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Contents

Christ's Hospital a Second Time Revisited

By MARGARETA EURENIUS RYDBECK

Part II

OCCUPYING TWO AND A HALF PAGES in the very middle of the essay, an account of punishments for lesser and greater offences forms the darkest chapter in Lamb's 'history' of Christ's Hospital. With the words 'I was a hypochondriac lad' he begins describing the different punishments which he had witnessed being meted out to less fortunate boys. The chastisements were of three degrees according to the severity of the offence. A first offender, a boy who had run away, was put in fetters; this was what the seven-year-old Charles Lamb had seen on his very first day at school. For the second offence, the nature of which is not mentioned in the essay, the culprit could be put in solitary confinement both day and night in 'little, square Bedlam cells, where a boy could just lie at his length upon straw and a blanket'. In a footnote to the essay, Lamb gives the doubtful credit for having invented the 'dungeons' to a former steward, John Howard, whose statue is in St. Paul's Cathedral. Lamb says that he '(saving the reverence due to Holy Paul) [. . .] could willingly spit upon his statue'. In the *London Magazine* the footnote ended differently: 'Methinks I could willingly spit upon his stony gaberdine', words that seem to echo a line in *The Merchant of Venice*:

> You call me misbeliever, cut-throat dog,
> And spit upon my Jewish gaberdine.[1]

For some reason Lamb changed the wording of the note before the essay was reprinted, but there remains enough of the matrix to convey to the sensitive reader the aura of contempt that clings to Shylock. For Howard, Lamb had nothing but dislike.

The punishment for the third and last offence was expulsion, and it was surrounded by rites of such cruelty, mental and physical, that Lamb's associations to the atrocities of the Spanish Inquisition seem quite appropriate. The final act took place in the hall; with pointed irony Elia calls it 'L.'s favourite state-room' as if wishing to alienate himself from his former ego.

> The culprit, who had been a third time offender, and whose expulsion was at this time irreversible, was brought forth, as at some solemn *auto da fe*, arrayed in uncouth and most appalling attire—all trace of his late 'watchet weeds' carefully effaced, he was exposed in a jacket, resembling those which London lamp-lighters formerly delighted in, with a cap of the same. The effect of this divestiture was such as the ingenious devisers of it could have anticipated. With his pale and frighted features, it was as if some disfigurements in Dante had seized upon him. In this disguisement he was brought into the hall (*L.'s favourite state-room*), where awaited him the whole number of his school-fellows, whose joint lessons and sports he was thenceforth to share no more; the awful presence of the steward, to be seen for the last time; of the executioner beadle [. . .]; and of two faces more, of direr import, because never but in these extremities visible. These

[1] *The Merchant of Venice* I.iii.109.

> were governors; two of them [. . .] were always accustomed to officiate at these *Ultima Supplicia*; not to mitigate (so at least we understood it), but to enforce the uttermost stripe. [. . .] The scourging was, after the old Roman fashion, long and stately. The lictor accompanied the criminal around the hall. We were generally [. . .] too faint [. . .] to make accurate report with our eyes of the degree of corporal suffering inflicted. Report, of course, gave out the back knotty and livid. After scourging, he was made over, in his *San Benito*, to his friends, if he had any [. . .] or to his parish officer [. . .].
>
> These solemn pageantries were not played off so often as to spoil the general mirth of the community.[2]

Of course one wonders what made a boy risk incurring such punishments, at the same time losing all opportunity of further education, and also what made the school authorities inflict cruel bodily chastisement on the delinquent as if expulsion from school were not in itself enough. The vagueness seems intentional and leaves it to the reader to imagine what the crime was. Beside lying and theft there were things so bad that they could not be put into words.

Lamb does not question the circumstances; he merely reports and mentions his abhorrence. His way of coming to grips with all too grim reality was, it seems, to keep aloof from it by exaggerating it further. The use of the expression *auto da fe* (Spanish for 'act of faith') would signify that the 'criminals' at Christ's were devoid of real guilt as were the victims of the Inquisition; *their* yellow dress was called *San Benito* and this is the name that Lamb borrows to describe the ex-Blue-Coat's 'uncouth and most appalling attire'. The boy's imminent social degradation is also hinted at through the comparison with the discarded dress of lamp-lighters.

That the boy knew what was coming to him was shown by 'his pale and frighted features', the memory of which made the adult Lamb think of the 'disfigurements in Dante', probably those found in *Inferno*, Cantos 28-36. Dante himself says that he cannot tell of what he saw there, in the ninth and tenth chasms of the eighth circle, where the 'sowers of scandal and schism' are being punished.

> e tutti gli altri, che tu vedi qui,
> seminator di scandalo e di schisma
> fur vivi, e però son fessi così.[3]

Here the unhappy beings, in life acting as subversive elements, now with bodies split open from the chin 'infin dove si trulla' (28:24), with pierced throats and cut-off hands and noses, constitute, according to Elia, suitable comparisons to those bad boys, whose misdemeanour and 'sowing of scandal' had made them unfit for the society of the Blue Coats.

This fact was further emphasized by the loss of their outward dignity, the blue coats, with which they were clothed on being accepted at Christ's. To 'be clothed' was synonymous with entering the school. Here 'blue coats' is replaced with 'watchet weeds', an expression identified by Lucas as probably borrowed from vv. 67-68 of Collins' 'Ode to Manners'.

> [, , ,] him, whom Seine's blue nymphs deplore,

[2] *Elia*, 17-18.
[3] *Inferno*, Canto 28:34-36.

> In watchet weeds on Gallia's shore.[4]

With his choice of words Lamb stresses the venerable status of the dress, as the word *weeds* (or *weed*) signifies 'a garment [. . .] distinctive of a person's sex, profession, state of life', or 'defensive covering, armour, mail' (*OED*). The distinguishing or protective garments, a symbol of the boy's former status, had now been taken from him, and he was left unprotected and exposed to cruel secular punishment. The grave formality of the ceremony is expressed with the word *divestiture*, which draws a parallel to such priests as were defrocked for misdemeanour, a thought which is close at hand when one considers how much the long blue coat resembles a clergyman's dress.

From the horrors of the Spanish Inquisition, Elia takes the reader via Dante's *Inferno* further back to ancient Rome. The allusion in this paragraph to Roman jurisdiction is factual and perhaps literary, too. *Ultima Supplicia*, Latin for the last, the most extreme punishment, was the death penalty. The connection with classical times is furthermore strengthened when the beadle is called *lictor* which was how the Roman policeman-executioner was styled. Also, the scourging was said to be 'after the Roman fashion, long and stately'. It is highly probable that Lamb and his school-fellows had seen similar expressions while reading Caesar's *De Bello Civili* or some other source.[5] What he says about 'the old Roman fashion' might refer to *supplicium antiqui moris* which implies scourging followed by beheading, another example of Elian school-boy exaggeration.

With all due consideration paid to the hyperbole in the presentation, Elia cannot have exaggerated the factual circumstances. Had this been the case, he would have been contradicted, but no such protests are known.[6]

After this dire exposition Lamb seems anxious to stress the brighter side of life at Christ's:

> We had plenty of exercise and recreation *after* school hours; and, for myself, I must confess, that I was never happier, than *in* them.[7]

While the description of the darker aspects of life at Christ's Hospital is at the same time revealing and sombre, the three pages on the teachers Field and Boyer are the wittiest and most interesting, sparkling with lively temperament and thronged with felicitous expressions. A large group of allusions, in fact the largest in this essay, is found within the portraits of the kind and inefficient Field and the awe-inspiring and efficient Boyer. The latter was mentioned in RoCH as an 'excellent Upper Grammar Master' and 'a disciplinarian'. Much admiration was mingled with the horror Boyer inspired, and the doubtful praise bestowed on Field was tinged with scoffing.

Lamb claims to have had 'the good fortune' to be a member of Field's 'portion' of the school, but besides the circumstantial evidence that the liveliness of Boyer's portrait shows that it was drawn from life, there is proof of Lamb having been Boyer's pupil in an MS book that

[4] The man whom the nymphs deplored on Gallia's shore is Le Sage, the author of *Gil Blas*, who had then died.
[5] E.g.: Itaque se victos confiteri; orare atque obsecrare, si quis locus misericordiae relinquatur, ne ad ultimum supplicium progredi necesse habeat. (*Bell. Civ.* 1,84) (And so they confessed themselves beaten: they prayed and beseeched, if any room for compassion was left that he [Caesar] should not think it necessary to proceed to the extreme of punishment.)
[6] Courtney, *Young Charles Lamb*, p. 41.
[7] *Elia*, 18.

Boyer kept from 1783 to 1799. Here those of his scholars who excelled themselves (and they were mainly so-called 'Grecians') were allowed to enter diverse compositions, sixty-five in all. Among those in verse is 'Mille Viae Mortis', a poem of no particular merit by Lamb.[8]

The boys who were intended for the University were placed in the grammar-school; their eventual fate was to take holy orders (though there were exceptions, *e.g.*, Coleridge.) Those in the upper forms were called Grecians and Deputy Grecians. According to Wordsworth, 'Lamb was a good Latin scholar and would probably have gone to college upon one of the school foundations but for the impediment in his speech'.[9] While his stammer put a stop to every hope of a career within the church, Lamb was spared being placed in the Writing-school at Christ's, the usual school for a boy intended for commerce.[10] It remained a source of melancholy happiness to remember that he was once a Deputy Grecian; as late as in 1831, when he had retired from East India House, situated in Leadenhall Street, he writes to George Dyer, who was a Grecian before Lamb entered Christ's:

> I don't know how it is, but I keep my rank in fancy still since school days. I can never forget I was a Deputy Grecian! And writing to you or to Coleridge, besides affection, I feel a reverential deference as to Grecians still [. . .] Alas! what am I now? what is a Leadenhall clerk, or India pensioner, to a Deputy Grecian? How art thou fallen, O Lucifer![11]

The timetable for the two higher classes at Christ's in the 1830s, recorded in Trollope's history of Christ's Hospital, was, with little variation, the same as Boyer had used. The morning lessons of the Deputy Grecians could contain Homer, Virgil, or Horace 'by heart, Greek Testament ex tempore, Cicero, Sallust, Xenophon, Demosthenes, or Greek or Latin grammar'. In the afternoon Greek or Hebrew grammar alternated with Mathematics or Geography but also with Horace or 'Poetic Recitation'. Exercises comprised translation into Latin or Greek. The Grecians' lessons were, of course, even more advanced.[12]

It may thus be assumed with certainty that Lamb, for some time at least, benefited from Boyer's tuition, but it is equally certain that for the main part Field was his teacher in the Lower Grammar School. If Lamb's picture of Field is a true one, and it is corroborated by Leigh Hunt's, it is a wonder that the boys learnt anything under such a master. He was characterized not only by an unfamiliar mildness, which made him shun the rod, but also by a 'handsome incompetence for his situation'. He used to bear 'his cane as if it were a lily'.[13]

> We talked and did just what we pleased and nobody molested us. We carried an accidence, or a grammar, for form; but, for any trouble it gave us, we might take two years in getting through the verbs deponent, and another two in forgetting all that we had

[8] *Life*, p. 66. Though the title is in Latin, meaning 'The Thousand Ways to Death', the author describes in English a dreamed visit to the 'King of Terrors' in 'Death's dark court'.
[9] *Ibid*., p. 69.
[10] Barnett, *op. cit.* p. 112. 'Indeed, if Lamb had been subjected to the curriculum of the Commercial School at that formative and impressionable time of childhood, he might never have come to write his famous essays.'
[11] *Letters*, III:305-6.
[12] William Trollope, *A History of the Royal Foundation of Christ's Hospital*. London 1834, p. 183.
[13] *Life*, p. 64. The description is Hunt's.

> learned about them. There was now and then the formality of saying a lesson, but if you had not learned it, a brush across the shoulders (just enough to disturb a fly) was the sole remonstrance. Field never used the rod; and in truth he wielded the cane with no great good will—holding it 'like a dancer'. It looked in his hands rather like an emblem than an instrument of authority; and an emblem, too, he was ashamed of.[14]

Here Lamb makes a joke of their grammar studies, punning on the words: the grammar book, *accidence*, which is about forms, was carried 'for form' as if for form's sake only; what the boys learnt none too actively and hastily forgot is exemplified by *verba deponentia,* which are passive in form though active in meaning (and the term *deponentia* is from the Latin verb meaning 'lay down', 'put away'!); finally, 'the saying of a lesson' was a mere 'formality'. What ought to be considered a good thing in a teacher, a reluctance to use the cane, is seen as another proof of inefficiency. The words within quotation marks allude to a line in *Antony and Cleopatra*:

> He at Philippi kept
> His sword e'en like a dancer, while I struck
> The lean and wrinkled Cassius . . .[15]

'He' is Antony's former ally Octavius/Octavianus, the future emperor Augustus, whom Antony charges with unheroic behaviour: he had not used his sword but worn it sheathed like a dancer's rapier, leaving the killing to Antony. Wearing the cane in the same way, Field was equally inefficient, implicitly leaving the necessary 'killing' to Boyer, the school's severe Antony.

Field came and went as he pleased—

> And when he came, it made no difference to us—he had his private room to retire to, the short time he staid, to be out of the sound of our noise. Our mirth and uproar went on. We had classics of our own, without being beholden to 'insolent Greece or haughty Rome', that passed current among us—Peter Wilkins—the Adventures of the Hon. Capt. Robert Boyle—the Fortunate Blue Coat Boy—and the like.[16]

The adventures the boys liked to read were thus put on par with Shakespeare's works and made the classical Greek and Roman authors superfluous. Again words within quotation marks point to another text, this time to Ben Johnson's 'To the memory of My Beloved, the Author, Mr William Shakespeare'.[17]

> To hear thy buskin tread
> And shake a stage; or, when thy socks were on,
> Leave thee alone for the comparison
> Of all that insolent Greece, or haughty Rome

[14] *Elia*, 18.
[15] *Antony and Cleopatra*, III.xi.35-37. Both Derocquigny and Lucas noticed a fondness in Lamb for the expression 'like a dancer', which he also used about Mrs Battle who did not hold her cards 'like a dancer'.
[16] *Elia*, 18 and 319.
[17] *Elia*, 319.

> Sent forth, or since did from their ashes come.

Field's pupils, who from their teacher had poor tutoring in Latin and Greek, had to seek compensation in other interests among which were sound English authors. There is of course much conscious irony at his own expense when Elia, indirectly, compares the objects of his and the other boys' youthful literary interest with Shakespeare. The works mentioned are either very minor classics or 'sheer hackwork'[18].

Still humorously exaggerating Lamb gives fine names to the boys' classical games and entertainments, calling them 'mechanic or scientific operations' or 'studying the art military'. They had

> a hundred other such devices to pass away the time—mixing the useful with the agreeable—as would have made the souls of Rousseau and John Locke chuckle to have seen us.[19]

Rousseau and Locke advocated educational systems which followed the Horatian maxim of 'mixing the useful with the agreeable': *omne tulit punctum qui miscuit utile dulci*. It is doubtful whether Lamb himself could have 'chuckled' when recalling the reckless 'studies' under Field, had he not profited from Boyer's instruction, too.

As the Upper and Lower Grammar School shared the same room—'an imaginary line only divided their bounds'[20]—Boyer, the Upper Grammar Master, could not help knowing what was going on. Lamb suspected, he says in CH35, that Boyer had private reasons for refraining from meddling, reasons that were not entirely creditable to him.

> How things were suffered to go on thus, I cannot guess. Boyer, who was the proper person to have remedied these abuses, always affected, perhaps felt, a delicacy in interfering in a province not strictly his own. I have not been without my suspicions, that he was not altogether displeased at the contrast we presented to his end of the school. We were a sort of Helots to his young Spartans.[21]

This factual allusion was very aptly culled from the sphere of classical studies. The comparison is also neat: the noisy Lower Grammar boys were like Helots, Sparta's serfs, who were a constant threat, always ready to revolt.[22] Lamb, however, seems to have another aspect of the Helots in mind: according to popular belief, they served, as a consequence of their unbridled behaviour, as *exempla*: Spartan parents used to exhibit to their sons drunken Helots or slaves.[23] This observation of Lamb's, though clothed in an innocent allusion, sheds a rather unpleasant light on Boyer's character.

If Field was too slack, Boyer must have created an atmosphere that ought to have been little more profitable for studies. When the Upper Grammar Master hovered over his Spartans, they

[18] *Elia*, 319.
[19] *Elia*, 18.
[20] *Elia*, 18.
[21] *Elia*, 19.
[22] *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, *s.v.* 'Helots'.
[23] *Elia*, 320.

unwittingly made the Helots of the Lower Grammar School feel that the difference between the classes might be favourable to *them*.

> While his pale students were battering their brains over Xenophon and Plato, with a silence as deep as that enjoined by the Samite, we were enjoying ourselves at our ease in our little Goshen. We saw a little into the secrets of his discipline, and the prospect did but the more reconcile us to our lot.[24]

The Samite, that is the man from the Greek island Samos, was Pythagoras, the philosopher and mathematician who made his students remain silent for five years, listening to his lectures, before they were allowed to speak themselves. In spite of the fantastic exaggeration the allusion conveys, through the comparison Pythagoras/Boyer, a semi-reluctant compliment to the exacting master. The opposite could be said about the biblical allusion to Goshen. 'Our little Goshen' sounds innocent and idyllic enough, but when seen in its biblical context, the implications of the name are horrific in respect to Boyer's part of the classroom. The name appears in the *Exodus* in connection with the visitations of Pharao.

> And the Lord said unto Moses, Rise up [. . .] and stand before Pharao [. . .] and say unto him, Thus saith the Lord, Let my people go, that they may serve me. Else if thou wilt not let my people go, behold I will send swarms of flies upon thee [. . .] and the houses of the Egyptians shall be full of swarms of flies, and also the ground whereon they are. And I shall sever in that day the land of Goshen, in which my people dwell, that no swarms of flies shall be there [. . .].
> And Moses stretched forth his rod toward heaven: and the Lord sent thunder and hail [. . .], and the Lord rained hail upon the land of Egypt [. . .]. Only in the land of Goshen, where the children of Israel were, was there no hail.[25]

The Egyptian thunder is also mirrored in CH35 and spills over into another biblical allusion.

> His thunders rolled innocuous for us; his storms came near, but never touched us; contrary to Gideon's miracle, while all around were drenched, our fleece was dry.[26]

If Field's department was a Goshen, it follows that Boyer's sphere equals Pharao's country, fly-infested and afflicted by thunderstorms. To a late generation that has almost completely lost touch with biblical history, it is hard to imagine how such an innuendo could work, but it must be assumed that Lamb's reading public knew their Bible and could absorb the context, be it more or less unconsciously. Anyway, there would hardly have been anyone who would not have equated Goshen with a peaceful resort.

Gideon's miracle is told in *Judges* 6, and if Lamb had not explicitly referred to Cowley in a footnote, there would not have been any need to go further than to the biblical source.

[24] *Elia*, 19.
[25] *Exodus*, 8:20-22 and 9:32-36.
[26] *Elia*, 19.

> And Gideon said unto God, If thou wilt save Israel by mine hand, as thou hast said, Behold, I will put a fleece of wool in the floor and if the dew be on the fleece only, and it be dry upon all the earth beside, then shall I know that thou will save Israel by mine hand, as thou hast said. And it was so: for he rose up early on the morrow, and thrust the fleece together, and wringed the dew out of the fleece, a bowl full of water.[27]

This was Gideon's first miracle; he then asked God for another.

> [. . .] let me prove, I pray thee, but this once with the fleece; let it now be dry only upon the fleece, and upon all the ground let there be dew.[28]

What happened in Field's part of the classroom was the *opposite* of the *first* miracle; none of Boyer's thunderstorms poured down over them—their fleece was dry.

The reading of Lamb's text is indeed rendered more difficult by his footnote, *Cowley*. Lucas points at the poem in question, 'The Complaint', and even quotes a few lines from stanza seven, but he seems to have missed two points. First, the miracle mentioned in Cowley's poem is the one where the fleece is left dry, and Lamb talks of a case where all was left dry '*contrary* to Gideon's miracle'. Secondly, what Cowley describes in 'The Complaint' is the disappointment of a poet whose 'Muse's fleece' alone was left dry when the returning King's bounty dropped on everything else. The complaining poet suffers in a state of barrenness, where everyone but he has benefited from the King's 'enriching moysture'.

The instance exemplifies how Lamb could use the original text and bend it to his own purpose, borrowing here a little and there a little. The substance of Gideon's miracle is that God could work wonders to sustain his faithful people. In the essay the parallel is limited to showing how Field's pupils remained 'safe' from interfering from Boyer's side, a momentary relief of dubious value, it seems. The dropping of Cowley's name is somewhat mystifying, since the biblical text must have been equally if not better known, but it is futile to look for a hidden meaning in it, as if Boyer's wrath were the 'enriching moysture' and thus a boon to be wished for. It is hardly likely that Lamb, even in retrospect, would have adopted such a dispassionate view.

That the absence of a more rigorous régime was not altogether fortunate was clear to Lamb, though, as is seen from his comparison of the different pupils´ attitude towards their masters: while Boyer's boys felt gratitude mixed with terror,

> the remembrance of Field comes back with all the soothing images of indolence, and summer slumbers, and work like play, and innocent idleness, and Elysian exemptions, and life itself a 'playing holiday'.[29]

The mild criticism intimated by the words 'soothing images of indolence' is strengthened (but how delicately!) by the addition of the reference to Prince Hal.

> If all the year were playing holidays,

[27] *Judges*, 6:36-38.
[28] *Judges*, 6:39.
[29] *Elia*, 19.

> To sport would be as tedious as work;
> But when they seldom come, they wished-for come
> And nothing pleaseth but rare accidents.[30]

In Lamb's text 'playing holidays', especially when coupled with 'Elysian exemptions', seems to have positive connotations only, but once the context is remembered (and it can safely be assumed that Lamb, the eminent Shakespeare critic, remembered it) it becomes difficult to overlook the circumstance that the about-to-be-reformed Prince is talking about the evils of eternal holidays, uninterrupted by work.

Summing up the portraits of the two teachers so far, the rather surprising discovery is made that several of the allusions related to Field, though superficially of a favourable nature, have rather doubtful implications. Field's pupils stand out as a fairly wretched bunch, neglected by one master and held in contempt by the other, while the master himself becomes the object of his former pupil's indulgent censure. Thus Lamb belies his own words that he had the 'good fortune' to study under Field. The pattern produced by the blending of positive and negative connotations reflects Field's character with its fusing of good and bad qualities.

The portrait of Boyer, on the other hand, shows an unmitigated tyrant; if the tyrant has a sense of humour it is dark and sarcastic. There is a cluster of allusions on the one and a half pages dealing with Boyer exclusively, none of which favours a pleasant construction. The first is recognized by Lucas as a reminiscence of Virgil.

> Though sufficiently removed from the jurisdiction of Boyer, we were near enough (as I have said) to understand a little of his system. We occasionally heard sounds of the *Ululantes* and caught glances of Tartarus.[31]

Lucas translates 'the *Ululantes*' with the 'howling sufferers', suggesting for a source a single line from Virgil, *Aeneid*, VI, 557 ('Hence [Tartarus] are clearly heard groanings and the sound of cruel scourge') and leaves it at that. However, the suggestion leads up to an interesting possibility of an underlying stratum forming a much wider context from which several expressions in Lamb's text could be said to rise like just discernible reefs over the sea level. The text I have in mind is, indeed, *Aeneid VI*, though not only v. 557, but some fourteen lines between lines 540 and 559.

> hic locus est, partis ubi se via findit in ambas.
> dextera quae Ditis magni sub moenia tendit,
> hac *iter Elysium nobis*; at laeva malorum
> exercet poenas et ad impia *Tartara* mittit.
>
> (Here is the place where the roads part in twain;
> there to the right, as it runs under the walls of the great Dis,
> *is our way to Elysium*, but the left
> wreaks the punishment of the wicked and sends them to pitiless *Tartarus*.)

[30] *1 Henry IV*, I.ii.227-230.
[31] *Elia*, 19.

respicit Aeneas subito et sub rupe sinistra
moenia lata videt triplici circumdata muro,
quae rapidus flammis ambit torrentibut amnis,
Tartareon Phlegeton, torquetque sonantia saxa.
[. . .]

(*Suddenly Aeneas looks back* and under a cliff on the left
sees a broad castle, girt with triple wall
and encircled with a rushing flood of torrent flames
Tartareon Phlegeton, that rolls along thundering rocks.)
[. . .]

[. . .] stat ferrea turris ad auras
Tisiphoneque sedens palla succincta cruenta
vestibulum exsomnis servat noctesque diesque.
hinc *exaudiri gemitus*, et *saeva sonare*
verbera, tum stridor ferri tractaeque catenae.
constitit Aeneas *strepituque exterritus* haesit.

(There stands the iron tower soaring high.
And Tisiphone, sitting with bloody pall
keeps sleepless watch o'er the portal day and night
Therefrom *are heard groans* and *sound of savage*
Lash; withal the clank of iron and dragging of chains.
Aeneas stopped, rooted to the spot *in terror of the din*.)[32]

The earlier mentioned 'Elysian exemptions' (see above), becomes more meaningful when seen as a reflection of *iter Elysium*, 'our way to Elysium'. *Respicit Aeneas subito* could then be echoed by 'caught glances of', since what Aeneas saw was Tartaros, exemplified by 'Tartareon Phlegeton'. These are but two of the noticeable traces of Virgil. Implicitly, the way which did not lead to Elysium, *laeva /via/* led to Boyer's Tartarus. There is no word *ululantes* within the quoted Virgilian verses, but Aeneas heard 'groans', *gemitus*, and 'sound of the savage lash', *saeva sonare verbera*, and the young Lamb could have heard the same from Boyer's part of the classroom.

The verb *ululare* also appears elsewhere, though not in the *Aeneid*, in connection with Tisiphone, who is mentioned in the Virgilian context (lines 555 and 571); she was a fury, sometimes acting as a patroness of marriage. Ovid, for instance, says that she shrieked in the bridal chambers, *Tisiphone thalamis ululavit in illis*.[33] The name Tisiphone would supply an admittedly tenuous link between the Tartarean vicinity and the *Ululantes*. The verb *ululare* is found elsewhere in the *Aeneid*, and it is frequent in Latin literature. Pinning down the word *ululantes* to a definite *locus* is neither necessary, nor possible. It is enough to ascertain that it has

[32] *The Aeneid*, VI. 540-3, 548-551 and 554-559. My italics.
[33] *Heroides*, II, 117.

a Virgilian ring and is an apt designation for the grumbling and lamenting that the boys in Boyer's division gave forth.[34] The general impression evoked by the references to classical Hell, Tartarus, is one of great distress, but the violent exaggeration, underlined by the comparison with Elysium, could but tinge it with humour, which somewhat blunted the edge of the accusation. This was a way for Lamb to handle difficult subjects.

The awe-inspiring and gruesome master, who demanded clarity and simplicity from his pupils, was himself a poor stylist.[35]

> B. was a rabid pedant. His English style was crampt to barbarism. His Easter anthems (for his duty obliged him to those periodical flights) were grating as scrannel pipes.[36]

The allusion to Milton's *Lycidas*, v. 124, though unmarked by any typographic means, is striking in itself but gains in depth from the underlying significance of the Miltonian context.

> Blind mouth! that scarce themselves know how to hold
> A sheep-hook, or have learnt aught else the least
> That to the faithful herdman's art belongs!
> What recks it them? What need they? They are sped;
> And when they list, their lean and flashy songs
> Grate on their scrannel pipes of wretched straw;
> The hungry sheep look up, and are not fed,
> But swoln with wind, and the rank mist they draw,
> Rot inwardly, and foul contagion spread;[37]

Milton's words are crushing as they stand in the essay, only slightly changed, and the *Lycidas* context fortifies the impression. Milton here accuses the Episcopalian ministers, and the words 'blind mouths' express his contempt for them as unworthy spiritual shepherds; their teaching is without substance, 'lean and flashy songs' and furthermore painful to listen to. It should be borne in mind that the Upper Grammar Master was the *Reverend* James Boyer; Lamb's mind could not have procured for him a more fitting expression than one which would lead the perceptive reader to remember Milton's attack on showy and worthless clerical rhetoric.

The quality of Boyer's sense of humour is exemplified with his appreciation of a Horatian pun on *Rex* and some feeble jokes in two Terentian comedies.

[34] Some other words in verse 558, *stridor ferri tractaeque catenae*, recall a factual circumstance, relating to the conditions of Hospitallers. As a punishment for 'the first offence' boys were actually put in fetters so the 'clank of iron' was familiar to the boys. *Cf. Elia,* 16.

[35] Coleridge writes about Boyer in his *Biographia Literaria*: 'In our English compositions (at least for the last three years of our school education), he showed no mercy to phrase, metaphor, or image, unsupported by a sound sense, or where the same sense might have been conveyed with equal force and dignity in plainer words. *Lute, harp* and *lyre, Muse, Muses* and *inspirations, Pegasus, Parnassus* and *Hippocrene*, were all an abomination to him. In fancy I can almost hear him now exclaiming, "Harp? Harp? Lyre? Pen and ink, boy, you mean! Muse, boy, muse? Your nurse's daughter, you mean! Pierian spring? Oh, aye! the cloister pump, I suppose!"' Qtd. from Lucas, *Elia,* 321.

[36] *Elia,* 19.

[37] *Lycidas*, 119-127.

> He would laugh, ay, and heartily, but then it must be at Flaccus's quibble about *Rex* — — or at the *tristis severitas in vultu*, or *inspicere in patinas*, of Terence—thin jests, which at their first broaching could hardly have had *vis* enough to move a Roman muscle.[38]

'Flaccus's quibble about *Rex*' refers to a satire by Horace (here called by his third name) where Rex has the double meaning of a monarch and a private surname. The first Terentian line meant 'puritanic rigour in his countenance' and is found in the comedy *Andria*, where it characterizes a palpable liar; I hazard the guess that the schoolroom tyrant rejoiced at looking at the sullen sadness in the boys' faces in front of him. The second Terentian allusion, *inspicere in patinas*, 'to look into the kitchen pans' goes back to the 'funny' incident in *Adelphi*. A father has advised his son 'to look into everybody's life as into a mirror (and follow their examples', and the slave interprets the advice and rephrases it when talking to another slave:

> Postremo tamquam in speculum in patinas, Demea,
> Inspicere iubeo.
>
> (Finally my advice to you, Demea, is to look into your pots
> as into a mirror.)[39]

The related examples of Boyer's sense of humour speak for themselves. Other pupils, for instance Coleridge and Leigh Hunt, confirm that he was unpredictable in his humours.[40] He could make 'a headlong entry into the school room', threaten a boy: "*I have a great mind to whip you*", 'fling back into his lair', and then rush back 'with the expletory yell—"*and I will, too*"'. Lamb says that Boyer 'in his gentler moods' used to read the parliamentary debates and whip a boy at the same time—'a paragraph and a lash between', and that this happened 'when the *rabidus furor* was assuaged'.[41] It is probable, says Lucas, that Lamb had Catullus's *Attis* in mind.

> Piger his labante languore oculos sopor operit:
> Abit in quiete molli rabidus furor animi.
>
> (A heavy sleep falls on their eyes while they are still benumbed.
> And the rabid rage of their mind is assuaged.)

The context of these lines is that Catullus has in the foregoing verses related how Attis, a beautiful youth loved by the Phrygian goddess Cybele, in a fit of frenzy, inspired by Cybele, unsexed himself and consecrated his life to her service. He then roamed the country as a man-woman, until the frenzy, *rabidus furor*, left him and he fell asleep.

The man with a raging temperament inspiring such dreadful associations must have been formidable. 'Once, and but once, the uplifted rod was known to fall ineffectual from his hand.' Elia leaves it to the reader's imagination to make out what the unaccountable 'droll, squinting W—' really was doing when he was

[38] *Elia*, 19.
[39] *Elia*, 320; Lucas comments generously on these lines.
[40] Lucas, *Life*, 70-74.
[41] *Elia*, 20 och 320.

> caught putting the inside of the master's desk to a use for which the architect had clearly not designed it [and] to justify himself, with great simplicity averred, that *he did not know that the thing had been forewarned*.

Whatever it was, 'remission was unavoidable'. The story comes as a welcome relief. It is another proof of Boyer's eccentricity, if it is not merely a piece of Lamb's invention.

Elia now refers his readers to what L., that is Mr Lamb of RoCH, had to say about 'B's great merits as an instructor'.[42] Coleridge is said to have praised these, and the future first Bishop of Calcutta, Middleton, here mentioned as 'the author of the Country Spectator', had compared him with 'the ablest teacher of antiquity'. But Elia's last words about Boyer, though on the surface forgiving, form a true *damnatio memoriae*, as he could not

> dismiss him better than with the pious ejaculation of C.[oleridge]—when he heard that his old master was on his death-bed—'Poor J.B.!—may all his faults be forgiven; and may he be wafted to bliss by little cherub boys, all head and wings, with no *bottoms* to reproach his sublunary infirmities.[43]

The catalogue of Grecians, 'good and sound scholars bred under him [Boyer]', that concludes the essay is, appropriately enough, interspersed with references to Greek, Latin and ecclesiastical writers. Among those Grecians were Stevens and Trollope, life-long friends, who had studied *De Amicitia* together and later succeeded Boyer and Field as Grammar Masters at Christ's. They retired at the same time, or as Elia puts it, laid down their rods, here suitably styled *fasces*, the Roman lictor's symbol of his power to punish:

> What an edifying spectacle did this brace of friends present to those who remembered the anti-socialities of their predecessors! [. . .] Generally arm in arm, these kindly co-adjutors lightened for each other the toilsome duties of their profession, and when, in advanced age, one found it convenient to retire, the other was not long in discovering that it suited him to lay down the fasces also. Oh, it is pleasant, as it is rare, to find the same arm linked in yours at forty, which at thirteen helped it to turn the *Cicero De Amicitia*, or some tale of Antique Friendship, which the young heart even then was burning to anticipate.[44]

Among the allusions proper there is a last Virgilian echo when Elia is talking about the already mentioned Thomas Fanshaw Middleton, Bishop of Calcutta.

[42] 'He was a disciplinarian, indeed, of a different stamp from him whom I have just described [Mr Perry]; but now the terrors of the rod, and a temper a little too hasty to leave the more nervous of us quite at our ease to do justice to his merits in those days, are long since over, ungrateful were we if we should refuse our testimony to that unwearied assiduity with which he attended to the particular improvement of each of us' (*Misc*., 145, ll. 3-9). When Lamb wrote this, Boyer was still alive; he died in 1814.
[43] *Elia*, 20.
[44] *Elia*, 20.

> M. is said to bear his mitre high in India, where the *regni novitas* (I dare say) sufficiently justifies the bearing.[45]

The expression *regni novitas* appears in a speech when Dido addresses the Trojans:

> tum breviter Dido vultum demissa profatur
> 'Solvite corde metum, Teucri, secludite curas.
> res dura et regni novitas me talia cogunt
> moliri et late finis custode tueri.
>
> (Then Dido hung her head and said in a few words:
> Oh, Trojan men, don't you be afraid anymore and cast away your cares.
> Harsh times and the recent state of the foundation of my kingdom force me
> To undertake such enterprises and guard my frontiers far and wide.)[46]

The parallel to Dido, who explains (or excuses) her measures with a reference to the recent date of the foundation of her realm (*regni novitas*), seems to indicate that Middleton, the *first* Bishop of Calcutta, was, or was rumoured to be, a severe spiritual master, perhaps even haughty, bearing 'his mitre high'. No 'humility quite as primitive as that of Jewel or Hooker' (the former once Bishop of Salisbury, the latter the eminent ecclesiastical author)[47] was to be practiced in India, when the newly established bishopric was at stake. Though Lamb here veils his criticism of Middleton in a Virgilian allusion, at least some contemporary readers did read it as criticism of the Bishop, as is apparent from the disapproval expressed in the *Blackwood's Magazine* in November 1820. It mentions Elia's

> often abusive allusions to every individual who had the misfortune of being educated at the same school with himself.[48]

That Middleton was one of those whom *Blackwood's Magazine* had in mind as a target for Elia's 'abusive allusions' is apparent from the May issue in 1821, where the censure of 'Elia's impertinence', which was ascribed to the influence of 'Cockney scribblers', was modified. But his alleged sneer at Middleton was not forgiven.[49]

This is a case when Lamb resorted to an allusion when conveying his opinions. The connecting words, the signal *novitas regni*, were not in themselves offensive, but might and did make perceptive readers remember the context, which put the Bishop of Calcutta on par with the Queen of Carthage in severity and haughtiness, quite opposed to the humility of a Jewel, a Hooker.

Very likely, the *Blackwood's Magazine*'s 'abusive allusions' included the mentioning of, by *praeteritio,*

[45] *Elia*, 21.
[46] *The Aeneid*, I.561-564.
[47] *Elia*, 21 and 322.
[48] *Elia*, 323. Here *allusion to* does not carry any other meaning than 'mentioning of' or 'reference to'.
[49] *Elia*, 323-4.

> poor S — —, illfated M— — ! of these the Muse is silent.
> Finding some of Edward's race
> Unhappy, pass their annals by.[50]

The text that Lamb alludes to, with a slight travesty of two lines in Prior's *Carmen Saeculare*, provides a striking parallel.

> JANUS, mighty Deity
> Be kind; as Thy searching Eye
> Does our Modern Story trace
> Finding some of STUART's Race
> Unhappy, pass Their Annals by.

By 'Edward's race' are meant the boys belonging to the school of King Edward's foundation, Christ's Hospital. Prior's *Carmen Saeculare* for the year 1700 was dedicated to King William of Orange. At the same time the poet and diplomatist, who excelled in having a foot in two camps at a time, wanted to heal former wounds caused by the dispute concerning the deposed Stuarts. And he goes on with words that could equally well have bearing on those unhappy members of Edward's race.

> No harsh Reflection let Remembrance raise.
> Forbear to mention, what Thou canst not praise.

And from thence Lamb proceeds to mentioning those whom he *can* praise. The most eloquent part of this 'catalogue of Grecians' is devoted to an apostrophe of Coleridge.

> Come back into memory, like as thou wert in the day-spring of thy fancies, with hope like a fiery column before thee—the dark pillar not yet turned—Samuel Taylor Coleridge—Logician, Metaphysician, Bard!—How have I seen the casual passer through the Cloisters stand still, intranced with admiration (while he weighed the disproportion between the *speech* and the *garb* of the young Mirandula), to hear thee unfold, in thy deep and sweet intonations, the mysteries of Jamblichus, or Plotinus (for even in those days thou waxedst not pale at such philosophic draughts), or reciting Homer in his Greek, or Pindar—while the walls of the old Grey Friars re-echoed to the accents of the *inspired charity-boy*![51]

Lamb strikes a melancholy chord when he recalls the image of a youthful and promising Coleridge. The phrase he uses, 'hope like a fiery column before thee—the dark pillar not yet turned' seems to indicate an underlying, meaningful stratum, and one reference leads over to another. The 'fiery column' resembles Moses' pillar of fire which guided the Lord's people.

[50] *Elia,* 21 and 322.
[51] *Elia,* 21.

> And the Lord went before them by day in a pillar of cloud, to lead them the way; and by night in a pillar of fire to give them light . . .[52]

Another association that offers itself is that of *metae*, the turning-points, marked by pillars, at the Roman circus; metaphorically the word was used to indicate that point in man's life when he has turned into the way that leads to death.[53] Thus are united, in the imagery surrounding Coleridge, two of the most important influences in Lamb's mind, the Bible and the Classics.

To express Coleridge's excellence, Lamb calls him 'the young Mirandula', thus evoking the memory of Lorenzo di Medici's eminent friend.

The names of the two Neo-platonic philosophers, Jamblichus and Plotinus, call forth the faint echo of a Horatian line. In the first of his 'literary letters', *Epistulae*, Horace mentions an otherwise unknown Titius, who belonged to the future Emperor's literary staff and accompanied Tiberius on a journey to the Orient.

> Quid Titius, Romana brevi venturus in ora?
> Pindarici fontis qui non expalluit haustus,
> fastidiri lacus et rivos ausus apertos.
>
> (What will Titius do, he who soon will be on the lips of the Romans?
> He did not grow pale when drinking at the spring at which Pindar drank,
> And he dared to scorn the open water-tanks and streams.)[54]

Thus Lamb paraphrases, without marking it with any typographic device, a line from Horace, changing *Pindarici fontis . . . haustus* to 'philosophic draughts' and applying it to the philosophers. But Pindar appears in the same sentence linked with Homer. This passage sheds much light on the nature and intensity of the classical studies at Christ's and also on the art of Lamb's allusive technique.

In paraphrasing a long passage from Fuller's *Worthies*, Lamb compares Coleridge to Ben Johnson in learning while the easily recognized initials of another friend, Charles Valentine Grice, are substituted for Shakespeare's name. The long passage is quoted almost verbatim, which is rather unusual with Lamb.

> Many were the 'wit-combats', (to dally awhile with the words of old Fuller,) between him and C.V.Le G— —. 'which two I behold like a Spanish great gallion, and an English man of war; Master Coleridge, like the former, was built far higher in learning, solid but slow in performances. C.V.L., with the English man of war, lesser in bulk, but lighter in sailing, could turn with all tides, tack about, and take advantage of all winds, by the quickness of his wit and invention.[55]

This passage should be compared with the following from Fuller's *Worthies*.

[52] *Exodus* 13, 21. I am indebted to M. Thormählen for this suggestion.
[53] Virgil has, e.g., *meta aevi*, *meta ultima*; Ovid has *vitae metam tangere.*
[54] *Epistulae* I.3.9-11. Lucas stated emphatically that Lamb is thinking of these Horatian lines (*Elia,* 322).
[55] *Elia,* 21-22.

> Many were the wit-combats betwixt him [Shakespeare] and Ben Jonson, which two I behold like a Spanish great gallion, and an English man of war: Master Jonson (like the former), was built far higher in learning, solid, but slow in performances. Shakespeare, with the English man of war, lesser in bulk, but lighter in sailing, could turn with all tides, tack about, and take advantage of all winds, by the quickness of his wit and invention.[56]

Here are exemplified, side by side, two ways in which Lamb could use allusions. In the latter, he cites in the manner of a travesty, in full, almost verbatim and with quotation marks, and even mentions the source, Fuller. In the other passage there is no hint of any other source; the paraphrased text has all but melted into the new context.

The exceptionally beautiful Allen, who, by the time CH35 was written, had been dead for fifteen years, was the next Grecian to be addressed.

> Extinct are those smiles, with that beautiful countenance, with which (for thou wert the *Nireus formosus* of the school), in the days of thy maturer waggery, thou didst disarm the wrath of infuriated town-damsel [. . .][57]

The italicized *Nireus formosus* goes back to the *Iliad*, II.671 ff. In the catalogue of ships Homer apostrophizes him three times in as many consecutive verses, each beginning with his name, Nireus:

> Nireus next, came from Sume with three trim ships;
> Nireus, son of Aglaia and King Charopus;
> Nireus the handsomest Danaan that came to Ilium
> excepting only the flawless son of Peleus.
> And yet he was a weakling and his following was small.

Nireus formosus, Latin for 'handsome Nireus', had probably become almost proverbial. Line 675 comes as somewhat of a surprise, and one wonders whether this testimony about the handsome but weak Greek had bearing on Allen, too. Lucas mentions that Christ's Nireus had died of apoplexy in 1805 'after a varied and not fortunate career'.[58]

After this reference to Homer's catalogue of ships, Lamb brings both his own catalogue of living and dead Grecians and the essay to an end. He mentions some more Grecians only with an initial and a dash and gives a short summary of their lives. Through all his life he kept his poignant admiration for the Grecians, as is testified in the letter to Dyer, quoted above.

It is a true Deputy-Grecian hand that holds the "enfranchised quill" in CH35.[59] Superficially seen, Elia addresses the same audience in the *London Magazine* as Mr. L. had done seven years earlier in the *Gentleman's Magazine*. But *then* the public were aliens, criticizing Christ's

[56] Fuller, *Worthies of Warwickshire*. See *Elia*, 322.
[57] *Elia*, 22.
[58] *Elia*, 323.
[59] See "Oxford in the Vacation," *Elia*, 8:6. "The enfranchised quill, that has plodded all morning among the cart-rucks of figures and ciphers, frisks and curvets so at its ease over the flowery carpet-ground of a midnight dissertation."

Hospital from the outside, and the issue was to defend the old cherished institution. *Now* the former Blue Coat and Deputy-Grecian is speaking to his own compeers, using their initiated language.

Another difference is that Lamb now had found a means to talk candidly about delicate things, paradoxically enough using more or less veiled allusions: *sat sapienti*. It is true that the essay can be read in two ways, with or without being familiar with every allusion and their connotations; it makes charming reading without this knowledge, too.

Compared to CH35, the earlier RoCH seems rather pedestrian, marching on along the same line. The different points of view in CH35 answer for a greater liveliness and intensity. But first and last, there is in the later essay a variety in depth; there is an almost constant tension between the surface text and the underlying stratum. Without the allusions, the portraits of the two masters would have been flat and stale; the picture of the boys' lives at Christ's a chamber of horror and privation. Now the created effect is all pervading, redeeming humour.

It is also remarkable how well the reference frame of the allusions fits the world of the former school-boys. The texts they read are brought to mind and made to reinforce and set off in relief what Lamb has to say in his manifold characters.

Lund University, Sweden

Textual Basis of Lambs' *Tales from Shakespear*

By WINIFRED YIN

CHARLES AND MARY LAMB'S *Tales from Shakespear* (1807)[1] may be one of the most influential publications related to the study of Shakespearean drama to have shaped our understanding and interpretation of Shakespeare's plays. Although it is not always realised, for nearly two hundred years not only have those who have read Lambs' *Tales* been influenced by them, but also those who have never read the tales cannot be totally free from their spell. Lambs' *Tales* are the origin of many ideas and insights about Shakespeare's plays, which we take for granted today. When we make a comparison between the recognition scenes in *King Lear* and *Pericles* for example, we are already under the influence of the Lambs.[2] But before we can thoroughly appreciate the impact that Lambs' *Tales* has made on Shakespearean criticism, we must understand the textual basis of these prose adaptations.

No direct evidence of the edition or editions of Shakespeare's dramatic works used by either Charles or Mary Lamb is traceable; however, the Lambs almost certainly had a copy of Nicholas Rowe's *Shakespear*.[3] In 'My First Play', an essay first printed in *The London Magazine* in 1821 and later collected in the essays of *Elia*, Charles Lamb describes his childish delight in reading 'Rowe's Shakspeare' (*Works*, II, 98)[4] and his description implies that he always owned a copy of it:

> But when we got in [the play-house], and I beheld the green curtain that veiled a heaven to my imagination, which was soon to be disclosed—the breathless anticipations I endured! I had seen something like it in the plate prefixed to Troilus and Cressida, in Rowe's Shakspeare—the tent scene with Diomede—and a sight of that plate can always bring back in a measure the feeling of that evening. (*Works*, II, 98)

Although Rowe's *Shakespear* is conspicuously absent from both the 'Catalogue of Charles Lamb's Library' included in William Carew Hazlitt's *Mary and Charles Lamb: Poems, Letters, and Remains* (1874) and 'Lamb's Library', a corrected and enlarged catalogue in *The Lambs: Their Lives, Their Friends, and Their Correspondence* (1897) by the same author, a few words of explanation are enough to dispel the mystery of its absence.

'During the long illness of Miss Lamb', William Carew Hazlitt wrote in 1874, 'the collection of books, that formed the solace and delight of her brother's life, met with neglect

[1] All references to Lambs' *Tales* are standardised to the first edition: Charles and Mary Lamb, *Tales from Shakespear. Designed for the Use of Young Persons*, The Juvenile Library (London: Hodgkins, 1807). The name of the bard is consistently spelt as 'Shakespear' in the book.

[2] For example, see also: Jonathan Bate, 'Lamb on Shakespeare', *The Charles Lamb Bulletin*, N.S. 51 (1985), 76-85.

[3] Nicholas Rowe, ed., *The Works of Mr. William Shakespear*, 6 vols. (London: Tonson, 1709); [second edition], 7 vols. (London: Tonson, 1709-1710); [third edition], 9 vols. (London: Tonson, 1714).

[4] Unless otherwise stated, all references to Lambs' *Works* are standardised to the Lucas edition: Charles and Mary Lamb, *The Works of Charles and Mary Lamb*, ed. by E.V. Lucas, 7 vols. (London: Methuen, 1903-5). In this edition, the name of the bard is spelt 'Shakspeare' throughout.

and partial dispersion among his friends'.[5] Consequently, whatever titles listed in the 'Catalogue of Charles Lamb's Library' were the few volumes still remaining in Mary's possession at her death (1847) and being considered 'as worthy of preservation';[6] many of the Lambs' book collection, which belonged to the 'ragged regiment',[7] were destroyed before the New York auction. W.C. Hazlitt never managed to track down all the titles of the books that had once been owned by either Charles or Mary Lamb.[8] It is very likely that Rowe's *Shakespear* was among the lost volumes.

Rowe's *Shakespear* evidently meant something special for Charles Lamb as the medium of his first encounter with Shakespearean drama. While re-telling the stories from Shakespeare's plays, Lamb might have decided to use as the textual basis of the tales the same edition(s) of the plays which had already given him so much pleasure in childhood. This viewpoint may sound suspiciously sentimental at first, but Lamb was a writer constantly contemplating his lost childhood and always looking back nostalgically into the past. As to Mary Lamb, she probably followed suit (as I will discuss later). Moreover, as a copy of Rowe's *Shakespear* was already in the possession of the Lambs, there was no reason not to make good use of it.

Abundant internal evidence can be cited from Lambs' *Tales* to support my hypothesis. It is true that Charles Lamb had little admiration for the practice of constantly quoting from Shakespeare's plays. As expressed in his essay 'On the Tragedies of Shakspeare', the common phenomenon of quoting and reciting Shakespeare's most famous dramatic speeches out of the original context meant, as far as he was concerned at least, no more than a cruel and detestable deprivation of both the real sense and the integral meaning of these fine passages:

> How far the very custom of hearing any thing *spouted*, withers and blows upon a fine passage, may be seen in those speeches from Henry the Fifth, &c. which are current in the mouths of school-boys from their being to be found in *Enfield Speakers*, and such kind of books. I confess myself utterly unable to appreciate that celebrated soliloquy in Hamlet, beginning "To be or not to be," or to tell whether it be good, bad, or indifferent, it has been so handled and pawed about by declamatory boys and men, and torn so inhumanly from its living place and principle of continuity in the play, till it is become to me a perfect dead member. (*Works*, I, 99)

As a result, Shakespeare's words are more frequently introduced in Lambs' *Tales* in the form of paraphrase than by direct quotation. But there are, nevertheless, certain songs and rhymes self-contained in sense and meaning quoted verbatim from Shakespeare's plays, and some of them are even preserved in their original verse form in Lambs' *Tales*. For example, there are Feste's love laments 'Come away, come away, Death' (*Tales*, II, 109) from *Twelfth Night* (*TN*, II. iv. 51-66),[9] even though the original singer is omitted from Mary Lamb's prose adaptation, and the bitter remarks about Lear, which begin with '[H]e that has [and] a little tiny wit' (*Tales*,

[5] William Carew Hazlitt, *Mary and Charles Lamb: Poems, Letters, and Remains* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1874), 297.
[6] Hazlitt 297.
[7] William Carew Hazlitt, *The Lambs: Their Lives, Their Friends, and Their Correspondence* (London: Mathews, 1897), 61.
[8] Hazlitt, *The Lambs* 61.
[9] Unless otherwise stated, references to Shakespeare's plays are standardised to *The Arden Shakespeare Complete Works*, ed. by Richard Proudfoot, etc. (Walton-on-Thames: Nelson, 1998).

I, 206), chanted by the Fool in *King Lear* (*KL*, III. ii. 73-76). The wording and the phrasing of these passages, supposedly quoted from the plays, give us some clues as to the edition or editions of Shakespeare's plays on which Lambs' *Tales* are based.

For those who are familiar with the Quarto texts of *King Lear*, it is immediately recognisable that the Fool's bitter remarks on Lear's foolishness in Lambs' *Tales* are slightly different from those printed in either Q1 or Q2. In Charles Lamb's prose adaptation of the tragedy, it is printed:

> But he that has a little tiny wit,
> With heigh ho, the wind and the rain!
> Must make content with his fortunes fit,
> Though the rain it raineth every day[…] (*Tales*, I, 206)

The Quartos print 'hey ho'[10] instead of 'heigh ho' (*KL*, III. ii. 74); 'heigh-ho' is printed in the First Folio,[11] as in Lamb's version. Although this is an accidental rather than substantive variant, it may be argued from this first instance of textual variations that Lamb probably used Shakespeare's Folio text or some edition that was based on the Folio.

Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* was first printed in the Folio of 1623 (F1), and the only authoritative text of the play is that of the Folio in which the lyrics of Feste's song are:

> Come away, come away death,
> And in sad cypresse let me be laide.
> Fye away, fie away breath,
> I am slaine by a faire cruel maide[…][12] (*TN*, II. iv. 51-54)

But in Mary Lamb's version, the third line is quoted as 'Fly away, fly away, breath' (*Tales*, II, 109) as in Rowe's *Shakespear*.[13] Like *Twelfth Night*, *The Winter's Tale* was also first printed in the Folio. In F1, no stage direction is marked between these two lines of Polixenes's speech:

> *Pol.* Marke your diuorce (yong sir)
> Whom sonne I dare not call[.][14] (*WT*, IV. iv. 419)

In Lamb's narration, Polixenes removes his disguise while taxing his son with lacking in filial consideration:

> "Mark your divorce, young sir," said the king, discovering himself. (*Tales*, I, 54)

[10] William Shakespeare, *King Lear 1608 (Pied Bull Quarto)*, Shakespeare Quarto Facsimiles No. 1 (London: The Shakespeare Association, 1939) 40 (III.ii.74); *M. William Shake-speare's King Lear: The Second Quarto, 1608, A Facsimile*, Shakspere-Quarto Facsimiles, No. 34 (London: Praetorius, 1885), 44 (III.ii.75).
[11] William Shakespeare, *The First Folio of Shakespeare*, ed. by Charlton Hinman, The Norton Facsimile, second edition (London: Norton, 1996), 804.
[12] Shakespeare, *The First Folio* 280.
[13] William Shakespeare, *The Works of Mr. William Shakespear*, ed. by Nicholas Rowe, 6 vols. (London: Tonson, 1709), II, 845; [second edition], 7 vols. (1709-1710), II, 845; [third edition], 9 vols. (1714), III, 32.
[14] Shakespeare 312.

'*Discovering himself*' is the exact phrasing of Rowe's additional stage direction inserted immediately after 'Mark your divorce, young sir'.[15]

In 1709, a six-volume octavo edition of *The Works of Mr. William Shakespear* edited by Nicholas Rowe was published, based mainly on the Fourth Folio of 1685 (F4) but with an immensely improved text. Later in the same year, Rowe's edition was reissued with some slight alterations, and this new edition was expanded into seven volumes in 1710. In 1714, another edition was published with minor corrections in eight volumes, and this third edition was later expanded into nine volumes in the same year. In his editions of *King Lear*, Rowe emends the Fool's words 'heigh ho'[16] as in Lambs' *Tales* from F4's 'height-ho'.[17] This is further evidence that Rowe's editions were very likely to be the basis of Lambs' *Tales.*

Rowe's editions, nevertheless, were also the basis of certain eighteenth-century standard editions of Shakespeare's dramatic works that were yet to come, such as Pope's *Shakespear*. From 1723 to 1725, Alexander Pope completed his six-volume quarto edition of *The Works of Mr. William Shakespear,* in which many emendations and alterations made by Nicholas Rowe were retained. In other words, in 1806 the Lambs would not always have had to consult Rowe's *Shakespear* to come by some of the textual changes made by Rowe, such as all those variants discussed so far. In addition, Pope made some arbitrary corrections in his new edition, relegating certain passages to the margin and rejecting altogether some lines that offended his personal taste.

Pope's edition of Shakespeare's *King Lear* above all is the first conflation of both texts of the Quarto and the Folio, and the concluding speech of the play is no longer attributed to Edgar as in either the Folio or Rowe's editions,[18] but to Albany as in the Quarto:[19]

> *Alb.* The weight of this sad time we must obey,
> Speak what we feel, not what we ought to say.
> The oldest hath born most; we that are young
> Shall never see so much, nor live so long.[20] (*KL,* V. iii. 322-25)

The way in which Pope's *King Lear* concludes suggests that Albany alone is to succeed to the throne and rule Britain in the future, a notion fully anticipated in the last paragraph of Lamb's prose adaptation:

[15] William Shakespeare, *The Works of Mr. William Shakespear,* ed. by Nicholas Rowe, 6 vols. (London: Tonson, 1709), II, 947; [second edition], 7 vols. (1709-1710), II, 947; [third edition], 9 vols. (1714), III, [136].
[16] William Shakespeare, *The Works of Mr. William Shakespear,* ed. by Nicholas Rowe, 6 vols. (London: Tonson, 1709), V, 2512; [second edition], 7 vols. (1709-1710), V, 2512; [third edition], 9 vols. (1714), VII, 51.
[17] William Shakespeare, *Mr. William Shakespeare's Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies, Faithfully Reproduced in Facsimile from the Editions of 1685* (London: Methuen, 1904), 99.
[18] William Shakespeare, *The Works of Mr. William Shakespear,* ed. by Nicholas Rowe, 6 vols. (London: Tonson, 1709), V, 2551; [second edition], 7 vols. (1709-1710), V, 2551; [third edition], 9 vols. (1714), VII, 91.
[19] William Shakespeare, *King Lear 1608 (Pied Bull Quarto),* Shakespeare Quarto Facsimile No. 1 (London: The Shakespeare Association, 1939), 87 (V.iii.324-7); *M. William Shake-speare's King Lear: The Second Quarto, 1608, A Facsimile,* Shakspere-Quarto Facsimiles, No. 34 (London: Praetorius, 1885), 87 (V.iii.323-6).
[20] William Shakespeare, *The Works of Mr. William Shakespeare,* ed. by Alexander Pope, 6 vols. (London: Tonson, 1723-5), III, 111.

> Gonerill's[21] husband, the duke of Albany, who was innocent of the death of Cordelia, and had never encouraged his lady in her wicked proceedings against her father, ascended the throne of Britain after the death of Lear[…] (*Tales*, I, 214)

Could it be that, rather than any of Rowe's editions, the Lambs actually used Pope's first edition as the basis of their prose tales? While examining this possibility, it is crucial to bear in mind that, in Lamb's 'King Lear',[22] the Gloucester subplot is omitted and Edgar is no more than a shadowy figure. Edgar is briefly mentioned only twice, at the end of the story as 'his [Edmund's] brother', the 'lawful' heir of Gloucester (*Tales*, I, 212 & 214). Since Edgar does not play a part in the Lear story as substantial as Shakespeare's Edgar in the original dramatic work, Lamb may not have considered the little involvement of his Edgar qualified him as the future king of Britain; in comparison, Albany would have been preferable to complete the prose story.

In Pope's first edition of Shakespeare's dramatic works, furthermore, *Pericles*, retold by Mary Lamb in 1806, was excluded. The play was, however, included as the first play in the ninth volume of Pope's second edition published in 1728. Was Pope's second edition, instead of the first, used by the Lambs as the textual basis of their tales? Before this question can be answered, certain anomalies concerning the publication of Pope's second edition must be considered.

The inclusion of *Pericles* in Pope's second edition has not been generally known. It was not acknowledged by other eighteenth-century editors. Once Pope's first edition had been brought out, subsequent editors simply followed the example of his first edition and all excluded *Pericles* from the canon. Not until Edmond Malone published his two-volume *Supplement to the Editions of Shakspeare's Plays Published in 1778 by Samuel Johnson and George Steevens* in 1780 did *Pericles* make an official return to the complete works of William Shakespeare. Neither was this inclusion in Pope's second edition mentioned in the Arden edition of the play edited by F.D. Hoeniger.[23] The Arden Shakespeare is highly acclaimed for its thoroughness in the discussion of printing and publishing history of various editions of Shakespeare's plays. The inattentiveness to the inclusion of *Pericles* in Pope's second edition probably results from the curious manner in which the ninth volume was brought out in 1728.

On the title page designed for Pope's second edition, it was clearly stated that 'Mr. Pope' was the editor, and the book consisted of 'Eight', not nine, volumes.[24] At the end of its eighth volume, it was also clearly marked as 'The END of SHAKESPEAR'S Plays'.[25] Evidently the ninth volume 'was issued', as pointed out by H.L. Ford in *Shakespeare 1700-1740*, 'shortly afterwards'.[26] Moreover, the editor was not identified on the title page of the ninth volume. Since the editor was unspecified and the ninth volume came out later than the other eight, the inclusion of *Pericles* in Pope's second edition has, not surprisingly, been overlooked. More

[21] It is thus spelt in Lamb's tale, as in the Folio, Rowe's and Pope's editions.
[22] To differentiate from Shakespeare's plays, each of the individual tales of the Lambs will be placed within a pair of inverted commas.
[23] See Hoeniger's introduction to the play, in William Shakespeare, *Pericles*, The Arden Shakespeare (London: Methuen, 1963; repr., Routledge, 1994), xxiii-xlix.
[24] William Shakespeare, *The Works of Shakespear*, ed. by Alexander Pope, [second edition], 9 vols. (London: Tonson, 1728), I, title page.
[25] Shakespeare, *The Works of Shakespear* VIII, 427.
[26] H.L. Ford, *Shakespeare 1700-1740. A Collation of the Editions and Separate Plays* (Oxford: OUP, 1935), 24.

curiously perhaps, the play-text of *Pericles* in Pope's second edition was by and large reprinted from Rowe's 1714 edition. Although the printing type was re-set, the text itself was Rowe's. Pope did not add any critical commentary or put any editorial note to it. In fact, the same textual peculiarities also characterise the other six plays[27] following *Pericles* included in this ninth volume of Pope's second edition. If examined individually, the entire ninth volume will most likely be mistaken as another edition of Rowe's *Shakespear* but which, rather paradoxically, sums up the essential truth about the texts of all seven included plays. These curious features seem to suggest that neither the inclusion of *Pericles* nor the publication of the ninth volume was Pope's editorial decision.

Pope's publisher, Jacob Tonson, had brought out Rowe's editions in 1709, 1710 and 1714, and it might have been Tonson, not Pope, who decided to reprint Rowe's *Pericles* and include it with a frontispiece, whose design was identical to that of Rowe's 1714 edition of the play, in an additional volume to Pope's 1728 edition.[28] Consequently, the texts of *Pericles* edited by Nicholas Rowe and Edmond Malone, respectively, are the only two candidates for the textual basis of Mary Lamb's 'Pericles'. In Rowe's edition of *Pericles*, the name of Cleon's wife is consistently spelt as 'Dionysia' as in the Folio (either F3 or F4) and Lambs' *Tales*, but as 'Dionyza' in Malone's edition of the play, which follows the Quarto. Mary Lamb, therefore, must have used Rowe's *Pericles* as the basis of her prose adaptation. This also confirms one of my earlier conjectures that, when Charles chose Rowe's *Shakespear* as the textual basis of his tales, Mary simply followed suit. We now can almost be sure that Rowe's *Shakespear* is the textual basis of Lambs' *Tales*; but one question remains. How did some textual variations, which do not exist in Rowe's but Pope's editions, find their ways into Lambs' *Tales*? An incident taking place in the beginning of the year 1806 may shed some light on this matter.

In January 1806, the Lambs spent two pounds and two shillings to purchase a copy of Pope's first edition of Shakespeare's plays on behalf of the Wordsworths. On February 1, 1806, Charles Lamb wrote a letter to William Wordsworth and explained how Mary and he '[had] used our own discretion in purchasing Pope's fine Quarto in six volumes which may be read *ad ultimam horam vitae'* (*Letters,* II, 204).[29] This event took place about the time when Mary was commissioned by the Godwins to write the twenty Shakespeare stories. Although Charles disagreed with certain editorial decisions made by Pope, in order to make up their minds about whether they should buy the copy for the Wordsworths, the Lambs apparently went through the pages with great care. In the letter to William Wordsworth, Charles Lamb pointedly draws his friend's attention to the few peculiarities about these volumes:

> N.B. there is writing in the *Shakespear*: but it is only *variae lectiones* which some careful Gentleman the former Owner was at the pains to insert in a very neat hand from 5 Commentators. It is no defacement. The fault of Pope's edition is, that he has comically & coxcombically marked the Beauties: which is vile, as if you were to chalk

[27] They are the *London Prodigal*, *Thomas Lord Cromwell*, *Sir John Oldcastle*, *The Puritan*, *A Yorkshire Tragedy* and *Locrine*.

[28] Compare the two frontispieces in Rowe's and Pope's editions: William Shakespeare, *The Works of Mr. William Shakespear,* ed. by Nicholas Rowe, [third edition], 9 vols. (London: Tonson, 1714), VIII, 7, and *The Works of Shakespear*, ed. by Alexander Pope, [second edition], 9 vols. (London: Tonson, 1728), IX, 6.

[29] All references to Lambs' *Letters* are standardised to the Marrs edition: Charles and Mary Lamb, *The Letters of Charles and Mary Anne Lamb,* ed. by Edwin W. Marrs, Jr., 3 vols. (London: Cornell Univ. Press, 1975-8).

> up the cheek & across the nose of a handsome woman in red chalk to shew where the comeliest parts lay. (*Letters,* II, 205)

When the Lambs began to work on their prose tales, the memory of Pope's *Shakespear* was probably fresh in their minds. But the Lambs did not make extensive use of Pope's *Shakespear*, probably because they never actually owned a copy of Pope's edition either the first or the second.

Charles Lamb evidently did not regard Pope's *Shakespear* as an ideal choice of edition. In the *Elia* essay on 'Detached Thoughts on Books and Reading', Lamb made an unambiguous declaration that Rowe's editions, all brought out by Tonson, would always be his favourite:

> I do not care for a First Folio of *Shakspeare*. I rather prefer the common editions of Rowe and Tonson, without notes, and with *plates*, which, being so execrably bad, serve as maps, or modest remembrancers, to the text; and without pretending to any supposable emulation with it, are so much better than the Shakspeare gallery *engravings*, which *did*. (*Works*, II, 174)

Pope's first edition contained editorial notes and no illustrations at all. Although some of Shakespeare's plays (*Hamlet* sometimes excluded) [30] in Pope's second edition were accompanied by plates, the critical commentaries and notes made by Alexander Pope were retained in the first eight volumes of this 1728 edition. I therefore propose that the Lambs mainly based their prose narratives on Rowe's *Shakespear* with occasional reference to Pope's first edition of Shakespeare's dramatic works.

To recognise the textual basis for Lambs' *Tales* is of vital importance in terms of understanding how and why some crucial scenes in the plays are interpreted in certain ways. For example, the behaviour of Hamlet at Ophelia's funeral is described by Charles Lamb in this manner:

> Then discovering himself, he leaped into the grave where Laertes was, all as frantic or more frantic than he [. . .] (*Tales,* II, 202)

Once again, this 'discovering himself' (*Tales*, II, 202) is an additional stage direction, which exists in Pope's but not Rowe's editions.[31]

One of the common practices in the theatre during the early nineteenth century was to enact Laertes '*Springing out of the Grave, and seizing* HAMLET', [32] and simultaneously addressing the line 'the devil take thy soul' (*HAM,* V. i. 257). The theatrical interpretation rendered Hamlet more composed in his mourning for Ophelia's death than Laertes, who initiates the physical violence, or the Hamlet portrayed in Rowe's editions. Lamb's Hamlet,

[30] The Shakespeare Centre Library (Stratford-upon-Avon) has preserved an irregular copy, which does not contain the frontispiece of *Hamlet.*

[31] Compare Rowe's and Pope's editions: William Shakespeare, *The Works of Mr. William Shakespear,* ed. by Nicholas Rowe, 6 vols. (London: Tonson, 1709), V, 2454; [second edition], 7 vols. (1709-1710), V, 2454; [third edition], 9 vols. (1714), VI, 394, and *The Works of Mr. William Shakespear*, ed. by Alexander Pope, 6 vols. (London: Tonson, 1723-5), VI, 457.

[32] William Shakespeare, *Shakspeare's Hamlet, Prince of Denmark, A Tragedy, Now First Published as it is Acted by Their Majesties Servants at the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane* (London: Ridway, 1805), 59.

following Rowe's additional stage direction, is a young prince who forgets all good manners, struck down by a sudden revelation of his own irredeemable loss. Q1 also includes a similar stage direction to Rowe's, '*Hamlet leaps in after Laertes*'.[33] Judging from the extreme rarity of Q1,[34] and the close verbal resemblance of Lamb's narration to Rowe's stage direction, 'Hamlet *leaps into the Grave*',[35] Lamb is most likely to have consulted Rowe's *Hamlet* rather than the Quarto when determining how the eponymous hero should respond to Ophelia's death in the prose tale.

The Ghost in 'Hamlet' is consistently presented by Charles Lamb as a public figure of the militant king:

> And he [Hamlet] asked her [Gertrude] how she could continue to live with this man [Claudius], and be a wife to him, who had murdered her first husband and got the crown by as false means as a thief----------and just as he spoke, the ghost of his father, such as he was in his life-time, and such as he had lately seen it, entered the room [. . .] (*Tales,* II, 196-7)

In the closet scene of Q1, the Ghost enters according to the stage direction, 'in his night gowne',[36] emphasizing by the particular garment he wears, the private and domestic aspect of the dead king's identity as Gertrude's husband and the father of Prince Hamlet. However, in Rowe's *Hamlet,* which followed the Folio, there is no indication of any change of garments at the Ghost's second appearance. On the contrary, a frontispiece is inserted in Rowe's *Hamlet* and it depicts the Ghost dressed in full armour while entering the queen's closet.[37] Basing his prose tale on Rowe's version of the tragedy, Lamb tells his young readers that the Ghost is consistently 'clad in the same suit of armour, from head to foot, which the dead king was known to have worn' (*Tales,* II, 180). The result is that the Ghost in Lambs' *Tales* manages to uphold the dignity of the dead king as a brave warrior, but the pathos of the Ghost's frustrated attempt to re-join his royal family in the queen's closet as underlined in Q1 never comes across to the readers of the tale.

The most fascinating example of the kind is found in Mary Lamb's 'Pericles'. In the story adapted from *Pericles,* Marina patiently watches over her sleeping father during his uncanny slumber:

> he now complaining of a drowsy slumber coming over him, Lysimachus persuaded him to rest on a couch, and placing a pillow under his head, he, quite overpowered with

[33] William Shakespeare, *Shakspere's Hamlet: The First Quarto, 1603, A Facsimile in Photo-Lithography,* ed. by William Griggs, Shakspere-Quarto Facsimiles, No. 1 (London: Griggs, 1880), 59.

[34] In fact, only two known copies of Q1 exist. One of them was discovered by Sir Henry Bunbury in 1823 and is currently kept in the Huntington Library, California. The other copy was acquired by Halliwell in 1856 and sold to the British Museum in 1858.

[35] William Shakespeare, *The Works of Mr. William Shakespear,* ed. by Nicholas Rowe, 6 vols. (London: Tonson, 1709), V, 2454; [second edition], 7 vols. (1709-1710), V, 2454; [third edition], 9 vols. (1714), VI, 394.

[36] William Shakespeare, *Shakspere's Hamlet: The First Quarto, 1603, A Facsimile in Photo-Lithography,* ed. by William Griggs, Shakspere-Quarto Facsimile No. 1 (London: Griggs, 1880), 45.

[37] See the frontispiece, in William Shakespeare, *The Works of Mr. William Shakespear,* ed. by Nicholas Rowe, 6 vols. (London: Tonson, 1709), V, 2365; [second edition], 7 vols. (1709-1710), V, 2365; [third edition], 9 vols. (1714), VI, 301.

> excess of joy, sunk into a sound sleep, and Marina watched in silence by the couch of her sleeping parent. (*Tales,* II, 256)

In this quoted passage, Lamb has pictured an image of filial piety which closely resembles that of Cordelia's waiting by the bed-side for her 'child-changed father' (*KL,* IV. vii. 17) to recover his wits and senses. It is rather doubtful whether Shakespeare meant to present the scene in the same manner as Lamb did in her prose adaptation.

In Rowe's editions of *Pericles* as in both the Quarto and the Folio texts of the play, no exit is marked at V.i.238. However, judging from Lysimachus' line 'So leave him [Pericles] all' (*PER,* V.i.235), a verbal signal for several exits, Lysimachus, Hellicanus, Marina and her 'companion maid' (*PER,* V.i.78) leave Pericles alone, on stage at V.i.238. This conjecture was made by Edmond Malone in 1780, in his *Supplement to the Edition of Shakespeare's Plays Published in 1778 by Samuel Johnson and George Steevens.*[38] Subsequently Malone also inserted a new stage direction at the moment when Pericles wakes up and calls for attention (*PER,* V.i.250): 'Enter Lysimachus, Hellicanus, and Marina.'[39] But Rowe differs from Malone in that only Lysimachus' re-entry is indicated at this same moment,[40] though Marina is definitely spoken to at V.i.263: 'Come, my Marina.' Following Rowe's stage direction at V.i.250 and his text based on the Folio, Mary Lamb concluded that Marina did not leave her father's side until Pericles wakes up and leads her off at V.i.263, when the scene ends. Besides, earlier in the same scene has Lysimachus not cautioned the other characters present on stage, 'It is not good to cross him [Pericles]; give him way' (*PER,* V.i.230)? It is a hint that Pericles' announcement of hearing 'The music of the spheres' (V.i.229) is considered by Lysimachus as a sign that his wits and senses have been overwhelmed by too much joyful surprise in too short a span of time. This point is made manifest in the narration of Lamb's 'Pericles':

> As there was no music to be heard, Lysimachus concluded that the sudden joy had unsettled the prince's understanding; and he said, "It is not good to cross him; let him have his way [. . .]" (*Tales,* II, 255-56)

As a result, not only does the loving daughter, Lamb's Marina, like Cordelia, express her filial concern by watching over her parent, but Lamb's Pericles, the beloved and attended royal father, also resembles Lear more closely in the process of his recovery, even though the causes for their mental disturbance are of two distinctively different kinds.

The presentation of this particular scene in *Pericles* is always thought to be the most touching and beautiful, reminding us of the tender feelings in the recognition scene of one of Shakespeare's greatest tragedies, and it somehow redeems a rather loosely written play.[41] But it does not alter the fact that the gentle and serene feelings this scene evokes are due no less to Nicholas Rowe's incomplete stage direction, and Mary Lamb's ingenious interpretation of it,

[38] William Shakespeare, *Supplement to the Edition of Shakespear's Plays Published in 1778 by Samuel Johnson and George Steevens,* ed. by Edmond Malone, 2 vols. (London: Bathurst, 1780), II, 149.
[39] Shakespeare, *Supplement* 150.
[40] William Shakespeare, *The Works of Mr. William Shakespear,* ed. by Nicholas Rowe, 6 vols. (London: Tonson, 1709), VI, 3004; [second edition], 7 vols. (1709-1710), VI, 3004; [third edition], 9 vols. (1714), VIII, 65.
[41] For example, see Hoeniger's account of 'Past and Present Attitudes to *Pericles*', in William Shakespeare, *Pericles,* The Arden Shakespeare (London: Methuen, 1963; repr., Routledge, 1994), lxxi.

than to Shakespeare's own texts either of the Quarto or of the Folio. As Jonathan Bate most fittingly termed it in his talk given to the Charles Lamb Society in 1984, Lambs' *Tales* is 'a kind of creative commentary' on Shakespeare's dramatic works.[42] In their own unique ways, the Lambs have explored the enormous possibilities of interpreting Shakespeare, and their *Tales from Shakespear* continues to show readers of young and old what dramatic creativity and imagination both the tales and the origin plays can offer them.

Tunghai University

[42] Jonathan Bate, 'Lamb on Shakespeare', *The Charles Lamb Bulletin*, N.S. 51 (1985), 76-85 (76).

Reviews

DUNCAN WU, ED. *The Selected Writings of William Hazlitt. The Pickering Masters Series.* 9 vols. Pp. lviii + 3656. ISBN 1 85196 369 3. £650 / $1050 cloth.

Hazlitt was notoriously slapdash about the condition of his printed texts. A working journalist, he managed to get his manuscripts to the printer just on time (and often in a chaotic state, if the few surviving examples are anything to go by). Furthermore, he often just managed to rush his work out in as fit a state as could be managed under such circumstances. Frankly, the result was confusion. Texts of his magazine articles and many of the first editions of his books – *Table Talk* and the *Plain Speaker* among them – are filled with typographical difficulties of every variety. Moreover, he seems rarely to have been allowed the chance to correct his texts in a second edition, and as a result, the received texts, as they have come down to us, despite the labors of various editors who have worked on the editions (Waller and Glover in the first collected edition, P.P. Howe in the second and most recent of 1930-34), a large number of uncorrected errors have been preserved.

As paperback reprints of Hazlitt's work always "borrow" their texts from Howe, the result is that, when we read him, we are almost invariably reading essays strewn with errors. This is regrettable enough, but is compounded by the fact that annotations to Hazlitt's essays (badly needed, as his frame of reference is genuinely panoramic) are frequently incorrect; moreover, when the references are wrong, they refer to editions long outdated and impossible for the modern reader to obtain.

Consequently, one great value of the Pickering and Chatto selection from Hazlitt is that it provides us with a text and notes that are accurate and up to date. All references take us, with great precision, to pages in current, standard editions. Texts have been scrutinized to the highest standards and corrected where necessary. Additionally, the editor, Duncan Wu, provides a list of errors that he has discovered in his copy-texts at the beginning of each volume. I note that his annotations add considerably to the points of information provided by his predecessors. For instance, in volume 4, Hazlitt's *Political Essays*: no previous editor has annotated Hazlitt's "Illustrations of Vetus" with comprehensive extracts from the original "Vetus" articles in the *Times* (apparently by Edward Sterling). Similarly, Wu's notes to the Letter to William Gifford, in volume 5, for the first time provide full and exhaustive coverage of the hostile reviews to which Hazlitt was responding. Furthermore, volume 9 contains two hitherto unpublished Hazlitt essays edited from the manuscripts – "To the Monthly Reviewers" and "On the Punishment of Death." Neither is likely to have much impact on Hazlitt's reputation, but it is useful, nonetheless, to have them in print. Incidentally, it is also useful to find that Wu appends, to volume 2, as a supplement to the essay in *The Round Table* on *The Excursion*, texts of Hazlitt's original serial review of the poem – different, intriguingly (and more favorable towards its subject), than *The Round Table* version. Likewise, volume 4 contains a political essay not included by Howe in his *Collected Hazlitt*, but well worth having – "The Stripling Bard" – first identified as Hazlitt's by David Erdman.

In short, this is a magnificent work of scholarship for which one can only be grateful. But does it have to be so costly? If you want to purchase this invaluable edition, you will have to pay £650 for it, about £72 per volume. Can any book really be worth £72? I doubt it. The only individuals likely to buy a book priced in such a way are librarians (rather than members of the

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general public). Pickering and Chatto are to be applauded for undertaking this worthwhile enterprise, but perhaps they might wish to repackage it as a set of paperbacks, at a price more accessible to the many Hazlittians who might wish to buy it. R.S. Tomlinson

Society Notes and News from Members

NOTES AND NEWS FROM MEMBERS

FROM D. E. WICKHAM

Some That Got Away

In December 2000, Christie's New York offered a fine selection of autograph Eliana and I bid pretty high, but completely unsuccessfully. Lot 102 was the original manuscript of the essay 'On the Secondary Novels of Defoe', which is printed by Lucas, for example, among the *Miscellaneous Prose*. It was accompanied by a watercolour portrait of Charles Lamb in ink and grey washes by an unknown artist and dated 1802. The estimate was $4 - $6,000. The lot fetched $9,500 nett.

Lot 103 was a multiple lot, including Lamb's letter to Thomas Hood postmarked 5 July 1828 (Lucas No. 752, where the text is copied, but only in part, from H. B. Smith's *A Sentimental Library*, pp. 133-4); Mary Lamb's letter of 25 December 1805 to Mrs. Clarkson; a mock autograph letter written by Charles Lamb but supposedly to him from Thomas Hood, autumn 1828?; and a letter from Thomas Hood, dated 3 June 1830, presenting a copy of Lamb's *Specimens of English Dramatic Poets* to a friend. The estimate was $1,800 - $2,500, which I thought remarkably low. It fetched $6,500.

Lot 104 was Charles Lamb's copy of Ben Jonson's *Works*, 1692, and in suitably disgusting condition for Lamb's 'ragged regiment': '(some leaves detached and frayed.) Old calf (broken, spine defective) ...end leaves and margins profusely annotated in [Charles Lamb's] hand with extracts from other authors)'. There were also corrections in the text, etc., in Lamb's early hand. It was in the collection of Charles W. Frederickson and bought thence by Charles Scribner's Sons. It was estimated at $1,000 - $1,500, which struck me as ludicrously low and I bid accordingly. It soared even higher and fetched $8,000 nett.

Such names as are mentioned in these transactions do not appear in our membership list and are unknown to the major London antiquarian book dealers. Moreover, the items do not turn up again with the best-known dealers in books or autographs in America or Britain. This may suggest that someone with plenty of money has entered the market and is prepared to pay any sum.

A New Snapshot of Coleridge?

Assuming that 'Memoirs of a Highland Lady' by Elizabeth Grant of Rothiemurchus, 2 vols., 1898, republished in one paperback volume by Canongate Classics in 1992, is not the obvious place to look for Coleridge, I thought the following might be worth recording.

general public). Pickering and Chatto are to be applauded for undertaking this worthwhile enterprise, but perhaps they might wish to repackage it as a set of paperbacks, at a price more accessible to the many Hazlittians who might wish to buy it. R.S. Tomlinson

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In December 2000, Christie's New York offered a fine selection of autograph Eliana and I bid pretty high, but completely unsuccessfully. Lot 102 was the original manuscript of the essay 'On the Secondary Novels of Defoe', which is printed by Lucas, for example, among the *Miscellaneous Prose*. It was accompanied by a watercolour portrait of Charles Lamb in ink and grey washes by an unknown artist and dated 1802. The estimate was $4 - $6,000. The lot fetched $9,500 nett.

Lot 103 was a multiple lot, including Lamb's letter to Thomas Hood postmarked 5 July 1828 (Lucas No. 752, where the text is copied, but only in part, from H. B. Smith's *A Sentimental Library*, pp. 133-4); Mary Lamb's letter of 25 December 1805 to Mrs. Clarkson; a mock autograph letter written by Charles Lamb but supposedly to him from Thomas Hood, autumn 1828?; and a letter from Thomas Hood, dated 3 June 1830, presenting a copy of Lamb's *Specimens of English Dramatic Poets* to a friend. The estimate was $1,800 - $2,500, which I thought remarkably low. It fetched $6,500.

Lot 104 was Charles Lamb's copy of Ben Jonson's *Works*, 1692, and in suitably disgusting condition for Lamb's 'ragged regiment': '(some leaves detached and frayed.) Old calf (broken, spine defective) ...end leaves and margins profusely annotated in [Charles Lamb's] hand with extracts from other authors)'. There were also corrections in the text, etc., in Lamb's early hand. It was in the collection of Charles W. Frederickson and bought thence by Charles Scribner's Sons. It was estimated at $1,000 - $1,500, which struck me as ludicrously low and I bid accordingly. It soared even higher and fetched $8,000 nett.

Such names as are mentioned in these transactions do not appear in our membership list and are unknown to the major London antiquarian book dealers. Moreover, the items do not turn up again with the best-known dealers in books or autographs in America or Britain. This may suggest that someone with plenty of money has entered the market and is prepared to pay any sum.

A New Snapshot of Coleridge?

Assuming that 'Memoirs of a Highland Lady' by Elizabeth Grant of Rothiemurchus, 2 vols., 1898, republished in one paperback volume by Canongate Classics in 1992, is not the obvious place to look for Coleridge, I thought the following might be worth recording.

Nearly seven hundred pages of memories suggest that the authoress was no fool; indeed, she was a very common-sensical kind of 'body', so her remark about Coleridge's words meaning nothing is not that of a foolish or uneducated person.

Vol. II, page 182, referring to London, apparently Hampstead, in 1811-12: 'Mr. William Rose occasionally came to dinner, and that poor, mad poet, Coleridge, who never held his tongue—stood pouring out a deluge of words meaning nothing, with eyes on fire, and his silver hair streaming down to his waist. His family had placed him with a young doctor at Highgate, where he was well taken care of. A nephew of his, a fine young man, a great favourite with my Uncle, often came to us on a holiday; he was a great lawyer afterwards.'