

### 3 *The Furness Memorial Library*

Daniel Traister

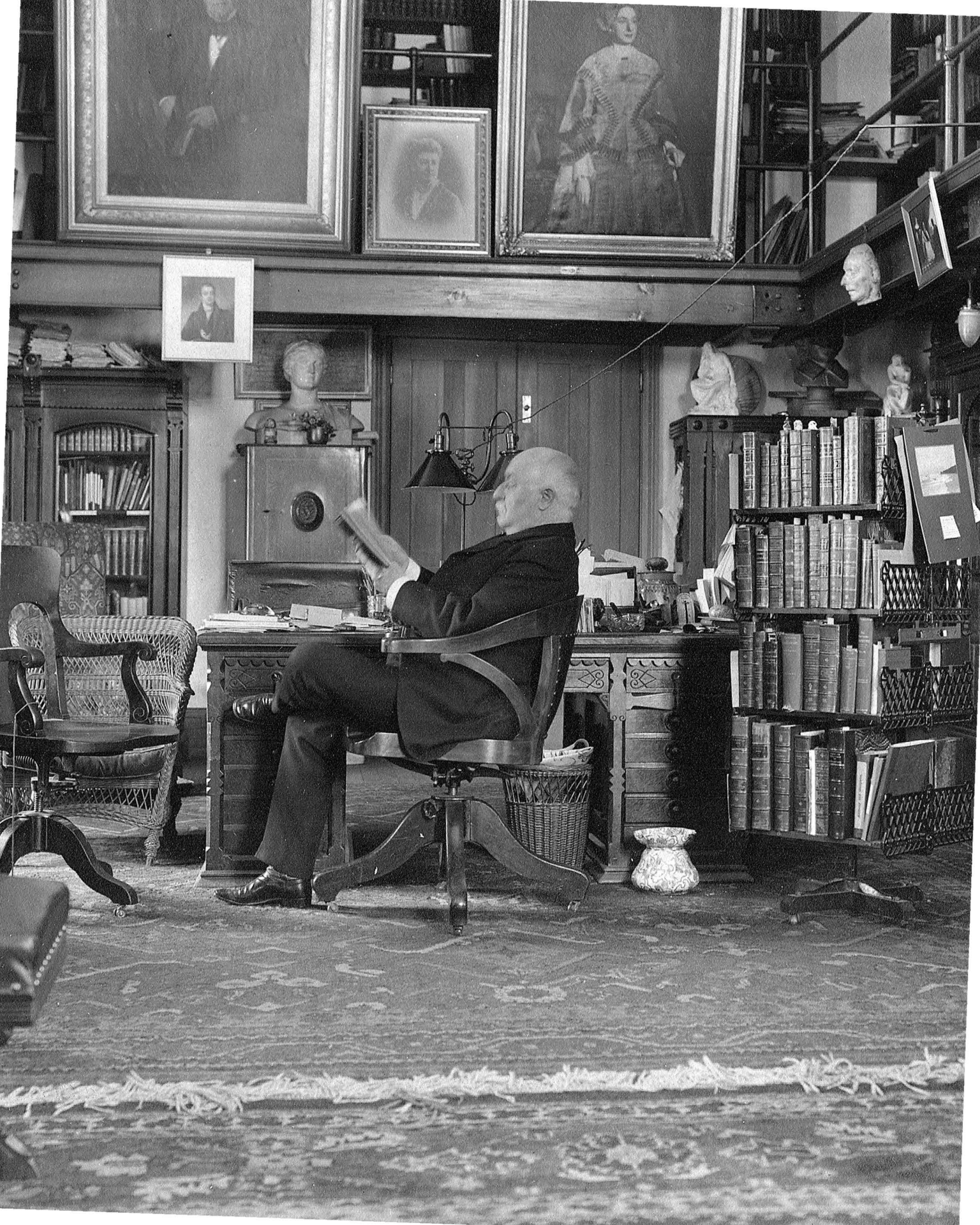
*In memory of William E. Miller (1910-1994),  
Assistant Curator, Furness Memorial Library*

Wilmarth S. Lewis, the great Horace Walpole collector, once quipped that, if use were the criterion by which people judged the quality of libraries, we should judge that library to be the best which had the largest collection of telephone books. The Horace Howard Furness Memorial Library, now part of the Walter H. and Leonore Annenberg Rare Book and Manuscript Library at the University of Pennsylvania, has never needed to justify itself by denigrating “mere” use in favor of quality and importance of collections. Over the years of its existence, it has always been among the most heavily used of Penn’s special collections (and this without even one telephone book in sight). The quality of its collections has never been in doubt, either.

Its use is in part a reflection, obviously enough, of the drawing power of William Shakespeare. The Furnesses, father and son, based the collection on Shakespeare’s works and his stage and print career. Around these same topics their successors have continued to build it. The Furnesses’ chosen author has surely elicited more editions of and words about himself than any other writer in English—more, perhaps, than any other writer in the world. His continuing preeminence at all levels of education, and the popularity of Shakespearian productions on stage and screen, are evidence of an enthusiasm so widespread that it cannot be written off as merely academic. More than three hundred and fifty years after his death, Shakespeare continues to be box office.

The collection’s use, then, must be at least partly a tribute to the writer with whom it is concerned. But credit must also go to the scholars and collectors who built it before passing their library to the stewardship of the University of Pennsylvania in 1931. Horace Howard Furness, Sr. (1833–1912), and his son, Horace Howard Furness, Jr. (1865–1930), collected for use and not for “envious show” (in the words of Shakespeare’s contemporary, Ben Jonson). Their library, which would become one of the most remarkable research and teaching resources of the University, originated in the

*Opposite page:* Horace Howard Furness, Sr., in his library at Lindenshade, Wallingford, Pennsylvania (after 1894).



needs of their own scholarly work. The collection was intended from the start to have a research function.<sup>1</sup>

The Furnesses and their library emerged from a tradition of study that distinguishes them from a rather different, though concurrent, tradition of collecting, represented by such of their near contemporaries among library builders as James Lenox, John Carter Brown, or J. Pierpont Morgan. Furness Sr. began his collection as a means of serving his own work on the history of the transmission and interpretation of Shakespearian texts. The collection originated in a notion of the library in service to the ends of private scholarship. The scholarship might be of public benefit, but the library, unlike those formed by Lenox, Carter Brown, or Morgan, did not at its inception envisage, even implicitly, any eventual public role.

The Furness collection also reflected the tensions of an era of massive social change. Many different people, for various reasons and on both sides of the Atlantic, made of Shakespeare an icon around which various conceptions of Anglo-Saxon nationhood might cohere. At the same time, the collection represented an attempt to recuperate Shakespeare from the taint (as it might have seemed in the Furnesses' era) of the overly demotic and popular. Its scholarly aspirations simultaneously served the collectors' own scholarly interests while also helping to return Shakespeare to the hands of those they considered intellectually and socially capable of apprehending him. But perhaps the most significant element that determined the nature of their collection was the Furnesses themselves.

The collection that Horace Howard Furness, Sr., began to create emerges directly from the broad context of Victorian approaches to Shakespeare. One student of these approaches, Aron Y. Stavisky, has described Victorian Shakespearian scholarship as founded on "two principles of . . . [the] age: the sense of progressive order, and an intense moral purpose."<sup>2</sup> Stavisky shows how "habits of industry and cooperative organization affected scholarly production" in the nineteenth century. He is quite explicit that Shakespearian scholarship is not immune from these processes, which he calls "the industrialization of Shakespeare studies"<sup>3</sup>: "Most of this work was characteristically unglamorous but necessary, each fact adding to the mosaic of historical perspective upon which our own [twentieth] century prizes itself."<sup>4</sup> The Furness collection emerges from a context in which "a scientific habit and a theory of methodology [were both] applied to Shakespearian studies."<sup>5</sup> Their combination produced a scholarship, as A. W.

<sup>1</sup> See, most recently, Michael D. Bristol, in *Shakespeare's America, America's Shakespeare* (New York: Routledge, 1990), p. 65: "The Shakespeare collection . . . [Furness Sr.] had in mind was to be a working library, rather than an accumulation of rare objects." Just about everyone else who has written about the Furness Library says the same thing. The topic is even addressed by Furness himself, albeit indirectly, in a letter of 13 November 1890 to University of Pennsylvania Provost William Pepper. Furness is replying to Pepper's query about "the cost of a good working library of English and American Literature." He writes: "I do not here include any *fictitiously valuable books*, such as the Mazarin [i.e., Gutenberg] Bible or the First Folio of Shakespeare, . . . [but] enumerate only those classes of books, which would be indispensable to the students in writing their college Themes or in laying the fundamental groundwork of a sound English education" (*The Letters of Horace Howard Furness*, ed. Horace Howard Furness Jayne, 2 vols. [Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1912], I:264-265 [emphasis added]).

<sup>2</sup> Aron Y. Stavisky, *Shakespeare and the Victorians: Roots of Modern Criticism* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1969), p. 4.

<sup>3</sup> So commonplace has talk of "the Shakespeare industry" become that it must be said explicitly that Stavisky does not mean his words to be taken as mere metaphor. Compare, e.g., L. C. Knights

Ward remarked in summarizing the contributions of nineteenth-century Shakespeare studies generally, “chiefly concerned with the elucidation and restoration of . . . [Shakespeare’s] text, the explanation and illustration of his matter, and the history of all that entered into or surrounded his life and literary career.”<sup>6</sup>

The Furness contribution to the Victorian Shakespearian enterprise was the creation of a *New Variorum Shakespeare*, an effort clearly akin to other “industrial” or “scientific” literary and humanistic projects of the era. Exemplary of such projects, according to Stavisky, was the notion put forth by another Victorian Shakespearian, F. G. Fleay, who “insisted that the way to understand what Shakespeare meant was through the exhaustive tabulation of what his contemporaries meant by the same or analogous terms.”<sup>7</sup> Although the Furnesses did not tabulate in this manner, the materials they gathered would have assisted the realization of many of Fleay’s ends, as well as their own. Murray’s great effort to create the *New English Dictionary* (now known as the *Oxford English Dictionary*, or *OED*), and such projects as the *Dictionary of National Biography* and the ninth edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, all arose from similar intellectual outlooks and “industrial” scholarly work habits. The Furnesses’ variorum edition of Shakespeare’s works, like those other great monuments of Victorian scholarship, is rooted in a commitment to the good that can emerge only from a cumulative, rational methodology. That methodology itself is founded on the bedrock conviction that scholarship and knowledge are cumulatively augmented.

*OED* reminds us that a “*variorum*, sb.” is “an edition, esp. of the complete works of a classical author, containing the notes of various commentators or editors. . . . Used, chiefly attrib., to denote an edition, usu. of an author’s complete works, containing variant readings from manuscripts or earlier editions.”<sup>8</sup> Furness Sr. conceived his own variorum as a gathering together of what had already been discovered, thought, and said about individual acts, scenes, lines, and words; their historical and allusive backgrounds; and any other issues necessary for an understanding of the Shakespearian text. All these materials would then be printed, in excerpts and digested form, in the variorum volume, as extensive notes to the plays and poems. Its readers would be enabled to survey, at a glance, all they needed in order to grasp the difficulties of the text before their eyes. They could find the various resolutions of those difficulties already achieved or proposed by their predecessors. They might then build progressively on the labors of the past. This was the project, begun by Furness

in *Explorations: Essays in Criticism Mainly on the Literature of the Seventeenth Century* (1946; rpt. London: Chatto and Windus, 1963): In the nineteenth century, according to Knights, “Shakespeare scholarship progressed by accumulation rather than by a process of growth or development from a centre. It became a heavy industry” (p. 79). Knights objects to “new co-operative methods” of scholarship, which he finds “depressing,” precisely because they are “industrial” products of mass sensibilities rather than “critical” products of well-honed individual sensibilities.

<sup>4</sup> Stavisky, pp. 23–24.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., p. 47.

<sup>6</sup> Adolphus William Ward, *A History of English Dramatic Literature to the Death of Queen Anne*, 2nd ed., 3 vols. (London: Macmillan, 1899), 1:569 (quoted in Stavisky, p. 48).

<sup>7</sup> Stavisky, p. 76.

<sup>8</sup> *OED* 1a–d.



Sr., that Furness Jr. joined, first as his father's co-editor and later as his successor. It is the same project that the *New Variorum's* heir, the Modern Language Association of America, continues to this day.

Why should the money and energy of Furness Sr. and Jr. have concentrated upon Shakespeare? Shakespeare's intrinsic merits may justify his study under any circumstances but, in addition, commentators had begun to link several important social and cultural issues to Shakespeare as early as the eighteenth century. These remained significant throughout much of the nineteenth century. Indeed, they have by no means been resolved yet (and have recently come to be much studied).<sup>9</sup> The Furnesses could hardly have remained uninfluenced by the largely English context in which work on Shakespeare in their era mainly progressed. In addition, however, their American context posed them analogous issues. In nineteenth-century America, as in Great Britain, once settled locations of social and cultural authority felt increasingly threatened. The absorption into the body politic of ever more numerous and "different" immigrant populations seemed as bitter a pill for older American élites to swallow as extension of the franchise to the lower orders seemed in Great Britain. Thus, in the United States, work that perpetuated and reinforced a long-standing valorization of English culture seemed also to perpetuate and reinforce the cultural leadership of this nation's increasingly beleaguered "Anglo-Saxon" population. German, Irish, and southern and eastern European immigrant populations, many of them Roman Catholic or Jewish, were thought to lack, among other important virtues, Anglo-Saxon notions of freedom and self-government. Thus they needed acculturation just as much as, if not more than, Britain's own hitherto unfranchised populations.<sup>10</sup>

Shakespeare proved as useful a tool for such purposes in this country as he did in Great Britain. Furness Sr. mentions Shakespeare specifically in a letter of 2 May 1886. Extolling the benefits of an English education in Philadelphia's secondary schools, he speaks of "our own strong, sturdy English": "into that language we should be grateful that we were born; we live in it, and make love in it, and we shall die in it"; it is "one of Heaven's choice blessings."<sup>11</sup>

Recuperating Shakespeare for scholarly study served to assert not only Anglo-Saxon cultural authority in the face of menacing populations brought up outside England's orbit but also the social authority of those members of the upper classes for whom

<sup>9</sup> Two studies of how "Shakespeare" has been appropriated for social, cultural, and even political purposes are Jonathan Bate, *Shakespearean Constitutions: Politics, Theatre, Criticism 1730-1830* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), and Alan Sinfield, "Give an account of Shakespeare and Education, showing why you think they are effective and what you have appreciated about them. Support your comments with precise references," in *Political Shakespeare: Essays in Cultural Materialism*, 2nd ed. (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1994), pp. 158-181. More specifically, see Terence Hawkes, "Swisser-Swatter: Making a Man of English Letters," in *Alternative Shakespeares*, ed. John Drakakis, New Accents (London: Methuen, 1985): p. 30: "in England . . . in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, particularly in that period which followed the second Reform Bill of 1867, [t]he extension of the franchise was a disturbing prospect, a massive 'leap in the dark'. To meet it implied an equally massive effort of incorporation, inclusion, and accommodation; of asserted continuity and of willed coherence in the name of national cultural identity. . . . Education [w]as an obvious means by which English Prosperos might domesticate their own Calibans. . . . It was a revolution, so to speak, by letters. . . . [T]he enshrining, embalming and even the prophylaxis of the national culture took the form so often of monumental literary undertakings whose purpose was the creation, reinforcement and maintenance of a national English heritage through the medium of what might be delicately termed English letters" (p. 30).

scholarship was “natural.” Shakespeare has had a long—and to some a distressing—career as a “low” or popular author.<sup>12</sup> Furness Sr. embarked on, and Furness Jr. continued, a project that demanded both education and leisure unattainable outside the confines of the social class they represented. Their work helped to make their chosen author a symbol of cultural authority. It also turned him into a kind of “property” of those with the means as well as the ability properly to appreciate and interpret him.<sup>13</sup>

The Furnesses, their project, and their library are not reducible, however, to mere symptoms of the “Victorian frame of mind” or of their period’s political, cultural, and social anxieties. Neither scholarship nor collecting is an especially common phenomenon. In turning their attentions to the creation of a variorum Shakespeare and then acquiring the bibliographical resources, the library, to make it possible, father and son both demonstrated character traits unusual in their own or in any other period. Bristol comments on the “atypicality” of the Furness collecting program and stresses the “substantive intellectual” role their collection played in their lives.<sup>14</sup> Almost despite himself (for he is critical of what he regards as the socially and politically regressive milieu out of which the Furness project emerged), Bristol is impressed by their achievements.

The Furnesses, especially Furness Sr., with whom the *New Variorum* and the library both began, have attracted considerable attention. They have been the objects of several works of *homage* as well as scholarly and biographical studies. Among the first was a pamphlet reprinting memorials from two national periodicals, *Appreciations of Horace Howard Furness. Our Great Shakespeare Critic*, by Talcott Williams. From *The Century Magazine*, November, 1912. *Horace Howard Furness*, by Agnes Repplier. From *The Atlantic Monthly*, November, 1912 (Cleveland: Privately printed, 1912).<sup>15</sup> Printed as a Christmas greeting, the pamphlet suggests the national stature which both Furness and Shakespearean scholarship had attained by the time of his death. Ten years later, Furness Sr.’s grandson, Horace Howard Furness Jayne, saw two volumes of Furness Sr.’s *Letters* (1922), embedded in the context of a long biographical summary, into print. James M. Gibson, who in the mid-1980s discussed Furness Sr. as a “book collector and library builder,”<sup>16</sup> published a monograph on the history of Furness and the *New Variorum* in 1990.<sup>17</sup>

AS IT MAY be pieced together from these and other sources (including the manuscripts that survive as part of the Furness

<sup>10</sup> Instances that document the extent of such anxieties are legion. The heroine of Gene Stratton-Porter’s *The Keeper of the Bees* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, Page, 1925), for just one example, is a teacher of “Americanism” in California elementary schools. Neither the character nor the author exhibits any doubt that this subject is both appropriate and necessary.

<sup>11</sup> Horace Howard Furness, Sr., to Edward T. Steel, President of the Board of Education of Philadelphia; quoted in J. W. Bright, “English in the High Schools,” *MLN*, 1:7 (November 1886), cols. 216–219. James M. Gibson offers a contextualized account of the circumstances out of which this letter emerged in *The Philadelphia Shakespeare Story: Horace Howard Furness and the New Variorum Shakespeare* (New York: AMS Press, 1990), pp. 151–152. The chapter of which these pages are part (“The Penn Years,” pp. 131–160) presents Furness as an active and important agent in educational reform of both the Philadelphia public schools and the University of Pennsylvania. A major force in the transformation of the University into a modern research institution, he was also, of course, a major factor in the modernization of Penn’s Library specifically. Gibson discusses his role in the erection of the University’s new library building (now the Fisher Fine Arts Library). His long service (1881–1904) on Penn’s library committee also involved him in a host of other library-related matters, intellectual as well as bricks-and-mortar (*Philadelphia Shakespeare Story*, pp. 145–149). Research-driven

Memorial Library and document its history), the Furness story is in one sense simple to recount. In November of 1860, Furness Sr., then a young man of twenty-seven, joined the Shakspeare Society of Philadelphia.<sup>18</sup> “The earliest formally established organization devoted to the study of Shakespeare’s plays, older even than the *Deutsche Shakespeare Gesellschaft*,” Bristol writes, the Society was characterized by an “avocational and leisure class orientation,” an “exclusive character,” and “elaborate banquets.” Its meetings were held in a member’s law offices; Furness himself was a lawyer, as were many other members. As might be expected, meetings exhibited “a vigorous forensic and argumentative character.”<sup>19</sup> “It constantly happened,” Furness himself wrote, “that we spent a whole evening [arguing] over a difficult passage . . . only to find that the whole question had been discussed and settled by learned men elsewhere.” Such belated discoveries came despite recourse to the 1821 Variorum already in existence (of which “every member had a copy”). The failures of that volume to resolve issues, because of its age and its inadequacies, encouraged Furness to consider creating his own variorum:

. . . the idea of a New Variorum edition of Shakespeare grew directly out of our needs in the Society. Every member had a copy of the Variorum of 1821 [but everything that had been published since then remained “scattered” in many different publications]. . . . [I]t dawned on us that if we were to pursue our studies with any of the ardor of original research we should exactly know all that had been said or suggested by our predecessors. It was nigh fifty years since the publication of the last Variorum and the time seemed ripe for a new one.<sup>20</sup>

When, in 1866, the Society began to discuss *Romeo and Juliet*, Furness began to compile the first volume of his *New Variorum* as an outgrowth of the Society’s study of that play. He had already begun to “experiment” with a variorum during the summer of 1862, in preparation for the Shakspeare Society’s upcoming study of *Hamlet*. It had taken him a while, however, to realize the value of turning this private project into a public one.<sup>21</sup> Working on *Romeo and Juliet*, Furness relied for the progress of his work on the Society’s own reference collection, which included books now considered “rare.” He also borrowed, where necessary, from other collections. Among them was that of the Shakespearian

modernization processes were increasingly characteristic of American institutions of higher education in Furness’ era. Burton J. Bledstein provides background on the nature of educational and social change in the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century American university—change that, in Philadelphia’s local scene, Furness helped to implement at Penn—in *The Culture of Professionalism: The Middle Class and the Development of Higher Education in America* (New York: Norton, 1976).

<sup>12</sup> This subject has been studied in the American context by Lawrence W. Levine, “William Shakespeare in America,” *Highbrow/Lowbrow: The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1988), pp. 11–81. See now Thomas Cartelli’s critique of Levine, “Nativism, Nationalism, and the Common Man in American Constructions of Shakespeare,” in Cartelli’s *Repositioning Shakespeare: National Formations, Postcolonial Appropriations* (New York: Routledge, 1999), pp. 27–45.

<sup>13</sup> The anxieties of class, with specific reference to the Philadelphia milieu in which the Furnesses lived and worked, are explored by E. Digby Baltzell in some seminal, if controversial, studies. These include *Philadelphia Gentlemen: The Making of a National Upper Class* (1958; rpt. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1979), where the Furnesses (not always correctly named) make a few cameo appearances (pp. 217, 219, *et seq.*); and *Puritan Boston and Quaker Philadelphia: Two Protestant Ethics and the Spirit of Class Authority and Leadership* (New

actor and theatrical impresario Edwin Forrest. (Large portions of both the Society's and Forrest's collections now sit alongside the Furness Memorial Library in Penn's Annenberg Rare Book and Manuscript Library.) And, of course, he used his own books. These already included a copy of the Fourth Folio (1685).

The completed variorum *Romeo and Juliet* returned to Furness in published form a bit more than four years later, in January of 1871. By then, however, the major change in his circumstances of life had occurred: the death of his father-in-law, Evan Rogers. Rogers left Furness a token bequest of \$10,000. To his daughter, Helen Kate Rogers Furness, however, he left a trust fund valued at over \$750,000. Evan Rogers' bequest to Kate Furness gave his son-in-law the economic means that enabled him to leave the practice of law and turn himself into a professional man of letters.<sup>22</sup>

Furness himself might have objected to the word "professional" in this context. After all, both his serious interest in Shakespeare and his project to create a *New Variorum* arose out of the context of a gentleman's club and its debates. Such a context implies certain qualities of leisure and class standing to which notions of professionalism are not entirely natural. Indeed, the traditions of disinterested scholarly amateurism evoked by this context imply a capacity easily to sustain unremunerative researches. Dependent therefore upon one's prior social and economic standing, amateurism is at the very least different from, if not completely antithetical to, the labors by which mere professionals achieve standing. No matter. Professionally or otherwise, Furness was now able to make Shakespeare his vocation. The size of Evan Rogers' bequest enabled Furness also to build the kind of library that would provide his Shakespearian project with the essential bibliographical base it demanded.

Furness Sr. entered into the collecting of Shakespearian materials at the right moment, if a correspondent reprinted in the pages of *Shakespeariana*—"Mr. J. H. Slater writing in *The Athenæum* of the 'Book Sales of 1887'"—may be believed:

Shakespeare is not, curiously enough, a popular author from the collector's point of view. The early quartos, of course, sell well on the rare occasions on which they appear, and the first four folios excite a certain amount of interest, though not so much now as formerly. During the whole of 1887 only one quarto was offered for competition, viz., the *Romeo and Juliet* of 1637, and this was so imperfect that it

York: Free Press, 1979), where the Furnesses again appear in cameo roles (p. 328, *et seq.*). In the very different Philadelphia—far more satisfied; far less "anxious"—portrayed by John Lukacs in *Philadelphia: Patricians and Philistines, 1900-1950* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1981), Furness Sr. is depicted (briefly) as part of the city's intellectual élite (p. 132). A note in which Agnes Repplier, also associated with that élite, is overheard complaining to A. Edward Newton about Furness' "astoundingly prudish wife" (*ibid.*, n. 159) reinforces a sense that anxieties of many different kinds must have underlain both work and life. The most extensive consideration of the Furness project in relation to the social and political interests and anxieties its formation reflects is found in Bristol, *Shakespeare's America*, pp. 64-70. Tom Lutz provides useful background about the varied sources of cultural and social stress that produced such American anxiety in *American Nervousness, 1903: An Anecdotal History* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1991).

<sup>14</sup> *Shakespeare's America*, p. 65.

<sup>15</sup> The pamphlet was printed by Cleveland librarians in memory of the then recently deceased Philadelphia Shakespearian ("Greetings from the Librarian and the Vice-Librarians to their associates in the Cleveland Public Library and the Western Reserve Library School. Christmas 1912").



# THE TRAGEDIE OF HAMLET, Prince of Denmarke.

## Actus Primus. Scena Prima.

Enter Barnardo and Francisco two Centinels.



*Barnardo.* Ho's there?  
*Fran.* Nay answer me: Stand & vnfold  
your selfe.

*Bar.* Long liue the King.

*Fran.* Barnardo? not a good night.

*Bar.* He.

*Fran.* You come most carefully vpon your houre.

*Bar.* 'Tis now stooke twelue, get thee to bed *Francisco*.  
*Fran.* For this releefe much thanks: 'Tis bitter cold,  
And I am sicke at heart.

*Bar.* Haue you had quiet Guard?

*Fran.* Not a Mouse stirring.

*Bar.* Well, goodnight. If you do meet *Horatio* and  
*Marcellus*, the Riuals of my Watch, bid them make hast.

Enter *Horatio* and *Marcellus*.

*Fran.* I thinke I heare them. Stand: who's there?

*Hor.* Friends to this ground.

*Mar.* And Leige-men to the Dane.

*Fran.* Giue you good night.

*Mar.* O farwel honest Soldier, who hath relieu'd you?

*Fra.* *Barnardo* ha's my place: giue you goodnight.

Exit *Fran.*

*Mar.* Heila *Barnardo*.

*Bar.* Say, what is *Horatio* there?

*Hor.* A peece of him I haue to shew you.

*Bar.* Welcome *Horatio*, welcome good *Marcellus*.

*Mar.* What's this thing appar'd againe to night.

*Bar.* I haue seene nothing.

*Mar.* *Horatio* laies his finger on our Fantasie, of no colour,

And will not let beleefe take hold of him.

Touching this dreaded sight, twice seene of vs,

Therefore I haue intrated him along with vs,

To watch the minutes of this Night,

That if a Guine this Apparition come,

He may approue our eyes, and speake to it.

*Hor.* Tush, tush, 'twill not appeare.

*Bar.* Sit downe a while,

And let vs once againe assaile your eares;

That are so fortified against our Story,

What we two Nights haue seene.

*Hor.* Well, sit we downe,

And let vs heare *Barnardo* speake of this.

*Bar.* Last night of all,

When yond same Starre that's Westward from the Pole

Had made his course i'llume that part of Heauen

Where now it burnes, *Marcellus* and my selfe,

The Bell then beating one.

*Mar.* Peace, breake thee of.

Enter the Ghost.

Looke where it comes againe.

*Bar.* In the same figure, like the King that's dead,

*Mar.* Thou art a Scholler, speake to it *Horatio*.

*Bar.* Lookes it not like the King? Marke it *Horatio*.

*Hor.* Most like: It harrowes me with feare & wonder.

*Bar.* It would be spoke too.

*Mar.* Question it *Horatio*.

*Hor.* What art thou that vsturp'st this time of night,

Together with that Faire and Warlike forme

In which the Maiesty of buried Denmarke

Did sometimes march: By Heauen I charge thee speake.

*Mar.* It is offended.

*Bar.* See, it stalkes away.

*Hor.* Stay: speake; speake: I Charge thee, speake.

Exit the Ghost.

*Mar.* 'Tis gone, and will not answer.

*Bar.* How now *Horatio*? You tremble & look pale:

Is not this something more then Fantasie?

What thinke you on't?

*Hor.* Before my God, I might not this beleefe

Without the sensible and true auouch

Of mine owne eyes.

*Mar.* Is it not like the King?

*Hor.* As thou art to thy selfe,

Such was the very Armour he had on,

When th' Ambitious Norway combatted

So frown'd he once, when in an angry parle

He smot the flegged Pollax on the Ice,

'Tis strange.

*Mar.* Thustwice before, and iust at this dead houre,

With Martiall stalke, hath he gone by our Watch.

*Hor.* In what patticular thought to work, I know not:

But in the grosse and scope of my Opinion,

This boades some strange eruption to our State.

*Mar.* Good now sit downe, & tell me he that knowes

Why this same strict and most obseruant Watch,

So nightly toyles the subiect of the Land,

And why such dayly Cast of Brazon Cannon

And Forraigne Mart for Implements of warre:

Why such impresse of Ship-wrights, whose fore Taske

Do's not diuide the Sunday from the weeke,

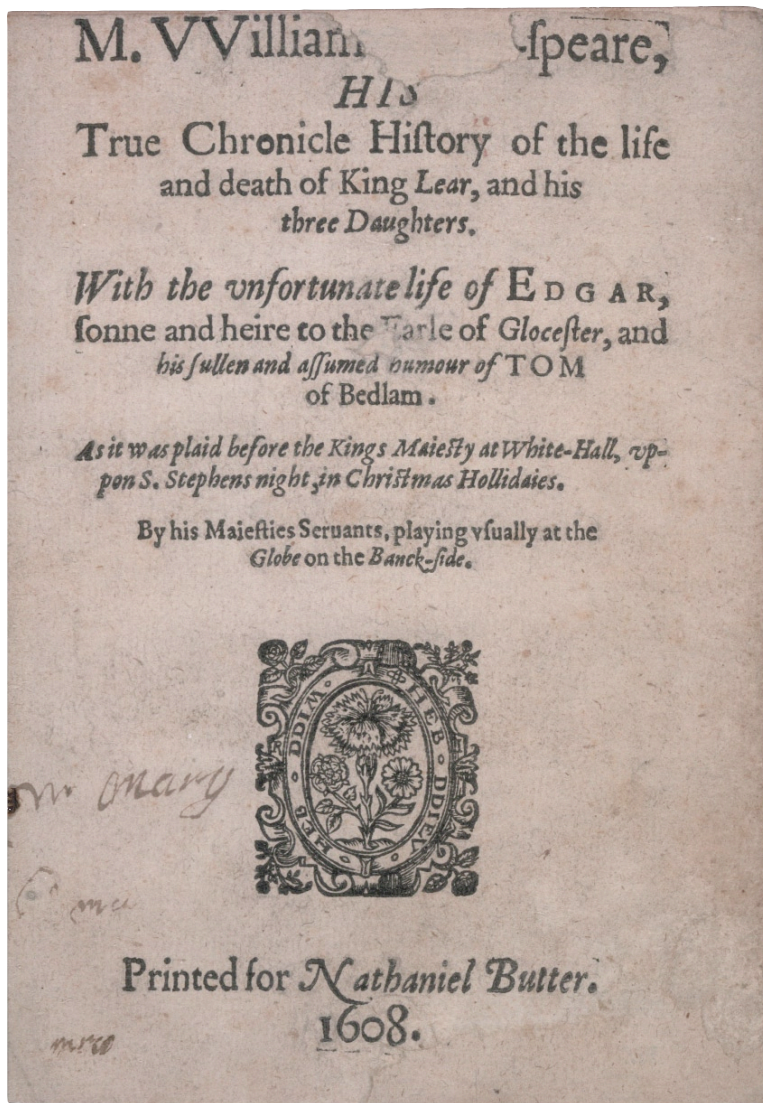
What might be toward, that this sweaty haft

Doth make the Night ioynt-Labourer with the day:

Who is't that can informe me?

*Hor.* That can I,





only realized a little over 2l. On the other hand, a copy of Shakespeare's First Folio, measuring 13-3/8 in. by 8-3/4 in. was knocked down at the Hartley sale for 255l., and another copy at the Brice sale for 105l. . . . Seventeen from among the numerous modern versions of the great dramatist's works were offered for sale, and many of them on different [sic] occasions; the bidding, however, was feeble, and at times appeared likely to die altogether of inanition. It is quite evident that the popular taste does not for the moment centre on Shakespeare.<sup>23</sup>

The title-page of Furness' copy of the "1608" *Lear* quarto (actually printed in 1619).

*Opposite page:* The first page of *Hamlet*, from Furness' copy of the 1623 First Folio.

<sup>16</sup> "Horace Howard Furness: Book Collector and Library Builder," in *Shakespeare Study Today: The Horace Howard Furness Memorial Lectures*, ed. Georgianna Ziegler (New York: AMS Press, 1986), pp. 169-189 (hereafter cited as "Book Collector"). I must take this opportunity to record my gratitude to Dr. Ziegler for her assistance in the preparation of this essay.

<sup>17</sup> *Philadelphia Shakespeare Story* (above, n. 11).

<sup>18</sup> On the background to the Society's peculiar spelling practices ("Shakspere")—still, as of the year 2000, retained—see Stavisky, pp. 26-27, 56. For the date at which Furness joined the Society, I rely on Gibson, "Book Collector," p. 170; Furness himself, however, gave the date as "1858 or 1859" (in "How Did You Become a Shakespeare Student?" *Shakespeariana*, 5, no. 58 [October 1888], 439).

<sup>19</sup> Bristol, *Shakespeare's America*, pp. 64-65.

<sup>20</sup> "How Did You Become a Shakespeare Student?" pp. 439-440. Three variorum editions of Shakespeare preceded Furness: "Isaac Reed's editions of Johnson and Steevens in 1803 and 1813 and James Boswell the younger's edition of Malone's Shakespeare in 1821" (Gibson, *Philadelphia Shakespeare Story*, p. 61).

The prices Slater reports reflect prices Furness actually paid. His (somewhat imperfect) First Folio (1623) cost Furness £160; his Second Folio (1632) £37; his Third Folio (1664) £77. Another copy of the Fourth Folio (he already owned a copy when he began work on *Romeo and Juliet*) came to him for £12. Other editions of Shakespeare's works (among them Pope's, Johnson's, and Malone's) reached him for the same sorts of prices. The ten volumes of Malone's great 1790 edition, for instance, set Furness back a solid £1.15s. The *Hamlet* quarto of 1611 cost him £33. Three 1619 Pavier quartos, printed with false imprint dates by Jaggard, cost £145: the "1600" *Merchant of Venice*, the "1608" *King Lear* (with manuscript notes by the eighteenth-century editor Edward Capell), and the "1608" *Henry V*.<sup>24</sup> With all due allowance for changes in the value of money since the second half of the nineteenth century, such prices remain very nearly astonishing to contemplate today. But they made it possible for Furness to build, relatively quickly, an exceptionally effective working library, one that intelligently combined older and more modern materials in several languages.

In this building process, Furness began by seeking the assistance of James Orchard Halliwell (later Halliwell-Phillipps), an English antiquarian, book collector, and scholar with an interest in the literature of Shakespeare's period. He also bought regularly from the London bookseller Alfred Russell Smith, to whom Halliwell referred him. Smith, acting as Furness' agent, bought for him at auction, as well. Furness also dealt with Albert Cohn in Berlin and had a bookseller in Paris. Gibson calculates that, during the 1870s, Furness spent more than \$8,500 on his Shakespearian acquisitions.

Although prices are difficult to compare between different eras, a comparison between Furness' costs and those of another collector with whom he overlapped may help clarify what such a sum meant in the 1870s. In 1847, James Lenox had bought a Gutenberg Bible, the first copy to come to the United States. The price Lenox paid for it, about \$3,000, was considered "mad."<sup>25</sup> The expenditure of nearly three times as much money on Shakespeare a mere three decades later is unlikely to have struck Furness' contemporaries as particularly clever. Furness himself notes, however, just how expensive the process of building an adequate library for literary study can be. "Eight thousand dollars would [not] be more than adequate," he says, referring to what it would cost a purchaser to acquire the materials on a list of basic literary-historical series. Then he adds that, having "lately been entrusted with the expenditure of one thousand dollars in this department

<sup>21</sup> Gibson, *Philadelphia Shakespeare Story*, pp. 59–60, *et seq.*

<sup>22</sup> Evan's son, Fairman Rogers, was another beneficiary of his will. Thus, albeit indirectly and only after his death, Evan Rogers was to become a double benefactor of Penn's Libraries. Not only did his gifts help to build Furness' Shakespeare library. They also paved the way for one of the great treasures of the Library of Penn's School of Veterinary Medicine at New Bolton, the Fairman Rogers Collection of Books on the Horse and Equitation. Claire Gilbride Fox has published a catalog of the collection under that title, with a short biography of Fairman Rogers, for the School (Philadelphia, 1975).

<sup>23</sup> "Miscellany. Shakespeare and the Book Collectors," *Shakespeariana*, 5, no. 58 (October 1888), 385–386.

<sup>24</sup> Gibson, "Book Collector," pp. 173–174.

<sup>25</sup> Henry Stevens, *Recollections of James Lenox and the Formation of his Library*, ed. Victor Hugo Paltsits (New York: The New York Public Library, 1951), pp. 22–23.

[i.e., literature] for the Philadelphia Library[,] . . . I therefore know how very little way that sum goes—ten times this sum will have to be expended” to create a serious “English Department” for that library.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>26</sup> Furness, *Letters*, I:265–266.

The collection Furness built did not simply gather in the sorts of Shakespearian high spots already mentioned, however, nor did he restrict acquisitions to English-language publications only. Georgianna Ziegler, a former Curator of the Furness Memorial Library, has written that “Furness himself purchased a number of French and German editions of Shakespeare and was an avid collector of German scholarship, whether in the form of notes, articles, or books.”<sup>27</sup> German-language scholarship continues to be a strong feature of the Furness Memorial. As Shakespeare studies have expanded to other language areas, the collection has continued to try to keep pace with this expansion, although the effort resembles Cuchulain’s fight with the sea. Translations of Shakespearian texts into non-English languages are another feature of the collection originating in Furness’ collecting habits. Translations now come not only from western Europe, however, but also—to cite only a very few of very many possible examples—from Russia, Korea, and Tanzania.

<sup>27</sup> Ziegler, “The Horace Howard Furness Memorial Library,” *Jahrbuch / Deutsche Shakespeare-Gesellschaft West*, 121 (1985), 267.

Ziegler also remarks that “theatre was a great passion of Furness’s, in spite of his deafness, and,” she continues,

he fostered friendships with such actors and actresses as Fanny Kemble, Edwin Booth, Ellen Terry, Julia Marlowe, Helena Faucit Martin, E. H. Sothern, and Johnston Forbes-Robinson. The library contains correspondence, memorabilia, drawings or photographs of all these theatre people, in addition to a number of nineteenth-century playbills from Philadelphia, New York, and London. There are also a number of prompt books, including two by Edwin Booth made specially for Furness, who was one of the first Shakespeare editors to include comments by actors and actresses in his notes.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>28</sup> Ziegler, “The Horace Howard Furness Memorial Library,” p. 267.

This point about Furness’ collecting patterns, and the ways in which his scholarship reflects them, is particularly worth remarking. Stavisky suggests that the major weakness of nineteenth-century Shakespearian scholarship in general is its ignorance of, and disdain for, the stage.<sup>29</sup> If he is right that such attitudes were indeed a general weakness of the era, then in this respect not only the collection but also Furness himself were both far in advance

<sup>29</sup> See Stavisky, chap. 4, “The Limiting Factor,” pp. 109–121. Here he remarks: “a great





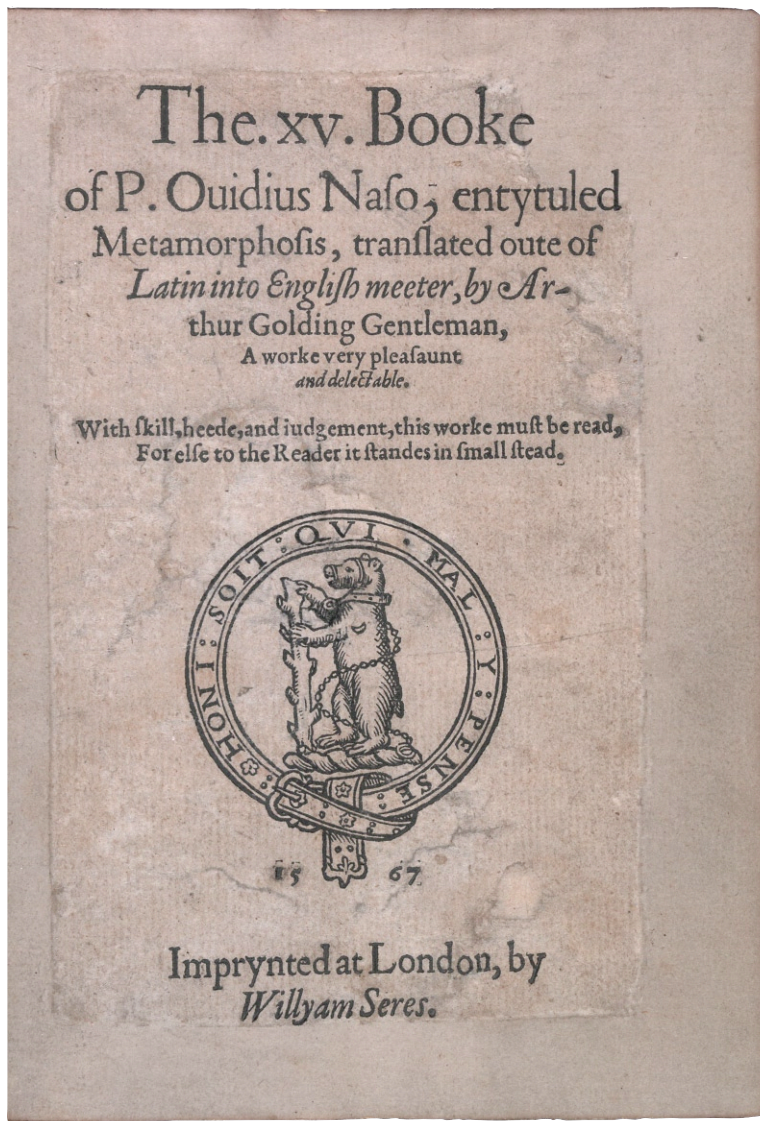
An engraving after the 1755 painting by Pieter Van Bleeck, "Mrs. Cibber in the Character of Cordelia" (n.d.; from the Furness Memorial Library). The scene depicts Cordelia and Arante on the heath, rescued by Edgar from attackers—a scene from Nahum Tate's revision of *King Lear* that appears nowhere in Shakespeare's play.

of their time. Fortunately, stage history is a topic that the various Curators of the Furness Memorial have made a special effort to develop. Assisted by the proximity of allied theater history holdings in other divisions of the Annenberg Rare Book and Manuscript Library, they have managed to keep the Furness Library a strong resource in this field.

Kate Rogers Furness died in 1883 while Furness was already at work on the *New Variorum Othello*. For more than a year following Kate's death, the entire variorum project ground to a halt as Furness tried to cope with his grief. Although he eventually completed the volume (it appeared in 1886), Furness was never able to endure thinking about or reading *Othello*, so closely associated had the play become for him with the trauma of his

weakness of Victorian Shakespeare criticism" is that "the criticism is simply not dramatic. . . .

The Victorians were the last print-oriented generation before the electronic innovations in communications restored the importance of seeing and hearing via movies and the phonograph—hence, a lack of respect for the stage and a misunderstanding of the more fluid, oral tradition in Elizabethan culture" (pp. 110–111). But "lack of respect for the stage" is one of the things noticeably not a characteristic of the collection built, or of the commentary written, by Furness.



The title-page of the Furness copy of Arthur Golding's 1567 translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, one of Shakespeare's main sources.

wife's death. Another consequence of her death, however, was to have an impact on the history of his library. Under the terms of Evan Rogers' bequest, ownership of the family home in Philadelphia's Washington Square passed from Furness to his oldest son. By 1894, Furness had decided to turn Lindenshade, a summer home in Wallingford, Pennsylvania, into a year-round residence. He gave the building a fireproof addition to house what was by then a collection of between seven and eight thousand books.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>30</sup> Gibson, "Book Collector," p. 184.

This addition makes clear that, by 1894, the library was already about two-thirds of the size it would attain in 1931. In that year, the will of Furness Jr. (he had died in 1930) transferred ownership to the University of Pennsylvania.<sup>31</sup> Furness Jr. made the gift in honor of his father. (The Furness Memorial Library's "official" opening date at Penn was celebrated on Shakespeare's "birthday," April 23, 1932.) Numbering about 12,000 volumes on opening day,<sup>32</sup> the collection has more than doubled in size since it was placed, along with a \$100,000 endowment, in Penn's care. A succession of Curators and Penn faculty members—Matthew W. Black, Matthias A. Shaaber, Roland M. Frye, and Georgianna Ziegler, successively, all of them assisted by Dr. William E. Miller—followed the Furness' tradition of scholarly librarianship in continuing to build the collection. Their own active work as scholars and teachers, of Tudor and Stuart literature generally and of Shakespeare specifically, gave each of them unusually deep understanding of the needs of the Furness Memorial's wide collecting scope.

THE COLLECTION is indeed impressive. Even from opening day, students or scholars who wanted to read or examine various editions of Shakespeare would have had their choice of almost every contemporary or later edition. Where originals were unavailable (only two copies of the first "bad" quarto of *Hamlet* survive, for example, and both seem to be unattainable for love or money), the collection provided facsimiles. That policy was imaginatively extended under Frye's Curatorship, when Furness and the University Libraries collaborated in 1967 to acquire hardcopy printouts, not just microfilms, of all books, pamphlets, and broadsides printed before 1641 in England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland, and in the English language from the Continent of Europe.

Scholarship, of course, is copiously represented, and, as has already been indicated, in many languages. So are lexical and historical works of reference, and, in addition, the context out of which Shakespeare wrote: his sources and his contemporaries. To concentrate for the moment on these sources and contemporaries, readers will find, among much else, early editions of Chaucer and Spenser; North's translation of Plutarch; the chronicle histories of Hall, Holinshed, and Grafton; Golding's translation of Ovid; John Florio's *Firste Fruites* and his translation of Montaigne; Montemayor's *Diana*; Thomas Newton's translations of Seneca; the Jonson, Beaumont and Fletcher, and Killigrew dramatic folios; Bandello's *Histoires tragiques*; Cinthio's *De*

<sup>31</sup> Ziegler, "Introduction," *Shakespeare Study Today*, p. 4. About Furness Jr. far less has been written than about his father. Clearly Sr. was not only the originating but also the directing hand in both the *New Variorum* project and creation of the library on which the variorum was based. In presenting that library to the University in commemoration of his father, Jr. was attempting to assign credit where it was due. On Jr., see *DAB* (7:79), an article by George Harvey Genzmer of slightly surprising candor. Furness Jr., the second of Kate and Sr.'s children, was educated at Harvard (Class of 1888), took additional work in music and astronomy at Penn, and, in 1891, became an instructor in physics at Philadelphia's Episcopal Academy. Ten years later, by then the author of a laboratory manual used in schools, he gave up teaching to assist his father as co-editor of the *New Variorum*. Following his father's death in 1912, he succeeded him as project editor. He was "unknown as a scholar" when he joined forces with his father, says *DAB*, and "news of the arrangement was received with some misgiving." Although interested parties suggested, when Sr. died, that a "committee of scholars" take on the task of completing the variorum, Jr. himself continued with it "as an act of filial piety, with noble purpose and laborious industry. In general, the volumes that he edited were well received, but the most careful reviews of his work revealed numerous errors and shortcomings." A stark summary concludes the article: "it is clear that in learning, critical judgment, originality, and mastery of detail he was not the equal of his



*gli hecatommithi* (now cataloged as by Giraldi). Even this very brief list begins to suggest some important points about how the Furnesses built their collection and how it functions in its present context.

The Furnesses understood that Shakespeare, English cultural icon though he might be, wrote within a European and not simply an insular English literary and cultural context. That his sources have for a long time been well-known to include tales derived from Seneca, Plautus, Bandello, and Cinthio, among others, makes such a sense of Shakespeare inevitable. Accordingly, the collection has actively pursued Shakespeare's sources wherever they may be found, even when these sources were found outside the arenas favored by the Furnesses' cultural concerns.

From the collection's earliest days, the Furnesses sought out and acquired for it materials that are not at all "obvious." One example alone will have to suffice: Pierre Boaistuau's two-volume *Histoires prodigieuses, extraictes de plusieurs fameux auteurs, Grecs et Latins, sacrez et prophanes . . .* (Paris: Chez Jean de Bordeaux, 1574). To begin with, this is in fact a "rare book": I find no record of another library in the United States with this edition of Boaistuau. More importantly, Boaistuau—unlike, say, Plautus, Plutarch, Cinthio, or Holinshed—is not a common name on every scholar's list of the ten (or even of the hundred) most interesting sources of Shakespeare's plays. Not only are his works not "obvious" for a Shakespeare-oriented collection but also one could even call them "obscure." What is this book doing here? Yet it is a Furness purchase (whether Sr.'s or Jr.'s I do not know). Two small octavo volumes, illustrated, Boaistuau's book retails a set of stories in a genre we might nowadays term "unnatural natural history." Library catalogers assign to it terms such as "curiosities," "wonders," "marvels," and the "supernatural." Boaistuau has gathered and published a variety of tales, all basically intended to excite, titillate, and horrify his audience. The reader finds, for instance, a story of "the marvelous history of the dogs who ate Christians" (1:fols. 79-81). It is followed immediately by "the amazing history of the diverse figures, among them comets, dragons, and flames, that have appeared in the heavens, with the terror of the people who saw them and an analysis of the causes and occasions to which they have been assigned" (fols. 81-88). Shakespearean sources? Hardly. Yet anyone who has ever wondered what Romeo means when he cries, "then I defy you, stars!"—or Cassius when, in *Julius Caesar*, he says, "the fault, dear Brutus, is not in the stars, / But in ourselves, that we are underlings"—or

father. It was his good fortune to be the son and pupil of the greatest of Shakespeare's editors, his misfortune that he must stand comparison with him."

<sup>32</sup> Ziegler, "The Horace Howard Furness Memorial Library," p. 265.



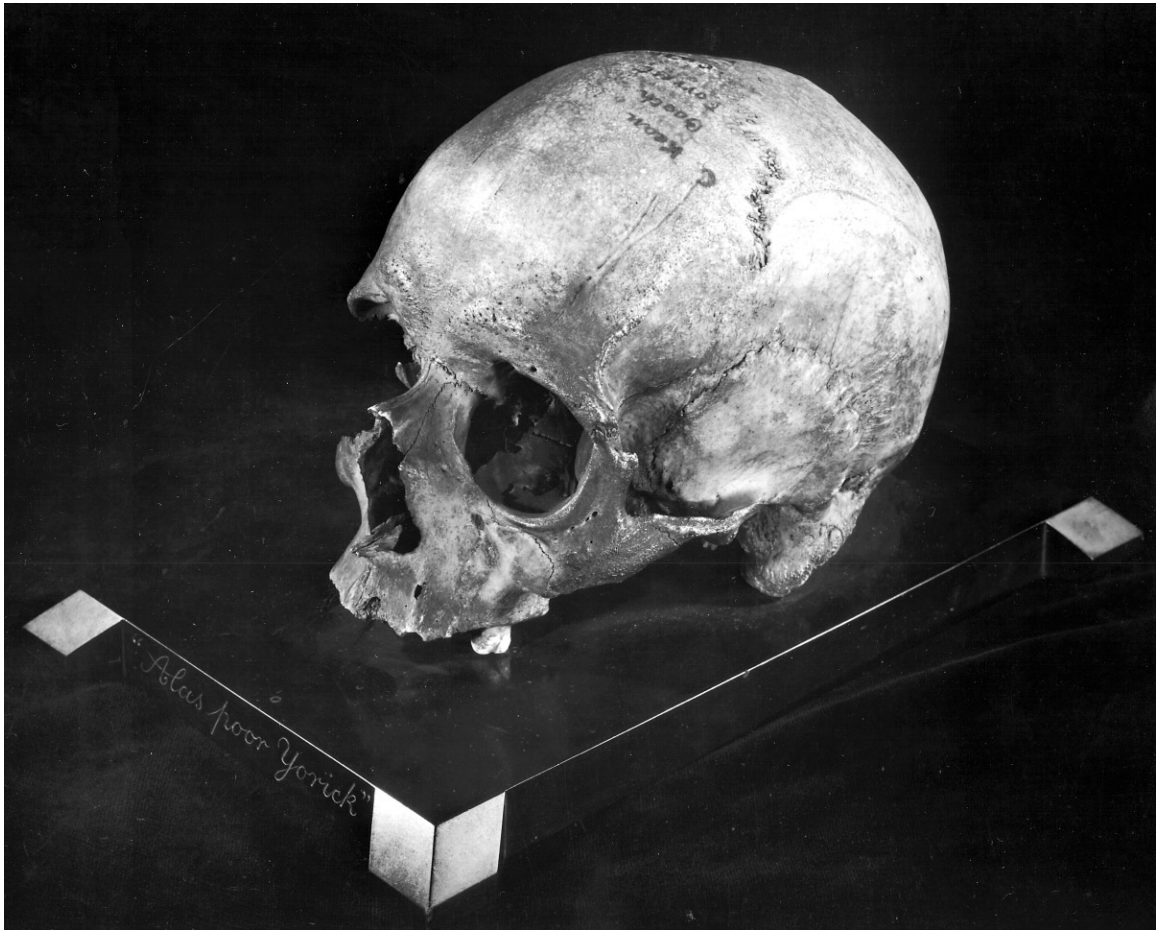
Hamlet, when he promises to “defy augury”—might find the second of these two of Boaistuau’s chapters informative. Moreover, these little volumes add to the ability of students and scholars to understand the varied ways in which stories worked in Shakespeare’s era. Precisely because Boaistuau’s book is not an obvious Shakespearian “source,” its presence in the Furness collection throws a striking light on the sheer imagination that went into forming the library.

Moreover, when a source is not present in the Furness library, it may often be found in the other special collections with which the Furness Memorial is now associated. Thus, for example, early editions of Saxo Grammaticus, a source for *Hamlet*, and both the 1534 *editio princeps* and Amyot’s French translation of Heliodorus’ *Aethiopica*, a *locus classicus* for the form of romance that Shakespeare used both in his comedies and in his romances, can be found in the Forrest and Rare Book collections. Readers may use them as easily as they use materials from the Furness Memorial itself. Even collections that may seem completely remote from interests supported by the Furness Memorial prove not to be as remote as might be supposed. In a time when studies of Renaissance “chemical theater” and the influence of neoplatonic and hermetic magical thinkers on Renaissance English drama flourish, both the Edgar Fahs Smith Library, on the history of chemistry, and the Henry Charles Lea Library, with its heavy collection of materials in the history of early modern occultism, provide materials that effectively expand the range of research that the Furness Memorial can support.

Books and literary manuscripts were not the only materials that entered the library. Numerous “relics”<sup>33</sup> remain part of the collection. One may still visit the skull “used for many years at the Walnut Street Theatre in *Hamlet* [given to Furness by S. Weir Mitchell . . . [and bearing] the names of Kean, Macready, Kemble, Booth, Forrest, Cushman, Davenport, Murdock, and Brooks, all of whom had [as Hamlet] addressed it as poor Yorick’s last remains.”<sup>34</sup> (In the mid 1990s, this skull left the repose of the Furness Memorial for yet another dramatic airing, playing Vindice’s poisoned mistress in a student production of Cyril Tourneur’s Jacobean bloodbath, *The Revenger’s Tragedy*. The Furness Memorial supports use of all its contents!) Also visible are “the Shakespeare gloves given to Furness on January 17, 1874, by Fanny Kemble to show her appreciation of the Variorum *Romeo and Juliet* and *Macbeth*. . . . [The gloves] had surfaced at Stratford in 1769 at the time of Garrick’s Shakespeare Jubilee.” Their

<sup>33</sup> This is Gibson’s word (“Book Collector,” p. 174).

<sup>34</sup> Gibson, “Book Collector,” p. 175.



provenance made them allegedly “the only property that remains” that had once belonged to Shakespeare.<sup>35</sup> Statuary, photographs, paintings, drawings, prints, model Elizabethan playhouses, theater costumes: the Furness Memorial is awash not only in books and manuscripts but also in sheer stuff. All of it helps to document the ways in which Shakespeare has been presented, received, and interpreted over time.

The point of all these books and all this stuff—it is, in fact, the true legacy of the Furness gift—is the pedagogical and scholarly work the Furness Memorial makes possible. The quantity, occasionally even the existence of that work, owes much to the collection’s wealth of resources. Undergraduates and graduate students, faculty, and visiting scholars all use Furness. Most of the sources cited in this survey were written by people who have used Furness. The MLA editors who continue Furness’s *New*

The skull used for many years at Philadelphia’s Walnut Street Theatre to represent Yorick in productions of *Hamlet*, now in the Furness Memorial Library.

<sup>35</sup> Gibson, “Book Collector,” pp. 175–176. A gift from Mrs. Ruth Molloy to the Furness Memorial of a very nearly identical pair of gloves with a comparable provenance came at the end of the 1990s. As welcome as the original pair, it is not, on the other hand, conducive to a powerful deal of confidence in the authenticity of either.

*Variorum* also use his collection regularly. So comfortable and so well-stocked a place is it in which to work that graduate students who now have finished their studies and teach in places distant from Philadelphia come back at the holidays or for summers to use Furness' resources.

In the last few years, a program imaginatively conceived and directed by Professor of English Rebecca Bushnell and Director of the Annenberg Rare Book and Manuscript Library Michael Ryan has begun to seek new venues for the collection. By taking advantage of digital technologies and the worldwide web, their project will make the Furness Memorial a powerful educational tool even for those who cannot visit it in Philadelphia. With funding from the National Endowment for the Humanities that builds on gifts from Lawrence Schoenberg (for whom the Schoenberg Center for Electronic Text and Image is named), the Furness Memorial Library has begun to mount the collection's original materials in scanned facsimiles on its freely accessible website. Original materials that readers were once compelled to consult in person, or use in modern editions, or in often extremely expensive printed facsimiles, are now accessible to anyone with a reasonably good computer and access to the internet. Part of this project would have been of particular interest to the Horace Howard Furness who concerned himself with the literature curricula of secondary schools in his own era (see note 11). Seeking to reach not only college- and university-level students, the on-line Shakespeare venture has also sought to join with teachers at Philadelphia and regional secondary schools both public and private in an effort to make the Furness Memorial's resources even more widely used than has until now been the case.

The collection continues to grow. Faculty and student input continues to be high, and library attention also contributes notably to the Furness Memorial's flourishing condition. In 1999, the Furness Memorial and the Library again cooperated on an acquisition that, like Frye's of the hardcopy printouts of all English books printed before 1641, would make study and research easier for Furness users. The materials that Frye had once obtained in hardcopy are now becoming available on the worldwide web. On the web they will eventually cover a far more extensive range of dates (1475 to 1800) than Frye was able to acquire. In December of 1999, the Library moved to acquire this resource for its users, for which some materials in the Furness Memorial itself will be scanned.

The day is fast coming when the Furness Memorial will have lived longer at Penn than it did as a private library, first in Washington Square and then in Lindenshade. That its collections remain useful, that study and appreciation continue of the author to whom their acquisition was devoted, would surely please, though it would not surprise, both father and son. That the collection is also being used actively to seek out new students and new audiences might surprise them. Perhaps they would find it difficult to approve the extension and dissemination of their scholarly resources beyond the limited circle in and for which they themselves began their work.

But perhaps not. They did, after all, broadcast the fruit of their own labors by publishing it. Over the course of his life, Furness Sr. turned himself from a retiring private into an outgoing public figure. An embodiment of Shakespearian scholarship and of the civic significance of “the life of the mind,” he found fame as a reader of Shakespeare and as an orator.<sup>36</sup> Furness Jr. gave away their project’s bibliographical basis, their library, to a University, along with an endowment to help insure its continued growth. One imagines that their love for Shakespeare would finally bring the Furnesses to enthusiastic support of the ways in which the library they created is now engaged not only in finding new audiences for itself but also in bringing new audiences to Shakespeare. That these resources can be used in such ways is a tribute to the acumen with which the Furnesses began building their collection, and to the civic generosity that, by giving it to Penn, makes such use possible. It is a collection that Penn has been privileged to continue building, a collection that generations of users have felt privileged to enjoy.

<sup>36</sup> See Gibson, “The Public Years,” *Philadelphia Shakespeare Story*, pp. 198–224, for the details of this only partly surprising denouement to Furness’ career.