

To Dr. L. W. Payne  
with the cordial regards  
of  
Allison Shaw

UNIVERSITY  
OF  
SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA  
STUDIES

FIRST SERIES

NUMBER 1

THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT  
OF 1 HENRY VI

IN RELATION TO SHAKESPEARE, MARLOWE, PEELE, AND  
GREENE

BY

ALLISON GAW, Ph.D.

CHAIRMAN OF THE DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH,  
UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

EDITORIAL COMMITTEE ON RESEARCH PUBLICATIONS OF  
THE UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA:

EMORY S. BOGARDUS, *Chairman*    HERBERT D. AUSTIN, *Secretary*  
ALLISON GAW, ROCKWELL D. HUNT, FRANK C. TOUTON

STUDIES

FIRST SERIES

1. ALLISON GAW, *The Origin and Development of 1 Henry VI in Relation to Shakespeare, Marlowe, Peele, and Greene.* 130 pp.

Paper, \$1.50

Cloth, \$2.00

SECOND SERIES

1. FRANK C. TOUTON in collaboration with KARL K. HELLMAN and ESTHER JEFFERY TERRY, *Studies of Secondary School Graduates in their Mastery of Certain Fundamental Processes.* 60 pp.

Paper, \$ .50

Cloth, \$1.00

Address communications regarding exchange or purchase to the Librarian, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, California.

The Origin and Development  
*of*  
1 HENRY VI

IN RELATION TO SHAKESPEARE, MARLOWE, PEELE,  
AND GREENE

BY

ALLISON GAW, PH.D.

CHAIRMAN OF THE DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH  
UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

PUBLISHED BY THE  
UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA  
LOS ANGELES

1926

COPYRIGHT, 1926  
BY THE  
UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA

*First Edition, August, 1926.*  
*Second Edition, April, 1927.*

## PREFACE

The following study of the date, the authorship, and the early history of *1 Henry VI* was begun late in 1919. The massing of the evidence concerning the date of first production, and the treatment of the involved inferences concerning Shakespeare's relations to the Strange and the Pembroke companies, were concluded in the following year, and a part of the investigation was presented as a paper before the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Philological Association in November, 1920. The work as a whole, so far as then completed, was read by my friend, the late Dr. Raymond M. Alden, and the therein contained conclusions as to Shakespeare's relations to the Pembroke company were recorded by him in a note in the Bibliography to his volume, *Shakespeare*, which appeared in the *Master Spirits of Literature* series in 1922. Meanwhile, during the analysis of the evidence as to the authorship, the material had so accumulated as to make it difficult to find a fitting channel of publication.

The problem under investigation, involving as it does four original authors whose work is further overlaid with two, if not three, stages of later revision, is probably as complex as is to be found anywhere in Shakespearean textual criticism. This fact, especially in view of the importance of the play in connection with the whole question of Shakespeare's early dramatic authorship and with the emphasis that has long been laid on it in relation to Greene's attitude toward him in *A Groatworth of Wit*, has seemed to make it necessary that the evidence should be given in full detail. I have therefore resolutely resisted the temptation to abridge the material here presented, and have included at length all pertinent facts and considerations. The appearance in 1923 of Dr. J. Q. Adams' *Life of Shakespeare*, in which he brilliantly advances similar views as to Shakespeare's relations with the Pembroke company, has made stress on that aspect of the subject less necessary than previously, but that material also has been allowed to stand as originally written.

It will be evident to anyone who may peruse the following

pages that my principal obligations are to Fleay, whose belief as to the original quadruple authorship of the play proves right in general theory, although quite erroneous in detail; to Dr. Tucker Brooke, whose researches in the Marlowe canon are fundamental to some of my own conclusions; and to Dr. J. Q. Adams, without whose *Shakespearean Playhouses* much of this work would have been impossible. Mr. E. K. Chambers' encyclopaedic volumes on *The Elizabethan Stage* appeared too late for me to avail myself of their aid in reaching the conclusions herein contained, but I have recorded in my footnotes references to his attitude on some of the chief points involved and have followed him as to the exact location of the Globe Theatre.

Among my colleagues at the University of Southern California my cordial thanks are due to Dr. John D. Cooke, of the English Department; to Dr. Herbert D. Austin, of the Department of Romance Languages; and to Dr. Homer A. Watt, chairman of the English Department in Washington Square College of New York University, and exchange Professor in English at the University of Southern California for the year 1925-26. All three of these gentlemen have painstakingly read the work in proof and have given me the benefit of their interested criticism. The helpfulness of all the members of the University Committee on Research Publications is also gratefully acknowledged.

ALLISON GAW.

*Los Angeles, May 1, 1926.*

#### NOTE TO SECOND EDITION

The necessity for the re-issuing of this material has given opportunity for re-writing portions of pages 6-7, adding the note on page 169, and making some miscellaneous minor corrections.

A. G.

*February 5, 1927.*

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

I. THE FUNDAMENTAL FACTS.....	1
II. THE ORIGINAL ORGANIZATION, STAGING, AND DATE OF THE PLAY.....	12
III. THE PROBLEM OF THE AUTHORSHIP.....	64
i. The <i>A</i> . Scenes.....	72
(a) I, 1, 1-101, 147-77.....	88
(b) III, 1.....	92
(c) V, 1.....	93
(d) III, ivb, and IV, 1b.....	98
(e) II, v.....	101
ii. The <i>B</i> . Scenes.....	108
(a) B's Talbot Scenes.....	108
(b) First Appearance of Joan of Arc.....	116
(c) B. Scenes of Mixed Authorship.....	118
iii. The <i>D</i> . Scenes.....	124
(a) The Talbot Death Series, IV, v-vii.....	126
(b) The Talbot Death Series, IV, ii-iv.....	131
(c) The Fate of Joan and the Conclusion of Peace.....	135
iv. The <i>C</i> . Scenes.....	141
v. Survey of Conclusions with Regard to Authorship.....	145
vi. The Dates of the Revisions and Their Rela- tion to Shakespeare's Biography.....	146
vii. The Relation of the Folio Scene Division to the Authorship.....	158
IV. GENERAL CONCLUSIONS: THE PROBLEMS AND THEIR RELATIONSHIP.....	162
SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE ON THE LATEST PHASE OF THE <i>Contention - True Tragedy</i> PROBLEM....	169
LIST OF AUTHORITIES CITED.....	170
LIST OF REPRODUCTIONS OF VIEWS OF ELIZABETHAN THEATRES.....	173
INDEX.....	175