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Editions of Early Modern Drama Used by T. S. Eliot: A Resource

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T.S. Eliot's Editions of Elizabethan and Jacobean Plays

In the 1928 introduction for Ezra Pound's *Selected Poems*, Eliot discussed, in passing, how his own poetic voice had been formed: 'The form in which I began to write, in 1908 or 1909, was directly drawn from the study of Laforgue together with the later Elizabethan drama' (Eliot, 'Introduction' 8).¹ In Eliot's works there are numerous allusions and direct quotations from Elizabethan and Jacobean drama, and the more ineffable yet pervasive effects of these sources—in the tone, the cadence and the imaginative world evoked in his poetry—are also evident. This can be seen in many poems, not least 'Gerontion', of which Denis Donoghue once memorably wrote, 'we smell the Jacobean smoke and sulphur' (Donoghue 84). Moreover, Eliot judged his essays on these non-Shakespearian Elizabethan and Jacobean dramatists to be among 'the best' of his critical work.²

Nevertheless, despite Eliot's own avowal of the artistic and critical debt he owed them, the relationship between Eliot and the non-Shakespearian Early Modern dramatists has received relatively little attention. (It is, notably, a lot less than the amount of interest afforded to Laforgue.) Indeed, it is only in recent years that this topic has gained sustained study in the form of a book by Steven Matthews, *T.S. Eliot and Early Modern Literature* (2013). However, even here, the Elizabethan and Jacobean playwrights must share the space with two other giants of influence on Eliot: Metaphysical poets and the Early Modern theologian Lancelot Andrewes, who provided much of the inspiration behind 'Journey of the Magi' among other works.

Apart from this volume, a small number of classics such as Hugh Kenner's seminal *The Pound Era* (1971) have a few pages expanding on the dramatists, but even works that concentrate on the formation of Eliot's sensibility, such as Piers Gray's *T.S. Eliot's Intellectual and Poetic Development 1909-1922* (1982) and the first volume of Lyndall Gordon's moving biography, *Eliot's Early Years* (1977) only mention Early Modern drama in passing. This is also the case for a more recent book with a similar remit, if a different format, Joseph Maddrey's *The Making of T.S. Eliot: A Study of the Literary Influences* (2009), a reference book in which four and a half pages are given to a few Early Modern dramatists. The topic also receives interesting incidental attention in

a few other books such as Richard Badenhuisen's *T.S. Eliot and the Art of Collaboration* (2004), which considers, naturally, the collaborative nature of Early Modern theatre in reference to Eliot, while David E. Chinitz' fascinating *T.S. Eliot and the Cultural Divide* (2003) discusses the popularity or otherwise of Early Modern theatre.

There have also been few articles on the topic. The only relatively recent full-length one is again by Matthews, on Eliot and Chapman, published in 2006 in the *Journal of Modern Literature*. The rest have mostly been in the shape of short notes detailing a particular allusion; the exceptions are Todd Williams' article on 'Eliot's Alteration of Renaissance Drama through Frazer in *The Waste Land*' (2004), which draws suggestive (if sometimes tenuous) links, and the little-known but excellent 'Eliot's Use of *The White Devil* in *The Waste Land*' (1991) by Jenny Macklin, which provides cogent analyses on Websterian echoes.

There is, therefore, much room for further critical engagement, and for those scholars seeking to contribute to this late-blooming yet burgeoning topic, or for those concerned more generally with the way Eliot's poetic and critical voice was formed, knowing exactly which editions Eliot used in encountering the dramatists can often be of great importance, for three major reasons.

One is that the essays and introductions included in some of these editions greatly influenced Eliot's own perception of the dramatists. For example, the main critical thrust of his essay, 'Cyril Tourneur', owes much to two predecessors, the first being an essay by Swinburne included in his *The Age of Shakespeare* (1908), and the other being John Churton Collins' introduction to the 1878 edition of Tourneur's works. It is in the introduction to this edition that he found the assessment that the 'great defect' of Tourneur was his 'narrowness of his range of vision', which provided the intellectual impetus that inspired Eliot's theory that Tourneur's youthful cynicism was underlined by 'the death motive', an idea that provides suggestive routes back into Eliot's own works (Collins, liii).

Secondly, for this most intellectual of poets, critical perceptions often find a direct correlative in his creative work. One finds, for example, that the famous lines from *The Waste Land*, "Oh keep the Dog far hence, that's friend to men, / Or with his nails he'll dig it up again!" may owe its presence in 'The Burial of the Dead' to a footnote in the edition Eliot had of *The White Devil*: the 'Mermaid' edition of *Webster and*

Tourneur, edited by J. Addington Symonds (Eliot, *Poems* 328). As Eliot himself point out in his 'Notes', the allusion is to the 'Dirge in Webster's White Devil', and despite the scarcity of editorial notes in this edition, Symonds gives a footnote to this song, quoting Charles Lamb's comment from *Specimens of English Dramatic Poets*:

I never saw anything like this dirge, except the ditty which reminds Ferdinand of his drowned father in the *Tempest*. As that is of the water, watery; so this is of the earth, earthy. Both have that intenseness of feeling, which seems to resolve itself into the elements which it contemplates. (Lamb 233; Symonds, *W&T* 111)

Given the obvious prominence of the 'Full Fathom Five' song of *The Tempest* in *The Waste Land*, it is fascinating to note that Cornelia's dirge was explicitly connected to it in the edition Eliot owned. As Matthews points out, this footnote 'suggests...a structuring principle for Eliot's poem, its evocation of the elements of earth and water, when considering "burial"' (Matthews 108). The specific edition Eliot used here is clearly of paramount importance to the construction of *The Waste Land*.

Knowing which editions Eliot used can also prevent the scholar from making erroneous conclusions. Since Eliot most frequently relied on the 'Mermaid' editions, one might assume that there is some significance in Eliot changing a word in the epigraph to 'Sweeney Erect', taken from Beaumont and Fletcher's *The Maid's Tragedy* from 'See, see, wenches' to 'Look, look, wenches' (Eliot, *Poems* 36). However, Eliot in fact used another edition by G.P. Baker (his teacher at Harvard) in which the word is given as 'Look, look' (Baker 102).

The third major reason why specific editions are crucial to the understanding of the hinterland of Eliot's works, are because some editorial errors, only present in certain editions, were absorbed and transmuted into his poetry or prose. An example of this is Eliot's frequent quotation of the erroneous 'cunning axletree' instead of 'burning axletree' in George Chapman's *Bussy D'Ambois*. This passage comprises perhaps the most frequently quoted extract in all Eliot's criticism, and the word 'axletree' is used in both 'Burbank with a Baedeker: Bleistein with a Cigar' and in 'Burnt Norton', while the erroneous word 'cunning' has frequently been credited as the inspiration for the 'cunning passages' of 'Gerontion'. There is, however, another source for this phrase. (Toda)

Another editorial error that had wide-reaching consequences is the use of 'bewildering' instead of 'bewitching' in the 'Mermaid' edition of *The Revenger's Tragedy* (Symonds, *W&T*, 392). He quoted a large portion of the speech in which this error occurs in 'Tradition and the Individual Talent' (1917). Later, in his article on 'Cyril Tourneur' (1931), he comments parenthetically on the error:

(*Bewildering* is the reading of the 'Mermaid' text; both Churton Collins and Mr. Nicoll give *bewitching* without mentioning any alternative reading: it is a pity if they be right, for *bewildering* is much the richer word here.)

(Eliot, 'Cyril Tourneur' 204)

Ricks and McCue points out that Eliot remained attached to the phrase 'bewildering minute', using it in both *After Strange Gods* (1934) and a letter to Stephen Spender in 1935 (Eliot, *Poems* 701). This is just a small piece in the multitude of evidence in his critical work, which show that Eliot not only owned, but actively used multiple editions for his studies of the Elizabethan and Jacobean dramatists.

The abundance of editions Eliot used is partly due to his having initially made his name as a man of letters largely thanks to essays and reviews on Elizabethan and Jacobean dramatists in the *Times Literary Supplement*, *The Athenaeum* and other papers. This resulted in his receiving editions for review purposes; presumably he also acquired or consulted some as part of due diligence for reviewing critical works. Furthermore, in 1918, around the same period as the beginnings of this journalistic work, he taught a course on Elizabethan literature in his 'Extension Lectures'— classes targeted towards working-class adults who wanted to further their education. The syllabus (quoted below) provides a list of different editions that he has approved for the use of his students.

Another important reason for the sheer number of editions that Eliot consulted or had in his possession, is that many years later, Early Modern literature was the subject he chose for his short-lived effort to return to academia: in 1926, Geoffrey Faber put Eliot up for a research fellowship at All Souls' College, Oxford. Eliot's proposed research was on 'The Mind of the Elizabethan Age', of which two volumes would have been on Elizabethan drama. Ironically enough, what held Eliot back was his poetry. Some of the more prudish fellows apparently objected to his 'indecent, obscene and blasphemous' poems, such as 'Lune de Miel' and he was not elected (Faber 155).

Methodology

While orthography, punctuation and errors can be useful as additional evidence on which editions he used, one must note that Eliot was not always careful in copying out quotations. Indeed, it is likely that he was sometimes quoting from memory. For example, although the error ‘cunning’ gives away which edition he used, it is notable that he writes ‘The cunning axle-tree, or those that suffer’, instead of Phelps’ ‘The cunning axletree: and those that suffer’ in ‘Seneca in Elizabethan Translation’ (1927) (Eliot ‘Seneca’, 201). Often a quotation matches no known edition but is closest to a particular reading. For example, in his essay ‘Christopher Marlowe’ (1918), Eliot writes,

And here Marlowe (*Tamburlaine*, Part II. Act IV. Sc. iv):

*Like to an almond tree y-mounted high
Upon the lofty and celestial mount
Of evergreen Selinus, quaintly deck’d
With blooms more white than Erycina’s brows,
Whose tender blossoms tremble every one
At every little breath that thorough heaven is blown.*
(Eliot, ‘Christopher Marlowe’ 98)

I give below the same quotations in two different editions.

Like to an almond tree y-mounted high
Upon the lofty and celestial mount
Of ever-green Selinus quaintly decked
With blooms more white than Erycina’s brows,
Whose tender blossoms tremble every one,
At every little breath through Heaven is blown.
Act IV, scene iv. Mermaid Series, ed. Havelock Ellis
(Ellis, *Marlowe* 149)

Like to an almond-tree y-mounted high
Upon the lofty and celestial mount
Of ever-green Selinus, quaintly deck’d
With blooms more white than Erycina’s brows,
Whose tender blossoms tremble every one
At every little breath that thorough heaven is blown.
Act IV, scene iii. Everyman’s Library, ed. Ernest Rhys
(Rhys, *Marlowe* 105)

Although Eliot gives the same scene division as Havelock Ellis, the quotation itself is closer to Rhys' edition: like Rhys, Eliot gives 'breath that thorough heaven', rather than 'breath through heaven' and 'deck'd' rather than 'decked'. (He is not completely loyal to it, however, omitting the dashes and writing 'almond tree' and 'evergreen'.) Eliot mentioned Rhys' edition in his Extension lectures syllabus, and more importantly, Rhys includes *Dido, Queen of Carthage* from which Eliot quotes later in the article, while Ellis does not. (Eliot's five quotations from *Dido, Queen of Carthage* also match Rhys' edition in all but one comma.)

W.L. Phelps' edition for the American Book Company, published in 1912, has the same reading as that of Havelock Ellis in these lines. A.H. Bullen's earlier 1885 edition is also the same as Ellis', only he divides Act IV into three scenes, thus assigning this speech to scene iii, like Rhys. Alexander Dyce's 1850 edition gives the same reading as that of Ernest Rhys but, like Ellis, notes a borrowing from Spenser which Eliot points to in his article as 'an interesting theft'. However, Eliot credits J.M. Robertson for noticing this, rather than Havelock Ellis or Alexander Dyce. Robertson only provides the Act and scene references; he does not quote the relevant passages in his *Elizabethan Literature* (1914) where he points to the similarities, meaning Eliot cannot have quoted from Robertson either. It is most probable that Eliot owned both the Ellis and the Rhys editions, and that his quotation is a *mélange* of these two editions, thus giving us further proof of his *active* use of multiple editions. Appropriately enough, considering this quotation occurs in the context of Eliot's inference and discussion of Marlowe's methods, it also gives a good indication of Eliot's own working methods: one might note his scrupulousness in having absorbed many editions of the same play, as well as his paradoxical carelessness in copying out quotations. Further, despite his sometimes combative attitude to other critics and, less frequently, scholars, it indicates his reliance on editors and academic scholars to give indications of where critical interest may lie.

Any editions that Eliot reviewed may be included in the list although they are not, of course, the ones in which he *first* encountered most of the plays. Indeed, it is often difficult, if not impossible, to know when Eliot started using any particular edition. His own recommendations of editions given to his Extension lectures students are clearly useful, although it must be kept in mind that the fact that Eliot mentions an

edition as acceptable does not necessarily mean that he owned or was in the habit of using it. However, it provides a good basis for cross-referencing with other methods of determining editions. I quote below the relevant parts:

The "Everyman" edition of *Everyman* contains the early plays mentioned, and others. Also in J.M. Manly: *Specimens of Pre-Shakesperian Drama*. [...] For the early plays the work of Manly, mentioned above. Particular use will be made of the "Everyman" *Minor Elizabethan Drama*, Vol. I., Tragedy; Vol. II., Comedy, which contains all the Pre-Shakespearian plays to be discussed, with the exception of those of Marlowe, which are found in a separate volume of the "Everyman" edition. [...] The "Mermaid" edition of most of the dramatists is good. Ben Jonson and Beaumont and Fletcher are to be had in the "Everyman" edition. [...] Many of the Elizabethan plays are well edited separately in the "Temple Classics." The "Temple" and the "Arden" editions of separate plays of Shakespeare, and the "Globe" edition in one volume, are good; the finest critical edition of Shakespeare is Furness's "Variorum" edition.

(Schuchard, 49)

There are also two records of Eliot's books within his lifetime. Sometime around August 1920, Eliot's mother sent him a list of his books that were still in her home in St. Louis, prior to her moving to Cambridge, Massachusetts (Eliot, *Letters I* 486). This includes thirty-eight volumes of Shakespeare, one volume of Christopher Marlowe and three volumes of Ben Jonson. The thirty-eight volumes of Shakespeare are more than likely to be the same thirty-eight found in the Eliot bequest to Magdalene College, Cambridge, where we can see that they were the 'Temple' editions published by J.M. Dent and edited by Israel Gollancz. The one volume of Marlowe could be any number of editions but the Jonson may be the three-volume Mermaid edition edited by C.H. Herford, published in the USA by Charles Scribner. She also lists 'Pre-Shakespearean Drama, Manley' [sic], which refers to John Matthews Manly's *Specimens of the Pre-Shakespearean Drama* (Boston: Ginn and Company, 1897). This comprised two volumes, the second of which includes Thomas Kyd's *The Spanish Tragedy*, as well as other early Elizabethan plays.

Among Vivienne Eliot's papers housed in the Bodleian, there is also a partial inventory of Eliot's library, which is useful, although it has some significant limitations. Naturally, as a list made in the practical necessity resulting from the separation of the couple around 1933, there are no publication dates or dates of purchase and very few

notes of editors. The list includes quite a few works of criticism on Elizabethan and Jacobean dramatists but the editions proper of plays are as follows:

Beaumont & Fletcher: 3 vols.
 Massinger .& Ford's Works. [sic]
 Crookshank: Massinger. [sic]
 John Webster (Lucas) : 4 vols.
 New Way to pay Old Debts.
 Shakespeare Apocrypha.
 Mermaid Dramatists, thin paper ed.: 10 vols.
 Mermaid Series old ed. Heywood.
 Shakespeare in paper, 9 vols.
 22 vols. of Temple Edition.
 Works of Shakespeare (1 vol complete)

(V. Eliot 'Inventory')

As this list suggests, Eliot seems to have primarily used the Mermaid editions for non-Shakespearean Elizabethan and Jacobean plays. Eliot recommended Temple editions for both Shakespeare and other dramatists in his Extension lectures syllabus, but it is unclear whether the twenty-two volumes mentioned in the inventory are those of Shakespeare, other dramatists, or neither. However, we do know that in the bequest of some of Eliot's library to Magdalene College, Cambridge, there are thirty-eight volumes of the Temple Shakespeare editions, which in turn match the thirty-eight Shakespeare books mentioned in Charlotte Eliot's list. It is therefore probable that the '22 vols of Temple Edition' were volumes of Shakespeare and part of that collection.

Apart from the Heywood volume (which will be discussed in more detail below), it is unclear which of the twenty-one Mermaid editions were included in the '10 vols' listed. We know from his use of 'bewildering' in *Tourneur*, that Eliot owned and used the joint Webster and Tourneur Mermaid edition. However, of Webster's plays only *The White Devil* and *The Duchess of Malfi* were included in this edition. *The Devil's Law Case*, a source for *The Waste Land* (1922), does not appear here. F.L. Lucas' four volume edition (which Eliot reviewed in the *Times Literary Supplement*) first appeared in 1927.³ It is probable then that Eliot used either the first collected edition of Webster's plays, edited by Alexander Dyce and published in 1830, or the later one edited by William Hazlitt and published in 1897.

While it is impossible to say exactly when Eliot might have bought a particular copy, I have been able to determine that Eliot almost certainly used, in his Harvard days, a Mermaid edition to read the plays of Thomas Heywood, possibly acquired as early as 1909 when he took George Pierce Baker's course on 'The Drama in England from the Miracle Plays to the Closing of the Theatres'. This assumption is based upon a document in the Harvard Archive which has some notes in Eliot's hand on characters and plots in two plays by Heywood: *A Woman Killed with Kindness* and *The English Traveller*. In these notes (which are sadly only a list of characters and a few brief and purely factual reminders of plot points) Eliot has written the name of a character from *The English Traveller* as 'Delavil' (Eliot 'Notes'). This is an unusual spelling of the name; in the John Pearson edition of 1874, (which was in the Harvard College Library when Eliot was there), the name is spelt Dalavill while Charles Wentworth Dilke's 1815 edition spells it Dalavel. In fact, among contemporary editions, this spelling occurs only in the Mermaid edition edited by A. Wilson Verity. While I have noted above that Eliot was not always conscientious in reproducing the exact spelling and punctuations found in the editions he worked from, it is taking scholarly cautiousness too far to suggest that it is possible he somehow happened to use exactly the same unusual spelling. Since the Heywood volume is listed separately from the other Mermaid editions as an 'old ed.' in Vivienne Eliot's inventory, it also seems likely that Eliot owned rather than borrowed this edition, and that he took the trouble of bringing it with him to England.

Another possible resource that must be treated with caution consist of the footnotes to *The Complete Prose*, which occasionally give specific editions of Early Modern plays, mostly the Mermaid ones, and twice with a note that Eliot 'owned' it.⁴ The editors have been impressively thorough in their footnotes. However, it seems that they were not able to give details on *how* this ownership has been determined. It is well-known among Eliot scholars that the Eliot estate has always been fairly secretive, and this did not completely change with the editorial project. It remains unclear whether the editors had any or partial access to his library, or whether the editions cited have been worked out by other means. It is noted that he 'owned' the Mermaid edition of Thomas Middleton, and the version cited is the first edition, not the later 'thin paper' ones, which he is more likely to have owned, according to Vivienne Eliot's inventory. Conversely, the footnote gives the later 'thin paper' edition of Thomas Heywood as the one that Eliot

'quoted from', although Vivienne indicates 'old. ed.' in her inventory. Did Eliot own both the first and later editions? More importantly, since the intent of the *Complete Prose* is not to provide a bibliography of Eliot's editions, many playwrights such as Beaumont and Fletcher, have no editions linked to them in the footnotes.⁵ As such, I have only used the editorial material in the *Complete Prose* as an opinion to consult, rather than a determining resource.

I give below a list of the most important editions that Eliot used, with the evidence or reasoning for the choices under the edition listed. In most instances I give the Mermaid Series editions, which seem to have generally been Eliot's preferred editions. Unlike Steven Matthews who references the first Mermaid editions, I give the later paperback reprints (the 'thin paper ed. '), which Vivienne Eliot's inventory indicates were the ones Eliot owned, with the exception of the aforementioned exception of the Heywood volume. Further proof of this is provided by Eliot's 1934 letter to Masuru Osaké, where he states that the 'Mermaid series are extremely useful because of the form and size but the establishment of the texts leaves something to seek'.⁶ He would hardly say this about the first editions, which are in a standard, bulky form, using thick paper.

These 'thin paper' editions do not list publication dates but were published between 1903 and 1905 jointly by the UK publisher T. Fisher Unwin and the U.S. publisher Charles Scribner's Sons. (The editions list both publishers on the title pages.) The dates can be determined through various library catalogues as well as adverts taken out during this time publicizing the 'new thin-paper edition' in magazines such as *The Spectator* and *The Lamp*, in 1904 and 1905.⁷

This resource is not intended to be an exhaustive list of all the Elizabethan and Jacobean drama editions that Eliot owned or read in his lifetime; such an attempt would be quixotic without access to his remaining library, which is still generally inaccessible to scholars. Even were it to become available, there is no guarantee that even the most important editions for his work have remained in the collection. Given the number and variety of editions that Eliot mentions for some of the dramatists, particularly in his Extension course syllabus, an 'exhaustive' list would, in effect, be a list of almost all the contemporary editions, which would be of little use to the scholar. As a frequent reviewer and editor who developed a formidable if ambiguous reputation as a critic of

Elizabethan and Jacobean drama, Eliot may also have been given editions which he would not necessarily have used. Instead, this list notes all the dramatists of this period who appear to have been most important to him and gives the edition that he certainly or almost certainly used for most of his work. Some additional editions have been noted if I have judged there to be sufficient reason to do so.

In the list below, I follow Eliot's designation of *The Revenger's Tragedy* as being written by Cyril Tourneur although critical consensus now attributes it to Thomas Middleton. For the sake of readability, I have also changed quotations from editions using the old form typography of the medial 'f' with 's', 'u' with 'v', and 'i' with 'j' where appropriate.

Beaumont and Fletcher

Baker, G.P., ed. *Select Plays of Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher*. J.M. Dent & Sons, Ltd., 1911.

It is clear that Eliot used this edition, mentioned in his syllabus, rather than the Mermaid Series one, since the latter gives Aspatia's speech as 'See, see, wenches,' instead of the 'Look, look, wenches!', which Eliot quoted for the epigraph to 'Sweeney Erect'. Eliot asked John Middleton Murry whether he could buy his 'Beaumont and Fletcher complete' for his Massinger article but this was around April 1920, after 'Sweeney Erect' was written (Eliot, *Letters I* 462). Vivienne Eliot's inventory also refers to 'Beaumont & Fletcher: 3 vols'. I can find no three-volume edition; perhaps Eliot had three volumes out of the four-volume edition by A.H. Bullen. However, Bullen's text also reads 'See, see, wenches'.

George Chapman

Phelps, William Lyon, ed. *George Chapman*. London: T.F. Unwin, 1904. Mermaid Series.

Boas, Frederick S., ed. *Bussy D'Ambois and The Revenge of Bussy D'Ambois*. Boston: D.C. Heath, 1905.

The Phelps edition includes the error 'cunning axletree' for 'burning axletree' but in *The Use of Poetry and The Use of Criticism* (1933), Eliot corrects this inaccuracy and adds 'Chapman borrowed this, as Dr. Boas points out, from Seneca's *Hercules Œteus*'. This suggests that the correct 'burning' reading was found in the edition by Frederick S. Boas. Considering the fact that Eliot pointed to this Senecan similarity as early as 1919, it may also suggest that he had Boas' edition long before then, although it seems unlikely that Boas was the first to identify the borrowing and Eliot may have found it from elsewhere

or recognized it himself. Yet even when he corrected the word, the punctuation and spelling of his quotation is still closer to the Phelps edition.

John Day

***The Parliament of Bees* edited by Arthur Symons is found in:**

Horne, Herbert P., Havelock Ellis, Arthur Symons, and A. Wilson Verity, eds. *Nero and Other Plays*. London: T.F. Unwin, 1904. Mermaid Series.

There is no real evidence beyond Vivienne Eliot's partial inventory, which mentions Mermaid editions. Eliot could also have owned or consulted **A.H. Bullen, *The Works of John Day* (London: Chiswick Press, 1881)**, the only other available edition in which *The Parliament of Bees* (which Eliot alluded to in *The Waste Land*) is to be found. (This edition includes an introduction with an interesting little acrostic by Day.⁸)

John Ford

Ellis, Havelock, ed. *John Ford*. London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1903. Mermaid Series.

Quotations in 'John Ford' (1932) matches the Ellis edition.

We also know from Vivienne Eliot's partial inventory, that Eliot owned the following edition: **Coleridge, Hartley, ed. *The Dramatic Works of Massinger and Ford*. London: Edward Moxon, 1839.** See entry on Massinger for more details.

Thomas Heywood

Verity, Arthur W., ed. *Thomas Heywood*. Introduction by J. Addington Symonds. London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1888. Mermaid Series.

Eliot's spelling of Delavil from *The English Traveller* in his notes, contained in Harvard archives at Houghton Library: MS Am 1691.14. Vivienne Eliot's partial inventory.

Ben Jonson

Rhys, Ernest, ed. *The Complete Plays of Ben Jonson, 2 Vols*. London: J.M. Dent and Sons, 1910. Everyman Series.

The list made by Charlotte Eliot indicates a three-volume edition, which may well be the Mermaid series edition: **Nicholson, Brinsley, and Herford H. C, eds. *Ben Jonson*. Vol. 3 Vols. London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1903. Print. Mermaid Series.** However, the Mermaid edition does not contain *Catiline*, which Eliot quotes in his article on 'Ben Jonson' (1919).

Thomas Kyd

Boas, Frederick S, ed. *The Works of Thomas Kyd*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1901.

Boas is mentioned in Eliot's 'Seneca in Elizabethan Translation' (1927).⁹ In this essay, however, Eliot notes that he disagrees with Boas and follows 'Fleay, Robertson, Crawford, Dugdale Sykes and Oliphant' in attributing *Arden of Feversham* to Kyd.

Eliot could have found *Arden of Feversham* in **Rhys, Ernest, ed. *Minor Elizabethan Drama*, vol I, London: J.M. Dent & Sons, 1910. Everyman Series.** which Eliot mentions in his syllabus, writing 'Particular use will be made of it.

Eliot would also have found *The Spanish Tragedy* in **Manly, John Matthews, ed. *Specimens of the Pre-Shakespearean Drama*, Boston: Ginn and Company, 1897,** which Charlotte Eliot mentions in her list of books belonging to her son.

Christopher Marlowe

Rhys, Ernest, ed. *The Plays of Christopher Marlowe*, introduction by Edward Thomas, London: J.M. Dent & Co., 1909. Everyman Series.

Quotations in Eliot's article 'Christopher Marlowe' (1918) match the Rhys version. See also the Extension lectures syllabus.

John Marston

Bullen, A.H., ed. *The Works of John Marston*, 3 vols, London: John C. Nimmo, 1887.

Until the H. Harvey Wood edition of 1938 (which Eliot reviewed), this was the only complete edition that includes the 'Entertainment of Alice, Dowager-Countess of Derby', from which Eliot quotes in his epigraph to 'Burbank with a Baedeker: Bleistein with a Cigar'. Eliot also mentions the Bullen edition in his review of the H. Harvey Wood edition, which was republished as 'John Marston' in *Selected Essays*.

Philip Massinger

Coleridge, Hartley, ed. *The Dramatic Works of Massinger and Ford*, London: Edward Moxon, 1839.

Vivienne Eliot's partial inventory mentions 'Massinger and Fords Works'. (See also Extension lectures syllabus.)

Note that Eliot mentions Coleridge in his essay on 'Philip Massinger' but this refers to Coleridge's "notes", which suggests *Lectures and Notes on Shakespeare and Other English Poets*, rather than the edition. In a footnote to the essay 'Philip Massinger', *The Complete Prose* mentions a later 1875 printing of the Hartley Coleridge edition. Since there is no indication of why they have selected that one, I have given the first edition.

A.H. Cruickshank, ed. *Massinger's A New Way to Pay Old Debts*, Oxford: Clarendon, 1926.

Vivienne Eliot's partial inventory lists 'A New Way to Pay Old Debts' with no mention of editor. However, thanks to *The Complete Prose* and the TLS archive, we know that Eliot reviewed this edition in 1926. Eliot's 'Philip Massinger' (1920) essay is an amalgam of two reviews of Cruickshank's book of criticism on Massinger.

Thomas Middleton

Havelock Ellis, ed. *Thomas Middleton*, Mermaid Series, 2 vols, London: T. Fisher Unwin, [1904].

Ellis' edition gives 'I that am of your blood' instead of 'I am that of your blood'. Eliot quotes the first in his article on 'Thomas Middleton' (1927) in *Selected Essays*. Also compare, 'I that was near your heart' in 'Gerontion'.

William Shakespeare

Israel Gollancz, ed. Temple Shakespeare editions, London: J.M. Dent & Co.

There were 40 volumes in total: thirty-seven for the plays and a volume each for the sonnets, 'Venus and Adonis' and 'The Rape of Lucrece'. The first editions were published between 1894 and 1896 but it went through many printings. The bequest to Magdalene college shows that Eliot owned the 1902-3 editions, except for the *Romeo and Juliet* volume which is a 1929 edition. However, since Charlotte Eliot in her 1920 letter mentions thirty-eight volumes and the number of volumes at Magdalene is also thirty-eight, it seems likely that the *Romeo and Juliet* volume was lost and replaced with a later edition. The two missing volumes are, inexplicably, *Macbeth* and 'The Rape of Lucrece'.

Cyril Tourneur

John Addington Symonds, ed. *Webster and Tourneur*, Mermaid Series, London: T. Fisher Unwin, [1903]

In 1930, Eliot reviewed a new collection of Tourneur's works edited by Allardyce Nicoll, which was subsequently republished in *Selected Essays* as 'Cyril Tourneur' (1931). In the essay, he comments in parentheses on a word in a quotation:

(*Bewildering* is the reading of the 'Mermaid' text; both Churton Collins and Mr. Nicoll give *bewitching* without mentioning any alternative reading: it is a pity if they be right, for *bewildering* is much the richer word here.)

The review is of **Allardyce Nicoll, ed. *The Works of Cyril Tourneur*, London: The Fanfrolico Press, 1930**. 'Churton Collins' refers to **John Churton Collins, ed. *The Poems and Plays of Cyril Tourneur*, London: Chatto & Windus, 1878**. This error of

'bewildering' only occurs in this Mermaid series text. Eliot also quoted the 'bewildering' line from this edition in 'Tradition and the Individual Talent' (1917).

John Webster

The Duchess of Malfi and *The White Devil*:

John Addington Symonds, ed. *Webster and Tourneur, Mermaid Series, London: T. Fisher Unwin, [1903].*

We know that Eliot used the Symonds edition for *Tourneur* (see below) so it stands to reason he probably read the two Webster plays in these editions too. However, this does not include *The Devil's Law Case*, which is quoted in *The Waste Land*. Eliot could have found this play in various editions including **Alexander Dyce, ed. *The Works of John Webster, 4 vols, London: William Pickering 1830.*** or **William Hazlitt, ed. *The Dramatic Works of John Webster 4 vols, London: Reeves and Turner, 1897.***¹⁰ Eliot also owned F.L. Lucas' 1927 edition of Webster's works, which he reviewed in the *TLS* in 1927. It forms part of the Eliot bequest to Magdalene College, Cambridge.

¹ T.S. Eliot, 'Introduction' to *Selected Poems of Ezra Pound*, (London: Faber, 1928), 8.

Note that in Eliot's time, the word 'Elizabethan' was used to denote both Elizabethan and Jacobean dramatists. For example, F.L. Lucas' *Seneca and Elizabethan Tragedy* (1922) includes material on Jacobean dramatists, while most of the chapters in Henry Dugdale-Sykes' *Sidelights on Elizabethan Drama* (1924) deal with Jacobean plays.

² In a letter to John Middleton Murry about his review of *The Sacred Wood*, Eliot thanks him for calling 'attention to the only part of the book which seems to me of any permanent value'. Three of the four he then picks out are on Elizabethan dramatists: 'I think that the essays on Jonson, Massinger, Marlowe and Dante are the best.' It was also these three that Eliot chose to re-publish, along with his other essays on Elizabethan dramatists as a collected book called *Elizabethan Essays* in 1934. He continued to be satisfied enough with them to publish another collection, *Essays on Elizabethan Drama*, in 1956, adding a preface in which he commented that, although he was 'embarrassed' by the essay 'Four Elizabethan Dramatists' and his two Shakespeare essays ('Hamlet and His Problems' and 'Shakespeare and the Stoicism of Seneca'), he was 'astonished' to find that his 'essays on Shakespeare's contemporaries [...] struck me as very good indeed.' In *To Criticize the Critic* (1965), he mentions that 'the essays with which I was still pleased were those on the contemporaries of Shakespeare, not those on Shakespeare himself.'

³ See T.S. Eliot, 'John Webster', *Times Literary Supplement*, 26th February 1928, 59.

⁴ See note 9 to 'An unsigned review of A Game at Chesse by Thomas Middleton' and note 8 to 'Thinking in Verse' in *The Complete Prose of T. S. Eliot: The Critical Edition: English Lion, 1930–1933*, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2015).

⁵ In the Ricks-McCue edition of the poems, it is the Mermaid edition of *The Maid's Tragedy* that is quoted, although Aspatia's speech in it reads 'See, see, wenches' instead of 'Look, look, wenches', while noting that the 'Look' reading comes from the Second Quarto. *The Poems of T.S. Eliot Volume I, 4*. I give instead the G.P. Baker edition that Eliot recommended his Extension Course students, which contains the right wording for his epigraph. It was George Pierce Baker who taught the Elizabethan dramatists course at Harvard, through which Eliot encountered many of the playwrights, probably for the first time.

⁶ Quoted in notes to 'Gerontion' in *The Poems of T.S. Eliot Volume I* p. 481. Note that this letter is not in Volume V of *The Letters of T.S. Eliot*.

⁷ In the British Library catalogue, all twenty-one volumes, plus the four other volumes of Restoration dramatists, are listed under the General Reference Collection 11773.ee.1/1-19. In the Library of Congress, they are listed separately. The first volume, Marlowe, is listed under PR2661 E5 1903. Adverts found in *The Lamp: A Review and Record of Current Literature*, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1905), p.80; *The Spectator*, 92, (1904), p.943.

⁸ Given Eliot's sense of humour and his sly play on his name in the 'dull tom-tom' of 'Portrait of a Lady', one might speculate that he would have been amused by John Day's acrostic on the name 'Thomas', found in Bullen's introduction to this edition, which includes the lines: 'The wealthy treasure of America/**H**id in the vaines and artiers of the earthe,/ **O**r the rich pearle begotten in the sea'.

⁹ See *The Poems of T.S. Eliot Volume I*, p.616, which notes that Frederick S. Boas mentions in his edition of Kyd's works that Thomas Kyd was baptized in St. Mary Woolnoth church. (St. Mary Woolnoth being, of course, the church mentioned in 'The Burial of the Dead' in *The Waste Land*.)

¹⁰ We also know from the bequest to Magdalene College that Eliot came to own the 1927 four-volume edition of Webster's works published by Chatto & Windus.

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