

The Production of the First Folio Reconsidered

by Gabriel Ready

The folio edition *Mr. William Shakespeare's Comedies, Histories, & Tragedies* (hereafter, First Folio) has long attracted notoriety and aroused suspicions. For many there is still no plausible explanation to its inception. Orthodox scholars are unconvinced by the First Folio's preface stating that the players John Heminges and Henry Condell collected the plays without self-profit, believing instead that it was an elaborate commercial enterprise. Citing a near moratorium on new Shakespeare publications after 1604, J. Thomas Looney thought that the appearance in 1623 of a complete collection of Shakespeare plays has "elements of mysteriousness and secrecy" (359).

Charlton Ogburn Jr. guessed at what elements might be involved. Being the lodestar that he was, Ogburn in effect provided a vocabulary and framework for how post-Stratfordians would think about the publication for years to come. Ogburn fixated on what he called the "curious shortcomings" of the volume, asking "why are the imperfections of so great a book so many and some so gross?" Ogburn expressed doubts about the authority of the underlying copy used to print the First Folio and added:

A second reason for the textual failings of the Folio must be that however long the collection had been planned the actual production was rushed. A much better job could have been done with the materials available. Were the compilers fearful that the longer the work of

assembling and printing took the greater the danger would be of provoking a reaction at the highest level of the realm and of a bar to the publication? A guess as to the cause of haste, relying on our present information, can be only shot at in the dark. (239)

Ogburn's assertions about the tempo and quality of the printing of the First Folio, which he associated with the potential censoring of unpublished plays, were to be recycled again and again.

In the 1990s post-Stratfordian Peter Dickson developed the most convincing hypothesis to date, linking the appearance of the First Folio with the Spanish Match, a marriage proposal of King James' son Prince Charles and Infanta María Anna, the daughter of Philip III of Spain. Dickson's insights reverberated in the world of Shakespeare studies with bowdlerized versions soon appearing without acknowledgement in orthodox articles, including in the book *The Making of the First Folio* (2015), written by the UK's leading First Folio expert Emma Smith.

The Dickson hypothesis focuses on England's political environment of the 1620s that saw Henry de Vere, 18th Earl of Oxford (hereafter Oxford), Henry Wriothesley, 3rd Earl of Southampton, and the Herbert brothers William and Philip lead a faction opposed to the marriage negotiations between England and Spain. The Anglo-Spanish alliance was a two-decade-long foreign policy agreement that would have culminated in the Spanish Match had the terms of the marriage been satisfactorily met.

The First Folio was patronized by Oxford's in-laws, William and Philip Herbert, the Earls of Pembroke and Montgomery, the latter being married to Susan Vere and the former serving as Lord Chamberlain from 1615 to 1626. They, like Oxford, were among those leading the Protestant opposition to the impending Spanish Match, and resisting the rising influence at court of George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, and the Spanish Ambassador to England, Count Gondomar. For his opposition to the Spanish Match, Oxford was imprisoned in the Tower of London from April 1622 to December 1623, which aligns with the dates of production of the First Folio almost exactly, February 1622 or later to November or December 1623.

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Like Ogburn before him, Dickson maintained there was a “sudden decision” and a “sudden rush to assemble and publish the Bard’s 36 dramas in a large folio” (116). Dickson linked a rush to assemble the collection with two potential dangers, the destruction of the plays and the death of the author’s son:

It may be that the rush to publish was simply an attempt to preserve the plays, given that the political climate indicated that more than [18th Earl] Oxford’s life could be lost if the Spanish Marriage became a reality. In other words, for the Protestant faction in England the stakes in this crisis could be that they feared—with good reason—that the days of Bloody Mary could be returning, and that many lives might be lost, along with many books and manuscripts. (Boyle 1)

Reporting on the Dickson hypothesis, the *Shakespeare Oxford Newsletter* emphasized that “the First Folio was rushed to completion” and that “the First Folio was full of errors, to a point of embarrassment” (Boyle 5).

Commenting on the Dickson hypothesis, Roger Stritmatter also focused on the speed and quality of production:

The printing of the folio was a sloppy, rushed job; to this day a small industry—which includes the past labors of Emily Clay Folger, Charlton Hinman, Edwin Elliott Willoughby¹ and other luminary scholars—is devoted to establishing a documentary record of folio publication anomalies. So bad is the folio typography that each copy exists in a unique state. There are literally hundreds, if not thousands, of errors in many copies. (112)

And the criticism appeared again two decades later, now familiar, by post-Stratfordian Christopher Haile:

It [First Folio] was horrendously full of typographical errors, with plentiful signs that the texts were still being edited during final production, such that every copy of the First Folio is slightly different. This latter point demonstrates that the book was printed before even the printers thought it was ready.... It seems reasonable to suppose that there was a crucial deadline, but no apparent reason for it... The question long unanswered is why they would wait so many years, and then in the final stages act in such blind haste. (222)

Repeating an assumption does not make the assumption true. Appearing in highly regarded contributions to post-Stratfordian literature, the above arguments are awash with unfounded and even erroneous notions about the printing of the First Folio and the practices of hand-press printing of Early Modern books in general. The catalogue of assumptions, most of

them implied, includes the following: the project was put on an advanced schedule (Ogburn, Dickson, Boyle, Stritmatter, Haile); printing by the pressmen was more hastily executed than the norm (Dickson, Boyle, Stritmatter, Haile); the First Folio has more typographical errors than the norm (Ogburn, Boyle, Stritmatter, Haile); the decision to begin printing was sudden (Dickson, Haile); the printer's copy for the First Folio was poorly edited (Ogburn, Haile); the First Folio was printed from unauthoritative underlying copy (Ogburn); and, that every copy being unique is bibliographic evidence that the printing was botched (Stritmatter, Haile).

This paper sets out to examine the above assumptions, particularly the claim that there were more typographic errors in the First Folio than there ought to be, and that these were caused by excessive haste in the book's production by Isaac Jaggard and his workers. In other words, was the printing of the First Folio poorly executed by the standards of its time? Can the typographic errors be blamed on an overly harried print shop that was trying to meet an urgent deadline? After considering these questions, a course correction to the Dickson hypothesis is presented.

Printing Timeline of the First Folio

Charlton Hinman's *Printing and Proof-Reading of the First Folio of Shakespeare* (1963) is unambiguous on the timeline of production and the management of Jaggard's resources concerning the two-page formes. In hand-press printing, a forme is the locked-up group of type set inside a chase that prints one side of a sheet of paper and is the basic unit of production, wherein the number of compositors assigned can reveal the work rate and the book's relative priority among other jobs. Regarding optimal capacity, Hinman maintained that the First Folio could have been delivered in less than a year if compositors worked simultaneously on groups of the formes (1:342). It took almost twice as long, some 21 or 22 months to print the First Folio, starting between February and May 1622 and ending in November or December 1623 (1:346).

The decision to use only one printing house is revealing. The First Folio could have been printed sooner had the publishing agents used other printing establishments. Hinman summarizes one of the challenges of printing:

Presswork capacity, because it was so strictly limited, was the real bottleneck of English printing at this time. Except for the King's Printer, none of the Master Printers of the Stationers' Company (some twenty-two in 1623) was allowed more than two presses, a number of them being permitted only one. Hence presses were kept busy, and we may be sure that Jaggard saw to it that his two presses were kept fully occupied during the printing of the Folio. (1:40)

The bottleneck meant some publishers used more than one printer, as was the case for the Beaumont and Fletcher Folio (1647), whose publisher Humphrey Moseley put production on an advanced schedule by having seven different establishments manufacture the volume (Turner “The Printers”). Hinman’s successor as folio chief at the Folger Shakespeare Library, Peter Blayney, in his 2018 George Kiddell Lecture on the History of the Book (“How Many Printers Does it take to Change a Liturgy: The Printing of the Revised *Book of Common Prayer* in 1559”) outlines how 11 different printers shouldered the work for what was truly an urgent project.

Using only one establishment, the printing of the First Folio can only be described as conservative and prolonged. Hinman attributed the overall slow production to two factors: a large number of formes were set wholly by one compositor (168 of the total 441 formes, or more than a third) and work was performed on other projects. Hypothetically, progress at optimum speed benefited from typesetting by two compositors, and it was even possible to have simultaneous setting by three compositors on groups of formes, a rare composition practice for the First Folio (2:520 footnote; Blayney “Introduction” xxxiii).

From the start, there was little sense of urgency and the printing “got off to a decidedly slow start” (Hinman 2:519). After printing the first plays of the Comedies section, *The Tempest*, *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* and *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, production slowed in late spring or early summer 1622 because Jaggard was finishing Thomas Wilson’s *Christian Dictionary*, completed before *Measure for Measure*, between quires E and F. Printing was also interrupted to work on Augustine Vincent’s *Discovery of Errors*, which was finished at the same time as *Richard II* (quire c) was being printed. Not only were compositors working concurrently on different projects, there was one long interval when work on the Shakespeare volume was suspended altogether. A major interruption occurred “roughly from 15 July through 30 September” of 1622 so they could print William Burton’s *The Description of Leicestershire*, a folio of 88 sheets (2:520).

The work rate of one project cannot be examined in isolation from others. The printer’s goal was to achieve balance in composition and presswork across multiple concurrent projects.² Jaggard had two and sometimes as many as four books in production at any one time; three folios were in production in 1622 when Burton’s *Leicestershire* in folio was deemed a priority and resources diverted to that end. In addition to the larger books, there was day-to-day job work, the printing of ephemera such as ordinances, playbills, and indulgences. Having a mix of small and large work orders was essential in balancing resources and satisfying the diverse demands of an increasingly literate public. For example, there was the concurrent printing of *Cymbeline*, or quire aaa, and *The ‘Heralds’ Visitation Summons* (2:320–1). Concurrent

printing and staggering the workflow also provided Jaggard with more predictable income (Werner 24, 42).

Optimal productivity on the volume was achieved during relatively modest intervals when Jaggard had two or more compositors working on groups of formes drawn from different plays, especially during the spring of 1623—the Tragedies section when compositor E joined compositors A and B. Though the variation in work rate gives the impression of unpredictability, I suspect the uptick in tempo is linked to the evolution of the Spanish Match negotiations as, precisely at this time, England’s leaders believed that the return of Prince Charles from Madrid with the Spanish Infanta was imminent. Predictably, there was almost a standstill after printing *Othello* (quire tt) later in the summer of 1623 as the prospects of the marriage floundered.

To summarize Hinman’s findings, it was slow at the beginning in late spring 1622 and slow in fall 1623, and there were some slow periods in between, including a major break in production that lasted approximately 8 to 10 weeks. Hinman speculated that some of these interruptions were caused by wrangling over copyright and last-minute tracking down of misplaced copy.

In addition to the protracted timeline, there is textual evidence refuting the argument that the publishing agents acted unexpectedly or suddenly, that there was a deadline requiring them to submit printer’s copy prematurely. In fact, the prolonged timeline likely derived in part from the high quality of the printer’s copy that was prepared for setting type.³ Printing from a previously published work was the more expedient approach because, compared to working with a manuscript (Gaskell 41), it was much easier to cast-off copy and it improved compositor efficiency.⁴

Jaggard and company had at their disposal 18 previously printed plays, however, they did not set type from all of them. Only 11 quartos were used as printer’s copy.⁵ The rejection of seven quartos (*Henry V*, 2 *Henry VI*, 3 *Henry VI*, *Merry Wives of Windsor*, *Hamlet*, 2 *Henry IV*, *Othello*) stands as incontrovertible evidence against the idea of an unexpected sprint to print. If the Oxford/Pembroke/Southampton faction were truly an impatient group or believed that someone’s life hung in the balance, they could have directed Jaggard to do a straightforward reprint of “good” quartos such as Q2 *Hamlet* (1604) or a recently published Q1 *Othello* (1622), and no one would be the wiser. After all, reprints are exactly what printers did to achieve greater efficiency and profit. That is not what happened. The Folio texts of *Hamlet* and *Othello* were printed from manuscript, not from the quartos.

Moreover, when a quarto was selected for printer’s copy, the editors insisted on recovering variant readings by consulting other authoritative sources, such as theatrical manuscripts.⁶ In other words, no play in the First Folio is a simple reprint of an earlier printed text. The editors were uncompromising, as

every one of the 11 quartos used for printer's copy is believed to have been cross-referenced and annotated by other authoritative sources. Three examples of printer's copy using quartos demonstrate the lengths the editors were willing to go to achieve what they felt was the highest possible authority (not to be confused with authorial intention)⁷: *1 Henry IV* Q6 (1613) annotated from a literary transcript (Wells and Taylor 329); *Richard III* Q3 (1602) and Q6 (1622) interleaved, consulting a transcript of a holograph (229); *Much Ado About Nothing* Q1 (1600) consulting a theater playbook or prompt book (371). Many minor improvements were made to the quartos that were used as printer's copy, and some were substantive. For example, the Folio text has scenes added from manuscripts to the otherwise good quartos of *Titus Andronicus* (fly scene) and *Richard II* (deposition scene).⁸

Of the manuscripts used as printer's copy for the remaining 25 plays, the subject is too large and complex to cover in detail in this paper, though two general observations are worth noting. First, there are no surviving pre-1623 Shakespeare manuscript exemplars. Second, the nature of theatrical-based manuscripts is infinitely more varied than previously thought. Textual scholars find themselves at odds to determine with certainty the type of printer's copy that derives from the manuscript medium. If the handling of the quartos is indicative of the overall editorial program, and there is no reason to believe otherwise, it would support those claims of a maximal approach—the manuscripts were meticulously prepared by editors and scribes using only the most authoritative sources. Such an editorial program directly contradicts arguments made by Ogburn and Haile that the underlying copy was shoddily prepared.

Perhaps no greater validation of the editing of the First Folio is needed than the fact that the printer of the Second Folio (1632), Thomas Cotes, used Jaggard's volume as printer's copy without cross-referencing it with other sources. When making his corrections of the typographic errors in Jaggard's folio (at the same time adding his own errors), he saw no need to consult the quartos or manuscripts. Cotes knew that the First Folio text was authoritative, based on careful editing and reliable sources.⁹

Thus, on the overall timeline of production there is no justification to the argument that the project was on an advanced schedule. Only the best underlying copy was prepared, even though the publishers could have easily used good quartos for reprint, thereby shortening the schedule at two critical points—at the editorial stage before copy is given to Jaggard and at the compositional stage (i.e., casting off). Only a single printing establishment was used even though London had 20 other print houses perfectly capable of sharing the workload. A third of the formes was set by one compositor when three compositors working on groups of formes would have significantly increased overall productivity. There was delay after delay as other projects, large and small, were taking precedence over the First Folio. Though the

publishing agents had a deadline in mind, their book was not required before it was delivered in December 1623. The First Folio could have been delivered sooner, and given the variety of options available, a lot sooner.

Errors and Other Imperfections

If there was no urgency, why are there so many errors? Do the typographic irregularities and other imperfections in the First Folio stem from gross incompetence? Was the printing poorly executed compared to Jaggard's other books and compared to the standards of the Stationers' Company in general?

It is tempting to blame the printing house. Isaac and William Jaggard were publicly criticized on numerous occasions for their work. The irony is that the most urgent priority for them during the printing of the First Folio was a book about errors, Vincent's *Discovery of Errors* (Hinman 1:335; Blayney *The First Folio* 5). The Jaggards, son Isaac and father William, were in a public dispute with the York Herald, Ralph Brooke, whose new edition was to be released correcting a book that the Jaggards had printed for him in 1619. Brooke had blamed the Jaggards for the errata in his earlier edition and the Jaggards took umbrage and joined forces with Vincent to quickly print *Discovery*, showing all the other errors that Brooke had made.

Brooke was not alone in his grievances. Cleric and author Edward Topsell also criticized the senior Jaggard for allowing so many errors in his *History of Four-footed Beasts* (1607), and then in 1612 playwright Thomas Heywood expressed his displeasure at the "infinite faults" in his book *Britain's Troy*, also printed by the Jaggard establishment (Willoughby 61–2).

No sooner do we realize that the First Folio is not atypical in the Jaggards' oeuvre, it becomes equally clear that printers from the era were universally criticized for like offenses. The Jaggards were by no means outliers.¹⁰ Indeed, the battle between printers and writers took place throughout the 17th Century, a subject expounded on at length by bibliographer David McKitterick in his magnum opus *Print, Manuscript and the Search for Order* (2003), especially in chapters four, "House of Errors," and five, "Perfect and Imperfect."

Not mentioned in McKitterick's account are two other collections of English plays published in the 17th Century. The folio editions of Ben Jonson and of Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher were also the subject of denigration. In the preface to the Beaumont and Fletcher Folio (1647) Moseley issued an apology to its purchasers: "For literal Errours committed by the Printer, 'tis the fashion to aske pardon." The point is that there was a universal anxiety over printing errors, an anxiety that was based on the realities of hand-press printing.

When considering the question of standardization in the Early Modern period, one might think of the press device of the 16th Century Venetian printer Aldine, which features a dolphin and an anchor (Figure 1). The dolphin symbolizes speed of thought and the anchor stability. The emblem came with a saying, *Festina Lente*, meaning “hasten slowly” or “make haste slowly.” The haste was partially in reference to the speed of copying relative to scribal culture. The printing press with movable type was much faster in making copies compared to manuscript reproduction, where copies were made by scribes. In the beginning, hand presses were considered a mechanical wonder of efficiency. But the quality of the printed text was heavily dependent on the attention of pressmen, particularly compositors and proofreaders. All English printers were intimately familiar with the sentiment “make haste slowly.”

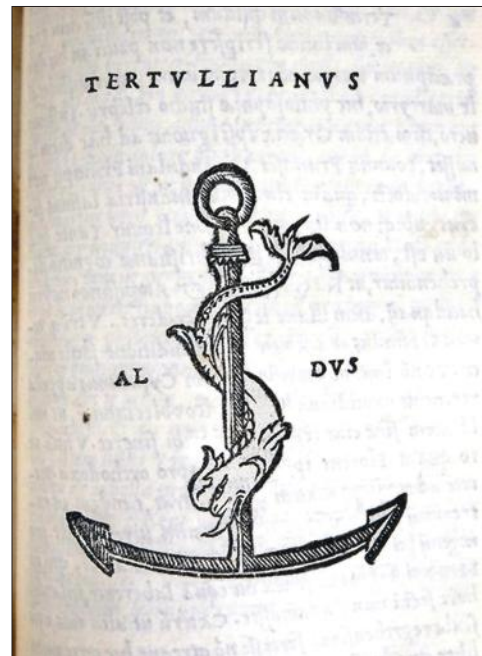


Figure 1. Aldine press device. PA6446 A2 1501 Cage title page; image from The Collocation, Folger Shakespeare Library domain.

In the hand-press era, proofreading occurred at a frenetic tempo. There were two distinct phases of proofing and both were subject to time pressures. Using sub-optimal sheets of paper, there was the revising of an initial pull, called a trial proof or first proof, for the correcting of major errors. First-proofing was executed, typically by a compositor and a corrector, before a print run was underway and might involve consulting of printer's copy. This first phase of proofing precedes the press variant, which means that the most important of the two phases of proofreading in the First Folio was completely invisible to Hinman.

When a clean proof was eventually taken from the main press, the print run commenced. The corrector could not linger on the clean proof because the pressmen might, in the meantime, print a hundred sheets or more; the longer the corrector was at his task, the fewer copies that would contain the corrected state of the forme. Jonson's *Works* (1616), printed by William Stansby, “show an unusually high proportion of unfinished proofing, including eight instances where over one-third of the copies of a page exist in uncorrected

form. Assuming a production run of 750 copies... indicates that on occasion between 200 and 300 sheets were printed between the initial and final stage of correction” (Gant 44). *Works* is an excellent example of the printing getting ahead of the proofing.

To make matters worse, for most hand-pressed books of the era, including the First Folio, the corrector did not consult the printer’s copy for revisions to the fair proof (Gaskell 352–3). This fact explains why stop-press changes were conducted only for glaring visual imperfections (Werner 19). When the corrector was finally ready with his changes marked on the fair proof, the pressmen would stop the run and proceed to unlock the forme so that they could make those changes. Even the task of unlocking the forme and loosening the quoins and wedges to adjust the metal type was risky because the workers were liable to introduce new errors into the text, a common problem in the First Folio. The proofreading process also had to take into account that there was a limited number of type in the cases that could be locked up in formes, left “standing”¹¹—another critical point for printers balancing *festina* (haste) and *lente* (slow), a *running* press and *standing* type.

Whether it was the Aldine Press in Venice or Jaggard’s in London, from Brussels to Antwerp, Leipzig to Cologne, Rouen to Rome, proofing was an uneven business that resulted in a plethora of errors. Authors everywhere vented their displeasure. Unashamed, some printers and publishers even went so far as to explicitly ask readers to amend the mistakes they discovered.

Humanists who looked for the utmost fidelity in the printed word, such as the Dutch philosopher Erasmus, were alarmed that not all copies of an edition were the same (McKitterick 111). Printers, including Jaggard, did not discard incorrect sheets “because paper was too expensive to waste for small errors” (Werner 19). Thus, every copy of an Early Modern volume consists of a random distribution of correct and uncorrected sheets, and that is why all copies of an early modern publication are unique, even copies of the same edition (Gaskell 354; McKitterick 9, 121). Smith observes, “we tend to think that the printing press creates hundreds of identical printed books, but that is not actually the case in the hand-press period”¹² (Smith 156–7). The uniqueness of each copy of the First Folio reflects common hand-press print practices rather than the quality of the production, as Stritmatter and Haile erroneously imply.

Three decades after *Printing and Proof-Reading*, Blayney took stock of Hinman’s contribution to bibliography, finding it unsurpassed on the reconstruction of the timeline of a single edition and the workflow of concurrent projects. However, he points out that Hinman’s findings on proofreading are “entirely without foundation” because Hinman mistakenly assumed that the First Folio did not undergo a first-proof phase for the correcting of textual

errors of greater editorial substance (Blayney, Introduction, xxxi).¹³ In the middle of the 20th Century, at the same time when the Folger's collection of First Folios was being made more accessible, there was an uproar about press variants and the typographic irregularities that such a concentrated collection could reveal. Hinman identified around 500 press variants using a machine he invented, the Hinman Collator. While the variants helped him determine exactly when metal types were being used and the order of formes, leading to his most important discoveries (e.g., timeline, concurrent printing), he exaggerated the importance of typographic differences the machine detected and overestimated the role played by stop-press changes, which he called stop-press corrections. Hinman overlooked the critical role of the first-proof phase and did not realize that the problems deriving from working by formes was common to all books of the period.

The reality was that Jaggard conducted his business in earnest when handling the printer's copy that was delivered to his shop. If the First Folio text is not as precise as we would wish, it deserves praise for its accuracy. Despite its error rate and inconsistencies in presentation (i.e., pagination, scene and act divisions, *dramatis personae*), the lapses in printing had minimal impact on the integrity of the text. According to Blayney, there are "at most five" textual variants that would conceivably affect editorial procedure today (xxxii).

For all these reasons, we can appreciate why, in his English edition of Boccaccio's *Decameron* printed in 1620, Jaggard wrote that typographic errors are a "common infirmity" (Willoughby 70). He was well aware of the infelicities of textual transmission and sincerely regretted the errata in his books. The error-riddled books that his establishment produced over many years, and likewise those produced by other members of the guild, suggest that the quality found wanting in the First Folio is quite unrelated to the Dickson hypothesis.

Shakespeare's Orphans and the Catholic Threat

The imprisonment of the author's son during the printing of the First Folio is of vital interest to Oxfordians. The connection cannot be coincidental. A clarification about the events in the year of 1622 is required, however. Because the exact start date is unknown, it cannot be said with certainty that Oxford was put into prison "after" printing began. Printing began anywhere between February and May 1622, whereas Oxford was put into the Tower at the beginning of April.

Was Oxford's life in jeopardy during the printing of the First Folio? It is difficult to answer this question because there are conflicting contemporary accounts. A letter written by Gondomar, one of the architects of the Spanish

Match, to the King of Spain dated 16 May 1622, draws an ominous picture:

In the letter of April 1, I said to your Majesty how the King removed the Earl of Oxford as commander in chief of the armada in the Strait [the English fleet in the Channel] because I told him to, because he [Oxford] was partial to the Dutch, and also because of the way Oxford was bad mouthing the King and me. He spoke even to the point of saying that it was a miserable situation that had reduced England's stature because the people had to tolerate a King who had given the Pope everything spiritual; and everything temporal to the King of Spain. I told King James to arrest this man and put him in the Tower in a narrow cell so that no one can speak to him. I have a strong desire to cut off his head because he is an extremely malicious person and has followers. And he is the second ranking Earl in England, and he and his followers are committed to the Puritan Faction with great passion and to the faction of the Count of the Palatinate against the service of the Emperor and your Majesty. (*The Shakespeare Oxford Newsletter*, Summer 1998, translation by Dr. Juan Manuel Perez of the Hispanic Division of the Library of Congress)

This is an ambassador's letter, a genre well-known for self-flattery and even bending the facts.

It is true that Gondomar was close to King James, and they shared mutual interests that included books (Gondomar's library was renowned). Importantly, Gondomar played a key role in the re-instatement 15 years later of Walter Raleigh's 1603 execution order. Thus, an evident parallel with Oxford cannot be dismissed. What was unfortunate for the English was that Gondomar tended to overstate his authority in Spain. Though he was a very influential figure in London—something the Protestant faction recoiled at, thereby pushing James even closer to Gondomar and Spain—he was an inconsequential, marginal figure in Spanish affairs who stood far from the inner circle of Madrid's powerbrokers (Redworth 52). Gondomar had ambitions to rise in the Spanish nobility and to win respect in the eyes of his countrymen, and the Spanish Match was his gambit. He had convinced himself that there were more Catholics in England than was the case, and that essentially England was ripe for Rome's manipulation. Gondomar's portrayal of himself to his King as directing the will of the English King is rich material. Probably too rich. The letter should not be taken at face value.

One detail of Gondomar's letter is highly improbable: the narrow cell. It is known that prisoners in the Tower had different experiences depending on their rank, from the lavish to the lethal. Wealthy and politically influential inmates such as the 18th Earl of Oxford, the "second ranking Earl in England," might be held in relative comfort, deprived only of their freedom.

High ranking inmates were known to be allowed out for hunting, banqueting, and shopping trips. Some were even given the luxury of servants.

It comes as no surprise then that other contemporaneous letters reveal a different aspect of Oxford's life in the Tower. In one dated 21 March 1623, London gentleman and political moderate John Chamberlain references a rumor suggesting that Oxford will soon be released so that he could command a flotilla:

but now it is given out he [Oxford] may chance be general of the fleet that goes to fetch the Prince and the Infanta. But there will be somewhat ado to furnish out that small fleet of ten or twelve ships, as well in regard of other wants as specially of mariners which absent and hide themselves out of the way (whether it be for the bad payment or other ill usage I know not), so that there have been two proclamations of late to call them home from foreign services, and to find them out that lie. (Chamberlain 489)

It is a fascinating juxtaposition that, during the first phase of printing, Oxford is allegedly in danger of losing his head (Gondomar's account) but when printing is more than halfway complete, he could be promoted to command a flotilla escorting the next King of England and the new bride back from Spain (Chamberlain's account).

I think the Chamberlain letter is as revealing as Gondomar's. Commanding a flotilla would have been a tremendously costly office. Oxford's political enemy, the Duke of Buckingham, would effectively be threatening him with something worse than confinement in the luxury apartments of the Tower. Oxford could not refuse a summons to host Charles and the Infanta, an expensive junket that would have driven him to penury while forcing him to acknowledge the Spanish Match. It was these types of embassies—where “there will be somewhat ado to furnish out that small fleet of ten or twelve ships”—that could put an estate in dire financial straits for years.¹⁴ Buckingham's objective was probably aimed at humiliating a political enemy while abusing the financial assets of an ancient seat.

In a follow-up letter dated 19 April 1623, Chamberlain writes that Oxford is still waiting for Buckingham to “come or send.” In the meantime, Chamberlain observes that Oxford spends his time negotiating his marriage contract with Lady Diana Cecil, the daughter of William Cecil, 2nd Earl of Exeter. Clearly, Oxford is talking to friends during his imprisonment, contrary to the Gondomar account. With little reason to bend the facts, Chamberlain gives no impression of a life in peril (489–92).

There is also a second potential danger that was linked with the erroneous assumption of an advanced printing schedule. Like Ogburn before him,

Dickson imagined that the First Folio may have been hurriedly printed because the Oxford/Pembroke families feared that the 18 unpublished Shakespeare plays might eventually be censored or banned under a new regime. Dickson writes that there was a “great fear of a possible return to Catholicism in a top-down fashion and that the cultural and literary heritage of the Henrician-Elizabethan era was slipping away in the face of a ‘creeping Catholicism’ associated in the public mind with King James’ pro-Spanish foreign policy and plans for a dynastic union with that nation” (116). It is difficult to fathom that there was a fear that Catholics would suppress plays that have evident Catholic sympathies—in fact, this is one of the conditions identified by Looney when creating his profile of the author of Shakespeare’s works. That said, the plays were intentionally written to be unequivocally fluid regarding religion.

While confessional politics frame the cultural context of the First Folio, faith is not a master key to unlocking the mysteries behind this element of the authorship question. The folio volume was not an unyielding, major political statement, let alone an article of faith. Also, it was not a sudden, rash act of impetuosity, or an act of political extremism as was, perhaps, the more pointed publication of the quarto *Othello* in 1622, sponsored by the more radical Earl of Derby (Stritmatter *Small*, 29–30). It was a many-sided production that effectively concealed for future readers its intersecting political interests and symbolic associations, which stands in stark contrast with the polarizing books published during the Spanish Match period. Thanks to a bleached complexion, orthodox experts continue to elide the book’s cultural context. At a time when the country was deeply divided and politically charged, its production was something different, the result of compromise leavened by ecumenical humanism.

What cannot be overlooked is that the moratorium on publishing new Shakespeare plays between 1604 and 1623 stems from those who controlled the plays, the “Grand Possessors.” The preface of the quarto of *Troilus and Cressida* in 1609 and a decree issued by the Lord Chamberlain in 1619 indicate that the Oxford/Pembroke families were responsible for suppressing plays until a more ambitious publication could be realized. If plays such as *The Tempest* or *Macbeth* never saw the light of day, an argument could be made that the guilty party was Protestant in faith rather than Catholic.

Putting religion aside, publishing a complete works of Shakespeare could not have been orchestrated to upset the Crown and its pro-Spanish supporters. The First Folio was advertised at the Frankfurt book fair as early as October 1622. The catalogue mentions “Playes, written by M. *William Shakespeare*, all in one volume, printed by *Isaack Iaggard*, in fol.” Frankfurt was the center of the European book trade, the first *Frankfurter Buchmesse* being held by local booksellers in 1454, soon after Johannes Gutenberg had developed printing in movable type.

The bibliophile King James would not let the opportunity pass. His very own official printer John Bill (the King's Printer) translated the *Mess-Katalog* under the title of *Catalogus uniuersalis pro nundiniis Francofurtensibus* that contained an appendix of English works called "A Catalogue of such Bookes as have been published, and (by authoritie) printed in English, since the last Vernall Mart, which in Aprill 1622. Till this present October 1622" (Figures 2 and 3; see also Greg 3–4 and Hinman 1:334–7). While the dates have commanded critical attention, leading some such as Ogburn to erroneously believe there

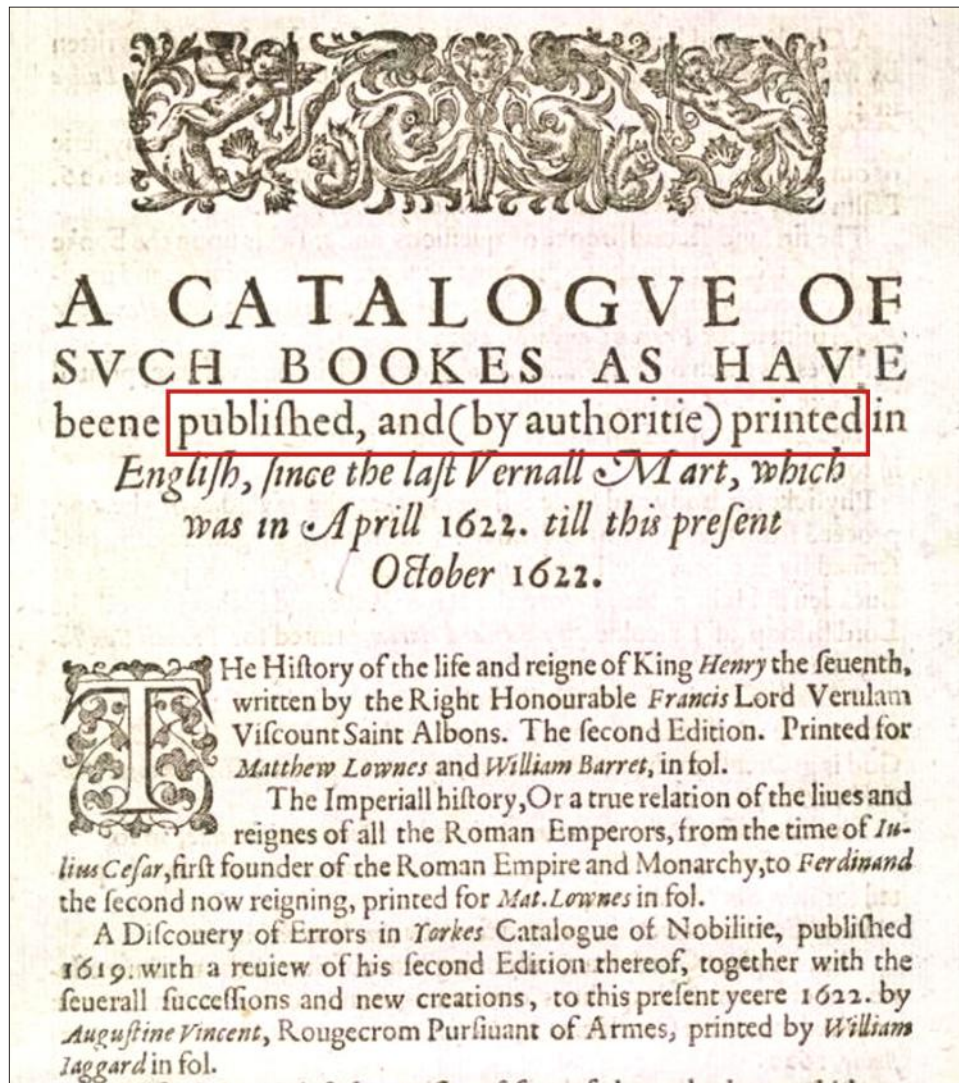


Figure 2: *Ashm. 1057(14), fol.D4 recto* image made available by Bodleian Libraries, Oxford University, under a CC BY-SA 4.0 license. Reproduced online at Shakespeare Documented, a Folger Shakespeare Library domain.

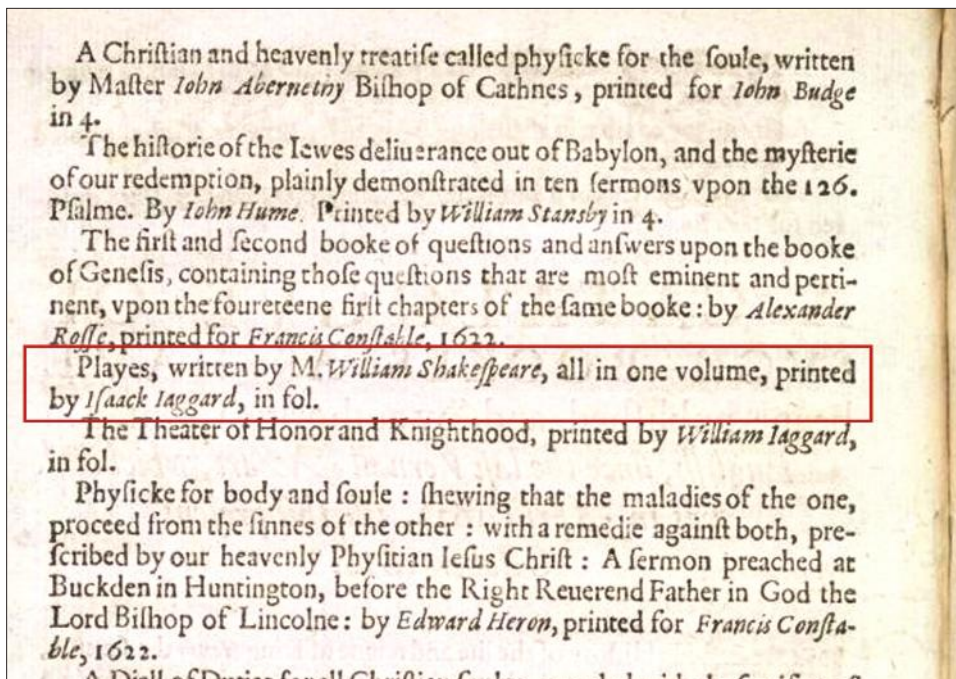


Figure 3: Ashm. 1057(14), fol. D4 verso image made available by Bodleian Libraries, Oxford University, under a CC BY-SA 4.0 license. Reproduced online at Shakespeare Documented, a Folger Shakespeare Library domain.

was a pressing deadline, the consensus today is that the advertisement was simply advance publicity. Indeed, several of the books advertised there were published much later than October 1622.

On 8 November 1623, Edward Blount and Isaac Jaggard entered by the authority of “Master Doctor WORRALL and Master Cole” in the Stationers’ Register their copyrights to the First Folio plays that had not been previously registered. Scholars have always found it more than a bit odd that Blount and Jaggard waited until the end of printing before getting a license to print. Obtaining a license after printing was atypical. The advance publicity in Frankfurt demonstrates, however, the granting of a license by the wardens Worrall and Cole was a mere formality. According to the King’s Printer a whole year earlier, the publication was already permitted “by authoritie,” arguably from the highest level of the realm.

Discussion and Conclusions

The First Folio was an authorized collection of Edward de Vere’s plays based on underlying copies of the highest authority and prepared over many years

with patient care involving numerous interlocutors. The overall design was ambitious, the decision to begin printing calculated, and the final assembling of plays prolonged. The production schedule itself was erratic, with more sluggish periods than rapid ones. The great number of typographic irregularities was commonplace and are what we would expect given the textual challenges facing Jaggard's workers. All these bibliographic realities conflict with the picture Ogburn invoked and that the Dickson hypothesis promoted.

Though a conclusion can be reached on issues related to the practical elements of production, there remains the difficult question of why the author's son was in the Tower for the duration of printing. An account would require speculation and invite rebuke. That the First Folio and the imprisonment of Oxford are linked seems obvious to many but not all.

A cursory overview of the Oxfordian theory is instructive. The plays were written by a prominent courtier and originally performed in an intimate setting at court during the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Then, over a period of time, the plays were refashioned for public consumption. The transmission of the text from private audience to public fair was when the Crown became an integral partner in the Shakespeare project, a cost to the treasury that would eventually total £18,000.¹⁵ This was a sizable investment that King James also supported. Did the Crown expect something in return that would go beyond the adulation of ancient lineages and promoting an English dynastic mythology? The terms of Edward de Vere's £1,000 non-accountable annuity could be twisted into a *de facto* proprietary claim. In a word, the Crown might say it owned the Shakespeare plays.

The Oxford family and their surrogates, the Incomparable Brethren the Herberts, had a hereditary claim, an antecedent of modern copyright laws that encompass moral rights aimed at protecting the integrity of the author's work.¹⁶ The plays came under the authority of the Lord Chamberlain, William Herbert 3rd Earl of Pembroke, and were in the family's possession via Edward de Vere's daughter Susan. In a word, the Oxford/Pembroke families controlled the Shakespeare plays.

The above sketch of who owned and who controlled the plays is incomplete. The relationship would have been viewed rather differently, through the lens of royal service and royal prerogative, interwoven in the obscure language of a Privy Seal Warrant Dormant. Simply put, Edward de Vere was not contractually obligated to deliver marketing products. It was not a commercial enterprise. It would be more accurate to describe the plays as a gift presented to Queen Elizabeth and her Court as part of the government's "policy of plays" (according to Thomas Nashe in 1592), whereas the annuity was a reward.

The plays and the annuity are two sides of what became a sophisticated ritualized exchange aimed at maintaining social bonds and everything that entails: honor, degree, liberty, and order. A bibliographic clue in the First Folio sheds light on the problem. If a reader is encouraged to open the volume at the halfway point, they will notice a typographic oddity, or what one might call an error.¹⁷ The book was designed so that, when it was opened at the middle for presentation, a particular passage would be prominently featured. Quire gg is the only gathering in the whole volume that is in a folio in eight format (the rest of the book's quires are in a folio in sixes format). Quire gg's outer forme was worked first, receiving unique treatment, while the remaining formes of the quire were then worked in normal order (Hinman 2:98–100). I do not think this was an accident, as some First Folio scholars contend. Occurring in the literal center of the more than 900 pages, printed in large font type, are words evocative of a gift-debt¹⁸ between the courtier poet and the queen and her Court (Figure 4). It is the Epilogue to *Henry IV Part 2* where a dancer addresses the Queen, and in the middle of the address, says:

But to the Purpose, and so to the Venture. Be it known to you [Queen Elizabeth] (as it is very well) I [Edward de Vere as Falstaff] was lately here in the end of a displeasing Play [*Henry IV Part 2*], to pray your Patience for it, and to promise you a Better [*Henry V* or *Merry Wives of Windsor*]: I did mean to pay you with this [play], which if (like an ill Venture) it come unluckily home, I break [become bankrupt]; and you [attending courtiers], my gentle Creditors lose. Here I promised you I would be, and here I commit my Body [of work] to your Mercies: Bate me some [reduce my indebtedness], and I will pay you some [give you more plays], and (as most Debtors do) promise you infinitely.
(My notes are in square brackets)

For those old enough to remember, the passage is an invocation of the author, immediately situating Edward de Vere in his natural setting, the court. What developed over time with the Shakespeare project was a highly symbolic system of exchange, where Creditors and Debtors are allegorical representations of the gift-debt relationship. Of course, the type of language employed here is impossible to fit into the mouth of the wealthy striver from Stratford-on-Avon.

The solidarity and social cohesion realized through the original Shakespeare venture during Elizabeth's reign required a bit more coaxing during that of James's. Evidently, the author's son was held hostage much in the same way that Prince Charles was held hostage in Madrid in 1623 during the final negotiations of the Spanish Match. In short, Oxford's long residence in the Tower was a surety bond. In due course he was feted by the Crown upon his release

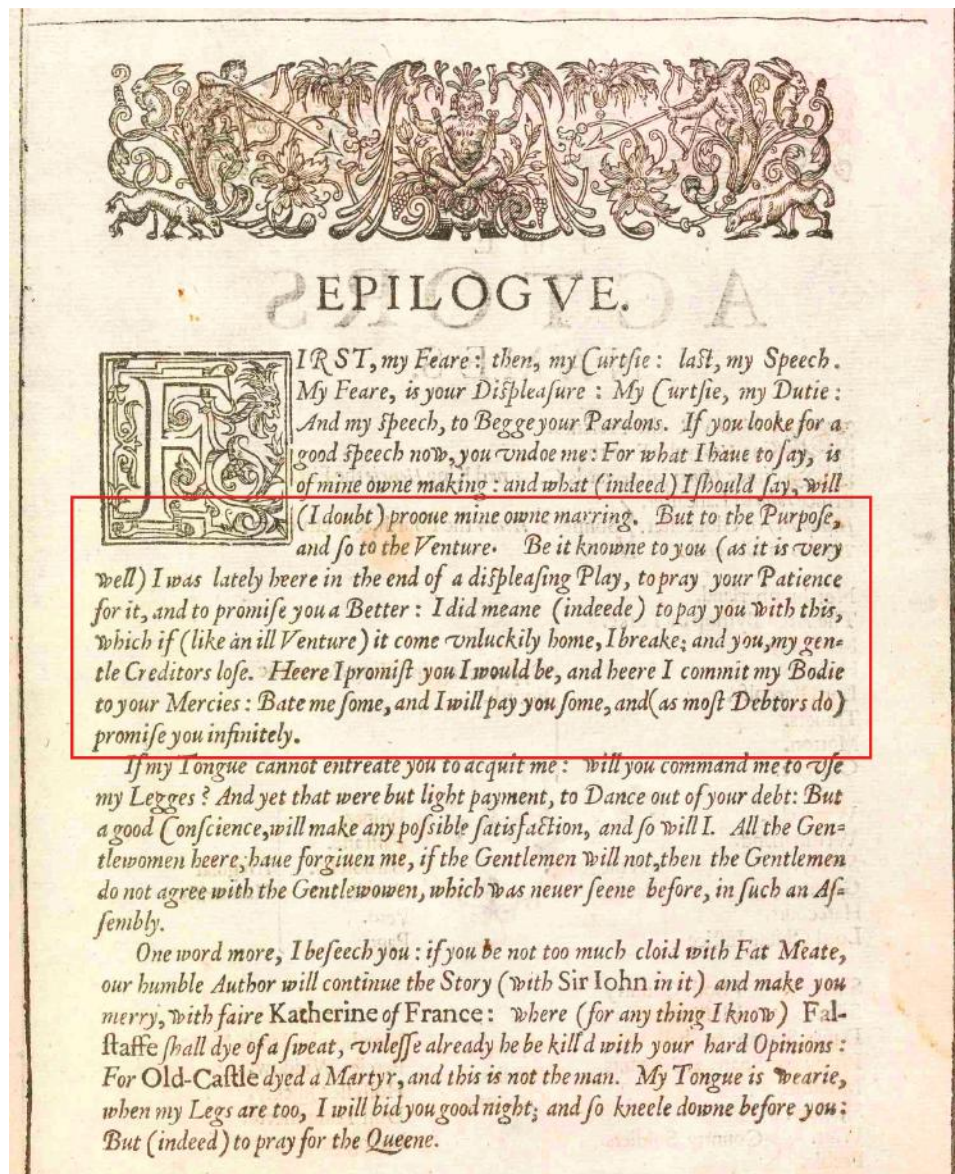


Figure 4: Signature sheet gg8 recto. Digital facsimile of the Bodleian First Folio of Shakespeare's plays, Arch. G c.

when the volume was satisfactorily delivered according to terms that were deemed acceptable by the original gift recipient (or purchaser). The plays were thus a form of reciprocal gift giving that carried on even after the death of the author, for the Crown approved the 18th Earl of Oxford's marriage to Lady Diana Cecil shortly thereafter, which allowed him to access significant monies through her marriage dowry.

Because the First Folio was intended for presentation to Prince Charles and the Infanta during their wedding festivities, the Oxford/Pembroke families were keenly aware of the status of marriage negotiations throughout 1622 and 1623. Only weeks before printing began, Prince Charles started Spanish lessons (Redworth 51). As the arrival of the Infanta was repeatedly delayed, the tempo of manufacturing the book proceeded in lockstep. When the marriage was far off, production was slow. And precisely when (winter 1623) it looked like the Infanta could arrive earlier than anticipated, production was seriously increased. When the outlook became gloomy in late summer 1623, production slowed to a crawl. Right up until the last printed sheet in late November of the martial-like Prologue Armed to *Troilus and Cressida*, the Spanish Match was its metronome and compass.

It is possible to interpret the episode as reflecting James' proclivity for royal absolutism. Much like the rumor of Oxford commanding a flotilla, the Crown sought to exploit the realm's resources (e.g., Edward de Vere's plays and William Herbert's office) while bringing overconfident peers to heel (e.g., they would be shown presenting the plays as a gift to a Catholic bride). The brief reconciliation in late December 1623 between Oxford and King James' favorite the Duke of Buckingham marked the end of the First Folio project. The Latin orientation (e.g., involvement of Edward Blount, James Mabbe, and Leonard Digges) must have fulfilled one of the Crown's demands, while the insincerity and misdirection that abound in the preliminaries advanced the polite fiction of Edward de Vere's long-established *nom de plume* and helped galvanize the connection with the merchant from Stratford.

I believe that disparaging the quality of the volume—its planning, editing, designing, composition, proofing, and presswork—is detrimental to the Oxfordian authorship theory. A higher estimation of the First Folio is more supportive of Edward de Vere's claim because the cost of a leisurely production contradicts the traditional story of a profit-driven scheme organized by a syndicate of busy city merchants. The level of care evident in preparing for the publication derives from years of dedication that we associate with familial devotion to orphans, as well as with individuals who can afford curating such a rich inheritance as Shakespeare's works. For the two opposing factions—the Crown and the Grand Possessors, the Oxford/Pembroke families—political differences were merely an impediment to seeing the plays properly through to completion. It is even possible to glimpse in its final shape a grand gesture, an unparalleled display of loyalty and obedience to the Crown.

Acknowledgment

The author would like to thank Chris Pannell for his comments on an earlier draft of this paper.

Endnotes

1. To the contrary, Willoughby's critique of Jaggard's printing is positive: "Jaggard, then, probably measured up fairly well to the standards of typographic accuracy of his own day in the eyes of his authors and employers" (62).
2. Committing resources exclusively to one project is an unrealistic expectation: "What mattered was that if the compositors were working on a fairly easy piece of setting (such as many parts of [Andrew] Favyn's *Theater of Honour*) and began to complete formes more quickly than the pressmen could handle them, they could be slowed down by being given a few formes of something with larger pages or smaller type (such as the [First] Folio)—and, of course, vice versa. That, indeed, may well be why Jaggard kept Favyn's book and the [First] Folio proceeding at a similar overall rate rather than finishing one of them as quickly as possible" (Blayney Introduction xxxiii).
3. Printer's copy refers to the textual medium that compositors had lying before them and used to set type using a composing stick. Printer's copy falls into two different mediums, either a previously printed quarto (a known exemplar in Shakespeare studies) or a handwritten manuscript (an unknown exemplar in Shakespeare studies). There is a great variety of manuscript subspecies: an authorial holograph or foul papers; scribal or secretarial copy (both theatrical and literary); a used marked-up prompt-book copy; a touring copy; a licensed or fair "booke" copy; a presentation copy; a theatrical literary copy or post-theatrical copy; a memorial reconstructed copy; etc. Also, importantly, the printer's copy was itself annotated or marked up. Underlying copy is frequently depicted by stemma diagrams (a genealogy tree for texts) which are based on generations of close reading and intelligent editorial sleuthing. One takeaway from this textual archeology is that the editors of the First Folio appear to have taken, at almost every turn, the longer rather than the shorter route towards getting the plays published. This area of research has also upheld Hinman's observation that as a rule "the copy used by the Folio printers was of the highest possible authority" (Introduction xiv).
4. A brief introductory description of the folio in sixes format is given here for those unfamiliar with hand-press print practices. The First Folio was not printed in the sequential order that we find the pages. Rather, Hinman was the first to show precisely how the volume was "set by formes"

and printed from the inside of a quire (six-leaf sections) outward. This means that the book consists of quires each having three sheets of paper folded together. Each sheet is folded once and each quire contains twelve pages of text. Casting off is the process of determining how much text goes on each printed page over twelve pages. The compositor is responsible for reading through the printer's copy text to cast it off and marking it up accordingly. The margin for error would increase based on the difficulty of First Folio texts in a mixture of prose and verse, as well as being annotated. As a result, compositors were expanding and contracting the text according to the allotted space, not according to the copy that stood before them. Blayney describes the challenges of casting off (emphasis provided by Blayney): "It was not always easy to cast off manuscript copy accurately. Once pages 6 and 7 had been printed, the text assigned to pages 1-5 *had* to be fitted into those pages. If the contents of page 5 had been carelessly calculated, the compositor had a choice. He could try to follow the casting-off mark exactly, by squeezing in extra lines or by spacing out the text as appropriate. Alternatively, he could put off the problem by ignoring the mark—he could set in the usual way, make up page 5 when he had set the right number of lines, and then make a new mark of his own in the copy to show where the page had *really* started. If he then did the same with pages 4 and 3 and 2, when the time came to fit what remained into page 1, he might well find himself in difficulties" (*The First Folio*, 12-13).

- 5 For details on printer's copy used for individual plays, I used *William Shakespeare: A Textual Companion* (1997). I also consulted Jonathan Bates' 2007 essay "The Case for the Folio" (in particular, the table on pages 38-9), which offers a more detailed account of the editorial problems than provided in the "General Introduction" to his *RSC Shakespeare: Complete Works* (2008).
- 6 The editors of the First Folio are unknown. The preliminaries imply that the players John Heminges and Henry Condell edited the works, an idea few scholars support. Ben Jonson is widely believed to be a central figure in overseeing the project on behalf of the Oxford/Pembroke families. Today, Jonson would be called a general editor. The author Edward de Vere was known to employ private secretaries who while copying would be editing. What are often referred to as holographs or foul papers could, in fact, be copies made by his secretaries. After his death in 1604 editors might have included scribes and bookkeepers, some anonymous and some not, such as the scribe Ralph Crane or the King Men's bookkeeper

Edward Knight. There are suggestions that Hispanic scholars associated with Oxford University, James Mabbe and Leonard Digges, might have been employed to edit or annotate Jaggard's own printer's copy. At least five compositors worked on the First Folio; each compositor had his own unique spelling and punctuation standards ("accidentals"), thus adding another layer of editorial agency. Proofreading and correcting was conducted by two individuals: a compositor and a corrector. The corrector who checked the compositor's work provided a learned opinion, a job that could have been filled by the humanist publisher Edward Blount or perhaps Jonson, Mabbe, Digges, or someone else. In short, the editorial agents were many and the transmission to print long and complicated.

7. In the early modern period editing was in its infancy and the postmodern concept of authorial intention wholly alien. It must be kept in mind that Edward de Vere constantly revised his plays, so at his premature death large pieces of his writing were in an unfinished state—representing first or second intentions, and few if any his final intention. The first editors would not have been ignorant about the unfinished nature of the work they were in the process of copying and transmitting into print. An urge to perfect was abetted by humanist thinking. A hallmark of the late manuscript culture is that scribes/editors/writers did not slavishly adhere to the exemplar. Copying was done by men educated on humanist precepts, where making copies of exemplars went beyond mere imitation—copying was itself an act of creating, and these scribal norms carried over into the sphere of the printing press in the 16th and 17th Centuries (McKitterick 35). Not unrelated are posthumous revisions effected by dramatists Thomas Middleton and John Fletcher, among others. What Edward de Vere may have thought about the First Folio text of *Richard III* that interleaved quartos printed 20 years apart, or Middleton's revisions of *Macbeth* or *Measure for Measure*, cannot be known. However, we can say that those First Folio texts were never intended by him. At the same time, we can appreciate how the First Folio editors believed they were delivering texts of the highest possible authority, or to quote the preliminaries, "according to true original copies." By today's standards, these pioneering efforts might be judged harshly, likened to corruption or cultural vandalism.
8. In *Shakespeare and the Rise of the Editor* (2007), orthodox scholar Sonia Massai is unable to explain the "leisure" afforded the First Folio editors given the "busy environment of an early modern commercial theatre or printing house" (138).

9. The high quality of editing in the First Folio has contributed to the acclaimed Shakespearean problem of parallel editions: posthumous folio texts versus quarto texts. For the most vigorous orthodox defense of the editorial practices behind the First Folio, see W.W. Greg's *The Shakespeare First Folio* (1955). The following quote is but a small sample of what is essentially a book-length apologia: "the task cannot have been a light one. Indeed, it might not be too much to say that, apart from works seen through the press by their authors, no book of the time had greater care and labor bestowed on its editing than did the First Folio of Shakespeare's plays. That this fell short, sometimes perhaps lamentably short, of the standard we should like to have seen maintained, and that it may even on occasion have been misguided, is true; but that should not blind us to the facts, and no one who has carefully studied these and has himself some experience of the difficult labor of editing will question the onerous nature of the task undertaken or the devotion with which it was carried through" (Greg 78).
10. What constitutes error must take into consideration the hazards of the casting off of copy. For an example of an in-depth examination on the nature of typographic irregularities, see Sir Brian Vickers' *The One King Lear* (2016), which compares the printing of the 1608 quarto text with the printing of the Folio text. Vickers convincingly argues that the Q1 printer Nicolas Okes, who was new to the genre of plays, compressed and abridged the text to make it fit on 10 sheets of paper.
11. "If the type is not immediately needed, the pages of type might remain tied up and set aside, but leaving type standing for any length of time is unusual in the hand-press period. Type was expensive and printers might not keep more than about eight sheets worth of type on hand. Leaving type standing meant that it was unavailable to be used for other sheets, thereby limiting an already limited resource" (Werner 20).
12. Additional citations are provided by two pre-eminent bibliographers of the last 50 years, attesting to the nature of variability between copies of the same edition. "In the earlier hand-press period variation was often substantial. Thus, the twelve known copies of the first quarto for *King Lear* (1608) show eight variant formes in seven of the ten sheets, encompassing nearly 150 substantive alterations, apparently made during the stop-press correction of late press-proofs. The assembly of the variant

sheets into copies was random; no one copy has either corrected or uncorrected formes throughout; and only two pairs of copies are made up in the same way as each other” (Gaskell 354). “It was a fact of production that since proof-reading and correction proceeded even during the press-run, so copies of the final collated sheets would vary: hence the otherwise preposterous supposition that the reader should seek out a better copy of that in his hand made no sense” (McKitterick 121).

13. As early as 1969, D.F. McKenzie pointed out Hinman’s blunder, and a few years later Philip Gaskell delicately noted it as well. Recently, Jonathan Bates, sensing a pervasive appropriation of Hinman’s ideas about press error and proofreading, attempted to set the record straight: “[In t]he early modern printing house it was customary to proof-read each sheet before copies began to be run off the press. Stop-press correction was an added check, not the main defence against error.... [W]e can truthfully say that the degree of press error in the First Folio was relatively low for such a large and complicated book” (47).
14. On the expenses in the peerage, see Lawrence Stone’s *The Crisis of the Aristocracy*, in particular the section on “The Burden of Office” (207–12, abridged edition).
15. See Bonner Miller Cutting’s “A Sufficient Warrant: Examining Oxford’s £1,000 Annuity” in *Necessary Mischief: Exploring the Shakespeare Authorship Question* (2018).
16. Regarding posthumous publication, a comparison of Edward de Vere and another aristocratic poet, Philip Sidney, is noteworthy. W.W. Greg writes that “the works of Sir Philip Sidney were jealously guarded during his life, and that after his death the influence of his family was brought to bear to prevent or suppress unauthorized publications” (45). Leo Kirschbaum provides additional detail of the interference, reporting control exerted by the Sidney family, which intervened in the first edition of Sidney’s sonnets *Astrophel and Stella*, published surreptitiously using a corrupt manuscript copy by Thomas Newman in 1591. The notes in the Stationers’ Register reveal that Lord William Burghley had the edition confiscated. The second edition came out shortly after and was based on a better manuscript. The Sidney example, Kirschbaum argued, illustrates how “a highly placed official or member of the Court interfered in the normal practices of the stationers’ guild” (131-2).

17. What constitutes a printing error is open to interpretation. For example, in their introductory manuals on bibliography Ronald B. McKerrow and Fredson Bowers each separately attribute different types of error to the singular problem of varying arrangements of the preliminary leaves in surviving First Folio copies, to “folding error” and “error in binding” respectively. Still others attribute the so-called error to Jaggard’s management of workflow (e.g., poetic contributions arrived late). Here, as elsewhere, orthodox bibliographers are finding error where there is none. The preliminaries section was intentionally designed to be an optional gathering, see “Model of Disorder” by Gabriel Ready.
18. A gift-debt is a sociological construct developed by French anthropologist Marcel Mauss in his influential essay *The Gift: Forms and Functions of Exchange in Archaic Societies* (1925). Mauss observed that a gift is never truly free in ancient societies: “Exchanges and contracts take place in the form of presents: in theory they are voluntary, in reality they are given and reciprocated obligatorily” (3).

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