Me You Know Me* (1621). Other volumes have some consistency of genre if not theme - volume 1 is exclusively made up of comedies, while volume 13 has several

tragedies; *The Revenger's Tragedy* (1608), *The Spanish Tragedy* (1632), *The Broken Heart* (1633) and *The Tragedy of Mustapha* (1609).

Another interesting example of a potential theme is the presence of *Eastward Hoe* (1605) by Jonson, Chapman and Marston, and Dekker and Webster's *Northward Hoe* (1607) in volume 10, although they are not bound directly next to each other. The related *Westward Hoe* (1607), by Dekker and Webster, is neither in the volume nor any other in the collection, however. The lack of the first play in this "series" indicates that they were probably not systematically collected, but having two such related plays bound in the same volume suggest some kind of coherence.

Jeffrey Knight discusses several specific composite volumes in his book on the subject, identifying some which are arranged by theme and genre, in particular one which he calls a "'lives' compilation". This volume is concerned with "political figures and the (frequently vexed) maintenance of power", containing Shakespeare's *I Henry IV*, *Richard III*, and *The Troublesome Raine of King John*, George Chapman's *Caesar and Pompey*, Thomas Heywood's *Troubles of Queen Elizabeth* and other plays, some relevant to the theme and some less so.¹³⁶ Knight identifies a number of volumes in which, he asserts, it can be observed that "the compiling agent has created a rubric for interpretation in book form that we can begin to theorize, and such rubrics, it is clear, were not fully determined by the criteria of author, genre, and textual autonomy that would guide later forms of assembly".¹³⁷ In the Petworth play collection, it is often very difficult to identify any such rubric. Connections can often be found between plays in volumes, but there are two problems with this. Firstly, unless they are present in all or most of the plays, it is difficult to assert that the connection is deliberate. Similarly, if

¹³⁶ Knight, *Bound to Read*. pp. 65-67.

¹³⁷ Ibid. p. 68.

the theme is very broad and/or very common in early modern drama generally, it could very well be coincidence that it appears in more than one play in a group.

Volume 16 (see table 1.9 above) is the only volume where deliberate selection looks more likely than thematic coincidence. Since Northumberland was a military man, it is likely that volume 16, containing several plays about foreign warfare, would have appealed to his interests. However, there is not enough strong evidence of thematic organisation throughout the Petworth quartos to suggest that this was a criteria for collection or something that Borough deliberately sought out, though it may well have influenced his decision making at the point of sale; as suggested with the volumes containing Shirley, a bundle of plays such as this one may have stood out and appealed to Borough as something Northumberland would enjoy. This thematic link may well have been the work of a previous owner, or of the bookseller himself. Several of the plays are evidently second hand and can be identified as such by their age and the presence of marks on them. The organisation within volume 16 as opposed to the plays themselves is, like several that have been examined so far, chronological. This arrangement is very common in the collection and, while not indicative of deliberate selection on an individual quarto level, suggests an attempt to organise within bundles and volumes.

Date

Organisation by date within the volumes is significantly more widespread than that of theme or authorship, and although it is not common to all the volumes it happens frequently enough to indicate a deliberate decision. This can take two forms: either the volume has a narrow date range or, more usually, the volume is organised in

ascending order of publication date (according to the title page and edition). The latter can happen even if the dates within span a wide timeframe. Volume 8, discussed at the beginning of the chapter, is an example of both kinds of organisation, as are volumes 6, 9 and 11.

Title	Year of publication
<i>How a man may choose a good wife from a bad</i>	1630
<i>Aristippus</i>	1631
<i>The Shoemaker's Holiday</i>	1631
<i>Caesar and Pompey</i>	1631
<i>The Traitor</i>	1635
<i>Adrasta: The Woman's Spleen</i>	1635
<i>Ram Alley</i>	1636
<i>The Royal King and the Loyal Subject</i>	1637
<i>Hyde Park</i>	1637
<i>The Favourite</i>	Title page missing (actual date 1629)
<i>The Young Admiral</i>	1637

Table 1.10. Contents of volume 6.

Title	Year of publication
<i>A Woman will have her Will</i>	1631
<i>The Rival Friends</i>	1632
<i>If you know not me, you know nobody</i>	1633
<i>Perkin Warbeck</i>	1634
<i>The Vow Breaker</i>	1636
<i>Microcosmus</i>	1637

Table 1.11. Contents of volume 9.

Title	Year of publication
<i>The Picture</i>	1630
<i>A Contention for Honour and Riches</i>	1633
<i>The Tragedy of Orestes</i>	1633
<i>Philaster of Love Lies a Bleeding</i>	1634

<i>Wine, Beer, Ale and Tobacco</i>	1630 (date altered to 1636 on quarto - see section on marks and annotations for more on this)
<i>Hannibal and Scipio</i>	1637
<i>Tottenham Court</i>	1638
<i>Sir Giles Goose-Cappe</i>	No date on title page (date of edition 1636)

Table 1.12. Contents of volume 11.

Volume 12, also discussed at the beginning of the chapter, is organised by date but spans a much wider timeframe in terms of dates of editions. This is also the case for six further volumes: 1, 2, 4, 5, 14 and 16 (see table 1.7 for volume 4 and 1.9 for volume 16).

Title	Year of publication
<i>The Serpent of Division</i>	1590
<i>The Tragedy of Gorboduc</i>	1590
<i>The Duchess of Malfi</i>	1623
<i>The Fair Maid of the West (second part)</i>	1631
<i>Fair Em, the Miller's Daughter</i>	1631
<i>Fuimus Troes</i>	1633
<i>A Fine Companion</i>	1633

Table 1.13. Contents of volume 2.

Title	Year of publication
<i>The Two Maids of More-Clacke</i>	1609
<i>The True Tragedy of Herod and Antipater</i>	1622
<i>The Raging Turk</i>	1631
<i>The Costly Whore</i>	1633
<i>The Valiant Scot</i>	1637
<i>The Conspiracy</i>	1638
<i>The Cruell Brother</i>	Title page missing (actual date 1630)

Table 1.14. Contents of volume 5.

Title	Year of publication
<i>Old Fortunatus</i>	1600
<i>The Phoenix</i>	1607
<i>King Lear</i>	1608

<i>When You See me You Know Me</i>	1621
<i>The Bond Man</i>	1624
<i>Henry IV</i>	1632
<i>The Insatiate Countess</i>	1631 (this play disrupts the sequence)
<i>The English Traveller</i>	1633
<i>Love's Sacrifice</i>	1633
<i>The Late Lancashire Witches</i>	1634

Table 1.15. Contents of volume 14.

There are 6 volumes which were not organised in this way, as well as three of the lost volumes according to the 1690 catalogue, though the fourth does seem to have been arranged as such. Since all of the other volumes are listed in the order they are bound, presumably the catalogue correctly represents the order of the missing volumes also.

Title	Year of publication (according to catalogue)
<i>Glass of Government</i>	1575
<i>Selymus' Reign</i>	1594
<i>Law-tricks</i>	1608
<i>Every woman in her humour</i>	1609
<i>Merry Milk maids</i>	None given
<i>Just Italian</i>	1630
<i>The Fair Maid of the West Part 1</i>	1631
<i>The Rival Friends</i>	1632
<i>The Noble Spanish Soldier</i>	1634

Table 1.16. Contents of missing volume 3.

This gives an almost even split between those volumes which are organised by date (11) and those which are not (9). The presence of this number of volumes organised by date cannot be a coincidence, but neither is it a consistent organisation scheme applied to the whole collection. There are several possible explanations: that this was done by one a specific binder, it was done by one of more specific booksellers, or it was done by Borough, but he was inconsistent with his approach. If the former were the case, we would expect to find that whether the volumes are organised in

chronological order or not correlates to the binding group.

Binding group	Volume	Organised chronologically?
1	10	No
1	12	Yes
1	14	Yes
1	16	Yes
2	3	No
2	7	No
2	13	No
2	15	No
3	1	No
3	2	Yes
3	4	Yes
3	5	Yes
3	6	Yes
3	8	Yes
4	9	Yes
4	11	Yes

Table 1.17. Chronological organisation and binding groups.

Although there is some indication of a pattern, again it is not universal. The two volumes which make up group 4 are both organised chronologically, and none of the five volumes which make up group 2 are organised in this way. However, in groups 1 and 3, most but not all of the volumes are in chronological order; in each case only one volume is not organised as such. Since there is no absolute consistency, the most likely scenario is that when Borough delivered the volumes to be bound, either to different binding workshops or to different binders in the same workshop, they were already in their final configuration. It may be the case that Borough organised the volumes this way himself, though if this is the case it is unclear why he did not apply the system to the whole collection. This may just be the result of an inconsistent approach, particularly if different volumes were purchased at different times. It is most likely that the volumes were arranged in this way by either previous owners, or more probably by

booksellers. This further supports the theory that Borough purchased the quartos in bundles, and also suggests that these bundles became volumes without much intervention or rearrangement along the way. If Borough was the organiser then the bundle theory is still sound; the plays were just rearranged within the bundle.

Knight has observed arrangement by date in the archepiscopal library at Lambeth Palace, where small format books were bound into compilations by publication year, with “each volume serving as a partial record of that year’s printed output or perhaps that year’s purchase”.¹³⁸ The date organisation in the Petworth collection does not quite correspond to this: there is significant overlap in the date ranges between the volumes, so they cannot be said to represent any kind of record of output, and since the quartos were purchased around the same time they certainly do not represent purchase history in the same way that Knight suggests the Lambeth volumes do. They do, however, suggest a purchase history of a different kind: the narrow date ranges, all covering a period in the 1630s, indicate volumes bought from a bookseller dealing in recent imprints, while those with a larger range suggest the involvement of a second-hand bookseller.

Overall, chronological organisation within the volumes is indicative of an attempt by someone involved in the process of building this collection - either the purchaser, seller or binder - to impose some kind of organisation on some of the volumes, rather than suggesting any rubric for selection. If Borough was the organiser then the inconsistency with which this order was applied is indicative of a fairly haphazard approach in terms of organisation within volumes. As with theme and author, there is no clear evidence of selectivity based on date, but the purchasing of

¹³⁸ Knight, ‘Making Shakespeare’s Books’, p. 321.

the volumes in bundles does not necessarily preclude it. Certain bundles may have been attractive based on their contents, and the overall trend of the collection is towards recently published and reprinted plays. Volumes 6 and 9 contain no material showing any evidence of prior ownership, and volumes 8 and 11 show only minimal evidence. This could indicate that Borough deliberately sought out these plays as they were probably purchased as new, but more likely it suggests that the booksellers from whom these bundles were purchased dealt mainly in new and recent quartos. Once again it is the retail history of the plays, rather than careful curation of the collection, which is revealed in the makeup of individual volumes.

Marks and annotation

While the collection as a whole tends toward the more recently published or reprinted plays, and some volumes indicate that bundles were purchased based on their age or the presence of certain fashionable authors, Borough evidently relied heavily on second hand booksellers, a number of whom were trading during this period.¹³⁹ Marks and annotation found on the volumes are generally indicative of the quartos within being second hand, and ownership marks can provide evidence about the provenance of the individual plays. In some places, however, these marks can give an insight into how the collection was constructed.

Some of the pockets of organisation can be explained if it is assumed that these quartos were purchased in bundles, and the hints of order are at least in part remnants of a previous configuration either at a bookseller's shop or in previous collections. In volume 1 there are two plays which strongly suggest the latter. The two

¹³⁹ Raven, *The Business of Books*, p. 52.

quartos by John Lyly, *Love's Metamorphosis* (1601) and *The Woman in the Moon* (1597) are amongst the earliest quartos in the collection, and consequently it is unsurprising to discover that they have been previously owned (see figures 1.7 and 1.8).

One bears the name of "Jonathan Tubbe" as an ownership mark, but both reveal another rather unusual marking. Both quartos have the name of the author scribbled out, presumably by Jonathan Tubbe or another previous owner. There is a chance that the 10th Earl or one of his heirs could have done this, although it is unlikely since there is very little post-binding annotation on any other plays, and no others bear this kind of marking. It is much more likely that someone previously owned both plays and marked them. It seems improbable that the owner doubted the authorship, given Lyly's popularity. Whatever the reason, these two plays probably came from the same former collection, in the broadest sense of the word; the previous owner may not have owned more than these two plays. Second hand books often come with annotation and damage, and what is interesting in this regard is that there is significant variation not only between plays, but also between volumes. Some volumes are very "clean", having no annotated or noticeably "used" quartos whatsoever, or perhaps only one or two minor notes. Volumes 4, 5, 6, 9 and 13 are entirely free from annotation, though volume 5 does have a pencil note on *Herod and Antipater* (1622), which is presumably a later addition. In volume eight, the only evidence of previous ownership is found on *The Two Noble Kinsmen*. This quarto has some damage on B1r where the paper has worn through and torn and the subsequent missing text has been written to the side.

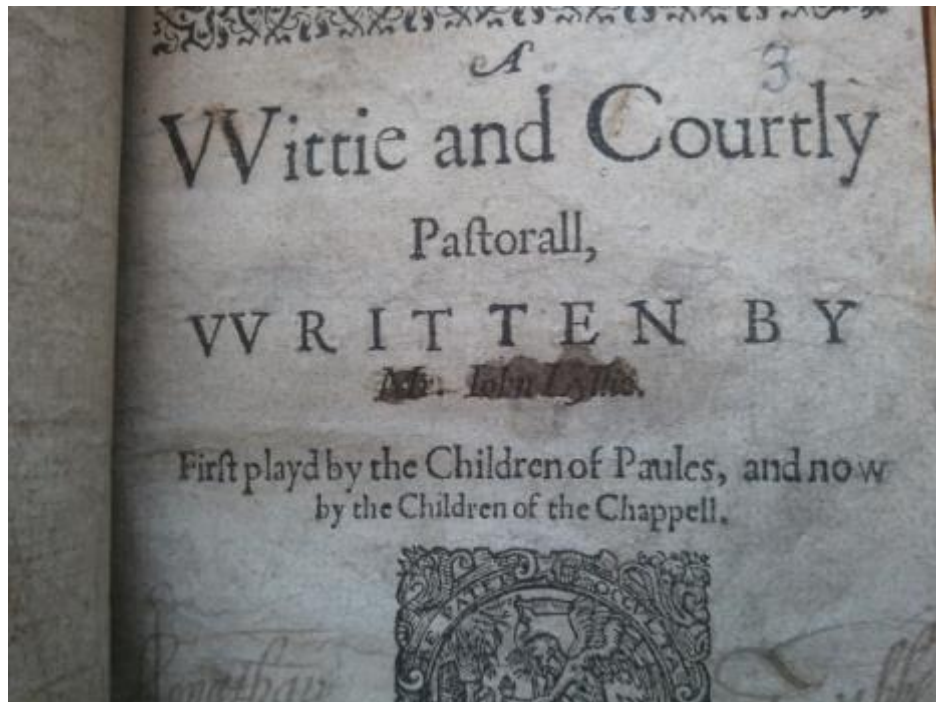


Figure 1.7. Crossed out author name ("by John Lyly") on *Loves Metamorphosis*. Volume 1. By permission of The National Trust.

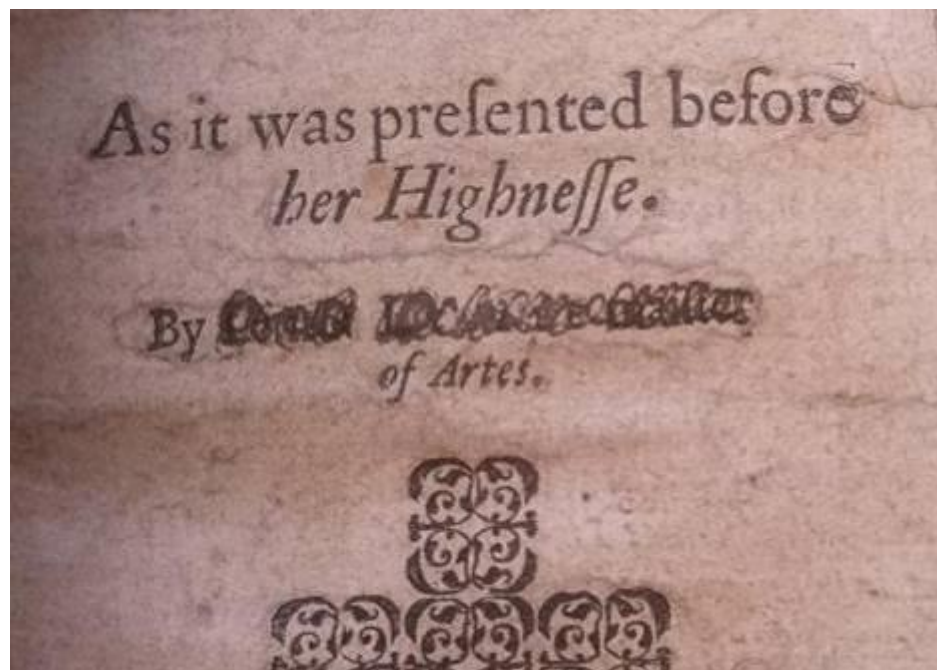


Figure 1.8. Crossed out author name (John Lyly) on *The Woman in the Moon*. Volume 1. By permission of The National Trust.

This must have happened before the binding as the quote to the side is incomplete, the line in the undamaged quarto is “Prim-rose first borne, child of Ver,/ Merry spring times Herbinge”, while what is written here is “primrose first borne child” with “merry spring times herbin” written underneath it - evidently the ends of both lines were cut off when the quarto was bound (see figure 1.9).

Volume 2 has annotations only on *The Duchess of Malfi* (1623), but there is some paper restoration work on *The Serpent of Division*. Volume 3 is largely free of annotations, save for some very small notes on *Faustus* (1609) and *Volpone* (1607). Volume 11 is also relatively clean, but there are several small marks on *The Picture* and an alteration to the title page of *Wine, Beer, Ale and Tobacco* (1630). The edition of the latter play in the collection was published in 1630, but someone has altered the date to 1636 (see figure 1.10). It is possible that this alteration was designed to deliberately mislead the buyer into thinking the quarto was published more recently than it really was. Alternatively, it may have been a well-meaning but misinformed attempt to “correct” the date. It is worth noting that with the “corrected” date the play fits into the organisation scheme of the volume: that is organisation by date (see table 1.11). The actual tear seems to have happened after the quarto was bound into this volume, since the alignment of the page is very neat and was evidently not hindered by a tear. What appears to have happened is that there was a hole in the page,

However, whether the amendment was done prior to that organisation, or as a result of it - after someone noticed that the date did not fit the pattern and wanted to rectify it - is unclear. The collection also contains two other quartos with incorrect publishing dates, albeit dates which were printed rather than amended by hand. These are the 1619 editions of Shakespeare’s *King Lear* and *Henry V*, which were printed with

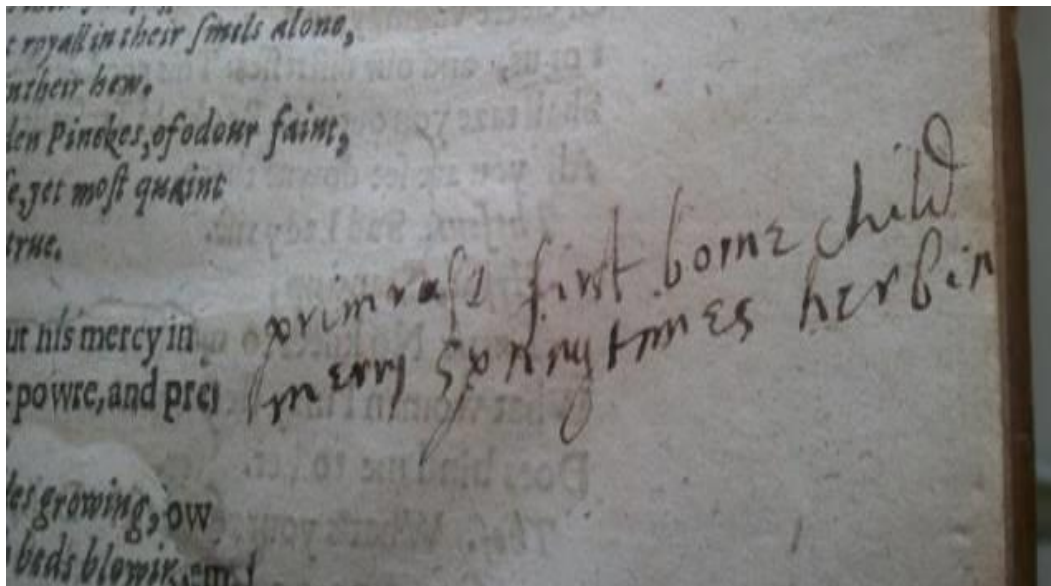


Figure 1.9. Pre-emptive copying of worn lines on *The Two Noble Kinsmen*. Volume 6. By permission of The National Trust.

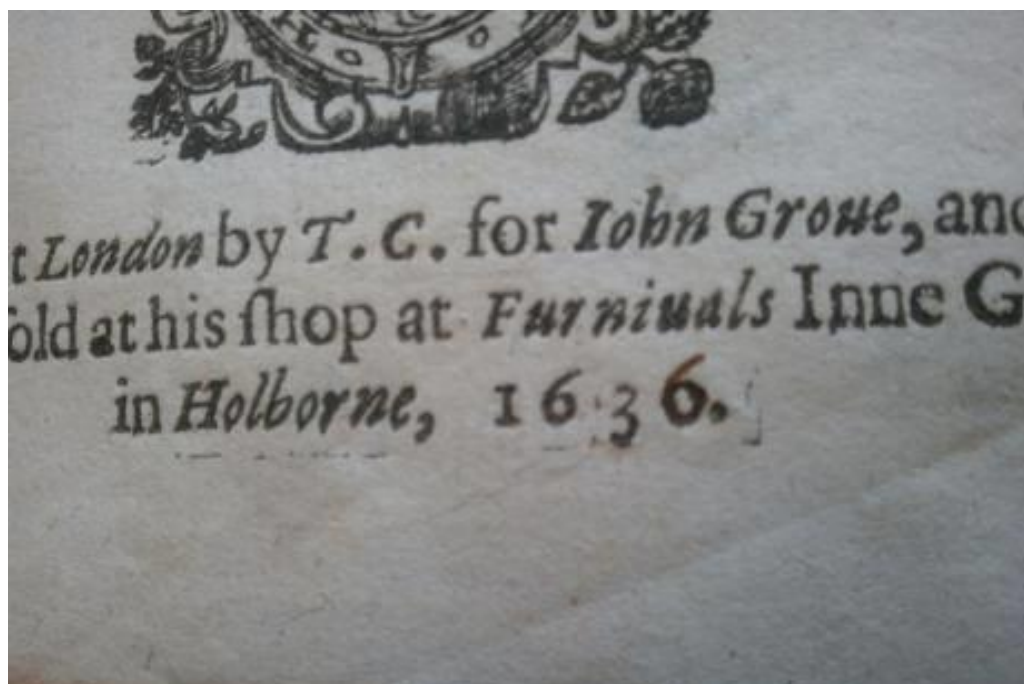


Figure 1.10. Alteration of 0 to 6 on *Wine, Beer, Ale and Tobacco*. Volume 11. By permission of The National Trust.

fraudulent publication dates. These infamous “Pavier quartos” were first identified by W.W. Gregg, who demonstrated that a collection of Shakespearean plays bound together in a 17th century binding had in fact been printed as a set despite the varying

dates of publication on their title pages.¹⁴⁰ Although various theories have been put forward to explain why Thomas Pavier, the publisher, may have done this, Sonia Massai's recent work provides a particularly convincing interpretation. Massai suggests that Pavier was "planning to sell his quartos either individually or bound in what was meant to look like a nonce volume".¹⁴¹ This false nonce volume was intended to function as a "pre-publicity stunt" with the purpose of "arousing rather than satisfying specific demand" for a planned edition of Shakespeare's collected works.¹⁴² The altered date of *Wine, Beer, Ale and Tobacco* is unlikely to have been part of any such elaborately plotted scheme, but it may have been inspired by a similar impulse to make it appear more in keeping with the other plays it was sold with – albeit in a bundle rather than a pre-bound composite volume. In both cases, it is likely that the alteration functioned as a kind of marketing ploy intended to convince the buyer that the quarto was older (for the Pavier quartos) or newer (for *Wine Beer Ale and Tobacco*) than it actually was.

The most heavily annotated volumes are volume 16 and volume 12. The former has marks on *The Battle of Alcazar*, *The Conspiracy and Tragedy of Charles Duke of Byron* and, most notably, *The Broken Heart* which has an abundance of asterisks throughout (see figure 1.11). Volume 12 is the most heavily marked of all the volumes and contains a number of fascinating and varied annotations. Like volume 1, this volume contains plays which came from the same previous collection. These are *The Love of King David and Fair Bathsheba* by George Peele (1599), and *A Woman Never*

¹⁴⁰ W.W Gregg, 'On Certain False Dates in Shakespearean Quartos' in *The Library*, volume 9, issue 2 (1908) pp. 113-131.

¹⁴¹ Sonia Massai, *Shakespeare and the Rise of the Editor* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge: 2007) p. 115.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 119.

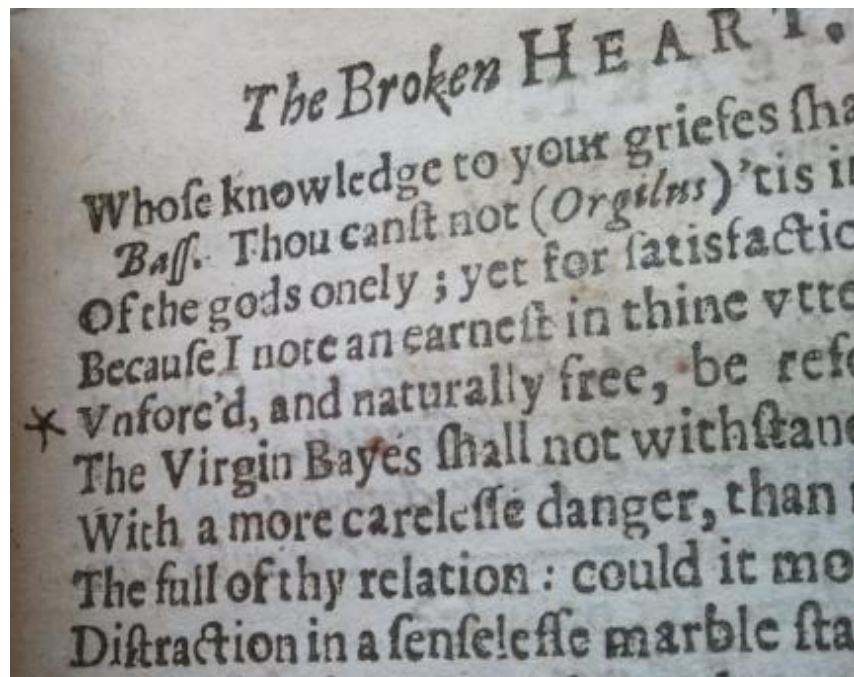


Figure 1.11. Asterisk on *The Broken Heart*. Volume 16. By permission of The National Trust.

Vext by William Rowley (1632), both of which appear to have been owned by a Richard Crashaw (see figures 1.12 and 1.13). It is entirely possible that this could be the metaphysical poet Richard Crashaw. The poet is not known to have kept a library himself, but his father William was certainly a collector of books.¹⁴³ The Peele play at least, which was published in 1599, could have been inherited from the elder Crashaw, although there is no evidence that his collection included drama. *A Woman Never Vext* was published after William's death, however. Although not a known collector of drama or any books, Richard Crashaw does seem to have had something of an interest in plays, as evidenced by this epigram containing a reference to two plays by John Ford: *Upon Ford's Two Tragedies Love's Sacrifice, and the Broken Heart*

Thou cheat'st us, Ford, mak'st one seem two by art;
What is love's sacrifice but the broken heart?¹⁴⁴

¹⁴³ See P.J. Wallis, 'The Library of William Crashawe' in *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, Volume 2, Issue 3, 1956. pp. 213-228. < <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41337022> > [accessed 05 Sept 2013].

¹⁴⁴ Richard Crashaw, *Steps to the Temple* (London: Printed for T.W. 1646) < <https://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/eebo-ocm11699679e> > [accessed 08 Feb 2016] p. 45.

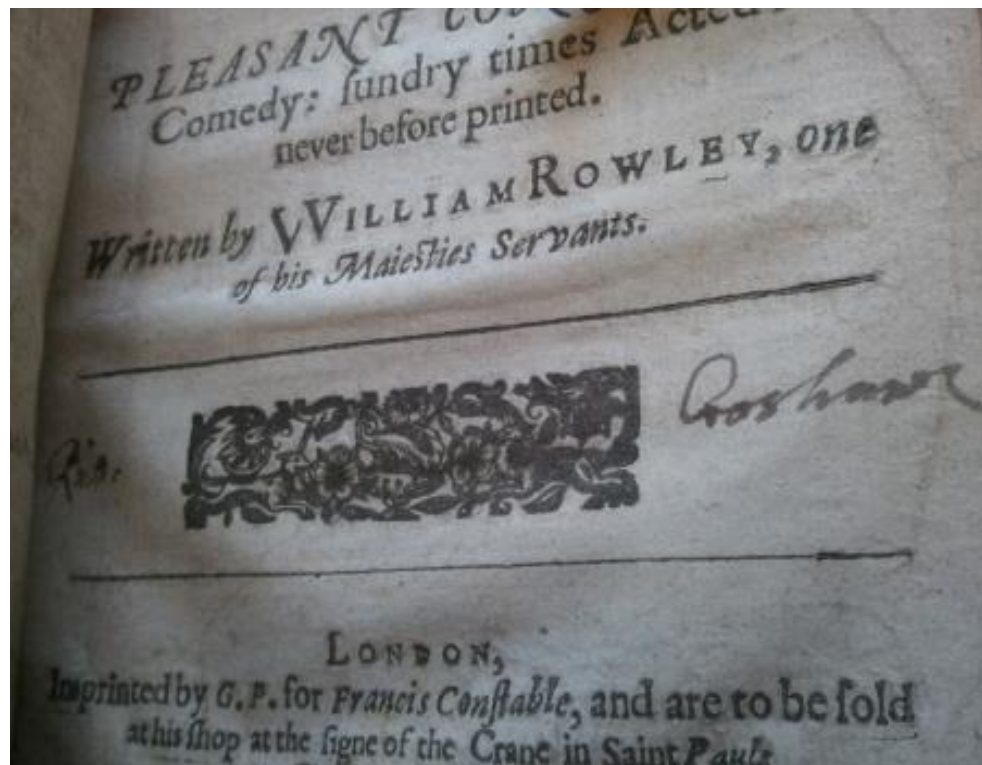


Figure 1.12. Ownership mark "Rich Crashawe" on *A Woman Never Vext*. Volume 12. By permission of The National Trust.



Figure 1.13. Ownership mark "Rich Crashawe" on *The Love of King David and Fair Bethsabe*. Volume 12. By permission of The National Trust.

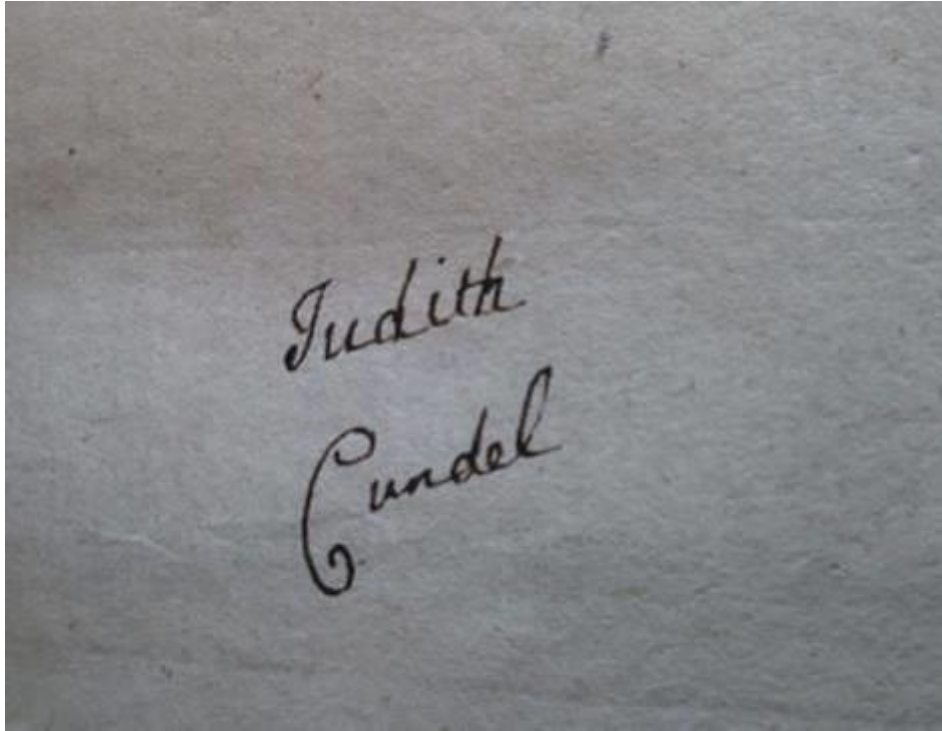


Figure 1.14. Ownership mark “Judith Cundel” on *What You Will*. Volume 12. By permission of The National Trust.

There are a number of other ownership marks on the volumes, although unlike the Crashaw inscriptions the other names appear only once. Along with Jonathan Tubbe and Richard Crashaw there are also plays previously belonging to William Randell, Robert Waterhouse, John Johnson, Nicholas Hass, and Leonard Shylett.¹⁴⁵ Most interesting, perhaps, is the name found on Marston’s *What You Will* (1607). The name of the play is copied out on the front page, but on the back page there is a name written: Judith Cundel (see figure 1.14). There was one prominent Cundel or Condell in the early 17th century at least: Henry Condell, an actor and one of the editors of the First Folio. I have found no Judiths associated with him, however. This is an important annotation because it suggests prior ownership by a woman, as does the inscription by Elizabeth Wallor on Beaumont and Fletcher’s *Two Wise Men and All the Rest Fools*

¹⁴⁵ They are *Parasitaster* (1606), *When You See Me You Know Me* (1621), *Othello* (1622), *The True Chronicle History of the whole Life and Death of Thomas Lord Cromwell* (1613) and *Antonio’s Revenge* (1602) respectively.

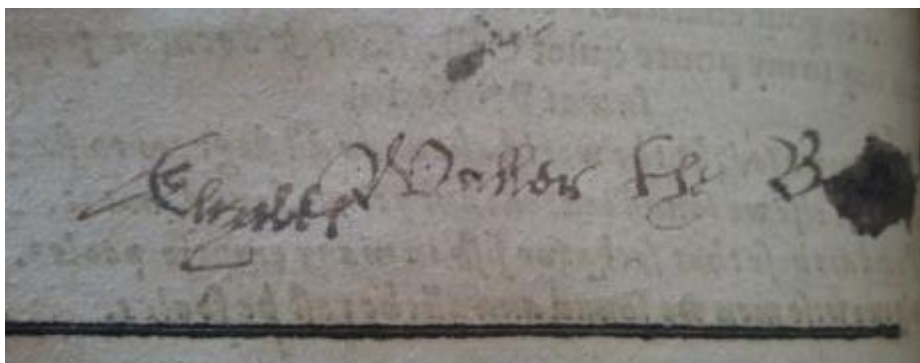


Figure 1.15. Ownership mark "Elizabeth Wallor" on *Two Wise Men and All the Rest Fools*. Volume 1. By permission of The National Trust.

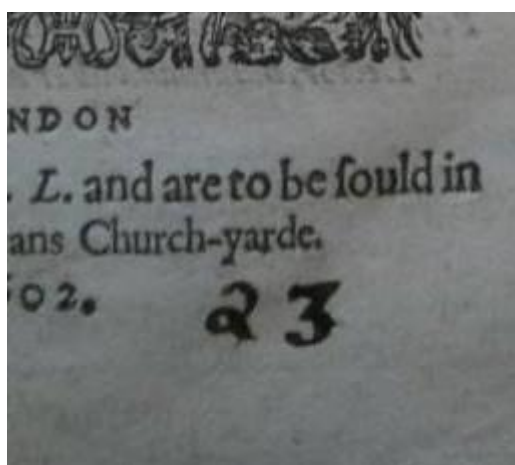


Figure 1.16. Number annotation on title page of *Poetaster*. Volume 10. By permission of The National Trust.

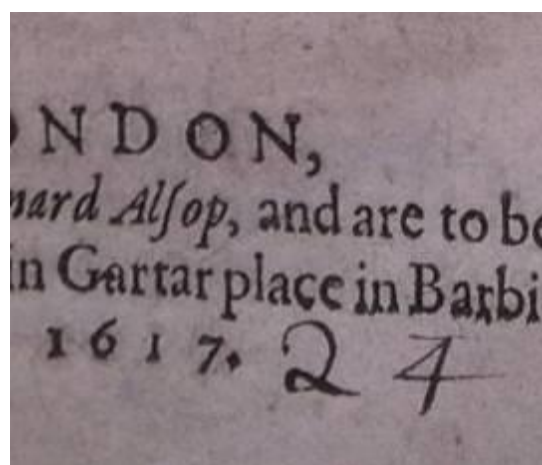


Figure 1.17. Number annotation on title page of *A Looking Glass for London and England*. Volume 15. By permission of The National Trust.

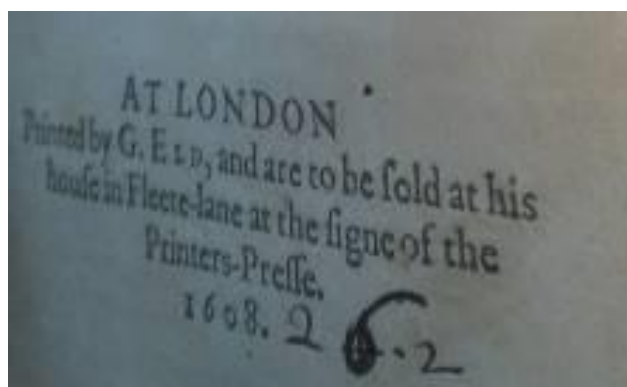


Figure 1.18. Number annotation on title page of *The Revenger's Tragedy*. Volume 13. By permission of The National Trust.

(1619) (see figure 1.15). This again suggests the collection's complex and miscellaneous history.

Ownership marks are relatively common on the quartos, but the most common kind of annotation is much more puzzling. A significant number of the plays have numbers written on their title pages (see figures 1.16, 1.17 and 1.18). Fourteen of the quartos, appearing in volumes: 3, 10, 12, 13, 14 and 15, have this kind of annotation).

Play	Volume	Number
<i>Cambises, King of Persia</i>	3	22
<i>Volpone</i>	3	27.2
<i>The Troublesome Reign of King John of England</i>	10	21.2
<i>Northward Hoe</i>	10	22.6
<i>Poetaster</i>	10	23
<i>Eastward Hoe</i>	10	23
<i>Whore of Babylon</i>	10	23
<i>Parasitaster</i>	12	26
<i>Technogamia</i>	12	242
<i>Histrionomastix</i>	13	23
<i>The Revengers Tragedy</i>	13	262
<i>The Pleasant Comedy of Old Fortunatus</i>	14	23
<i>The Weakest Goeth to the Wall</i>	15	23
<i>A Looking Glass for London and England</i>	15	24

Table 1.18 Quartos with numbers written on title page

There are several possible explanations for these numbers: either they were added by a previous owner, a bookseller, the 10th Earl himself, Borough or a later owner of the collection. The latter of the three is the most unlikely scenario; it would be unusual for an owner of the collection to single out these plays in particular for annotation when they have very little in common with each other. The fact that the numbers are confined to six volumes and 14 plays only also contradicts this theory, since if this were a kind of cataloguing then presumably all or most of the plays would be marked. Despite starting with a 2, the numbers appear unrelated to the three

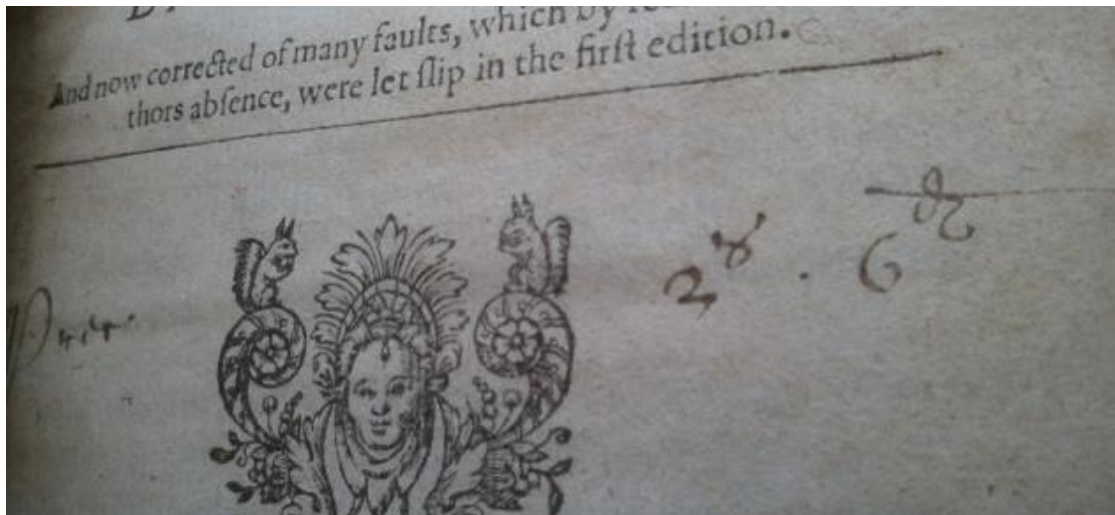


Figure 1.19. Possible “bundle” price on the title page of *Parasitaster*. Volume 12. By permission of The National Trust.

number cataloguing system found on the front covers of the volumes, and the numbers on the plays do not correspond to the number of the volume in which they are found. The first two scenarios, that the numbers are the work of a previous owner or bookseller, are more compelling. The numbers could suggest either a cataloguing system or a selling system, although if it is the latter then it is unclear to what they refer: it cannot be price. In either case, the numbers do suggest that the plays have all been in the same place, at some point. This is particularly intriguing as they are spread across volumes, and suggests that Borough may have used the same second hand bookseller to source a number of different plays, perhaps on different visits. The fact that five of the numbered quartos, three of which bear the number “23”, are found in volume 10 is indicative of the kind of bundling suggested by the Massinger plays in volume 7, or the plays formerly belong to Richard Crashaw in volume 12. In terms of binding groups, these numbers are only found on volumes from binding groups 1 and 2. The numbered quartos are notably older, with the editions predominately published in the first decade of the 17th century and the latest, *The Troublesome Reign of King John*, published in 1622. Their age indicates that they are all second hand, so it would

be quite possible for them to all come from the same previous collection. Presumably, the bookseller acquired the quartos and then, for whatever reason, divided them amongst six bundles which Borough then purchased.

The title page of John Marston's *Parasitaster* (1604) reveals another piece of evidence which points towards the purchase of the plays in bundles. The annotation appears to be a price - 2 shillings and 6 pence (see figure 1.19) – which is far too much to pay for one play, but which would be an appropriate amount paid for a group or bundle of plays. The average price per play in the collection can be calculated at around 6.5 pence per play, although as discussed earlier this does not take into account any “finder’s fee” that Borough may have charged. This would allow for 4, maybe 5 plays. As I have mentioned, however, 6 of the 10 plays in volume 12 are rather heavily annotated or damaged, and none of them are likely to be newly purchased plays, the latest date being 1633 (William Rowley's *All's Lost by Lust*). They could well, therefore, have been significantly cheaper than the average. If 2 shillings 6 pence was the price paid for the plays in the volume, this would work out as 3 pence per play - not an entirely unreasonable amount. *Parasitaster* is not the first play in the volume, but it may well have been top of the bundle in a bookseller's shop, since this volume is arranged chronologically. If this is the case it suggests that Borough himself may have been the one to arrange the plays in this order. It is also possible that the 2 shillings and 6 pence does only refer to a bundle of 4 or 5 plays, and the other 5 or 6 were purchased either separately or in another bundle, perhaps from the same bookseller during the same play-finding shopping trip.

Another kind of annotation of particular interest in the collection consists of several attempts to restore damaged parts of the quartos. The most significant of

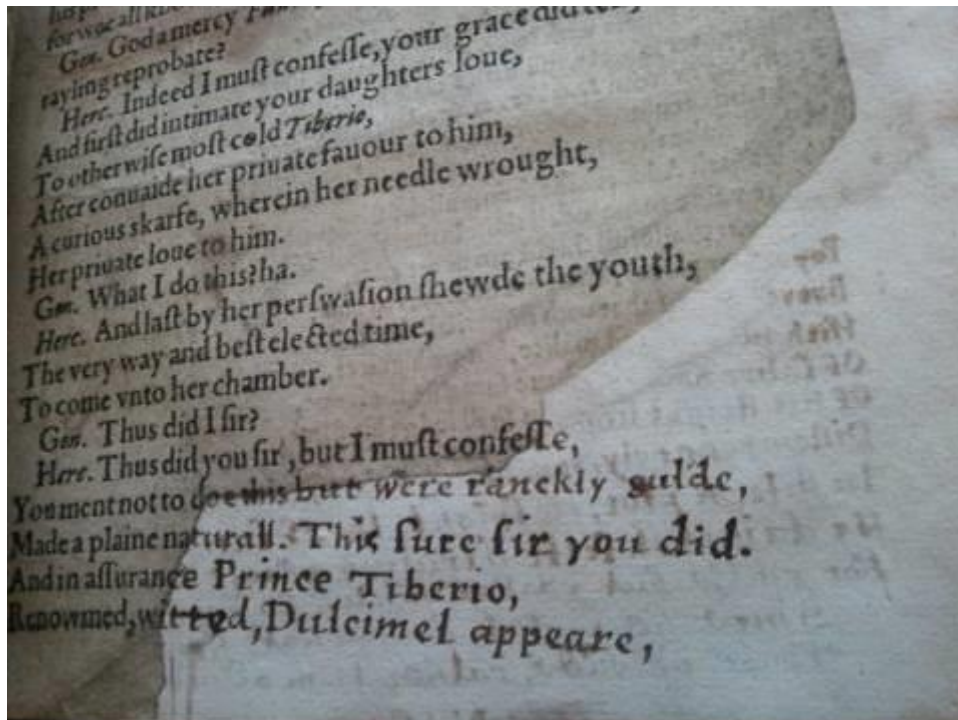


Figure 1.20. Restoration on *Parasitaster*. Volume 12. By permission of The National Trust.

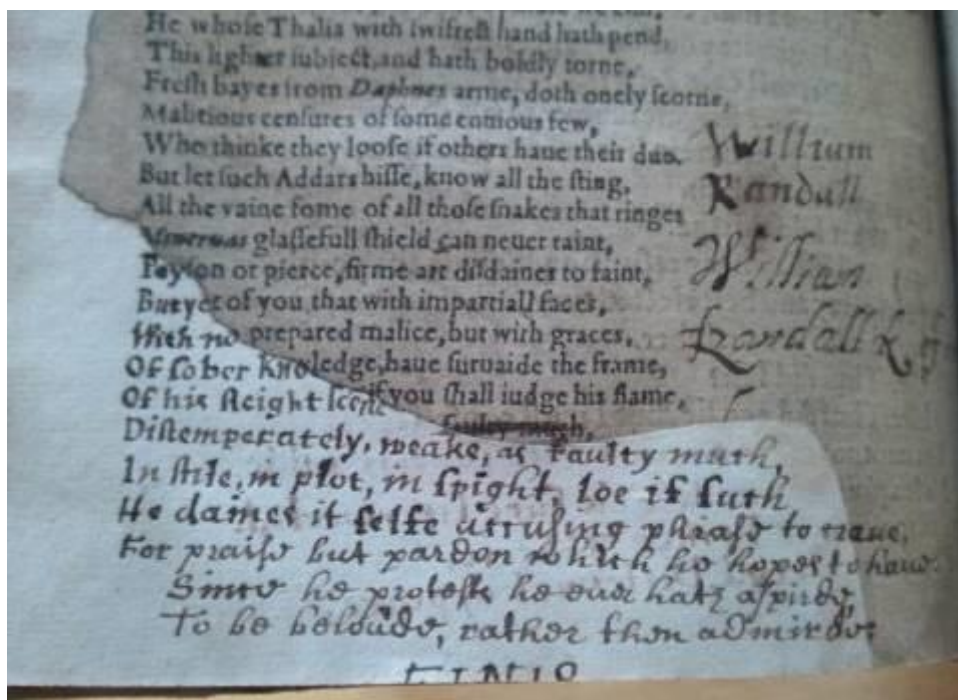


Figure 1.21. Restoration on *Parasitaster*. Volume 12. By permission of The National Trust.

these is also in volume 12. The final page of *Parasitaster* shows a fascinating attempt to “fix” the damaged play; about a quarter of the page is missing, the lower outer

corner, and has been patched up pre-binding with the missing text filled in by hand on both sides (see figures 1.20 and 1.21). The writer of the manuscript addition has made some attempt, at least initially, to imitate the Roman typeface of the original quarto, carefully matching up the tops of the “doe this but” on on the recto and the “y” in “poyson” on the verso that remain on the printed page with the rest of the letter as it is written in. The writer evidently tired of this effort fairly quickly, however, and by the end of the missing text on the verso side the writing gets noticeably less tidy and becomes almost cursive. The writer also stops attempting to stick to the margins, with some of the lines even extending over to the original paper. The inconsistency in quality suggests that this is the work of an amateur restorer, perhaps an owner rather than a bookseller or binder.

This is an intriguing variation on the symbiotic relationship between manuscript and print that Adam Smyth describes in his article “‘Rend and Teare in Peeeces’: Textual Fragmentation in Seventeenth-Century England”.¹⁴⁶ Smyth identifies “a willingness to fragment, literally, the printed book”, and explores how consumers were happy to combine print and manuscript in a variety of different ways; interleaving their commonplaces with print, and then annotating those printed pages.¹⁴⁷ This attitude is apparent in early modern descriptions of reading which “depict parts being at least metaphorically seized, torn out, ripped off”.¹⁴⁸ The *Parasitaster* amendment represents the other side of this tearing and ripping. Since it is the final page, it may be that a previous owner has extracted the final part of the play’s epilogue for use

¹⁴⁶ Adam Smyth, ‘Rend and Teare in Peeeces’: Textual Fragmentation in Seventeenth-Century England’ in *The Seventeenth Century*. Volume 9, Issue 1, 2004. pp. 36-52. <<http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/0268117X.2004.10555534>> [accessed 26 May 2014].

¹⁴⁷ Ibid. p. 43

¹⁴⁸ Ibid.

elsewhere. There is, in fact, another page in the play where the bottom half has been removed, although no attempt has been made to amend it. Manuscript additions to print, Smyth states, can “complicate, nuance, or rework our reading” of a text.¹⁴⁹ The writing here is not so much an addition as a replacement or restoration, and although there is nothing as such added to the text of play it does clearly mark this as being a passage that someone evidently thought worthy of restoration, unlike the earlier page.

Evidently, this attempt at restoration was done before the play was bound, as part of it has been cut off. The “William Randall” annotation – presumably a mark of ownership – must have occurred prior to this restoration, as it is cut off by the torn portion of the page. William Randall was probably the owner who drew a number of rather poorly executed manicules throughout the text, and also who had some alterations in mind for the final page. One is a kind of annotation found nowhere else in the collection; an attempted, and then rejected, addition to the play. The line, which is the final line of dialogue proper, originally read “But now we change our face” before the epilogue begins, the annotator has suggested “But now we change our face *in disgrace*”. The two word addition has been subsequently crossed out, though it is not clear whether this was done by the original annotator or a subsequent owner. Elsewhere on the same page another amendment has been made: in the line is “if you shall judge his flame / Distemperately weak, as faulty much / In style, in plot, in spirit...”, the words “faulty much” have been crossed through. It is possible that more of the line has been crossed through as it has been torn away and replaced. There are other attempts at restoration on a much more minor scale elsewhere in the collection - the pre-emptive copying in *The Two Noble Kinsmen* mentioned earlier, and some pre-

¹⁴⁹ Ibid.

binding patching work carried out on *The Serpent of Division* in volume 2. The latter was probably not carried out by the binder, however, as another quarto in the volume, *The Duchess of Malfi*, has half the final page missing but no attempt to restore it has been made.

A final example of a rather misguided attempt at restoration can be seen again in *The Serpent of Division/The Tragedy of Gorboduc*. As well as patching the gaps in the pages, someone - presumably either the binder or purchaser - has changed the order of one of the leaves. G5, the final page of *Gorboduc*, is in fact missing from the quarto, and the page that has been added in its place, entitled "The Conclusion", is actually C5, the final page of *The Serpent of Division*. Again, the motives behind this are perhaps questionable - as with the "correction" of the date on *Wine, Beer, Ale and Tobacco*, insight into the motives of the person who made the amendment can only be speculated on. The amendment may have been made because of an incorrect belief that it was restoration rather than change, or to mislead a potential customer into thinking they were purchasing a complete quarto - or indeed two. Removing C5 from its original location would not necessarily cause *The Serpent of Division* to appear incomplete, at least not to an indiscriminate purchaser, since the conclusion is markedly different from the text that comes before it - it is in a different font and begins as a new section of text. The text on the previous page ends naturally without it. The text on G4 is in fact continued on G5, so its absence would be more noticeable. It is certainly possible that whoever moved the leaf did so in the hope that a person casually glancing over both texts would not notice that either one was lacking its final page. Similarly, this may spring from a similar impulse to that which prompted the restoration of the final page of *Parasitaster*; it may be an attempt to "tidy up" the

quarto and make it look to some extent complete to a casual browser. Elsewhere in the quarto, the bottom half of B2 is missing, but there has been no such attempt to mend this page, perhaps because it would not be readily noticeable by a potential purchaser. Early modern concepts of “completeness” with regard to the book were very different to our own, as many have observed, and the presence of marks and annotations would not generally have been an issue for a reader, but a missing page, large ink stain or torn leaf without restoration would have impeded an attempt to actually read the material, and therefore may not have been tolerated or welcomed in the same way.

Both the changing of the date on *Wine, Beer, Ale and Tobacco*, the moving of the leaf to the end of *Gorboduc* and the amendment to *Parasitaster* (when contrasted with the lack of amendment to the torn page in the middle of the play) could suggest slightly underhand business techniques on the part of second-hand book sellers. To this short list the separation of the two parts of *The Fair Maid of the West* can be added. Published together but bound in different volumes, their separation could perhaps indicate an attempt by the bookseller to “bulk out” the number of plays that they could offer in a bundle. It is unclear whether or not the two parts of the play in the Petworth collection were from the same original quarto since *Part 1* was in one of the lost volumes. Either way, the two items were printed together but evidently sold separately on some occasions. It is unlikely that there would be much financial incentive on the bookseller’s part to deliberately separate plays since quartos were priced by the sheet. Whatever the circumstances of the changes to form or date, these three instances all suggest that some booksellers were willing to take certain liberties (intentional or otherwise) with printed material, manipulating them to meet the

desires of the customers, or their own ideas about what was “correct”.

Conclusion: methods of construction

As demonstrated by the evidence put forward in this chapter, there are a number of ways in which the collection might have been constructed, organised, and bound, and yet more ways in which the quartos could have found their way into the volumes they are part of today. Very little is certain, but the evidence points towards Sir John Borough purchasing a mixture of new and second-hand quartos and having them bound. The collection appears to have been compiled in 1638, and the presence of “new” plays published the same year makes it very unlikely that the collection was assembled by Borough for his own purposes, and then subsequently sold to Northumberland. More likely Borough was asked to assemble the collection for Northumberland, just as Northumberland asked his brother in law to find him a certain book, or as Borough sought out manuscripts for his cousin in Venice.

Other studies of the contents and organisation of composite volumes are fairly rare, and the books themselves can be difficult to access, largely because they are often not identified as such in library catalogues. Consequently, it is difficult to establish whether or not any of these approaches to arrangement within volumes - be it authorship, chronology, theme, genre or indeed an entirely random organisation - can be considered in any way typical of 17th century composite volumes in general. Jeffrey Knight’s work identifying thematic links certainly suggests that organisation was more common in such volumes than it might initially appear; within these volumes are often found systems indicating “intertextual reading and canon formation that are

perhaps not obvious to us today”.¹⁵⁰ For Knight, this kind of thematic organisation demonstrates that “the buyer [has] chosen the texts and commissioned the binding at the time of the initial sale, not in accordance with the dictates of a pre-existing literary canon but out of his or her own intellectual preferences or needs”.¹⁵¹ Clearly, intentional organisation of some kind was not unheard of in early modern composite volumes, although the occasional generic, thematic and authorial organisation seen in the Petworth volumes, such as volume 16, probably reflects the “intellectual preferences or needs” of previous owners rather than of Northumberland or Borough. Knight also identifies some more practical approaches to compilation - namely the practice of bundling texts of similar size in order to create “volumes of consistent form but seemingly arbitrary content”.¹⁵² Although there are parallels and similarities to be noted, none of these methods exactly match those found in the Petworth collection - the chronological organisation, for example, is neither representative of an “intellectual preference” nor can it be called entirely “arbitrary”. The Petworth collection, seen alongside Knight’s research, indicates that there were probably as many different methods of organisation as there were booksellers, customers and collectors in the 17th century; with no pre-defined “rules” for these relatively new practices of collecting and compiling printed works, the key concepts when it comes to both collection and book production are *variety* and *choice*.

The various vestiges of organisation from other collections, including the curious “2” numbers, the Crashaw ownership marks and the duplicate plays, suggest that the quartos were probably not all carefully selected and purchased individually by

¹⁵⁰ Knight, *Bound to Read*, p. 61.

¹⁵¹ Ibid., p. 65.

¹⁵² Ibid., p. 67.

Borough. Many volumes are arranged by date, and others show coherence in the dates, authors, genres or themes within. None of these approaches are consistent, however, and although certain considerations seem to have influenced individual volumes, none of these systems can be said to indicate a general rubric for the entire collection. The only consistent rules in terms of content are that all of the quartos are in English, and originally written in English, and that they are all plays. It is not uncommon to find composite volumes where plays cohabit with other kinds of material, such as poetry or pamphlets. There are, in fact, two exceptions to this in the collection which appear to have found their way in under the radar - Lydgate's *The Serpent of Division*, a prose tract printed alongside the play *The Tragedy of Gorboduc*, and *Andria of Terence* from the lost volumes, which, as it is dated 1588 in the catalogue, is presumably Maurice Kyffin's translation of Terence's *The Woman of Andros*.¹⁵³ Where the volumes show evidence of consistency - of author, theme, genre, annotation or date - this is most likely to be a pattern left in place from a previous collection or arrangement in a bookseller's shop, since none of these patterns or organisational structures are used consistently throughout the whole collection. Organisation by author, theme and genre is most likely to be a system put in place by a previous collector, while date organisation - in terms of chronology and range - was probably arranged by a bookseller or by Borough himself.

The most likely scenario for the compilation of the collection is that Borough sought readily assembled bundles of new and old plays, at least in some cases because the bundles featured one or more plays that he felt would be appreciated by Northumberland, or perhaps even that Northumberland had specifically requested.

¹⁵³ Terence, *Andria* trans. Maurice Kyffin (London: Printed by T.E, 1588).

While there was some attempt to seek out or choose specific plays, in general Borough's approach does not seem to have been particularly discriminating. This is reflected in the diversity of the material. The varying number of plays in each volume also supports the theory that the plays were purchased as bundles, probably from different booksellers.

Using this method, Borough managed to produce a comprehensive collection which reflected both the tastes and fashions of the 1630s, and an interest in the dramatic output of Jacobean and late Elizabethan playwrights. There are inconsistencies, and evidence that the collection was not curated in a particularly careful way, but there do seem to have been certain requirements put in place for its contents. The two volumes with which this chapter began illustrate the concerns of the collector; an interest in both newly printed, contemporary material written by a particular author, and older material by celebrated, perhaps even proto-canonical playwrights. There is less solid, but still compelling, evidence that the collection reveals a certain bias towards first editions, comedies and new quartos printed, though not necessarily written, in the 1630s. Having identified the rubric and method of acquisition for the collection in this chapter, I now want to go on and explore the reasons and motivations for Northumberland's purchase of the collection. This chapter has touched on the possibility that the presence of a relatively large number of plays by James Shirley in the collection indicates that Northumberland may have had an interest in the playwright, and that this interest may have been sparked or fuelled by Shirley's popularity at court. The next chapter explores the idea that the impetus to purchase the collection was born at least in part out of this desire to achieve and display a certain level of social status. It also examines other methods of and reasons

for performing collection in this way, discussing the practicalities and uses of composite volumes as well as the relationship between collection as a process and conspicuous consumption, in order to discern the motivation and purposes behind the purchase of the collection in 1638.

Chapter 2: Performing collection

Having established the probable circumstances under which the collection was constructed by Sir John Borough and acquired by the 10th Earl of Northumberland, the Petworth plays can now be examined in relation to both the time in which they were purchased by the 10th Earl, and the environment in which they were kept. This chapter seeks to further explore the motivations behind Northumberland's acquisition of the play collection, and deals with the life of the collection after that purchase. The focus of this chapter is largely on the performative aspects of collection relating to display, use and purpose rather than the methods involved in their initial acquisition. It also explores more generally how the nature and purpose of collection in this period was conceptualised. Essentially, this chapter focuses on the *why* of this particular early modern collection as opposed to the *how*.

An important element of, and influence on, the 10th Earl's collecting practice was the idea of legacy and heritage. As a collector, and as the Earl, he built on and reacted to his family's long history, constantly managing the balance between contemporaneity and tradition. Like Northumberland's play collection, his art collection and architectural pursuits in the 1630s display a collocation of both new and old material. The 10th Earl followed his father and grandfather by living primarily at Petworth, but before the 8th Earl moved there it had fallen into disrepair. The house initially came to the possession of the Percy family in around 1150, when Josceline de Louvain was given the Honour of Petworth by his brother-in-law William d'Aubigny, husband of Adeliza, the widow of Henry I. A few years later, Josceline married the

Percy heiress, Agnes, and their children opted to carry on the Percy name.¹⁵⁴ While Alnwick remained the Percys' primary seat, some use was made of Petworth during the medieval period, as evidenced by the building of the chapel and battlements in the late 13th century (the former survives today, the latter do not). In 1537 the house became Crown property resulting from an attainder, and although it was returned to the 7th Earl in 1557, the house was not used again until the 8th Earl's exile there in 1576.¹⁵⁵ Having lain dormant and practically uninhabited for nearly 40 years, and having only been a secondary residence for centuries before, the Petworth estate in the 1570s was an unwelcoming and somewhat dilapidated place; lacking in glazed windows, with rotting roof timbers and in many places generally "very much decayed".¹⁵⁶ Faced with such dereliction, the 8th Earl invested plenty of time, money and effort into the renovations at Petworth, and his son and grandson would follow his example. The 8th Earl repaired the existing building, relaid the gardens, and added new bedrooms to the house. The 9th Earl continued in the same vein, converting rooms, including one which would become his library, and adding more new buildings and, while imprisoned in the Tower, developing further rather ambitious plans for a dramatic rebuilding of Petworth which never came to fruition. Significantly, one of the intended alterations was a "12-ft.-wide, marble-floored open Gallery with balusters of freestone" situated at the top of a marble staircase at the entrance to the house.¹⁵⁷ This gallery would presumably have housed the 9th Earl's paintings, and placing it as the first and grandest room that a visitor would have encountered would have made a

¹⁵⁴ Alexander Rose, *Kings in the North* (2003) pp. 86-87.

¹⁵⁵ Batho 'The Percies at Petworth', p. 2.

¹⁵⁶ Alnwick MSS. Letters and Papers, vol. 3, ff. 32-35, 'A view of Petworth House, 3 June 1574' cited in Batho 'The Percies at Petworth', p. 4.

¹⁵⁷ Batho, 'The Percies at Petworth', p. 23.

bold and undeniable statement about the importance of art and the performative aspects of collection.

Despite this rather large concession to display in the plans, the 9th Earl does not appear to have had much of a taste for the visual arts. In something of a contrast to his eldest son what little interest in portraiture he did possess was far outweighed by his penchant for collecting the written word. One contemporary painting likely to have been commissioned by him that does survive and can be seen at Petworth today is a portrait of the Earl painted in 1602 (see figure 2.1). More famously, his image was captured by Nicholas Hilliard in a miniature portrait (see figure 2.2).

The most well-known image of the 9th Earl, however, is probably the posthumous portrait by the Anthony Van Dyck, commissioned by his son (see figure 2.3). The 10th Earl also commissioned a posthumous portrait of the 8th Earl, perhaps a little surprising given his grandfather's controversial life and death (see figure 2.4).

These two paintings are emblematic of the 10th Earl's approach to collection: blending the fashionable novelty of the popular art of Van Dyck with the grandeur of the past, tinged with the trapping of dynasty. The Van Dyck portrait may have been influenced by the Hilliard miniature: the Earl has documents with him in the Van Dyck portrait and a book in the Hilliard, and he adopts a similar pose in both with his head resting on his right hand. There are also books depicted in the 1602 portrait. Other details are very different, however. In the Van Dyck portrait the Earl sits in a chair in a dimly lit room, rather than casually reclining in a bright garden, gloves tossed aside. Hilliard's setting is highly stylized, with a globe and feather hanging from a tree and sharp angles on the hedges of a garden which appears to sit on top of a hill or mountain. The miniature has been described by Roy Strong as "one of the most cryptic



Figure 2.1. Henry Percy, 9th Earl of Northumberland (1602):
 "Drawne in the Low Contries 1602 while he served in this warres".
 ©National Trust Images/Derrick E. Witty

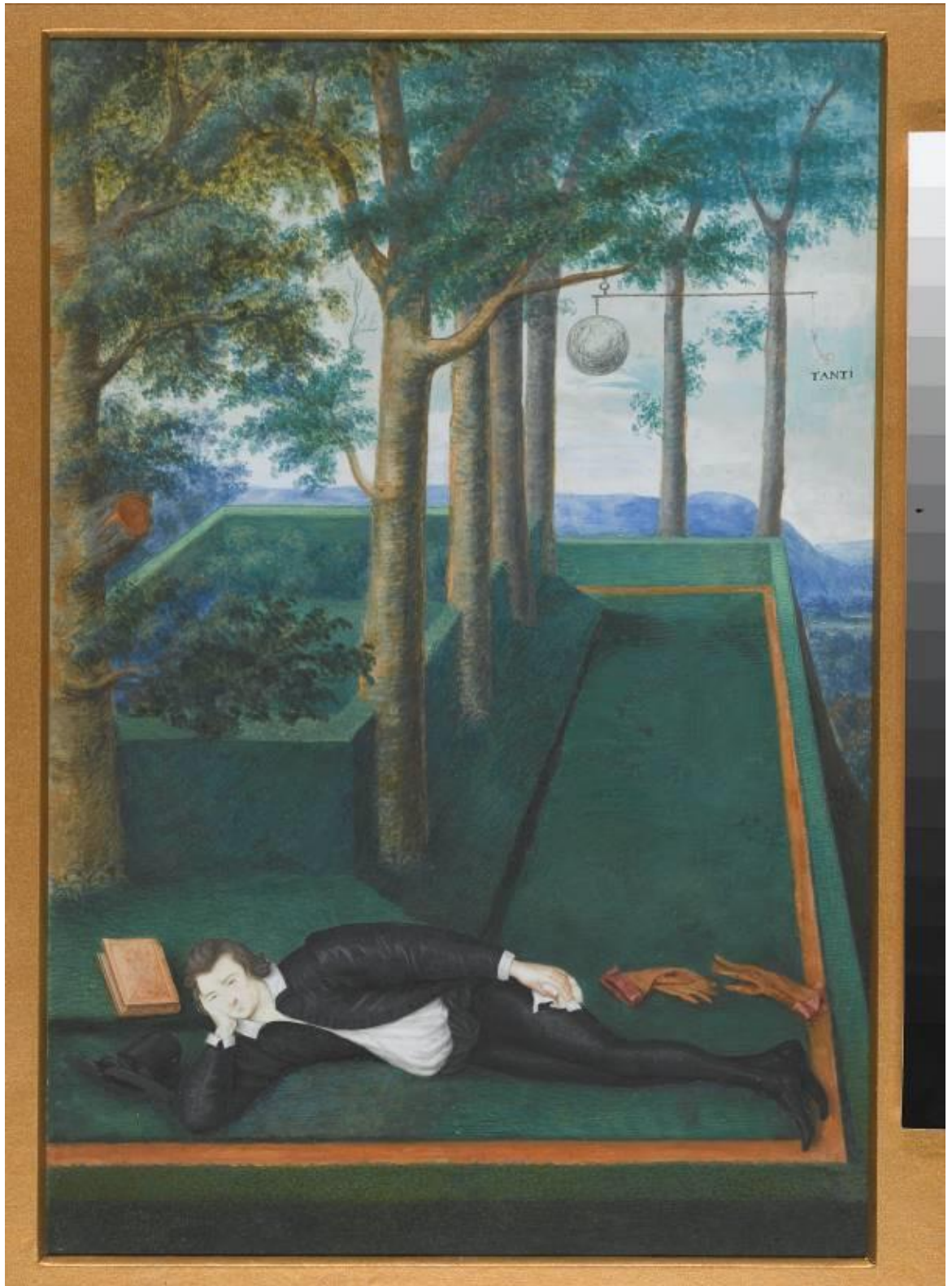


Figure 2.2. Nicholas Hilliard, (c.1595). *Henry Percy, 9th Earl of Northumberland*. By permission of Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.



Figure 2.3. Anthony Van Dyck. *Henry Percy, 9th Earl of Northumberland*. ©National Trust Images/Derrick E. Witty

hieroglyphs of the Elizabethan age”, full of extremely specific, impenetrable and esoteric symbolism.¹⁵⁸ Any hint of symbolism in the Van Dyck portrait is much less obscure: the desk and paper in the Van Dyck portrait highlight the scholarly nature of the 9th Earl, a trait for which he was well known. The Earl is depicted as an older

¹⁵⁸ Roy Strong, ‘Nicholas Hilliard’s miniature of the “Wizard Earl”’ in *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum*, Volume 31, Issue 1, 1983. pp. 54-62. p. 61. <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/40382082>> [accessed 10 June 2013]



Figure 2.4. Anthony Van Dyck. *Henry Percy, 8th Earl of Northumberland*.

©National Trust Images

patriarch and estate manager; his concerns are with his lands and family rather than social climbing, the court, or politics. The depiction of the 9th Earl as a serious scholar in an interior setting recall first and foremost the 9th Earl's reputation as a "wizard" and learned collector of knowledge, leaving little room for the viewer to remember any allegations of Catholic sympathies or involvement in a murderous plot. He is solitary, thoughtful, sober and noticeably depoliticised.

The portrait of the 8th Earl does similar work in the rehabilitation of the family's

image. In this case, however, the Earl is depicted in full armour, with weapons and a helmet. Before any rumours of involvement in plots or conspiracies, or any trial, imprisonment or house arrest, the 8th Earl took part in several successful campaigns for Elizabeth. In particular he supported the queen against the rising of the north in 1569-70, for which he was rewarded. Henry Percy's military involvement, however, mostly took place before he became the 8th Earl of Northumberland. In fact, his brother Thomas, the 7th Earl of Northumberland, took part in the aforementioned uprising.¹⁵⁹ Again, the painting's viewer is strongly reminded of the positive aspects of the Earl's character; seeing him as a heroic, military noble rather than the duplicitous courtier he became in later life. The portraits of both Earls take steps to erase their courtly identities; they are not depicted at the height of their power and influence, but rather as an older, reserved and private gentleman, and a youthful loyalist.

The 10th Earl also commissioned several paintings of himself, either alone or with his family. A Van Dyck portrait which now hangs in Alnwick Castle continues the theme of emphasising positive qualities and achievements (figure 2.5). The Earl is decorated with his full garter insignia, posing with a large anchor and backed by a depiction of a sea battle. Both the receiving of the garter and the Earl's appointment as Lord High Admiral took place in the 1630s, the painting was probably commissioned to commemorate the appointment in 1638, the same year that he acquired the play collection. All of these paintings focus on the positive contributions that the Earls made to the Percy legacy, and the fact that they were commissioned by the 10th Earl makes it clear that he was concerned with tradition and family history. Having his

¹⁵⁹ Carole Levin, 'Percy, Henry, eighth earl of Northumberland (c.1532–1585)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/21938>, accessed 11 June 2014].



Figure 2.5. Anthony Van Dyck (1638). *Algernon Percy, 10th Earl of Northumberland*, Collection of the Duke of Northumberland, Alnwick Castle.

ancestors painted by Van Dyck suggests a desire to reinterpret or even reimagine the past through a contemporary lens. This intermingling of the old and the new, the contemporary and the historical, was a recurrent theme in the 10th Earl's collecting habits, and in his life in general.

Collecting in the 1630s: art and architecture

The 1630s was an extremely important decade for the 10th Earl and the Percy family. Alongside his growing interest in art and collecting more generally, the 10th Earl's political, cultural and social capital grew, and perhaps even reached their zenith. This was something of a golden decade for Northumberland; it was a time during which he inherited his title from his father, spent increasingly more time at court and achieved

great successes in his career. The intense political upheaval of the 1640s, during which the 10th Earl remained powerful and influential as a Parliamentarian, was looming, but it had not yet taken hold.

Following Henry Percy's death in 1632, Algernon inherited his father's title and became the 10th Earl of Northumberland. Henry Percy's tenure as Earl had brought some peace to the troubled family, the lives of the 6th, 8th and 9th Earls having been marred and often ended by rebellion and power struggles, and he initially appeared to be clawing back some of their original reputation. In 1593 Elizabeth made him a Knight of the Garter, and George Peele's poem to commemorate the occasion described him as "Mounted on Fortunes wheele by vertues ayme".¹⁶⁰ The improving fortunes of the Percy family were not to last however, and his presumed complicity in the Gunpowder Plot meant that the 9th Earl spent the next 17 years - most of Algernon's childhood - in the tower. He lived a further 11 years after his release in retirement.

During the final years of the 9th Earl's life he kept well away from the court and politics, spending most of his time at Petworth. However, other members of the Percy family were working to improve the family's social standing. Algernon's sister Lucy Percy married James Hay and became the Countess of Carlisle in 1622. The couple were heavily involved with court life and various intrigues, particularly after Charles came to the throne.¹⁶¹ Algernon's younger brother, also called Henry Percy, had himself secured a place at Charles' court, and was a favourite of the queen.¹⁶²

Before his father's death, the 10th Earl became involved in politics and attended

¹⁶⁰ George Peele, *The Honour of the Garter* (London: Printed by the Widdoww Charlewood for John Busbie, 1593). Fol. C4r. See chapter 4 for more on this poem.

¹⁶¹ See Betcherman.

¹⁶² Stuart Reid, 'Percy, Henry, Baron Percy of Alnwick (c.1604–1659)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/21940>, accessed 4 Sept 2013].

parliament in 1624-5 representing Sussex, and 1625-6 representing Chichester. When Henry Percy died, Algernon sought to improve his fortunes further; his installation into the Order of the Garter in 1635, appointment as admiral of the ship money fleet in 1636 and later promotion to Lord High Admiral in 1638 all contributed to a renewal of the family's social standing.¹⁶³ Alongside these social and political advances, Northumberland began something of a campaign of public consumption and collection. As he became increasingly involved with court life during the early part of his tenure as Earl in the 1630s, he began collecting art, developing his properties and, of course, adding to his father's library. He was a dedicated and generous patron of several artists - most famously and notably Anthony Van Dyck. Much of the collection still remains at Petworth today. Wood offers the date of 1634, two years after he inherited his title, as the year Northumberland "[began] to collect in earnest, spending the large sum of £342 2s 6d on "Pictures of diverse kinds".¹⁶⁴

As well as collecting art, Northumberland spent time and money renovating and furnishing his various homes – including Petworth, where he spent "very substantial sums on building work and reparations".¹⁶⁵ In his study of Northumberland's architectural patronage, Jeremy Wood concludes that "it is clear that Northumberland decided, on coming into his inheritance, that the house should be improved according to his taste".¹⁶⁶ At the occasion of his installation into the Order of the Garter, the Earl spent vast sums of money on a lavish feast followed by a procession through London, which was commemorated by Martin Parker in a

¹⁶³ Drake, 'Percy, Algernon. 10th Earl of Northumberland'.

¹⁶⁴ Wood, 'Van Dyck and the Earl of Northumberland'. p. 290.

¹⁶⁵ Wood, 'The Architectural Patronage of Algernon Percy', p. 57.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 58.

broadside ballad.¹⁶⁷ The purpose of the procession - “to publish his magnificence” according to Parker’s ballad – no doubt formed part of his motivation to remodel his properties, and also to build his collections.

The public display of Northumberland’s garter procession belies similar concerns to those revealed in the Van Dyck paintings: a desire to celebrate success through the pairing of the magnificence of the present with his family’s strong and lengthy heritage, each informing the other. Indeed, the 10th Earl seems to have used this approach when constructing his art collection as a whole, displaying his appreciation of established masters such as Titian and Andrea del Sarto, as well as his patronage and support of popular contemporary artists such as Van Dyck and later Peter Lely. Van Dyck himself was a collector of art, and Jeremy Wood has described Northumberland’s approach to collection as “influenced by his contact with Van Dyck in the mid-1630s”, particularly with regard to his interest in Titian, rather than by the vogue for collecting art instigated by Charles I.¹⁶⁸ While the shift towards collection at court must undoubtedly have had some impact, Wood cites Northumberland’s “respectful, but complex attitude” towards the King, and also “the fact that he was not closely associated with the group of most avid collectors at court” as reasons why this should not be thought of as the main driving factor behind his interest in collecting art.¹⁶⁹ One intriguing suggestion Wood makes is that Northumberland’s early purchases at least “were almost certainly motivated by the failure of his father to

¹⁶⁷ Martin Parker, *A Briefe description of the triumphant show made by the Right Honourable Aulgeron Percie, Earle of Northumberland* (London: Printed for Francis Coules, 1635). <<https://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/eebo-99847776e>> [accessed 23 May 2012]. See Chapter 4 for an analysis of the ballad.

¹⁶⁸ Wood, ‘Van Dyck and the Earl of Northumberland’, p.290.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid.

collect on a significant scale".¹⁷⁰ This ancestral awareness can be seen in the 10th Earl's architectural patronage also: as Wood again points out, his architectural improvement to Petworth in the 1630s "seems to have been either an attempt to begin work on his father's ambitious scheme of 1615, or a modification of it".¹⁷¹ Collecting, for the 10th Earl, was evidently an activity with strong roots in the past, even as he worked to develop and update the material world around him.

Learning to collect

The relationship between tradition, collection and history is particularly strong in the case of the 10th Earl's collecting habits, but it can also be linked to features of collector culture in general. The 17th century was an important period in the development of the self-conscious activity of collecting, but the drive to collect, as Susan M. Pearce has shown, is much older and is both deeply ingrained and instrumental in forming most Western societies.¹⁷² Pearce traces the antecedents of collecting from prehistory, identifying links between family, the individual, heirship and materiality which sets up "the accumulation, exchange and deposition of specially chosen objects as a prime way of creating relationships between men and men, and men and the divine".¹⁷³ During the Middle Ages, the act of collecting developed into a tradition based on "the nature of distinction, and sacredness, and property and its rights", influenced by both the northern European hordes and sacred offerings, and the "notions of classification and hierarchy" of classical literary heritage.¹⁷⁴ The latter of these influences in

¹⁷⁰ Ibid.

¹⁷¹ Wood, 'The Architectural Patronage of Algernon Percy' (1993), p. 54.

¹⁷² Pearce, *On Collecting* (1995).

¹⁷³ Ibid. p. 85.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid. p. 208.

particular can be traced through a number of medieval and early modern literary and educational practices, all of which reveal a link between collection, thought, the literary and the material which is relevant to the Petworth collection and indeed 17th century libraries and book collections in general.

An awareness of the link between collection, history and literature was established in Northumberland's youth. In the Petworth library, there is a large folio volume bound in red leather and stamped with the same half-moon Percy emblem as the Petworth plays. It is, however, an earlier volume, predating the play volumes by several decades. The volume is a handwritten miscellany of sorts, filled with a variety of different kinds of information, much of it copied from elsewhere. The handwriting appears to match that of the 10th Earl's. The assertion within it that James I has been on the throne for 11 years makes it possible to establish a date of 1614, at which time Algernon would have been only 12 years old. This volume may have been a kind of workbook for the young Earl, a place for him to assemble and record his learning. The 9th Earl took a keen interest in his son's education, employing several tutors for him.¹⁷⁵ Each section of the book is titled and clearly defined, though there is rarely any mention of sources. This is not unusual for the period; in Adam Smyth's study of printed pages inserted into manuscript texts he states that even whole page extracts do not usually come accompanied with any mention of the book from which they were taken, and that "there is little sense of looking back to origins".¹⁷⁶ The material within the miscellany is entirely in English, and the subjects covered fall into several broad categories. It begins with a list of the books of the Bible (Old and New Testament),

¹⁷⁵ Gordon Batho, 'The Education of a Stuart Nobleman' (1960).

¹⁷⁶ Adam Smyth, 'Rend and Teare in Peeeces': Textual Fragmentation in Seventeenth-Century England', p. 43.

then moves onto geometric and astrological lists. The early parts of the book contain mainly geographical, historical, military and naval material. There are quite a large number of these kinds of entries, perhaps signifying an early interest in naval matters for the future Lord High Admiral. Later in the book Algernon seems to have been more concerned with government and medicine.

Some elements of the miscellany highlight the ways in which Algernon's education, facilitated by a private tutor either at home or in the Tower with his father, had its roots in medieval methods of training the nobility, a "vocational" style of education rather than an academic one which "inculcated physical hardiness and generosity of spirit" combining the practicalities of horsemanship and combat, and the more cerebral skills that Helen M. Jewell defines as "self-control and the dignity of service: due deference to superiors, magnanimity in good fortune and bad".¹⁷⁷ Towards the end, the entries are centred more explicitly on the life of a nobleman, starting with "The names of officers belonging to a Noble man" and "Of things belonging to Honors & Manors". There are lists concerning building, entertainments (food, music and games) and sport (hawks and hunting). The book closes with lists regarding commerce, import and export, and then finally with two lists of various kinds of "knaves" and "vagabonds", the somewhat fanciful tone of which contrasts sharply with the rest of the book. The contents page lists two items after this - "The names of Pretious Stones" and "The names of Manuell occupacons of England", though neither of these sections appear in the book, at the end or elsewhere.

This volume is a useful place to begin when thinking about Algernon Percy's status as a collector and his relationships with texts. Gathering together and

¹⁷⁷ Helen M. Jewell, *Education in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke: St. Martin's Press, 1998), p. 53.

assembling texts was an activity familiar to the 10th Earl from childhood, learned through his own education and observed in his father's library. Working with textual extracts was integral to early modern education at all stages and the practice had deep roots stretching back into the middle ages. The humanist practice of commonplacing had its roots, as Moss explains, in medieval *florilegia*; "flower collections" containing quotations from classical authors which began to appear in the twelfth century.¹⁷⁸

Smyth describes commonplace books as "[presenting] a series of thematic headings under which aphorisms are distributed, gathered from reading or, more rarely, from conversation, and deemed in some way useful or exemplary".¹⁷⁹ By this standard, the volume at Petworth cannot truly be called a commonplace since it does not feature headings, nor does it contain quotations as such. Although much of the material appears to be lifted from elsewhere it is the information, rather than the phrasing that is of importance. The text is more of a compilation of lists than of material which will lend the writer "an eloquence of expression, and through this eloquence [lead them] to a good moral life".¹⁸⁰

A better term for the book is a miscellany, described by Schurink (drawing on Peter Beal) as "made up of any kind of material, frequently without order", as opposed to a commonplace book which is specifically for "extracts from a person's reading with some form of organization".¹⁸¹ Nevertheless, the practice of commonplacing would have been familiar to the 10th Earl from his education; students and other readers

¹⁷⁸ Ann Moss, *Printed Commonplace-Books and the Structuring of Renaissance Thought* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996) p. 25.

¹⁷⁹ Adam Smyth, *Autobiography in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010) p. 124.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid.

¹⁸¹ Fred Schurink, 'Manuscript Commonplace Books, Literature, and Reading in Early Modern England' in *Huntington Library Quarterly*, Volume 73, Issue 3, 2010. pp. 453-469. pp. 453-4. <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1525/hlq.2010.73.3.453>> [accessed 20 Feb 2013].

could and did compile their own commonplaces, but the printed commonplace book played an important role in early modern education. According to R.A Houston, the central aim of 16th, 17th and 18th-century education was “to instil a fixed set of ideas and facts into the pupil... The emphasis was on the reception of a particular viewpoint”.¹⁸² The constructing of commonplaces and miscellanies fits well with this method of learning, where the focus is on the gathering, learning and understanding of ideas rather than their synthesis. Reading and writing were taught and learned as separate skills, with writing instruction primarily involving “copying rather than creating”.¹⁸³ Furthermore, as Ann Moss has noted, the printed commonplace book “played a [strong] role in structuring [a student’s] receptivity as a reader of texts”.¹⁸⁴

Despite not fitting the description of a commonplace book exactly, the 10th Earl’s miscellany is similarly made up primarily of extracts drawn from printed material. A section entitled “A Catalog of the Kings & Princes of this Iland” comes from Holinshed’s *Chronicle*, for example, but the young Earl-in-waiting seems to have taken ownership of the material for himself, since Holinshed is not cited in any way.¹⁸⁵ The 1690 catalogue reveals that the library contained the “Chronicle of England, Ireland & Scotland by Raphael Hol=linshed, Will^m Harrison &c. Continued to 1586 by John Hoaker ats Vowell. 2 first Volumes”, giving the date, presumably erroneously, as 1586.¹⁸⁶ It would seem that this particular text had been purchased by the 9th Earl, given the date, so the young 10th Earl was presumably utilizing his father’s library in his studies. As a general rule Algernon seems to have avoided giving any source, the one exception to

¹⁸² R.A. Houston, *Literacy in Early Modern Europe: Culture and Education 1500-1800* (London: Routledge, 2002). p. 61.

¹⁸³ *Ibid.* p. 68.

¹⁸⁴ Moss, p. 136.

¹⁸⁵ HMC 116. pp. 30r-35v; the text is taken from Raphael Holinshed, *The First and Second Volumes of the Chronicles* (London: Printed in Aldergate Street, 1587) fols. 17^r-19^f.

¹⁸⁶ WSRO, MS: PHA 5377. 7^r; The *Chronicle* was actually published in 1587.

this is at the beginning of the book; “The Definitions of the First Booke of Euclides Elements”.¹⁸⁷ This section is a list of elements with small illustrations next to them, although the young Algernon seems to have very quickly tired of illustrations - a page beginning with “a section or portion of a circle” has been abandoned and crossed out, with a crossed out note at the bottom suggesting “of all theas look more perticularly into Euclides Elements”.¹⁸⁸ The following page has an illustration of the celestial spheres, but this is the last time any figures are drawn in the miscellany. There is also evidence that some of the sections have been altered in the copying. The aforementioned list of knaves and vagabonds at the end of the volume - which seems rather useless compared to the other, more obviously practical information in the miscellany - provides a good example of a passage transformed in the copying. It is sourced from a text by John Awdelay.¹⁸⁹ The young Earl has not only changed the order of Awdelay’s list of vagabonds slightly, but he has also omitted the descriptions of the knaves. The miscellany is characterised not only by the use of pre-existing material, but also by the collector’s willingness to alter and reduce it. The Earl selects material that he finds useful, omitting the less helpful parts and adapting it to fit into his new structure. This is reminiscent of the technique Smyth describes for integrating of print into manuscript documents, including “intervening directly and adding ... notes on to the printed page, or by aligning print with manuscript notes which complicate, nuance, or rework our reading”.¹⁹⁰

Schurink identifies commonplaces as generally being “goal-orientated”,

¹⁸⁷ HMC 116. Fols. 2^v-3^r.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid. 5^r.

¹⁸⁹ John Awdelay, *The fraternitie of uacabondes* (London: John Awdelay, 1575). <<https://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/eebo-99843898e>> [accessed 04 Sept 2013]. There are a number of editions, and it is not clear which one the young Northumberland used for the miscellany.

¹⁹⁰ Smyth, ‘Rend and teare in peeces’, p. 43.

describing the reader/writers as “[preparing] themselves for action in the private sphere rather than in the public world; [using] texts to gather information about the natural world, about history, and about people and their behavior; and [studying] texts to acquire linguistic resources from different forms of speech and writing”.¹⁹¹ The miscellany appears to have had a similar purpose. According to Pearce, the conceptualisation of collecting in the early modern period shifted significantly towards a concordance between materiality and knowledge with the development of the notion that material could be “observed and arranged in order to yield up its inherent knowledge”.¹⁹² This is reflected in the collecting habits of those who kept commonplace books, selecting and organising in an attempt at self-improvement. Smyth identifies a strong link between commonplacing and “some notion of improvement, whether linguistic, moral, social, financial, or spiritual, which created an interest in future uses of excerpts”.¹⁹³

Gordon Batho’s study of the 10th Earl’s education, mostly gleaned from the 9th Earl’s beliefs and recommendations in letters and in his “Advices” to his son, stresses the fact that the 9th Earl was “considerably influenced by the humanist movement”.¹⁹⁴ Amongst his requirements were “a legible hand” and “the importance of the vernacular” - both of which could be achieved through a project like the miscellany. Batho also identifies the 9th Earl’s goal for his son’s education as “the desire to prepare [Algernon] for a life of public service”.¹⁹⁵ This goal seems to have been a common one for 17th century families and educators. O’Day notes that the role of the private tutor

¹⁹¹ Schurink, p. 455-6.

¹⁹² Pearce, p. 111.

¹⁹³ Smyth, *Autobiography in Early Modern England*, p. 149.

¹⁹⁴ Gordon Batho, ‘The Education of a Stuart Nobleman’, p. 135.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid. p. 136.

was “to produce young gentlemen as well as young scholars” and that such tutors would “[encourage their] gentle students to read modern works on what constituted a gentleman, contemporary controversies in theology and politics, and the workings of national and local government”.¹⁹⁶ Some of this kind of material can be seen in the 10th Earl’s miscellany, particularly those extracts which relate to government and military affairs. Jewell cites Castiglione’s *Il Cortegiano* as an important influence on and reflection of this kind of education, one which was designed “to make everything look natural” and to school the potential courtier in being “skilled in martial arts on foot and horse, well-spoken and accomplished in languages, able to dance, sing and play” and generally to “appear gifted and effortlessly superior”.¹⁹⁷ This kind of education has roots in the medieval style of learning, where children were often educated in courtly manners at the houses of other nobles and taught to model the behaviour of their elders, since “future knights and ladies needed to learn how to behave to one another and how to follow the occupations of civilised life”.¹⁹⁸

The 10th Earl’s education seems to have prepared him not only for a life of public service, but also for a life of collection. A key goal of university education for noblemen was to prepare them “to serve the state in several capacities and to live the lives of gentlemen more appropriately”.¹⁹⁹ The nature of the university syllabus was notably broad. An arts student at Oxford in the late 16th century and early 17th century would study “grammar, rhetoric, dialectics or logic, arithmetic and music, and, when he proceeded BA after four years, studied Greek, geometry, astronomy, natural

¹⁹⁶ Rosemary O’Day, *Education and Society, 1500-1800: Social Foundations of Education in Early Modern Britain* (London: Longman, 1982). p. 130.

¹⁹⁷ Jewell, p. 54.

¹⁹⁸ Nicholas Orme, *Education and Society in Medieval and Renaissance England* (London: Hambledon Press, 1989). p. 154.

¹⁹⁹ O’Day, p. 106.

philosophy, moral philosophy and metaphysics".²⁰⁰ The focus seems to have been on acquiring and collecting knowledge from across a broad spectrum, much like the 9th Earl's syllabus for his son. As described by Batho, this syllabus involved first the mastery of English and Latin and then the study of a number of subjects including Geometry, Logic, Cosmography, Economics and "the Art Nautical and Military".²⁰¹ This focus on a wide-ranging collection of knowledge would have taught Algernon the benefits of a broad knowledge base and the importance of building wide ranging collections in other areas. This adds weight to the suggestion that the 10th Earl was prompted to purchase the play collection by the lack of drama previously in the library, which he may have felt compelled to broaden and extend. A "complete" or at least useful library would cover a range of materials and subjects, just as his art collection included a range of different kinds of materials: sculpture, paintings by old masters, newly commissioned works. The final stage of a young nobleman's education was the Grand Tour, and Jewell explains how, from the 18th century onwards, this helped to develop a generation of collectors, where culturally aware young men "flourished on a diet of Italian art, opera, and architecture" during a trip which "bound their limited earlier education to their future tastes and collecting habits".²⁰² This may have been the case for the 10th Earl, who travelled around Europe with his tutor Edward Dowse for several years, from 1618-1624, after completing his MA at Cambridge.²⁰³ Northumberland certainly incorporated material from the continent into his collection, including Italian paintings in his art collection, and European literature in his library, including the "French booke" he requested from Robert Sidney.

²⁰⁰ Ibid.

²⁰¹ Batho, 'The Education of a Stuart Nobleman', p. 136.

²⁰² Jewell, p. 125.

²⁰³ Drake, 'Percy, Algernon. 10th Earl of Northumberland'.

Algernon Percy's education, as exemplified by the miscellany, seems to have stood at a crossroads between the medieval notion of "courtier training", taking place within the home and concerned primarily with the skills needed to live and rule as a gentleman, and the ever-growing trend towards formal, book-based schooling based on Renaissance humanism, "with its stress on learning as a good thing and its advocacy of reading classical texts".²⁰⁴ The nature of private tutoring facilitated both of these concerns; "privately tutored boys from the upper ranks were taught the elements of literacy alongside more advanced skills such as Latin or modern foreign languages. The final gloss was provided by instruction in riding, fencing, dancing and the other trappings of gentility".²⁰⁵ Batho characterises the 10th Earl's education as "a nice balance of the practical and the philosophical, of the vocational and the broadly educational, of the conventional and the unconventional".²⁰⁶ Ultimately, education, like collection, was about acquisition, communication and improvement: either of skills, knowledge or material objects. The 10th Earl's miscellany is interesting since it combines these concerns into one: it is a store of knowledge relating to the cerebral and the physical, and the careful curation of that knowledge was intended to develop and enable skills in both areas.

Composite volumes as collections

It is likely that the copy of the *Chronicle* that Algernon copied from for his miscellany was the one in his father's collection, and it is very likely that he used other books from the 9th Earl's library. The miscellany utilizes a wealth of written history, and updates

²⁰⁴ Ibid., p. 115.

²⁰⁵ Ibid. p. 101.

²⁰⁶ Batho, 'The Education of a Stuart Nobleman' . p. 143.

and adjusts some of the material to fit the time and the form. These methods echo an earlier method of literary collection demonstrated by a member of the Percy family. The 9th Earl was not the only ancestor of the young Algernon to have engaged in the activity of book collection. In the early 16th century Algernon Percy's great-great grandfather, Henry Percy, 5th Earl of Northumberland, also possessed and curated written material. One manuscript in particular, described in detail in an article by Alexandra Gillespie, is of particular interest: a compilation, or miscellany, comprising both a manuscript and printed text of Hardyng's *Chronicle*. The manuscript component was an addition that the 5th Earl had made; an extract copied from Lydgate's *Proverbs*. Alexandra Gillespie's article on the manuscript, now Bodleian MS Arch. Selden B10, highlights a significant point about this addition - that the scribe used as the copy text a printed edition of Lydgate's book. The manuscript is notable for its relocation of the printed word into a new and different context - as Gillespie says: "the Earl of Northumberland translated the mass-produced, widely circulated forms of printed books to a new place - the traditional, courtly economy of a noble household".²⁰⁷

The Petworth play volumes themselves are reminiscent of this model of collection; multiple texts, selected and brought together into composite volumes. Gillespie notes how printed editions of Lydgate's *Proverbs* "recall their status as commodities, manufactured at the 'synge of the sonne by Wynkyn de Worde', available for purchase, changeable for 'gold'", but that the manuscript editions (including the 5th Earl's) "are quite the opposite".²⁰⁸ This can certainly be said to be true of the 10th Earl's miscellany, since it is a collection of texts permanently removed from their commodity spheres through the act of copying. Whether the play volumes

²⁰⁷ Alexandra Gillespie, 'These proverbs do yet last' (2003), p.232.

²⁰⁸ Ibid., p. 229

should be considered as commodities or as “singular and special” items is a more complicated issue.²⁰⁹

The composite volumes of the Petworth collection, like other miscellanies and collected works, do raise the question of what exactly a book is, and what it was in the 17th century. Gillespie’s work on the link between late medieval miscellany manuscripts and early printed *sammelbände* has highlighted the “minute histories of material objects and flexible, multiple ways of making, but also thinking about, those objects”.²¹⁰ The flexibility of medieval and early modern “books” is something which can strike the modern reader as rather alien, but it is a deeply important aspect of these early texts and the way they were received. While a 17th-century customer may not have had access to the same range literary forms that we do today, they had a wider choice when it came to their books as material objects, the physical form in which they were purchased and kept. A book purchaser could choose when, how and if his new book was bound, and furthermore, by whom. There were choices to make in terms of whether you opted for a hard or limp binding, as well as whether you had your new “book” bound alone or with others. Gillespie points out that composite volumes of this kind - whether manuscript or printed - raise questions about “the “balance” between the impulses of the producer (printer; print-publisher; printer-binder; retailer; wholesaler) and those of consumers”.²¹¹ The 17th-century consumer, then, was significantly invested in the material object that was his book. As Jeffrey Knight notes in his study of early modern bound volumes, “for readers in the

²⁰⁹ Ibid., p. 232

²¹⁰ Alexandra Gillespie, ‘Poets, Printers and Early English Sammelbände’ (2004), p 203

²¹¹ Ibid.

Renaissance, compiling was born of the everyday demands of book ownership”.²¹² Knight describes how, beyond the material practicalities, these volumes embodied the relationship early modern people had to their books, with group binding being the most efficient way of “storing and using most kinds of literary texts”. These were readers and retailers used to having some involvement in book production, and who were “predisposed to compile or “bundle” in a system of book production very different from ours”.²¹³ As the 10th Earl’s miscellany shows, early modern readers and collectors were accustomed to the selecting, collating and curating of information in a highly personal way.

One further issue to consider in terms of the assembling of a composite volume is that it might have some kind of autobiographical relevance to the owner or assembler. It seems reasonable to suggest that we may be able to use a person’s collection to glean some further insight into their life. Indeed, Adam Smyth’s work on early modern life-writing and the unexpected forms it might take suggests that before the rise of diaries and autobiographies in the late 17th century, “individuals seeking to produce textual records of their lives experimented and improvised with other available forms”.²¹⁴ Smyth focusses on financial accounting, parish registers, annotated printed almanac books, and manuscript commonplace books. It is the latter that is relevant in terms of collection if, as Smyth suggests, commonplace books can be considered autobiographical as they often represent “the use of gathered extracts to describe a life” and “reveal the degree to which a compiler’s identity was, in these texts, formulated ... through a process of alignment with other figures, narratives, and

²¹² Jeffrey Knight, *Bound to Read*, p. 4.

²¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 70.

²¹⁴ Smyth, *Autobiography in Early Modern England*. p. 2.

events”.²¹⁵ If a commonplace book containing copied extracts can be used to gain insight into a person’s life or sense of self, it seems logical that we can extend this to the assembling of a collection of printed texts. The obvious problem with this approach in terms of the Petworth collection, however, is that it is very unclear exactly how much input Northumberland had into the selection of plays for the collection. Unlike a commonplace book, we are most likely not dealing with a meticulously constructed collection of relevant texts. However, the Petworth collection cannot necessarily be deemed entirely random and disorganised, and although Northumberland may not have made many choices on an individual level, the fact that he chose to acquire a collection and the method he used to compile it certainly gives us some insight into his interests and intentions. Additionally, one way in which Northumberland did figure his identity in relation to his play collection was to put his stamp on them, asserting his ownership of them. This action does not necessarily represent an attempt to “fix” the identities of the plays as permanently part of a collection - as is evidenced by the fact that a number of the plays show the marks of several previous bindings, a bound composite volume was not necessarily considered the final step in the journey of a text. However, the very fact that some of the volumes are now missing from the collection (presumed dismantled), and that they apparently disappeared in the early 18th century, is testament to the fact that assembling, binding and stamping texts - turning them into “books” - did not necessarily mark the end of their interesting lives. Nevertheless the volumes suggest a potentially problematic clash: the literary heritage of the composite volume encouraged and responded to flexibility, while the growing collector culture shifted the focus towards control and organisation.

²¹⁵ Ibid. p. 138; p. 156.

Collecting in the 1630s: books

Northumberland's involvement with material culture in the 1630s seems to have been influenced by the past as much as the present, by history as much as fashion. The play collection too reflects this; the volumes are bound in boards covered in red leather, a very different style to the limp velum generally used the 9th Earl's library, but nonetheless stamped with the gilt Percy crest. The content of the play collection is also relevant; not just in terms of the balance between old and new material, but also in the plays themselves. The collection contains *The Love of King David and Fair Bethsabe* by George Peele, writer of *The Honour of the Garter* – a poem celebrating the 9th Earl's induction into the Order of the Garter. It also contains both parts of Shakespeare's *Henry IV*, with another copy of each in the lost volumes. This play is particularly relevant to the Percy family due to its depiction of the rebellion against the crown led by Henry Percy 1st Earl of Northumberland and his son Henry "Hotspur" Percy. Given the way in which the collection was put together, it is perhaps unlikely that these plays were specifically chosen by the 10th Earl, but nonetheless it is interesting to find them in the collection. It is not beyond the realms of possibility that it was a specifically requested play, however, since it is very likely that the 10th Earl knew about the both Peele poem and his family connection to *Henry IV*. His father the 9th Earl certainly did, even going so far as to quote lines given by Shakespeare to his ancestor in a letter.²¹⁶ The specific bundles in which the plays were found may have been purchased precisely because they contained them.

For the 10th Earl of Northumberland, his pedigree, ancestry and relationship to

²¹⁶ Helen Sandison, 'The Ninth Earl of Northumberland quotes his ancestor Hotspur' in *The Review of English Studies*. Volume 12, Issue 45. 1936. pp. 71-75. < <http://www.jstor.org/stable/509211> > [accessed 02 Nov 2011].

the past were evidently things that could be performed through the act of consumption, and in the 1630s he sought to build a new and positive reputation for his family through the display of both tradition and contemporaneity. In contributing and maintaining his father's library, Northumberland addressed both of these concerns. Seen in conjunction with his efforts in the acquisition and patronage of art, it appears that the late 1630s saw a concerted move towards public consumption, and specifically a particular kind of very deliberate public consumption inextricably linked with performance and display: collection.

As Marjorie Swann puts it in *Curiosities and Texts*, the burgeoning field of collection was utilized "to imagine – and sometimes to realize – new forms of selfhood and social identity in seventeenth-century England".²¹⁷ Throughout the 17th century, antiquarianism and the art of collection developed alongside and were influenced by the advances in scientific thought and natural philosophy which characterised the age of Enlightenment. Museums, developing from private "cabinets of curiosity" at the beginning of the century to the public institutions of learning they became by its end, had an important role to play, showcasing the material culture which was "inexorably tied to a new understanding of the world that resulted from contemplating objects that were placed at the heart of a web of information and anecdote".²¹⁸

Though they may have solidified in the latter part of the 17th century, the concepts of collection and collectors in the sense we know and understand them today were in their infancy in the early-to-mid part of the century, and indeed had their roots in much older concepts. The words "collector" and "collection" had been in use for some centuries in a broader sense suggesting a gathering or grouping – a collector of

²¹⁷ Marjorie Swann, *Curiosities and Texts: The Culture of Collecting in Early Modern England*. (2001) p. 12

²¹⁸ Ken Arnold, *Cabinets for the Curious* (2005) p. 87.

taxes, a collection of horses – but their specific sense relating to a person who acquires “objects of interest” does not appear to have been fixed until the second half of the 17th century. The OED gives the date of 1681 as the first appearance of the word “collection” in relation to the sense: “of scientific specimens, objects of interest, works of art, etc.”²¹⁹ Swann notes that the terms began to acquire their present connotations in relation to literary work – such as a collection of proverbs or poems – in the late 16th century, but did not become associated with physical objects until a few decades later.²²⁰

Swann defines collecting as “a form of consumption characterized by the selection, gathering together, and setting aside of a group of objects”.²²¹ A useful definition of the term “collector” is “a person who is motivated to accumulate a series of similar objects where the instrumental function of the objects is of secondary (or no) concern and the person does not plan to immediately dispose of the objects”.²²² A similar definition is used by T.A. Birrell in his work on the libraries and reading habits of 17th century gentlemen. He states that “if a man buys a book for any other purpose than reading it, or intending to read it, he is a collector, not a reader”.²²³ For an avid collector, the motivation behind assembling a collection of objects is enjoyment of the activity of collection itself. With this in mind, although we know that the Petworth plays are indeed a collection, it is not necessarily true that the 10th Earl of Northumberland was a collector. His relationship with his play collection seems to

²¹⁹ “collection, n.”. OED Online. June 2013. Oxford University Press. <http://www.oed.com.ezproxy.sussex.ac.uk/view/Entry/36275?rskey=LYKNJB&result=1&isAdvanced=false> (accessed September 04, 2013).

²²⁰ Swann, p. 1

²²¹ Ibid. p. 7

²²² William D. McIntosh and Brandon Schmeichel, ‘Collectors and Collecting: A Social Psychological Perspective’ in *Leisure Sciences*. Volume 26, Issue 1, 2004. pp. 85-97. p. 86

< <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/01490400490272639> > [2013-03-12]

²²³ Birrell ‘Reading as pastime’, p. 113

have been a fairly complex one, and his involvement as a purchaser, selector, reader, organiser and collector remains difficult to define.

One argument against Northumberland as a traditional collector is his apparent lack of involvement in the selection of the plays. It is perhaps debatable whether or not the collector has to *gradually* seek out and acquire the items in his collection. This particular kind of systematic acquisition is often identified as a key part of modern collection, with one study pointing to the “the process of actively, selectively, and passionately acquiring and possessing things removed from ordinary use” and citing “the passion invested in obtaining and maintaining these objects” as an important aspect of what differentiates collecting from ordinary consumption.²²⁴ This idea of “passion” is one which appears over and over in the literature of collection. Baudrillard suggests that this passion is integral to the condition of being a collector, stating that “the collector partakes of the sublime not by virtue of the types of things he collects... but by virtue of his fanaticism”.²²⁵ It is difficult to reconcile the image of the passionate collector with Northumberland, who appears to have given the responsibility for searching and selecting to someone else. Importantly though, this passion, according to Belk, extends to the “possessing” and “maintaining” of the collection as well as the systematic acquisition of it. In Walter Benjamin’s classic essay “Unpacking my Library”, however, he highlights the “intimate relationship” with objects as the cornerstone of collection, explaining that “the most profound enchantment for the collector is the locking of individual items within a magic circle in which they are fixed as the final

²²⁴ Russell W. Belk, ‘Collecting as luxury consumption: Effects on individuals and households’ in *Journal of Economic Psychology*, Volume 16 Issue 3, pp. 447-490, p. 479 <<http://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/016748709598956X>> [accessed 12 March 2013]

²²⁵ Jean Baudrillard, ‘The System of Collecting’ in *Cultures of Collecting* (London: Reaktion Books, 1994). pp. 7-24. p. 9.

thrill, the thrill of acquisition, passes over them”.²²⁶ Northumberland clearly cared enough about his collection to have it stamped with his own crest, and integrated the collection into the “magic circle” of his library, so in this regard he does seem to display some of the characteristics of a collector. In addition to their definition of a collector as a person who accumulates a series of objects for a reason other than (or in addition to) using them for their primary function, McIntosh and Schmeichel suggest that “a collector must also be motivated to accumulate these objects”, noting that if they acquire the objects by accident, as gifts perhaps, without having “any particular affinity” for them, then that person is not a collector.²²⁷ In Northumberland’s case it is clear the acquisition of the plays was no “accident”, they were purchased for a large sum of money and with a number of motives; conspicuous consumption, contemporary fashion, heritage, a gap in the existing library, Northumberland’s own interest in theatre going, to name a few. However, the extent to which Northumberland felt a “profound enchantment” or had a “particular affinity” with all or indeed any of the plays is difficult to establish.

If, echoing Birrell, we define a collector as a person buying a book “for any other purpose than reading it”, then we can indeed consider the 10th Earl to have been a collector. There are a number of duplicate plays in the collection, which would indicate that at least some of the plays were purchased for reasons other than an intention to read them. As already established, some of the duplicated plays are present in more than one edition in the collection, as is the case with Lording Barry’s *Ram Alley, or Merry Tricks*. The collection has both the 1611 edition (in volume 7), and

²²⁶ Walter Benjamin, ‘Unpacking my Library’ in *Illuminations* ed. Hannah Arendt (London: Pimlico, 1999), p. 59-67.

²²⁷ McIntosh and Schmeichel, p.86.

the 1636 edition (in volume 6).²²⁸ It is possible, though admittedly unlikely, that the collection's owner could have read both editions. Some of the quartos have errors, marks or parts lacking which could conceivably have prompted the collector/assembler to purchase a "better" version - although this is probably unlikely given that the quartos were probably purchased in groups. There are two copies of Shirley's *Changes, or Love in a Maze*, both dating from 1632, but one lacking the title page. The edition in volume 8, which does have a title page, may have been purchased to make up for the lack of title page in the volume 15 edition. Similarly, one of the two copies of the 1633 edition of John Ford's *The Broken Heart* (in volume 16) is annotated throughout with asterisks in the margins - annotations which were evidently present before the binding as one of them has been cut in half by it (see figure 2.6.) The copy in volume 13, however, is entirely "clean". This is also the case with the two copies of Massinger's *The Picture* (both 1630), one of which is annotated (volume 11), the other untouched (volume 7). This is particularly interesting since the annotator in this case appears to have been the printer, John Norton, rather than a binder or previous owner. The line "I am sure it is not with wine from a taverne" has had the last three words crossed out, and words which do not seem to appear in either of the extant editions (see figure 2.7).²²⁹ However, the printer/annotator has made only a handful of other corrections, and none of these seem to have made it into the other quartos - for example, the spelling of "doxeie" or "prologe". There are no other quartos in the Petworth collection that appear to have these kinds of annotations, but printed proofs marked

²²⁸ The 1611 edition is actually the second to be published that year, the collection does not have a copy of the very first edition.

²²⁹ Phillip Massinger, *The Picture* (Printed by I.N. for Thomas Walkley, 1630). M1v; The deleted words are not in either of the copies available on EEBO.

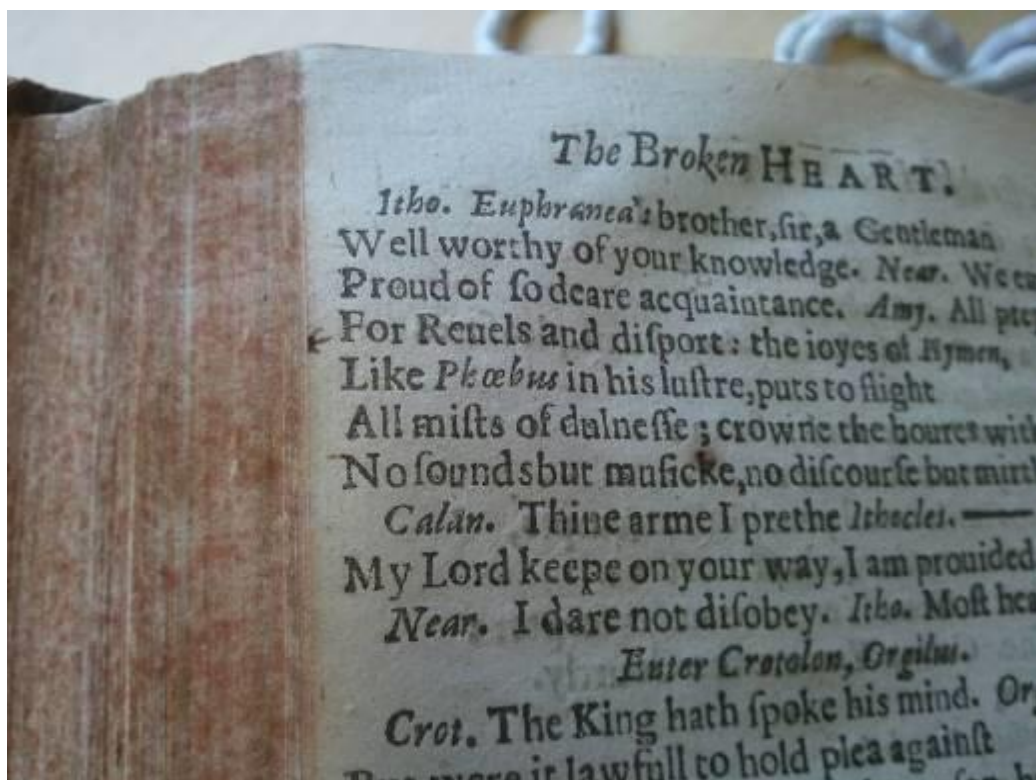


Figure 2.6. Annotation on *The Broken Heart* in volume 16. By permission of The National Trust.

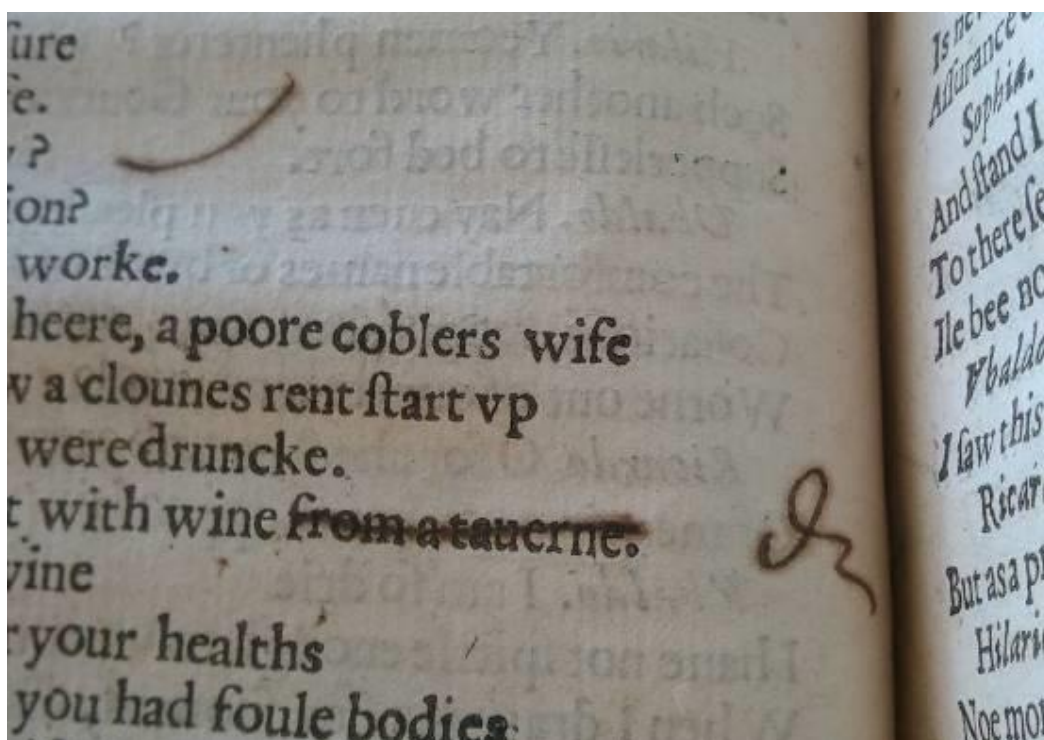


Figure 2.7. Annotation on *The Picture* in volume 11. By permission of The National Trust.

with corrections have been identified in a number of other quartos from the period.²³⁰ Confusingly, this edition seems to be the later of two published in the year 1630, and yet “from a taverne” does not appear in the earlier version either. However, there is a variation on M4v which matches the earlier version rather than the later one. In the Petworth quarto, and the earlier quarto, is the line “His proper issue O that euer I, whereas the line reads as “His proper issue O that that euer I” in the later edition. The final two lines of the page are also omitted in the Petworth and earlier version: “To sincke and search into the bottomlesse hell,/ For a false womans heart”. On the corrected page, the running title *The Picture* matches the format in the earlier edition, it is followed by a dash rather than a full stop. The proofed and corrected pages then, seem to represent a state before the first edition. To further complicate matters, the final two pages, N1 and N2, are cropped differently to the rest of the play, the top edge is cut about a centimeter lower. What seems to have happened is that the quarto lacked the final section, and this was made up at some point, by the bookseller or perhaps even the printer, with some spare leaves from other copies.

Given that the quartos appear to have been purchased simultaneously, it seems unlikely that a second copy was sought out because the first was in some way “faulty”. There are a number of duplicate plays where neither of the copies have been annotated, for example the two copies of Thomas Goffe’s *The Tragedy of Orestes* (1633) are both intact and untouched (one in volume 11 and one volume 16) , as are the two copies of *Adrasta, or the Woman’s Spleen* by John Jones (volume 6 and

²³⁰ For specific examples see Tucker Brooke, ‘Elizabethan Proof Corrections in a Copy of *The First Part of the Contention* 1600’ in *The Huntington Library Bulletin*, Issue 2 pp. 87-89, 1931 < <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3818122>> [accessed 02 Sept 2013], and John Russell Brown ‘A Proof-Sheet from Nicholas Okes’ Printing-Shop’ in *Studies in Bibliography*, Volume 11, pp. 228-231, 1958 < <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40371242>> [accessed 02 Sept 2013].

volume 13). Both date from 1635, and there are no significant marks on either copy - they are essentially identical. Still more duplicates are revealed by looking at the “lost plays”, although without the missing copies for reference the differences between them, or lack of, cannot be established. The 1690 catalogue reveals an additional copy of Peter Hausted’s *The Rival Friends* (1632), separate editions of *Henry IV Parts 1 and 2* (1622 and 1600 respectively), apparently bound next to each other in the same volume. (volume 14 contains the 1632 edition of Part 1 only), and another copy of George Chapman’s *Caesar and Pompey* (1631) in addition to the one already in the collection.²³¹

It seems safe to assume Algernon Percy did not intend to read all of these duplicate copies. By this token, we can label him as a collector since he owned books that he did not intend to read. Of course, collecting and reading are not necessarily mutually exclusive – one might, for example, buy a book in order to read it, and keep it to add to a collection. Or one might buy a bundle of books intending to read some, but not others, which could cause duplicates. There must surely be significant overlap between the two terms. But how do we position Algernon Percy on what is perhaps best imagined as a sliding scale between reader and collector? While he may have theoretically been a reader, we do not have any specific evidence that Northumberland actually read the plays that he purchased. There is some evidence, discussed in the previous chapter, suggesting that Borough may have sought out some

²³¹ There are two copies of this play in the collection today, with the 1690 catalogue revealing that there was once a third copy in the collection. The two editions still in the collection were both published in 1631, but have different titles, though the rest of the play remains the same. One is entitled *Caesar and Pompey: A Roman Tragedy, declaring their wars*, and the other is *The Warres of Pompey and Caesar*. It is unclear which was published first, although the title given in the Stationer’s Register is “Caesar and Pompey” which suggests the former may have been the first to be published. The catalogue lists the play in the missing volume as *Caesar and Pompey*, which indicates a duplicate of the first rather than the second.

plays by particular authors, such as Shirley, or even with particular themes, such as military history. However, even if the 10th Earl did read the volumes, play collecting certainly did not evolve into a passion for him in the way that art collecting did.

Despite not displaying his interest in the quartos by annotating them, Northumberland was evidently interested in libraries and playgoing (if not necessarily play reading), and he displayed this “affinity” through his treatment of the quartos, having them bound and stamped and thereby “exerting control” over the items, something that McIntosh and Schmeichel note as the end goal of a collector: once in his possession “the object is now owned and may be manipulated as the collector wishes”.²³² This kind of collecting behaviour can be seen as a predecessor to the “collectors’ editions” that have since become so prominent, and indeed that began to appear only a few decades after the Petworth collection was purchased. These heavily decorated, luxurious editions became available in the 1650s and their elaborate bindings and illustrations “claimed the virtues of magnificence and splendour usually associated with the accoutrements of great offices of state”.²³³

A useful point of comparison for the 10th Earl’s play collection, and his collecting habits more generally, is the Penshurst library of the Sidney family.²³⁴ The library was catalogued by Gilbert Spencer at the request of Robert Sidney, the 2nd Earl of Leicester and brother-in-law to the 10th Earl of Northumberland. It was initially

²³² McIntosh and Schmeichel, p. 94.

²³³ Peck, *Consuming Splendor*, p. 272.

²³⁴ *The Library of the Sidneys of Penshurst Place Circa 1665*, eds. Germaine Warkentin, Joseph Black and William Bowen (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013). This edition of the catalogue sheds light on the changing collecting habits and attitudes towards book collection of various members of the family who were involved with the library during the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries, and as the editors put it “makes it possible to trace the historical trajectory followed by a major early modern English library: from its casual inception, to its dignity as a noble collection, to its eventual dispersal into the book market of a later era” (p. 5).

compiled in late 1652 or early 1653.²³⁵ Sidney's library was made up of books he had collected, as well as those acquired by his father the 1st Earl of Leicester (also called Robert Sidney), and was built on a tradition of reading that can be traced to his uncle Sir Philip Sidney and grandfather Sir Henry Sidney.

Leicester appears to have had something of an interest in drama, although the catalogue does not contain plays on the scale of the Petworth collection. The catalogue shows that Leicester owned "folio works of Shakespeare, Jonson, Beaumont and Fletcher, and Margaret Cavendish, smaller collections by John Lyly and Thomas Goffe, and a further dozen editions of individual plays or masques".²³⁶ One of these individual editions was a manuscript copy of William Cartwright's *The Royal Slave*, a copy of which Northumberland also owned.²³⁷ Although Leicester's play collection was small in comparison to Northumberland's, the editors of the Penshurst catalogue note that the 2nd Earl was more interested in drama than his father, who preferred poetry.²³⁸ The plays in his library were obtained by him rather than being inherited from his father, in much the same way that Northumberland's play collection was, and furthermore are "usually in editions from the 1630s or later", demonstrating the growing appeal of drama to book collecting gentlemen of the 1630s and beyond.²³⁹

The Penshurst library underwent a significant change during the 2nd Earl's lifetime, one which resonates with, though does not exactly mirror, the addition of the Petworth play collection to Northumberland's library. Under Leicester's custodianship the Penshurst book collection flourished into a very grand library which "expressed his

²³⁵ Ibid., p 6.

²³⁶ Ibid., p 28.

²³⁷ Ibid., p 10; p 8. See chapter 4 for more detail on Northumberland's copy.

²³⁸ Ibid., p 28.

²³⁹ Ibid., p 10.

confidence in the value of learning to the elite class of courtiers he and his family represented”.²⁴⁰ The editors of the catalogue describe him as “a committed collector, an enthusiastic commonplacer, and – as his will testifies – a nobleman thoroughly aware of the significance of a great library in a fine room as an exemplum of his learning and the status of his lineage”.²⁴¹ The 10th Earl’s library developed in a similar manner to the library of his brother-in-law (indeed, the two men no doubt influenced one another) – expanding, embodying certain qualities that its owner wished to display, and edging ever closer to the possibility of being a social space for the performance of consumption. Both men seem to have recognised the potential for their libraries to act as a kind of performance, and both were concerned with displaying tradition, lineage and education. The addition of the play collection to Northumberland’s library, however, suggests that he was also particularly determined to ensure that his library became relatively fashionable and relevant to the culture of entertainment in the 1630s.

Play collection and popularity

When seen in the context of the existing library that Northumberland had inherited from his father, the Petworth plays seem like a rather pragmatic and sensible purchase, designed to contribute to and broaden the scope of the library, perhaps influenced by the 10th Earl’s wide-ranging and broad educational background. The 9th Earl’s interests lay mainly in science and its related disciplines, and he was certainly not a collector of English drama. In fact, Batho identifies the only works of contemporary drama that had been annotated by him as “two Italian pieces which he is known to

²⁴⁰ Ibid., p 32.

²⁴¹ Ibid., p 35.

have had with him in the Tower of London”.²⁴² It is possible the 10th Earl was motivated to purchase the plays, at least in part, by the lack of English drama in his father’s library. He may have been attempting to fill a gap in the family collection, a similar motive to that which Wood identifies for his initial interest in art collection. This in itself suggests a somewhat planned approach to collecting on the 10th Earl’s part - seeking a certain kind of material that would fit in with the existing material. The 1630s, when he was already investing time and money into raising his public profile, would have been the ideal time for Algernon Percy to make his own mark on the already vast library established by his father. Recorded in the same document as that listing the “playbooks” is the purchase of “a great ebony cabinet”, a “multiplying glass” and more unspecified “books”. This certainly sounds like a man improving his library.²⁴³

Susie West’s work on the 17th century country house library casts suspicion over the assumption that early 17th century libraries were made up of “medieval-sounding” chests of books, a “clumsy impression” left, pertinently, by the mention of book chests in the inventory taken after the 9th Earl of Northumberland’s death in 1632.²⁴⁴ West suggests that “‘chests of bookes’ might also embrace the same construction as ‘chests of drawers’”, and points to another part of the inventory detailing the books, pamphlets and “an intriguing glazed cedar cupboard” kept in a study which was perhaps “an early form of the Pepys-type freestanding bookcase”.²⁴⁵

West describes Leicester’s library at Penshurst as also responding to this need to

²⁴² Ibid., p. 256

²⁴³ Alnwick Castle, DNP:MS 390. U.I.5:Fol. 49. Declaration of account for 1638-1639, Mr Heron and Mr Thornton 1638.

²⁴⁴ Susie West, ‘Studies and Status: Spaces for Books in Seventeenth-Century Penshurst Place, Kent’ in *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, Vol. 12, No. 3 (2002) pp. 266-292 p.271 <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/41154915>> [accessed 06 Feb 2016].

²⁴⁵ Ibid.

demonstrate “the discernment shown in assembling and displaying a range of objects as well as books [which] was an essential factor in the creation of ... the character of a gentleman”.²⁴⁶

If the library was a space, at least in part, in which Northumberland could display his books, then this is relevant to his choices in purchasing books to display there. The idea that the plays were acquired, at least in part, in an attempt to engage with popular contemporary culture has already been raised in the previous chapter. It has been shown that the collection contains a significant number of plays by the popular playwright James Shirley. There are, or were at one time, 14 plays by Shirley in the collection (including the lost volumes). The collection also contains a significant number of plays by Thomas Heywood; 15 quartos in the original collection. That number includes the two parts of *The Fair Maid of the West* (1631) which, although published as one quarto, are bound in separate volumes in the Petworth collection. Heywood’s career as a playwright began in the 1590s, but his popularity began in earnest in the early 1600s. He wrote many plays around this time, some of which were published, as well as producing other literary material. After a lengthy hiatus, Heywood began writing again in the 1620s, and then in the 1630s his works began appearing in print. These newly printed works included both recent material, and the playwright’s previously unpublished earlier output. Heywood died in 1641.²⁴⁷

Heywood’s career as playwright spans a very similar timeframe to the Petworth plays themselves. The collection contains examples of Heywood’s work from most of his major periods of activity. Although there are none of his very early (pre-1600)

²⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 290.

²⁴⁷ David Kathman, ‘Heywood, Thomas (c.1573–1641)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/13190>, accessed 5 May 2014].

plays, the collection contains both *How a man may choose a good wife from a bad* and *If you know not me you know nobody*, originally published in 1602 and 1605, although the editions in the collection date from 1630 and 1633 respectively. The collection also contains *The Fair Maid of the Exchange*, which is sometimes attributed to Heywood, first published in 1607.²⁴⁸ From Heywood's middle period, the collection contains *The Silver Age* (1613) and *The Brazen Age* (1613) in their first editions. The majority of the Heywood plays in the collection, however, were written or at least first published in the 1630s. These include *A Maidenhead Well Lost* (published 1634, first performed 1633) *The Late Lancashire Witches* (published and first performed in 1634), and *A Challenge for Beauty* (published 1636, first performed 1635). First publications of early plays include *The Royal King and the Loyal Subject* (published 1637, first performed 1602), and *The Wise Woman of Hogsdon* (published 1636, first performed 1604).²⁴⁹ Most of the Heywood editions in the collection were published in the 1630s, and as I have noted this is true of quartos in the collection in general.²⁵⁰ If the original date of publication is considered rather than the dates of the specific quartos, the 1630s is still the most popular decade, though no longer by a majority. In terms of initial *performance*, the most popular decade is the 1600s, with 31% of the collection having been first performed in that decade. The 1630s, 1610s and 1590s follow with 16% each, and 15% of the plays were first performed in the 1620s.²⁵¹

Although the compiler of the collection seems to have worked in a relatively opportunistic way, the overall makeup of the collection does say something about

²⁴⁸ The Petworth copy dates from 1625.

²⁴⁹ Performance dates taken from *DEEP*. Farmer and Lesser, 2007.

²⁵⁰ This is taking into account only the quartos still in the collection today, since the dates of the lost plays cannot be established with certainty.

²⁵¹ The remaining plays were either first performed before 1590, were closet plays that were apparently not performed at all, or there are simply no records of their early performances. These figures do take into account the lost plays, as they do not concern the specific quartos in the collection.

both the general requirements of the collector and the nature of the playbook trade in 1630. The 10th Earl clearly did not request a library of “old plays”, as they are now labelled; there was room for both old and new material, and various iterations falling somewhere between the two, such as Heywood’s newly published old plays. Publication of older material was evidently a worthwhile endeavor for publishers; in the decades before the play collection was assembled, both Jonson’s *Workes* (1616) and the first folio of Shakespeare’s plays (1623) had been published, the latter notably compiling both material already in print, and that which had not been previously published. For the 10th Earl of Northumberland, collecting the works of Shirley, the most popular current court playwrights, as well as a significant number of plays by Heywood, a still-popular playwright with a strong foothold in literary history, was a sensible move. It would have been a good way to display how well his own particular taste aligned with that of the monarch and other prominent nobles.

Conclusion: the purpose of the collection

There were clearly a number of motivations behind the 10th Earl’s purchase of the Petworth collection; a desire to contribute to his father’s legacy, his interest in drama, the fashions of the day, and the tastes of his friends and acquaintances at court, and perhaps to some extent simply in the act of collection for its own sake. Given the purchase of cabinets and display cases for his library, it seems likely that Northumberland might have chosen to display some of his books, perhaps including these plays, moving away from the chests in which his father kept books and towards a less private, more display oriented, method of storage. These reasons are all linked by the idea of performance, dramatic or otherwise.

There are, however, are a few other purposes or potential functions of the collection that it is worth considering. As mentioned earlier, there is little decent evidence that plays were ever performed at Petworth, which is not to say they definitely were not. There is certainly no evidence that there plays were purchased with any intention that they be used for performances of any kind. Indeed, this would probably be rather impractical given their bindings. It is, however, possible and indeed probable that they were intended for entertainment of some kind. The 10th Earl certainly entertained guests at Petworth and it is possible the plays and the library as a whole could have helped to facilitate this entertainment.

In 1638, the year in which the plays were purchased, Algernon Percy himself was taken seriously ill. In late 1637 his sister Dorothy Sidney wrote to her husband that “he sent me an excuse for his not coming to me, alleging that he had many of the great persons to visit and that his return to the King must be in 3 or 4 days, but the last night I heard by my sister that he was not well and had been purged and let blood”.²⁵² Northumberland’s health worsened the following year and in December 1638 Dorothy Sidney again wrote to her husband that “I do not wonder to find it has been long since my brother Northumberland writ to you, for he has suffered great pain these 2 months as for the greatest part of that time he has not been able to turn himself in bed. But now, I thank God, he is reasonable well”.²⁵³ It is certainly possible that the play collection might have been intended to ease Northumberland’s boredom in his convalescence.

Something that is certainly worth reiterating is that Algernon Percy’s own hand

²⁵² ‘The Countess of Leicester to the Earl of Leicester’ (Undated [20 September 1637?]) as reproduced in *The Correspondence of Dorothy Percy Sidney, Countess of Leicester*. Eds. Michael G. Brennan, Noel J. Kinnamon and Margaret P. Hannay (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010) p. 129.

²⁵³ Ibid. p. 134

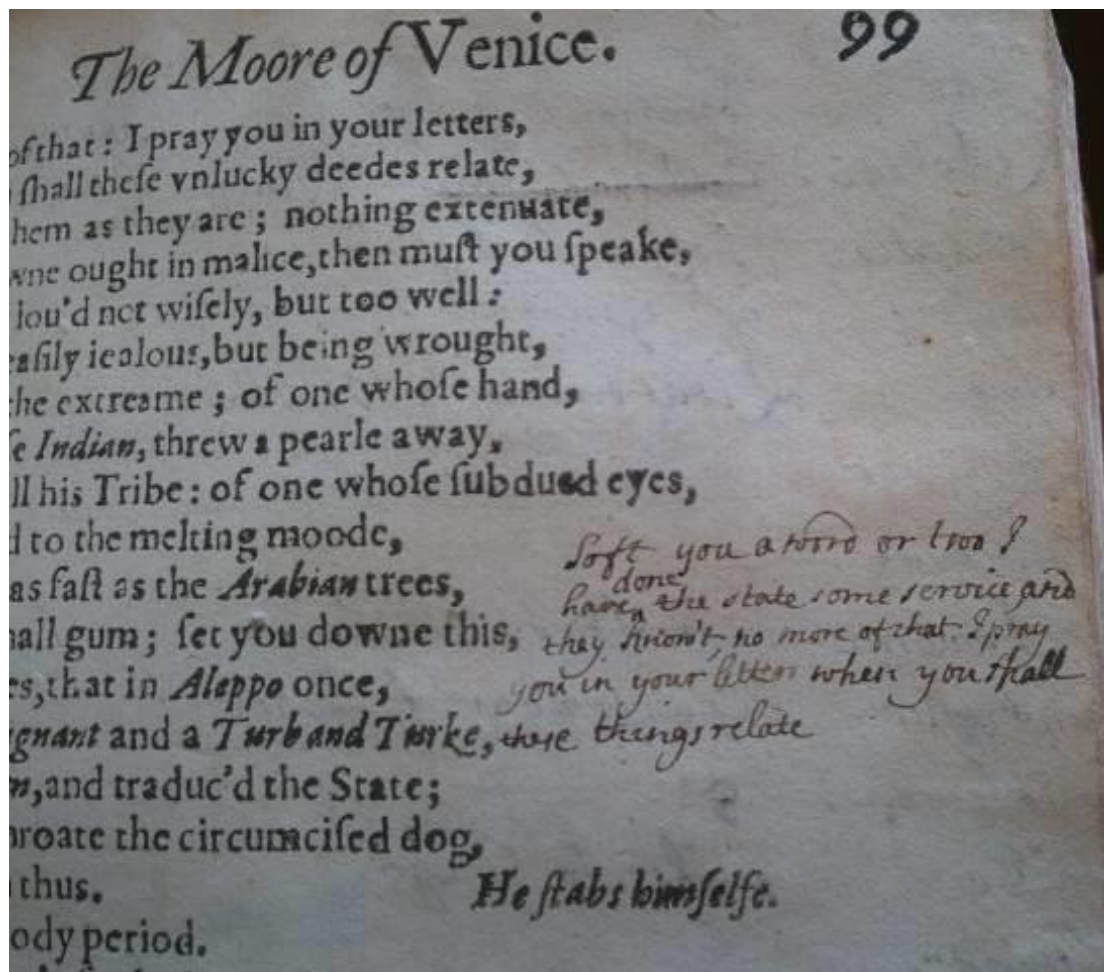


Figure 2.8. Annotation on *Othello* in volume 10. By permission of The National Trust.

does not appear anywhere on the volumes. There is evidence of a post-binding annotator on at least two plays, perhaps more, though it is difficult to establish whether some of the annotations were made before or after the plays were bound. The clearest example of this is in *Othello*, where the annotator has copied out a few lines of the play (figure 2.8). This is probably post-binding because it stays within the edges of the page, and other annotations on this quarto have been cropped in the binding, as is evident in the pre-binding manuscript character list at the back (figure 2.9). This handwriting seems to reappear on another play in the same volume, *Northward Hoe*, with this same kind of copying annotation (figure 2.10). Another post binding annotator - possible even the same - appears on volume 12 (see figure 2.11).

On *The Miseries of Inforced Marriage*, the annotator has copied out the motto from the emblem, and also the name of the writer. They have then, rather confusingly, written the dates 1607, the date of the play, and 1704 next to the emblem. This later date perhaps suggests that one of Algernon Percy's descendants (or rather, a descendent of his sister) was enjoying and annotating the volumes some 60 or so years after their purchase (and 30 years after his death). This hand is not the 10th Earl's, and while it bears a passing resemblance to the hand of the 11th Earl, it is probably later than both given the 1704 date. Some of the volumes appear to have been read by a later inhabitant of Petworth. West states that book collections increasingly "take their place as cultural assets within dynasties" in the 17th century, so perhaps they were intended as a legacy to be passed on as Northumberland's own father had passed on his library.²⁵⁴

Most likely, the motives behind the purchases were as varied and nuanced as the scope of the collection is wide. In any case, the Petworth collection is as perplexing as it is enlightening. While it does reveal much about the collecting habits of not only the 10th Earl but the plays' previous owners, the collection is nonetheless at times difficult to comprehend. This in itself highlights an important development in the history of collection: modern eyes expect to see order, organisation and patterns. The Petworth collection shows that this was not necessarily a primary concern for early collectors, and the evidence seems to point to them having been bound essentially in the order in which they were purchased. Even those plays which probably were selected for the collection do not seem to have been put into a particular order. There

²⁵⁴ West., p. 292.

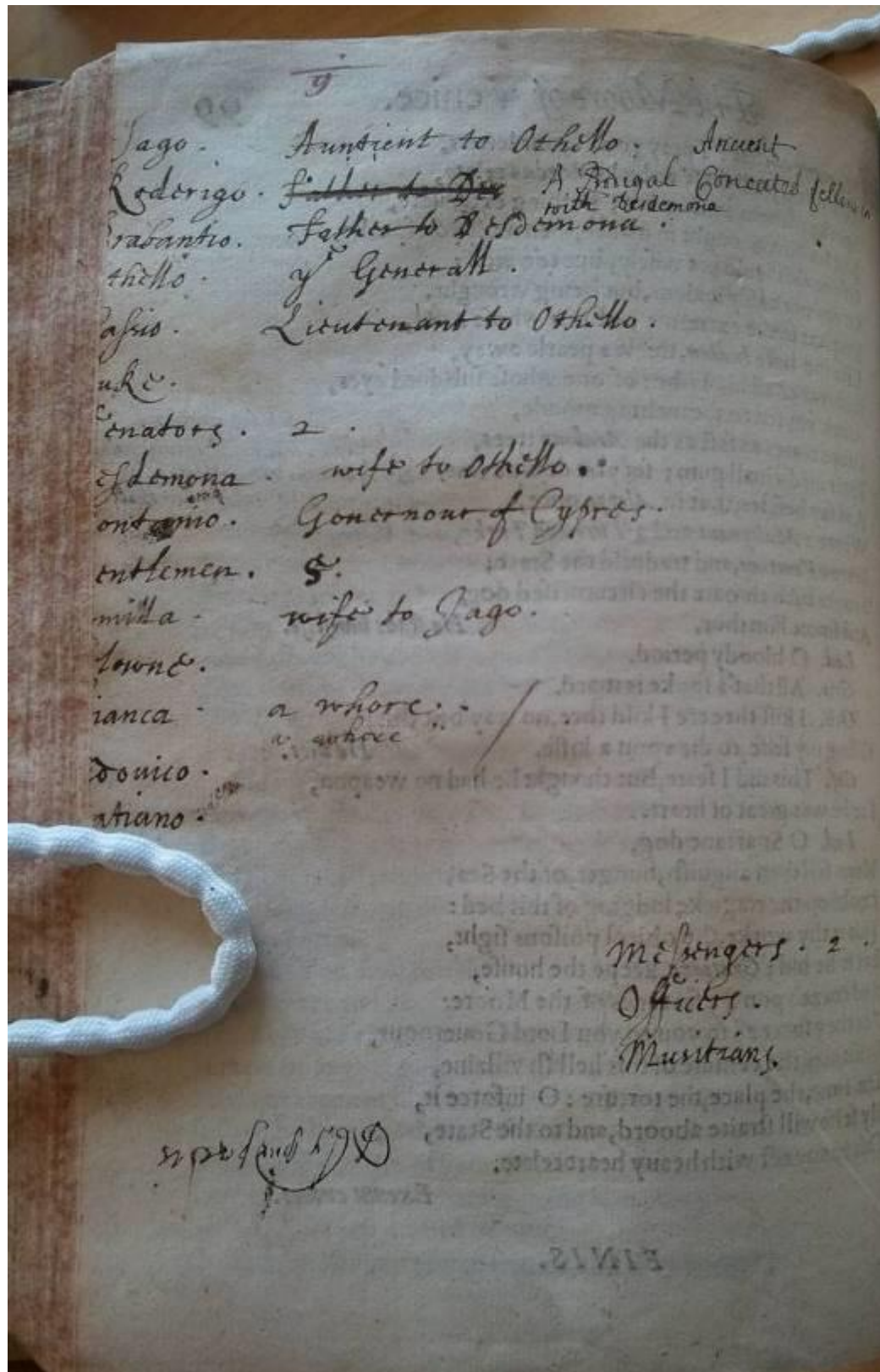


Figure 2.9. Annotation on *Othello* in volume 10. By permission of The National Trust.

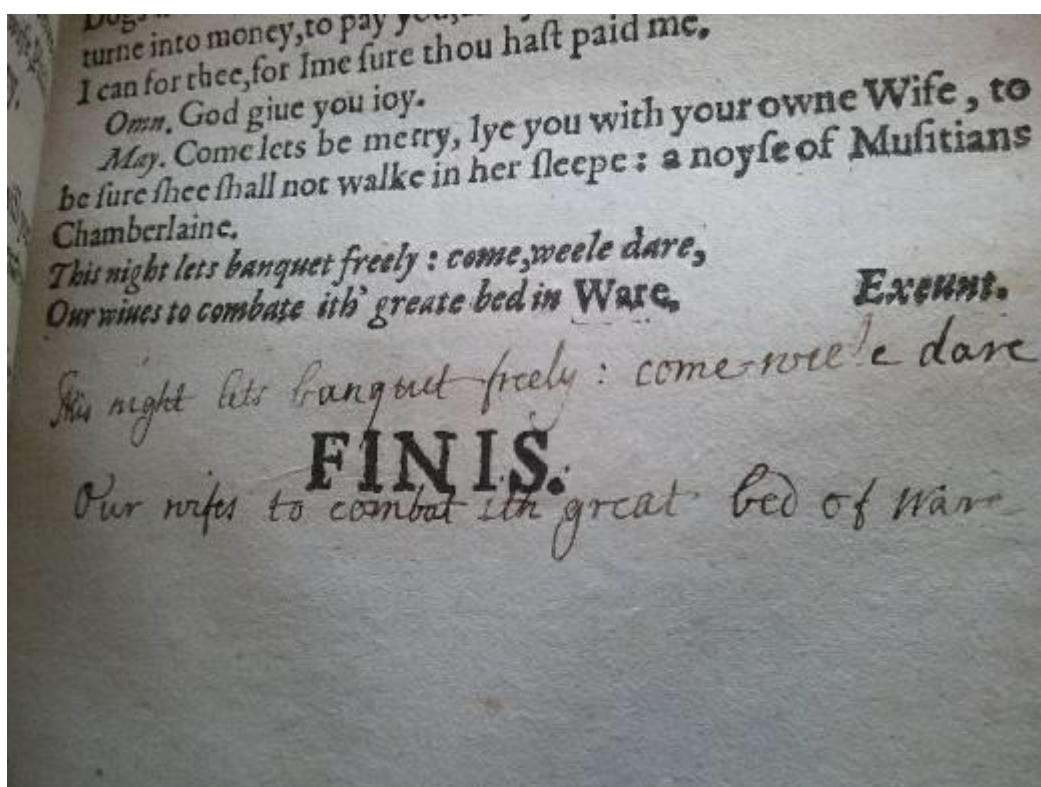


Figure 2.10. Annotation on *Northward Hoe* in volume 10. By permission of The National Trust.

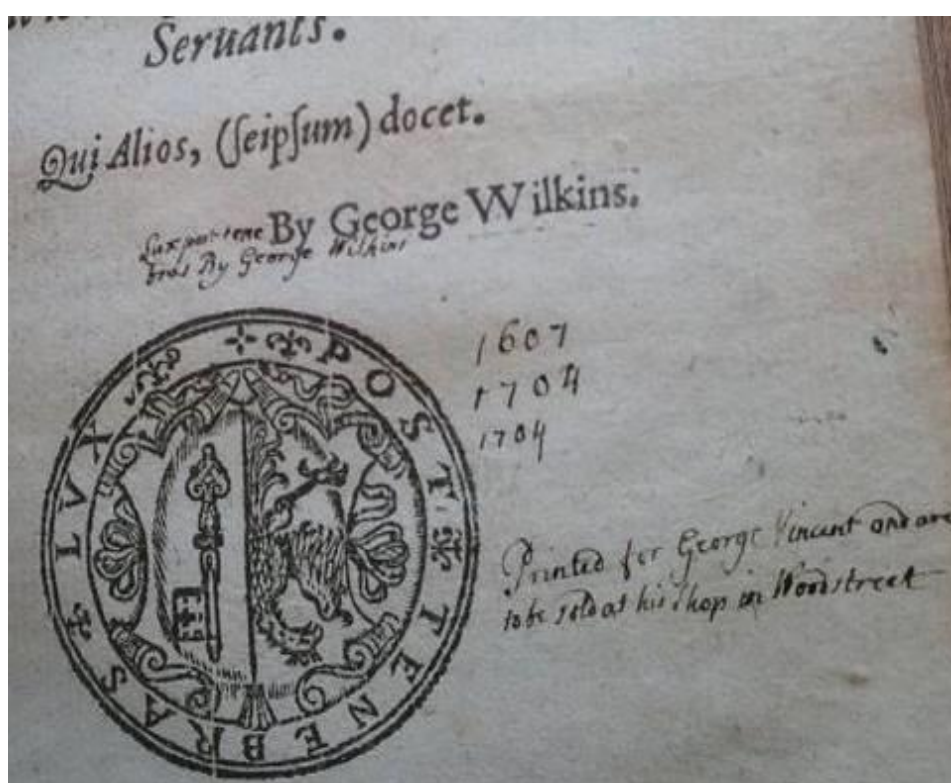


Figure 2.11. Annotation on *The Miseries of Inforced Marriage* in volume 12. By permission of The National Trust.

is a sense of practicality to the volumes, an idea that they have arrived in the library fresh from the libraries of others, and could just have easily have found their way to other libraries afterwards - as some indeed seem to have done. This does not diminish their capacity to act as objects of performance; they were still bound and integrated into a library filled with cabinets. It is rather that, as described in the previous chapter, the assembler, and the collector, did not place a particularly high premium on an internal organisation to the collection.

James Raven has noted how 17th century book collection was an activity in which “intellectual enquiry, specific interest, an urge to improvement, practical problem solving and entertainment subtly combined with prestige, status, family pride and the concern to bequeath a collection, whether to kin or to a favoured institution or community”.²⁵⁵ These concerns can all be seen in the Petworth play collection, but the method of collection and the content of the collection itself – with its duplicate plays and emphasis on popular playwrights – indicate that a desire to perform collection which was Northumberland’s key motivation, overshadowing any interest he may have had in the plays themselves. The collection is a paradox of the novel and the traditional: built on historic principles of learning, library building and bookbinding filtered through generations of ancestry, and yet conforming to the tastes and fashions of the day. Prompted by the past and present, the drive to consume and the drive to perform that consumption was the primary impulse influencing Northumberland’s decision to purchase the collection.

²⁵⁵ James Raven, ‘Country houses and the beginnings of bibliomania’ in *The Intellectual Culture of the English Country House, 1500-1700*, Ed. Matthew Dimmock, Andrew Hadfield and Margaret Healy (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015) pp. 163-167. p. 166.

Chapter 3: Performing consumption on the theatrical stage

For the most part, the marks made on the Petworth collection do not appear to have much to say about the responses of contemporary readers to the plays as literary texts, although as shown in the previous chapters they can tell us much about the histories of the quartos as material objects, and consequently about those involved in collecting them. There are a few exceptions to this, such as the manicules on *Parasitaster* or the asterisks on *The Broken Heart*. In both of these cases the marks indicate multiple passages of interest and in the case of the latter there are a significant number of them. The Petworth copy of Christopher Marlowe's *The Tragical History of Doctor Faustus* contains just two marks, one of which appears to single out an important passage. *Faustus* is one of the earliest plays in the Petworth collection in terms of both composition and publishing date. The play was probably written around 1588-9²⁵⁶. The copy at Petworth was published in 1609 and is the 2nd edition of what is now known as the "A-text", first published in 1604.²⁵⁷ *Faustus* is found in volume 3 alongside plays by Jonson, Webster, Heywood, Shirley, and others. The quarto, like so many others in the collection, had clearly been in the possession of at least one previous owner before it found its way into the 10th Earl of Northumberland's possession. This is evident from its age and also because there are a small number of pre-binding annotations on the play. Volume 3 as a whole is largely devoid of annotation, save for the markings on *Faustus* and one other on Jonson's *Volpone*. Unusually, since all the other plays in this volume have at most one following blank page, there are three blank pages at the end of the *Faustus* quarto. Someone,

²⁵⁶ The longer "B-text" was published in 1616. David Bevington and Eric Rasmussen, *Doctor Faustus and Other Plays* (Oxford: Oxford World's Classics, 1995) p.xii.

²⁵⁷ Christopher Marlowe, *The Tragical History of Doctor Faustus* (London: G.E. for John Wright, 1609) <<https://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/eebo-99855372e>> [08 Feb 2016].

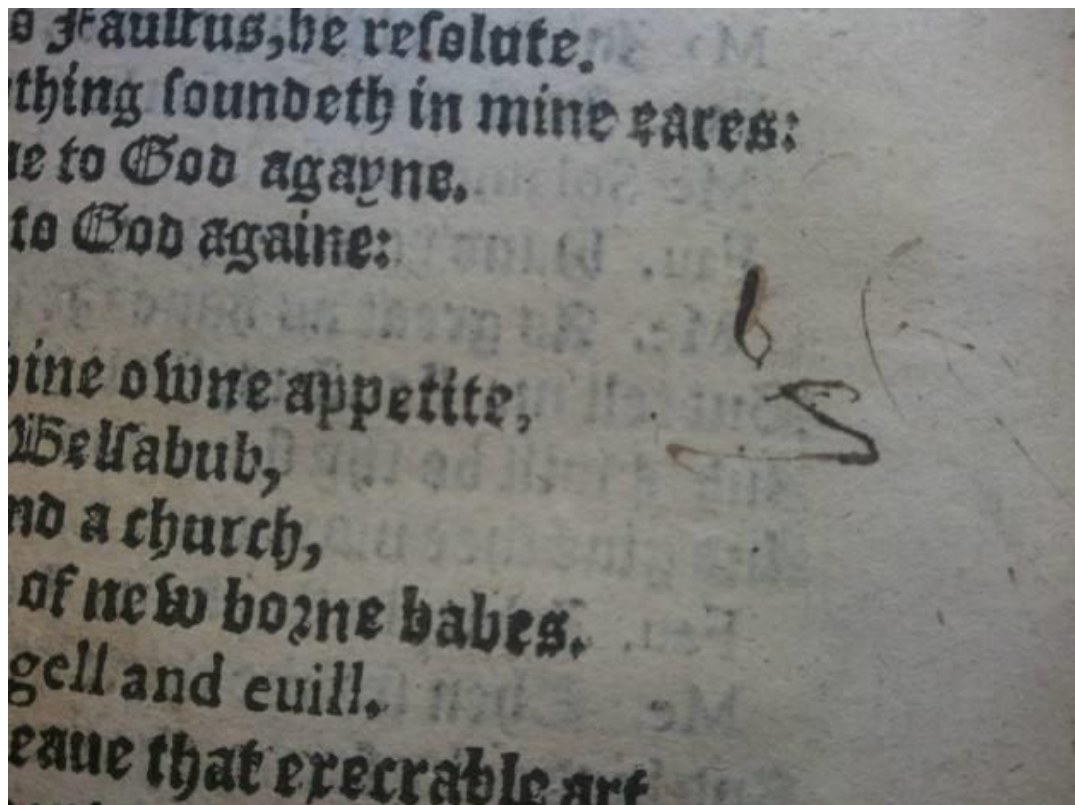


Figure 3.1 Annotation on *Doctor Faustus* in volume 3. By permission of The National Trust.

presumably a previous owner, has written out the word “good” three times. The annotation is probably handwriting practice, though the word does have some connection to the play, since one of the characters is named “Good Angel”. The other mark, which is more relevant to this chapter, is found on B4r (see figure 3.1). The mark does not represent any discernible word or character, and does not appear anywhere else in the quarto or in any of the volumes. However, it does seem to be a deliberate marking, and was probably put there by a previous owner to mark a passage of interest.

The marked lines directly precede Faustus’s conversation with the Good and Evil angels. Faustus muses that he is damned and cannot be saved, berating himself for wavering in his resolve and thinking about God. Foreshadowing the imminent entrance of the angels, Faustus hears a plea to “turne to God agayne”, considers it, but decides

that God “loves thee not”.²⁵⁸ Instead, he tells himself that:

The God thou seruest is thine owne appetite,
Wherein is set the loue of Belsabub,
To him Ile build an altar, and a church,
And offer luke-warme blood of new borne babes²⁵⁹

The mark on the Petworth copy appears next to these lines. The fact that one of the few marks in the whole collection apparently relating to the actual literary content of the plays should appear alongside the word “appetite” indicates just how important the issue of consumption was to readers and writers in the period. The passage demonstrates how in the late 16th century consumption, figured here in relation to “appetite”, was bound up with ideas of danger and materiality. Faustus’ urge to consume – his appetite – inspires in him a desire to physically demonstrate his allegiance to Satan by constructing a church, and by inflicting harm on others. The visceral description of his murderous plan highlights the transgressive sensuality of his desires. Moreover, although Faustus claims that he will love and worship “Belsabub”, his primary allegiance is within himself: his “own appetite”. Marlowe recognises the self-reflexive nature of consumption, and the way in which it links the material and intellectual or spiritual worlds, but in his play this carries entirely negative connotations. Although Faustus does not carry out his threat (on stage at least), it is evident here that to make a physical sacrifice at an “altar” to a god that is firmly aligned with “appetite” – in other words, to perform consumption – would be an extremely dangerous, harmful and transgressive act.

The idea of performed consumption is prominent in many of the plays in the Petworth collection, and each reveals something about contemporary attitudes

²⁵⁸ Ibid., fol. B4^r.

²⁵⁹ Ibid.

towards it. As illustrated in chapter 2 the desire to consume, and to perform that consumption, was the driving force behind Northumberland's acquisition of the play collection itself. Understanding what happens at the intersections between performance and consumption is crucial to understanding how and why this period is so important in the history of collection – and in the history of libraries – and to understanding why the Petworth collection was acquired in the way that it was, at the time that it was. Consumption and performance lie at the heart of this thesis, and at the heart of collection. Especially with regard to a collection of drama, performed consumption is paramount. Chapter 4 further situates consumption within the realm of social performance in the 1630s, exploring how the culture of performed consumption permeated society, and examining how it influenced the development of a culture of collection, and in particular the culture of play collection.

The mark on the Petworth *Faustus* quarto is a physical response by a reader to the words on the page and as such illustrates a significant overlap between what we might think of as a literary response to the quartos and a material one. So far, this thesis has used the Petworth collection as a case study, and focussed largely on the concrete, material elements of the collection: on the volumes themselves, their interactions with the world of their collector, and their relationship to previous owners. This chapter explores the Petworth collection from a different point of view; offering a literary analysis of some of the plays within it in relation to the overarching themes of both performance and consumption, and also collection. In many ways a literary analysis is integral to a material reading of the play collection. The kind of material within – drama – is especially influenced by physicality, both in terms of staged performance and print culture. The audience's consumption and reception of

text through material means in both senses had a direct impact on the writing process of the playwright. Equally, the playwright's depiction and interpretation of the issues relating to the physical acts of playgoing and reading – performance and consumption – were influenced by, and were an influence on, the cultural climate.

In his study of the use of printed pages in manuscript commonplace books, Adam Smyth reminds us that we are dealing with “a context in which books were sold as unbound and implicitly incomplete objects”, and that “removing sections, and dissecting texts” was an important element of the reading culture. Smyth argues that “if we, as contemporary readers, are interested in studying texts as they might have been read in early modern England, then the exclusive pursuit of textual coherence, or linear readings, may, in some cases, be an anachronistic way to think about these books”.²⁶⁰ This echoes the sentiments of D.F. McKenzie's important essay on bibliography “The Book as an Expressive Form”, which argues that “bibliographers should be concerned to show that forms affect meaning”.²⁶¹ In the previous two chapters it is largely the form of the volumes, and the relationship of the physical plays to each other, that has been the focus. However, a study which exclusively attends to the material nature of the collection without considering the literary content may be as anachronistic as the “linear readings” that Smyth warns against. Similarly, the reverse of McKenzie's statement is true: meaning can affect form.

As Robert Darnton puts it in his seminal essay detailing the life cycle of the printed book, running from “the author to the publisher..., the printer, the shipper, the bookseller, and the reader” (and, in the case of the Petworth collection, the

²⁶⁰ Adam Smyth, ‘Rend and teare in peeces’, p. 44.

²⁶¹ D.F. McKenzie ‘The Book as an Expressive Form’ in *The Book History Reader* eds. David Finkelstein and Alistair McCleery (London: Routledge, 2002) pp. 27-38. p. 29.

assembler):

The parts do not take on their full significance unless they are related to the whole, and some holistic view of the book as a means of communication seems necessary if book history is to avoid being fragmented into esoteric specializations cut off from each other by arcane techniques and mutual misunderstandings.²⁶²

Darnton argues that considering as much of the “life cycle” as possible is essential to building a full understanding of the range of messages that books can communicate, and that even if we cannot fully recapture the experiences of past readers, we can “reconstruct a good deal of the social context of reading”.²⁶³ Exploring the depiction of consumption in these books is invaluable in reconstructing, to use Darnton’s word, the attitudes towards consumption which fed into the culture of seeing, reading and collecting plays in the 1630s, the decade in which this collection was put together. The books in the Petworth collection provide evidence for the cultures of consumption and performance of the time in more than one way: as books they are a physical record of collection, as plays they are a record of performance, and as literary texts they are a record of cultural attitudes. These different kinds of evidence need to be considered as pieces of the same puzzle rather than as separate or conflicting approaches. In order to understand what the play collection has to say about performance and consumption, it is necessary to negotiate a dialogue between the volumes as material object, and the plays within as literary artefacts. In terms of the relationship between literary and material with regard to collection, Marjorie Swann insists on the importance of a relationship in the 16th and 17th centuries between texts and the idea of collection itself. Swann states that texts are, like physical books, “vitally important

²⁶² Robert Darnton, ‘What is the History of Books?’ in *The Book History Reader* eds. David Finkelstein and Alistair McCleery (London: Routledge, 2002) pp. 9-26. p. 11.

²⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

to the negotiation of meanings of collections and collectors” and furthermore, collecting practices affected “modes of textuality and authorship”.²⁶⁴ In light of this important point, it is crucial to recognise that the dialogue between literary and material is a reflexive one: as well as asking what the physical books can contribute to literary history, one must also ask what literature can tell us about physical books.

Taking a broadly chronological approach, this chapter discusses the staging of consumption in the late 16th and early to mid-17th century in order to give an insight into the attitudes to consumption and performance during the period in which the collection was assembled, and in the decades leading up to it. The chapter begins with a discussion of consumption in *Faustus*, followed by an analysis of plays from the late Elizabethan, Jacobean and Caroline periods. Initially, the dangerous aspects of consumption which often concerned playwrights of the 1590s are explored: greed, gluttony, distraction and transgression. The chapter then moves onto the ways in which performed consumption was increasingly depicted in a more positive way, particularly as an act which could contribute to the building and strengthening of communities by allowing the consumer to construct a self in relation to others, both in terms of marking differences and also by participating in a social group. The moral obligations associated with hospitality, both on the part of the guest and the host, are explored, showing how, in the 1620s and 30s, shared and performed consumption was often depicted as a positive force for good. The moral weight attached to the act of consumption shifts quite radically between the early and later plays, with the earlier plays displaying distrust for consumption in general, and the later plays arguing for the possibility of an ethical approach to performed consumption. In the later plays in

²⁶⁴ Swann, p. 9.

particular, it becomes evident that consumption was increasingly viewed as an act with the potential to effect a positive change, and one which was much less tied up with the dangers suggested in the earlier material. This change in attitude is a significant factor in the development of a culture of collection which began to solidify in the 1630s, the staging of which is discussed at the close of the chapter, which considers the depiction of book collections in two plays from the 1620s and 30s.

As a whole, this thesis seeks to explore performance and consumption in relation to collection in the 1630s and to demonstrate how performed consumption in the 1630s had a particularly self-conscious quality. This chapter uses the dramatic literature of the 1630s and the preceding decades to demonstrate not only how this self-consciousness was manifested on the stage, but also how the literature of the late 16th and early 17th century shows a development from fears of the dangers of performed consumption, to an understanding and recognition of its importance.

Allure and danger: Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus* and Dekker's *Old Fortunatus*

As the passage in Figure 3.1, identified as significant by an early reader, shows, *Faustus* is concerned with the dangers of consumption. The dangerous nature of consumption in drama written around the turn of the century is frequently linked to pleasure, desire and the allure of consumables. *Faustus* opens with a very prominent display of consumption; with the use and discarding of books. The chorus introduce this activity using the language of consumption - Faustus is “glutted” with learning, we hear, he “surffets” upon “sweet” magic.²⁶⁵ He works his way first through a number of classical texts, and then onto divine texts before finally settling on necromancy. Faustus

²⁶⁵ Marlowe, fols. B2^r-v.

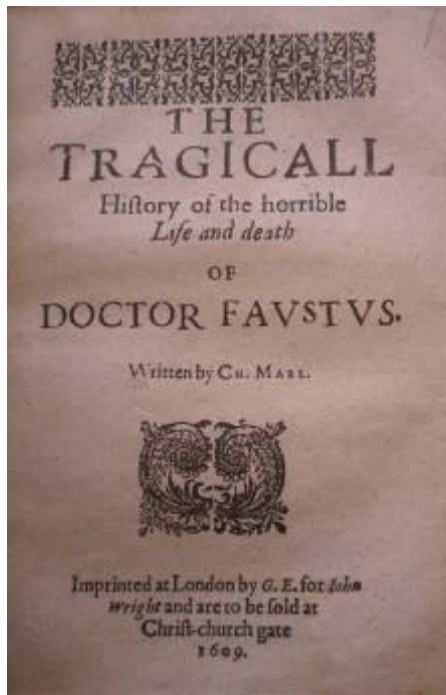


Figure 3.2 *Doctor Faustus* in volume 3.
By permission of The National Trust.



Figure 3.3 *Old Fortunatus* in volume 14.
By permission of The National Trust.

clamours for some information that will satisfy him and discarding books as he finishes with them, saying “Physicke farewell, where is Iustinian?”.²⁶⁶ This moment in the play depicts one of the many ways in which consumption can be performed on the stage; as a destructive activity performed upon objects (books in this case). Later in the play consumption is staged by way of an anthropomorphic concept; Gluttony appears as a character, presented as a fairly comedic figure, describing his “bare pention” as “30. meales a day, and ten beauers”, which he deems “a small trifle to suffice nature”.²⁶⁷ Another way of staging consumption involves the performance of eating or drinking within a play. This is similar to the first method but involves the physical consumption of a food or drink prop. This too is seen in *Faustus*, in the grape scene. *Faustus*’ guest, the Duke of Vanholt, praises the “merriment” they have enjoyed, but *Faustus*, eager

²⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, fol. B2^v.

²⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, fol. C4^v.

for approval the Duke and his wife, identifies that the pregnant Duchess “take[s] no delight in this”, and offers her “some dainties or other”.²⁶⁸ The Duchess requests grapes, which Faustus proclaims to be “nothing”, sending Mephistopheles to fetch them. Mephistopheles exits the stage, and when he returns he is carrying a bunch of grapes.²⁶⁹ Faustus succeeds in impressing the Duchess both with the grapes and also with his explanation of how Mephistopheles got them from the Southern hemisphere, where it is Summer in January. According to Igor Kopytoff, “power often asserts itself symbolically precisely by insisting on its right to singularize an object, or set or class of objects”, and by not only providing the grapes in winter, but also explaining where they came from, Faustus is asserting his power over the object he has singularized, the grapes.²⁷⁰ He has created a temporary monopoly by producing the grapes out of season.

Christopher Meads, in his analysis of the staging of banquets in early modern drama, points out that providing a real bunch of grapes is essential for this scene, since “the unlikelihood of grapes being there at all is, after all, one of the wonders of Faustus’s newly acquired powers”.²⁷¹ Inedible, imitation grapes, perhaps made from plaster or wax, are not a viable option either, since, although there is no stage direction, the Duchess clearly has to consume them, as indicated when, after *Faustus* invites her to taste them, she enthuses “Beleau me maister doctor, they be the best grapes that ere I tasted in my life before”.²⁷² Meads suggests that property makers may have been inspired by recipes books, and that marchpane and sugar plate were

²⁶⁸ Ibid., fol. E3^r.

²⁶⁹ Ibid.

²⁷⁰ Kopytoff, 1988. p. 73.

²⁷¹ Christopher Meads, *Banquets Set Forth* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001) p. 61.

²⁷² Marlowe, fols. E3^{v-r}.

likely used to create edible props citing entries from the Accounts of the Court of Revels detailing purchases the relevant ingredients for marchpane.²⁷³ In the cookery books of the 16th and 17th century there are to be found a number of ways in which grapes could have been preserved in order to be consumed out of season, such as candying, or even keeping the grapes on the vine and then sealing the cut ends, either with wax, or with pitch.²⁷⁴

The use of a food prop on stage raises some issues beyond the play itself about the very nature of theatrical production. Andrew Sofer, in *The Stage Life of Props*, identifies props as commodities, “since the public theater is a commercial enterprise, everything that appears on its stages is not only a theatrical sign but a commodity offered for the consumer’s visual consumption”.²⁷⁵ Douglas and Isherwood describe a commodity as an object of which “consumption is not compelled; the consumer’s choice is his free choice”.²⁷⁶ Sofer’s definition of props as commodities seems to fit with this: the paying audience have chosen to see the play. However, where edible props are concerned things become a little murkier. An edible prop ceases to fit Douglas and Isherwood’s definition of a commodity, something that does not compel consumption, but can be freely chosen. The actor is restricted in his consumption by a number of people: the stage hand who has place a certain apple within his reach, the person who purchased these particular grapes, the director of the play who chose to

²⁷³ Meads., p. 62.

²⁷⁴ A method for grapes sealed with wax can be found in G. Hartman’s *The true preserver and restorer of health* (London: 1682) p. 78; preserving with pitch is described in William Ward’s translation of Giralomo Ruscelli’s *The second part of the Secretes of Maister Alexis of Piemont* (London: John Kyngston, 1560) <<https://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/eebo-ocm08711769e>> [accessed 22 May 2012] p. 19; and the 1659 cookbook by W.M., *The Queens closet opened* (London: Nath. Brooke, 1656) <<https://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/eebo-99828389e>> [21 May 2012] pp.196-7.

²⁷⁵ Andrew Sofer, *The Stage Life of Props* (Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 2003) p. 17.

²⁷⁶ Mary Douglas and Baron C. Isherwood. *The World of Goods: Towards an Anthropology of Consumption*. (London: Routledge, 1996). p. 36.

put on this performance at this time, the audience with their expectation that he will eat it, and most of all the playwright who wrote the scene. Faustus' grapes, then, are at once a commodity and a singularized non-commodity, for the audience they are the former, but because of their physical interaction with the actor, they also become the latter.

The importance of an edible prop in this case is indicative of the reflexive and meta-textual nature of performed consumption in drama, both as an action performed by a character and an action performed by an actor. The singularization of the grapes by Faustus draws attention to the peculiarly singularized nature of props themselves, and prompts questions about the nature of commodified performance. The consumption of grapes by the Duchess is a performance within the context of the play – it is a deliberate action devised by Faustus to illustrate his power to singularize them. In creating imitation grapes, or preserving real ones, the theatre company mimics Faustus himself by singularizing an object, taking it out of its usual time and context and giving it a new meaning. What the episode with the grapes demonstrates is how Faustus' sinful nature is characterised by his desire to opt out of normal channels of commerce. This is a theme throughout the play, as Faustus continually attempts to exert his power by singularizing commodities, but also seeks to commoditise those things which usually remain singular – such as his soul. *Faustus* shows us the dark side of consumption, both in terms of his refusal to participate in the standard economic systems of society, and also in the destructive effects of consumption on material culture. As Daniel Miller has pointed out, the view of consumption as “an evil of antisocial activity” is not a new phenomenon and “existed long before modern mass

consumption”²⁷⁷. Consumption is, by its very nature, at odds with creation, or, as Miller puts it “production, which constructs the world” - to consume is to destroy and use up material culture.²⁷⁸ The Good Angel implores Faustus to “lay that damned booke aside, And gaze not on it”, while the Evil Angel encourages consumption saying “Goe forward Faustus in that famous art, Wherein all natures treasure is containde”.²⁷⁹ In this sense, parts of *Faustus* can be read as a criticism of disposable material culture - Faustus is not collecting knowledge, he is using it up, bidding “Farewell” to books he is done with.

Dangerous consumption is a common theme in many of the earlier plays in the Petworth collection. Thomas Dekker’s *The Pleasant Comedy of Old Fortunatus*, published in 1600 and first performed at Court on 27th December 1599, is, like *Faustus*, based on a German legend.²⁸⁰ Both plays use existing stories to discuss the issue of transgression, temptation and dangerous consumption. The first printed edition of the Fortunatus legend was published in Germany in 1509, followed by another version in 1549. Since it was not translated into English until the early 1610s, Dekker’s play must have either been adapted directly from one of the German versions, or from a now lost play called *The First Part of Fortunatus*, performed at the Rose Theatre in February 1569 and referred to in Philip Henslowe’s diary.²⁸¹ In the German Fortunatus, Andelosia (the son of Fortunatus) and Aggripina (a princess Andelosia is attempting to woo) become lost in the wilderness of Hibernia. Aggripina asks Andelosia to climb a

²⁷⁷ Daniel Miller, ‘Consumption’ in *Handbook of Material Culture* ed. Chris Tilley (London: SAGE, 2006) pp. 341 - 354. p. 341

²⁷⁸ Ibid.

²⁷⁹ Marlowe, fol. A3^v.

²⁸⁰ Michael Haldane, ‘The Date of Thomas Combe’s *Fortunatus* and its relation to Thomas Dekker’s *Old Fortunatus*’ in *The Modern Language Review*, Volume 101, Issue 2, 2006. pp. 313-324. p.313. < <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20466785> > [accessed 28 Feb 2012]

²⁸¹ Ibid.

tree and fetch her an apple, and while he is doing so she wishes herself home using a magic wishing hat. Andelosia then chances upon some unusually red apples and, after eating one, horns appear on his head. This is remedied by eating apples from another tree. Andelosia takes both kinds of apples with him to London, where, in disguise, he proceeds to trick Aggripina into eating one of the horn-growing apples.

Dekker's story is different to the German original in a number of ways. Most significantly it adds a moral dimension in relation to the consumption of the magic apples. Eating the apples provokes the growing of horns in both versions, but some significant details differ. In Dekker's play Agripyne is still present when Andelocia picks the apples; he is ostensibly picking them for her, although he tastes them first. The apples in Dekker's story have been planted by the anthropomorphised goddesses Vice and Virtue at the behest of Fortune, and the audience have seen this happen.²⁸² The trees are close to each other, which means that Andelocia and Agripyne must decide between the two types of apples: Vice's visually appealing apples, and Virtue's which have a "withered face".²⁸³ In contrast to the German version, the apples are gold rather than red.²⁸⁴ The play was commissioned by Henslowe who, after the initial performance in the public theatres, requested some significant changes ahead of the court performance.²⁸⁵ W.L. Halstead argues that these alterations specifically concerned the Vice and Virtue subplot.²⁸⁶

The two trees represent a moral choice for any passing travellers, and yet there

²⁸² Ibid., fol. c3^r.

²⁸³ Thomas Dekker, *The pleasant comedie of old Fortunatus*, (London: Printed by S.S. for William Aspley, 1600) <<https://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/eebo-99840985e>> [accessed 22 May 2012] fol. n2v.

²⁸⁴ Andelosia calls them "like gold" (H2^v), and when the tree is initially brought on it is described as a "faire tree of gold" (c3^r). Fortune also refers to it as a "golden tree" (fol. H3^v)

²⁸⁵ W.L. Halstead, 'Note on Dekker's Old Fortunatus' in *Modern Language Notes*, Volume 54, Issue 5, 1939. pp. 351-352. p.351.

²⁸⁶ Ibid., p.352.

is ostensibly nothing in the vicinity that indicates why a person should reject the more visually appealing apples and opt for Virtue's withered ones. The eater must follow a number of symbolic, contextual clues in order to discern that they should avoid the golden apples. This applies to the reader too. After Andelocia has eaten one of the golden apples Vice, Virtue and Fortune appear, and Fortune proceeds to admonish Andelocia for consuming them, painting his transgression as the culmination of a lifetime of indulgence: "To her hath Andelocia (all his life) / Sworne fealtie, wouldst thou forsake her now?".²⁸⁷ The implication is that Andelocia ought to have known from looking at the apples that he should not consume them. To fully understand the risk, however, Dekker's characters, and his audience need to draw on what they already know about the cultural significance of golden apples.

The Chorus foreshadows Andelocia's apple eating with the line "O what trecherie can this Serpent gold not entice him into?", with the biblical allusion of the "serpent" bringing apples to mind.²⁸⁸ This is particularly prescient since it was at Aggripina's suggestion that Andelocia climbed the apple tree, invoking the story of Adam and Eve. The apple from the tree of knowledge is frequently seen in early modern literature and art, and would have been a very familiar symbol to the early modern audience (see fig. 3.4).

With the image of the "Serpent gold" and all that it suggests in their mind, the audience is ready to read Andelocia's choice to eat the golden apple as a symptom of his love for "gold" in the monetary sense. Andelocia's love of money has been signposted earlier in the play – he misreads his brother Ampedo's sullen mood as being caused by "The famine of Gold [that] gnawes his couetous stomacke, more then

²⁸⁷ Ibid., fol. N3^v.

²⁸⁸ Ibid., fol. N2^r.

the want of good victuals".²⁸⁹ Ampedo, insulted, replies:

Did but the bitternes of mine owne fortunes
Infect my taste, I could paint ore my cheekes
With ruddy-coloured smiles: this not the want
Of costly dyet or desire of gold
Inforce this rupture in my wounded brest.²⁹⁰

Ampedo associates the problems of "costly dyet" with "desire of gold", two vices which will later cause problems for his brother when they are united in the golden apples. Had Andelocia been paying attention, he might have drawn from his brother's words a further warning about the apples - his brother's reference to painting his cheeks with "ruddy-coloured smiles" to disguise the "bitternes" which has infected his taste mirrors the way that Andelocia later describes the apple – "rare red-cheekt apples" which has "a most Sugred delicious tast in ones mouth, but when tis downe, tis bitter as gall".²⁹¹ Ampedo goes on to describe in more detail his rejection of vanity in the world, which again should serve as a significant warning to Andelocia:

I am not enamoured of this painted Idoll,
This strumpet world; for her most beutious lookes
Are poysned baits, hung vpon golden hookes²⁹²

Ampedo is suspicious of things that appear too good to be true, things that are gained with little or no effort. A recurring prop in the play is that of the wheel of fortune, and Ampedo seems to understand what his brother does not - that a windfall from Fortune should not be trusted, as bad luck can just as easily take its toll at any time. Consumption, in particular thoughtless consumption, is something that should be approached with caution.

As well as this in-text evidence for the untrustworthiness of the golden apples, there

²⁸⁹ Ibid., fol. b4^v.

²⁹⁰ Ibid.

²⁹¹ Ibid., fol. N2^v.

²⁹² Ibid., fol. B4^v.



Figure 3.4. Peter Paul Rubens, *The Judgement of Paris*. c. 1636 (© The National Gallery, London)

are many more examples of apples, golden or otherwise, painted in a negative light in the popular culture of the time. The infamous apple from the tree of knowledge in the Garden of Eden is one such point of reference. Perhaps a more common apple in Renaissance art and literature, and one which is always referred to as “golden” is the apple in the Greek myth of the Judgement of Paris, often cited by early modern sources as the catalyst for the Trojan war (see figure 3.4).²⁹³

Dekker’s golden apples, and the apples of the original *Fortunatus*, have the power to transform the body in an exaggerated way. The capacity for food to have a

²⁹³ The golden apple is “the cause of all the wrack of Troy” for Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey (*Songes and Sonnets* (London: Richard Tottel, 1557). fol. 79^v) and the reason “That many noble Greekes and Troians made to bleed” according to Edmund Spenser, (*The Fairie Queene* ed. A.C Hamilton et al (London: Routledge, 2006). Book II, Canto vii, verse 55.). There are numerous similar references in early modern poetry.

direct and quantifiable effect on the body was a concern for many early modern writers. Mary Douglas' observation that "any structure of ideas is vulnerable at its margins. We should expect the orifices of the body to symbolise its specially vulnerable points" is borne out repeatedly in early modern dietary regimens, which are heavily invested in the idea that the intake of food through the mouth has the potential to effect a physical change in the body.²⁹⁴ Even apples in their usual form were considered a potentially harmful food, as demonstrated by William Bullein's *Gournment of Health* which describes apples as "very cold & winedy, hard to digest ingenders of euill bloude, hurtful to flegmaticke people".²⁹⁵

Early modern diet books show that real life "golden apples" did exist. "Many thinke this is the fruit which the Poets call golden Apple", wrote John Maplet of quinces in *A Green Forest*.²⁹⁶ Rembarte Dodoens, translated by Henry Lyte, gives the name golden apples to tomatoes, which he also calls "amorous apples", and is cautious about recommending this relatively new food, stating that "The complexion, nature, and working of this plante, is not yet knowen" and thus potentially "dangerous to be used".²⁹⁷ Conrad Heresbach's *Foure Bookes of Husbandry* identifies oranges and other citrus fruits as "Golden apples".²⁹⁸ Whatever the golden apple is, it emerges as an unknown and potentially harmful foodstuff.

The golden apple arrives in the play imbued with number of existing negative cultural associations. While the ubiquity of the golden apple in Renaissance culture

²⁹⁴ Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger* (London: Routledge, 2002), p. 150.

²⁹⁵ William Bullein, *The gouernment of health* (London: Valentine Sims, 1595), fol. 59^v. <<https://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/eebo-99842726e>> [accessed 09 Feb 2016]

²⁹⁶ John Maplet, *A Green Forest* (London: Henry Denham, 1567), <<https://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/eebo-99845433e>> [29 May 2012], fol. 59^v.

²⁹⁷ Rembarte Dodoens, *A Nieuwe herball* (London, 1578), <<https://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/eebo-99843065e>> [accessed 29 May 2012] p. 440.

²⁹⁸ Conrad Heresbach, *Foure bookes of husbandry* (London: Richard Watkins, 1577) p. 92.

should be enough for the audience and Andelosia to realise that something is amiss, there are also clues throughout the play, as well as the mythological background to the fruit, and the suspicious nature of the unknown and unnatural “golden apple” itself. *Old Fortunatus* is a play with an inherently self-referential subject; the play is presented for consumption by its audience, draped in finery with its elaborate costumes, sets, and rich mythological allusion. It hangs, a “painted Idoll” on “golden hooks”, and it begs the audience to consume and decipher it. Dekker’s play points out the dangers inherent in both physical consumption and aesthetic pleasure. Ultimately, Dekker advocates for a thoughtful and considered approach to consumption, and moreover, one which assumes that a visually appealing consumable is inherently dangerous.

Intoxicants on the stage: Lodge and Greene’s *A Looking Glass for London and England* (volume 15), Holyday’s *Texnogamia* (volume 12) and *Wine Beer Ale and Tobacco* (volume 11)

Dekker’s *Fortunatus* uses an edible prop to reinforce the messages about the shallowness of exclusively aesthetic pleasures. Faustus, too, falls victim to this trap, frittering his magic away on superficial, relatively unimpressive tricks like the conjuring of grapes or the summoning of Helen of Troy, or rather a demon in her form. Both plays are concerned with the dangers of visual attractiveness in relation to consumption, but for plays which deal with consumable intoxicants it is more often than not the physical effects of consumption that are the focus. Thomas Lodge and Robert Greene’s *A looking glass for London and England*, a retelling of the Biblical story of Jonah in Ninevah which depicts drunkenness and debauchery throughout, is an



Figure 3.5 *A Looking Glass for London and England* in volume 15. By permission of The National Trust.

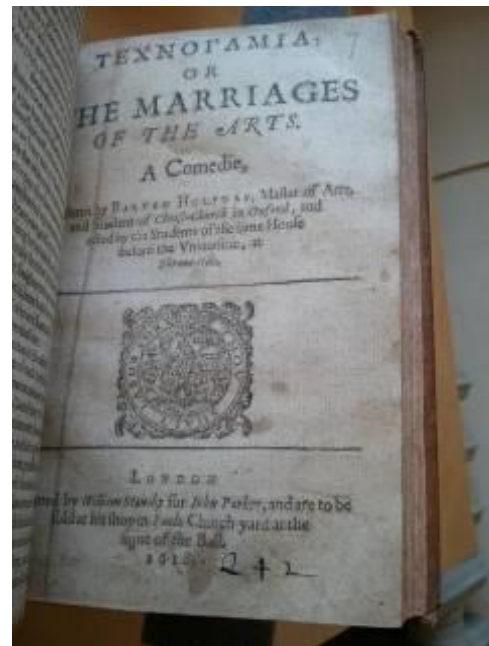


Figure 3.6 *Texnogamia* in volume 12. By permission of The National Trust.

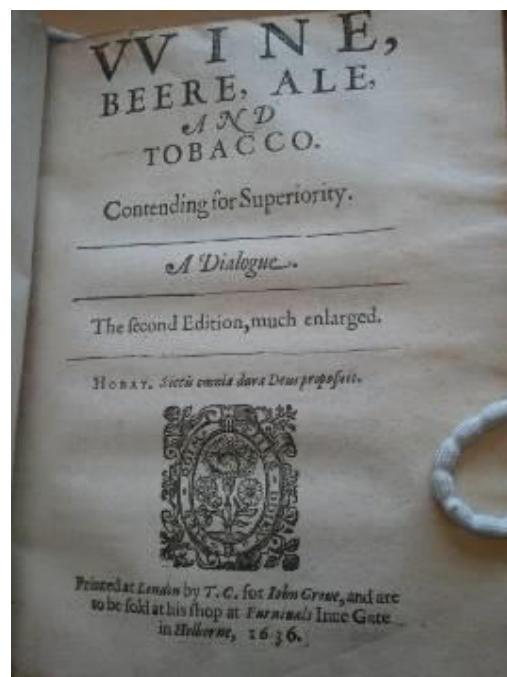


Figure 3.7 *Wine, Beer, Ale and Tobacco* in volume 11. By permission of The National Trust.

example of this.²⁹⁹ It is one of a relatively small number of pre 1600-plays in the Petworth collection, having been originally published in 1594. Like the golden apples, drunkenness was a concern of many 16th and 17th century writers dealing with food and drink. James Hart in his treatise on health and morality describes drunkenness as the cause of “mischiefs there insuing to the soule, body, and good”.³⁰⁰ During the reign of Henry VIII the number of drinking establishments increased as a result of the dissolution of the monasteries, where much of the brewing had taken place until then. Alehouses, taverns and inns suddenly had more customers to cater to, and the business of drinking boomed.³⁰¹ In 1552, drunkenness was explicitly made a civil offense, and in the second half of the 16th century drinking was increasingly considered to be a widespread social problem.³⁰²

One subplot of *A looking glass for London and England* concerns a group of “ruffians” lead by a clown, who are primarily concerned with drinking. On locating a drinking establishment, the clown asks “who is the purveyor of the Wenches, for Masters take this of mee, a Cuppe of Ale without a wench, why alas tis like an Egge without salt”.³⁰³ The consumption of ale and the hiring of prostitutes go hand in hand, and prostitution is further framed as a kind of consumption through the comparison with food. These concerns are a problem for early modern England, as the title suggests and as Oseas, the prophet and chorus character, makes clear when he instructs the audience at the close of the scene “London, looke on, this matter nips

²⁹⁹ Thomas Lodge and Robert Greene, *A looking glass for London and England* (London: Printed by Bernard Alsop, 1617) <<https://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/eebo-99844467e>> [accessed 08 Feb 2016].

³⁰⁰ James Hart of Northampton, *Klinike, or the diet of the diseased* (London: Printed by Iohn Beale, 1633) <<https://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/eebo-99855006e>> [accessed 02 Nov 2012] pp. 128-9

³⁰¹ Ian S. Hornsey, *A History of Beer and Brewing* (Cambridge: Royal Society of Chemistry, 2003), p. 327

³⁰² Ibid. p. 337

³⁰³ Lodge and Green, fol. B3^r.

thee neere, Leave off thy ryot, pride and sumptuous cheere".³⁰⁴

In a later scene, when one of the clown's crew of ruffians argues with another reveller over a "wench", he promptly returns to his carousing ways, crying "I care not, now wil I in to my wench and call for a fresh pot", reinforcing the connection between sex and alcohol.³⁰⁵ As the clown has proclaimed that prostitution and ale go hand in hand, so his fellow debaucher adds murder to the list, saying "it's all one to me".³⁰⁶ At the close of the play, the prophet Jonah directly addresses the audience, comparing them unfavourably to the Ninevites and listing their collective sins which include "Corruption, whordom, drunkennesse, and pride" – once again linking prostitution and drunkenness.³⁰⁷

A Looking Glass for London and England is very much a play of its time, a morality play with a Biblical theme of the kind that enjoyed a revival in the 1590s.³⁰⁸ Annaliese Connolly links the popularity of Biblical morality plays to "a commercial strategy to complement and prolong the stage life of existing plays in the repertory", namely Marlowe's popular *Tamburlaine* and *The Jew of Malta*, and also to the concerns of "a besieged Protestant England".³⁰⁹ The attitude to consumption seen in the play certainly fits in with this. It is perhaps surprising, then, to find that the copy in the collection was not printed in 1594, but is a fifth edition from 1617. A publisher obviously considered the play to either be popular enough to warrant a reprint, or saw

³⁰⁴ Ibid. fol. B3^r.

³⁰⁵ Ibid. fol. D2^r.

³⁰⁶ Ibid.

³⁰⁷ Ibid. fol. I4^r.

³⁰⁸ It should be noted that it is not the only play in the collection with a Biblical theme, the other notable example being George Peele's *The love of King David and fair Bethsabe* (London: Printed by Adam Islip, 1599)

³⁰⁹ Annaliese Connolly, 'Peele's *David and Bethsabe*: Reconsidering Biblical Drama of the Long 1590s'. *Early Modern Literary Studies* Special Issue 16 (October, 2007) 9.1-20<URL: <http://purl.oclc.org/emls/si-16/connpeel.htm>>. [accessed 11/12/2015], p.20.

an opening in the market for this kind of material.

There were no further quartos of *A Looking Glass for London and England* printed after the 1617 edition, but its presence in the Petworth collection indicates that some buyers were perhaps still interested in these themes and issues in the 1630s. The volume in which the quarto is found, volume 15, points towards the kind of interest that this play would have generated in the late 1630s. The plays in the volume have varied publishing dates ranging from 1602 to 1632, many of the quartos within are 2nd editions or beyond, and most of the plays have an original publishing date from some time around the turn of the 17th century. Although most of the quartos are relatively free of marks, one – a first edition of Marston's *Antonio's Revenge* (1602) – is very heavily marked and has a damaged title page. The majority of the plays were, in at least one sense, rather old at the time of the collection's purchase. However, the volume does contain one play which defies the trend, Shirley's *Changes or Love in a Maze* (1632). The presence of the Shirley play reinforced the opportunistic model of acquisition within the collection, but the rest of the quartos suggest that this particular bundle might have been selected by either the publisher or compiler (or both) with the notion of "older plays" in mind. Certainly, the themes of *A Looking Glass for London and England* fit well in a volume which seems to focus on the antiquated and old-fashioned.

Within the Petworth collection, *A Looking Glass for London and England* is one of the most explicit in its condemnation of reckless consumption and the dangers of alcohol. The idea does appear in other plays however, particularly those written at around the same time. *A Larum for London* (1602), has much in common with *A Looking Glass for London and England*, not least is the similarity between the titles.

Both are very explicit about the fact that they are to be interpreted by their audience as warnings, containing lessons to be directly applied to early 17th century London. They both set out the apparent consequences of pride, vanity and complacency.³¹⁰ *A Larum for London* depicts not a Biblical story, but recent history - the siege of Antwerp. The threat is also one which is close at hand: the Spanish. The play warns London about the violence of the Spanish, but also against the complacency that leaves a city vulnerable. The citizens of Antwerp are “drunke in their lodgings, and in reeling forth, The Spaniards (vnresisted) murder them”.³¹¹ Drinking has removed the ability of the residents of Antwerp to resist wholesale slaughter.

Drunkenness represents two kinds of physical danger in relation to the individual. It incites the drinker to do wrong, and invites wrong doing upon him. Hart wondered “as for quarrells, murthers, uncleannesse, and adulteries, who so ready to perpetrate any such sinne as a drunkard”, but also “how many dangers from without attend a drunken man”.³¹² For these early modern writers, the crux of the problem of drunkenness is the drinker’s inability to see beyond the instant gratification which alcohol brings. Towards the end of *A Looking Glass for London and England*, the clown comes onto the stage with “a bottle of beere” and “a great peece of beefe” when he should be fasting by order of the king, and is arrested and taken away to be executed as a result.³¹³ When warned of what his fate will be should he continue with his ways, he insists that he would “rather be hanged” than go five days without food or drink.³¹⁴ Like Faustus and Andelosia, and like the citizens of Antwerp, the clown demonstrates

³¹⁰ *A Larum for London* (London: Printed for William Ferbrand, 1602)<<https://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/eebo-99857242e>> [accessed 08 Feb 2016]

³¹¹ *A Larum for London*, fol. C2^r.

³¹² Hart, p. 130.

³¹³ Ibid. fol. I2^v.

³¹⁴ Ibid.

how consuming with only short term pleasure in mind can often have dangerous and potentially life-threatening consequences.

The plays explored so far in this chapter, all dating from the late 16th century or the first few years of the 17th century, reveal an attitude to consumption that is, more often than not, negative. There is a certain irony in the presence of these plays in a collection which was purchased as part of a deliberate programme of performed consumption. These plays warn of the potential dangers lurking in food and drink, and consumption as an activity often predicates misfortune or even death. As the 17th century progresses, a shift in the way that consumption is regarded occurs. The dangers do not disappear, but there are increasingly more scenes of innocuous or even positive consumption. The attitudes displayed in the plays written in the later decades begin to move more in line with the motives for the assembly of the collection itself. This movement towards an easier relationship with consumption can be seen in the staging of a consumable which was relatively new in the Jacobean period: tobacco. The substance is seen in a number of early 17th century plays, including Nathaniel Field's *Amends for Ladies* (1618) where it is mentioned and discussed a number of times, including in a tavern scene where a drawer enters "with wine, plate and tobacco"; Dekker's *The Honest Whore* (1604) where it is denounced by one character as making "your breath stink, like the pisse of a foxe"; and Beaumont's *The Knight of the Burning Pestle* (1613), in which the grocer's wife first complains that "tobacco kills men, would that there were none in England", but later closes the play by extending her hospitality to the actors and audience by inviting them to her house for "a pottle of wine and a pipe of tobacco".³¹⁵

³¹⁵ Nathaniel Field, *Amends for Ladies* (London: Printed by G. Eld, 1618) fol. E3v; Thomas Dekker, *The*

Tobacco makes a notable appearance in Barten Holyday's *Technogamia*.³¹⁶ The characters are mostly anthropomorphised "arts" or disciplines, and their costumes meticulously described. Phelegmatico, one of the four humours, is depicted as a smoker, dressed in a suit displaying images of men preparing and "taking" tobacco, a hat with Tobacco-pipes decorating it and "a Can of drinke hanging at his girdle".³¹⁷ As suggested by the costume, tobacco is aligned here with drinking - the stage directions indicate that Phlegmatico both takes tobacco and drinks from his can. He expresses his love for tobacco while outlining its many and varied virtues. A tobacco pipe is "the Chimney of perpetuall Hospitality", and the substance itself is described as a musician, a lawyer, a physician, a traveler, a critic, an "Ingnis fatuus" (a will-o'-the-wisp), and a "Whiffler".^{318 319} The term "whiffler" has a double meaning, referring to a kind of armed escort as well as a smoker of tobacco. The other sense is referred to in the song: "His Pipe's his Club and Linke; Hee's the visor that does drinke: Thus arm'd I feare not a lurie".³²⁰

Phlegmatico's song celebrates the diverse effects and origins of tobacco through its form as well as its words. It is filled with puns. As well as the aforementioned "whiffler", tobacco is a lawyer because "his pipes doe loue Long Cases", it is an *ingnis fatuus* because it "leads men about Till the Fire be Out".³²¹ Double meanings abound, which seems particularly apt for a discussion of tobacco, a

Honest Whore (London: Printed b Valentine Sims, 1604) <<https://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/eebo-99840962e>> [accessed 08 Feb 2016] fol. D1^r; Francis Beaumont, *The Knight of the Burning Pestle* (London: Printed by Nicholas Okes, 1613) <<https://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/eebo-99840287e>> [accessed 08 Feb 2016] fol. C1^r, K4^r.

³¹⁶ Barten Holyday, *Technogamia* (London: Printed by William Stansby, 1618) <<https://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/eebo-99839912e>> [04 Nov 2012].

³¹⁷ *Ibid.*, fol. D3^r.

³¹⁸ *Ibid.*, fols. D3^{r-v}.

³¹⁹ *Ibid.*

³²⁰ *Ibid.* fol. D3^v.

³²¹ *Ibid.* fols. D3^{r-v}.

substance so divisive and so difficult to categorize. In fact, tobacco is such an unknown quantity that none of the characters seem to know exactly what to do with it. Despite being a cheerful advocate of it, Phlegmatico cannot decide on one definition, and his master Logicus is even more confused. Angered at the Phlegmatico's song, Logicus "takes away his Pipe, breaks it, and beates him", cursing "A fire burne this Tobacco". In a final illustration of the paradoxical nature of tobacco, Phlegmatico replies "It would, if you would haue let it alone, Sir".³²² The defining characteristic of tobacco seems to be that it is in fact all things to all men; it is hard to define, impossible to pin down, but ultimately a substance associated with entertainment, puns and jokes, rather than malice.

Another Jacobean play with much to say on the matter of tobacco is the anonymous interlude *Wine, Beer, Ale and Tobacco*, which gives the reader a fascinating glimpse into 17th century tastes and attitudes with regard to alcohol and tobacco. The play features the titular characters "contending for superiority", as the subtitle puts it. Tobacco, "a swaggering gentleman" who joins the debate later than the other substances, makes no mention of his origins. Like the tobacco beloved of Holyday's Phlegmatico, it is hard to pin down. Tobacco's entrance towards the end of the play, once the other drinks have been assigned to their places, reflects the discovery and introduction of tobacco to early modern society. Even the relative newcomer beer was well established by the beginning of the 16th century, and part of everyday life for many by the early-17th, when the play was written. The characters in the play discuss what they will do about tobacco, but the more important question for the audience is what is to be done *with* tobacco. Tobacco considers himself to be a

³²² Ibid. fol. D3^v.

drink, pointing out to Wine that they both come out of a pipe, and highlighting how difficult he is to categorize.³²³ The aligning of tobacco with alcohol is common in early modern literature, and Jason Hughes suggests that tobacco was frequently compared to drinking primarily on account of its intoxicating effects. He notes that, unlike modern tobacco, it may actually have had a psychotropic effect, and that tobacco in the period was “considerably more potent than the species and varieties commonly used in the contemporary West”.³²⁴

As a newcomer to the society which he finds himself, tobacco has made pragmatic and insightful judgments, making the other drinks, traditional in both their opinions and their origins, appear in danger of becoming old fashioned. During the argument between Ale, Beer and Wine, the drinks are concerned largely with geography and history - Wine is a traveller since he has come from overseas, and he is “well borne”.³²⁵ Beer contests that he is the one who “goes abroad”, being found everywhere, unlike the elitist wine.³²⁶ Ale makes his claim for superiority based in part on his association with the locations of drinking - he argues that there are only alehouses, not beer- or winehouses. Tobacco is relatively unbothered by issues of origin, and indeed by issues of class, stating in his case for greatness that he is “growne to be the delight of poets and princes”.³²⁷ Concerned that “This ruffler may be troublesome”, the other drinks resolve to admit him to their society.³²⁸ Tobacco does pose a threat of sorts to them, but it is a threat that is best dealt with by assimilation rather than outright rejection. The play ends with a joyful dance, in which all the

³²³ Ibid., fol. C4^r.

³²⁴ Jason Hughes, *Learning to Smoke: Tobacco use in the West* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003) p. 48.

³²⁵ Ibid., fol. B2^v.

³²⁶ Ibid., fol. B2^r.

³²⁷ Ibid., fol. D2^r.

³²⁸ Ibid., fol. D2^r.

substances take part.

The edition of *Wine, Beer, Ale and Tobacco* in the Petworth collection is found in volume 6 and, as the title page proclaims, is a second “much enlarged” edition (see figure 3.7). As discussed in chapter 1, the date on the title page has been altered from 1630 to 1636.³²⁹ I have suggested that the alteration of the date was an attempt to make the volume seem newer, and therefore more appealing, to purchaser. In this case, it seems to have worked. The quarto is one of only two in the volume that shows any evidence of previous ownership, and the other - Massinger’s *The Picture* (1630) – has very little in the way of annotation. All of the quartos in the volume were printed in the 1630s, and Borough may well have been looking for more up to date plays when assembling this particular volume. The fact that a bookseller should try to pass this play off as more modern, and indeed that it should have reached a second edition – especially a “much enlarged” one – is revealing. It demonstrates that the performance of consumption and the discussion around the social importance of that performed consumption was considered by the playwright and printer to be relevant in 1630, and still considered current and potentially interesting to readers in the second half of the decade.

The treatment of consumables in *Technogamia* and *Wine, Beer, Ale and Tobacco* is something of a departure from the typical late Elizabethan treatment of food and drink seen in the plays discussed earlier in the chapter. Tobacco is still initially treated with a level of suspicion, but it does not ultimately pose a serious threat. Tobacco as a character and a prop is surrounded by uncertainty, difficult to define and perhaps slightly untrustworthy, but its consumption is not depicted in these plays as a

³²⁹ See page 83 (chapter 1)

harbinger of death and destruction, like ale in *A Looking Glass for London and England*, or as an indicator of immorality like the golden apples in *Old Fortunatus*. These plays demonstrate that, for some playwrights working in the first few decades of the 17th century at least, consumption was not necessarily the deeply troubling concept it had been for some late 16th century writers. To counter this, it is worth noting that the 1617 quarto – a fifth edition - of *A Looking Glass for London and England* in the collection indicates that this shift towards more nuanced and even permissive attitudes to performed consumption was not a sudden or unilateral one.

Communities of consumption: Massinger's *The Great Duke of Florence* (volume 4) and Randolph's *Arristipus* (volume 6)

Some of the earlier plays in the period covered by the Petworth collection demonstrate a rather negative view of consumption, one which is frequently bound up with visual attractiveness and its perceived untrustworthiness. This gradually gives way in the early 17th century to a more nuanced view, as shown in the depiction of tobacco in several plays as an entity which, while not entirely wholesome, does not carry quite the same level of risk. *Wine, Beer, Ale and Tobacco* in particular humorously plays on ideas about the effects of alcohol and stereotypes about various kinds of drinks. Before Tobacco arrives to upset the order of things, the quarrel between Wine, Beer and Ale is resolved by Water, who that each drink should retire to his own domain. Wine, he suggests “shall be in most request among Courtiers, Gallants, Gentlemen, Poeticall wits”. Beer “shall bee in most grace with the Citizens”, while Ale belongs in “the Countrie as more fit to liue where you were bred”.³³⁰ These allegiances have been

³³⁰ *Wine, Beer, Ale and Tobacco. Contending for superiority. A Dialogue* (London: Thomas Cotes, 1630)

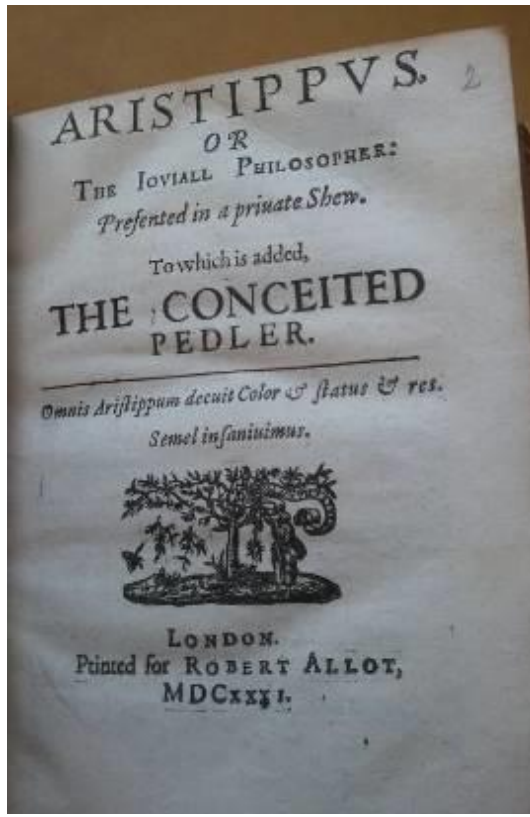


Figure 3.8 *The Great Duke of Florence* in volume 4. By permission of The National Trust.

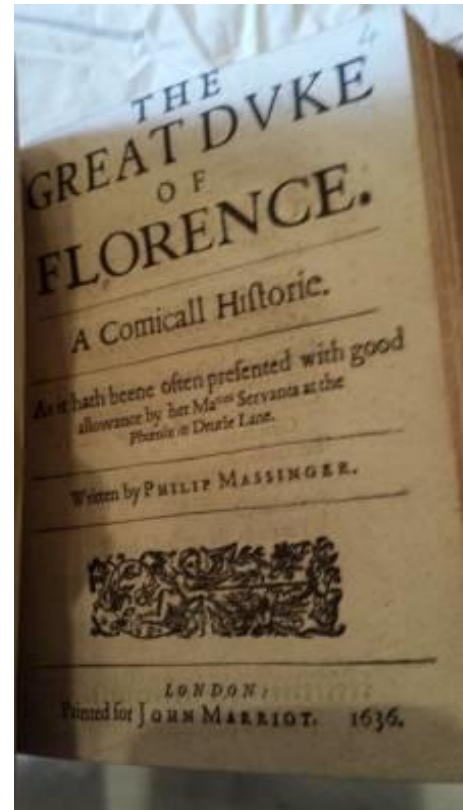


Figure 3.9 *Aristippus* in volume 6. By permission of The National Trust.

signposted to the audience from the beginning on the play, the *dramatis personae* describes Wine as “a gentleman”, beer as “a citizen” and ale as “a countrey-man”.³³¹ It is likely that this is a costume suggestion as well as a general description of character. The consumption of food and drink in Philip Massinger’s *The Great Duke of Florence* (1636) is similarly aligned with location, functioning as a marker for, and perhaps as a definer of, communities based on geography and social class.³³² Many characters in the play are concerned on some level with the difference between court and country life. For Calandrino, the servant of the protagonist and the comic relief of the play, his shifting allegiance between the two is the key element of his sub plot, and indeed his

<<https://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/eebo-99838569e>> [accessed 08 Feb 2016]. fol. C2^r.

³³¹ *Wine, Beer, Ale and Tobacco*. fol. A3^v.

³³² Philip Massinger, *The Great Duke of Florence* (London: Printed by Miles Flesher, 1636) <<https://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/eebo-99847674e>> [23 May 2012].

character. When he is sent to the court, the lifelong country dweller worries about the fact that “the very place transformes men”. Calandrino’s concerns reveal several perceived differences between court and country food, and consequently between court and country life. He fears that a country man who once “Liv’d honestly in the Country, on plaine Sallads” will “turne Knave” after spending time at court. Country food is “plaine”, simple and, in the case of salad, uncooked, unlike the “Custards and Court Cakebread” that he will be forced to consume at court. Country life, likewise, is “honest” - untempered by lies and showiness.³³³

Massinger uses food in the play to characterize the difference between court and country life, a major theme of the play. Lidia, the love interest of the hero, is repeatedly referred to in terms of her country origins - this is generally seen by the characters as a negative trait. Her father, when describing her to another character whose intentions he is wary of, says “’Tis a plain Village Girle Sir, but obedient, That’s her best beauty Sir”, and Lidia describes herself in these terms too, saying “I was not bred in Court, not live a starre there, Nor shine in rich embroideries, and pearles daughter”.³³⁴ One of her many suitors in the play, when attempting to play down and even disguise her attractiveness, tells another that “it may be she was look’d on With admiration in the Country Sir, But of compar’d with many in your Court, She would appeare but ordinary”.³³⁵

In Massinger’s play, the extreme veering between the customs of the court and country that Calandrino enacts is very much played for laughs. He is at first wary of a move to court, but he soon embraces court life becoming comically haughty and overly

³³³ Ibid., B4^r.

³³⁴ Massinger, fols. E1^{r-v}.

³³⁵ Ibid., fol. F3^r.

concerned with manners. He talks at length about his elaborate clothing: a ruff, a hooded cloak, long stockings and hose and a “Case of tooth-picks, and my silver forke To convey an Olive neatly to my mouth”.³³⁶ His transformation is noted by his friends who lament that they “feare the Court hath spoil’d him”.³³⁷ Calandrino’s new courtly approach to food requires the intervention of culture and mediation, he now deems it necessary to use a fork to eat an olive. As Edward Muir writes in *Ritual in Early Modern Europe*, by the sixteenth century “among the middle and upper classes, table manners and banqueting etiquette became important markers of social distinction”.³³⁸ Before he leaves for the country he asks Giovanni for “A subtill Court charme, to defend me from Th infectious ayre of the Country”, explaining that “this Court ayre taught me knavish wit, By which I am growne rich, if that againe Should turne me foole and honest; Vaine hopes farewell, For I must die a beggar”.³³⁹ This is a direct inversion of his earlier concern that the court will make him “turn knave”, now his greatest wish is that he does not turn revert to his country state.

Although Calandrino’s actions and attitudes do reinforce the differences between the court and the country, shown elsewhere in the play in a more serious manner, they simultaneously satirise both those who adhere too closely to these restrictions imposed by place, and those who fear of the transformative power of food and drink shown in earlier plays. None of the other characters undergo such a radical change when moving between the two places. It is really Calandrino’s own initial resolution to “follow the fashion, or die a beggar” which effects a change in him, rather

³³⁶ Ibid., fols. G2^{r-v}.

³³⁷ Ibid., G3^r.

³³⁸ Edward Muir, *Ritual in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 2005) p. 138

³³⁹ Massinger, fol. G2^v.

than anything he consumes.³⁴⁰ It is not so much what Calandrino consumes, but how he performs that consumption – with his silver fork, for example – that marks him as a courtly man, or at least his interpretation as a courtly man. *The Great Duke of Florence*, then, shows Massinger begin to construct a caricature of the self-conscious performer of consumption, men such as Algernon Percy, all the while acknowledging the very real differences between court and country living.

The self-awareness evident in Massinger's play is also present in a significant way in Thomas Randolph's *Aristippus, or The Jovial Philosopher*.³⁴¹ Randolph's play is aimed at a university audience, it was written by a student and originally performed by a university cast. It takes as its subject the relationship between learning, writing and consuming alcohol. Unlike his predecessors, Randolph shows little real negativity towards consumption, playfully exploring the links between food, drink, the sacred and the profane. What might have been dangerous territory for Elizabethan playwrights becomes a rich ground for comedy in the Caroline period. As well as being an ancient philosopher and pupil of Socrates, Aristippus was also a nickname for a popular early modern alcoholic drink: "canary" wine. In Randolph's play a student, Simplicus, comes to a tavern seeking philosophical enlightenment. As in *Wine, Beer, Ale and Tobacco*, double meanings are rife, and much of the humour again comes from conflating the drink with the drinker, which is in itself a form of transformation. The parallel between the religious and social rituals of alcohol is made explicit in a ritual of induction which Simplicus is invited to take part in. He is instructed to make various vows and when

³⁴⁰ Ibid., fol. B4r.

³⁴¹ Thomas Randolph, *Aristippus, or the Jovial Philosopher* (London: Printed for Robert Allot, 1631) <<https://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/eebo-ocm23066495e>> [accessed 23 Aug 2013].

asked to “Kisse the booke”, Simplicus obliges by drinking wine.³⁴² There is an obvious religious overtone to his oath, “the booke” in question can easily be interpreted as the Bible, though of course it could also be read as the writings of Aristippus himself, or indeed to any book of learning. This particular line is most likely also a reference to *The Tempest*, as Stephano says this same line several times as he drinks.

The prologue is spoken by a character of the same name who, complete with a magic circle and language evocative of demons, laments the “long-dead Show”.³⁴³ Prologue entreats the audience:

Be not deceiu’d, I haue no bended knees,
No supple tongue, nor speeches steep’d in Oyle,
No candied flattery, nor honied words³⁴⁴

In his rejection of consumption metaphors, of making his speech slippery and sweet, he gives credence to the notion that metaphorical and allegorical speech has a powerful transformative effect, on both his own words and on the emotional effects they have on his listeners. Prologue opts instead for much more overtly ritualistic and symbolic language: he claims that his “sacred charmes and mystick skill” will release Show from his “Marble prison”³⁴⁵. Imagery of Greek and Roman mythology abound: Mercury, Tithonus, the river Lethe, the Furies.

Consumption is on Prologue’s agenda from the beginning, and he tells Show that he will invite the audience “To sit and taste, and to accept thy Cates”.³⁴⁶ The use of “cates” rather than “food” or similar, is intriguing, the OED identifies the term as specifically referring to “Provisions or victuals bought, (as distinguished from, and

³⁴² Ibid. p. 10.

³⁴³ Randolph, p. 1.

³⁴⁴ Ibid.

³⁴⁵ Ibid.

³⁴⁶ Randolph, p.3.

usually more delicate and dainty than, those of home production)".³⁴⁷ The specific sense of the word suggests that Show has not produced the show at all, but is merely acting as a middle man.

The "Cates" we receive from Show, or perhaps Randolph, as the audience or reader, constantly subvert our expectations as play consumers. Simplicus, in his first appearance, becomes confused when presented with wine, having asked for Aristippus, apparently having expected "The great Philosopher lately come hither".³⁴⁸ The audience at this point may well assume that Aristippus is not a character in the play at all, but that it really is just a drink. When Simplicus tells the drawer that he is looking for the *philosopher* Aristippus, the drawer fetches two scholars. The scholars talk about Aristippus in language typical of allegorical personification: "Night and day he powres forth his instructions, and fills you out of measure"³⁴⁹. As the play progresses Aristippus moves from being a passive object presented to Simplicus by the drawer to an active presence on the stage. Before he can take the stage, however, Aristippus must be discussed and thereby constructed by his followers. Through them, he is given a voice and a presence as they attribute various actions to him. "Hee'll make the eyes of your vnderstanding see double, and teach you to speake fluently, and vtter your minde in abundance" they say, describing the effects of alcohol in such a way that give agency to the drink, rendering the drinker as the sentence's patient.³⁵⁰

Maureen Quilligan argues that allegory, more so than any other genre, is fundamentally concerned with language, and, specifically, that "allegories are about

³⁴⁷ "Cate, n.1". OED Online. (Oxford University Press, September 2012)
<<http://www.oed.com.ezproxy.sussex.ac.uk/view/Entry/28837?isAdvanced=false&result=1&rskey=gP1bi5&>> [accessed 03 November 2012].

³⁴⁸ Randolph, p. 4.

³⁴⁹ Ibid. p. 6.

³⁵⁰ Randolph, p. 6.

the making of allegory in extremely specific ways”.³⁵¹ The function of allegory is to mimick “not life but the life of the mind”, and the allegorist uses “that system of signs which retrieves for us the process of intellection”.³⁵² As a play, Randolph’s *Arristipus* enacts for us the creation of character, of theatre, and of allegory on the stage. Fundamental to this ritual of creation, as it is to Simplicus’ transformation into a follower of Aristippus, is consumption – specifically the consumption of wine. This is illustrated by the scholars, followers of Aristippus, who sing the following song:

Giue vs then a Cup of liquor,
Fill it vp vnto the brim,
For then me thinkes my wits grow quicker
When my braines in liquor swim³⁵³

Randolph praises the power of wine to facilitate creativity. We see this creativity in action as we witness the summoning of a show and an allegorical character, and in the closing song the scholars declare that they will “flock hither, To drink to fling, To laugh and sing, Conferring our notes together”.³⁵⁴ The “conferring of notes”, an intellectual pursuit, is conflated with drinking, laughing and singing, and the flocking “hither” to the tavern. Modern research on alcohol culture reveals that drinkers feel that “drinking loosens inhibitions, offers the opportunity for creative and innovative thinking”, and Randolph and his fellow Cambridge scholars evidently recognised this phenomenon.³⁵⁵

The scholars’ description of the ways in which drinking facilitates intellectualism in terms which could just as easily describe the process of reading allegory: the eyes “see double”, drinkers are taught to “speake fluently”, and they will

³⁵¹ Maureen Quilligan, *The Language of Allegory* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992) p. 15.

³⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 42.

³⁵³ Randolph, p. 5.

³⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

³⁵⁵ Mark Jayne, Gill Valentine and Sarah L. Holloway, *Alcohol, Drinking, Drunkenness: (Dis)Orderly Spaces* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2011), p. 116.

become especially talkative and “vtter [their] minde in abundance”.³⁵⁶ “Seeing double” is a particularly revealing pun, since allegory requires of its readers an ability to see two meanings. Indeed, Quilligan situates punning as central to the language of allegory: “The pun, by alerting the reader to the magic density of the text’s language, will force the reader to become self-conscious of his own reading”.³⁵⁷ For the audience, the pleasure of viewing the play lies in the recognising of these parallels of performed consumption, particularly in relation to their own lives – the play is a university drama written for a university audience. The entire play hinges on the various ways in which we consume, how those ways are linked to and feed into each other, and how we conceptualise that consumption. It demonstrates how this self-conscious consuming can create bonds, and in doing so it creates bonds among the self-conscious consumers in the audience. In *Aristippus*, Randolph speaks directly to an audience that wants to think about, and laugh about, the ways in which consumption is performed and the effects that performing and consuming can have on them.

Hospitality and morality: Heywood’s *Loves Maistress* (volume 1) and Shirley’s *The Lady of Pleasure* (volume 4)

As the plays discussed earlier in the chapter have shown, around the turn of the 17th century consumption was often conflated with morality: the sins of Ninevah are associated with excess and drunkenness, Faustus consumes knowledge in a transgressive manner, and Andelocia’s choice of Vice’s apples reflects his greed. In the drama of the 1630s, consumption and morality interact in different ways. The two plays discussed in this section are concerned with the relationship between morality

³⁵⁶ Ibid. p. 6.

³⁵⁷ Quilligan, p. 41.

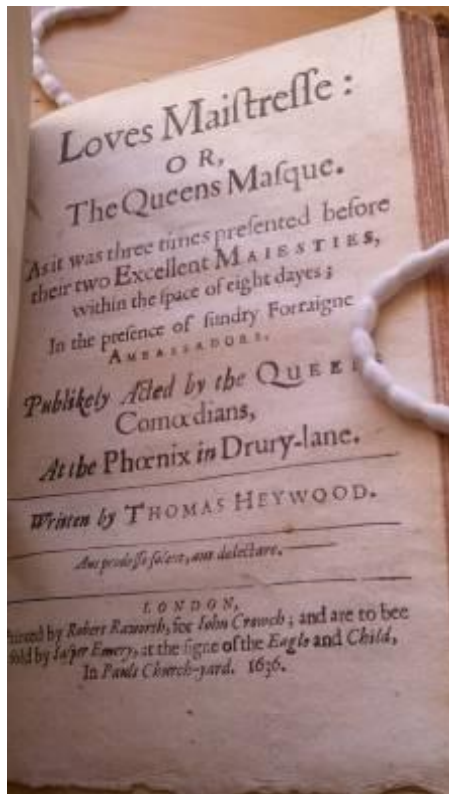


Figure 3.10 *Love's Maistresse* in volume 1. By permission of The National Trust.



Figure 3.11 *The Lady of Pleasure* in volume 4. By permission of The National Trust.

and hospitality, commenting on what it means to be a good host, and a good guest. Hospitality functions as a kind of performed consumption. It was an important concern for the aristocracy and gentry of the early modern period and was a key part of life. Entertainment, in its many guises, allowed the host to demonstrate his capacity for consumption by inviting his guests to involve themselves in it. Heywood's 1637 masque *Love's Maistresse* deals with the issue of the morality and etiquette of the guest, while Shirley's 1635 play *The Lady of Pleasure* is focussed largely on the morality of the host.³⁵⁸

Hospitality as a concept is bound up with the conventions of giving. Any

³⁵⁸ Thomas Heywood, *Love's Maistresse or The Queens Masque* (London: Printed by Robert Raworth, 1636) <<https://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/eebo-99841870e>> [accessed 01 March 2016]; James Shirley, *The Lady of Pleasure* (London: Printed by Thomas Cotes, 1637) <<https://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/eebo-99852586e>> [accessed 08 Feb 2016].

discussion of the nature of gift giving necessarily begins with Marcel Mauss's seminal 1923 text *Essai sur le don*,³⁵⁹ in which the practice and perception of exchange in a number of societies is described and explored. Mauss presents gift giving as a highly personalised form of exchange, setting out the idea that something that is given as a gift, once given, is linked in a significant way to the giver, and that "to give something is to give a part of oneself".³⁶⁰ Mauss stresses the cultural importance of the gift, particularly its ability to create and reinforce relationships, although he recognizes that the gift can be in some cases "dangerous to accept", since it "constitutes an irrevocable link" between the giver and the receiver.³⁶¹ A gift relationship is primarily one which concerns an ongoing bond and relationship between the giver and receiver, for better or for worse. A commodity transaction, as described by James G. Carrier, takes place when "people who are free and independent bind themselves only temporarily when they contract to transact with each other, and ... when the transaction is completed the parties resume their former independence".³⁶² Gift transactions, on the other hand, are obligatory, but "this is not the kind of obligation that can be discharged by fulfilling it. Instead, fulfilling the obligation recreates it by reaffirming the relationship".³⁶³ Hospitality is a kind of gift relationship, whereby both host and guest are expected to reciprocally offer and receive food, entertainment and shelter.

Psyche, the heroine of Thomas Heywood's *Love's Maistress* is cautious about her entry into a gift relationship with her initially unseen husband and captor. The play,

³⁵⁹ Marcel Mauss, *The Gift: Forms and Functions of Exchange in Archaic Societies*. Trans. Ian Cunnison. (Oxford: Taylor & Francis, 1970).

³⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

³⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 58.

³⁶² Carrier, James G. *Gifts and Commodities: Exchange and Western Capitalism Since 1700*. (London: Routledge, 1995). p. 23.

³⁶³ *Ibid.*

drawing mainly on Apuleius, is a retelling the tale of Cupid and Psyche. In his introductory address to the “Generous Reader”, Heywood is upfront about the instructive nature of his play, calling it “an excellent Morral, if truly understood, and may be called a golden Truth, contained in a leaden fable”.³⁶⁴ Heywood explicitly tells his audience that, if they interpret the play correctly, they will learn something from it.

In the play, Psyche ascends a mountain alone to meet her as-yet unknown husband. She has been warned that he is inhuman and has the face of a serpent. Her husband is in fact Cupid, who has been instructed by his mother to take Psyche for his bride in the guise of “some ill shapen drudge”.³⁶⁵ Psyche finds the bower filled with the trappings of hospitality and entertainment, appealing to all of her senses. Her ear “drinks sounds of heaven-tun’d Instruments”, she feels “soft fingers set [her] down”, and she is presented with a miraculous banquet, described in the stage directions as “first plain, and presently set out with all delicates”.³⁶⁶ The slow presentation of the banquet mirrors the course-based structure of an early modern meal or entertainment culminating in the banquet course. Even the final course itself, made up of various small delicacies and drinks, was not served all at once. C. Anne Wilson points out that early modern household guides describe “the order in which each kind of sweetmeat is to be carried in and laid out”.³⁶⁷ The gradual presentation of food also mirrors the structure of a play, with numerous acts being literally “set out” before the audience as the set is changed. Psyche, her senses in conflict, expresses her confusion, saying “I

³⁶⁴ Heywood, 1637. fol. A2^r.

³⁶⁵ Ibid., C1^r.

³⁶⁶ Ibid., B4^v.

³⁶⁷ C. Anne Wilson, ‘The Evolution of the Banquet Course’ in *Banquetting Stuffe* ed. C. Anne Wilson (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1991), pp. 9-35. p. 33.

fain would touch these sweets, but fear to taste them".³⁶⁸ It is not hunger that inspires Psyche to want to eat the banquet, but curiosity, desire and sensuality. It is the "taste" that she fears, rather than the eating, and she is suspicious of not only her unseen host but also of her own motives. Christopher Meads notes how the banquet is often linked with the erotic, particularly in "scenes which equate sexual appetite with that of the stomach".³⁶⁹

Psyche's confusion at the banqueting scene continues. She is encouraged by an echo to taste the banquet, and counsels herself that the "gods will do no harm" so she should "taste this heavenly food".³⁷⁰ The repetition of the echo mirrors the repetition inherent in the gift relationship. Mauss's observation that "to give something is to give a part of oneself" is especially relevant here.³⁷¹ Before her ascent to the mountain, Psyche is warned that "The way is dangerous, thou wilt loose thy selfe Without a guide".³⁷² Once in the bower, she identifies her role in the entertainment saying, "I am forc'd by sweet compulsion, to be the onely guest of this fair board".³⁷³ It is the consequences of entering into a reciprocal relationship which concerns her. Psyche's sisters give voice to her fears, saying that Cupid will "[dull] thy taste with sweetes, thy eyes with shewes/they eares with musicke and sweete lullabie". They warn that he will eventually devour her, drawing a direct parallel between the act of consuming Cupid's offerings and what they perceive to be the obvious consequence: being consumed by him. According to Psyche's sisters, all the trappings of a traditional entertainment - the banquet, the masque or play and the music - are to be treated with suspicion, and

³⁶⁸ Heywood, B4^v.

³⁶⁹ Meads, p. 89.

³⁷⁰ Heywood, fol. B4^v.

³⁷¹ Maus, p. 10.

³⁷² Heywood, fol. C2^r.

³⁷³ Ibid., fol. B4^v.

their effects on the senses are neither enlightening nor enriching, but rather conceal the truth in some way. If Psyche accepts Cupid's gifts, she will end up literally having to make a gift of herself.

Psyche's fears eventually overwhelm her and she attempts to murder Cupid, who reacts angrily to her betrayal, saying "How durst thou violate my dread command... for all these favors, wouldst thou murder me?".³⁷⁴ Cupid is horrified by the idea of "repaying" kindness with murder, contrary to the suspicions of Psyche's sisters. In fact, what he actually hoped to gain from the gift relationship was a wife who would obey his "command". Loyalty and obedience were the gifts he sought in the reciprocal exchange. He orders her to be clothed in "torn rags" and returned to her father.³⁷⁵ Psyche's ingratitude and, moreover, her misinterpretation of the gift relationship, has left her with nothing. Unlike Dekker's *Old Fortunatus*, the moral here is not that the eye is easily deceived, but rather that it is generally best to take offered gifts at face value, show gratitude, and act in a socially appropriate way.

For the audience witnessing the play, this moral would have been a familiar and relevant one. Indeed, their very status as audience members puts them in Psyche's difficult position. The prologue, presented by Cupid, immediately frames the play in the contexts of entertainment and hospitality. He describes how Roman hosts would "untile" their rooves and have their guests lowered down "in Artificial Cloudes", believing that their "doors were all too base, and vile To entertain them".³⁷⁶ Cupid tells the audience that although they cannot be accommodated in this way - they must use the "publike gate" - they are "as welcome" as those Roman guests. There is a playful

³⁷⁴ Ibid., fol. F2^r.

³⁷⁵ Ibid.

³⁷⁶ Ibid., fol. A3^r.

irony in this statement, since Cupid himself has been lowered down “in a cloud”. This serves to remind the audience that the players, rather than the audience themselves, are taking precedence, assuming authority for a time “as gods from heaven descending”.³⁷⁷ For the reader of the printed quarto - and for the first audiences themselves - the “entertainment” framing comes even earlier, since the title pages states that the play was “three times presented before their two Excellent Maesties, within the space of eight dayes; In the presence of sundry Forrainge Ambassadors” (see figure 3.10). The foregrounding of this information on the title page highlights the importance of hospitality not only to the plot of the play, but also to the circumstances of its performance. A second prologue describes the first occasion on which the play was performed, when “Her Majesty inviting the King to Denmark House, in the Strand, upon His Birth-day, being November the 19 This Play (bearing from that time) the Title of the Queens Masque, was again presented before Him”, and a further prologue describes another occasion, this time with Cupid inviting the audience to be the “Judges” of the play and to attend “this banquet Accademicall”.³⁷⁸ Throughout these paratexts the play is offered up to its theatre audience and readers as something to be consumed, tying the play not only into the idea of performance, but specifically to entertainment and hospitality, which, given the subject of the play lends it a particularly self-reflexive overtone.

The play’s framing device is Midas hearing the story from Apuleius, and it ends with the former complaining that he does not appreciate the moral. Apuleius responds that he is stupid and ignorant. Cupid himself arrives to arbitrate, telling the audience that they are welcome to judge the play as they see fit, although he draws a parallel

³⁷⁷ Ibid.

³⁷⁸ Ibid., fol. B1^r.

between the “apt and dull” and those who are “pleas’d and displeas’d”, indicating that those who are displeased have misunderstood somehow.³⁷⁹ Cupid’s parting words reference the coming of Spring, calling to mind once again the idea of plenty and abundance, the gifts that nature brings forth. To deny these gifts, to deny hospitality as Psyche does, to reject the offering of the play as entertainment - or rather to have accepted it and then rejected it - from Heywood and the performers, is much more problematic than the desire to indulge. Heywood presents consumption not as a negative activity, but, if performed in the proper context with the proper reciprocity observed, the action of a grateful, loving and wise person. The play suggests the tyranny of the gift relationship, and the importance of social pressure on the performance of consumption. Psyche, before her eventual redemption, is the ultimate ungrateful guest - her mistake is failing to appreciate that her host is proving his worth through his hospitality and magnanimity, and responding accordingly with gratitude and trust. The audience, should they dislike the play, are failing in the same way. While *The Queen’s Masque* can be read as a discourse on the virtues of being a gracious guest, encouraging its audience to accept the entertainment they are currently receiving gratefully (thus honouring the social contract of the gift relationship), Shirley’s *The Lady of Pleasure* offers another approach to the question of the moral value of consumption. This time, it is the question of the host’s morality rather than the guest’s which is discussed. At the heart of the play are two women: Aretina, the unfaithful wife of Sir Thomas Bornwell whose life is filled with pleasure and excess, and Celestina, a young widow whom Bornwell attempts to woo in order to provoke jealousy in his wife. Celestina is objectively a more honest and pleasant character, but

³⁷⁹ Ibid., fol. M1^v.

she is not, as the reader or playgoer might expect, the moral opposite of Aretina. She too is interested in pleasurable pursuits, many of which mirror Aretina's interests.

In the few instances where critics have discussed *The Lady of Pleasure*, they have tended to offer a comparison between the two leading female characters, discussing consumption as a key theme. Writing in 1914, Hanson T. Parlin claimed that "it is impossible for us to think that Shirley is satirizing the life of the leisure classes in this play" since he has "too much sympathy with this life himself". "At most", he says, Shirley is "merely laughing at social excess".³⁸⁰ It is certainly true that Shirley's comedy can hardly be considered to be biting satire, but the proximity of the author to the lifestyle in question does not necessarily preclude a somewhat critical attitude to it. Editors and critics writing more recently have identified satirical and critical elements. Ronald Huebert suggests that conspicuous consumption, or prodigality as it is termed in the play, "governs the social behaviour of the characters in the play with such alarming tyranny as to suggest that Shirley is observing and commenting on a pattern of life in the London society he knew".³⁸¹ Julie Sanders runs with Huebert's "perception of Celestina's way of life as being equally hazardous [as Aretina's]" linking the danger to Celestina's "secular mode of practice" and reading this as an endorsement of the "devout humanist brand of Platonism" associated with Queen Henrietta Maria.³⁸²

The two women at the centre of *The Lady of Pleasure* represent different approaches to consumption, revealing that the act itself is not inherently wrong, or dangerous, but that the social constraints within which women are placed, and which

³⁸⁰ Hanson T. Parlin, 'A Study in Shirley's Comedies of London Life' in *Studies in English*, No. 2 (November 15, 1914) pp. 1-68. p. 14.

³⁸¹ Ronald Huebert, 'Introduction' in James Shirley, *The Lady of Pleasure*. Ed. Ronald Huebert (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986). p. 6.

³⁸² Julie Sanders, 'Caroline Salon Culture and Female Agency: The Countess of Carlisle, Henrietta Maria, and Public theatre' in *Theatre Journal*, Vol. 52, No. 4 (Dec. 2000), pp. 449-464. pp. 462-3. <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/25068845>> [accessed 05 March 2015].

centre around consumption, can provoke dangerous behaviour simply because the options available to these consuming women are so limited. In Sanders's analysis of Caroline Drama she aligns the theatre of the period with a "redressing of social imbalances [which] had its impact on gender as well as class relationships".³⁸³ Shirley in particular, being "very much part of [Henrietta Maria's] feminocentric Catholic coterie at the court, is identified as being particularly sympathetic to women".³⁸⁴ Although Aretina's behaviour and attitude to consumption is not explicitly condoned, on the whole *The Lady of Pleasure* does demonstrate Shirley's sympathetic attitude.

Aretina is, according to her long-suffering and scornful Steward, "a woman of an ungovern'd passion".³⁸⁵ The play opens with Aretina's move to the city, since she has become dissatisfied and bored with "the countrey conversation".³⁸⁶ Aretina's steward reminds her that although she scorns the countryside now, she once "liv'd there, Secure, and innocent, beloved of all, Praised for [her] hospitality".³⁸⁷ This early mention of "hospitality" draws attention to the idea of a permissible, even honourable form of consumption, which will become a key theme in the play.

In the first scene of the play, Aretina's despairing husband, Bornwell, delivers a long tirade against her, listing her indulgences. Interestingly, one of the many charges which Bornwell levies against his wife is that she has been collecting artworks, criticising Aretina for her "gaudy furniture and pictures, Of this Italian Master, and that Dutchmnas [sic], Your might looking-glasses like Artillery; ... the superfluous plate /

³⁸³ Julie Sanders, *Caroline Drama* (Devon: Northcote House, 1999). p.29.

³⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

³⁸⁵ Shirley, *The Lady of Pleasure*. fol. B1^v.

³⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, B1^r.

³⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

Anticke and novell, vanities of tires".³⁸⁸ Huebert reads Bornwell's argument here as "cogent and persuasive, all the more so because they bear the stamp of personal conviction", aligning the character's views with Shirley's own.³⁸⁹ Although Bornwell identifies the link between collection and identity, or rather the presentation of the self, by categorising these collected items of art alongside "looking glasses" and naming them as "vanities" he comes across as somewhat old-fashioned. He reduces the works of the grand masters to "pictures" of "this" and "that" artist, equating them to "gaudy furniture", seeing no difference between new and old.

If Aretina's flaw is overindulgence, then Bornwell's is a lack of engagement with conspicuous consumption, and a failure to understand its purpose and benefits. There is perhaps some truth in Aretina's criticism that her husband "vay'le[s], [his] avaritious meaning with handsome names of modesty, and thrift".³⁹⁰ Bornwell is jealous not only of the lovers he suspects his wife of having, but of her capacity for pleasure. She points out that Bornwell seeks to "intrench and wound the liberty I was born with" and that "the practice and tract of every honourable Lady authorise[s]" her to behave as she does, to consume and to seek pleasure.³⁹¹ Aretina's choices as a 17th century noblewoman are certainly limited - she has done the only thing she can do to secure her place in society: marry. Although Bornwell criticises his wife for spending money on "supper for my Lord your kinsman, Banquets for tother Lady, aunt, and cozens", these entertainments do contribute to the household, as Aretina points out.³⁹² She accuses Bornwell of narrow-mindedness, and calls him "a theefe To his owne fame,

³⁸⁸ Ibid., B2^r.

³⁸⁹ Huebert, p. 9.

³⁹⁰ Shirley, *The Lady of Pleasure*. 1637. B3^r.

³⁹¹ Ibid.

³⁹² Ibid., fol.B2^r.

and his preferment too”, insisting that the popularity achieved through her entertainments will lead to “imployment in the state”.³⁹³ Later in the play, Celestina echoes these ideas, telling her Steward of her plans to “Be hospitable then, and spare no cost” with the intention of causing her guests to “trumpet forth [her] bounty and [her] bravery”.³⁹⁴ Both women ultimately see consumption as a tool to secure their futures, in Aretina’s case through advancing her husband’s career, and in Celestina’s case by ensuring her ongoing popularity and place in society.

There are so many similarities between Aretina and Celestina that at times they seem to highlight the absurdity inherent in a social system which places such importance on conspicuous consumption while simultaneously demonising those who overindulge. It is established early in the play that Celestina enjoys pleasurable pursuits such as singing, dancing and playing the lute, but also that she “games too [and] keeps a table”.³⁹⁵ Aretina also enjoys gambling; Bornwell wishes that his wife “would not game so much”.³⁹⁶ Celestina is praised by another male character for being “full of Jewels” and for the “grace and ornament” of her clothes.³⁹⁷ Bornwell, meanwhile, complains about the “gayetie” of Aretina’s wardrobe, and “jewells Able to burne out the Spectators eyes”.³⁹⁸ What is a negative trait in Aretina becomes a positive one in Celestina when seen through the eyes of the men in the play.

Eventually, Bornwell resolves to provoke Aretina into mending her ways. One of his tactics is to emulate her excessive consumption by playing dice, indulging in

³⁹³ *Ibid.*, fol. B3^r.

³⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, fol. C2^v.

³⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, fol. B4^v.

³⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, fol. B2^v.

³⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, fol. B4^v.

³⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, fol. B2^r.

tobacco smoking and generally spending large amounts of money.³⁹⁹ Aretina is evidently bothered by this competitive consumption, and subsequently enters into a battle of wits with Bornwell where each threatens to engage in increasingly ridiculous levels of consumption. Bornwell's announcement that he has "invited a covey of Ladies, and as many gentlemen" to enjoy music and dancing with him is countered by Aretina's declaration that "halfe the court" will be coming to their residence for dinner and a play. Bornwell tells her that his party will continue to a Dutch tavern where they will consume "strange wine" and various foods, and Aretina's entreats him to join her at the ball and "rich banquet" she has planned for her guests. Bornwell threatens Aretina's reputation as a lady of pleasure by becoming a man of pleasure himself - her public face depends upon her ability to entertain and display her spending more ostentatiously than anyone else. Her role in the Bornwell household is to be visible; to entertain and host. A challenge to this behaviour from her husband, in a separate entertainment rather than one which compliments hers, undermines her and makes her role redundant. Bornwell's final blow, however, is his announcement that with this level of spending they will be bankrupt in little more than a month, at which Aretina, already unsettled from the consumption-related battle of wits, realises that "If [they] both waste to fast, we shall soone finde our state is not immortall", and resolves to reign in her habits.⁴⁰⁰

Ostensibly, it is the "ungovern'd" nature of Aretina's "passion" – excessive and therefore transgressive - rather than the passion itself that is the problem. She is put in her place by the end of the play and emerges with a more tempered attitude to consumption. However, by contrasting Aretina with the very similar Celestina, Shirley

³⁹⁹ Ibid., fol. H4^r.

⁴⁰⁰ Ibid., fol. I1^v.

points out that Aretina's behaviour is a not entirely unsurprising response to the situation afforded to her by her birth into a particular class and gender. The play demonstrates the importance of performed consumption, and also shows how an awareness of its function is essential to negotiating the social terrain. Aretina, although she makes mistakes, ultimately shows that she has a better understanding that her husband does of the function of performed consumption. It is only through joining her in excessive consumption, however short-lived this is, that Bornwell is able to resolve the situation. While it may not be an emphatic, out-and-out send up of the upper classes, *The Lady of Pleasure* subtly highlights the absurdities and contradictions inherent in attitudes to consumption in 1630s high society, revealing performed consumption to be a complex concept, yet one which is integral to the daily life of the upper classes.

It is useful to consider the copy of *The Lady of Pleasure* in the Petworth collection in relation to Shirley's gentle critique of performed consumption and its role in society. The quarto is found in volume 4, which contains one other play by Shirley, four by Heywood, and Massinger's *The Great Duke of Florence*, discussed earlier in this chapter. Most of the quartos are first editions, printed in the 1630s. As is the case with many of the volumes, it also contains one quarto which does not fit with the pattern: the anonymous play *Mucedorus*, which, although the quarto in the collection was published in 1636, was by that time in its 14th edition, the first having been published in 1594. Heywood's *The Brazen Age* is also somewhat anomalous, having been published in 1613. It is rather telling that *The Lady of Pleasure* and *The Great Duke of Florence* – both of which interrogate, send up, but also celebrate the conventions and methods of performed consumption in the 1630s – are found together in this volume

within the collection, a volume which is, for the most part, a collection of what were in 1638 recently published plays by popular playwrights. As is to be expected, the volume is free from any marks, annotation or damage to the quartos. Volume 15 is a book which very much appears to have been compiled with performed consumption in mind, much like Shirley's play.

Consuming books on the early modern stage: Fletcher's *The Elder Brother* (volume 8) and Shirley's *A Contention for Honour and Riches* (volume 11)

Another volume in the Petworth collection which predominately showcases Northumberland's interest in popular, contemporary drama, is volume 8. This volume was discussed in depth in the opening of chapter 1. All the plays within were printed in the 1630s (some are 2nd edition and beyond), some very recent at the time of collection, and most of the plays focus on the lives of courtiers. The volume contains five by James Shirley, two by Shakespeare (one with Fletcher), one by Beaumont and Fletcher, and one by Fletcher alone. The play by Fletcher, *The Elder Brother* (1636), is one which is particularly relevant to the Petworth collection, and to the idea of performed consumption. The play was published in 1637, although it is to all intents and purposes a Jacobean rather than Caroline play. Fletcher died in 1625, the year the Charles came to the throne, and thus the play must have been written either during James' reign or at the latest in the first few months of Charles'. Although the play was written in the early 1620s, its presence in a volume which demonstrates the increasingly performative nature of book collection in the 1630s makes its subject matter seem particularly prescient. The hero of *The Elder Brother* play is Charles, an avid reader and

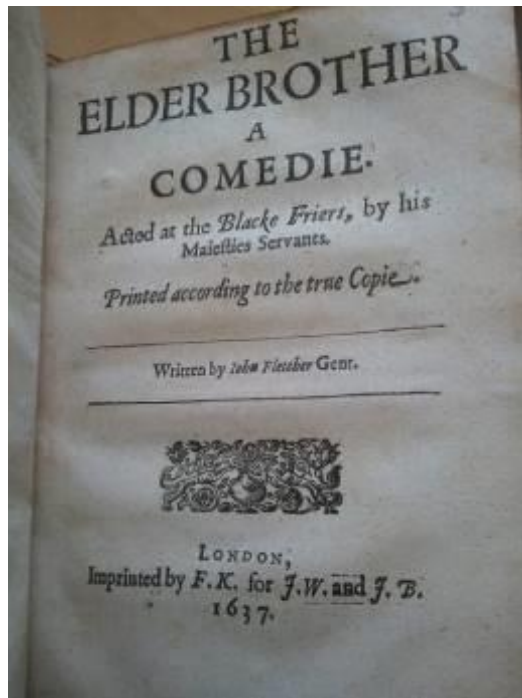


Figure 3.12 *The Elder Brother* in volume 8. By permission of The National Trust.



Figure 3.13 *A Contention for Honour and Riches* in volume 11. By permission of The National Trust.

“bookworme”.⁴⁰¹ The play demonstrates an attitude to the material culture of books which is much less wary and negative than that of Marlowe’s *Faustus*, no doubt influenced by the shift in the culture of consumption. It also begins to tell the story of the collector. Even if he is not fully realised and his collecting activities are framed almost entirely as scholarly pursuits, Fletcher engages, in a small way, with the aesthetic and emotional nuances of “true” collection.

Charles’s scholarly qualities, while not without their drawbacks, are ultimately what gives him the edge over his pompous and fashionable younger brother Eustace who is intent on usurping his inheritance. Charles has a library which requires at least a dozen carts to move, but he has read all the books “leafe by leafe three thousand

⁴⁰¹ John Fletcher, *The Elder Brother* (London: Printed by F.K, 1637) <<https://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/eebo-99838141e>> [accessed 31 Jan 2014] fol. B4^v.

times”.⁴⁰² Utilising the language of consumption, Charles’ servant, Andrew, states that: “If all thy pipes of wine were fill’d with bookes.... He would sip thy Cellar Quite dry, and still be thirsty / Then for’s Diet He eates and digests more Volumes at a meale, Than there would be Larkes (though the sky should fall) Devowr’d in a moneth in Paris”. He continues with his food metaphor, saying that Charles’s “learn’d stomacke Cannot b’ appeas’d” and that “He breakes his fast With Aristotle, dines with Tully, takes His watering with the Muses, suppes with Livie”.⁴⁰³ It is interesting that despite this framing of reading with consumption, there is no sense, as there is in *Faustus* in the book consuming scene, that Charles is in any way destroying these books or robbing them of their value, even of their value to him. In fact, he is keeping and caring for them despite having already consumed the information within them. In *The Elder Brother*, a book is made up of the intellectual contents and the material form. Despite his obvious interest in the books for their primary use, Charles can be seen as a collector - Andrew says that “He carryeth them all in his head” - indicating that he no longer needs the books to learn from, but keeps them for some other reason. For Charles consumption is not destruction but interaction - the sympathetic Miramont later opines that Charles “Loves his booke and doates on that”⁴⁰⁴, and Charles himself sees reading and studying as an activity through which he “[converses] with the old Sages and Philosophers”.⁴⁰⁵ There is not, however, any real sense of a library as a public space designed for display and entertainment. Charles is, initially at least, happy to move out of his ancestral home as long as he can take his books with him. The particular space in which Charles keeps his books is evidently less important to him

⁴⁰² Fletcher, *The Elder Brother*. fol. B3^r.

⁴⁰³ Ibid. fol. B3^{r-v}.

⁴⁰⁴ Ibid. fol. C3^v.

⁴⁰⁵ Ibid. fol. C2^r.

than the books themselves - it is the books, rather than the room, which make the library: "that place that does containe My Books (the best Companions) is to me A glorious Court".⁴⁰⁶

Intriguingly, Andrew also says of Charles that he knows the names of all his books: "he has 'em As perfect as his pater noster".⁴⁰⁷ Like the students of Aristippus, Charles is philosophically and spiritually transformed by his act of consumption. David Cressy has explored how Bibles in the 17th century "could be imagined as a shield or a weapon, or used as a talisman or totem".⁴⁰⁸ Both Charles in *The Elder Brother* and Simplicus in Aristippus seem to be using non-religious texts in a quasi-religious manner - with Simplicus swearing by and kissing "the book" (which is in this instance a bottle of wine) and with Charles reciting his list of titles as one might a prayer. Attachment to books in their material form is depicted as a generally positive experience, and is a far cry from the destructive and dangerous relationship Faustus has with his books, or indeed from the warnings of Dekker with regard to aesthetically pleasing consumables.

The depictions of a collector, or perhaps a proto-collector, in *The Elder Brother* yield some insights into book collection in the later Jacobean period, but the Caroline plays in the volumes reveal much about attitudes to collectors at the time of the purchase of the Petworth collection itself. In particular, a number of James Shirley's plays in the collection mention or deal with books, libraries and collections - not, perhaps, in as much detail as Fletcher, but certainly with more regularity. The best example is the interlude *A Contention for Honour and Riches*, which again features a

⁴⁰⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁷ Ibid. fol. B3^r.

⁴⁰⁸ David Cressy, 'Books as Totems in Seventeenth-Century England and New England' in *The Journal of Library History*, Volume 21 Issue 1, 1986. pp. 92-106, p. 94 < <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25541682> > [accessed 17 Oct 2012]

scholar in the role of a romantic hero.⁴⁰⁹ In the Petworth collection, this quarto is found in the previously discussed volume 11, alongside *Wine, Beer, Ale and Tobacco* and other quartos printed in the 1630s. Like *Wine, Beer, Ale and Tobacco* the play centres on anthropomorphism, although in this case it is concepts rather than drinks which make up the case of characters. As well as the titular Honor and Riches there are several other characters including Clod and Gettings (the country and the city respectively), and also Ingenuity; “a scholar”. Ingenuity first appears attempting to seek an audience for his lady, Honour, at the court of Riches. Riches speaks disparagingly of his intellectual pursuits, which enrages Ingenuity. Like Fletcher’s hero, Ingenuity rejects “gaudy clothes and Epicurean surfets, Lust, and a Catalogue of Rich mens sinnes” and prefers “my deare Bookes, And contemplation, that shall feed my soule To immortality”.⁴¹⁰ Riches retorts that Ingenuity desires “a virtuous poverty and nakedness” and wants to “write whole volumes in The praise of hunger and your lowsie wardrobe”, accusing him intellectual snobbery, an almost Puritanical attitude to wealth, and of irresponsibly glamorizing poverty.

The pitting of Riches against Ingenuity, of luxury against creativity, is rather ironic given that it is written by a prolific author famous for his elaborate plays which were typically staged at court, even though this particular interlude seems from the dedication to have been written as closet drama rather than for performance. At the end of the play we discover that Ingenuity has married Honour, who tells Riches that she hopes “there is no Antipathy in [her] nature, But [she] may smile upon a Scholler

⁴⁰⁹ James Shirley, *A Contention for Honour and Riches* (London: Printed by E.A, 1633) <<https://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/eebo-99852536e>> [accessed 08 Feb 2016].

⁴¹⁰ Ibid. fol. B3^r

now Married to Honor” - and Riches happily obliges.⁴¹¹ Thus, the two can happily co-exist as long as they both aspire to an honorable goal. Although the most of the short play is taken up with Clod and Gettings’ competing for Honour’s affections, the final lines of the play drive home the importance of the Honour-Ingenuity relationship: “Thus we have seene how Providence imparts Wealth to the City, Honor to the Arts”.⁴¹² Without Honour, Riches tends towards surfeit and lust, Ingenuity towards bitter self-aggrandizement. The latter also, in this fashion, turns to his “deare Bookes” - conjuring up images of a borderline narcissistic scholar/collector hidden away from everyday life.⁴¹³

In his depiction of a reader and collector as somewhat pompous and self-involved, Shirley demonstrates an awareness of his readership and their willingness to engage in a self-reflexive way with his play. Knowing that they will see themselves in Ingenuity, he mocks their foibles but ultimately rewards them with “Honour”. In the dedication, Shirley directly addresses his readers, acknowledging his audience will be consuming the play in printed form. He tells them that his “handfull of paper imaginations, though below your study, not beneath your vertue to accept, and smile upon; Were meant for innocent mirth”.⁴¹⁴ Shirley demonstrates that he is aware of his audience, and by including a gently critical element in relation to that audience, he acknowledges that his audience is aware of itself, and encourages them to find humour in their own narcissistic tendencies.

⁴¹¹ Ibid. fol. E4^r.

⁴¹² Ibid. fol. E4^v.

⁴¹³ Ibid. fol. B3^r.

⁴¹⁴ Ibid. fol. A3^{r-v}.

Conclusion: performance, consumption and communication

The various methods, purposes and messages of staged consumption examined in this chapter are wide and varied, despite the relatively small number of plays discussed. What is clear is that consumption on the early modern stage is frequently imbued with meaning drawn from the social and cultural sphere – the performed consumption of the actors and characters both mirrors and enters a dialogue with consumption by the audience. As Douglas and Isherwood identified, “man needs goods for communicating with others and for making sense of what is going on around him”.⁴¹⁵ Consumption is a social process, a system of communication. These plays demonstrate how the system of communication utilized by early modern playwrights and understood by audiences was a particularly complex one, and was a system which was constantly changing and developing in relation to new consumables and methods of consumption throughout the first decades of the 17th century. In a recent book, Paul S. Lloyd has described the importance of food choices in relation to identity in the early modern periods, demonstrating that “food consumption four centuries ago was as symbolic as it was functional” and that eating was a method of self-expression which “enabled people to cultivate “self and otherness” mentalities”.⁴¹⁶

Early modern consumption on the stage communicates danger, social cohesion, moral lessons about hospitality, and a whole host of other social issues. Perhaps most importantly, consumption as an activity and communication system is something that can and does effect a change in the consumer. The metaphorical link between book collection and the consumption of food demonstrates the extent to which reading was

⁴¹⁵ Douglas and Isherwood, *The World of Goods* (1996). p. 67.

⁴¹⁶ Paul S. Lloyd, *Food and Identity in England, 1540-1640: eating to impress* (London: Bloomsbury, 2015) p. 15.

an increasingly physical activity, associated with books and libraries, objects and places. To consume a book was to perform a physical action upon it. This is linked to the growing culture of deliberately and self-consciously performed consumption, an activity which unashamedly engages with the physical and the visual above all else. The staging of early modern consumption is a metatextual activity, for the consuming characters are offered up for consumption by the consuming audience. This overt link, particularly in the Caroline period, between literary or intellectual performance and consumption, highlights the importance of exploring the content of the collection as an element of its composition and history, material or otherwise. To return to Darnton's "life cycle" of books discussed at the beginning of this chapter, it is important to remember that there is no history of readers, or collectors, without a history of writers (and publishers, printers, shippers and booksellers).

All of the plays examined in this chapter make demands on their audiences, whether implicit or explicit, inviting them to examine their own relationship with consumption. Some, especially the later plays, are particularly concerned with their audience's relationship to consumption and performance, and with the two concepts' relationship to each other. In the later plays, the playwrights display an increasing self-consciousness and a desire to interrogate their audience as not only consumers of theatre, but also performers. They ask their audiences to think about their playgoing experiences, and, more importantly, to relate these experiences to other forms of social consumption.

Chapter 4: Consuming on the social stage

Aside from the play collection, the 10th Earl of Northumberland's library contained a small number of dramatic works in both print and manuscript. Although these plays were part of the library in the 17th century, as evidenced by the 1690 catalogue and some later documents, they are no longer to be found at Petworth today. One such play is an early manuscript edition of William Cartwright's *The Royal Slave*, now held at the British Library.⁴¹⁷ The play is bound, with three other manuscript items, in brown leather, and has a gold tooled border and stamp of the Percy crest, the same as the quarto volumes.⁴¹⁸ The presence of the manuscript play in the 10th Earl's library raises questions. When was it acquired, by whom and for what purpose? Why a manuscript copy rather than print?

A clue as to why a manuscript rather than a print copy of *The Royal Slave* was in the library can be found on the title page of the play, which displays this handwritten note:

This play was written by Wm Cartwright a student of Christchurch it was first represented by the Students of that college before King Charles I and his Queen of the 30th August 1636 - The Songs were set by Henry Lawes - Dr Busby - afterward Master of Westminster School performed a principal part with great applause he was at that time a student of Christchurch - The Play was first printed in 4to 1639 (ff) v. Theatrical Duty and B Duty art: Busby and Cartwright⁴¹⁹

This reference to the origins of the play is evidently a later addition; it is in a different hand to the rest of the manuscript and refers to a later printed edition of the play. It

⁴¹⁷ The play is mentioned in a Sotheby's sale catalogue from the 1920s detailing items from the Petworth library which had been sold. WSRO MS Lib 2584, *Catalogue of exceedingly rare and valuable Americana* p. 11-12.

⁴¹⁸ Add MS 41616. The first manuscript is the play, followed by "A discourse of the miscarriages in our 2 late expeditions att sea", "Remonstrance au Roy par les Maine et les Jurats de la ville de Bordeaux" and "Discourse del flusso et refulsso del mare" (Galileo's *Discourse on the Tides*).

⁴¹⁹ Ibid., fol. 1.

also mentions the career of Richard Busby, who became headmaster of Westminster School in 1638.⁴²⁰ The manuscript was most likely produced around the time of the first performance: during a royal entertainment at Christ Church College, Oxford in August 1636. *The Royal Slave* was the last of three plays staged at the entertainment, along with William Strode's *The Floating Island* on the first night (29th August) and George Wilde's *Love's Hospital* on the afternoon of the 30th August. *The Royal Slave* was performed on the evening of the 30th August.⁴²¹ In W.W. Greg's assessment, the manuscript is "a calligraphic copy, evidently literary, and perhaps prepared for presentation".⁴²² Greg also notes that "the absence of the later prologue and epilogue for Hampton Court connects the manuscript with the original performance at Christ Church on 30 Aug. 1636 and the absence of those to the University perhaps points to its being a presentation copy for the Court".⁴²³ A sensible conclusion to draw would be that Northumberland was given the copy as a gift, or acquired it for himself, after having attended and particularly enjoyed the Oxford performance. Indeed, he was in the habit of attending plays in this period: Robert Alexander's study of dramatic records in the Northumberland household accounts shows that in the year in which *The Royal Slave* was performed at court, 1636, the "money spent at plays" totalled 108 shillings.⁴²⁴ However, Northumberland definitely did not attend the Oxford performance, since he was at sea with the navy at the time. The Oxford entertainment

⁴²⁰ C. S. Knighton, 'Busby, Richard (1606–1695)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/4157>, accessed 15 Dec 2015]. Busby was not in fact a student at Christ Church at the time of the performance, having received his MA in June 1631, but he was employed there as a tutor in 1636.

⁴²¹ John R. Elliot, Jr and John Buttrey, 'The Royal Plays at Christ Church in 1636: A New Document' in *Theatre Research International*, Volume 10, Issue 2, June 1985. 93-106. p. 93.

⁴²² Walter Wilson Greg, *Dramatic Documents from the Elizabethan Playhouses: Stage Plots: Actors' Parts: Prompt Books* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1969) p. 364. <http://journals.cambridge.org/abstract_S0307883300010646> [accessed 08 July 2015]

⁴²³ Ibid.

⁴²⁴ Alexander, 'Some dramatic records from the Percy household accounts on microfilm', p.15.

is recounted in a letter written by George Garrard, Northumberland's friend and chaplain, to the 2nd Viscount Conway - a mutual friend of Garrard and the Earl.⁴²⁵ It can be inferred from the letter that Conway and Northumberland were in fact together at the time of the masque on board a ship.⁴²⁶ It is possible that Northumberland attended a later performance of the play, which was also staged at Hampton Court complete with original scenery and costumes borrowed from Oxford at the request of Henrietta Maria, but this would have little relevance to the details recorded on the title page.⁴²⁷

The fact that the manuscript is connected with the university performance, which Northumberland did not attend, makes its inclusion in his library rather puzzling. The binding and Percy crest mark it as having belonged to Northumberland (i.e. it is not a later addition by another inhabitant of Petworth). It is certainly possible that the play was a presentation copy produced for the King and it came into the 10th Earl's hands later, and it may even be the case that he especially valued the manuscript for its aesthetic qualities, seeing it as an eye-catching addition to his developing book collection. He may have seen the play performed at another time and particularly enjoyed it, and wanted to add it to his collection for this reason.

While personal interest in the literary merit of the play might have played a part, it is more likely that Northumberland acquired this specific manuscript of the play because of its relationship to the Oxford entertainment at which it was first performed. This would explain why he acquired a manuscript rather than print copy, one explicitly linked to this entertainment, and one which was unique and perhaps

⁴²⁵ A. J. Taylor, 'The Royal Visit to Oxford in 1636: A Contemporary Narrative' in *Oxoniensia*, Volume 1, 1966. pp. 151-158. Taylor's article reproduces the letter in full.

⁴²⁶ Ibid., p. 158.

⁴²⁷ Ibid., p. 97.

held more “collectible” value than a print play. In Garrard’s letter about the entertainment he mentions that he had written to both Conway and Northumberland:

How Glad was I when I saw Mr Herne, that soe what I haue written wth some diligence since I came from Oxford to my Ld Generall and to your Ldship might come speedily to your hands. Yf you continue at the Downes, the Entercourse of letters will be quicke and free.⁴²⁸

Garrard may well have described the entertainments to Northumberland also, although no such letter survives. In any case, since Northumberland and Conway were together at the time they would no doubt have discussed the important event. Northumberland, one way or another, would have heard details about the entertainment and would likely have been interested in any social developments.

In Garrard’s account of the performance, and of the entertainment in general, it is evident that the element of performance extends well beyond the staging of the plays. This chapter explores the relationship between consumption and entertainment, widening the scope outwards from the theatrical stage to the social stage inhabited by its spectators, and discussing the interplay between performance and consumption. In the Caroline period the line between these two stages were particularly blurred. In this chapter, it is the Caroline audience – acting as both consumers and performers of entertainment – who are the focus. Consumption on the theatrical stage is planned, deliberate and, as the previous chapter has demonstrated, a self-reflexive activity. While consumption on the social stage might be expected to have a more spontaneous and perhaps passive quality, this chapter will show that the performance of consumption on the social stage in the 17th century was frequently just as self-conscious, if not more so, than consumption on the theatrical stage. This self-consciousness feeds into the growing culture of display and collection, and particularly

⁴²⁸ Ibid., p. 158.

play collection, in the 1630s. This chapter focusses initially on two specific instances of performed consumption in the 1630s, both connected with the 10th Earl of Northumberland. One is the 1636 Oxford entertainment recounted by Garrard and the other is the induction of Northumberland into the Order of the Garter in 1635, which was commemorated in a ballad by Martin Parker. These two events, and the accounts, records and descriptions associated with them, can shed light on the culture of performed consumption in which the 10th Earl lived, and in which he acquired his play collection. Using these two instances of performance and consumption, this chapter will explore some of the issues surrounding consumption on the social stage in the 1630s. It discusses the role of the audience in early modern performance, the performance of wealth through processions, the roles of food in feasting and the giving of gifts, and hospitality. The chapter then returns to the idea of the library as a performance space first raised in chapter 2, and revisits the links between performance, consumption and the act of collecting printed drama and other books in light of these discussions on social consumption.

The entertained audience

Despite not being in attendance when *The Royal Slave* was performed, Northumberland would no doubt have heard about the performance, and indeed the social performance of the audience, from Wentworth or from Garrard directly, either in a letter or face to face. John H. Ashtington describes how “masques were much talked about in the Stuart court; gossip or ‘buzz’ to a certain extent directed opinion, since no one wished to be out of step with what leading figures thought”.⁴²⁹ The

⁴²⁹ John H. Ashtington, *English Court Theatre 1558-1642* (Cambridge University Press,

presence of Garrard at the Oxford entertainments would have been as important to Northumberland as it was to Garrard himself. As an employee and friend of Northumberland, Garrard was in effect vicariously consuming on Northumberland's behalf. As Stephen Orgel observes, "at court masques, those quintessential instances of Renaissance pageantry, the audience was as much on display as the performers, and contemporary accounts tend to dwell at greatest length on the spectators, not the players".⁴³⁰ In the first prologue for *The Royal Slave*, addressed to the King and Queen specifically, Cartwright notes that "While by such Majesty our Scene is drest, / You come both th' Entertainer and the Guest", figuring the royals as not only part of the performance in the role of entertainer, but also emphasising their importance in the aesthetics of the play, making them literally part of the scenery.⁴³¹ Although Cartwright refers specifically to the King and Queen, and Orgel points out that "the center of the spectacle was not the entertainment but the entertained, the monarch"⁴³², in Garrard's account the reactions of other nobles are noted, particularly Lord Canarvon who "flewe out against" Strode's *The Floating Island* and "Sayd it was the worst that euer he had sawe, but one that he sawe at Cambridge".⁴³³ Garrard suggests this was because the subject matter was "Fitter for schollers than a Court".⁴³⁴ Coyly, he refuses to discuss *Love's Hospital* in the letter, saying "how it was liked, Ile tell you God willing when I meet you at Sion; The Dialogue is too long, wch hapned that night at my Ld

Cambridge: 2006), p. 178.

⁴³⁰ Stephen Orgel, 'Making greatness familiar' in ed. David Bergeron, *Pageantry in the Shakespearean theatre* (Athens, University of Georgia Press: 2011) pp. 19-25. p. 22.

⁴³¹ William Cartwright, *The Royal Slave* (Oxford: William Turner, 1639) <<https://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/eebo-99857539e>> [accessed 08 Feb 2016] fol. A2.

⁴³² Orgel., p. 22.

⁴³³ Taylor, p.156.

⁴³⁴ Ibid.

Cottingtons at Supper”.⁴³⁵ Evidently, the level of detail about the audience’s reaction to the play is too great to be explained in a letter, and too important to be cut short. Northumberland would likely have been involved in this discussion too, since Garrard vows to reveal details about the play’s reception at Syon, one of Northumberland’s London properties. Finally, Garrard gives his assessment of *The Royal Slave*:

Sumptuously sett out, and acted to admiration, Generally liked by all ye Court, and Vniversitye, but my Ld Chamberlayne soe transported with yt, that he swore merriely, he never saw such a Play wth all his Propertyes before; Nay the next morning when theyre Judgments had cooled upon yt, They were of the same Opinion⁴³⁶

There is little that can be gleaned here about Garrard’s personal reaction to the play itself: even his assessment of the acting is seen through the prism of others’ opinions. He does not state that he admires the acting, but chooses a more passive construction foregrounding the general feeling of the audience: “acted to admiration”. He also notes that the feelings of the court in general were subtly altered by the very vocal opinions of one man, the Lord Chamberlain. The Lord Chamberlain was Philip Herbert, 1st Earl of Montgomery and 4th Earl of Pembroke, still at this point a court favourite and, notably, a man known for his art collection and literary patronage.⁴³⁷ Herbert was, in other words, the ideal person for the rest of the court to find their opinions had conveniently fallen into line with after a night of consideration, once “theyre Judgements had cooled upon yt”.

Garrard does not discuss the plot of any of the plays in any kind of detail. Butler observes that *The Royal Slave*, which deals with the remarkably successful reign of a

⁴³⁵ Ibid. p. 158.

⁴³⁶ Taylor, p. 158.

⁴³⁷ David L. Smith, ‘Herbert, Philip, first earl of Montgomery and fourth earl of Pembroke (1584–1650)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Sept 2013 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/13042>, accessed 29 July 2015].

slave who is made into a mock-king for three days after which he is due to be executed (the execution is ultimately avoided), “raises all sorts of awkward questions about kingship, and presents a standard against which the capacities of non-fictional but less successful kings might readily be measured”.⁴³⁸ The presentation of a successful King who has earned rather than inherited his kingdom (Cratander, the slave, is ultimately given his own kingdom to rule in Greece) may well have made for uncomfortable viewing for Charles. Similarly, the depiction of pleasure, indulgence and entertainment in the play may have provoked some feelings of discomfort in the issue, especially when contrasted with the lavish staging. Early in the play Arsammes, the true King, grows concerned about Cratander’s popularity and commands that “All the delights and pleasures, that a Slave Admires in Kings be offer’d”.⁴³⁹ Cratander is unimpressed with the “tumults of delights” and “pompous luxury”, and becomes angry when entertained by two women and a boy signing a crude song.⁴⁴⁰ This might suggest that Cartwright has an extremely subversive message in his play, which is particularly profound given the circumstances of the performance. However, the play is not merely a straightforward condemnation of luxury. Ultimately, Cratander is given his own kingdom by Arsammes, who remarks that “what was meant for sport and mirth, may prove a serious honour”.⁴⁴¹ The performance of Cratander’s kingship has yielded unexpected results and revealed an important truth. While the play appears to condemn frivolous entertainment, it simultaneously acknowledges the potential that performance has to change the world.

The idea of entertainments, and particularly plays, being as much about the

⁴³⁸ Butler, p. 44.

⁴³⁹ Cartwright, fol. C2^v.

⁴⁴⁰ Ibid., fol. C3^r, C4^r.

⁴⁴¹ Ibid., fol. H4^v.

performances of the audience as the players has been much discussed in relation to the drama of the 16th century, and probably dates back further than this. Anthony Dawson points out that “there prevailed a kind of dialectic between distraction and attention” - the audience were caused, by “noise, self-display, cutpurses, and bawdy assignations....the selling of food and drink, cracking of nuts and even throwing of pippins” as well as “the evenness of lighting which blurred the distinction between auditorium and stage” to look away from the stage.⁴⁴² Charles Whitney describes how for many contemporary commentators on early modern drama (in this case, specifically John Davies of Hereford) “to engage with drama is to enter a critical dialogue with the players, a dialogue in which he, and by implication his readers and fellow playgoers, hold a significant measure of authority. The theatre moves him to talk back.”⁴⁴³ Ashtington writes that the court as theatre, where “the serious business of civil order, prosperity, national interest, and state power is symbolised by rituals involving the enthroned monarch”, was constructed as a show for those who witnessed it, and that “all this was familiar to Shakespeare, and makes itself apparent in his plays.”⁴⁴⁴ The interplay between the court and the theatre then, and the involvement of peripheral influences on a dramatic production, including the audience, were long established tropes by the 1630s.

Martin Butler characterises the Caroline audience as a dynamic, critical and socially cohesive group, for whom the theatre was a neutral space where they could “[gather] casually, but also on a regular basis and with interests that were widely

⁴⁴² Anthony B. Dawson, ‘The Distracted Globe’ in *The Culture of Playgoing in Shakespeare’s England* (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2001) pp. 88-110. pp. 91-2.

⁴⁴³ Charles Whitney, *Early Responses to Renaissance Drama* (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2006). p. 117.

⁴⁴⁴ Ashtington, p. 2.

shared, and where ideas and attitudes were actively exchanged”.⁴⁴⁵ Butler stresses the importance of the theatre as a place where the audience would spend time thinking about themselves as much as the plays they were watching, identifying the theatre as “a focus around which this society could constitute itself and develop its own self-consciousness”.⁴⁴⁶ Nova Myhill also refers to this self-consciousness, noting that that the during the Caroline period the “self-conscious audience functioned as spectacle as well as spectators and, as a result, the plays make judgments about their spectators as thoroughly and visibly as the audience judge the plays”.⁴⁴⁷ It is this particularly reflexive attitude to the theatre which marks Caroline performance as different to its predecessors. It is certainly not the case that before the 1630s there was no deliberate conspicuous consumption, indeed Ashtington points out that “the importance of ‘magnificence’ - the conspicuous and self-advertising display of wealth and cultural sophistication - was well understood by the founder of the Tudor dynasty, Henry VII”.⁴⁴⁸ What is different in the Caroline era is that conspicuous consumers do their consuming much more baldly and openly, seemingly without making many attempts to disguise their efforts and purposes. As Myhill suggests, the dramatic material of the period reflects this too. The Caroline dramatists have been rather neglected by critics, but this strand of self-consciousness has been noted by several besides Butler and Myhill. Michael Neill also reassessed the prevailing view of the Caroline audience as “an upper-class coterie with a predilection for extravagant romantic plotting, the melting ardours of sentimental Platonism, and précieux debates on the niceties of love

⁴⁴⁵ Martin Butler, p. 110.

⁴⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 112.

⁴⁴⁷ Nova Myhill, ‘Taking the stage: Spectators as Spectacle in the Caroline Private Theatres’ in *Imagining the Audience in Early Modern Drama* (London, Palgrave Macmillan: 2011) pp. 37-54. p. 38.

⁴⁴⁸ Ashtington, p. 4.

and honour".⁴⁴⁹ He argues that the penchant for this kind of complex plotting was in part brought about by the audience's "interest in dramatic form for its own sake".⁴⁵⁰ Interestingly, Neill links this to development of a "taste" for dramatic arts analogous to that of taste for music, clothes or painting. He compares the private, indoor playhouses in which these plays were performed to "private "cabinets" or studioli in which the virtuoso patrons of painting kept their treasures and curios".⁴⁵¹ Neill hints briefly at the influence of printed drama in these developments, saying that "It was only with the rise of the relatively exclusive private houses in the second decade of the seventeenth century that the playgoing (and play-reading) public began to develop a general connoisseurship in any way analogous to that of the patrons of painting".⁴⁵² Although the focus for Neill is on the playhouses, the influence of the play-reading - and play-collecting - audience that he alludes to should not be underestimated.

The gift of feasting and the hospitable host

Given the emphasis on spectatorship in the 1630s, both in terms of the conspicuousness of the plays' audience and the importance placed on their opinions, their reception and their engagement with the play, it is not surprising that many Caroline performances placed a great emphasis on costume and scenery, and that audiences responded to these visual elements with great enthusiasm. Elliot and Buttrey note with regard to *The Royal Slave* and the other Oxford plays that it was the visual nature of the performances, "not the plays themselves, but the designers'

⁴⁴⁹ Michael Neill, "'Wit's most accomplished senate': The Audience of the Caroline Private Theatre' in *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, Vol. 18, No. 2, Elizabethan and Jacobean Drama (Spring, 1978). pp. 341-360. p. 341. <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/450366>> [accessed 20 Feb 2015].

⁴⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 353.

⁴⁵¹ Ibid., p. 345.

⁴⁵² Ibid., p. 344.

‘Scenes’ that most captured the spectators’ attention”.⁴⁵³ Charles and Henrietta Maria were very visibly involved in the court performances, even when not performing in them as they sometimes did: they “would have been seated in full view, directly facing the front of the playing platform or area”.⁴⁵⁴ As already discussed, Garrard seems to have been very aware of the deliberate visibility of the monarch, and he was evidently concerned with the opinions and responses of others in the audience, relaying the attitudes of the court to Wentworth. In his letter, Garrard describes the Oxford entertainment in sensual terms: he is as concerned with the sense of taste as well as with vision. Taylor notes that in Conway’s preceeding letter he writes “I thanke you... for the promise you make that my eares shall chew the cud upon what your mouth eates at Oxford”.⁴⁵⁵ This is a fascinating conceptualization of vicarious consumption, identifying the roles of both Conway and Garrard in the conspicuous consumption of the court, and the ways in which such performances were disseminated beyond the event itself.

Lakoff and Johnson, in *Metaphors we Live by*, identify the primary metaphor by which “language about language” is structured as the “conduit metaphor”: “The speaker puts ideas (objects) into words (containers) and sends them (along a conduit) to a hearer who takes the idea/objects out of the word/containers”. Put another way: “ideas (or meanings) are objects, linguistic expressions are containers, communication is sending”.⁴⁵⁶ The similarity between this linguistic “conduit” and the physical act of consumption (food travels through the digestive system and is “sent” to the stomach

⁴⁵³ Elliot and Buttrey, p. 98.

⁴⁵⁴ Ashtington, p. 218.

⁴⁵⁵ Taylor, p. 152. Taylor cites H.M.C. 14th Report, Appendix pt. 2, 34 ff.

⁴⁵⁶ George Lakoff and Mark Johnson *Metaphors We Live By*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980). p. 10.

where it is absorbed by the body) gives rise to the prevalence of consumption metaphors in relation to communication and learning, in this case the passing of information from one person to another. Garrard's ideas are put into the container of the letter and sent to Conway, but the use of the consumption metaphor complicates the metaphor somewhat. On the one hand, the metaphor figures Garrard and Conway as both parts of the same "conduit" - food/information enters via Garrard's mouth and travels to Conway's ears to be "chewed". Conway's ears act as a second mouth, the "cud" suggests a reinterpretation by Conway, as cud is regurgitated and re-digested by cattle. This imagined physical link between the two suggests an intimate bond. Another interesting effect of the metaphor is that it blurs the line between what Garrard witnesses and learns, and what he physically consumes. Garrard's consuming mouth functions metonymically as a representation of Garrard himself, metaphorically "eating" throughout his stay and passing on details to Conway (and presumably Northumberland) about the "much beautified" churches and chapels, about the arrival of the King attended by "all the Students of Qualitye", about the various plays and so on. However, Garrard's mouth is also functioning on a literal level, as he describes the main feast, despite his insistence that while he "loue meate well enough, yet I hate a feast". Garrard's description of the Oxford feast is as follows:

A mightye feast, equall to any that I haue heard of, eyther of that of Ld Newcastle or my Ld Spencers; I doe wonder where there cold be found mouthes to Eate it; for wthout consideration of presents, his Grace had provided at his owne Charge, Suffitient to feede, nay feast all from the highest rancke of men, euen to the Guard and footement of both Courts⁴⁵⁷

Rather than detailing any of the dishes, the main focus of Garrard's description is that it can easily be compared to other great feasts, and that the host, Archbishop Laud,

⁴⁵⁷ Taylor, p. 157.

has provided much more food than necessary, especially when taking into account the food that he is likely to receive as gifts from others. Garrard details the large gifts in full, including pheasants, venison, fish, capons, fowl and several Oxen, as well as “innumerable little presents from his Priuate friends”.⁴⁵⁸

Felicity Heal states that the food gift was used in the early modern period for various reasons, including “[alluding] to the social bonding that was involved in commensality [and] to reinforce hierarchy by giving and receiving within a defined structure of exchange”.⁴⁵⁹ However, Heal notes that “some change did occur in the first half of the seventeenth century in the nature of the gifts offered at court”, and that by the time of Charles’ rule when gifting does occur “it is rarely of the eclectic kind familiar in earlier years”.⁴⁶⁰ This is born out in Garrard’s description of the gifts. All of the main gifts (besides the “innumerable little presents”) are meat - in the modern rather than early modern sense - and all very similar. For example, Lord Somerset gives Laud “a huge fatt Oxe besides foule and extraordinary fish”, Thomas Mownson gives “a present of foule”, and the Bishop of Winchester gives “Venison, fish and foule, [and] 18 dozen of fatt capons”.⁴⁶¹ Garrard’s descriptions of the presents are quite detailed, and the presentation of gifts seems to be as much a part of the entertainment as any of the dining, plays, or religious or scholarly ceremonies. The list of gifts is framed within the dinner, coming directly after the description of it and directly before the assertion that “Dinner done, and all ye meate consumed; They went to the Play”.⁴⁶² As Ilana Krausman Ben-Amos puts it, in the early modern period “bonds were created via

⁴⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁵⁹ Felicity Heal, ‘Food gifts, the household and the politics of exchange in early modern England’ in *Past & Present*, Issue 199, May 2008. pp. 41-70. p. 67 < <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25096709> > [accessed 30 July 2015].

⁴⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 68.

⁴⁶¹ Taylor, p. 157.

⁴⁶² Ibid.

reciprocal exchange whereby an act of offering entailed the obligation - tacit and discretionary, desired but also unwanted - to offer something in return".⁴⁶³ Garrard's letter reminds Conway, and the modern reader, of the strict hierarchical constraints in which they were all bound. Heal's observation that gift giving was somewhat more tightly controlled by protocol in the Caroline period is interesting, and could perhaps be extended to other kinds of consumption, and responses to consumption.

The public giving to and by Laud described by Garrard has its roots in an ancient set of customs relating to hospitality. In the 16th and 17th centuries hospitality was considered a duty of the aristocracy, especially with regard to their country houses. A 1626 proclamation "By the King" outlines just how important a part of country life entertainment was.⁴⁶⁴ The proclamation commands persons living in London to retire to their country houses for Christmas, should they have one. It requests "the repaire of noblemen, knights, and gentlemen of qualitie, vnto the mansion houses in the countrey, there to attend their seruices, and keepe hospitality". It even condemns the noblemen for letting the "auncient honour of this realm" fall in to disrepute, becoming "exceedingly decayed, by the neglect of Hospitality, & good house keeping, for which this nation in former ages hath beene much renowned". The requisite hospitality also depends on the status of the homeowner, they should "keepe Hospitality as appertaineth to their degree".

Heal links the prevalence of hospitality culture to the idea that a nobleman's

⁴⁶³ Ilana Krausman Ben-Amos, *The Culture of Giving: Informal Support and Gift-Exchange in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011). p. 376.

⁴⁶⁴ Charles I. By the King. *A proclamation commanding the repaire of noblemen, knights, and gentlemen of qualitie, vnto their mansion houses in the countrey, there to attend their seruices, and keepe hospitality.* (London: Bonham Norton and Iohn Bill, 1626) <<https://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/eebo-99836648e>> [accessed 08 Feb 2016].

house was “a stage on which his virtues were displayed”.⁴⁶⁵ She also makes the link between hospitality and generosity, noting that hospitality appealed to the chivalric aspirations of the gentry and nobles, as it is “a key distinguishing feature of the knight”.⁴⁶⁶ When Northumberland’s father, Henry Percy the 9th Earl, wrote his instructions to his son and heir in 1609, he stressed the importance of a well maintained household, telling his son that “For yow to sitt at the <helme> of yowr owen estate, to direct well with expiation and ease, will be a means of vpholding yowr <honor> with a good report”.⁴⁶⁷ By “estate”, the 9th Earl refers to the management of both money and land, advising his son to become well acquainted with “bookes of suruays, plotts of mannors, and records”.⁴⁶⁸ However, Henry Percy warns his son to be vigilant against particular dangers associated with consumption:

Ordinarily I haue marked, that all men that consume there estates, are for the most part ignorant what they haue; what the worth of it is; what the perticular comodities thereof may be; how difficulte it is to gather soe mutche, not apprehending the very bulke of sutche sommes, as that would be being sold or bought⁴⁶⁹

The 9th Earl’s warnings suggest a view of consumption as an activity with the potential to be destructive and dangerous, echoing the sentiments of many of the Elizabethan and early Jacobean plays examined in the previous chapter. The 10th Earl does not appear to have shared this wariness, but he did heed his father’s advice with regard to “[sitting] at the <helme>” of his estate”. John Taylor’s 1636 travel guide to England, in the entry for Petworth, describes him as having “a goodly house” and as being “an honourable and bounteous housekeeper”, indicating that the 10th Earl was firmly

⁴⁶⁵ Heal, (1990). p. 23.

⁴⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁶⁷ *The Wizard Earl’s Advices to His Son*, eds. Gordon Batho and Stephen Clucus, (London: The Roxburghe Club, 2003) p. 46.

⁴⁶⁸ Ibid. p. 43.

⁴⁶⁹ Ibid. p. 44.

associated with his Sussex home.⁴⁷⁰ Felicity Heal suggests that the country house “served to embody the qualities of its owner”, and notes how during the period “the household is sometimes described as an arena, in which the host can dramatize his generosity, and thereby reveal his hegemony”.⁴⁷¹ The self-consciousness inherent in performed consumption in the 1630s was in part inspired by these very visible systems of hospitality, exchange and support.

Procession and publicity

One very public way of “dramatizing generosity”, to use Heal’s phrase, was through public celebrations such as feasting and processions. In a letter to his brother in law Sir Robert Sidney, Earl of Leicester, written in 1639, Northumberland remarks on a recent St George’s day feast, an important event in the calendar of the Garter Knights:

We have had a most lamentable St Georges feast, few knights, scarce any but boyes, and Scotch and Freish Lords, to waite upon the King, and amongst all the spectators not the face of a gentleman or woman to be seene; nor any election of new knight though there is 3 places voide.⁴⁷²

Northumberland “laments” not only the lack of new knights, or a decent number of existing ones to serve the king, but also the lack of noble spectators. Evidently, there is little point in conspicuous consumption that nobody is watching. This anecdote reveals how the success of public (or at least semi-public) performances and displays hinged not on how an event was performed or what was involved, but rather *who* exactly was there to participate in and witness it. Once again, a significant part of the “performance” of this feast, and of any court performance, was the presence of the

⁴⁷⁰ Taylor, *The honorable, and memorable foundations*. fol. A3^r.

⁴⁷¹ Heal, (1990), p. 6.

⁴⁷² Alnwick Castle, Letter from Algernon Earl of Northumberland to Robert Earl of Leicester. DNP:MS 14:Fol. 233v-234r.

spectators.

On the 13th May 1635, Algernon Percy, like his father before him, was installed into the Order of the Garter. Unlike the St George's feast with its disappointingly small audience of nobles, the procession and entertainment which accompanied Northumberland's induction was a very public display of consumption and gift-giving designed to showcase his magnificence and generosity across the social spectrum. While the audience of a play, especially in the age of the private theatre, would only be observed by a select few, and the St George's day feast was restricted to the upper ranks of society only, processions like Northumberland's employed a form of self-staging which was ostensibly much more accessible and could be observed, and even participated in, by a much wider range of people. The event was commemorated in a broadside ballad written by Martin Parker, a prominent and popular ballad writer who often went by his initials, M.P. (as is the case with this ballad).⁴⁷³ The ballad details the Earl's procession from Dorset House in Fleet Street to Windsor, where he received the honour. According to Parker, Northumberland's procession was a lavish and extraordinary spectacle:

Against the day appointed,
His Lordship did prevare,
To publish his Magnificence,
No charges he did spare,
The like within mans memorie
Was neuer tune in hand
To raise
The praise
Of great Northumberland⁴⁷⁴

The word "publish" is an intriguing choice. It not only makes Northumberland's

⁴⁷³ Martin Parker, *A Briefe description of the triumphant show made by the Right Honourable Aulgeron Percie, Earle of Northumberland, At his Installation and Initiation into the Princely Fraternitie of the Garter, upon the 13. Of May, 1635.* (Printed at London for Francis Coules: 1635)

⁴⁷⁴ Ibid., lines 28-36.

intention to demonstrate his wealth abundantly clear, but it also correlates his magnificence, his public persona, with a text; something quite clearly constructed and prepared for public consumption. Another verse refers to “The Siluer halfe moone gloriouse” of the Percy crest being worn upon the sleeves of those in the parade.⁴⁷⁵

The mention of the crest serves a dual purpose, serving to remind the onlookers that images can stand for more than they initially appear to and also reminding them that the procession is unique to Northumberland; he is the focus of the day. The suggestion of the family crest invites us to look deeper elsewhere, we wonder what the significance may be of “The lustre of apparell rich, All Siluer, Pearle and Gold” and are reminded that these are precious and rare substances denoting wealth.

Parker’s account is corroborated by several other contemporary sources, indeed it seems that the description of the parade in the ballad, which seems hyperbolic, was in fact quite accurate. James Howell, in a letter to Wentworth on 14th May 1635, describes the occasion as such:

There hath been a Mask long intended at York House since the Marriage, but the King cannot be brought to see it yet. Yesterday there was a gay Show made by my Lord of Northumberland going to Windsor to be installed; the King and Queen stood at my Lord Wimbledon’s House to see him pass, and after him my Lord of Leicester was the Star of the greatest Magnitude that shined⁴⁷⁶

Howell places the elaborate procession very firmly in the category of performance, not only by referring to it, as Parker does, as a “show”, but also by describing it as a viable alternative to the awaited masque. The parade is very clearly marked as entertainment, and as with dramatic performances, it is not only the designated performers (in this case Northumberland and the other participants in the parade) who are on display, but also the King and Queen and also Lord Leicester. Garrard, in a

⁴⁷⁵ Ibid., line 86.

⁴⁷⁶ *The Earle of Strafforde’s Letters, volume 1*. Ed. William Knowler (London, 1739). p. 423.

very detailed account of the procession (detailed in another letter to Wentworth, dated 19th May 1635), states that “Never Subject of this Kingdom rode better attended from his House than he did, nor performed the Busines more nobly or more sumptuously”.⁴⁷⁷ Garrard’s last sentence on the matter neatly sums up what at least part of the intended meaning behind Northumberland’s performance may have been: “The Garter is grown a dear Honour, few Subjects will be able to follow this Pattern”.⁴⁷⁸

As it turned out, no future Knights-elect had the opportunity to attempt to better Northumberland. After this event, the practice of elaborate parades died out, presumably owing to growing political unrest and later the onset of the Civil Wars. By the time Elias Ashmole came to write his history of the Order of the Garter in 1672, these kinds of processions were confined to “former times”, and indeed Algernon Percy’s is described as “the last this age beheld”.⁴⁷⁹ Ashmole’s description matches Parker’s ballad well. According to Ashmole, Algernon Percy’s cavalcade began at Dorset House in Salisbury Court and included over 50 lords and gentleman, four “Pages, being Earls Sons”, as well as “Heralds at Arms, two and two”.⁴⁸⁰ They were then followed by “the rest of the Lords, Knights, and Gentlemen in order, the best formost, two and two, the Coaches closing up the Troop”. Ashmole describes the parade as “stately” and “not the least in pomp and glory”.⁴⁸¹

According to Gerard Brennan, there had been an opening in the order of the

⁴⁷⁷ Ibid. p. 427.

⁴⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁷⁹ Elias Ashmole. *The Institution, Laws & Ceremonies of the Most Noble Order of the Garter Collected and Digested into One Body* (London: Printed by J. Macock, for Nathanael Brooke . 1672). <<https://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/eebo-ocm12655050e>> [accessed 23 May 2012]

⁴⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 340.

⁴⁸¹ Ibid., p. 341.

Gartr for several years yet Northumberland was unwilling to lobby the king for the honour himself.⁴⁸² George Garrard reports in a letter to the Earl of Strafford on January 11th 1634 how the king eventually approached Northumberland on the matter:

On the twelfth Day my Lord of Northumberland, being in the Queen's Withdrawing Chamber, the King and Queen coming in, she looked about until she espied him then beckned him unto her, she told him that she had moved the King for one of the Gartr Places now empty for him, and the King had granted her Request. So she took him up to the King, who confirmed it, and thereupon kissed his Majesty's Hand And I verily believe he is beholden to no Courtier of them all for this noble Favour but to the King and Queen⁴⁸³

This account is somewhat contradicted by Conway, who suggests in a letter dated 20th January 1634 that the author of Northumberland's success was in fact Henry Percy, his brother, who had secured himself a place at court by winning the favour of the Queen, as Gerald Brennan puts it, by "possessing a handsome person together with insinuating manners"⁴⁸⁴:

But Henry Percy hath lately had a fortunate Occasion, the Earl of Marr dying, he spake to the Queen to speak to the King to give the Gartr to his Brother, and to make it her Act solely, that the Thanks may be only hers. So she did, and when the Earl of Northumberland kissed the King's Hand for his Favour, no Man knew the Cause⁴⁸⁵

It seems that it was important for those close to Northumberland - his brother and Garrard - to make it clear that the King and Queen requested his admission into the order without any prompting. Whether or not Conway's story is true, it is telling that he stresses how Henry Percy apparently wanted to keep his involvement a secret to ensure that the general perception was that nobody had interceded on his brother's behalf.

The question of whom Percy "owes" his position to is raised in the letters by

⁴⁸² Brennan, *A History of the House of Percy* (1902). p. 218.

⁴⁸³ *The Earl of Strafforde's Letters*, volume 1, p. 360.

⁴⁸⁴ Brennan, p. 271.

⁴⁸⁵ *The Earl of Strafforde's Letters*, volume 1, p. 363.

Garrard and Conway - both seem concerned with who it is that Northumberland is indebted to, and indeed both seem to feel that it is important that the Earl is perceived to be “beholden to no Courtier of them all for this noble favour but to the King and Queen”, and in particular the Queen. The importance of giving, and of who gives to whom and in what order, is evident in all of these accounts, even in Parker’s. In the ballad, gifts of food are once again a focal point. Northumberland’s feast is described in the same lavish terms as the procession, and is given not one but two verses:

But are that I proceeded,
 This progresse to report,
 I should haue mentioned the feast
 Made at Salisbury Court
 Almost fiue hundred dishes,
 Did on a table stand
 To raise
 The praise
 Of great Northumberland

The mightiest Prince or Monarch,
 That in the world doth raigne,
 At such a sumptuous banquet might
 Haue din’d withouth disdayne
 Where Sacke like Conduit water
 Was free euen at command
 To blaze
 The praise
 Of great Northumberland⁴⁸⁶

It is evident from several surviving accounting documents that two feasts actually took place. The feast described by Parker cost 647 pounds, 19 shillings and 9 pence, and was followed by a banquet costing 248 pounds and 10 shillings. Evidence that this feast and banquet took place of the day of the procession comes in the form of a record of money paid “to a poore woman whos Husband was hurte in the Kitchinge at

⁴⁸⁶ Parker, lines 55-72.

Dorset House ye 13th May”.⁴⁸⁷ The woman was given 10 shillings. Another feast funded by Northumberland was given at Windsor. This was also a suitably lavish and entertaining affair, featuring a number of performances, including “musicke” and “singing boys”.⁴⁸⁸ The cost of this feast was over a thousand pounds. The feast allowed Northumberland to display and publicise his generosity to a select audience of spectators and participants in the parade by bestowing the gift of food upon them. The ballad speaks of the feast at Salisbury Court “Where Sacke like Conduit water Was free euen at command”. Sack was a kind of Spanish wine, like sherry, often used in making possets and other drinks. The fact that this is flowing freely demonstrates not only Northumberland’s great wealth, but also his generosity.

The feast was apparently held outside, since there is a record in the accounting document of money paid for the setting up of a tent (35 pounds and 16 shillings). It is interesting to note that Parker chooses to refer to the setting of the feast as Salisbury Court rather than Dorset House specifically. Dorset House was in the Salisbury Court area, but in the grounds of Dorset House stood the Salisbury Court Theatre, where many plays, including several in the Petworth collection, were performed. By mentioning Salisbury Court, Parker establishes a sense of display by making a link with the theatre and putting his readers in mind of a performance.

Howell’s description of the 10th Earl’s procession mentions that it was witnessed by Charles I and Henrietta Maria, specifically as an alternative to a masque that they were unable to see. Framing the procession in this way highlights how well received it was, and how important it was as a stage for performance, for both the

⁴⁸⁷ Alnwick Castle. DNP:MS fol. 14 329. v A Copy of an Account of Mr Heron’s Disbursments for the Installment of Algernoun late Earl of Northumberland, at Windsor 1635. Microfilm 285.

⁴⁸⁸ Ibid.

participants and the audience. If the procession was figured as a “show” in this manner then it would have been particularly appealing to Charles, who was very enthusiastic about the theatre, patronising and performing in plays and building spaces for them to be performed in, including the Cockpit Theatre. Ashtington states that “the fifteen years between Charles’s accession and the end of the 1630s is the most consistently lively period of theatrical activity at court in the entire ‘long Elizabethan’ period”.⁴⁸⁹

While Parker puts great emphasis on the feast, procession and the watching audience, the specifics of the ceremony are not discussed in the ballad. The only details he mentions are the place and the time of day:

To famous Winsor-Castle,
With all his gallant traine,
Earle Percy went that afternoone,
His honour to obtaine.
And there he was installed,
One of Saint Georges band⁴⁹⁰

After the lengthy description of the procession, the actual installation seems something of an anticlimax. For Parker and his readers, however, the ceremony at Windsor was the least important part, since it was the least public part. The focus of the ballad is most definitely the elaborate procession and feast. The ballad is effectively a catalogue of Northumberland’s successes, listing the visible, material aspects of his public persona. He is generous, wealthy, well connected, and has a significant pedigree. Northumberland was not alone in his desire to consume in the public eye during his induction; it was evidently important to other recipients of the garter. Ashmole describes the feast at Windsor itself as a ritual of deliberately excessive public consumption and demonstration of wealth:

⁴⁸⁹ Ashtington, p. 120.

⁴⁹⁰ Parker, lines 118-123.

Suitable thereto was the Feast, which had in it all manner of magnificence and plenty, as well provision, as all other things that could add glory thereunto: and in which the *Elect-Knights* (when kept at their charge) strove not only exceed their Predecessors, but one another⁴⁹¹

Parker also highlights the traditional qualities of the garter tradition, mentioning in the second verse that the Order of the Garter has been in existence “ere since third Edward Raign’d”.⁴⁹² Although Parker does not dwell on the garter’s historical origins, he draws on the sense of tradition and the idea of repeating an ancient ritual in order to emphasise the unique and “matchlesse Honour” of the Order.⁴⁹³

In Northumberland’s procession, as in his art collection, library and the play collection specifically, the new is balanced with the old, and tradition cohabits with fashion. The familial heritage of the performance is linked to the literary heritage of Parker’s ballad; when the 10th Earl’s father was himself installed in 1593 the poet and playwright George Peele, whose dramatic work can be found in the Petworth play collection, wrote a poem commemorating the occasion.⁴⁹⁴ Peele’s poem is rather different to Parker’s in a number of ways and illustrates the changing tastes and fashions, and some of the differences in the performance of consumption and attitudes towards it between the 1590s and the 1630s.

Peele’s poem, despite sharing subject matter with Parker’s ballad, is a very different kind of text. The poem begins with a prologue addressed directly to Henry Percy, mentioning his patronage of and familiarity with “artizans and schollers”, as well as his own intellectual pursuits and interests. These include “divine science and Philosophie”, his “admirable Mathematique skill” and knowledge of “the starres and

⁴⁹¹ Ibid., p. 338.

⁴⁹² Parker, line 11.

⁴⁹³ Ibid., line 13.

⁴⁹⁴ George Peele, *The honour of the garter* (London, Printed by the widdowe Charlewood, for John Busbie: 1593) <<https://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/eebo-99845940e>> [04 Sept 2013].

Zodiack”, the latter of which being part of the inspiration behind the “Wizard Earl” sobriquet.⁴⁹⁵ From the outset, there is a clear contrast between the two poems. Peele alludes to what are ostensibly more private and personal qualities - friendships and intellectual pursuits. Parker’s ballad, however, sets out to “blaze the praise” of the 10th Earl by outlining his generosity, magnanimity and general “Magnificence”, qualities which are more related to public sphere than the private. It is certainly fair to say that Parker’s ballad is more generic, since there is little mention of any quality or activity specific to the 10th Earl. While it may appear to be so, however, the description of the 9th Earl is no less concerned with performance than that of the 10th Earl. The 9th Earl’s friendships, patron relationships, court affiliations and interest in learning were all part of his public persona; a persona constructed to propel and ensconce him in the upper echelons of Elizabeth’s court. It is not the level of ambition that differs between the two Earls, but rather the attitudes towards performance and consumption that accompany and belie that ambition. The 9th Earl paid Peele for the poem and whether this was as a commission or a reward for a speculative dedication, it demonstrates that the 9th Earl too was keen to “publish his Magnificence”.

While Parker’s ballad begins with a brief introduction to the order itself - “Ere since third Edwards Raign’d” - and then proceeds to describe the procession and feast of the 10th Earl, Peele takes a very different approach. After the preface, the poem proper begins:

About the time when Vesper in the West
 Gan set the euening watch, and silent night
 Richly attended by his twinckling traine,
 Sent Sleepe and Slumber to possesse the world,
 And Fantasie to hauzen idle heads;
 Vnder the starrie Canapie of heauen,

⁴⁹⁵ Ibid., fol. A2^r.

I layd me downe laden with many cares⁴⁹⁶

Peele's poem, as these lines suggest, depicts a dreamlike, fantasy world, where the reader is never sure if the narrator is asleep or awake. Uncertainty permeates throughout. The narrator "thought [he] saw a royall glimmering light", he "might discerne a trope of Horse-men", the "naked Virgines" wearing green garlands "seemed the graces" and Cupid played - or at least "to [him] it seemed".⁴⁹⁷ The narrator is "sleepie", "wiling to rest" and "luld ... halfe a sleepe".⁴⁹⁸ The epilogue appears to make the dream-state explicit, beginning "Wherewith I rouzd".⁴⁹⁹

At times the language is rather Spensarian, for instance when Peele refers to "The order of the Garter so ycleepd"⁵⁰⁰, and the poem is populated with figures from antiquity such as Julius Caesar and Pompey, "Iosua, David and great Machabee" from the Bible, Alexander the Great, Charlemagne, and figures from Greek and British mythology (Jason "Knight of the golden Fleece" and King Arthur).⁵⁰¹ Figures from recent history, including Henry VIII, appear too. The poem blends fantasy with reality, the past with the present, placing the current inductees - including Northumberland - alongside these ancient and mythical knights in a procession.

In Peele's poem, the garter is presented to Northumberland and the other Knights not by Elizabeth (who is present - "A Virgin Queene, attyrde in white") but by Edward III, founder of the order.⁵⁰² Making Edward the giver of the garter has a somewhat contradictory effect, it uplifts the ceremony by couching it in historically significant terms, and yet the fanciful nature of the imagined encounter modestly

⁴⁹⁶ Ibid., fol. B1^r.

⁴⁹⁷ Ibid., fol. B1^v-B2^r.

⁴⁹⁸ Ibid., fol. B2^r - B2^v.

⁴⁹⁹ Ibid., fol. D1^v.

⁵⁰⁰ Ibid., fol. B2^v.

⁵⁰¹ Ibid., fol. C1^v-C2^r.

⁵⁰² Ibid., fol. C2^r.

hides the actual circumstances of the event. Peele describes a dream in which the garter is bestowed in impossible circumstances, removing the tale even further from the actual event. As with Parker's description of the 10th Earl's instalment, the details of the actual ceremony are left out. Ultimately, for different reasons, the ceremony itself is unimportant to the narrative and purpose of either poem. In the case of the 10th Earl this is because it was an event not available to the public, and therefore not a "stage", at least not one that Parker or his readers would have been able to see. For Parker, the procession, or "show", is most important. He is explicitly concerned with the visual, tangible and observable evidence of the 10th Earl's magnificence. In the case of Peele's poem it is the "honour" of the garter, and all that is historically associated with it, which is the key to his poem. The magnificence of the 9th Earl is filtered through the bestowing of the garter and the association with real and fictional knights. As such, the performance and display is more heavily codified.

Placing the 9th Earl and his contemporaries alongside illustrious mythical and historical figures could potentially suggest arrogance, but this is tempered by the fantasy setting, and in fact it has the opposite effect of humbling the Earl. Peele's tactful avoidance of any mention of the real event and insistence of the "sleepie", dreamlike nature of the vision steeps the occasion in modesty rather than bravado. Compared to the bald materialism and deliberate, self-conscious conspicuous consumption of Parker's ballad, Peele's poem, with its references to historical and mythical figures, is focussed on timelessness, history and immortality. Parker's ballad, by contrast, is centered on the actual event as it happened, and, rather than being timeless, is tied to a very specific date, as announced by the full title *A briefe description of the triumphant show made by the Right honourable Aulgernon Percie,*

Earle of Northumberland, At his Installation and Initiation into the Princely Fraternitie of the Garter, upon the 13 of May, 1635.

Angela McShane Jones has argued convincingly for ballads as “muse rather than news in Early Modern English society, seeking to teach, to satirise and to comment on the meaning of events rather than to inform about them”.⁵⁰³ Parker’s ballad is unusual in its inclusion of the date, since “ballads were seldom dated, and when they were it was to a particular year not to a month or date”.⁵⁰⁴ She suggests that rather than functioning as proto-newspapers, which are current only on the day when they are published, ballads “hoped for eternal currency”.⁵⁰⁵ Indeed, the date on Parker’s ballad is the date commemorated by the ballad, not the date on which it was published. If Parker’s intention was not to inform, as such, then he must have had some other reason for making the description of the detail so accurate. Perhaps the ballad itself was designed as a collectible item, marketed at those who witnessed the procession and were looking for a way to commemorate it. There is also the possibility that the 10th Earl, following in his father’s footsteps, actually commissioned Parker to compose the ballad. This would explain the attention to detail, and the effusive verse which is a wholesale endorsement of Northumberland, the garter ceremony and the aristocracy in general. The ballad is striking in its open celebration of the 10th Earl’s performed consumption, and as such it seems quite possible that it was composed on commission from Northumberland himself.

⁵⁰³ Angela McShane Jones ‘The Gazete in Metre; Or the Rhiming Newsmonger – The English Broadside Ballad as Intelligencer’ in *News and Politics in Early Modern Europe (1500-1800)* Ed. Joop Koopmans (Peeters: Leuven, 2005) pp. 131-152. p. 131.

⁵⁰⁴ Ibid., p. 144.

⁵⁰⁵ Ibid., p. 146.

Performance and drama in the 10th Earl's library

Parker's ballad exemplifies one way in which performance and print could interact during this period, combining the staging of performance with what can be seen as both a public and private medium; ballads were printed and disseminated in mass quantities but would go on to be owned, read and engaged with by individuals, perhaps becoming integrated into collections and libraries. The library itself was another place in which the public and private came together to create new modes of performed consumption. In Garrard's description of the Oxford entertainments there is a passage which reveals the growing importance of the library as a social space and site for entertainment. On the second day of the entertainment, before the giving of gifts detailed earlier, Garrard writes that the Bishop, having delivered his sermon:

Repayres to the King to wayte on his Matye to the Library, where at his Entry Will Herbert made a fine Oration in Latine to ye King and deliuered yt as finel, wch did not a little please my Lord Chamberlayne; There the King spent more than an houre, and was loth to leaue the Place, But dinner call him away to St Johns; where also his Matye stayd long before the Queene came; but the new building and other entertainments gaue his Matye much content⁵⁰⁶

Immediately after viewing the library, the King attended the feast. Garrard's account demonstrates how broad the scope of the entertainment was, taking in the likes of oration and architecture as well as the feasting and drama which might be expected. Most interesting, however, is the mention of the library as a place where the King appears to have wanted to spend time, even after the "Oration in Latine" has been performed. Using the library as a literal performance space was not an entirely new concept in the 1630s; Manolo Guerri notes that Sir Robert Cecil entertained the King

⁵⁰⁶ Taylor, p. 157.

and Queen in his “newe library” at Salisbury House with a masque in 1608.⁵⁰⁷ Northumberland, who married Cecil’s daughter Anne, spent some time living at Salisbury House in the 1630s.⁵⁰⁸ Cecil was a lover of books and had two libraries in his house, and his attitude towards both collection and to performance and consumption in the context of a library, may have influenced Northumberland’s later book buying and collecting activities in the 1630s.⁵⁰⁹

If the library is a place to be viewed, enjoyed and observed, then it can also be considered as a performance space. The display and organisation of books is itself a kind of performance. As discussed in chapter 2, during the 1630s the 10th Earl seems to have taken steps to improve his library, including the purchase of display cases and, of course, the play collection itself. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, he was also engaging with the consumption of live theatre, and his household accounts show money spent “at playes” throughout the 1630s. His consumption of entertainment as a reader certainly did not begin and end with the play collection, although the collection of play quartos was certainly the single most significant purchase he made. The 1690 catalogue reveals a number of other English original dramatic works that he probably purchased.⁵¹⁰ The other dramatic works listed in the 1690 catalogue published during the 10th Earl’s lifetime are: three editions of collected works; a 1632 edition of Lyly’s comedies entitled *Sixe Court Comedies*, John Suckling’s *Plays and other Poems* (1646)

⁵⁰⁷ Manolo Guerci, ‘Salisbury House in London 1599-1694: The Strand Palace of Sir Robert Cecil’ in *Architectural History* Vol. 52 (2009), pp. 31-78. p. 59

⁵⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 64.

⁵⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

⁵¹⁰ Since these dramatic works are now no longer in the Petworth library it cannot be established by way of the book stamp that they were purchased by the 10th Earl rather than arriving during the brief time of the 11th Earl, by his daughter Elizabeth Percy who inherited the library from him, or perhaps her husband the Duke of Somerset. Given the dates, however, it seems likely that they were purchased by the 10th Earl.

and Jonson's *Workes* (1616)⁵¹¹; and several individual plays - Joseph Rutter's *The Shepherds Holyday* (1635), John Suckling's *Aglaura* (1638), William Berkeley's *The Lost Lady* (1639), Sir John Denham's *The Sophy* (1642) and Robert Staplyton's *The Step-Mother* (1664).⁵¹² There are some poetic works by authors with dramatic works in the collection - the aforementioned *Poems* of James Shirley (1646), Heywood's *Great Britain's Troy* (1609) and Marlowe's *Hero and Leander* (1598).⁵¹³ A manuscript, predominantly in the hand of the author, of the anonymous play *The Wasp or Subject's Precedent* survives at Alnwick Castle.⁵¹⁴ This play, although undated, was, according to J.W. Lever "certainly intended to be performed by members of the King's Revels Company in the sixteen-thirties".⁵¹⁵ According to a list of material sold in a Sotheby's auction in 1928, a *Catalogue of exceedingly rare and valuable Americana, with some important English books and manuscripts, largely from the library of Henry Percy, 9th Earl of Northumberland (1564-1632)*, the library once contained Thomas Carew's masque *Coelum Britannicum* (1634) and the aforementioned *The Royal Slave* by William Cartwright (1639).⁵¹⁶ Interestingly, the former was performed at Whitehall in 1633, a year in which according to his accounts the 10th Earl did indeed see plays performed, although there is no specific mention of a masque as there is in some other years.⁵¹⁷ The presence of works by Shirley, Lyly, Jonson and Marlowe separately in the library

⁵¹¹ WSRO PHA 5377: *Six Court Comedies*: f50r; *Plays and Other Poems*: f49v; *Workes*: f39r.

⁵¹² WSRO PHA 5377. *Shepherd's Holyday*: f45v; *Aglaura*: f38v; *The Lost Lady*, *The Sophy*: f39r; *The Step-Mother*: f45r.

⁵¹³ WSRO PHA 5377. *Poems*: f45r; *Great Britain's Troy*: f39r; *Hero and Leander*: f45r.

⁵¹⁴ See *The Wasp, or Subject's Precedent*, ed. J.W. Lever (The Malone Society Reprints, Oxford, Oxford University Press: 1976).

⁵¹⁵ *Ibid.*, xv.

⁵¹⁶ WSRO MS Lib 2584, *Catalogue of exceedingly rare and valuable Americana* p. 11-12.

⁵¹⁷ The title page states that the play was performed "At white-hall in the banqueting-house, on shrove-Tuesday night, The 18. of February, 1633". Thomas Carew, *Coelum Britannicum* (London: Printed for Thomas Walkley, 1634) <<https://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/eebo-99898413e>> [accessed 08 Feb 2016]

could either suggest that the Northumberland particularly enjoyed reading their plays in the collection and sought out more of their work, or that he had always held an interest in these authors and requested that Borough acquire their work as part of the collection. As discussed in a previous chapter, this looks likely to have been the case at least in the purchase of the Shirley plays and poems.

Robert Alexander's work identifying drama in the Percy family records reveals that the 10th Earl was a keen playgoer. Henry Hearon's 'Declaration of Account' for the year 29th January 1633 to 15th January 1634 records 19 shillings paid for "his Lordship and Companie seeinge playes", in the year 15th January 1634 - 14th January 1635 lists £25 and 17 shillings spent both "at the playhouse in Blackfriers at seuerall tymes", and "for tickets to see the Maske" also in 1635.⁵¹⁸ Peter Dodson's "Declaration of Account" from 16th January 1638 - 16th January 1639, the same year the plays were purchased, notes that 107 shillings were expended at 2 playes.⁵¹⁹ One particularly interesting record noted by Alexander is the mention of money "paid for his Lordship & Company and the young Ladies seeing the danceing on the ropes lxiiijs vjd Laid out for his Lordship at plays with xijd for a lunch on Petworth greene". This raises the intriguing possibility that plays may have been performed at Petworth, although there is no other evidence to support this, and the record itself is inconclusive - it may be referring to seeing plays elsewhere before the lunch.⁵²⁰ Northumberland's first wife, Lady Ann Cecil, was also fond of the theatre, both before and during their marriage, and many of

⁵¹⁸ Alexander, p. 14.

⁵¹⁹ Ibid.

⁵²⁰ Ibid.

her playgoing activities are recorded in the Hatfield House archives.⁵²¹

There are 14 plays in the printed play collection which are known to have been performed in the 1630s, and nine of these are in relatively recent editions (from 1635 onwards). As detailed above, varying amounts of money were recorded as being spent by the Earl at plays almost every year from 1633 to 1638, with the exception of 1637. Two of Shirley's plays in the collection were performed at court in 1633 - *The Gamester* (1637) and *The Young Admiral* (1637).⁵²² Fletcher's *The Elder Brother* (1637), and Beaumont and Fletcher's *A King and No King* (1625) and *Philaster* (1634) were all performed at Hampton Court in 1636.⁵²³ *Volpone* (1607) was performed at The Cockpit in 1638, and at court in December 1634.⁵²⁴ Although there are a number of plays in the collection which were performed at Blackfriars, I have not identified any that were definitely performed in 1634. As David Scott Kastan suggests in his study of Shakespeare's earliest Elizabethan and Jacobean readers, "Play quartos do seem largely to have depended on playgoers for their sales, the six-penny pamphlets a relatively cheap way of happily recalling a performance or catching up with one that had unhappily been missed".⁵²⁵ The 10th Earl may well have been inspired to collect drama by the performances that he did attend, and also by those that he did not – such as the Oxford performance of *The Royal Slave*. Since the 10th Earl's collection included recent plays, and he was definitely a playgoer, it seems very likely that he

⁵²¹ See Linda Levy Peck, 'The Caroline Audience: Evidence from Hatfield House' in *Shakespeare Quarterly*, vol. 51, No. 4 (Winter, 2000), pp. 474-477. < <http://www.jstor.org/discover/10.2307/2902340?uid=3738032&uid=2&uid=4&sid=21101461699311> > [accessed 07 Dec 2012].

⁵²² *The Dramatic Records of Sir Henry Herbert, Master of the Revels 1623-1673*, ed. Joseph Quincy Adams (New York: Benjamin Blom, 1917) p. 53-4.

⁵²³ *Ibid.*, p. 57-8.

⁵²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 77, 52.

⁵²⁵ David Scott Kastan, 'Plays into Print: Shakespeare to His Earliest Readers' in *Book and Readers in Early Modern England* (Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001) pp. 23-39. pp. 32-33.

would have seen at least some of the plays in the rather extensive collection. Consequently, the library can be regarded as a record of consumption, a performance space where Northumberland could display his engagement with drama in print and manuscript, some of which he had also seen performed on the stage.

Tiffany Stern has demonstrated that the plays of Shakespeare and his contemporaries had a particularly “bookish quality”, suggesting that “bookishness was an essential element of their performance”.⁵²⁶ Early modern stage productions were, according to Stern, “continually surrounded by a marginalia of written words” – including stage boards, pamphlet sellers in theatres and commonplace books.⁵²⁷ The link between performance and print in the 1630s had slightly different nuances, rather than the “bookishness” and “glamour” of print making its way on to the stage, the performative elements of staged drama were increasingly spilling over into print, and consequently into printed (and manuscript) drama.⁵²⁸

The presence of cabinets in the 10th Earl’s accounts raises an interesting point in terms of changing attitudes to printed drama in the 17th century. The 9th Earl’s apparent lack of interest in collecting drama is not particularly surprising, given that some at least, like Bodley, viewed printed drama in the early 17th century as ephemeral “riffe raffe” and “baggage books”. This was not the case for all, however, and certainly by the time that the play collection was purchased printed drama was a popular component of private libraries, having even seen a recent boom in prices.⁵²⁹ The place of the private library in society underwent a change itself during the 17th century,

⁵²⁶ Tiffany Stern, ‘Watching as Reading: The Audience and Written Text in Shakespeare’s Playhouse’ in *How To Do Things With Shakespeare*, ed. Laurie Maguire (Blackwell Publishing, Oxford: 2008), pp. 136-159, p.155

⁵²⁷ *Ibid.*, 137.

⁵²⁸ *Ibid.*, 154.

⁵²⁹ Johnson, 1950. p 93.

gradually changing from the medieval private closet with chests of books to the public space for visitors to socialise in by the beginning of the 18th century, where a gentleman's shelves were "exposed to the inquisitive gaze of his guests".⁵³⁰

"To the Reader": Books as entertainment and the imagined audience

The members of a playgoing audience are, in a number of ways, always very visible performers and consumers. However, in the 1630s a sense of the playreading audience as not just consumers, but also performers and critics, was beginning to solidify. Plays were increasingly destined for the shelves of readers and collectors, and playwrights began to acknowledge this in the prologues and other front matter that they addressed specifically to their readers – either as specific individuals or as a group. Butler notes that paratextual material such as prologues and epilogues became ubiquitous during the 1630s, inspiring an "affable and familiar" atmosphere among theatre goers and "creating a dialogue between players and audience which linked the theatrical conversation with the world of the play".⁵³¹

In the dedication to *A Contention for Honour and Riches*, Shirley describes his works as "a handful of paper imaginations".⁵³² This indicates that he had a sense that his plays would end up as physical copies in the libraries of readers. Indeed, he goes on in the dedication to encourage the dedicatee, Edward Goulding, to "read when you will dispen[n]ce with halfe an houre".⁵³³ Dedications, whether they be directed at a specific person or addressed "To the Reader" give an insight into how playwrights envisioned their readers would consume their work, and why. The very presence of a "To the

⁵³⁰ Ibid., p. 129

⁵³¹ Butler, p. 111.

⁵³² Shirley, *A Contention for Honour and Riches*. fol. A3^r.

⁵³³ Ibid., fol. A3^v.

Reader” section generally indicates that the printed play was intended for consumption by readers either instead of or in addition to a live audience. For those plays written for the stage, especially for a specific performance, prologues are often spoken by a character who refers to the monarch and/or the theatre audience, as this extract the prologue of Barten Holyday’s *Technogamia* shows:

Our Poet knowing our free hearts
Has here inuited Heau’n and All the Artes
To entertayne His Theater, and does bring
What he prepar’d for our Platonique King⁵³⁴

This Prologue focuses on the trappings of a performed stage play, referencing “stage-ware” and “applause”. The language centres on the visual and aural aspects of drama - “Purg’d eares”, “a Compacted clap”, “Gracious spectators”.⁵³⁵ The author’s intent - to produce a performance for his audience to consume - is evident in the prologue and has clearly not been reworked for a print release.⁵³⁶

As Kastan notes, the fact that play quartos usually include reference to performances on their title pages shows that they were advertised as “the records of performance rather than the registers of a literary intention”, and he argues that playgoers - whether or not they attended that particular performance - were the main target audience for the play quarto market, at least initially.⁵³⁷ Northumberland’s own attendance at plays may well have influenced his decision to purchase the play collection, and the other plays found in the library.

⁵³⁴ Barten Holyday, *Technogamia*, fol. A2v

⁵³⁵ Ibid.

⁵³⁶ Unfortunately for Holyday, however, *Technogamia* was a notorious flop, received “with no great applause” when it was performed before the King at Woodstock on 13th February 1617. In *Athenae Oxonienses*, Anthony Wood cites a number of possible factors for this: “foolish alterations” made by the author, it being “too grave for the King, and too Scholastick for the auditory)” and even the actors involved being drunk before the performance began (Anthony Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses* (London : Printed for Tho. Bennet, 1692 <<https://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/eebo-ocm12202663e>> [accessed 05 Sept 2013] p. 169).

⁵³⁷ Kastan, p. 32.

Other kinds of front matter reveal other purposes for and uses of drama. The first edition *The Elder Brother* includes a prologue written by an unknown author - possibly the publisher - after Fletcher's death:

You shall hear Fletcher in it; his true straine,
And neate expressions; living he did gaine
Your good opinions; But now dead commends
This Orphan to the care of noble friends⁵³⁸

The rest of the short prologue is similarly focussed on preserving the memory of Fletcher, appealing to readers who remember Fletcher to enjoy the play and therefore to help erect "new Trophies to his fame". As with *A Contention for Honour and Riches*, the prologue sets out the intention of the playwright and publisher to "raise in you content and mirth", but also frames this with a plea for remembrance and legacy. While not directly referencing physical books or libraries, the closing line of the prologue, which states that the reader's enjoyment of the play "shall to after times preserve his name" sets the publisher's agenda as firmly one of longevity and permanence.⁵³⁹

Philip Massinger's *The Emperor of the East* comes with a number of dedications aimed at different audiences.⁵⁴⁰ As well a dedication to the play's patron, John Mohune, Baron of Okehampton, there are not one but two Prologues from two different performances (at Blackfriars and the Globe) and three poems from friends of Massinger, two of which are addressed to him and one of which, written by John Clavell, is entitled "A friend to the author, and well wished to the reader".⁵⁴¹ While the

⁵³⁸ Fletcher, *The Elder Brother* fol. A2^v.

⁵³⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁴⁰ Philip Massinger, *The Emperor of the East* (London: Printed by I.B, 1632) <<https://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/eebo-99847672e>> [23 May 2012].

⁵⁴¹ Ibid. fol. A3r. This is presumably the highwayman and writer of *Recantation of an Ill Led Life* (London: 1628): Alastair Bellany, 'Clavell, John (1601–1643)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2009

front matter makes much of Massinger's reputation and talent, there is a definite bias towards theatre-goers in the front matter. Clavell's poem in particular is worth examining, as "the reader" appears to refer to those who saw the play and, intriguingly, specifically to those who saw it and disliked it:

I haue often seene
 The willing seates receaue such as haue fedd,
 And risen thankfull; yet were some mis-led
 By *Nicetie*, when this faire Banquet came
 (So I allude) their stomachs were to blame,
 Becayse that excellent sharpe, and poinant sauce
 Was wanting, they arose without due grace
 Loe thus a second time hee both inuite you:
 Bee your owne Caruers, and it may delight you⁵⁴²

Clavell diminishes the input of the acting company, since the "sharpe and poinant sauce" they should have brought to the play did not satisfy the stomachs of the spectators. Kastan states that in the early 17th century, play texts "did not yet demand an author, and in some sense they did not deserve one, the text being so fully a record of the collaborative activities of a theatrical company".⁵⁴³ Clavell's poem is evidence that in the early 1630s printed drama, while still perhaps prioritizing the viewed experience and assuming readers will have also been spectators, was moving out of the realm of a cost effective cash-in - to use Kastan's phrase an, opportunistic "relatively inexpensive investment" - and towards the realm of the collectible.⁵⁴⁴ The players, after all, are simply providing a sauce while the bulk of the "banquet" is the script itself. What Clavell suggests that readers do with the play is "Bee your owne Caruers", that is, prepare it for consumption in whatever way they see fit. The idea of "carving" books is also suggestive of the "malleable, multiple notion of text" that

[<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/5551>, accessed 5 Sept 2013].

⁵⁴² Ibid.

⁵⁴³ Kastan, p. 38.

⁵⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 27.

Jeffrey Knight identifies in his study of *sammelbande* volumes.⁵⁴⁵ Readers are free not only to interpret the text in whatever way they choose, but also to physically handle the material object, perhaps by reframing it in a different binding, or perhaps by using it to frame their own tastes by displaying it in their library.

Another way in which readers and collectors could “carve” their books was to redistribute and exchange them among their friends. There is some evidence that Northumberland may have taken part in this form of social exchange. At least one book in the library of Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel (7 July 1586 – 4 October 1646) came from the Percy library, although it is unclear whether it was acquired from the 10th Earl or his father. The book in question is a 1567 copy of Vitruvius’ *I deici libri dell’architettura*, which, given the date and the interest in architecture held by both the 9th and 10th Earl, could conceivably have come from either. In an interesting instance of book ownership and exchange performed on the book as a material object, the title page is marked with “This book I had fro my Lo. O Northumberland”, a note presumably added by Arundel.⁵⁴⁶ Jason Scott-Warren describes the writing of names in books by early modern readers as assertions of literacy and “[statements] about the intermingling of their technical command – of writing, of the plume – and their identity”.⁵⁴⁷ Annotations are proclamations, and “the sociable space of the book is a place for marking yourself out”.⁵⁴⁸ In this case, the sociability of the blank spaces of books is even greater, rather than mark out merely his own relationship to the book, Arundel is marking out the gift relationship that exists between Northumberland,

⁵⁴⁵ Knight, *Bound to Read*. p. 96.

⁵⁴⁶ Linda Levy Peck, ‘Uncovering the Arundel Library at the Royal Society: Changing Meanings of Science and the Fate of the Norfolk Donation’ in *Notes and Records of the Royal Society in London*, Vol 52, No. 1 (Jan., 1998), pp. 3-24. p. 11. <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/532073>> [accessed 02 Nov 2011].

⁵⁴⁷ Scott-Warren, *Reading Graffiti* (2010), p. 371.

⁵⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 381.

himself, and the book itself. This kind of gift relationship between equals was intended to strengthen friendship ties, and is characterised by Krausman Ben-Amos as one in which “individuals could expect returns of ‘equal proportions’ that would invariably contribute to their material security as well as their well-being more generally”.⁵⁴⁹ By marking out his relationship to Northumberland on the material object of a book, Arundel solidifies and strengthens his identity in relation to his possessions, his social relationships and contracts, and his status as a collector and book enthusiast.

The aforementioned dedicatory addresses to specific people share some similarities with this idea of marking out a relationship on a material and textual object. In the case of dedications, however, it is the giver of the gift – the writer – rather than his recipient who sets down the names. Although dedications like Clavell’s that were addressed to a generic reader are to be found in the drama of the 1630s, the majority of dedications were addressed to a patron, or at least to a desired patron. David M. Bergeron observes “more dramatic texts than ever contain epistles dedicatory, tracking the considerable spike in publication in this decade”.⁵⁵⁰ However, he also notes that the playwrights of the 1630s paid relatively little attention to the general “readers” and were far more likely to focus on “all kinds of potential patron, especially aristocrats” who could help them to “build their own careers, flourish and survive”.⁵⁵¹ Northumberland’s name appears on a surprisingly small number of these dedications, given his well-known patronage of the visual arts and evident interest in drama. He is however, named on one play – a 1656 edition of Ford and Dekker’s

⁵⁴⁹ Krausman Ben-Amos, p. 80.

⁵⁵⁰ David M. Bergeron, *Textual Patronage in English Drama, 1570-1640* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006). p. 185.

⁵⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 206.

masque *The Suns-Darling*.⁵⁵² Having been published long after the deaths of both playwrights, the dedication was penned by the publishers: Theophilus Bird and Andrew Penneycuicke. It appears to be a speculative dedication; one which seeks rather than thanks a patron. It paints the play as a previously popular but now unloved, yet worthy, artefact. The dedication begs Northumberland to “revive the parents of this Orphan Poem, and make them live to Eternity”.⁵⁵³ Bird and Penneycuicke appeal to Northumberland in terms of hospitality, asking for charity and seeking “entertainment” for the “Destitute and needy” play. Northumberland is being asked to provide hospitality – to perform the provision of consumption – by facilitating the performance of a play (albeit in print rather than on the stage). In the 1650s Northumberland was well known as an art collector, but also as a formerly prominent Parliamentarian who had taken several steps away from the public eye after the regicide.⁵⁵⁴ The combination of these elements make him a particularly appropriate choice for the dedication, which mourns the demise of the theatres and a time when “the Stage florisht” and this play “liv’d by the breath of Generall Applauses, and the Virtuall Fervor of the Court”⁵⁵⁵. Northumberland’s previous playgoing and play collecting activities may or may not have been known to the publishers, but his involvement with the fashionable court circles two decades earlier most likely was.

Although the dedication seems to match well with Northumberland’s interests and former glories, it was probably not written with him, or at least not him alone, in mind. Unusually, multiple copies of *The Suns-Darling* were printed with different

⁵⁵² John Ford and Thomas Dekker, *The Sun’s-Darling* (London: Printed by J. Bell for Andrew Penneycuicke, 1656).

⁵⁵³ Ibid., fol. A2^r.

⁵⁵⁴ It was around this time that John Evelyn visited the paintings – see page 3 (introduction)

⁵⁵⁵ Ford and Dekker, fol. A2^v.

dedications. Northumberland is one of at least four potential patrons addressed by the publishers.⁵⁵⁶ He is addressed by his full title as “ALGERNOWNE PERCY, Earl of Northumberland, Lord Piercy, Lucy, Poynings, Fitz-Paine, and Bryan, Knight of that most Noble Order of the Garter”, but beyond this the wording of the dedication remains the same in each edition. While the dedication may not have been tailored to him as an individual, it is likely that he was chosen as a potential patron because he fitted in with intentions of the publishers and because he was seen as someone who appreciated performance and visual arts – particularly appropriate because *The Sun-Darling* is a masque – and, perhaps most importantly, because he was strongly associated with nostalgia for Caroline entertainment, splendour and performance.

Conclusion: deliberate consumption, deliberate performance

As the editors of *The Sun-Darling* claim in their dedication, plays can be resurrected and live on in print long after their initial life on the stage is over. Similarly, Clavell’s poem shows how a play that is unloved in the theatre at the time may be reclaimed and restored in the library, thus the audience has potentially as much input into its reception as the theatre company. A printed quarto offers its readers a level of agency they might not find in the theatre, one which is defined as much by materiality and the collector’s physical interaction with the quarto as by their imaginative connection. It is no surprise that Clavell’s poem centres on a consumption metaphor, drawing parallels between the physicality of preparing and consuming food and that of reading a printed

⁵⁵⁶ The Short Title catalogue includes a quote from the Pforzheimer Catalogue for this entry reading: "This is one of that interesting class of books which have multiple dedications for copies are found dedicated to the Earl of Southampton, .. to Robert Pierpont Earl of Kingston, .. to Lady Newton, .. and to the Earl of Northumberland".

play. A key element of what makes the link between consumption of food and literature so commonplace in this period is that both are not only consumption goods but are often also luxury consumption goods, perhaps in a way that they had not been until recently. This is hinted at in letter from the 10th Earl to his brother in law Leicester, in which Northumberland asks Leicester to “do [him] a favour” by acquiring a book for him and also includes a reference to a food gift. Northumberland instructs his brother in law to pass on a message to his Dorothy Sidney, saying “I pray let my sister know that the cheeses she intended me, I think Mr Coghil hath made a present of to some body, for I have not yet gotten them.”⁵⁵⁷ Like the book, a rarity that Northumberland is keen to add to his collection, the cheeses are a luxury item. They have presumably been gifted to the 10th Earl by his sister, and not because he had a need for cheese to keep his household fed. Both books and cheeses are items of taste and luxury. In the 1630s, a desire and need to perform this taste came to the fore.

The various kinds of performed consumption described in this chapter do not in themselves make 1630s consumption remarkable. However, what is notable about this period is the unabashed, deliberate and self-conscious knowledge with which this consumption was performed. Comparing Martin Parker’s bald and detailed description of the 10th Earl’s staging of his magnificence with George Peele’s dream-like imagining of a fictionalised garter ceremony for the 9th Earl illustrates some of the key differences in approach to public displays of consumption and performance. The various methods of staging consumption discussed in this chapter reveal how, in the 1630s, the performance of consumption continued to build on the foundations of

⁵⁵⁷ Alnwick Castle, DNP:MS 14, f. 257v. Letter from Algernon Earl of Northumberland to Robert Earl of Leicester, London Dec. 19. 1639. Available on microfilm at the British Library. Northumberland Archives, Microfilm 285.

class, rank and tradition.

The growing culture of collection and its effect on the libraries of Caroline aristocrats has already been discussed at length in chapter 2 but, as this chapter has demonstrated, this culture of collection was underlined by a culture of deliberate display and staging which extended beyond the theatrical. Comparing the drama in his collection with known instances of theatre-going by the 10th Earl certainly suggests that he may have seen some of the manuscript plays in his library. Also, given the number of plays in his printed play collection, especially recent plays, it is very likely that he saw some of these. The 10 Earl's purchase of the plays – both the printed collection and otherwise – originated from the same impulses that caused him to see plays performed at the theatre: perhaps in part a desire to be entertained, but also a need to be seen on his own terms. Like the other kinds of social consumption described in this chapter the need to perform was at least equal to the desire to consume. The deliberate purchase of a pre-assembled collection of plays echoes the self-aware and self-conscious approach to consumption typical of 1630s high society. In light of the culture of self-conscious performance endemic in the Caroline era, and the resultant affinity between plays and the increasingly display-oriented libraries of the 1630s, the inclusion of print and manuscript drama in Northumberland's library should not be at all surprising.

Conclusion

Today, the Petworth play collection is, by a quirk of history, separated from both Lord Egremont's library at Petworth and the Duke of Northumberland's library at Alnwick. The volumes are owned by the National Trust and spend most of their time in a safe, occasionally being taken out to be examined by visiting scholars and editors. In the summer of 2014 some of the volumes were part of a temporary exhibition about the 10th Earl of Northumberland and his play collection which went some way towards rehabilitating the plays into their natural environment. And yet the Petworth collection still occupies an odd kind of space, both figuratively and literally, cut adrift from its context but still close at hand. Until this thesis, no comprehensive study of the play collection - dealing with its provenance, organisation and cultural context – had been made, although a number of scholars have taken an interest in elements of the collection, particularly those concerned with one of its previously proposed owners. In short, it often seems as though nobody quite knows what to do with this collection.

Belonging: the collection and the library

The Petworth library was first catalogued in 1690, or at least this is the first catalogue that survives. In the intervening centuries the library was catalogued a number of times, and the way in which the play collection is treated by each cataloguer is slightly different, and rather enlightening. Modern visiting scholars who seek out individual quartos are often surprised to find that they are part of composite volumes. Early cataloguers of the collection, however, tend to treat it as a single entity, and this is also, as chapter 1 has demonstrated, how it was initially acquired by Northumberland. The collection can be, and has been, viewed and treated as a discrete unit, a group of



Figure 5.1. “Old Plays” label on volume 2. By permission of The National Trust.

volumes, and a collection of individual plays. In a catalogue dating from the turn of the 19th century the volumes are listed specifically as “Collection of Old Plays 16vol small quarto”, which suggests that this may have been the period in which the volumes were physically labelled as “Old Plays”, and perhaps given their current numbering system (see figure 5.1).⁵⁵⁸ The “Old Plays” labels are not contemporaneous with the mid-17th century bindings, and even though some of the plays in the collection might have been

⁵⁵⁸ WSRO, MS. PHA 6271. Fol. 16^r.

considered “old” at the time of their purchase, those more recently published would not have been.

Before this catalogue came the 1780 catalogue. This was a list of the Earl of Egremont’s books held not only at Petworth but also at his residences at Piccadilly and Shortgrove, and was organised alphabetically and then by location within each letter.⁵⁵⁹ The 1780 catalogue does not give a comprehensive or particularly well organised list of the plays. Some, but not all, of the plays in the collection appear as individual entries, and there is also an entry for the collection as a whole. Presumably the reason for this listing of separate plays was either a value judgement on the part of the cataloguer who wanted to point out interesting or significant plays within the collection, or perhaps it was an attempt at producing a comprehensive list which was left incomplete due to time constraints, loss of interest, or some other outside influence. In any case, the treatment of the plays in this catalogue is certainly different to the only slightly later c.1800 catalogue.

The volumes show evidence of a number of other catalogues which apparently do not survive. Gordon Batho has shown that at least some of the 9th Earl’s books were catalogued and organised between 1600 and 1602 according to a two-number system which was “superseded, probably in the time of the 10th Earl, by a system involving a letter and two numbers”.⁵⁶⁰ The latter system is present on almost all of the volumes, with the exception of volume 12, appearing either on the recto side of the first page or on the inside of the front cover (see figure 5.2).⁵⁶¹

⁵⁵⁹ WSRO, MS. PHA 5379.

⁵⁶⁰ Batho, ‘The Library of the “Wizard Earl”’ (1960), p. 253.

⁵⁶¹ Volume 12 lacks a flyleaf giving a list of the plays, the first page is the title page of the first play in the volume. There is no evidence of the flyleaf being removed, so it is likely that there never was one in this volume.

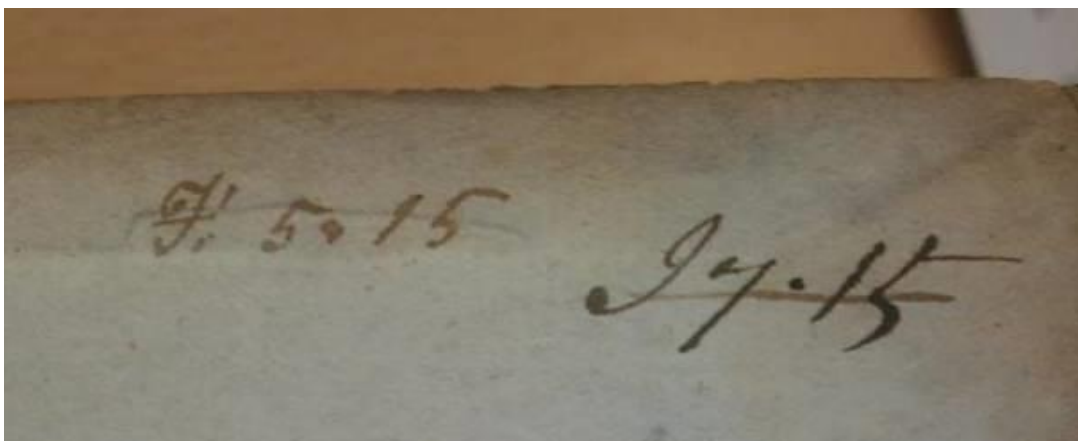


Figure 5.2 Previous catalogue numbers on volume 4. By permission of The National Trust.

The letter and two numbers system can be seen as the uppermost left number on this page. Volume 4 has been numbered “H.5.15”. The next number, “I.7.15”, corresponds to the 1780 catalogue. Some of the volumes have remnants on their spines of leather tags which apparently once had writing on them - this was probably a shelfmark or some other kind of cataloguing information (see figure 5.3). Another numbering system is visible on the inside of the front cover of most of the volumes (excluding volume 12) and does not seem to relate to any of the extant catalogues (see figure 5.4). The format is 2.6.[number]. Batho does describe a “two number classification which is found almost invariably in the top left-hand corner of the inside front cover of books from the ninth Earl’s library”, which is the place in which these numbers are found, but this cannot be the catalogue to which these numbers refer.⁵⁶² Firstly, this is a three number system rather than the two number system identified by Batho and secondly, it is not possible for the play volumes to have been part of the 9th Earl’s library - in each volume there is at least one play printed after the 9th Earl’s death, and these numbers are written on the inside cover of the volume itself, not on a flyleaf or on the individual plays. These numbers must come from a

⁵⁶² Batho, ‘The Library of the ‘Wizard’ Earl’. p. 252.

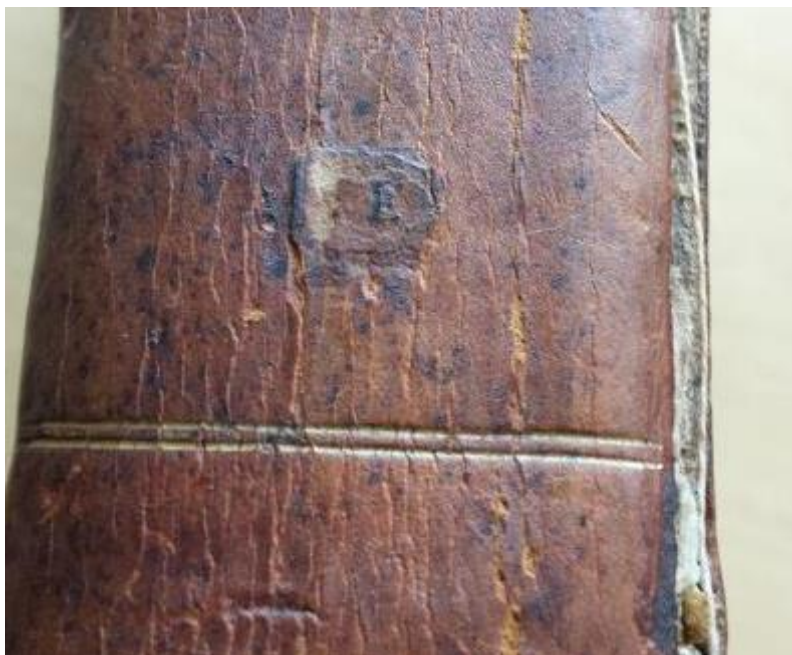


Figure 5.3. Remnant of catalogue stamp. By permission of The National Trust.

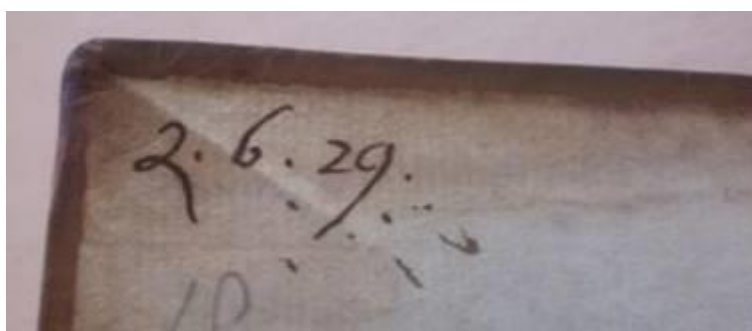


Figure 5.4. Unknown cataloguing system on volume 3. By permission of The National Trust.

later catalogue, and the most likely explanation for the numbers exceeding 20 is that the volumes were at some point not shelved together as a unit but were interspersed with other books. At some point, presumably a much later date, the individual plays within each volume were given pencil numbers. This may have been the same cataloguer who added an 18/4 symbol to each volume, and whichever catalogue those marks relate to obviously did not even require the listing of the volumes separately, not least the plays.

The 1690 catalogue, unlike any of the catalogues that would supersede it,

actually lists all of the plays in each volume individually, with brackets around them to indicate which are contained in the same volume.⁵⁶³ The key from the 1690 catalogue does not appear on any of the Petworth plays, and so probably referred to the physical shelves where the books were kept rather than to the volumes themselves. The books are grouped into shelfmarks largely based on subject i.e. “Libri Historici”, “Libri Grammatici” etc. The plays were part of the “Libri Poetici”, found primarily at shelfmark K, and the volumes themselves were housed at K4.⁵⁶⁴ The plays were the only books displayed at this shelfmark, indicating that the cataloguer and/or library owner at this point saw them as a self-contained collection in some sense, but also recognised their importance as individual plays and volumes.

Evidently, the play collection has a long and complex history in relation to the Petworth library, and over the years, decades and centuries cataloguers have struggled to adequately conceptualise it for recording purposes. Is it one collection - an individual item, or a group of volumes, or a set of individual quartos? Is it a strange combination of all three, and if so how should this be recorded? This uncertainty is particularly noticeable in the 1780 catalogue which lists some, but not all, of the plays as well as an entry for the whole collection, recorded as “Plays a Collect. Of Old Quartos 17 Vols”.⁵⁶⁵

In many ways, it seems as though the Petworth play collection does not really “belong” anywhere. It was unusual in its time, and is anomalous now – there is no other surviving collection like it. The catalogue which seems to deal with the collection in the most fitting way, and which most accurately and comprehensively records the

⁵⁶³ With the exception of volume 12 – see page 47 (chapter 1)

⁵⁶⁴ WSRO, MS. PHA 5377 fol. 48^v-48^v.

⁵⁶⁵ WSRO, MS. PHA 5379. fol. 148^v.

play collection (by referencing the individual plays, the volumes and, through the use of a single shelfmark, the collection as a whole), is the 1690 catalogue. At the time of the creation of the 1690s catalogue, Petworth House was in the possession of Charles Seymour, 6th Duke of Somerset, and it was presumably at his request that the books were catalogued. As chapter 2 of this thesis has demonstrated, the Petworth collection was constructed at least in part with display in a library in mind. In this way, the play collection seems more congruent with the late 17th century cultural conditions in relation to collection and libraries, which may explain why it seems to be best delineated by the 1690 catalogue. The Petworth collection can be seen as a precursor to the collections and libraries of the late 17th century.

The second half of the 17th century was an important time in the history of collection – by the 1690s, when the first extant catalogue was compiled, collection was an increasingly common pursuit across the social strata. People of various ranks compiled and catalogued their own collections, as well as seeking out the collections of others to view. The late 17th century saw the dawn of the museum, and by its end there were “more than a hundred smaller private collections and some half-dozen institutional museums scattered across the country”.⁵⁶⁶ Likewise, the end of the seventeenth century saw a change in the nature of the country house private library which, as James Raven describes, “became the ornately decorated room, lined with books in uniform bindings and celebrated in iconic eighteenth-century prints”.⁵⁶⁷ While Susie West points out the flaws in assuming that collectors and readers were still exclusively using private chests in the 1630s, she does note in her article on the Penshurst library that the contents of the study increased by the time of the 1670s,

⁵⁶⁶ Arnold, *Cabinets for the Curious* (2005), p. 13.

⁵⁶⁷ Raven, ‘Country houses and the beginnings of bibliomania’, p. 169.

when it contained “three chairs, three court cupboards and two cabinets, as well as one book press” compared to the table and four stools kept their in the earlier part of the century. She also notes that “cabinets seem to be a feature of this inventory”.⁵⁶⁸ Evidently, the amount of furniture was increasing over the course of the century. With reference to the closets of the earlier 17th century, Raven points out that “their lineal relationship to the panelled room of the libraries of the early seventeenth century is often underestimated”.⁵⁶⁹ A similar connection can be observed between Northumberland’s purchase of the Petworth plays as a collection with the help of a third party, its display on a specific shelf in his library, and the methods of book collection common in the late 17th century, in which book dealers and agents making use of “an increasingly active and organised second-hand market” were “indispensable”.⁵⁷⁰

The 1630s: a time of change

The very fact that a collection which has so much in common with late 17th and early 18th century collection could be constructed in the 1630s demonstrates that the seeds of a culture of collection were not only planted, but beginning to grow in this period. While the Petworth collection is unique, this is not because composite volumes of printed quarto plays were rare in the 1630s, but because it is very rare for them to survive today. Although there are many early modern composite volumes in libraries around the world, there are not, to my knowledge, any multi-volume collections that are comparable to the Petworth collection. However, this does not mean that there

⁵⁶⁸ West, p. 286.

⁵⁶⁹ Raven, ‘Country houses and the beginnings of bibliomania’, p. 169.

⁵⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 174.

were not any in the 1630s. Sir Edward Dering, for example, had a bound collection of 221 playbooks which he assembled in the early 1620s.⁵⁷¹ What is certainly different about Northumberland's collection, however, was the method of acquisition – unlike Dering's plays which were generally purchased separately, the Petworth plays were purchased by Northumberland in bulk from a single seller, Sir John Borough, who most likely purchased the plays himself with the express intention of selling them to Northumberland, probably as an agent on commission. This relatively novel method of book collection is typical of the later Caroline period. As chapter 2 of this thesis has shown, collection was by no means a new phenomenon in the 1630s, but it certainly was becoming more popular. Chapters 3 and 4 have shown how this growing culture of collection was rooted in a shift in the way in which both consumption and performance were conceptualised. The changes in the way that early modern people thought about consuming and performing which were so apparent in the 1630s laid the foundations for the collection boom, and the increasing importance of the private library, in the latter half of the 17th century.

The 1630s was a decade of change in many senses. It preceded the turbulent decades the 1640s and 50s, a time of civil unrest and, eventually, civil war. It is tempting to imagine that this shift towards bald consumption and deliberate, staged social performance was somehow a contributing factor in all of this social upheaval. The traditional view aligns royalism with decadence and those opposing the King with Puritanism, and consequently with a rejection of theatricality itself. Martin Butler has demonstrated that the idea that there was “a tidal wave of puritan protest” which

⁵⁷¹ T.N.S. Lennam 'Sir Edward Dering's collection of Playbooks, 1619-1624' in *Shakespeare Quarterly*, Vol. 16, No. 2 (Spring, 1965), pp. 145-153.

directly contributed to the closing of the theatres in 1642 in any meaningful way has been “greatly exaggerated”.⁵⁷² Butler points out that William Prynne’s famous anti-theatrical tract *Histriomastix* was “the last of its kind”, rather than the herald of “a continuous and unrelenting campaign against the theatres”.⁵⁷³ Certainly, the Caroline private theatres were a casualty of the conflict, but their initial closure was a side effect, rather than the result of a deliberate attack.

Notwithstanding Prynne’s opinion of theatre performances as “sinfull, heathenish, lewde, ungodly Spectacles, and most pernicious Corruptions”⁵⁷⁴, Butler identifies the 1630s in general as being a time not of “virulent puritan antagonism to the stage but, instead, one remarkable for its quiescence”.⁵⁷⁵ This “quiescence” is part of the overall social shift towards an unabashed embracing of public performance and consumption. This thesis has mainly been concerned with demonstrating that this permissive attitude towards performed consumption was widespread in the 1630s, and has also shown how this performed consumption manifested itself through collection, and through printed and performed drama. Another question arises, however; what was it about the 1630s that made such a shift in cultural attitudes possible? It seems to me that there were three key influences which contributed to a culture of unfettered performed consumption; religious, economic, and political.

Some of the earlier plays in the collection explored in chapter 3 offer hints towards the religious influences on these changes. In the earlier plays, consumption is conceptualised in a negative way, where it is discussed or shown at all. In fact, for the

⁵⁷² Martin Butler, *Theatre and Crisis, 1632-1642* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984). p. 96, 99.

⁵⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 96.

⁵⁷⁴ William Prynne, *Histrio-mastix* (Printed by Edward Alde and William Jones for Michael Spark). <<https://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/eebo-99850543e>> [accessed 15 Dec 2015] fol. A1^r.

⁵⁷⁵ Butler, p. 96.

most part in the drama of the late 16th century there are comparatively few mentions of food or stage directions involving food or drink, certainly fewer than in 1620s and 1630s. The late Elizabethan plays explored in chapter 3 – *Faustus*, *Old Fortunatus* and *A Looking Glass for London and England* – all demonstrate the extremely harmful effects that consumption can have, linking the allure of attractive consumables to questions of morality, sin and danger. In the 1590s, the seismic shifts in state religion of the mid-16th century were still within living memory, and this wariness around performed consumption may have been influenced by lingering fears about idolatry and the transgressive materiality of transubstantiation. Although the morality plays of the 1590s in the collection (*A Looking Glass for London and England* and *The Love of King David and Fair Bethsabe*) draw on biblical stories rather than recent events, they demonstrate that concerns existed around morality, religion and danger, perhaps not only looking back to the problems of the mid-16th century, but also nervously anticipating the as-yet unresolved issue of Elizabeth's successor and the major religious upheaval it could potentially (but ultimately did not) bring. By the 1630s, however, the religious turmoil of the mid-16th century was a lifetime away and attitudes to Catholicism were somewhat relaxed following peace with Spain, and especially since Queen Henrietta Maria was Catholic herself. The associations between public display, sinfulness, danger and fear of the performative that these associations inspired, were, if not entirely eradicated, much reduced by the 1630s.

Although discussions about the morality (or rather immorality) of consumption never entirely ceased in the 17th century (and indeed still have not), as Linda Levy Peck notes in the Jacobean period “the context between moralizing prescription and legislation on the one hand and demand on the other tilted in favour of luxury

consumption”.⁵⁷⁶ The effect of changing economic conditions on the culture of consumption the early-to-mid-17th century was certainly significant, and directly contributed to the changes in social attitudes that made deliberate collection with the intent to display possible. As Marjorie Swann states, the “vogue for collection” in the 17th century was part of the “brave new world of consumer goods that emerged during the Renaissance”.⁵⁷⁷ James Raven also makes the link between the “increased disposable income [which] boosted the demand for non-essential and luxury goods” and the bibliomania which began to take hold of wealthy gentlemen in the mid-17th century. Raven explains that “the book, pamphlet, broadside, print, newspaper and magazine reside full square in the consumer and innovation revolution that filled the homes and work and lounging places of the early modern propertied”.⁵⁷⁸

As discussed in chapter 2, Charles I himself was a keen art collector and, while it is not necessarily true that all courtiers who exhibited the same collecting behaviours were deliberately emulating the King, it is certainly true that those moving in the same or similar circles to Charles and those close to him would have been exposed to paintings, painters and the idea of collection, and would perhaps have been inspired by them. Indeed, Jeremy Wood identifies Northumberland’s own taste in art as having been influenced more by his meeting with Van Dyck than by the king’s example alone.⁵⁷⁹ Whether directly influenced by the King’s own taste or not, to collect art in the 1630s was to be part of a movement, and one which Swann identifies as having an important social and political purpose: to create “displays of cultural capital which would increase their owners’ prestige among the cosmopolitan elite of early modern

⁵⁷⁶ Peck, *Consuming Splendor*. p. 3.

⁵⁷⁷ Swann, p. 5.

⁵⁷⁸ Raven ‘Country houses and the beginnings of bibliomania’, p. 172.

⁵⁷⁹ Wood, ‘Van Dyck and the Earl of Northumberland’, p. 290.

Europe – and garner enhanced political power in the process”.⁵⁸⁰ With conspicuous consumption not only becoming more permissible but actually politically and socially necessary, it is small wonder that it became increasingly more acceptable to discuss, or at least increasingly less necessary to disguise.

Alongside, and also certainly influenced by, these religious, economic and political contexts is another factor which helped to shape this culture of deliberate and undisguised performed consumption: the theatre itself. The influence of the theatre on the publishing industry has been well documented, and has produced some conflicting accounts (see Introduction), but it is clear that in some sense the viewing of plays prompted some spectators to purchase quartos. Little has been written about the collection of plays in this period and its link to live theatre, but in an article on Sir Edward Dering’s collection of playbooks T.N.S Lennam suggests that “it seems very likely that his collector’s appetite was first whetted by his interest in the theatre”.⁵⁸¹ Dering built his collection nearly two decades before Northumberland, purchasing the books between 1619 and 1624. Lennam identifies Dering’s prolific theatre-going as the cause of his interest in purchasing plays, but there was also another way in which theatre exacted an influence over the buying and selling of playbooks. As chapter 4 has shown, the 1630s saw a growing interest in theatre, and, parallel to this, society itself became increasingly concerned with theatricality and performance.

⁵⁸⁰ Swann, p. 18.

⁵⁸¹ Lennam, p. 148-9.

Conclusion: the Petworth collection and its place in history

In one of the few pieces of writing specifically addressing the issue of the Petworth plays and their ownership, Edward Miller dismisses the suggestion that the 10th Earl might have collected the plays, calling the idea “unlikely”, and suggests Northumberland’s uncle, a poet and playwright himself, as the much more likely candidate. Miller’s argument that the play collection aligns with tastes and interests of an older playwright, rather than with the relatively young Earl at the height of his political and social power, fits with some of the content of the collection in isolation – the earlier plays, for example, or those performed by children’s companies of which William Percy was apparently fond. However, archival evidence showing that the plays were purchased in 1638 proves Miller’s theory to be incorrect. The assumptions on which it is based, however, are very reasonable – making the 10th Earl’s purchase seem rather anomalous. Material evidence from the Petworth archive, however, tells a different story: one of a commissioned collection which was influenced more by an impulse to improve and build upon an existing, inherited library than by a strong desire to actually sit and read the plays themselves. This is not to say that the content was wholly unimportant to the 10th Earl: the prevalence of Shirley and Heywood in the collection demonstrates that there was an element of deliberateness in the selecting of some of the plays. However, there is also plenty of evidence which points to the opportunistic purchase of bundles of quartos, and a relatively lax – or at least inconsistent – attitude towards any sense of order or organisation. Far from being representative of an earlier collector’s mindset, as Miller suggests, in terms of content, assembly and motivation the Petworth collection is actually more in line with the attitudes of the later 17th century; ideas about collection which were firmly rooted in

the 1630s attitude to collection and performance, and which were beginning to take shape in that period.

Early modern collection, as characterised by Susan Pearce, “saw the shift from a concentration on the rare and curious among which esoteric resemblances might be sought, to that of the normal and regular through which recurrent and reliable patterns might be perceived”.⁵⁸² The increasingly rationalised and deliberate nature of collection mirrors the increasingly self-reflexive and self-conscious nature of society as a whole; the end of both is to negotiate the relationship between objects, the self and society, or, as Swann says of collection, “to construct social selves and modes of subjectivity”.⁵⁸³ These issues of self-consciousness, of the public self in society, and of theatricality all have their place in the story of the Petworth plays – a collection which is at once anomalous and typical, illustrating and mapping the multitude of issues, concepts and attitudes which surround performance, consumption and collection in the 1630s, and beyond.

⁵⁸² Pearce, p. 121.

⁵⁸³ Swann, p. 8.

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**Appendix 1: List of plays in the Petworth
collection by volume**

Volume	Author	Title	Edition	Year of edition	Year first published*	Printer	Publisher	Theatre	Troupe	Notes
1	Nathan Field (Nat. Field)	Amends for Ladies	1 st	1618‡	1618	George Elde (G.Elde)	Matthew Walbancke (Math. Walbancke)	Blackfriars	Prince's (Charles) Servants and, the Lady Elizabeth's	The last part of the imprint, which includes the date, has been cut off by the binder.
1	John Lyly‡	The Woman in the Moon	1 st	1597	1597	Robert James*	William Jones			The playwright's name has been crossed out.
1	John Lyly‡	Loves Metamorphosis	1 st	1601	1601*	Simon Stafford*	William Wood		Children of Pauls and the Children of the Chapel	
1	George Chapman	The Gentleman Usher	1 st	1606	1606	Valentine Simmes (V.S.)	Thomas Thorppe			
1	John Day	Humour out of Breath	1 st	1608	1608	Richard Bradock*	John Helmes		Children of the Kings Revels (James)	
1	George Chapman	May-Day	1 st	1611	1611	William Stansby*	John Browne	Blackfriars	Children of the Chapel*	

1	George Chapman (Geor. Chap)	The Widow's Tears	1 st	1612	1612	William Stansby*	John Browne‡	Blackfriars and Whitefriars		A tear in the paper, and the subsequent attempt to repair it, obscures "John" and part the beginning of "Browne".
1		Two Wise Men and All the Rest Fools	1 st	1619	1619					
1	S.S‡	The Honest Lawyer	1 st	1616‡	1616	George Purslowe‡	Richard Woodroffe‡		Queen's majesties servants (Anne)‡	This quarto lacks a title page.
1	Beaumont and Fletcher (Francis Beaumont and John Flecher)	A King and no King	2 nd	1625	1619	Thomas Snodham*	Thomas Walkley	Blackfriars	His majesty's servants (James)	
1	Thomas Heywood	Love's Maistresse or The Queenes Masque	1 st	1636	1636	Robert Raworth	John Crowch	Phoenix in Drury Lane	Queen's Comedians (Henrietta Maria)	

2	John Lydgate‡	The Serpent of Division‡	3 rd ‡	1590‡	1535	Edward Allde‡	John Perrin‡			Published as one quarto. The title page of The Serpent of Division is missing. The final page of <i>Gorboduc</i> , G5, is missing and has been replaced with C5, which has the conclusion of <i>The Serpent of Division</i>
2	Thomas Norton and Thomas Sackuyle	The Tragedy of Gorboduc	1 st	1590	1565	Edward Allde	John Perrin	Whitehall	Gentlemen of the Inner Temple	
2	John Webster	The Tragedy of the Duchess of Malfi	1 st	1623	1623	Nicholas Okes	John Waterson	Blackfriars and The Globe	King's Majesties Sevants (James)	Final page is lacking bottom half.
2	Thomas Heywood (T.H.)	The Second part of The Fair Maid of the West	1 st	1631	1631	Miles Flesher*	Richard Royston		Queen's Majesties Comedians (Henrietta Maria)	Both parts of the play were published in one quarto. The first part appears in one of the lost volumes, though it is not known if this came from the same copy as this part.

2		A Pleasant Comedy of Fair Em, The Miller's Daughter of Manchester	2 nd *	1631	1591	John Haviland*	John Wright		Lord Strange's servants	
2	Jasper Fisher*	Fuimus Troes, Aeneid 2. The True Troianes	1 st	1633	1633	John Legat (I.L.)	Robert Allot	Magdalen College Oxford	Gentlemen Students of Magdalen College	
2	Shakerley Marmyon	A Fine Companion	1 st	1633	1633	August Mathewes (Aug. Mathewes)	Richard Meighan	Whitehall and Salisbury Court	Prince's servants (Charles)	
3		A Larum for London	1 st	1602	1602	Edward Alde*	William Ferbrand		Lord Chamberlain's servants (Hundson)	
3	Thomas Middleton	Michaelmas Term	1 st	1607	1607	Edward Alde and Thomas Purfoot*	Arthur Johnson (A.I.)		Children of Paul's	

3	Anthony Munday*	The Downfall of Robert, Earl of Huntington	1 st	1601	1601	Richard Bradock*	William Leake		Lord High Admiral's servants (Nottingham)	
3	John Webster	The White Devil	1 st	1612	1612	Nicholas Okes (N.O.)	Thomas Archer		Queen's majesties servants (Anne)	
3	Thomas Preston	A Lamentable Tragedy... containing the Life of Cambises, King of Persia	3 rd *	1595*	1570*	Edward Alde*				
3	Robert Daborn	A Christian turned Turk	1 st	1612	1612	Nicholas Okes*	William Barrenger			
3	Christopher Marlow (Ch. Marl.)	Doctor Faustus	2 nd *	1609	1604*	George Elde (G.E.)	John Wright		Admiral's Men (Nottingham)*	
3	Ben Jonson	Volpone	1 st	1607	1607	George Elde*	Thomas Thorppe		King James's Men*	
3	Thomas Heywood	The Silver Age	1 st	1613	1613	Nicholas Okes			Queen Anne's Men*	

3	James Shirley	The Grateful Servant	1 st	1630	1630	Bernard Alsop and Thomas Fawcet (B.A. and T.F.)	John Greve	Private house in Drury Lane	Her majesties servants (Henrietta Maria)	
4	Thomas Heywood	The Brazen Age	1 st	1613	1613	Nicholas Okes	Samuel Rand		Queen Anne's Men*	
4	Thomas Heywood	A Maidenhead well Lost	1 st	1634	1634	Nicholas Okes	John Jackson and Francis Church	Cockpit on Drury Lane	Queen Henrietta Maria's Men	
4		A Most Pleasant Comedy of Mucedorus	14 th *	1634	1598	Elizabeth Purslowe*	John Wright	Whitehall	His Highness Servants usually playing at the Globe (Charles)	
4	Phillip Massinger	The Great Duke of Florence	1 st	1636	1636	Miles Flesher*	John Marriot	Phoenix	Her majesties Servants (Henrietta Maria)	

4	Thomas Heywood	A Challenge for Beauty	1 st	1636	1636	Robert Raworth	James Becket	Blackfriars and The Globe	Kings majesties servants (Charles)	
4	James Shirley	The Lady of Pleasure	1 st	1637	1637	Thomas Cotes	Andrew Crooke and William Cooke	Private house in Drury Lane	Her majesties servants (Henrietta Maria)	
4	James Shirley	The Gamester	1 st	1637	1637	John Norton	Andrew Crooke and William Cooke	Private house in Drury Lane	Her majesties servants (Henrietta Maria)	
4	Thomas Heywood (Tho. Heywood)	The Wise-Woman of Hogsdon	1 st	1638	1638	Marmaduke Parsons (M.P.)	Henry Shephard		Queen Anne's Men*	
5	Robert Armin	The History of the Two Maids of More-clacke	1 st	1609	1609	Nicholas Okes (N.O.)	Thomas Archer		Children of the Kings Majesties Revels (James)	
5	Gervase Markham and William Sampson	The True Tragedy of Herod and Antipater	1 st	1622	1622	George Elde (G.Elde)	Matthew Rhodes	Red Bull	Company of his Majesties Revels (James)	

5	Thomas Goffe	The Raging Turk	1 st	1631	1631	August Matthews	Richard Meighan	Oxford	Students of Christ Church Oxford	
5		The Costly Whore	1 st	1633	1633	August Matthews	William Sheares		Company of the Revels	
5	J.W.	The Valiant Scot	1 st	1637	1637	Thomas Harper	John Waterson			
5	Henry Killigrew	The Conspiracy	1 st	1638	1638	John Norton	Andrew Crooke		King Charles' Men*	
5	William D'Avenant‡	The Cruel Brother‡	1 st	1630‡	1630			Blackfriars‡	King's Men‡	This copy lacks a title page, beginning with the epistle to the reader.
6	Thomas Heywood*	How a Man may choose a Good Wife from a Bad	6 th *	1630	1602*	John Norton (I.N.)	Hugh Perrie		Earl of Worcester's servants	
6	Thomas Randolph	Aristippus, or The Jovial Philosopher, and The Conceited Pedlar	4 th *	1631	1630*	Elizabeth Alde*	Robert Allot	Presented in a private show		These two plays, published as one quarto, are treated as one in the collection, with only Aristippus mentioned in the handwritten list

6	Thomas Dekker*	The Shoemaker's Holiday	5 th *	1631	1600*	Eliot's Court Press*	John Wright		Admiral's (Nottingham's) Men	
6	George Chapman	Caesar and Pompey	1 st	1631	1631	Thomas Harper	Godfrey Emondson and Thomas Alchorne			
6	James Shirley	The Traitor	1 st	1635	1635	John Norton*	William Cooke		Queen Henrietta Maria's Men*	
6	John Jones*	Adrasta: The Woman's Spleen and Love's Conquest	1 st	1635	1635	Miles Flesher*	Richard Royston			
6	Lording Barrey (Lo. Barrey)	Ram-Alley or Merry Tricks	3 rd *	1636	1611*	John Norton	Robert Wilson		Children of the King's Revels	
6	Thomas Heywood	The Royal King and the Loyal Subject	1 st	1637	1637	Nicholas Okes	James Becket		Queen Henrietta Maria's Men*	
6	James Shirley	Hyde Park	1 st	1637	1637†	Thomas Cotes	Andrew Crooke and William Cooke	Private house in Drury Lane	Her majesties servants (Henrietta Maria)	The bottom of the title page has been cropped, removing the date.

6	Lodovick Carlell‡	The Favourite‡	1 st	1629‡	1629‡	William Stansby‡	Matthew Rhodes‡		King's Men‡	The title page is missing from this quarto.
6	James Shirley	The Young Admiral	1 st	1637	1637	Thomas Cotes (Tho. Cotes)	Andrew Crooke and William Cooke		Queen Henrietta Maria's Men*	
7	Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher	The Scornful Lady	4th	1635	1616	August Matthews		Blackfriars	Kings Majesties Servants (Charles)	
7	Thomas Heywood	The Four Prentices of London	1st	1615	1615	Nicholas Okes*	John Wright (I.W.)	Red Bull	Queen's Majesties Servants (Anne)	
7	Lording Barrey (Lo. Barry)	Ram Alley or Merry Tricks	2 nd *	1611	1611	George Elde (G. Elde)	Robert Wilson		Children of the King's Revels (James)	
7	Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher (Fran. Baumont & Io. Fletcher)	Cupid's Revenge	2nd	1630	1615	August Matthews*	Thomas Jones		Children of the Revels	
7	William Shakespeare	The Tragedy of Hamlet	5 th *	1625*	1603	William Stansby (W.S.)	John Smethwicke		Lord Chamberlain's Men* (Hundson)	

7	Thomas Heywood	The Iron Age	1 st	1632	1632	Nicholas Okes			Queen Anne's Men*	Heavily cropped, the top half of the title is missing.
7	Phillip Massinger	The Roman Actor	1 st	1629	1629	Bernard Alsop and Thomas Fawcet (B.A. and T.F.)	John Greve	Blackfriars	Kings Majesties Servants (James)	
7	Phillip Massinger	A New Way to Play Old Debts	1 st	1633	1633	Elizabeth Purslowe (E.P.)	Henry Seyle	Phoenix in Drury Lane	Queens Majesties Servants (Henrietta Maria)	
7	Phillip Massinger	The Picture	1 st	1630	1630	John Norton (I.N.)	Thomas Walkley	Blackfriars and the Globe	Kings Majesties Servants (Charles)	
7	Phillip Massinger	The Maid of Honour	1 st	1632	1632	John Beale (I.B.)	Robert Allot	Phoenix in Drury Lane	Queens Majesties Servants (Henrietta Maria)	
8	James Shirley	Changes or Love in a Maze	1 st	1632	1632	George Purslowe (G.P.)	William Cooke	Private House in Salisbury Court	Company of His Majesties Revels (Charles)	

8	James Shirley	The Bird in a Cage	1 st	1633	1633	Bernard Alsop and Thomas Fawcet (B. Alsop and T. Fawcet)	William Cooke	Phoenix in Drury Lane	Queen Henrietta Maria's Men*	
8	John Fletcher and William Shakespeare	The Two Noble Kinsmen	1 st	1634	1634	Thomas Cotes (Tho. Cotes)	John Waterson	Blackfriars	Kings Majesties Servants (Charles)	B1r is damaged and some text has been written by hand
8	Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher	The Knight of the Burning Pestle	2 nd *	1635	1613*	Nicholas Okes (N.O.)	John Spencer (I.S.)	Private House in Drury Lane	Her Majesties Servants (Henrietta Maria)	
8	John Fletcher	The Elder Brother	1 st	1637	1637	Felix Kingston (F.K.)	John Waterson and John Benson (J.W. and J.B.)	Blackfriars	His Majesties Servants (Charles)	
8	James Shirley	The Example	1 st	1637	1637	John Norton	Andrew Crooke and William Cooke	Private House in Drury Lane	Her Majesties Servants (Henrietta Maria)	

8	William Shakespeare (W. Shake- Speare)	Romeo and Juliet	5 th *	1637	1597*	Robert Young (R. Young)	John Smethwicke	Globe	Kings Majesties Servants (Charles)	
8	James Shirley	The Royal Master	1 st	1638	1638	Thomas Cotes	John Crooke and Richard Serger	The new theatre in Dublin and ... in the Castle		
8	James Shirley	The Duke's Mistress	1 st	1638	1638	John Norton	Andrew Crooke	Private House in Drury Lane	Her Majesties Servants (Henrietta Maria)	
9	William Haughton	A Woman will have her Will	3 rd	1631	1616*	August Matthews			Admiral's (Nottingham's) Men*	
9	Pet. Hausted	The Rival Friends	1 st	1632	1632	August Matthews	Humphrey Robinson	Cambridge		
9	Thomas Heywood	If you Know not Me, you Know Nobody	4 th	1633	1605*		Nathaniel Butter		Queen Anne's Men*	
9	John Ford	The Chronicle History of Perkin Warbeck	1 st	1634	1634	Thomas Purfoot	Hugh Beeston	Phoenix in Drury Lane	Queens Majesties Sevents	

9	William Sampson	The Vow Breaker or The Fair Maid of Clifton	1 st	1636	1636	John Norton				
9	Thomas Nabbes	Microcosmus, A Moral Maske	1 st	1637	1637	Richard Oulton	Charles Green	Private House in Salisbury Court	Queen Henrietta Maria's Men*	
10	Thomas Dekker	The Whore of Babylon	1 st	1607	1607	Eliot's Court Press*	Nathaniel Butter		Princes Servants	The title page is partly printed in red. This is the only quarto in the collection with coloured ink
10	William Shakespeare	The Tragedy of Othello	1 st	1622	1622	Nicholas Okes	Thomas Walkley	Blackfriars and The Globe	King's Men	This quarto has a number of annotations in at least two hands, including a hand written list of Dramatis Personae on the verso side of the final leaf
10	Ben Jonson	Poetaster or The Arraignmen t	1 st	1602	1602	Richard Bradock	Matthew Lownes	Blackfriars	Children of her majesty's chappell	

10	Thomas Dekker and John Webster	Northward Hoe	1 st	1607	1607	George Elde			Children of Paul's	
10	Thomas Dekker	The Second Part of the Honest Whore	1 st	1630	1630	Elizabeth Alde	Nathaniel Butter		Prince Henry's Men*	
10	Thomas Dekker	The Wonder of a Kingdom	1 st	1636	1636	Robert Raworth	Nicholas Vavasour		Queen Henrietta Maria's Men*	
10	William Shakespeare	Love's Labours Lost	3 rd	1631	1598*	William Stansby	John Smethwicke	Blackfriars and The Globe	King's Men	
10	William Shakespeare †	The First and Second Part of the Troublesome Reign of King John of England	3 rd	1622	1591*	August Matthews	Thomas Dewe		"As they were (sundry times) lately acted"	
10	Ben Jonson	The Fountain of Self Love or Cynthia's Revels	1 st	1601	1601	Richard Read*	Walter Burre	Blackfriars	Children of her majesties revels	

10	George Chapman, Ben Jonson, John Marston	Eastward Hoe	1 st	1605	1605*	George Elde*	William Aspley	Blackfriars	Children of her majesties revels	
11	Phillip Massinger	The Picture	1 st	1630	1630	John Norton	Thomas Walkley	Blackfriars and The Globe	King's Men	At least some leaves in this quarto appear to be taken from a proof copy, printed before the first edition
11	James Shirley	A Contention for Honour and Riches	1 st	1633	1633	Elizabeth Alde	William Cooke			
11	Thomas Goffe	The Tragedy of Orestes	1 st	1633	1633	John Beale*	Richard Meighan		Students of Christs Church Oxford	
11	Beaumont and Fletcher	Philaster or Love Lies a Bleeding	4 th	1634		William Jones	Richard Hawkins	Blackfriars and The Globe	King's Men	
11		Wine, Beer, Ale and Tobacco	2 nd	1630	1629*	Thomas Cotes	John Grove			The date on the title page has been changed by hand to 1636

11	Thomas Nabbes	Hannibal and Scipio	1 st	1637	1637	Richard Oulton	Charles Green	Private House in Drury Lane	Queens Majesties Sevents	
11	Thomas Nabbes	Tottenham Court	1 st	1638	1638	Richard Oulton	Charles Green	Private House in Salisbury Court		
11	George Chapman*	Sir Giles Goose-Cappe, Knight	2 nd	1636*	1606*	John Norton*	Hugh Perry	Private House in Salisbury Court	Children of the Chapel*	
12	George Peele	The Love of King David and Fair Bathsheba	1 st	1599	1599	Adam Islip				"Rich Crashawe" written on title page. What appear to be stitching patterns drawn in some margins
12	John Marston	Parasitaster or The Fawn	1 st	1606	1606	Thomas Purfoot	William Cotton	Blackfriars	Children of the Queens Majesties revels	Heavy damage to final leaf which has been repaired with new paper and lines finished by hand

12	John Marston	What you Will	1 st	1607	1607	George Elde	Thomas Thorppe		Children of Paul's*	
12	George Wilkins	The Miseries of Inforced Marriages	1 st	1607	1607	William Jaggard*	George Vincent		King's Men	Dates written on the title page "1607 1704 1704"
12	Cyril Tourneur	The Atheist's Tragedy	1 st	1611	1611	John Stepney	Richard Redmere			
12	William Shakespeare	The Tragedy of King Richard III	5 th	1612	1597*	Thomas Creede			King's Men*	Title page lacking
12	Barton Holyday	Technogamia or The Marriages of the Arts	1 st	1618	1618	William Stansby	John Parker		Students of Christs Church Oxford	
12	James Shirley	The Wedding	1 st	1629	1629	Nicholas Okes*	John Grove	Phoenix in Drury Lane	Queen Henrietta Maria's Men	
12	William Rowley	A New Wonder, a Woman Never Vexed	1 st	1632	1632	George Purslowe	Francis Constable			"Rich Crashawe" written on title page

12	William Rowley	A Tragedy called All's Lost by Lust	1 st	1633	1633	Thomas Harper		Phoenix in Drury Lane	Lady Elizabeth's servants and her majesties servants	
13	Fulke Greville*	The Tragedy of Mustapha	1 st	1609	1609	John Windet*	Nathaniel Butter			
13	Gervase Markham and Lewis Machin	The Dumb Knight	2 nd	1633	1608*	August Matthews	William Sheares		Children of the King's Revels	
13	Thomas Kyd	The Spanish Tragedy	9 th	1623	1592*	August Matthews			Derby's Men*	
13	John Jones	Adrasta or The Woman's Spleen	1 st	1635	1635	Miles Flesher*	Richard Royston			
13	Thomas Tomkis	Albumazar	1 st	1615	1615	Nicholas Okes	William Burre	Cambridge	Gentlemen of Trinity College	
13	Thomas Heywood*	The Fair Maid of the Exchange	2 nd	1625	1607*	John Legat*				
13		The Revenger's Tragedy	2 nd	1608	1607	George Elde			King's Men	

13		A Pleasant Comedy: The Wit of a Woman	1 st	1604	1604	Edward Allde*	Edward White			
13	John Marston	Histro-Mastix or The Player Whipped	1 st	1610	1610	George Elde*	Thomas Thorppe		Children of Paul's*	
13	William Shakespeare	King Richard II	1 st	1597*	1597	Valentine Simmes*	Andrew Wise*		Lord Chamberlain's Men*	
13	John Ford	The Broken Heart	1 st	1633	1633	John Beale*	Hugh Beeston	Blackfriars	King's Men	
14	Thomas Dekker	The Pleasant Comedy of Old Fortunatus	1 st	1600	1600	Simon Stafford	William Aspley		Admiral's (Nottingham's) Men	
14	Thomas Middleton	The Phoenix	1 st	1607	1607	Edward Allde	Arthur Johnson		Children of Paul's	
14	William Shakespeare	The History of King Lear	2 nd	1608	1608	William Jaggard	Nathaniel Butter	Whitehall	King's Men	
14	Samuel Rowley	When You See Me You Know Me	3 rd	1621*	1605*	Thomas Purfoot	Nathaniel Butter		Prince Henry's Men	

14	Phillip Massinger	The Bond Man	1 st	1624	1624	Edward Allde	John Harrison and Edward Blackmore	Cockpit on Drury Lane	Lady Elizabeth's Men	
14	William Shakespeare	The History of Henry IV	8 th	1632*	1598*	John Norton			Lord Chamberlain's Men*	
14	John Marston	The Insatiate Countess	3 rd	1631	1613*	John Norton	Hugh Perry	Whitefriars	Children of the Queen's Revels*	
14	Thomas Heywood	The English Traveller	1 st	1633	1633	Robert Raworth		Cockpit on Drury Lane	Queen Henrietta Maria's Men	
14	John Ford	Love's Sacrifice	1 st	1633	1633	John Beale	Hugh Beeston	Phoenix in Drury Lane	Queen Henrietta Maria's Men	
14	Thomas Heywood and Richard Broome	The Late Lancashire Witches	1 st	1634	1634	Thomas Harper	Benjamin Fisher	Globe	King's Men	
15	Edward Sharpham	Cupid's Whiligig	4 th	1630	1607*	Thomas Harper	Richard Meighan		Children of the King's Revels	
15	James Shirley	Changes or Love in a Maze	1 st	1632	1632	George Purslowe*	William Cooke*	Private House in Salisbury Court*	King's Revels Company*	

15	John Mason	An Excellent Tragedy of Mulleasses the Turk	2 nd	1632	1610*	Thomas Purfoot	Francis Falkner		Children of the King's Revels	
15	Thomas Lodge and Robert Greene	A Looking Glass for London and England	5 th	1617	1594*	Bernard Alsop			Derby's Men*	
15	George Chapman	The Wars of Pompey and Caesar	1 st	1631	1631	Thomas Harper	Godfrey Edmondson and Thomas Alchorne			
15	John Marston	Antonio's Revenge	1 st	1602	1602	Richard Bradock*	Thomas Fisher*		Children of Paul's	Bottom half of title page lacking, top half heavily marked, including the name "Leonard Shylett"
15	William Shakespeare	The Chronicle History of Henry V	3 rd	1608	1600*	George Purslowe	Richard Hawkins		Lord Chamberlain's Men	
15		The Weakest Goeth to the Wall	2 nd	1618	1600*	George Purslowe	Richard Hawkins		Oxford's Men	

15	John Webster	The Devil's Law Case or When Women go to Law	1 st	1623	1623	August Matthews	John Grismand		Queen Anne's Men	
15	Thomas May	The Heir	1 st	1622	1622	Bernard Alsop	Thomas Jones		Red Bull Company*	
16	George Peele	The Battle of Alcazar	1 st	1594	1594	Edward Alde	Richard Bankworth		Admiral's (Nottingham's) Men	
16	W.S.	The True Chronicle History of the whole Life and Death of Thomas Lord Cromwell	2 nd	1613	1602*	William Stansby	Thomas Snodham		King's Men	
16	George Chapman	The Conspiracy and Tragedy of Charles, Duke of Byron	2 nd	1625	1608*	Nicholas Okes	Thomas Thorppe	Blackfriars	Children of the Queen's Revels*	

16	Thomas Goffe	The Courageous Turk or Amurath the First	1 st	1632	1632	Bernard Alsop and Thomas Fawcet	Richard Meighan	Oxford	Students of Christ Church Oxford	
16	Phillip Massinger	The Emperor of the East	1 st	1632	1632	Thomas Harper	John Waterson	Blackfriars and The Globe	King's Men	
16	Phillip Massinger and Nathan Field	The Fatal Dowry, A Tragedy	1 st	1632	1632	John Norton	Francis Constable		King's Men*	
16	John Ford	The Broken Heart	1 st	1633	1633	John Beale	Hugh Beeston	Blackfriars	King's Men*	
16	Christopher Marlow	The Famous Tragedy of the Rich Jew of Malta	1 st	1633	1633	John Beale	Nicholas Vavasour	Whitehall	Queen Henrietta Maria's Men	
16	Thomas Goffe	The Tragedy of Orestes	1 st	1633	1633	John Beale	Richard Meighan	Oxford		
16	Ben Jonson	Catiline: His Conspiracy	4 th	1635	1611*	Nicholas Okes	John Spencer		King's Men	

Key

*Information not shown on the title page of this edition

†Attributed on the Petworth copy, but since discredited. Modern attribution, if any, given in brackets

‡Information on title page of edition in normal circumstances, but removed from this copy in some way (see notes)

Notes

Generally, the information in the table can be found on the title page of the quarto. The exceptions are the date first published (except in the case of first editions), and any other information marked with an asterisk or double dagger (see key). First editions are not noted on titles pages, for obvious reasons, but other edition numbers are unless marked.

Information not found on the title page is generally taken from the Database of Early English Plays (DEEP), Early English Books Online (EEBO) or from other early editions.

Full names of playwrights, printers and publishers are given where known, if initials or other shorthand is used on the title page then this is given in brackets.

Spelling is standardised in titles, and in some circumstances in names (i.e. Iohn Lyllie becomes John Lyly).

The theatre troupe is as given on the title page, with clarification in brackets e.g. names of monarchs.

The “Notes” columns is not comprehensive, but is intended to give a feel for the collection by describing significant and/or interesting aspects of some of the volumes. For example, missing titles pages will be noted, but other missing leaves may not be. Large areas of damage will be described, small marks may not etc.

The contents of the volumes are described in fols. 46^v-48^v of the 1690 Catalogue (MS. PHA 5377),

**Appendix 2: List of plays in the lost
volumes**

Volume	Author	Title	Edition	Year of edition	Year first published	Printer	Publisher	Theatre	Troupe
17	Thomas Middleton	A trick to catch the old one	2 nd	1616	1608	George Elde	Thomas Langley	Blackfriars	Children of Paul's
17	Henry Chettle*	Tragedy of Hoffman	1st	1631	1631	John Norton	Hugh Perry	Phoenix	
17		Arden of Faversham	1st	1592	1592	Edward Alde	Edward White		
17	Phineas Fletcher*	Sicelides a Piscatory	1 st	1631	1631	John Norton	William Sheares	King's College Cambridge	
17		Loves Loadstone (Pathomachia or The Battle of Affections)	1st	1630	1630	Thomas and Richard Coats	Francis Constable		
17	Thomas Tomakis*	Combat of the tongue			1607				
17	George Chapman	Caesar and Pompey	1 st		1631	Thomas Harper	Godfrey Emondson and Thomas Alchorne		Children of Paul's
17	W.S. (Thomas Middleton*)	The Puritan	1 st	1607	1607	George Elde			Children of Paul's
17	Joshua Cooke	Greene's Tu Quoque or the City Gallant			1614	Nicholas Okes			

18	Wentworth Smith	The Palsgrave	1 st	1615	1615	Thomas Creege	Josias Harrison	Red Bull	
18	Edward Shapham	The Fleer	4 th	1631	1607	Edward Alde	Francis Burton	Blackfriars	Children of the Queen's Revels
18	William Shakespeare	Merchant of Venice		1600	1600 (Pavier?)				
18	John Lyly*	Sapho and Phao	3 rd	1591	1584	Thomas Orwin	William Broome		Children of the Chapel and the Children of Paul's
18	Elizabeth Carey	Tragedy of Mariam	1 st	1613	1613	Thomas Creede	Richard Hawkins		
18		Warning for Fair Women	1 st	1599	1599	Valentine Simms	William Aspley		Lord Chamberlain's men
18	Robert Tailor	The hog has lost his pearl	1 st	1614	1614	John Beale	Richard Redmer		Certain London pretices
18	George Chapman	Mr d'Olive	1 st	1606	1606	Thomas Creede	William Holme	Blackfriars	Children of the Queen's Revels
18	James Shirley	School of Complement	1 st	1631	1631	Elizabeth Alde	Francis Constable	Private House in Drury Lane	Her Majesty's Servants

18		Swetnam the Woman-hater	1 st	1620	1620	William Stansby	Richard Meighen	Red Bull	Queen Anne's Men
18	Thomas Middleton	The World Tost at Tennis			1620	George Purslowe	Edward Wright		Prince's Servants
18	Robert Wilson	3 Lords of London (The Three Lords and the Three Ladies of London)	1 st	1590†	1590	Richard Jones			Queen Elizabeth's Men
19	William Shakespeare	Henry IV Part 1		1622	1598	Thomas Purfoot	Matthew Law		Lord Chamberlain's Men
19	William Shakespeare	Henry IV Part 2	1 st	1600	1600	Valentine Simmes	Andrew Wise and William Aspley		Lord Chamberlain's Servants
19	Beaumont and Fletcher	Theirry and Theodoret	1 st	1621	1621	Nicholas Okes	Thomas Walkley	Blackfriars	King's Men
19	Gervase Markham*	Herod and Antipater			1622	George Eld	Mathew Rhodes	Red Bull	His majesty's revels
19	John Ford	Lover's Melancholy	1 st	1629	1629	Felix Kingston	Henry Seile	Blackfriars	King's men
19	Thomas Drue*	Duchess of Suffolk	1 st	1631	1631	Augustine Matthewes	Emery Jasper		
19		Captain Thomas Stukeley	1 st	1605	1605	William Jaggard	Thomas Pavier		Admiral's men
19	Nathanial Woodes	Conflict of Conscience	1 st	1581	1581	Richard Bradock			

19	William Shakespeare	Yorkshire Tragedy	1 st	1608	1608	Richard Bradock	Thomas Pavier	Globe	His Majesty's players
19	Terrence, Trans. Maurice Kyffin	Andria	1 st	1588	1588				
19	Philip Massinger	Virgin-Martyr			1622	Bernard Alsop	Thomas Jones		Servants of his majesty's revels
19	William Shakespeare	Troilus and Cresida	1 st	1609	1609	George Elde	Richard Bonian and Henry Walley	Globe	King's majesty's servants
19	Ben Jonson	Every man out of his humour	1 st	1600	1600				
20	George Gascgoine	Glass of Government	1 st	1575	1575	Henry Middleton	Christopher Barker		
20	Robert Greene*	Selymus' Reign	1 st	1594	1594	Thomas Creede			Queen's majesty's players
20	John Day	Law-tricks	1 st	1608	1608	Edward Alde	Richard Moore		Children of the Queen's Revels
20		Every woman in her humour	1 st	1609	1609	Edward Alde	Thomas Archer		
20		Merry Milk maids			1620	Bernard Alsop	Laurence Chapman		Company of the revels
20	William D'Avenant	Just Italian	1 st	1630†	1630	Thomas Harper	John Waterson	Blackfriars	His Majesties servants

20	Thomas Heywood	Fair Maid of the West 1st Part	1 st	1631	1631	Miles Flesher	Richard Royston		Queen's Comedians
20	Peter Hausted	Rival Friends	1 st	1632	1632	Augustine Mathewes	Humphrey Robinson	Queen's college Cambridge	Students of Queen's college
20	Samuel Rowley	Noble Spanish Soldier	1 st	1634	1634	John Beale	Nicholas Vavasour		

Key

* Author's name not given in catalogue

† Date not given in the catalogue, but only one edition known

Notes

The volumes are numbered in the 1690 catalogue as 1, 10, 13 and 14 respectively. This original numbering is no longer used however, so they have been given new numbers here to fit in with the Petworth volumes.

Titles are given as they are written in the 1690 catalogue, although some spellings have been standardised. Authors names have been expanded where known (e.g. T. Middleton in the catalogue is given as Thomas Middleton here).

The bibliographic and performance information is partly speculative and is based on the edition given in the 1690 catalogue (indicated by the year of publication) and DEEP. The catalogue gives the title, author (in some cases) and the year of the edition (again, only in some cases). For some quartos it is not possible to establish the edition as no year is given, therefore no bibliographic information is given. For others, no date is given, but only one edition is known: in this case the information for that edition is given.

The contents of the volumes are described in fols. 46^v-48^v of the 1690 Catalogue (MS. PHA 5377),